

Bangor University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Podcasting Penrhyn

Communicating the multilayered narratives of heritage sites through audio digital interpretation

Jones, Kayla Victoria

Award date:
2023

Awarding institution:
Bangor University

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 28. Apr. 2024

Podcasting Penrhyn

Communicating the multilayered narratives of heritage sites through audio digital interpretation

By

Kayla Jones MRes



A thesis submitted to Bangor University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Bangor University

December 2022



Abstract

This thesis analyses the use and application of longform narrative podcasting as an interpretation method for heritage sites. Penrhyn Castle, a prominent National Trust property in Wales, is used as a case study for demonstrating best practice in heritage podcasting and provides the focus for the creative portion of this doctoral project. *Podlediad Penrhyn* is a five-part podcast that has been created to address and communicate core themes and narratives associated with the history of the site. The design of the podcast is based on an assessment of the prominent traditional form of site-specific heritage interpretation, namely the sequence of guidebooks published by the National Trust for Penrhyn Castle, coupled with the utility to be found in the multilayered storytelling methods of a digital audio text. This text was created in part due to the massive popularity of longform narrative podcasting within the true crime genre, which has enraptured a global audience in recent years. Whilst digital practice within heritage is a prevalent area of study, this thesis adds to the slimmer body of literature examining digital storytelling in heritage and makes an original contribution to the still emerging application of podcasting to heritage spheres. My primary research question is: ‘How can podcasting be used to communicate the multilayered narrative of a heritage site?’ The nature of my case study, Penrhyn Castle, allows this question to be more specifically directed at the interpretation of county houses and landed estates. This research was conducted across the period of the global coronavirus pandemic. Serendipitously, the rapid adoption of digital connectivity during the lockdowns dovetailed with this research into a novel heritage interpretation method. By utilising a digital creative artefact, I encourage an assessment of heritage interpretation methods that enable heritage sites to reach and, importantly, connect with audiences off-site, through use of digital and globally accessible methods. This research shows that practitioners can use podcasting to highlight the multilayered narrative of a site’s history in ways that are unachievable through more traditional forms of interpretation. Whilst country house interpretation has traditionally tended to focus on family, art, and architectural history in their narratives, as seen in the guidebook analysis, my approach allows for the interconnected stories of landed estates to be presented as multilocal, multigenerational, multicultural, and evolving for digitally connected audiences. Heritage organisations are currently searching for novel methods of telling well-rounded narratives and through this study I offer an alternative framework to deliver on this sector objective. This study also informs heritage practitioners that a modern approach to storytelling within historical interpretation is not only possible but can touch upon aspects of a site’s narrative that are otherwise difficult to communicate in single-channel media like the guidebook. *Podlediad Penrhyn* is presented as a model to be readopted and reapplied to other heritage sites internationally.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	8
Aims and Objectives	8
Background of Podlediad Penrhyn	9
Podcast subject: The Penrhyn estate	9
History of the Penrhyn estate	10
Penrhyn Castle and the National Trust.....	13
Cultural Heritage connected to the Penrhyn estate	16
Context of the study.....	18
Digital Storytelling.....	20
The growth of digital heritage interpretation through COVID-19	25
The use of digital storytelling in country house interpretation	27
Thesis structure	30
2. Methodology	32
Introduction.....	70
Research questions and approach.....	70
Practice Based Research as Methodology.....	71
Practice Based Research in this project.....	76
Data collection.....	77
Post-textual analysis	78
Creative practice.....	79
Interviews.....	80
Archival research.....	82
Evaluation of approach.....	82
Methodological obstacles and their solutions	83
Final thoughts.....	83
3. Literature Review: the evolution of podcasting and its emerging role in heritage	Error!
Bookmark not defined.	
Introduction.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Audio tools in heritage interpretation	Error! Bookmark not defined.
The Origins and Rise of Podcasting.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Audio Storytelling in Podcasting	Error! Bookmark not defined.
The Rise of History Podcasts.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Podcasting in Heritage	Error! Bookmark not defined.
The Dearth of Long-form Narrative Podcasting in History and Heritage .	Error! Bookmark not defined.
4. Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks	84

Introduction.....	84
Published works on the history of Penrhyn Estate.....	84
Historical Background of Guidebooks.....	88
Anglicised authority and the minimised narratives of slavery.....	91
Authenticity, place, and identity in guidebook narratives	108
Identity and place in heritage narratives	114
Welsh identity	119
Branding.....	126
The Decline of the Guidebook.....	134
5. Podlediad Penrhyn	139
6. The Analysis of <i>Podlediad Penrhyn</i>	140
Introduction.....	140
Choosing the podcast	141
Establishing a style and format: the narrative podcast.....	145
Sound, voice, music, and effects.....	152
Music.....	155
Ambient noise	157
Voice	159
The narrator, intimacy, and perceived authenticity	162
Establishing intimacy from the narrator to a podcast audience	162
Perceived authenticity	167
Independent podcasting, accessibility, and branding.....	171
Multivocality and the benefits of multilayered narratives	179
The benefits of multivocality through digital resources	188
Layering the narrative podcast.....	191
7. Conclusion.....	193
Context of the study.....	193
Synthesis of the findings.....	193
How narrative podcasts can be used to tell multilayered stories of landed estates.....	195
Developments of <i>Podlediad Penrhyn</i> , the creative artefact.....	197
Limitations to this study.....	199
Further Research	201
Conclusion	202
Bibliography.....	204
I. Appendix	237
List of interviewees.....	237
Participant information sheet in English.....	237
Participant information sheet in Welsh.....	240

Ethics Forms	242
Screenshots of the website in English.....	262
Screenshots of the website in Welsh.....	304
Podcast scripts.....	336
Episode 1 Script	336
Episode 2 Script	356
Episode 3 Script	373
Episode 4 Script	394
Episode 5 Script	416

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I'd like to thank the Draper's Company for sponsoring this PhD project. The Draper's Company's long held dedication to sponsoring research at Bangor University is commendable and I'm honoured to be the recipient of this scholarship.

Thanks to my supervisors Professor Andrew Edwards, Dr Shaun Evans and Dr Steffan Thomas for their guidance, feedback, and encouragement. My supervisors challenged and aided me in developing a project that was unique to me and my strengths as a creative practitioner and researcher. This has allowed my PhD to be a true joy to develop and I'm extremely grateful to have had their support and knowledge throughout this PhD. I'm thankful for the professional and academic experiences as well as the camaraderie that came along with this PhD being under the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estates and I feel so privileged to be a part of the research cohort that is growing and thriving under Dr Evans' direction.

The creative portion of this dissertation encouraged me to interview many people. I am so grateful for those who have given their time to share their expertise and personal stories connected to the Penrhyn estate. Their insights and input have made *Podlediad Penrhyn* possible, and I feel lucky to have been able to explore Penrhyn's multifaceted history through so many voices, experiences, and stories from the past and present.

An enormous thanks to my parents for their unwavering support in so many ways throughout my academic journey and especially through my PhD. It is because of you I have been able to pursue an education and your unwavering support and love means the world to me. Thanks to my husband who has believed in me throughout this PhD and spent countless hours as a soundboard for my ideas and has been a rock for me in the more challenging days. Special thanks to my sister and brother-in-law for continually supporting me from afar and my British family who continue to make the UK feel like home.

Thank you to all the family and friends who have encouraged me through this dissertation. The bulk of this PhD was done through the pandemic and every word of support, kind act and listening ear got me through long periods of isolation and helped me carry on. Lastly, thanks to Griffin, who cannot read this but proved to be the best research partner I could ask for despite chewing up a few of my books.

Declaration of Consent

‘I hereby declare that this thesis is the results of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. All other sources are acknowledged by bibliographic references. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree unless, as agreed by the University, for approved dual awards.

I confirm that I am submitting this work with the agreement of my Supervisor(s).’

‘Yr wyf drwy hyn yn datgan mai canlyniad fy ymchwil fy hun yw’r thesis hwn, ac eithrio lle nodir yn wahanol. Caiff ffynonellau eraill eu cydnabod gan droednodiadau yn rhoi cyfeiriadau eglur. Nid yw sylwedd y gwaith hwn wedi cael ei dderbyn o’r blaen ar gyfer unrhyw radd, ac nid yw’n cael ei gyflwyno ar yr un pryd mewn ymgeisiaeth am unrhyw radd oni bai ei fod, fel y cytunwyd gan y Brifysgol, am gymwysterau deuol cymeradwy.

Rwy'n cadarnhau fy mod yn cyflwyno'r gwaith hwn gyda chytundeb fy Ngoruchwyliwr (Goruchwylwyr)

Podcasting Penrhyn — communicating the multilayered narratives of heritage sites through audio digital interpretation

1. Introduction

This thesis is a practice-based project which will introduce, contextualise, and analyse a digital strategy demonstrated through a creative artefact: a podcast focused on the multilayered history of the Penrhyn Estate, located in Bangor, north Wales. The podcast, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, was developed, produced, edited, and hosted by Kayla Jones, the researcher, but would not have been made without the collaboration of local and academic voices mentioned in this thesis. By using a bricolage methodology, this research will show how a multilayered creative artefact is able to address gaps and deficiencies identified in guidebooks previously published by the National Trust on Penrhyn Castle, as the layered effects of voice, sound, music and narration better suit the complex, multilayered historical narrative of the former landed estate.

Aims and Objectives

The primary research question addressed by this thesis is ‘how can podcasting be used to communicate the multilayered narrative of a heritage site?’ This question emerged out of a desire to understand how the history of Penrhyn Castle, and its estate, has traditionally been interpreted and to explore new and more effective ways of communicating this complex history to visitors. The Penrhyn example places a particular emphasis on how podcasting can be used to more effectively communicate the multilayered narratives of landed estates and country houses. This introduction discusses the significance of the research question, the ways in which heritage interpretation practice is adapting to address similar questions, and gives context to these issues, outlining the areas of study of relevance to this research.

This project set out to analyse the most prominent form of published interpretation relating to Penrhyn Castle, the Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks, published by the National Trust from 1955–2006, to determine how their narratives on the estate were approached historically. Additionally, the project set out to create an independently branded podcast, which addresses gaps and deficiencies identified within the guidebook analysis.

The production of the podcast set out to use multiple stakeholder voices to inform the narrative, utilise music and diegetic sound to create a sense of place and emotion in the episodes, use a personal narrator, to both connect with audiences and help audiences connect

with the site, and establish a style of podcast specifically chosen to best suit the telling of longform, multilayered narratives.

Finally, this thesis analyses the finished creative artefact (*Podlediad Penrhyn*) and compares it directly with the textual media of the guidebooks to demonstrate how gaps in narratives can be filled by podcasts. Creating a podcast, a digital yet tangible artefact, for others to explore means it can be compared to other media using established frameworks. Practice-based research allows the researcher to identify answers and solutions through experimentation, practice and creativity, rather than purely theorising. This study offers a model for other heritage sites, internationally, to create their own podcasts to reach wider audiences and connect disparate parts of their sites' narratives together into a cohesive whole. This project concludes that podcasting is a means of communicating engaging, multilayered narratives for visitors to heritage sites and broader online audiences.

Background of Podlediad Penrhyn

Podcast subject: The Penrhyn estate

The subject of *Podlediad Penrhyn* is the Penrhyn estate, a once-prominent landed estate located in northwest Wales. At its height the estate was one of the largest in Wales, encompassing large swathes of Caernarfonshire and including a multitude of natural resources, enterprises, and communities.¹ The estate included Penrhyn Castle, the home and powerbase of the Pennant family, whose patriarchs such as Richard Pennant and George Sholto Douglas Pennant, exerted significant influences on the development of trading slate from the north Wales area, eventually becoming the leading distributor of slate worldwide by the late 1800s.² Today, Penrhyn is a contested site and a focus for prominent and complex narratives relating to transatlantic slavery and the perceived injustices attached to its dominance of the slate industry – competing narratives which are playing out across local and national spheres. Under the National Trust, Penrhyn Castle functions as a heritage site for visitors, while around 40,000 acres of land is managed by the National Trust as agricultural and conservation land.³ Beyond the National Trust, the Penrhyn estate's historical influence is still seen across local communities, local businesses, and in tourism. Penrhyn exemplifies

¹ R. M. Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen: 1874–1922* (Cardiff, 2014), pp. 1–16.

² Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, pp. 2, 51.

³ National Trust, 'Penrhyn Castle and Garden', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle> (accessed 10 July 2022).

the complex historical identities and functions of British landed estates, with a multifaceted influence which extended far beyond the country house and across local, national and global spheres.⁴

History of the Penrhyn estate

Penrhyn's landscape is characterised by its slate, the mountains and valleys of Snowdonia National Park, and biodiversity which has provided a basis for farming, natural resource extraction, and sea exportation.⁵ The origins of the Penrhyn estate date back to the thirteenth century with notable Welsh figures such as Ednyfed Fychan and his sons Goronwy ab Ednyfed and Tudur ab Ednyfed being given large tracts of land across north Wales by the Princes of Gwynedd.⁶ Ednyfed Fychan's descendants held land across north Wales until the estate became more unified when Gwilym ap Gruffydd acquired land across Anglesey and Caernarfonshire through an advantageous marriage to his cousin, Morfudd.⁷ Estate records within Bangor University Archives and Special Collections show that Gwilym built one of the largest landed estates in medieval north Wales which, in turn, made him an influential leader in the area. For the next 200 years, the Gruffydd or Griffiths family emerged as a powerful gentry (*uchelwyr*) family in north Wales, gaining status and authority as part of the English administration of Wales during a time when a majority of Welsh families were not allowed to hold higher offices because of penal laws.⁸ The estate was passed down through Gwilym's descendants, one of whom was Pyrs Griffiths (1568–1628), who is popularly known as a 'pirate'. While Pyrs was rumoured to be involved in raids alongside Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, his stints on the high seas left him in mounting debt. Because of his mismanagement of the estate,⁹ Penrhyn was sold to John Williams in 1621, who was a prominent aide to the Crown. John Williams was an influential figure from north Wales, who over the course of his career held numerous roles under James I and Charles I including King's chaplain, Lord Keeper and Archbishop of York.¹⁰ When no male heirs were in line to inherit, half of the estate passed to Ann Susanna Warburton. She married a man named Richard Pennant who expanded and improved the estate across the eighteenth century.¹¹

⁴ M. Gwyn, 'The Heritage Industry and the Slave Trade', (PhD Diss., Bangor University, 2014), pp. 90–141.

⁵ D. Gwyn, *Welsh Slate: Archaeology and History of an Industry* (Aberystwyth, 2015) p. 243.

⁶ A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales* (London, 1995), p. 68.

⁷ Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p. 120.

⁸ Carr, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 111, 120–127.

⁹ L. Stephens and S. Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, 23, (London, 1890), p. 235.

¹⁰ T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, (1778), pp. 294–297.

¹¹ Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, p. 2.

Richard Pennant also came from a prominent family. His ancestor Gifford Pennant acquired plantations in Jamaica after serving in the Cromwellian Army in 1656. Gifford and his descendants bought up a substantial tracts of land in the West Indies, becoming a large producer of sugarcane from their agricultural fields.¹² Once Richard Pennant inherited the plantations in the mid-1700s the family returned to Britain and became absentee landlords of their Jamaican plantations.¹³ Around 1,000 enslaved Africans worked on their plantations in Jamaica, which substantially grew the Pennants' fortune.¹⁴ The profits from the plantations allowed for Richard Pennant —an outspoken MP against the abolition of slavery — to purchase the 'other half' of the earlier Penrhyn estate. Profits derived from the products of transatlantic slavery allowed him to improve his north Wales landholdings. He built transportation links, invested in agricultural innovations, and established a large working quarry in the nearby slate beds.¹⁵

Richard Pennant's heir, George Hay Dawkins Pennant, took the improvements further by building a grand castle to replace the former medieval house.¹⁶ This Lord Penrhyn hired architect Thomas Hopper to build what is known now as the Penrhyn Castle situated on the outskirts of Bangor, from 1822–37.¹⁷ The large Neo-Norman castle, which took around 15 years to build, had numerous bedrooms, a grand hall, an extensive library, drawing rooms, and elaborate staircases and was decorated with an extensive art collection including works by artists such as Van Der Veer, Thomas Gainsborough, and Diego Ortez.¹⁸ The Pennants enjoyed participating in the upper echelons of British society, with the family regularly socialising with the royal family and even hosting royal visits.¹⁹ Though the castle was more of a powerbase than a home for the Pennants, when occupied, Penrhyn Castle operated as a country house with a full staff including butler, cooks, housekeeper, and footmen.²⁰

¹² C. Evans, *Slave Wales: The Welsh and Atlantic Slavery 1660–1850* (Cardiff, 2010) pp. 65–67.

¹³ Evans, *Slave Wales*, p. 66.

¹⁴ J. Lindsay, *A History of the North Wales Slate Industry* (Newton Abbey, 1974) pp. 46–55.

¹⁵ Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, pp. 2–3.

¹⁶ Edwards and Knibb Publishers, *The Cambrian Tourist* (London, 1825), pp. 311–319.

¹⁷ D. B. Hague, 'Penrhyn Castle', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 21, (1959), pp. 27–45.

¹⁸ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), pp. 40–68.

¹⁹ A. R. Martin, 'The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality', 15 October 1859, p. 8, <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4465341> (accessed 4 July 2022). see also D. I. Jones, 'The Royal Visit to the Penrhyn Slate Quarries Bethesda, North Wales', *The Cambrian: A Magazine for the Welsh in America* (1893), p. 269.

²⁰ K. Foy, *Life in the Victorian Kitchen: Culinary Secrets and Servants' Stories* (Barnsley, 2014) p. 64.

Beyond the castle, hundreds of local families lived and worked on the estate on tenanted farms, and in Penrhyn quarry.²¹ The Penrhyn quarry became the highest producing slate quarry in north Wales, employing around 3,000 quarrymen by the end of the nineteenth century.²² Quarrying became a dominant way of life in the area, as north Wales became the leading exporter of slate by the end of the same century.²³ Slate quarrying was a skilled profession with quarrymen training over many years; but it was also a physically intensive and dangerous. These conditions, coupled with the payment method, resulted in numerous strikes from the quarrymen, with ongoing but unsuccessful negotiations going back and forth from the quarrymen to the Lord Penrhyn, Edward Gordon Douglas Pennant, and on to his heir, George Sholto Douglas Pennant.²⁴ In 1874, the North Wales Quarryman's Union was formed, in the hopes of negotiating better pay and working conditions for workers. No agreements were settled upon, and this eventually led to widespread striking from 1896–7 and again from 1900–1903.²⁵ The 'Great Strike' resulted in mass starvation, rioting, illness, and emigration as families sought higher pay and better working conditions for the quarrymen. The strikes also caused widespread division within local communities, as strike-breakers were at odds with those who held out the strikes.²⁶ Known as the 'Great Strike' or the 'Penrhyn Lockout', the three-year strike is the longest industrial dispute in British history. Despite charity efforts and tense negotiation, men went back to work in the quarry in November 1903. By this time, the slate industry had declined in the UK and the quarry operated at a lower capacity.²⁷

In line with the sale and breakup of many landed estates across the UK, the fourth Lord Penrhyn, Hugh Napier, began selling off pieces of the Penrhyn estate in north Wales and soon all of the family's Jamaican property by 1940.²⁸ By the 1950s, the castle and grounds needed too much upkeep for its next owner Lady Janet Pelham, the niece of Hugh

²¹ Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, pp. 2, 10–12.

²² Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, p. 72.

²³ Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, pp. 1–16.

²⁴ J. Lindsey, *The Great Strike: A History of the Penrhyn Quarry Dispute of 1900–1903* (Newton Abbot, 1987) pp. 7–21.

²⁵ Lindsey, *The Great Strike*, pp. 61–125.

²⁶ Lindsey, *The Great Strike*, pp. 121–190.

²⁷ Lindsey, *The Great Strike*, pp. 191–215.

²⁸ J. Davies, 'The end of the Great Estates and the Rise of Freehold Farming in Wales', *Welsh History Review*, 7, 2, (1974), p. 18.

Napier, who had inherited the estate. Janet Pelham gifted Penrhyn Castle and its grounds to the National Trust, who still manage the castle and surrounding land today.²⁹

Penrhyn Castle and the National Trust

As well as acquiring Penrhyn Castle and its grounds, the National Trust also took into its care the Ysbyty Ifan estate in Gwynedd, the Trust's largest agricultural estate, which has 51 farms and 30 houses on 20,316 acres, after the Treasury received it in lieu of death duties from the estates of the late Lord Penrhyn.³⁰ The National Trust also obtained mountainous tracts "in the slate landscape of Snowdonia"³¹, the 21,000 acres Carneddau and Glyderau estate, which now includes 8 upland tenant farms, whilst other structures have been transformed into holiday lets.³²

Penrhyn Castle and its adjacent grounds are now operated as a heritage site, where visitors can tour the castle, visit a small railroad museum, explore gardens, and browse the onsite shop and café.³³ As of 2019/2020, Penrhyn Castle is visited by an average 140,000 visitors per year.³⁴ Penrhyn Castle receives a mixed reception from people living locally, as the memory and legacy of the strikes linger in local consciousness, with some descendants of quarrying families still refusing to visit Penrhyn Castle.³⁵

In approximately the last ten years, interpretation at the site has evolved, with the castle hosting exhibitions and events which have highlighted previously minimised parts of Penrhyn's history. In 2007, Penrhyn Castle participated in the bicentennial of the abolition of the slave trade by hosting a project entitled *Slate and Slavery*, which involved locals and school children from Bangor, Liverpool, and Jamaica who produced creative works to sit alongside an exhibition that demonstrated Penrhyn's involvement in transatlantic slavery.³⁶

²⁹ National Trust, 'A Brief History of Penrhyn Castle', online edn, 16 June 2015, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/features/a-brief-history-of-penrhyn-castle> (accessed 11 June 2022).

³⁰ National Trust, 'Ysbyty Ifan', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/ysbyty-ifan> (accessed 11 June 2022).

³¹ National Trust, 'Snowdonia', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/days-out/regionwales/snowdonia> (accessed 11 June 2022).

³² National Trust, 'Snowdonia', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/days-out/regionwales/snowdonia> (accessed 11 June 2022).

³³ National Trust, 'Penrhyn Castle and Garden', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle> (accessed 10 July 2022).

³⁴ National Trust, 'National Trust Annual Report 2019/2020,' online edn, p. 87. <https://nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/annual-report-201920.pdf> (accessed 18 June 2022).

³⁵ G. Hinsliff, 'Cream teas at dawn: inside the war for the National Trust,' *The Guardian*, online edn, 16 October 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/oct/16/cream-teas-at-dawn-inside-the-war-for-the-national-trust> (accessed 15 May 2022).

³⁶ M. Gwyn, 'Wales and the Memorialisation of Slavery in 2007', *Atlantic Studies*, 9, 3, (2012), pp. 311–312 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2012.688629> (accessed 15 July 2022).

Other exhibitions, such as the *Slate or State* project in 2017, brought local artists together to create an art installation where a 15-foot sculpture of Bethesda quarry was displayed at Penrhyn Castle following a processional performance, with participants re-enacted events that took place during the strikes.³⁷ Visitors were able to view the art installation alongside hearing local voices, poetry, and choral singing through a video created by artist Zoe Walker.³⁸

In 2018, Penrhyn Castle participated and contributed to three other exhibitions connected with the history of the quarry or estate, *12 Stories*, *Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel* and *Merched Chwarel. Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel*, or *Beyond the Quarry* in English, explored the lives of the people who lived and worked on the estate through events such as archival workshops, guided walks, memorabilia days, and heritage talks; all hosted by the Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates at Bangor University.³⁹ The *Merched Chwarel* exhibition highlighted women's role in quarrying communities and during the strikes.⁴⁰ The temporary exhibition was hosted at Storiol Museum in Bangor, the National Slate Museum in Llanberis, Penrhyn Castle, and other industrially-linked locations in north Wales.⁴¹ Lastly, a collection of fictional pieces entitled *12 Stories* by Manon Steffan Ros were displayed in the castle. The fictional stories engaged with Penrhyn's more "difficult historical ties to the sugar plantation in Jamaica and the lives of the hardworking quarrymen of Bethesda at the turn of the 20th century".⁴²

In 2020, Penrhyn Castle emerged as a central focus for contemporary discussions on Britain's involvement in transatlantic slavery amidst the events of the Black Lives Matter movement.⁴³ This resulted in Penrhyn being featured in a study commissioned by the

³⁷ National Trust, 'Slate or State: New Artists in Residence Exhibition Unveiled', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/news/slate-or-state-new-artists-in-residence-exhibition-unveiled-#:~:text=Slate%20or%20State%2C%20an%20art,great%20quarry%20sculpture%20and%20its> (accessed 15 July 2022).

³⁸ National Trust, 'Slate or State, by Walker & Bromwich', online edn, 25 July 2017 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/features/slate-or-state-by-walker-and-bromwich> (accessed 10 June 2022).

³⁹ S. Evans and E. W. Simpson, 'Assessing the Impact of Collections-Based Collaboration across Archives and Academia: The Penrhyn Estate Archive', *Archives and Records*, 40, 1, (2019), pp. 37–54 <https://doi.org/10.1080/23257962.2019.1567307> (accessed 10 June 2022).

⁴⁰ Merched Chwarel, 'Amdanom Ni – About Us', online edn, <https://www.merchedchwarel.org/about-1#/about-the-project> (accessed 10 June 2022).

⁴¹ Merched Chwarel, 'Amdanom Ni – About Us', online edn, <https://www.merchedchwarel.org/about-1#/about-the-project> (accessed 10 June 2022).

⁴² National Trust, 'Manon Steffan Ros – 12 Stories', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/features/manon-steffan-ros---12-stories> (accessed 10 June 2022).

⁴³ C. Davies, 'National Trust Hastens Projects Exposing Links of Country Houses to Slavery', *The Guardian*, online edn, 22 June 2020 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jun/22/national-trust-hastens-projects-exposing-links-of-country-houses-to-slavery> (accessed 8 June 2022).

National Trust, which investigated the nature and extent of National Trust properties' connections to slavery and colonialism.⁴⁴ From 2020, Penrhyn Castle has embarked on a new transformational project entitled *Beyond Penrhyn* which will transform its interpretation methods by "using creative techniques to help open conversations around sometimes controversial issues"⁴⁵ through collaborative projects alongside the wider community to open "space up for discussion and bring local voices and stories into the heart of the castle".⁴⁶ Most recently, in 2021, Penrhyn Castle installed the *Beth yn y Byd! / What a World!* Exhibition, linked to the Colonial Countryside Project, which featured the poetry of local schoolchildren, highlighting objects they found throughout the castle that were connected to transatlantic slavery. Their poetry was displayed throughout the castle alongside key pieces and displays.⁴⁷

Penrhyn Castle has seen public participation in numerous events, however, Penrhyn's complex and contested history continues to be a controversial topic of conversation on- and offline. The National Trust has garnered both criticism and praise in recent years for its interpretation practices surrounding Penrhyn's history.⁴⁸ While these exhibits amassed attention in the local community and beyond, the National Trust is looking for more permanent ways to incorporate minimised and contested parts of Penrhyn's history into their interpretation of the site. This includes the identification of new methods of communicating narratives of major significance in the site's history, which are not necessarily reflected in the Castle's collections, or which occurred 'beyond' the walls of the Castle. *Beyond Penrhyn* is an ongoing project.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ S. Huxtable et al., 'Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery', *National Trust*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/addressing-the-histories-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-national-trust> (accessed 2 November 2021).

⁴⁵ National Trust, 'Beyond Penrhyn: Changing the Way We Work', online edn, 27 January 2020 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/projects/beyond-penrhyn-changing-the-way-we-work> (accessed 30 July 2022).

⁴⁶ National Trust, 'Beyond Penrhyn: Changing the Way We Work', online edn, 27 January 2020 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/projects/beyond-penrhyn-changing-the-way-we-work> (accessed 30 July 2022).

⁴⁷ National Trust, 'New "What a World!" Exhibition Takes an Honest Look at Penrhyn Castle's Collection and the Culture of Colonialism', online edn, 24 February 2020 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/news/new-what-a-world-exhibition-takes-an-honest-look-at-penrhyn-castles-collection-and-the-culture-of-colonialism> (accessed 18 June 2022).

⁴⁸ Hinsliff, 'Cream Teas at Dawn: inside the War for the National Trust', online edn.

⁴⁹ National Trust, 'Beyond Penrhyn: Changing the Way We Work', online edn, 27 January 2020 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/projects/beyond-penrhyn-changing-the-way-we-work> (accessed 30 July 2022).

Throughout this thesis, Penrhyn Castle refers to the Neo-Norman house built as a residence for the Pennant family, and the heritage site – including gardens – operated by the National Trust. Penrhyn estate encompasses all aspects of the past, present and future of the former landed estate, its connected agricultural lands, structures, enterprises and people living within its boundaries, and its off-site connections such as the Jamaican plantations.

Cultural Heritage connected to the Penrhyn estate

Penrhyn Quarry was owned and operated by Alfred McAlpine PLC, a Chester-based construction company from 1963–2007.⁵⁰ The quarry was then acquired by Irish businessman Kevin Lagan, who established Welsh Slate Limited. Most recently, the quarry was bought by the Breedon Group, a UK-based business conglomerate in 2018.⁵¹ The quarry is still in operation today and the slate is extracted for high-quality roofing, landscaping, and both interiors and exteriors.⁵² A portion of Penrhyn Quarry that is no longer used as an extraction site is now owned and operated by an adventure tourism business, Zip World. The longest zipline in Europe, and the fastest in the world, the Velocity 2 flies over parts of the quarry. Zip World points to its industrial past through Penrhyn Quarry tours, 90-minute trips driving through parts of the quarry where tourists hear the history of the quarry's past.⁵³

Whilst not directly connected to the Penrhyn estate, the National Slate Museum in Llanberis, which is housed at the former Dinorwic Quarry, does include the story of Penrhyn Quarry in their interpretation practices.⁵⁴ The Slate Museum highlights quarrying ways of life through demonstrations by quarrymen and blacksmiths, who show visitors how slate or metal would have been traditionally worked.⁵⁵ Visitors can also watch a brief video on the history of the slate industry which features part of Penrhyn's history, as well as read about Penrhyn's history on panels throughout the museum.⁵⁶ Visitors can see a recreated *Caban* — a traditional meeting and resting area for quarrymen — as well as a row of terraced

⁵⁰ Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Timeline: Some Important Dates', *National Slate Museums: A Guide to the Museum*, online edn, 28 September 2013

<https://web.archive.org/web/20130928085753/http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/426/> (accessed 14 July 2022).

⁵¹ O. Hughes, 'Quarry Firm Welsh Slate Sold as Part of Multi-Million Pound Deal', *North Wales Live*, online edn, 17 April 2018 <https://www.dailypost.co.uk/business/business-news/quarry-firm-welsh-slate-sold-14540744> (accessed 5 July, 2022).

⁵² Breedon Group, 'Welsh Slate', online edn, <https://www.welshslate.com/> (accessed 10 July 2022).

⁵³ Zip World, 'Penrhyn Quarry Tour', online edn, <https://www.zipworld.co.uk/adventure/penrhyn-quarry-tour> (accessed 18 July 2022).

⁵⁴ W. Price et al., 'Quarrying for World Heritage Designation: Slate Tourism in North Wales', *Geoheritage*, 11, 4, (2019), pp. 1839–1854 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12371-019-00402-0> (accessed 28 July 2022).

⁵⁵ Price et al., 'Quarrying for World Heritage Designation: Slate Tourism in North Wales.' pp. 1839–1854.

⁵⁶ Price et al., 'Quarrying for World Heritage Designation: Slate Tourism in North Wales.' pp. 1839–1854.

quarrymen's homes decorated as if from 1861, 1901, and 1969 respectively.⁵⁷ The Slate Museum's interpretation focuses on different aspects of life across the quarries of north Wales, incorporating Penrhyn Quarry into the narrative.⁵⁸ Small slate merchandising, often derived from Penrhyn Quarry, can be purchased from gift shops such as the National Slate Museum, as well as various other artisan shops around north Wales and online.⁵⁹

In 2021, Gwynedd Council was successful in an application to be included on the UNESCO World heritage site list for its international significance in the history of the slate industry.⁶⁰ After developing the bid for over 20 years, the *Llechi Cymru* project team identified six key landscapes that were most influential in Welsh slate: 1) Dinorwic Quarry, 2) Nantlle Valley, 3) Gorseddau and Prince of Wales, 4) Ffestiniog and Porthmadog, 5) Abergdyndyn and Tywyn, and 6) Ogwen Valley, the Penrhyn Slate Quarry, and the community of Bethesda.⁶¹ Notable elements and public access to slate landscapes include the Penrhyn Slate Quarry, Penrhyn Slate Quarry Railroad and Railway, Porth Penrhyn, Bethesda village, and Penrhyn Castle and Park.⁶² A destination management plan was developed in 2019 regarding these six areas, which aims to implement slate landscape conservation, sustainable development, slate landscape enjoyment, and slate landscape learning for locals and tourists.⁶³

Cultural groups such as *Côr Y Penrhyn*, an intergenerational male choir whose early establishment began in the rock beds of Penrhyn Quarry, point to their Penrhyn connection through music. The choir has performed at Penrhyn Quarry and at numerous events in Penrhyn Castle, recording one of their albums inside the Grand Hall.⁶⁴ Other groups such as The North Wales Jamaica Society and the Jamaica Wales Alliance explore international connections with Penrhyn through lectures, history and poetry workshops, and school

⁵⁷ Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Fron Haul - Quarrymen's Houses', online edn, <https://museum.wales/slate/fron-haul/> (accessed 18 July 2022).

⁵⁸ Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Researching the Welsh Slate Industry', online edn, <https://museum.wales/curatorial/industry/resources/slate-industry/> (accessed 22 June 2022).

⁵⁹ Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Siop Amgueddfa Cymru / National Museum Wales Shop', online edn, <https://shop.museum.wales/> (accessed 22 June 2022).

⁶⁰ Llywodraeth Cymru/Welsh Government, 'A New World Heritage Site for Wales', online edn, 28 July 2021 <https://gov.wales/new-world-heritage-site-wales> (accessed 8 July 2022).

⁶¹ Llechi Cymru/Welsh Slate, 'Slate Areas', online edn, <https://www.llechi.cymru/slateareas> (accessed 8 July 2022).

⁶² Llechi Cymru/Welsh Slate, 'Penrhyn Slate Quarry and Bethesda, and the Ogwen Valley to Port Penrhyn', online edn, <https://www.llechi.cymru/slateareas/ogwenvalley> (accessed 15 July 2022).

⁶³ Llechi Cymru/Welsh Slate, 'The BID and Management Plan', online edn, <https://www.llechi.cymru/thebid> (accessed 20 July 2022).

⁶⁴ Côr y Penrhyn, <https://www.corypenrhyn.cymru/> (accessed 30 July 2022).

programs in locations such as Bangor and Bethesda, as well as in schools in the village of Pennants, in Jamaica.⁶⁵

Bangor University Archives and Special Collections houses the Penrhyn estate archive, a collection which includes records from over 700 years of the Penrhyn estate's history.⁶⁶ The collection spans Penrhyn's medieval owners, to correspondence about the management of the Pennant plantations, and documents connected to the Penrhyn Quarry strikes.⁶⁷ It is the largest estate collection at Bangor University, and its cataloguing was completed by the university in 2014. While the collection has underpinned much research and community projects, giving an insight into the inner workings of a Welsh landed estate, there is still much of the archive to be explored.⁶⁸

Context of the study

As a practice-based research project, this multidisciplinary study is positioned in the spaces between heritage interpretation, media studies, and digital storytelling. To better understand the research gaps that this study aims to address, it is important to highlight what else has come before, as they relate to this research. This thesis intersects primarily with heritage because the focus of the creative artefact, the podcast, is a heritage site. The mode of narrative used to tell Penrhyn's story is the podcast, a digital medium which emerged around 2004. This section will discuss the context of what has come before in digital heritage, or more specifically the use of digital storytelling in heritage interpretation. Digital storytelling in heritage interpretation is a growing area of research, but as of yet the podcast has not been explored widely as part of this field of study.

From 1997 to 2011, numerous galleries, library, archives and museums across the UK invested millions of pounds in artefact digitisation, categorisation, and digital archiving. Organisations such as JISC invested £36.4 million in content digitisation and cultural projects such as *Cymru1914*, which was hosted on the National Library for Wales's website, www.library.wales.⁶⁹ Since the emergence of the Internet, digitisation of artefacts and

⁶⁵ Dolen Jamaica-Cymru/Jamaica Wales Alliance, 'Eisteddfod in Jamaica', online edn, <http://www.jamaicawalesalliance.com/index.asp?pageid=714664> (accessed 30 July 2022).

⁶⁶ Bangor University, 'The Penrhyn Castle Collection', *Archives and Special Collections*, online edn, <https://www.bangor.ac.uk/archives/penrhyn.php.en> (accessed 15 April 2022).

⁶⁷ Bangor University, 'The Penrhyn Castle Collection', *Archives and Special Collections*, online edn, <https://www.bangor.ac.uk/archives/penrhyn.php.en> (accessed 15 April 2022).

⁶⁸ Bangor University, 'Funding Awarded to Complete Cataloguing of Penrhyn Castle Papers: News and Events: Bangor University', online edn, <https://www.bangor.ac.uk/news/archive/funding-awarded-to-complete-cataloguing-of-penrhyn-castle-papers-20984> (accessed 15 April 2022).

⁶⁹ I. Anderson, 'Understanding the Digital Legacy of the World War I: Cymru1914', *Cultural Trends*, 27, 2, (2018), pp. 99–118 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2018.1453443> (accessed 29 June 2022).

intangible heritage, such as oral history recordings, has become commonplace across the heritage sector; alongside the creation of online platforms, databases and finding aids to make digital content accessible to the general public and for use in personal or academic research.⁷⁰ Andrew White argues that some of the main benefits for digitising cultural heritage content are: reaching a wider audience, conservation, and creating new ways of consuming heritage content.⁷¹ Over the last decade, other digital resources, such as online exhibits, virtual tours, 3D architectural renderings, QR codes, social media and virtual presentations, have also been utilised by heritage organisations in their interpretation strategies to reach new and wider audiences.⁷² While some heritage scholars see multimedia as ‘a cultural material in a digital form’,⁷³ others see multimedia as a tool which can produce different experiences for users, engaging audiences’ emotions and attention in new ways,⁷⁴ or in delivering novel experiences for visitors to heritage sites.⁷⁵ Funding and expertise have been invested into digital collections and digital projects such as online guides, and in academia digital humanities has emerged as a prominent mode of research, though there is scope for more research on the impacts or uses of these projects.⁷⁶ There is an established body of work on the evaluation of the cultural value of heritage, but there is not a broad range of research into the success of the developments of digital projects, nor on their longevity.⁷⁷ Heritage sites and museums are increasingly utilising digital resources, such as online archives or guides for onsite interpretation, or social media marketing, in their daily practices. Research into the creation of digital media such as apps has been done, discussing how new media is often a refashioning of older media, taking analogue museum content and creating digital content from it, for example.⁷⁸ Alongside the rest of the world, the heritage industry was forced to rapidly adopt, and improve upon, their digital practices due to the coronavirus (COVID-19)

⁷⁰ R. Harrison, ‘Heritage Futures Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices’, in Veysel Apaydin (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Cultural Memory and Heritage* (London, 2020), pp.185–189.

⁷¹ A. White, ‘Digital Britain: New Labour's Digitisation of the UK's Cultural Heritage’, *Cultural Trends*, 20, 3–4, (2011), pp. 317–325 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2011.589712> (accessed 29 June 2022).

⁷² Wang, Xinyuan, et al., ‘Digital Heritage’, in Huadong Guo, Michael F. Goodchild and Alessandro Annoni (eds.), *Manual of Digital Earth*, online edn, (2019), pp. 565–591 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-32-9915-3_17 (accessed 26 July 2022).

⁷³ P. Liu and L. Lan. ‘Museum as Multisensorial Site: Story Co-Making and the Affective Interrelationship between Museum Visitors, Heritage Space, and Digital Storytelling’, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 36, 4, (2021), pp. 403–426 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2021.1948905> (accessed 29 June 2022).

⁷⁴ Liu and Lin, *Museums as Multisensorial Site*, p. 405.

⁷⁵ A. Herman, ‘How (repeat) museum displays are always experimental: (re-)making MUM and the city-laboratory’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25, 8, (2019), pp. 796–807 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1544921> (accessed 15 October, 2022).

⁷⁶ Anderson, ‘Understanding the Digital Legacy of the World War I’, p. 100.

⁷⁷ Anderson, ‘Understanding the Digital Legacy of the World War I’, p. 100.

⁷⁸ A. Herman, ‘How (repeat) museum displays are always experimental’, pp. 796–807.

pandemic and this episode had a massive impact on the way heritage sites use digital resources. Many heritage sites have turned their attention to how they can reach a broader, global audience online due to the reach of the Internet. Many sites are looking at digital resources as ways to interpret heritage without the geographical constraints with which they would normally battle.⁷⁹ Despite virtual museums operating completely remotely, a 2021 study found that exhibitions still tie themselves to their physical counterparts in the type of content they produce and the digital format they use to create the online exhibition.⁸⁰ Little research has been undertaken on the effectiveness of these digital outputs and whether they are the most effective platforms to reach broad audiences.⁸¹ Terry Cook argues that, with the emergence of a digital global audience, we are “entering into a new archiving paradigm where traditional practices and expert based archiving is being challenged by the multiplicity of voices, perspectives and memories that are engaging in society”.⁸² In a study conducted on the *Cymru1914* project, visitors were surveyed about their interactions with the site; a majority suggested that the site was a useful tool for virtual research into WWI history connected with Wales, but that the use of story elements alongside the digital archives would have provided the “most compelling picture of the physical and virtual connections that link people, places and their heritage”.⁸³ Creative heritage practitioners argue that a key element to utilising digital archives whilst weaving intangible heritage throughout is by using digital storytelling that engages users, allows for a multiplicity of voices, and is accessible to a more global audience.⁸⁴

Digital Storytelling

The creative artefact, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, offers insight into best practice for digital storytelling beyond the familiar format of traditional guidebooks and site-specific media like audio guides. There are different styles of podcasts, but the one that *Podlediad Penrhyn* is modelled after is the narrative podcast, with story elements such as a narrator, plot points,

⁷⁹ T. Mayer and S. Hendler, ‘Growing with Covid: Curatorial Innovation in Times of Uncertainty’, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 37, 4, (2022), pp. 1–15 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2021.2023909> (accessed 25 July 2022).

⁸⁰ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 404.

⁸¹ E. King et al., ‘Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis, March – June 2020’, *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 64, 3, (2021) pp. 487–504 <https://doi.org/10.1111/cura.12413> (accessed 2 July 2022).

⁸² T. Cook, ‘Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms’, *Archival Science*, 13, 2–3, (2012), pp. 95–120 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-012-9180-7> (accessed 2 July 2022).

⁸³ Anderson, ‘Understanding the Digital Legacy of the World War I’, p. 114.

⁸⁴ J. Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling: Articulating Understandings within the Museum Structure’, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 32, 5, (2017), pp. 440–455 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2017.1284019> (accessed 20 June 2022).

immersive music and diegetic audio, and a multitude of voices. Whilst digital storytelling through the world wide web or video has been studied in heritage, storytelling through podcasting is yet to be explored academically.

Digital storytelling is seen as an extension to oral or print storytelling, where a story is at the centre of human communication, and is used to illustrate points, remember details, engage audiences, or emphasise meaning, understanding, and feeling through a narrative structure on a digital platform.⁸⁵ A narrative is “essentially a structure that can be based on emotional learning, educational, interactive, individual or social, imaginative, fiction or nonfiction through digital or non-digital media”.⁸⁶ Studies in psychology, such as the one by Li et al., found that narrative intelligence is vital to human cognition as it aids humans in making sense of the world around them and learning through storytelling helps form understanding of and ascribe meaning to the human experience.⁸⁷

In cultural heritage studies, digital storytelling is a widely discussed and contested research field. Many museums and heritage sites are “increasingly focusing on the communication of heritage via digital storytelling to engage their audiences and create or curate effective spaces for encountering stories”.⁸⁸ The brain becomes more active when humans hear or relay stories.⁸⁹ Storytelling is a powerful tool with which to influence the perceptions, fears, hopes, and values of listeners, in a degree far above that of academic writing, which primarily attempts to persuade audiences through evidence and tools of rhetoric.⁹⁰ The brain tends to be more sceptical and quizzical when information is presented as factual and informative compared to when it is presented as a story, which tends to lower the listener’s intellectual guard and allows humans to connect more with their emotional thinking.⁹¹ Traditionally, heritage sites and museums have primarily focused on the “representation of historical and cultural information of a place and its people, which showcase the historical lifestyle or occupational activities with limited hands-on experiences”.⁹² The heritage industry has been moving away from purely informational interpretation and are utilising story-centred exhibitions,⁹³ as research has found that the

⁸⁵ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, pp. 440–447.

⁸⁶ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 445.

⁸⁷ L. Boyang et al., ‘Storytelling with Adjustable Narrator Styles and Sentiments’, *Interactive Storytelling*, 8832, (2014), pp. 1–12 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-12337-0_1 (accessed 8 July 2022).

⁸⁸ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 405.

⁸⁹ J. Gottschall, *The Storytelling Animal: How Stories Make Us Human* (Boston, 2013) pp. 95–99.

⁹⁰ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 446.

⁹¹ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 446.

⁹² Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 404.

⁹³ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 405.

combination of audiences receiving historical data through the personal and immersive act of storytelling improves learning about historical events.⁹⁴ Digital storytelling has been found to enhance historical narratives for audiences, providing heritage sites with “new ways for concepts to be communicated often through multimedia supported by the use of digital technologies”.⁹⁵ Developed as a part of postmodern museum communication, storytelling is considered a straightforward way to develop visitor participation and interaction.⁹⁶ Leslie Bedford argues that storytelling is of paramount importance to heritage interpretation as it encourages individual interpretation and meaning making by visitors.⁹⁷ Telling narratives in a cultural heritage site is “an experience built around a continuous, coherent narrative that leverages the interpretation of the available cultural heritages artefacts to develop the essential elements of storytelling, setting, characters, plot, conflict, theme and a satisfying narrative arch (for example, setup, tension, climax and resolution)”.⁹⁸ On top of this, digital storytelling is becoming increasingly popular in heritage as it also allows for greater multiplicity in those who are involved; rather than just the heritage site itself telling the story. Digital storytelling allows for multi-location and multi-user creation, a multiplicity of narratives and perspectives, and innovative ways for sites to become co-producers in narratives with adjacent communities rather than as singular authorities.⁹⁹ The products of such methods of storytelling in heritage include media such as blogs, apps, videos, VR experiences, and, of course, podcasts.¹⁰⁰ Utilised in formal and informal learning, digital tools and software make digital storytelling easier for users to access online or create their own narratives.¹⁰¹ Stories that are created or accessed digitally can bring in elements from archives

⁹⁴ A. Palombini, ‘Storytelling and Telling History: Towards a Grammar of Narratives for Cultural Heritage Dissemination in the Digital Era’, *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 24, (2017), pp. 134–139 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2016.10.017> (accessed 10 July 2022).

⁹⁵ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 405.

⁹⁶ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 445.

⁹⁷ L. Bedford, ‘Storytelling: The Real Work of Museums’, *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 44, 1, (2001), pp. 27–34 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.2001.tb00027.x> (accessed 13 July 2022).

⁹⁸ E. Vrettakis et al., ‘Narrative – Creating and Experiencing Mobile Digital Storytelling in Cultural Heritage’, *Digital Applications in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage*, 15, (2019), pp. 1–17 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.daach.2019.e00114> (accessed 15 July 2022).

⁹⁹ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 422.

¹⁰⁰ K. Kontiza, et al. ‘On How Technology-Powered Storytelling Can Contribute to Cultural Heritage Sustainability across Multiple Venues—Evidence from the Crosscult H2020 Project’, *Sustainability*, 12, 4, (2020), p. 9 <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12041666> (accessed 15 July 2022).

¹⁰¹ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 448.

as well as feature voice, video, images, and/or animation to either showcase intangible heritage elements or enhance historic narratives.¹⁰²

Digital storytelling is becoming more prominent in heritage initiatives, especially with indigenous groups, as recorded oral storytelling, video, and images are able to help tell stories in areas where tangible heritage is sparse.¹⁰³ A 2013 study of story-centred Ojibwe indigenous websites found that the use of voice recordings, which were able to show inflection, pronunciation, rhythm, and intonations in the voice showed how “digital technology seems to be a much better medium than print culture for capturing the fluidity, spontaneity and multilayered quality of the Ojibwe storytelling”.¹⁰⁴ Another digital project, the *Anmatyerr Angkely* (Our Story) database of the Anmatyerr people found that the addition of oral narrative layers from recorded participants gave context to artefacts featured online, humanising them to audiences by connecting them to stories.¹⁰⁵ Because multiple participants could contribute their own stories to the database, thus creating a broader story of the Anmatyerr people, it gave a more well-rounded story of the past, present, and future of the indigenous group through a multitude of voices.¹⁰⁶ Through a multiplicity of people and stories, “digital heritage databases become less like artefacts and more like living resources-imbued with the strengths, struggles and stories of the past and linked to a vision of the future”.¹⁰⁷

While research into how digital storytelling has been used for cultural groups¹⁰⁸ and into the uses of multimedia to enhance visitor experiences at physical heritage sites,¹⁰⁹ there is little published work assessing how effective the format of the technology used, combined with the layering of narrative elements, is for heritage narratives.¹¹⁰ There are a number of established and emerging forms of technology that heritage sites can utilise for digital storytelling, but not all are effective in connecting with audiences and engaging their

¹⁰² A. Shiri et al., ‘Indigenous Digital Storytelling: Digital Interfaces Supporting Cultural Heritage Preservation and Access’, *International Information & Library Review*, 54, 2, (2021), pp. 93–114 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10572317.2021.1946748> (accessed 4 July 2022).

¹⁰³ Shiri et al., ‘Indigenous Digital Storytelling’, pp. 98–99.

¹⁰⁴ T. Powell, ‘A Drum Speaks: A Partnership to Create a Digital Archive Based on Traditional Ojibwe Systems of Knowledge’, *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage*, 8, 2, (2007), pp. 167–180 <https://doi.org/10.5860/rbm.8.2.290> (accessed 5 July 2022).

¹⁰⁵ Shiri et al., ‘Indigenous Digital Storytelling’, p. 99.

¹⁰⁶ Shiri et al., ‘Indigenous Digital Storytelling’, p. 99.

¹⁰⁷ Shiri et al., ‘Indigenous Digital Storytelling’, pp. 98–99.

¹⁰⁸ A. Willox, et al., ‘Storytelling in a Digital Age: Digital Storytelling as an Emerging Narrative Method for Preserving and Promoting Indigenous Oral Wisdom’, *Qualitative Research*, 13, 2, (2012), pp. 127–147 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112446105> (accessed 29 July 2022).

¹⁰⁹ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 407.

¹¹⁰ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 406.

attention.¹¹¹ Peng Liu and Lan Lan found that some non-linear digital storytelling formats in museums have been found to either turn heritage sites into entertainment sites for audiences, or would overwhelm, confuse, or distract visitors.¹¹² This has led to criticisms of storytelling and the utilisation of digital media in the heritage industry,¹¹³ with an argument that storytelling brings too much dramatisation to history and that information dissemination and narrative creativity should remain separate in heritage contexts.¹¹⁴ However, heritage and creativity practitioners such as Jane Nielsen, Hilary Lowe, and Natalie Underberg-Goode argue that narrative dynamics are still the most powerful way to disseminate historical facts, as it is the oldest form of historical dissemination to audiences (through media such as poems, songs, or oral stories) and that more emphasis needs to be placed on the narrative approaches that can be used in digital storytelling in heritage.¹¹⁵ There is a gap in heritage studies on research involving the affordances of heritage platforms, i.e., the potential of different platforms to be utilised in digital storytelling¹¹⁶ and best practice in narrative design on digital platforms created for heritage purposes.¹¹⁷ In today's digital era, the majority of society appears to interact on digital devices. In light of this, it is important for the future of heritage interpretation that knowledge of digital dissemination strategies is expanded, as argued by Augusto Palombini.¹¹⁸ In order to tell historical, accurate yet engaging stories to audiences, collaboration with researchers and heritage practitioners is important to digital storytelling in heritage, utilising a “multilayered creative process”.¹¹⁹ Vrettakis et al. found that while many heritage practitioners are well trained experts in their fields, many are not equipped with specific knowledge of how to interpret heritage into narrative structural elements using digital platforms in order to engage an audience.¹²⁰ Vrettakis et al. further argued there was a gap in knowledge on how to assemble linear stories with engaging elements such as creating narrative arcs and character development and also a gap in technological solutions for

¹¹¹ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 406.

¹¹² Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 406.

¹¹³ Liu and Lin, ‘Museums as Multisensorial Site’, p. 406.

¹¹⁴ A. Palombini, ‘Storytelling and Telling History: Towards a Grammar of Narratives for Cultural Heritage Dissemination in the Digital Era’, *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 24, (2017), pp. 134–139 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2016.10.017> (accessed 10 July 2022).

¹¹⁵ Palombini, ‘Storytelling and Telling History’, p. 137.

¹¹⁶ N. Underberg-Goode, ‘Digital Storytelling for Heritage Across Media’, *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals*, 13, 2, (2017), pp. 103–114 <https://doi.org/10.1177/155019061701300205> (accessed 13 July 2022).

¹¹⁷ Vrettakis et al., ‘Narralive – Creating and Experiencing Mobile Digital Storytelling’, pp. 1–2.

¹¹⁸ Palombini, ‘Storytelling and Telling History’, p. 135.

¹¹⁹ Vrettakis et al., ‘Narralive – Creating and Experiencing Mobile Digital Storytelling’, p. 1.

¹²⁰ Vrettakis et al., ‘Narralive – Creating and Experiencing Mobile Digital Storytelling’, pp. 1–2.

museums and cultural heritage sites on appropriate and cost-effective digital platforms to use in the heritage they are trying to disseminate to audiences.¹²¹ By studying best practices for creating engaging and impactful narratives on digital platforms in ways that would be accessible and relevant to a modern audiences, heritage and storytelling practitioners can help heritage sites create more engagement with history through storytelling, enhance external communication with target audiences,¹²² and add meaning to a site through digital practices.¹²³ Not all narratives and digital storytelling platforms create engagement with audiences but ones which follow typical fiction frameworks such as character journeys, plotting conflict and resolutions, and giving stories a beginning, middle, and end, can allow for interactivity and collaboration between history and heritage professionals, as well as local and other relevant voices. Using a multilayered story can evoke feelings, memories, and curiosity in audiences, making it an effective and accessible way to tell heritage narratives.¹²⁴

The growth of digital heritage interpretation through COVID-19

Though many heritage sites were developing and investing in digital projects before the events of the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, the benefits of digital heritage interpretation were highlighted through the periods of lockdowns and site closures as many museums found themselves with no other option than to turn to online tools.¹²⁵ During the pandemic, large online collections such as those of the National Library of Wales saw a surge in national and international users accessing digital collections.¹²⁶ UNESCO found that there were five types of activity that saw rapid development in the online presence for museums: “use of previously digitised resources, digitisation of planned activities during the months of lockdown, increased activity on social media, special activities created for lockdown, and professional and scientific activities organised in the context of lockdown”.¹²⁷ In a 2021 study, twenty one museums were analysed for the types of digital interpretation they utilised over lockdown periods, looking at the effect of COVID-19 on the heritage industry. The study found that video, audio, and textual content were all provided in temporary online

¹²¹ Vrettakis et al., ‘Narralive – Creating and Experiencing Mobile Digital Storytelling’, pp. 1–2.

¹²² Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 447.

¹²³ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 446.

¹²⁴ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 445.

¹²⁵ Mayer and Hendler, ‘Growing with Covid: Curatorial Innovation in Times of Uncertainty’, pp.1–3.

¹²⁶ O. Roberts and D. Tudur, ‘The First Seven Months of the Covid-19 Pandemic: Reflections from the National Library of Wales’, *Alexandria: The Journal of National and International Library and Information Issues*, 30, 2–3, (2020), pp. 213–216 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0955749021996193> (accessed 10 July 2022).

¹²⁷ United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO), ‘Museums around the World in the Face of COVID-19’, online edn, (2020) <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373530> (accessed 20 July 2022).

exhibitions, but museums also used podcasts and YouTube videos.¹²⁸ The museums reported that by using podcasts and YouTube videos, the personal and intimate nature of the media helped humanise curators and heritage practitioners who were discussing exhibits with online audiences.¹²⁹ One of the main takeaways from the study is that many museums highlighted the increased access for a more global audience to attend or access online exhibitions, digital projects and events, for those who otherwise would physically not be able to attend.¹³⁰ Furthermore, many museums highlighted that the emphasis on digital projects allowed them to be more inclusive in the artists and practitioners they chose and the types of audiences they could reach.¹³¹

The emergence of digital heritage practices has allowed heritage practitioners to shift from the use of purely on-site tools, like audio guides, to digital projects accessed through visitors' personal digital devices. This transfers the burden of cost of a device from the heritage site to the visitors themselves, reducing the burden on heritages sites in general, but also improving heritage sites when the visitors are then able to access site-specific information and narratives whilst off-site. This interaction encourages visitors to the site, but also allows people to engage more frequently with the narratives and discourse surrounding heritage and heritage sites. Ana-Maria Herman experimented with (re-)making museum content for digital audiences, which ultimately led to the generation of novel experiences, practices, and knowledge by recreating mainstream museum displays digitally. Herman suggested that new media, such as the MUM app which was a re-make of the Streetmuseum App from the Museum of London, emerges from old media by being refashioned by practitioners.¹³² Heritage practitioners can expand and experiment on different digital platforms, and any digital platform an audience can be reached on can now be a target for this heritage experimentation.

While on-site visits are usually integral to the financial sustainability of many heritage sites, online engagement can assist in building a wider pool of potential visitors, and create long term connection and communication to a global audience.¹³³ While up close, in person and on-site experience with heritage at museums and heritage is irreplaceable, the COVID-19

¹²⁸ E. King et al., 'Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis', pp. 493–495.

¹²⁹ E. King et al., 'Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis', p. 497.

¹³⁰ E. King et al., 'Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis', p. 493.

¹³¹ E. King et al., 'Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis', p. 494.

¹³² A. Herman, 'How (repeat) museum displays are always experimental', pp. 796–807.

¹³³ Kontiza et al., 'On How Technology-Powered Storytelling Can Contribute to Cultural Heritage Sustainability', p. 9.

pandemic has shown many heritage sites that using digital platforms as their own method of interpretation on and off site is important in times when only online means are available and in order to create more global relationships with broad audiences, participants, and heritage practitioners.¹³⁴ As digital media increasingly becomes more individualistic with personal devices and social media, digital storytelling becomes an optimal way for heritage to be disseminated to a global audience as “almost all digital projects have a strong foundation in social engagement or sharing of personal stories”.¹³⁵ While many museums have embraced digital media in their communication practices, the pandemic pushed many sites to question not just whether digital media should be utilised as aids for physical sites, but that they need to find the “effective creative and curatorial processes needed to develop experiences that are attractive, engaging and factual” for a global audience interested in the history of their site.¹³⁶ Methods such as digital storytelling enable social connection and human bonding across different and distant geographies through the emotionally relatable power of telling stories,¹³⁷ making digital storytelling a globally accessible method of interpretation through unprecedented times like the COVID-19 pandemic and beyond.

The process of creating *Podlediad Penrhyn* started prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and the podcast was completed during the pandemic. What had started as a podcast recorded with local voices, at in-person meetings, became a podcast that not only had the capability of reaching a global audience but allowed the global participation of academics beyond north Wales. While COVID-19 seriously affected the development of *Podlediad Penrhyn*, the pandemic did not halt the research process – only changed it. This thesis can be added to the bank of research about heritage interpretation that occurred during the coronavirus pandemic, specifically about how interpretation practices were able to continue, and develop, through digital projects, despite audiences being unable to visit heritage sites in person. These findings have long-term implications for the heritage sector in the post-covid environment.

The use of digital storytelling in country house interpretation

Marshall McLuhan argues that the “medium is the message”; that the platforms that are used to deliver heritage interpretation can impact the way narratives are told, distributed, and

¹³⁴ K. Arnold, ‘It Will Be the Best of Times, It Will Be the Worst of Times: Post-COVID Museums’, *Museum Association*, online edn, 29 April 2020 <https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/opinion/2020/04/29042020-best-of-times-worst-of-times/#> (accessed 15 July 2022).

¹³⁵ Nielsen, ‘Museum Communication and Storytelling’, p. 450.

¹³⁶ Kontiza et al., ‘On How Technology-Powered Storytelling Can Contribute to Cultural Heritage Sustainability’, p. 9.

¹³⁷ Shiri et al., ‘Indigenous Digital Storytelling’, p. 94.

experienced.¹³⁸ Along with arming heritage practitioners with the tools to construct effective narrative structures, more research is needed into how specific digital media, alongside digital storytelling, can benefit different types of heritage sites.¹³⁹ As country house interpretation moves towards new ways of telling multiple narratives such as local, global, minimised and off-site stories connected to the past, present and future, more research is needed in best practice for how to deliver these narratives to a broad, global, and digitally-equipped modern audience. There is little academic research into the use of digital storytelling in country house interpretation. While there has been teaching, researching, and programming on creating stories through human guides, digital outlines for creating guidebooks, and storytelling in living history interpretation at heritage sites like country house museums, there is no theory of narration in heritage which explores best practice for creating digital narratives at these types of sites. As with many landed estates like Penrhyn, whose primary base was the country house, the dominant storyteller of the estate's history is the owner or custodian of the country house, in this instance the National Trust. Although these sites have multilayered narratives attached to them, it is often difficult to disseminate these stories beyond the house itself. Visitors to a country house are not always in a place that makes it simple for heritage sites to discuss narratives that occur off-site, or 'beyond the walls'. The heritage site is so linked to its physical presence that often, there needs to be special effort paid to tell narratives that impact the site, without having taken place at that exact location. Patricia West argues that one of the greatest challenges to historic house museums is finding best practice in narrating the stories that matter to these types of sites.¹⁴⁰ In the past, house museums have been criticised for limiting interpretation practices to one linear narrative, either on a central character or characters, or time periods when often the site is connected with an expanded narrative, which is not represented in its interpretation to audiences.¹⁴¹ As organisations such as the National Trust look for ways to tell these multilayered narratives, I suggest in this thesis that digital storytelling can be a viable way to tell well-rounded stories connected with landed estates. This approach can bring in multiple voices, viewpoints, and expertise on

¹³⁸ Kontiza et al., 'On How Technology-Powered Storytelling Can Contribute to Cultural Heritage Sustainability', p. 10.

¹³⁹ Vrettakis et al., 'Narrative – Creating and Experiencing Mobile Digital Storytelling', p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ H. Lowe, 'Dwelling in Possibility', *The Public Historian*, 37, 2, (2015), pp. 42–60 <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2015.37.2.42> (accessed 14 July 2022).

¹⁴¹ C. Claisse et al., 'Multisensory Interactive Storytelling to Augment the Visit of a Historical House Museum', *IEEE*, 3rd Digital Heritage International Congress held jointly with 24th International Conference on Virtual Systems & Multimedia, (2018), pp. 1–2 <https://doi.org/10.1109/digitalheritage.2018.8810099> (accessed 16 July 2022).

accessible platforms that will complement a heritage site's local, national and global ties, such as the Penrhyn estate's links to Jamaica. Cary Carson has suggested that above all else, "visitors want a story" and that heritage sites and museums with interlocking history should band together to create a "media driven super story" that would engage listeners through a multiple episode style media with historical dramatic content that can capture and engage audiences' attention.¹⁴²

Podlediad Penrhyn bridges the gap between the landed estate and the country house, by bringing together discrete stories that nonetheless link to the same heritage site. A multitude of voices from the adjacent heritage and tourism sites such as Penrhyn Castle, the National Slate Museum and Zip World, are brought together in this podcast format to discuss Penrhyn's past, present, and potential future. The "super story" or overarching narrative of the Penrhyn landed estate is able to expand into the intangible heritage of the estate, such as the narratives that were found to be minimised in the guidebooks like those connected to slavery, Welsh culture and Penrhyn's medieval history. In doing so, the podcast brings together expertise from a multitude of historians, archaeologists, heritage practitioners, local people and myself as a creative practitioner. Local and personal accounts, memories and experiences are brought alongside information and expert opinion in a narrative structure that engages audiences and touches on aspects of Penrhyn's history that a traditionally printed guidebook is incapable of articulating.

More research is required on digital storytelling within country house interpretation. This dissertation addresses a gap in heritage studies and, by highlighting best practice for landed estates that have multilayered histories and therefore need multilayered approaches to their interpretation, suggests an approach for heritage studies researchers to use that explores other sites' options. Namely, that digital storytelling is a method well-suited to these narratives and heritage interpretation of landed estates.

Whilst there have been other heritage podcasts created for organisations like the National Trust and English Heritage, little work has been undertaken to analyse the effectiveness of the style of podcast for the heritage sites in question. As an academic field, podcast studies is relatively new. Podcasting studies has so far focused on arenas such as teaching, psychology, tourism, and music studies and the most commonly studied genres of podcast are comedy and true crime. Researchers have analysed podcasts for their effectiveness in reaching audiences through digital storytelling, and by using the podcast as a

¹⁴² Lowe, 'Dwelling in Possibility', pp. 42–43.

medium for this project, this research shows how it can be utilised for reaching parts of a site's narrative that have, so far, been difficult to interpret and communicate to audiences. Previously analysed podcasts such as *S-Town* and *Serial* utilise longform storytelling as a way to tell nonfiction true crime narratives, and by utilising this style of podcast, *Podlediad Penrhyn* is able to tell the longform narrative of a historical site with more nuance and skill than a traditionally published format, like the guidebook.

With this project, *Podlediad Penrhyn* explores the use of digital storytelling at only one heritage site, but the methodology used here can be seen as a model for other heritage sites. An analysis of how this model will affect other heritage sites will be vital but is outside the scope of this research.

Thesis structure

This project consists of a critical analysis as well as a creative element, coming together to form the thesis through practice-based research. The thesis is presented as follows:

Introduction & Context — The introduction provides the context for this study in the sphere of country house interpretation, digital tools and media in heritage, and north Wales tourism's impact on the heritage in the area.

Chapter two — In the second chapter, I explore the methodological approach of this project: using mixed methods and practice-based research. Practice-based research is a critical aspect of this project, and as it is still a relatively novel form of method, particularly so in heritage studies, this chapter addresses what it is and why it has been used.

Chapter three — The third chapter presents a literature review of podcasting studies. In doing so the following aspects are discussed: an introduction to podcasting as a medium, audio guides versus podcasting, audio storytelling in podcasting, history podcasts as a genre, the use of podcasting in heritage, the use of journalistic and serialised podcasting in history and heritage, and Welsh-centric podcasts.

Chapter four — The fourth chapter is a critical analysis of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks published between 1955–2006. This textual analysis presents the basis of the framework used to establish the gaps the creative artefact would cover. The analysis of the guidebooks presents one of the main comparisons for *Podlediad Penrhyn*.

Chapter five — Chapter five provides a link to the project's creative artefact: *Podlediad Penrhyn*. The podcast can be accessed at podpenrhyn.co.uk, or through a digital download.

Chapter six — The sixth chapter of the thesis analyses *Podlediad Penrhyn*, the creative artefact, and discusses the use of podcasting within heritage, podcasting's multilayered

nature, and how its flexibility improves the way heritage narratives can be told through long-form narratives, a subjective narrator, sounds and music, multivocality, and independent branding.

Conclusion — The final chapter of the thesis reflects on the significance of the findings, highlights further areas for future work, discusses replicating the narrative style method for other landed estates, and how creative and heritage practitioners and ISWE researchers can build upon this research.

2. Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter is a review of the extant literature relating to this dissertation. It analyses various dimensions of the heritage industry, including heritage tourism, approaches to communicating the heritage contested sites, the use of narrative in practices such as oral history, and using digital media as a form of heritage interpretation. This chapter also explores the use of podcasting within heritage interpretation, and as such the literature review assesses scholarly works focusing on the use and application of audio tools in heritage, the origins and rise of podcasting as a medium, storytelling in audio media, and the rise of history podcasts. The sources used for this review include traditional research materials such as academic monographs and journal articles, literature from organisational websites, and creative artefacts such as podcasts.

This review presents an overview of the current state of the research surrounding the use of podcasting in heritage interpretation. To date, few studies have explicitly addressed this subject. As a growing area of research, however, the literature presented here is the foundation upon which future studies in this area will be based. In chapter three, I draw upon and analyse the literature relating to guidebooks. However, this chapter draws upon disparate research from multiple disciplines, highlighting the multidisciplinary nature of the project.

Heritage, tourism and communicating contested sites

Timothy Dallen classifies heritage into “tangible immovable resources” and “tangible moveable resources” such as buildings, rivers, and artefacts to less tangible cultural resources such as festivals, customs, arts, and music.¹⁴³ Dallen, among others, sees heritage as an extension of history that can either be cultivated by the local community and heritage organisations to help maintain a sense of “identity and belonging”, or be a “manipulation or exploitation” of the past for commercial ends.¹⁴⁴ Michael Wilson describes heritage as “that which is handed down”, and says that every generation reconstructs meaning and connection to the past, which are either embraced and provide connection or are “sources of contention

¹⁴³ T. Dallen and S. Boyd, *Heritage Tourism* (Essex, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Dallen and Boyd, *Heritage Tourism*, p. 3; N. Merriman, *Beyond the Glass Case: The past, the heritage and the public in Britain* (Leicester, 1991), p. 8; N. Tahana and M. Oppermann, ‘Maori cultural performances and tourism’, *Tourism Recreation Research*, 23 (1998) pp. 23–30 <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2007.9686776> (accessed May 5, 2023); H. Zeppell and C.M. Hall, ‘Arts and heritage tourism’, in B. Weiler and C.M. Hall (eds.), *Special Interest Tourism* (1992), pp. 47–68.

and conflict”.¹⁴⁵ Much of heritage interpretation interweaves aspects of culture, such as connections to identity, place, language, landscape, and the past.¹⁴⁶ Ellie Brodie et al. finds these connections to be key parts of defining heritage sites through local communities who often have personal connections to these sites.¹⁴⁷ And whilst early heritage interpretation practices in the Western world prioritised sites connected to imperialism, in more recent decades UNESCO and other heritage bodies have included landscapes and intangible heritage such as oral stories from indigenous groups, industrial areas, and forms of entertainment like theatre and dance as important aspects of heritage.¹⁴⁸ UNESCO defines cultural heritage as “the entire corpus of material signs – either artistic or symbolic – handed on by the past to each culture and therefore, to the whole of humankind”.¹⁴⁹ Whilst community efforts are important to maintaining heritage sites and museums, tourism and the visitor economy has been a popular way for locations to share their history and bring commerce and notoriety to local areas.¹⁵⁰

As heritage is often packaged in particular ways for visitors to experience, it can be seen as a type of attraction, which is then “consumed” by visitors.¹⁵¹ David Herbert finds that “heritage spaces, leisure, and tourism are interrelated, though not necessarily interdependent.”¹⁵² Like other parts of the heritage industry, heritage tourism has tended to focus on sites such as castles, plantations, churches, and battlefields.¹⁵³ Heritage tourism is defined as a specialist area of tourism where visitors experience sites curated by heritage practitioners, historians, and archaeologists such as museums, buildings, historic homes, and landscapes connected to the past.¹⁵⁴ Mina Dragouni and Kalliopi Fouseki see heritage tourism as a positive way to “bridge conservation and development by highlighting the economic value of heritage resources.”¹⁵⁵ In terms of tourism, heritage is presented as aspects such as artefacts, cultural traditions, and natural history literally or metaphorically passed down,

¹⁴⁵ M. Wilson, ‘Heritage landscapes compared/contrasted/contested/interpreted, lost/won’, *Reviews in Anthropology*, 48, 2, pp. 59–87 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00938157.2019.1631023> (accessed April 5, 2023).

¹⁴⁶ Mina Dragouni and Kalliopi Fouseki, ‘Drivers of community participation in heritage tourism planning: an empirical investigation’, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 13, 3, pp. 237–256 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2017.1310214> (accessed April 5, 2023).

¹⁴⁷ E. Brodie et al., *Pathways through participation* (London, 2011), pp. 1–85.

¹⁴⁸ M. Wilson, ‘Heritage landscapes compared’, p. 60.

¹⁴⁹ UNESCO, ‘Draft Medium Term Plan 1990–1995’, *UNESCO-ICOMOS*, Document 25 (1989), p. 57.

¹⁵⁰ D. Herbert, *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (London, 1995), p. 2.

¹⁵¹ Dallen and Boyd, *Heritage Tourism*, p. 3.

¹⁵² Herbert, *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 2.

¹⁵³ D. Weaver, ‘Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38, 1, (2011), pp. 249–267.

¹⁵⁴ Dragouni and Fouseki, ‘Drivers of community participation’, p. 238.

¹⁵⁵ Dragouni and Fouseki, ‘Drivers of community participation’, p. 238.

which can then be packaged as promotional tourism products.¹⁵⁶ Tourism can be seen as a primarily commercial industry, however, Dean McCannell argues that tourism is a powerful aggregate of activities that is “an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.”¹⁵⁷ As theorists and practitioners have grown to see the need in connecting historical narratives with the lives of people in the present, heritage tourism is expanding to more unconventional areas such as the aforementioned industrial sites, as well as rural landscapes, theme parks, and seaside resorts.¹⁵⁸ In the present day, heritage tourism is seen through a multiplicity of stakeholders which are constructed through multilayered stories connecting aspects of local and global, past and present, rural and urban across a multitude of industries.¹⁵⁹ These “storyscapes” which tell co-constructed stories to visitors through multiple stakeholders address the need for tourists to relate and connect with their own backgrounds and heritage whilst traveling.¹⁶⁰ As interests of modern tourists have evolved, less conventional and more widespread areas of tourism have emerged, connected to the lives of demographics such as the working class, indigenous peoples, children, and criminals – seen in examples such as tourists visiting Las Vegas to learn about the lives of gangsters and gamblers in the American West.¹⁶¹ Whilst heritage practitioners increasingly aim to “connect artifacts and archives with reality, humans and their stories”, research has found that they struggle to find best practices to include local community involvement and balance local stakeholders.¹⁶² Many heritage sites and museums struggle to develop practices that prioritise historical aspects whilst making their interpretation entertaining and appealing, keeping up with the maintenance of heritage sites, and hitting financial targets, all whilst attempting to tell heritage narratives that don’t sacrifice the integrity of academic history.¹⁶³ Graham argues that any attempt to communicate heritage to visitors “actively or potentially disinherits or excludes those who do not subject to

¹⁵⁶ R.C. Prentice, *Tourism and Heritage Places* (London, 1993), p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkley, California, 2013), pp. 57–76.

¹⁵⁸ D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ D. Weaver, ‘Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism’, pp. 249–267.

¹⁶⁰ D. Weaver, ‘Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism’, pp. 250–251.

¹⁶¹ W. Douglass and P. Raento, ‘The tradition of invention: Conceiving Las Vegas’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31, (2004), pp. 7–23.

R. Parker, ‘Las Vegas: Casino gambling and local culture’, in D. Judd and S. Fainstein (eds.), *The Tourist City* (London, 1999), pp.107–123.

¹⁶² Dragouni and Fouseki, ‘Drivers of community participation’, p. 238.

¹⁶³ Herbert, *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, pp. 29–31.

it.”¹⁶⁴ Many heritage sites and museums have prioritised communicating historical narratives that might appeal to tourist visitors, but many struggle to simultaneously communicate stories that are important to local communities which can create a strain between the site and the local community.¹⁶⁵ Contested sites such as battlefields from the American Civil War or World War II, concentration camps, and plantations are increasingly becoming points of interest and attractions to tourists. However, some sites have been found to either minimise violent narratives, not have adequate multivocality of marginalised stories, or fail to prioritise co-creation with the local community.¹⁶⁶ Areas such as Northern Ireland struggle to create collaborative and inclusive heritage tourism practices around historical events such as The Troubles, as heritage sites are often controlled by the government and are therefore seen to have negative reputations for some local stakeholders.¹⁶⁷ Heritage sites, locals and stakeholders can often struggle to “remember the past for violently divided societies where living with a negotiated settlement also means negotiating with divisive aspects of recent history.” In places where there are a multiplicity of views on past narratives and historical events, it can be difficult for heritage practitioners to communicate past human experiences without bias, or without expanding into multiple realms of events by which might overwhelm tourists, who may not have the time to explore the nuances of history and its interpretation.¹⁶⁸ While media such as film and theatre productions like *Hunger* (2009) and *Chronicles of Long Kesh* (2009) explore fictionalised stories with personal experiences of The Troubles in Northern Ireland, the actual sites which these films are based on struggle to produce anything as intimate or in-depth to visitors. Heritage sites should continuously be creating interpretation that is adapting to local society and address the “ongoing change in the social and political context” in the modern era.¹⁶⁹ As the past is “valued and understood differently by different peoples, groups or communities”, it is important that interpretation practices be inclusive, evolving, accessible, and relatable to local visitors and tourists as individual understanding of history “validates or not a sense of place.”¹⁷⁰ Heritage interpretation cannot be frozen in time and must accommodate for current connections of place, identity, and

¹⁶⁴ M. K. Flynn, ‘Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland: The Former Maze Prison/Long Kesh’, *Irish Political Studies*, 26, 3, (2011), pp. 383–401 <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2011.593741> (accessed April 12, 2023).

¹⁶⁵ M. K. Flynn, ‘Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland’, p. 383.

¹⁶⁶ D. Weaver, ‘Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism’, pp. 250–251.

¹⁶⁷ M. K. Flynn, ‘Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland’, p. 385.

¹⁶⁸ M. K. Flynn, ‘Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland’, p. 389.

¹⁶⁹ M. K. Flynn, ‘Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland’, p. 386.

¹⁷⁰ M. K. Flynn, ‘Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland’, p. 388.

meaning to visitors.¹⁷¹ Much of heritage tourism study today is exploring how historical narratives place a semiotic and symbolic role on the visitor experience. Practitioners are looking for ways to interpret and communicate multilayered stories connected with heritage sites and showcasing the multiplicity of narratives across landscapes with local and global connections in the past and the present.¹⁷²

Narratology and its impact on history and heritage

“Humans perceive time, experience life and act in the world in a narratively structured way”.¹⁷³ This makes narratology an important factor in history and heritage. Pivotal narrative and history theorist Louis O. Mink argues that narratives are paramount in understanding history and communicating it to others.¹⁷⁴ Historian David Carr believes all historians become storytellers because “their cognitive object is the practiced narrativity of human agents acting within time.”¹⁷⁵ Marie-Laure Ryan and Ernst van Alphen define narratology as “a set of general statements on narrative genres, on the systematics of narrating (telling a story) and of the structure of the plot.”¹⁷⁶ Other narratologists see narratology as a theory,¹⁷⁷ a method,¹⁷⁸ or a discipline.¹⁷⁹ In its most basic form, narratology is the study of stories, the practices, themes and history of narrative.¹⁸⁰ Narratology as a term was coined by Tzvetan Todorov in 1969, defining it as “a science of narrative.”¹⁸¹ Early narratology focused primarily on works of fiction in written form, but has since expanded to include film, music, performing arts, video games, and mobile apps.¹⁸² Whilst some narratologists believe everything is narrative, others believe anything can be, and others think nothing is considered narrative.¹⁸³ Regardless, the study of narrative is useful in exploring “specific cultural, historical, thematic and ideological contexts” and “focusing on the human intellectual

¹⁷¹ M. Wilson, ‘Heritage landscapes compared’, p. 61.

¹⁷² M. Wilson, ‘Heritage landscapes compared’, p. 60.

¹⁷³ G. Roberts, ‘Introduction’, in G. Roberts (ed.) *The History and Narrative Reader* (London 2001), p. 6.

¹⁷⁴ L. O. Mink, *Historical Understanding* (New York, 1987), p. 312.

¹⁷⁵ D. Carr, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington, 1986) in G. Roberts *The History and Narrative Reader*.

¹⁷⁶ M. Ryan and E. von Alphen, ‘Narratology’ in I. R. Makaryk (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (Toronto, 1993), p. 110–116.

¹⁷⁷ G. Prince, ‘Surveying Narratology’, in T. Kindt and H. Mueller (eds.) *What is narratology: Questions and answers regarding the status of a theory* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 1.

¹⁷⁸ T. Kindt and H. Mueller, ‘Narrative Theory and/or/as Theory of interpretation’, in T. Kindt and H. Muller (eds.) *What Is Narratology? Questions and Answers Regarding the Status of a Theory* (Berlin, 2003), p. 211.

¹⁷⁹ M. Fludernik and U. Margolin, ‘Introduction’, *German Narratology I of Style*, 38, (2004), pp. 148–87.

¹⁸⁰ J. Meister, ‘Narratology’, in J. Pier et al. (eds.) *Handbook of Narratology* (Boston, 2009), p. 329.

¹⁸¹ T. Todorov, *Grammaire du Decameron* (Hague, 1969), p. 10.

¹⁸² J. Meister, ‘Narratology’, pp. 341–342.

¹⁸³ Prince, ‘Surveying Narratology’, p. 1.

processing of narratives.”¹⁸⁴ Narratology spans across a number of other areas of study such as post-colonial, film and feminist studies as well as looking at cognitive, methodological, ideological, and psychological themes in narratives.¹⁸⁵ Narratologists look at colloquialisms, character, point of view, grammar, plot development, “showing versus telling”,¹⁸⁶ unreliable narrators, semiotics,¹⁸⁷ and the origins and uses of myth in storytelling.¹⁸⁸

Some theorists like Edward Forster have “attempted to reduce literary narratives to basic principles” and others such as Vladimir Propp delve into the combinations of structures and themes in narrative.¹⁸⁹ Others like Uri Margolin look at author motivation and practice separate from the narrator which is “linguistically indicated, textually projected and readerly constructed function slot or category whose occupant need not be thought of in any terms but those of a communicative role.”¹⁹⁰ Roman Jakobson explores linguistic elements of narrative through written accounts such as letters, diaries and reports¹⁹¹ while Susan Lanser specialises in memetic authority, intimacy and the role of the narrator.¹⁹²

Amy Starecheski argues that history telling is “an attempt to reconstruct and mine memory.”¹⁹³ Narrative theory is important for looking at how historians and interpreters of heritage communicate narrative aspects, historical facts, and highlight events while minimising others, which can alter the narratives given to audiences.¹⁹⁴ Historians can piece together points in history as “narratable wholes” to show the ways society moulds long parts of history into stories passed down through generations.¹⁹⁵ Kent Puckett finds narratology an important aspect in telling multilayered historical narratives, as historians as “re-tellers” need to “reflect on how we narrate the what of what really happened.”¹⁹⁶ As mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, history and heritage as disciplines are increasingly exploring the use of storytelling, both in analysing historical material and communicating historical

¹⁸⁴ J. Meister, ‘Narratology’, p. 340.

¹⁸⁵ D. Herman, *Narratologies: New Perspectives on Narrative Analysis* (Ohio, 1999).

¹⁸⁶ J. Meister, ‘Narratology’, p. 335.

¹⁸⁷ The study of signs and symbols and their use or interpretation.

¹⁸⁸ J. Meister, ‘Narratology’, p. 335.

¹⁸⁹ E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (London, 1927).

V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (Bloomington, 1958).

¹⁹⁰ U. Margolin, ‘Narrator’ in J. Pier et al., *Handbook of Narratology* (Boston, 2009), p. 351.

¹⁹¹ R. Jakobson, *Language in Literature* (London, 1987), pp. 90–94.

¹⁹² S. Lanser, *The Narrative Act. Point of View in Prose Fiction* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 300–308.

¹⁹³ A. Stareschki, ‘Squatting History: The Power of Oral History as a History-Making Practice’, *The Oral History Review*, 41, 2, (2014), p. 188.

¹⁹⁴ K. Puckett, ‘Narrative Theory’s Longue Duree’ in M. Garratt (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative Theory* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 13.

¹⁹⁵ F. Braundel, *On History* (Chicago, 1982), p. 27.

¹⁹⁶ K. Puckett, ‘Narrative Theory’s Longue Duree’, p. 14.

narratives to broad audiences. That exploration occurs through practices such as using digital technology which challenges “traditional notions of how cultural heritage can and should be represented, interpreted and disseminated.”¹⁹⁷ Digital technology allows for affordances to re-represent heritage narratives in new ways through digital interpretation.¹⁹⁸ Yehuda E. Kalay argues that “cities can be rebuilt digitally, artifacts and old books can be examined online and stories can be recorded, acted out and replayed globally by audiences of different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, something that wasn’t achievable in the past”.¹⁹⁹

Oral history and the digital age

One way that historians and heritage practitioners construct and communicate historical narratives is through the practice of oral history. Researchers are able to examine a number of different historical oral traditions, such as bardic poetry and indigenous oral storytelling, to more modern conversational narratives in phone calls, and examine how those practices are used in narratives and perceived by audiences.²⁰⁰ Lynn Abrams defines oral history as a practice and method of research that is “the act of recording the speech of people with something interesting to say and then analysing their memories of the past.”²⁰¹ Oral history within research is therefore the practice of conducting interviews with participants, and recording those interviews, to gain insight into events in the past. It is also the product of the finished interviews which can then provide an account of the past for historians to analyse. Abrams says that in this way, oral history is “both a research methodology and the result of the research process.”²⁰² As narrative is one of the most effective ways humans make sense of the world around them, and how they receive information from others, oral history serves as an important practice for gaining insight into the past through a personalised practice.²⁰³ Journalist Samuel Johnson coined the term in the 18th century, but it wasn’t until the 1940s that interviewing and recording as a method became an academic field with Allen Nevins establishing an Oral History Research Office in Colombia University in 1948.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁷ Y. E. Kalay, ‘Preserving cultural heritage through digital media’ in Y. E. Kalay (ed.) *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage* (London, 2007), pp. 1–2.

¹⁹⁸ Kalay, ‘Preserving cultural heritage’, pp. 2–3.

¹⁹⁹ Kalay, ‘Preserving cultural heritage’, pp. 3–4.

²⁰⁰ M. Fludernik, ‘Conversational Narration/Oral Narration’ in J. Pier *Handbook of Narratology* (Boston, 2009), pp. 63–64.

²⁰¹ L. Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London, 2010), p.1.

²⁰² Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 2.

²⁰³ Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 106.

²⁰⁴ D. Ritchie, *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–4.

Oral history provides a way for interviewees to communicate their experience of the past, their feelings on memories and their interpretation of events and earlier times.²⁰⁵ In oral history, the narratives that are conveyed are not only the plot points of a story, but the individualised retelling of past experience. Oral history “incorporates not just the sequence of events or facts, but emphasises embellishments, cadences, structure, digression, silences, in short-the dramatization of the story.”²⁰⁶ Unlike most fiction, oral history does not always have the familiar beginning, middle, and an end, but they do typically have a storyline.²⁰⁷ Once recorded, narrative analysis allows for historians and narrative theorists to explore the ways people create stories and use them to interpret the world around them. Humans tend to retell events and memories as narratives and they are “stories” for others to more easily confer meaning and connection.²⁰⁸ Narrative theorists analyse oral history with a wide framework, looking at narrative and the ways in which it is communicated as intricately linked elements.²⁰⁹

In the digital age, technology has drastically improved the ways interviews can be captured, preserved, stored and categorised. Sheftel and Zembryzucki claim that usability and accessibility are the most important aspects of oral history practice, which is why digital tools are so useful in capturing and cataloguing history interviews.²¹⁰ Digital affordances allow for interviews to be recorded clearly, to be uploaded on hard drives and online, and for them to be shared globally (subject to permissions).²¹¹ Oral historians are finding that technology is being used not only to gather oral history, but to disseminate them into larger projects.²¹² People can more easily find interviews for specific heritage projects because they are categorised by topic, time period, and demographic; depending on how interviews are organised online.²¹³ The downside of using digital tools is that the raw data of interviews can be accessed by anyone. This is not always positive as not everyone will have the wider historical contexts to the stories being told as historians would.²¹⁴ In the digital age, historians

²⁰⁵ Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 106–107.

²⁰⁶ Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, pp. 106–107.

²⁰⁷ Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 110.

²⁰⁸ H. White, ‘The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality’, *Critical Inquiry*, 7, 1, (1980), pp. 5–27.

²⁰⁹ Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, pp. 110–115.

²¹⁰ A. Sheftel and S. Zembryzucki, ‘Slowing Down to Listen in the Digital Age: How New Technology is Changing Oral History Practice’, *The Oral History Review*, 44, 1, (2017), p.103.

²¹¹ Sheftel and Zembryzucki, ‘Slowing Down to Listen in the Digital Age’, p. 103.

²¹² Michigan State University, ‘Oral History in the Digital Age’, <http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/> (accessed 12 May 2023).

²¹³ S. Cohen, ‘Shifting Questions: New Paradigms for Oral History in a Digital World’, *Oral History Review*, 1, (2013) p. 161.

²¹⁴ Sheftel and Zembryzucki, ‘Slowing Down to Listen in the Digital Age’, pp. 100–103.

are concerned about providing the entirety of oral history recordings online as there is no way to regulate listeners or encourage “thoughtful listening” or any way to make sure listeners do not skip around and avoid listening to stories in their entirety.²¹⁵ The general public having access to full interviews online runs the risk of others manipulating and editing audio content for their own purposes, to which the original narrator would not have consented.²¹⁶ However, the digital age has allowed for relatively low cost reconstruction and data storage which “affords storing vast quantities of data, which no physical site, museum or library could possibly store”.²¹⁷ More than ever before, oral history recordings as well as artifacts and videos make it possible for historians and heritage practitioners to communicate more complete, multilayered and well-rounded narratives of the past.²¹⁸

Audio Storytelling and the use of music and sounds

Though audio storytelling has been a useful tool in oral history research²¹⁹, radio dramas and audiobooks, its resurgence, and competition for space with television, began with programmes such as *This American Life* and *Radio Labs*.²²⁰ Mia Lindgren defines audio storytelling as audio content which ‘explores our lives through sounds and spoken words, intimately whispered into our ears’.²²¹ Non-fiction audio storytelling began to grow across the USA, UK, and Australia as the influence of social media grew during the digital age, with captivating narratives and first person accounts shared internationally more easily than ever before. Oral history clips were used for audio documentaries and podcasts, with live events such as the Sheffield Documentary Festival and Melbourne Writers Festival giving the medium a bigger platform by expanding performance categories to include non-fiction storytelling in 2014.²²² Siobhan McHugh argues that this uptake in audio storytelling emanates from a combination of online global assimilation, a convenience in consumption when compared with video — where audiences can multitask and download episodes at their discretion, or on-demand — and a use of ‘Emotional History’ in recording, crafting, and

²¹⁵ Sheftel and Zembryzycki, ‘Slowing Down to Listen in the Digital Age’, p. 106.

²¹⁶ Sheftel and Zembryzycki, ‘Slowing Down to Listen in the Digital Age’, pp. 100–103.

²¹⁷ Kalay, ‘Preserving cultural heritage’, p. 6.

²¹⁸ Kalay, ‘Preserving cultural heritage’, p. 6.

²¹⁹ A. Bottomley, *Sound Streams: A Cultural History of Radio-Internet Convergence* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2020) pp. 215–217.

²²⁰ Berry, ‘A Golden Age of Podcasting?’, p. 172.

²²¹ Lindgren, ‘Personal narrative journalism and podcasting’, pp. 23–41.

²²² M. Lindgren and S. McHugh, ‘Not dead yet: emerging trends in radio documentary forms in Australia and the US’, *Australian Journalism Review*, 35, 2, (2013), pp. 107–108 <https://ro.uow.edu.au/lhapapers/1099/> (accessed 15 May 2022).

editing an effective audio story.²²³ ‘Emotional History’ (EH), a methodology McHugh pioneered, combines diegetic sound elements like birdsong, a train passing, or interview dialogue with the nondiegetic sounds of music and narration in ways that correlate with emotions like anger, fear, happiness, sadness, or surprise. Diegetic and non-diegetic sounds are most often analysed in film narratology, which goes back to Claudia Gorbman’s adoption of the terms from Gérard Genette²²⁴. Diegetic sounds and music are those which exist within the diegesis, or story world, of the text; sounds of a car passing in a scene, or of a door closing. Nondiegetic sound, on the other hand, is concerned with sounds existing outside of the diegesis of a text; this could be a voice-over, a music score, or other sound effects added in post-processing. Without delving too far into sound studies, which is outside the scope of this research, suffice it to say that both diegetic and nondiegetic sound is important because they can produce memory, both for people listening and the people in the story; as in the way that singers in the Penrhyn choir recall concerts easily, and the way that quarrymen would sing and create poetry.²²⁵ Unlike film, podcasts are an aural text and, in some cases, almost everything an audience knows of the narrative is only discovered through listening.²²⁶ In the case of a podcast covering a historical theme or issue that might still be the case if a listener has not previously heard or read about the of the history. McHugh argues that this combination of elements edited into an audio story creates an effective tool to captivate audiences, drawing their attention more than oral history or interview-style audio recordings alone. Through a study in which McHugh’s students had to produce audio stories using this methodology, listeners ‘picked up’ on the meaning conveyed in rhythm, inflection, and tone of voice, and made a connection with the speaker that made them more receptive to new ideas.²²⁷

Another study conducted in 2013 closely resembles the EH methodology by creating an audio story through: (i) navigating and editing speech, (ii) selecting appropriate music for the score, and (iii) editing the music to complement the speech.²²⁸ Using this method, ‘producers choose music that enhances the emotion of the story and then adjust the length

²²³ McHugh, ‘How podcasting is changing the audio storytelling genre’, pp. 65–82.

²²⁴ C. Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1987), pp. 11–30.

²²⁵ M. Fariello, ‘Mediating the “Upside Down”: the techno-historical acoustic in Netflix’s *Stranger Things* and *The Black Tapes* podcast’, *Sound Studies*, 5, 2, (2019), pp. 122–139 <https://doi.org/10.1080/20551940.2019.1587581> (accessed 15 September 2022).

²²⁶ Fariello, ‘Mediating the “Upside Down”: the techno-historical acoustic in Netflix’s *Stranger Things* and *The Black Tapes* podcast’, p. 132.

²²⁷ McHugh, ‘How podcasting is changing the audio storytelling genre’, pp. 65–82.

²²⁸ S. Rubin, et al., ‘Content-based tools for editing audio stories’, *Association for Computing Machinery*, (UIST Conference 2013), pp. 113–122 <https://doi.org/10.1145/2501988.2501993> (accessed 5 August 2022).

and volume of musical sections to both complement and emphasise key moments in the speech ... creating an effective audio story requires making a number of high-level editing and design decisions that together define the narrative and emotional tone of the story'.²²⁹ Steve Rubin's research into using musical underlays for audio stories argues that there is a distinct formula that makes audio storytelling — such as David Sedaris reading his personal essays — so compelling. This formula uses high quality narration that is mindful of emphasis on specific words and utilises a variety of pitch and tempo, a naturally flowing tempo of speech, and clear diction that is understandable for listeners.²³⁰ Once interviews and narration has been recorded, Rubin suggests the producer combines the footage to assemble the story, combining 'the most salient content' and then '[refine] individual sentences to improve the phrasing and rhythms of the speech'.²³¹ Lastly, the producer will pick a music track to provide ambience for an audio story, which helps to emphasise an important moment in the speech, the emotion of the speech, introduces a new character to the story, or helps present the central ideas of the narrative. Coupled with post-processing effects like filters or the use of archival sound, these auditory elements can create an intimacy with the listeners who connect with audio stories psychologically, philosophically, culturally, and politically, and will help the listener to remain engrossed for long periods of time.²³²

The use of podcasting as a platform for audio storytelling has become increasingly popular because it engages with audiences, providing the intellectual stimulation and knowledge absorption that is often associated with reading and a literary mind.²³³ Listeners are often challenged to question cultural norms, moral dilemmas, and difficult histories, which can put listeners in an engrossing state of mind, and resonate with them in a personal way.²³⁴ The immense flexibility of the podcast allows it to provide 'fully realised narratives without yielding to advertising interruptions and restricted arbitrary program scheduling'.²³⁵ Podcasts can now expand beyond the 'driveway moment' where radio shows were often cut short due to listeners' driving times being too short, computers getting closed after working hours, or a channel being changed due to group preferences. The use of personal mobile devices in a myriad of spaces means that listeners can access audio content whenever they

²²⁹ Rubin et al., 'Content-based tools for editing audio stories', pp. 113–122.

²³⁰ Rubin et al., 'Content-based tools for editing audio stories', pp. 113–122.

²³¹ Rubin et al., 'Content-based tools for editing audio stories', pp. 113–122.

²³² Rubin et al., 'Content-based tools for editing audio stories', pp. 113–122.

²³³ Dowling and Miller, 'Immersive Audio Storytelling', pp. 167–84.

²³⁴ McHugh, 'How podcasting is changing the audio storytelling genre', pp. 65–82.

²³⁵ J. Kern, *Sound Reporting: The NPR Guide to Audio Journalism and Production* (Chicago, Illinois, 2008), pp. 2–3.

choose, and through a distraction-free medium that allowed listeners to become absorbed in the storytelling whilst doing other things, and on a platform that keeps them from jumping around to different tabs or hyperlinks on the web, giving them no reason to leave the podcast.²³⁶ This visual-free media which now has listeners consuming hours of content continuously over weeks at a time, stands out amongst radio and audiobooks as an on-demand media which allows producers the freedom to create more long-form, journalistic storytelling that can be almost boundless compared to its predecessors.²³⁷

Audio tools in heritage interpretation

Since 1961, audio devices have been in use in the heritage industry. The Science Museum, London, created an automated lecturer tour system that they called a ‘radio audio tour’.²³⁸ Visitors were given a small device that incorporated a radio receiver and a speaker as they toured the site. The audio delivered to the visitor was from the museum’s Deputy Keeper of Chemistry, who would have guided the visitor through the twenty-two exhibits over the twenty-minute recording. The idea was proposed by the Museum’s physics department, who wanted to use this new form of communication as a way to give sound to otherwise ‘lifeless’ and ‘silent’ objects such as the Pyrophone and the Edison Tinfoil Phonograph. Victor Chow, an assistant keeper at the time, believed visitors could not truly appreciate the objects unless they could hear what they sounded like.²³⁹ Advertisements for the radio guide tried to appeal to the autonomy of potential visitors by promoting the device’s volume adjustment capability, which could be heard ‘without distraction to others’, and its four channel selector switch, which provided visitors with the option of listening to different audio depending on their language, age, or technical knowledge.²⁴⁰ In the Electric Gallery exhibit, the radio tour was presented as a radio play, which was meant to feel like role-playing between visitors and a ‘guide’.²⁴¹ Jennifer Rich’s study of the tour concludes that the technology allowed the museum to present narratives of culture, industrialisation and innovation that were far more

²³⁶ McHugh, ‘How podcasting is changing the audio storytelling genre’, pp. 65–82.

²³⁷ McHugh, ‘How podcasting is changing the audio storytelling genre’, pp. 79–82.

²³⁸ J. Rich, ‘Sound, mobility and landscapes of exhibition: radio-guided tours at the Science Museum, London, 1960–1964’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 52, (2016), pp. 61–73 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2016.02.010> (accessed 20 July 2020).

²³⁹ Rich, ‘Sound, mobility and landscapes’, p. 64.

²⁴⁰ Multitone Electric Company, ‘Multitone Radio Guide’, Advertisement for *Multitone Electric Company LTD*, (1961).

²⁴¹ Rich, ‘Sound, mobility and landscapes’, pp. 65–66.

connected to the outside world and the human experience as a whole than the intimidating technology sitting mute within glass cabinets.²⁴²

As audio technology advanced through the 1980s, so did the use of audio tours at heritage sites and museums, as many adopted personal audio cassette players for visitors to ‘rent’ during their tour for an extra fee. By the 1990s, museums began using digital files in their players, which allowed visitors to choose to listen to the provided audio in any order that they wanted.²⁴³ As museums and heritage sites began to assess the cost of these devices, and how much management and upkeep was required to provide the service, they began looking into delivering calls to cell phones to provide tours by the early 2000s.²⁴⁴ Using toll free phone calls, ‘history calls’ were provided to visitors with a main menu that visitors were able to navigate through their phone’s number pad, which could lead them through first person narrative, exhibit descriptions, and oral history recordings.²⁴⁵

A study conducted in 2005 suggested that the switch from rented devices to personal mobile phones could allow heritage sites to update their audio content more frequently, provide the use of audio tours in outdoor settings and reduce the anxiety of some visitors worrying about operating unfamiliar hardware.²⁴⁶ As mp3 players and smartphones became more commonly used, heritage sites began offering digital products such as location-aware tours that used GPS capabilities, QR codes,²⁴⁷ soundscape experiences,²⁴⁸ and ‘augmented adventures’ to guests through audio and video apps.²⁴⁹ Entire historic areas and landscapes such as Boston in the USA could provide self-guided tours around the city. The popular Freedom Trail Tour which was initially offered in a small pocket guidebook called *The Walker’s Guide to the Freedom Trail* was developed to be accompanied by an interactive

²⁴² Rich, ‘Sound, mobility and landscapes’, pp. 70–72.

²⁴³ Garau et al., ‘The “Non-Places” Meet the “Places.” Virtual Tours on Smartphones for the Enhancement of Cultural Heritage’, *Journal of Urban Technology*, 21, 1 (2014), pp. 79–91 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10630732.2014.884384> (accessed 18 June 2021).

²⁴⁴ M. Nickerson, ‘History calls: delivering automated audio tours to visitors’ cell phones’, *IEEE*, 2, (2005), pp. 30–34 <https://doi.org/10.1109/ITCC.2005.166> (accessed 15 June 2021).

²⁴⁵ Nickerson, ‘History calls: delivering automated audio tours to visitors’ cell phones’, p. 34.

²⁴⁶ J. G. Molz, *Travel Connections: Tourism, Technology, and Togetherness in a Mobile World* (London, 2012) pp. 7–50.

²⁴⁷ C. Jones, ‘The Future of History is Mobile’ in Herminia Din and Steven Wu (eds.), *Digital Heritage and Culture: Strategy and Implementation* (London, 2014), pp. 177–193.

²⁴⁸ For more on soundscape elements providing a sense of environment to listeners during audio tours see T. Wissmann and S. Zimmermann, ‘Sound in media: audio drama and audio-guided tours as stimuli for the creation of place’, *GeoJournal*, 80, 6, (2015), pp. 803–10 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-015-9645-3> (accessed 25 April 2022).

²⁴⁹ M. Orr et al., ‘Informal Learning with Extended Reality Environments: Current Trends in Museums, Heritage and Tourism’, in V. Geroimenko (ed.) *Augmented Reality in Tourism, Museums and Heritage: A New Technology to Inform and Entertain* (Leicester, 2021), pp. 3–26 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-70198-7_1 (accessed 15 April 2022).

version that visitors could download on their phone.²⁵⁰ As visitors followed a map of the city, detailed descriptions would pop up at points of interest, allowing visitors to either follow the app linearly or receive content wherever they wished to wander.²⁵¹ Apps were developed across the world by museums, heritage sites, and tourism boards, often for local stakeholders to be involved in a more immersive, collective history outside the confines of just one museum by pointing to an array of historic landmarks that visitors could access through text, audio, sound, and/or video content whilst exploring in the physical world.²⁵²

Though research into the effects of visitor learning experiences with audio tours is limited, studies that have been conducted found that audio tours can enhance visitors' experience through sound because the audio content may evoke emotions or activate memories in a way that can give visitors a sense of connection with a people's culture.²⁵³ It has been evidenced that visitors using forms of media guides such as audio or video guides, as opposed to those guiding themselves, show a deeper level of critical thinking, connecting facts to their own history, and also show a higher engagement in the learning process.²⁵⁴ Studies in art museums found that the audio guide helped visitors look more closely at specific pieces of art than those without a guide, and also helped them contextualise paintings within their time period and culture.²⁵⁵ A study conducted at the Whitney Museum found that audio tours kept visitors focused more on the exhibits, kept their gaze from wandering in an attempt to continually read labels, and showed a higher number of visitors wishing to see more work from particular artists based on the content they had listened to about the artists.²⁵⁶ In their studies looking at the use of audio tours at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Whitney Museum, and the Jewish Museum, Jeffrey Smith and Pablo Tinio argued that visitors receiving information in audio tours are more present and engaged during their visits than when they interact with other presentation formats. Because visitors do not generally come to museums with a predetermined plan of what they are going to do, the majority of the

²⁵⁰ S. Gladstone, *Freedom Trail Boston - Ultimate Tour & History Guide - Tips, Secrets & Tricks*, online edn, (2012) pp. 5–7.

²⁵¹ Molz, *Travel Connections*, p. 47.

²⁵² Molz, *Travel Connections*, pp. 46–60.

²⁵³ R. Perks and A. Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London, 2015), p. 564.

²⁵⁴ J. Sun and S. Yu, 'Personalized Wearable Guides or Audio Guides: An Evaluation of Personalized Museum Guides for Improving Learning Achievement and Cognitive Load', *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction: Human Factors and Personalized Learning*, 35, (2019), pp. 404–14 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10447318.2018.1543078> (accessed 18 June 2020).

²⁵⁵ W. Dodek, 'Bringing Art to Life through Multi-Sensory Tours', *Journal of Museum Education: Early Learning*, 37, 1, (2012), pp. 115–24 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10598650.2012.11510723> (accessed 20 June 2020).

²⁵⁶ L. Tallon and K. Walker, *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience: Handheld Guides and Other Media* (Lanham, Maryland, 2008), pp. 66–69.

participants in the studies answered that they believed the tours enhanced their visits by giving them a level of structure and context to artefacts and artwork.²⁵⁷ However, the studies also found that while visitors do want direction and structure, they also want autonomy in exploring museum spaces or historic sites and landscapes. Most of the participants expressed a desire to explore the audio content in a non-linear format, desiring a wider breadth of content in the exhibit than short titbits on each featured artefact or painting.²⁵⁸ With the use of more modern audio technology such as phones or provided mp3 players, the museums were able to offer this combination in structure and freedom for visitors to play, skip, or return to content in whatever order they wished.²⁵⁹

Another study conducted in 2005 looked at the learning experience of visitors using audio tours. The study assessed the ways visitors absorbed facts and details of their tours in what is known as ‘meaningful learning’: the ability to transfer what is learnt from an interpretative program to the outside world or in the context of their own lives. As factors such as interest, attention, motivation, exhibit design, and interpreter influence can affect visitor experience, meaningful learning in interpretation is often a high goal for museums and heritage sites.²⁶⁰ Looking at an audio tour for a historic district in Winnipeg, Canada, Christine Van Winkle and Ken Backman measured participants’ meaningful learning transfer from the audio tours by asking them to rate statements such as ‘This audio tour was informative’; ‘This audio tour was entertaining’; and ‘I have learned something valuable from this audio tour’. They also asked participants to recall specific details from the tours. Using two recordings, one with straightforward, informative audio and the other using the same information but with more personal, informal language and analogical examples, the researchers examined the visitor characteristics of the eighty-one participants and their reactions to the audio tours. The data showed that the group that listened to the more intimate version of the audio tour retained more information and were more able to take concepts out of context and apply them to diverse ‘outside world’ situations than those who only listened to the more informational tour.²⁶¹ The study offered insight into not only the learning benefits

²⁵⁷ Tallon and Walker, *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience*, pp. 63–67. Except in rare cases where individuals know more in-depth knowledge of exhibits and have specific aspects they wish to explore in a museum according to Tallon and Walker.

²⁵⁸ Tallon and Walker, *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience*, pp. 63–67.

²⁵⁹ Tallon and Walker, *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience*, pp. 68–76.

²⁶⁰ C. Van Winkle and K. Backman, ‘Designing interpretive audio tours to enhance meaningful learning transfer at a historic site’, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 6, 1, (2011), pp. 29–43

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2010.518761> (accessed 4 September 2022).

²⁶¹ Van Winkle and Backman, ‘Designing interpretive audio tours’, pp. 29–43.

of an audio tour to the heritage industry, but the necessity of creating tailored content that is personal and engaging for visitors to have a meaningful learning experience. The study revealed that a sense of intimacy and analogical reference in the audio content provided visitors with positive, memorable outcomes and knowledge that could be taken with them after their tour.²⁶² This showed that audio content should be carefully produced and edited by heritage practitioners in a way that gives information in a personal, connecting way when developing audio tours.²⁶³ Critics of the audio guide assert that its format inhibits visitor interaction with other visitors or staff. They also present the format as an inferior replacement for tours delivered by a human guide.²⁶⁴ After studying the nature of tour guiding and the interactions between guides and visitors, Katie Best argues that while audio guides have come a long way and are more versatile as digital texts, they still do not replace human guides, who are able to react to audience attention and interest by subtly changing their tour as needed.²⁶⁵

In *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions*, Barry Lord said of audio tours, ‘an odd experience indeed to walk through a gallery full of people, eerily silent, interacting one with their headsets!’²⁶⁶ Visitors who use audio guides have been considered antisocial, sheep-like guests who crowd galleries and exhibits at one area, guided only by the tour and not by their own interests, and distracted by their audio device, especially if it also features video.²⁶⁷ Alfred Hickling, a critic for *The Guardian*, characterises the audio guide as a way for museums to make more money from ‘gullible patrons happy to amble around like zombies while a disembodied academic voice tells them what to think’.²⁶⁸ The predominant use of academic voices in an authoritative, lecture-style audio tour has shown mixed results from surveys of participants’ engagement.²⁶⁹ For sites that provide their own devices, the constant maintenance and the irregular updating of content to correlate with changing exhibits or

²⁶² For more on visitors’ connection with the five senses and museum spaces in correlation with memory, knowledge and awareness see H. Leahy’s *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practice of Visiting and Viewing* (New York, 2016).

²⁶³ Van Winkle and Backman, ‘Designing interpretive audio tours’, p. 42.

²⁶⁴ B. Lord and G. D. Lord (eds.), *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions* (Walnut Creek, California, 2002), p. 309.

²⁶⁵ K. Best, ‘Making museum tours better: understanding what a guided tour really is and what a tour guide really does’, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 27, 1, (2012) pp. 35–52
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2012.644695> (accessed 30 June 2022).

²⁶⁶ Lord and Lord, *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions*, p. 309.

²⁶⁷ J. Toth, ‘The Virtual Teaching Artist: An Aesthetic Approach to Designing a Museum Podcast’, *Teaching Artist Journal*, 9, 4 (2011), pp. 213–25 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15411796.2011.604619> (accessed 7 April 2020).

²⁶⁸ A. Hickling, ‘Review: Classical: How to listen to a painting’, *The Guardian*, 29 November 2004.

²⁶⁹ Toth, ‘The Virtual Teaching’, p. 214.

artefacts means that tours quickly become outdated.²⁷⁰ Some educators find the format of audio tours too connected to the museum or heritage site itself, making the listening and learning experience for students limited to their time at the site.²⁷¹ Tours overloaded with academic content can lack a familiar narrative structure connecting art, artefacts or site to the audience that views and experiences them, removing a possible personal connection between visitor and heritage.²⁷² For many visitors, this also means that those who wish to listen to the audio again, or those who require a second listen to help retain information, cannot and do not have access to the information once they have physically left the site. These restrictions shown in the audio tour have pushed many educators, historians, and heritage practitioners into using a new type of platform for sharing audio content for learning experiences: the accessible, easily updated, and versatile podcast.

The Origins of Podcasting

The term ‘podcast’ first emerged in 2004 from the combination of ‘iPod’ and ‘broadcast’. It was coined by *Guardian* journalist Ben Hammersley to describe a new ‘audible revolution’ connected with online radio.²⁷³ Simply put, a podcast is a pre-recorded audio file that is accessed and downloaded from the Internet.²⁷⁴ The versatile media lived up to a part of its name with the acronym pod, meaning ‘portable on demand’: a convenient media that listeners could download and listen to on their personal device whenever they wished.²⁷⁵ Though a form of podcasting dates back to the 1980s, initially referred to as ‘audioblogging’,²⁷⁶ podcasting as a global entertainment media did not become popular until the early 2000s.²⁷⁷ Podcasting expanded from listeners downloading existing radio shows and audio files from amateur bloggers, to an array of podcast categories that now spans news, crime, education, religion, comedy, sports, food, and more. Similar to film and television streaming services, this range of podcast subjects appeals to many audiences as it is possible

²⁷⁰ C. Bartneck et al., ‘The Learning Experience With Electronic Museum Guides’, *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, 1, (2006) pp. 18–25 <https://doi.org/10.1037/1931-3896.S.1.18> (accessed 20 May 2020).

²⁷¹ Toth, ‘The Virtual Teaching’, pp. 213–224.

²⁷² H. Yang, *Cases on formal and informal e-learning environments* (Hershey, Pennsylvania, 2012), pp. 254–257.

²⁷³ B. Hammersley, ‘Audible Revolution’, *The Guardian*, online edn, 12 February 2004 <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/feb/12/broadcasting.digitalmedia> (accessed 15 October 2021).

²⁷⁴ J. Reynolds et al., *The New Media Frontier* (Wheaton, Illinois, 2008), p. 82.

²⁷⁵ S. Brown, *The school librarian's technology playbook: innovative strategies to inspire teachers and learners* (Santa Barbara, California, 2020), pp. 39–41.

²⁷⁶ Edison Research, ‘The Infinite Dial’, *Edison Research Report*, <https://www.edisonresearch.com/infinite-dial-2019> (accessed 5 April 2021).

²⁷⁷ Edison Research, ‘The Infinite Dial’, *Edison Research Report*, <https://www.edisonresearch.com/infinite-dial-2019/> (accessed 5 April 2021).

to find podcasts of self-help advice, theatrical performances, celebrity interview-style chat shows, documentary-style history podcasts, and many more.²⁷⁸

Originally, podcasts were primarily accessed via a computer before being transferred to a mobile device. Though the media was growing, the visibility of podcasts to general audiences was not as apparent to most listeners as music was on popular platforms such as iTunes. It was not until 2012, when Apple created a podcast app for its product, the iPhone, that podcasts started to grow in popularity in the UK. As faster Wi-Fi developed and 4G mobile technology became more accessible, podcasts were now available for download practically anywhere.²⁷⁹ In its infancy, podcasting was seen as an amateur production that existed outside the space of more traditional media and therefore not accessed by the general public. However, as more mainstream institutions and figures such as the BBC, Ricky Gervais, and Marc Maron began podcasting, the medium began to be seen in a more serious light. Downloads of single podcasts grew to the millions.²⁸⁰

According to Edison Research, the number of people listening to podcasts grew from nine million in 2008 to thirty-seven million by 2020.²⁸¹ While podcasts' popularity are not as high as in the USA, an Ofcom study from 2019 showed that approximately seven million people listened to podcasts in the UK every week, averaging around one in eight people.²⁸² Whilst in the UK podcasts were initially downloaded primarily by a demographic of 20-year-olds and younger, the 35–54-year-old age group were increasingly listening to more podcasts. The study also found that though half of podcast listeners were under the age of 45, the older generation had steadily risen as listeners. The largest demographic of listeners were men between the ages of 35–57, with an average of 7.3 hours of podcast listening per week in 2019.²⁸³ The same study found that 68% of listeners 'tuned in' on their smartphone, and were most often multitasking by driving, getting dressed, working, or performing household chores

²⁷⁸ Edison Research, 'The Infinite Dial', *Edison Research Report*, <https://www.edisonresearch.com/infinite-dial-2019/> (accessed 5 April 2021).

²⁷⁹ A. Bottomley, 'Podcasting: A Decade in the Life of a "New" Audio Medium: Introduction', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media: Golden Years of Audio*, 22, 2, (2015), pp. 164–69 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1082880> (accessed 18 May 2020).

²⁸⁰ A. Hudson, 'Podcasts: Who still listens to them?', *BBC Click*, online edn, 23 July 2011 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/click_online/9545533.stm (accessed 18 April 2021).

²⁸¹ Edison Research, 'The Infinite Dial', *Edison Research Report*, <https://www.edisonresearch.com/infinite-dial-2019/> (accessed 5 April 2021).

²⁸² Ofcom, 'Media Nations Report: UK 2019', online edn, (2019) https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0019/160714/media-nations-2019-uk-report.pdf (accessed 5 April 2021).

²⁸³ Ofcom, 'Media Nations Report: UK 2019', online edn, (2019) https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0019/160714/media-nations-2019-uk-report.pdf (accessed 5 April 2021).

whilst listening. Though live radio is still king when it comes to audio entertainment, Ofcom found that radio and podcasts are increasingly operating hand-in-hand. As the largest podcast publisher in the UK, the BBC hosts live radio shows and later makes them available as podcasts or creates podcasts that accompany radio shows and/or other BBC media.²⁸⁴

Scholarly research on podcasting is still in its infancy. While the history of podcasting has been explored by researchers such as Andrew Bottomley²⁸⁵, Mia Lindgren²⁸⁶, and Richard Berry²⁸⁷, much of what is available in the sphere of podcast discourse is found on blogs, forums, and in podcasts themselves. Scholars such as Kris Markman argue that podcasting is not necessarily revolutionary, or a new alternative to radio, but rather a ‘renewed form of it’.²⁸⁸ Richard Berry argues that podcasts are essentially birthed from radio, as their style, genre, and format come from radio, and therefore our study of the two should merge together.²⁸⁹ Podcast-coiner Ben Hammersley simply referred to podcasting as ‘downloadable radio that is uploaded to the Internet’.²⁹⁰ Scholars such as Julie Shapiro and Alan Hall see podcasting as distinct from radio based on the ability of podcasts to ‘allow hosts to have conversations that run on as long as they wish, making podcasting more experimental and playful, without the rigidity of radio’s schedule or more professional-sounding hosts. Podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, which can have episode runtimes of two or three hours, are extremely conversational and allow the listener to feel included in what is presented as a private, no-holds-barred conversation.’²⁹¹ Hall views podcasting as an opt-in medium that has more of a reciprocal relationship with its listeners than radio. Hall also sees podcasting as a tool for the dissemination of audio content rather

²⁸⁴ Ofcom, ‘Audio on demand: the rise of podcasts’, online edn, 30 September 2019 <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/about-ofcom/latest/features-and-news/rise-of-podcasts> (accessed 1 September 2022).

²⁸⁵ Bottomley, ‘Podcasting: A Decade in the Life’, pp. 164–69.

²⁸⁶ M. Lindgren, ‘Personal narrative journalism and podcasting’, *the Radio Journal International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media*, 26, (2016), pp. 23–41 https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.23_1 (accessed 10 June 2022).

²⁸⁷ R. Berry, ‘A Golden Age of Podcasting? Evaluating *Serial* in the Context of Podcast Histories’, *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 22, 2, (2015), pp. 170–178 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1083363> (accessed 20 June 2022).

²⁸⁸ K. Markman, ‘Considerations-Reflections and Future Research. Everything Old is New Again: Podcasting as Radio’s Revival’, *Journal of Radio & Audio Media: Golden Years of Audio*, 22, 2, (2015), pp. 240–243 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1083376> (accessed 18 April 2020).

²⁸⁹ Berry, ‘A Golden Age of Podcasting?’, pp. 170–8.

²⁹⁰ B. Hammersley, ‘Audible Revolution’, *The Guardian*, online edn, 12 February 2004 <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/feb/12/broadcasting.digitalmedia> (accessed 15 October 2021).

²⁹¹ S. McHugh, ‘How podcasting is changing the audio storytelling genre’, *The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 14, 1, (2016), pp. 65–82 https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.65_1 (accessed 18 April 2020).

than a new form of media altogether.²⁹² The writers of one of the earliest guides to podcasting, Kirk McElhearn, Richard Giles, and Jack Herrington saw podcasting's uniqueness in its time-shifting ability, allowing listeners to consume the audio content 'anytime, anywhere' and change between any number of podcasts, rather than radio's broadcast model of centrally programmed content.²⁹³ While research into the podcast's broad definition and role in the digital media landscape is continuing to expand, most scholars recognise the dissemination of 'factual content' as a defining characteristic of most podcasts. In what Jeff Porter sees as a post-dramatic radio era, podcast content is largely factual narration and conversations, with a majority of listeners less interested in former popular radio genres such as fiction and poetry.²⁹⁴ Though radio dramas such as *The Archers*²⁹⁵ remain popular, now accessible through podcast form, it is factual podcasts which dominate the charts.²⁹⁶ Fiction podcasts such as *Stories from Among the Stars*²⁹⁷, *Dust*²⁹⁸, *Wolf 359*²⁹⁹, and *Welcome to Night Vale*³⁰⁰ are popular podcasts with dedicated listeners, however drama podcasts were the tenth most popular podcast genre in 2022 in the UK, behind comedy, entertainment, sport, true crime, news and more.³⁰¹ Instead, listeners seem to be drawn to what John Biewen and Alexa Dilworth call 'reality radio'.³⁰² Podcast audiences do not want to explore 'imaginary worlds so much as empathise with sympathetic narrators who document contemporary social manners and mores'.³⁰³ This is perhaps most evidently seen in the first viral podcast *Serial*, a fact-based, long-form, investigative-storytelling podcast,

²⁹² A. Hall, 'Cigarettes and Dance Steps in Reality radio', in J. Biewen and A. Dilworth (eds.), *Reality Radio*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2017).

²⁹³ K. McElhearn et al., *Podcasting Pocket Guide* (North Sebastopol, California 2005), p. 34.

²⁹⁴ J. Porter, *Lost Sound: The Forgotten Art of Radio Storytelling* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2016), pp. 210–211.

²⁹⁵ British Broadcasting Company, 'The Archers', *BBC Radio 4*, online edn, (1950–2022), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006qpgr> (accessed 20 May 2022).

²⁹⁶ N. Quah, 'The 10 Nonfiction Podcasts That Changed Everything', *Vulture*, online edn, 1 October 2019 <https://www.vulture.com/article/best-nonfiction-podcasts-all-time.html> (accessed 18 September 2021).

²⁹⁷ Tor Labs, 'Stories from Among the Stars', *Macmillan Podcasts*, online edn, <https://podcasts.macmillan.com/podcast/stories-from-among-the-stars/> (accessed on 15 August 2022).

²⁹⁸ Gunpowder and Sky, 'Dust: A Sci-Fi Experience Podcast', online edn, <https://gunpowdersky.com/portfolios/dust-podcast> (accessed 1 September 2022).

²⁹⁹ G. Urbina et al., 'Wolf 359', <https://wolf359.fm/> (accessed 1 September 2022).

³⁰⁰ J. Fink and J. Cranor, 'Welcome to Night Vale', *Nightvale Presents Network*, online edn, <https://www.welcometonightvale.com/> (accessed 2 September 2022).

³⁰¹ Vodafone, 'Comedy takes the top spot for Brits' favourite podcast genre', online edn, 28 April 2022 <https://www.vodafone.co.uk/newscentre/press-release/comedy-takes-the-top-spot-for-brits-favourite-podcast-genre/> (accessed 30, April 2022). Similar statistics have been found in the USA. A 2020 study found that scripted dramas is also the least listened to genre of podcasting behind comedy, news and true crime: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/786938/top-podcast-genres/>

³⁰² J. Biewen and A. Dilworth (eds.), *Reality Radio* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2017).

³⁰³ Porter, *Lost Sound*, p. 210.

which was a key turning point in podcasting moving from a niche activity to a mainstream media platform.

Though the top genres in podcasting include comedy, news, society and culture, and true crime,³⁰⁴ one of the most well-known forms of podcasting is narrator-led journalistic storytelling.³⁰⁵ Though this style stretches across many genres, it shot to popularity in 2014 with the true crime podcast *Serial*. Produced by National Public Radio (NPR), a national syndicator in the US to a network of 1,000 public radio stations, *Serial* was a spinoff from one of NPR's most famous radio shows, *This American Life*. The hour-long radio programme, and now podcast, are often told in first person perspective narratives and cover topics such as relationships, addiction, working conditions, death, immigration, stranger-than-fiction, and coming-of-age stories. While *This American Life* had been broadcasting since 1995, it was not until *Serial*'s publication that an upheaval in storytelling style podcasting became popular. Rather than a single story per episode, *Serial* told a narrative over twelve episodes from the perspective of a single narrator. Its producer, Sarah Koenig, acted as an on-the-ground informant for her listeners, interviewing people involved with the case, mapping out the clues, forming and recreating scenarios from the case, and asking rhetorical questions in a conversational tone that made the podcast feel personal, engaging, and exciting.³⁰⁶ The popularity of the podcast skyrocketed when it premiered and it swiftly became the most downloaded podcast worldwide with five million downloads from Apple's iTunes store.³⁰⁷ Reviewers of the podcast found it to be a product for the future, as it allowed listeners to enjoy long-form journalism and storytelling on a personal device, while doing other things. *Serial* is an example of how long-form storytelling can be offered to an on-the-go, multitasking generation whilst they are going about their day; a stark contrast to television, which has its roots in scheduled, communal content for its watchers.³⁰⁸ Producer and host of *This American Life*, Ira Glass, explained the aim of NPR's new storytelling podcast:

³⁰⁴ Edison Research, 'Comedy, news, and society and culture podcasts most listened-to genres in podcasting', *Edison Research Report*, online edn, (2019), <https://www.edisonresearch.com/comedy-news-and-society-and-culture-podcasts-most-listened-to-genres-in-podcasting/> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁰⁵ D. O. Dowling and K. Miller, 'Immersive Audio Storytelling: Podcasting and Serial Documentary in the Digital Publishing Industry', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 26, 1 (2019), pp. 167–84 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2018.1509218> (accessed 28 July 2020).

³⁰⁶ H. Cuffe, 'Lend Me Your Ears: The Rise of the History Podcast in Australia', *History Australia*, 16, 3, (2019), pp. 553–569 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14490854.2019.1636676> (accessed 29 July 2022).

³⁰⁷ E. McCracken, *The Serial Podcast and Storytelling in the Digital Age* (New York, 2017), p. 66. See also M. Durrani et al., 'Serial, Seriality, and the Possibilities for the Podcast Format', *American Anthropologist*, 117, 3, (2015), pp.1–4 <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12302> (accessed 10 July 2022).

³⁰⁸ C. Rose, 'Tim Cook (CEO of Apple) interviewed by Charlie Rose', online edn, (2017) Full transcript: <https://charlierose.com/videos/23392> (accessed 5 September 2022).

We want to give you the same experience you get from a great HBO or Netflix series, where you can get caught up in the characters and the thing unfolds week after week, but with a true story, and no pictures. Like *House of Cards*, but you can enjoy it while you're driving.³⁰⁹

The Rise of History Podcasts

History podcasts became more visible online around the year 2007, following the influence of storytelling podcasts such as *This American Life*. Whilst the majority of history podcast producers in the genre's early days were official entities, such as history departments in universities, history magazines, or historical associations, it was the amateur historians who were creating in-depth series on periods of history such as the medieval world and the Egyptian empire. Podcaster Mike Duncan created one of the first podcasts in the history genre.³¹⁰ His award-winning series *The History of Rome* premiered in 2007 and ran until 2012. Episodes were anywhere from eleven to forty-five minutes long, and featured Duncan as the host and narrator, walking listeners through battles, the reigns of rulers, and Roman society. His podcast content ran chronologically, beginning with the founding of Rome and ending with the fall of the Western Empire in his 179th episode on 6 May 2012.³¹¹ The podcast grew in popularity, leading to Duncan publishing books, conducting tours in Rome based on his podcast, and winning the 2010 Podcast Award for best educational podcast.³¹² From this, other podcasts from amateur historians began to appear: *The History of Byzantium* by Robin Pierson,³¹³ *The History of England* by David Crowther,³¹⁴ *The History of Philosophy Without any Gaps* by Peter Adamson³¹⁵ and *The History of Japan* by Isaac Meyer³¹⁶, who all point to or emulate Duncan's episodic narrative style as the format of their

³⁰⁹ J. Lurie, 'This American Life Channels "True Detective" in a New Podcast', *Mother Jones Magazine*, online edn, 19 September 2014 <https://www.motherjones.com/media/2014/09/ira-glass-sarah-koenig-julie-snyder-serial-podcast-this-american-life/> (accessed 5 May 2022).

³¹⁰ J. Keri, 'The Jonah Keri Podcast: Mike Duncan', *CBS Sports*, online edn, 4 October 2017 <https://www.cbssports.com/general/news/the-jonah-keri-podcast-mike-duncan/> (accessed 5 March 2019).

³¹¹ M. Duncan, 'Podcast Archives 2007- 2012', *The History of Rome Podcast*, online edn, <https://thehistoryofrome.typepad.com/> (accessed 21 August 2019).

³¹² J. Keri, 'The Jonah Keri Podcast: Mike Duncan', *CBS Sports*, online edn, 4 October 2017 <https://www.cbssports.com/general/news/the-jonah-keri-podcast-mike-duncan/> (accessed 5 March 2019).

³¹³ R. Pierson, 'The History of Byzantium Podcast', online edn, <https://thehistoryofbyzantium.com/> (accessed 5 March 2019).

³¹⁴ D. Crowther, 'AMA on Reddit', *Reddit*, online edn, (2014) https://www.reddit.com/r/history/comments/1fxid0/hello_im_david_crowther_of_the_history_of_england/ (accessed 8 July 2021). In an Ask Me Anything session on Reddit, Crowther mentions Duncan's influence on history podcasters, referencing his 'crown' in the genre, his early construction of a linear narrative in his podcasting.

³¹⁵ P. Adamson, 'The History of Philosophy Without any Gaps', *History of Philosophy Podcast*, online edn, <https://historyofphilosophy.net/> (accessed 8 September 2021).

³¹⁶ I. Meyer, 'The History of Japan Podcast', online edn, <https://isaacmeyer.net/the-history-of-japan-podcast/> (accessed 8 September 2021).

podcasts. Though there is no official number of how many history podcasts exist today, sites such as *The Active History Podcast Database* are attempting to catalogue many of them, with thousands of podcast episodes and their topics categorised as educational resources for teachers and students.³¹⁷ On platforms such as SoundCloud, new history podcasts pop up frequently, with their hosts promoting their podcasts on social media sites such as Twitter and Instagram, many of them developing strong audience bases.

With podcasting's versatility and the ability for anyone with access to a recording device and an Internet connection to create one, the lowered barrier to entry of content production has allowed history enthusiasts to create podcasts that can grow large audiences; different from the days when only mainstream or large organisations had the resources to publish history content and reach such large audiences. One of the earliest mainstream examples was Melvyn Bragg's *In Our Time*, a history-centric interview-style radio show in the UK that eventually evolved to using the podcasting format, becoming one of the BBC's most downloaded podcasts.³¹⁸ The radio show, with over 800 episodes created, became available as a podcast in 2004 and explores a wide array of historical topics such as the Industrial Revolution, the Medici family, and the Mayan civilization.³¹⁹ While the radio show is recorded live, the versatility of the podcast format allows for extra time for final arguments to be made by contributors, and additional chats to be included without the usual urgency of the programme to be wrapped by its scheduled air time.³²⁰ Another example is Dan Carlin's *Hardcore History* which has garnered almost a million listeners per episode.³²¹ Calling himself a 'fan' of history, the former professional radio host turned to podcasting in 2006 and used it as a 'platform from which to interpret history on [his] own terms – which often proceeds by imagining the experience of ordinary individuals caught up in the vicissitudes of historical change, or engaging in the kind of speculative "what if?" thought experiments generally eschewed by professional historiography'.³²² Carlin's podcast allows for him to be an inquisitive, 'everyday history enthusiast', retelling events and asking questions not as an

³¹⁷ R. Tarr, 'Active History Podcast Database', online edn, <https://www.activehistory.co.uk/library/podcasts/> (accessed 8 September 2021).

³¹⁸ British Broadcasting Company, '2021 sees over 1.3bn plays on BBC Sounds with podcast listening up nearly 25%', online edn, 20 December 2021 <https://www.bbc.com/mediacentre/2021/over-1bn-plays-on-bbc-sounds-with-podcast-listening-up-nearly-25-percent> (accessed 6 September 2022).

³¹⁹ M. Bragg, 'In Our Time: History - Top 10', *BBC Radio*, online edn, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01gnsp2> (accessed 28 August 2022).

³²⁰ M. Bragg and S. Tillotson, *In Our Time: Celebrating Twenty Years of Essential Conversation* (London, 2018), pp. 9–12.

³²¹ A. J. Salvati, 'Podcasting the Past: Hardcore History, Fandom, and DIY Histories', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 22, 2, (2015), pp. 231–236 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1083375> (accessed 18 June 2022).

³²² Salvati, 'Podcasting the Past: Hardcore History', p. 232.

expert but as a member of the general public who has an interest in history.³²³ Though Carlin claims to do extensive research for each of his episodes, which can run up to four hours, his lack of formal training as a historian is problematic for some critics, and a big advantage in the eyes of others such as Andrew J. Salvati. By being a so-called hobbyist historian, Carlin frees himself from having to have all of the answers for his audience and can ask questions such as ‘was Alexander as bad as Hitler?’ without his audience expecting him to have a definitive statement on the subject. Salvati claims that by making this personalised podcast, Carlin ‘free[d] himself from ... fussy conventions, developing an alternate mode of historical analysis and understanding drawn from a bricolage of historical source texts, science fiction, popular film and contemporary politics and culture’.³²⁴ This type of investigative storytelling by an amateur can feel more inviting, personal and relatable to a general audience than a professional’s approach. An amateur can look at history through the lens of their own life and use modern references they and their audience are familiar with. The information is being given to the audience not by an expert, who to some listeners might come across as intimidating, but by someone that is just like them. Carlin invites his listeners to make their own judgements and to employ some imagination during their listening experience when he performs an act of ‘three-dimensionalising’ the past; where Carlin imagines himself living in momentous times and shows how people might have felt and responded to news and events in their lifetime.³²⁵ In exploring these personal imagination exercises, Carlin combines the traditional historiographical tools of primary and secondary sources with putting himself into the shoes of individuals, looking at historical figures’ ‘humanness’, showing a sense of empathy and connection for people who ‘were raised with such different culture influences, such different expectations than we were’.³²⁶ It is this sort of connection and sense of community that non-historians are often seeking through their historical learning, which can sometimes get lost in professional historiography.³²⁷ Carlin is careful to label himself as simply a fan, and points often to professional historians and their research throughout his podcasts, but his aesthetic of creating a community of ‘a bunch of history fans discussing history over a cup of coffee – geeking out over history’ makes a more mainstream audience

³²³ Salvati, ‘Podcasting the Past: Hardcore History’, p. 236.

³²⁴ Salvati, ‘Podcasting the Past: Hardcore History’, p. 236.

³²⁵ D. Carlin, ‘Death throes of the republic v. Hardcore History’, *Hardcore History Podcast*, online edn, (2011) <http://www.dancarlin.com> (accessed 15 April 2021).

³²⁶ D. Carlin, ‘Death throes of the republic v. Hardcore History’, *Hardcore History Podcast*, online edn, (2011) <http://www.dancarlin.com> (accessed 15 April 2021).

³²⁷ Salvati, ‘Podcasting the Past: Hardcore History’, p. 238.

feel as if they are partners and participants in dialogue about history, which is not as feasible in textbooks, lectures, or monographs.³²⁸

The number of other amateur history podcasts are increasing. *You Must Remember This*, *Our Fake History*, the *British History Podcast*, and *Ridiculous History*, for example, have all been growing in the mainstream arena. Scholars such as Maria Tumarkin are sceptical of these laid back, personal-style storytelling podcasts, as the need to create interesting and captivating stories can often muddy complex events or cultural practices. These entertaining stories, often told by actors, comedians, or professional narrators, can oversimplify history or inappropriately over-dramatise events, as their aim with storytelling is not purely about disseminating facts, but creating a story arc that can make an audience laugh, cry, or feel ‘changed’ after listening.³²⁹ Many historian podcasters, however, have leaned into the more personal aspects of podcasting, mimicking Carlin’s and other’s more approachable, accessible style of talking about history. With Australia’s Broadcasting Corporation, historian Claire Wright hosts a podcast called *Shooting the Past*, which explores Australia’s history through photographs. While she is a Professor of History in the context of the podcast she assumes the role of the uninformed reader, bringing her listeners on an exploratory journey where she asks questions about the history of photographs, interviews expert guests, and sometimes speaks with people who have experienced events shown in the images.³³⁰ By transforming the expert presenter into an inquisitive facilitator, the podcast opens up room for audience engagement, whilst also displaying a ‘transparent explanation of the process of doing history’, and ‘[e]ach episode demonstrates the process of drawing on multiple sources and reflecting on their meaning and silences to create meaning from the past’.³³¹ Other podcasts such as *Africa Past and Present*, a conversational style podcast with historians Peter Alegi and Peter Limb, attempted to appeal to a wider audience by ‘avoiding jargon and esoteric debates, being unpretentious and down-to-earth, and by attempting to represent a diversity of African experiences and perspectives’.³³² The podcast also sought to let the listeners get to know a bit about the historians themselves, so that the audience could

³²⁸ D. Carlin, ‘Globalization unto death’, *Hardcore History Podcast*, online edn, (2010) <http://www.dancarlin.com> (accessed 15 April 2021).

³²⁹ M. Tumarkin, ‘This narrated life: The limits of storytelling’, *Griffith Review*, 4, (2014), pp. 175–84 <https://www.griffithreview.com/articles/this-narrated-life/> (accessed 2 July 2022).

³³⁰ Cuffe, ‘Lend Me Your Ears’, p. 561.

³³¹ Cuffe, ‘Lend Me Your Ears’, p. 561.

³³² P. Alegi, ‘Podcasting the Past: Africa Past and Present and (South) African History in the Digital Age’, *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 2, (2012), pp. 206–20 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2011.640344> (accessed 15 June 2021).

connect with the hosts and guests, their backgrounds, mindsets, and motivations.³³³ In the UK, historian Greg Jenner hosts the *You're Dead to Me* podcast, where he invites both a historian and a comedian to discuss a historical period or figure in a conversational, informal style which combines historical stories and pop culture references, and shows camaraderie between host, comedian, and historian.³³⁴ Jenner talks about topics such as fairy tales, the Great Pyramids, and LGBTQ+ history with historians who are knowledgeable on those subjects, and comedians who often have personal connections to the subject being explored. In a 2021 episode, Jenner explored the history of Owain Glyndŵr with Dr Kathryn Hurlock and Welsh comedian Elis James. In the episode, the three were able to talk about the early life of Owain and the Glyndŵr Rising, bringing knowledge about his family, law career, and his rise to rebellion leader, as well as discuss current and personal elements of the story through Elis James' experience as a Welshman raised in Carmarthen.³³⁵ This combination of topics brings both a modern and personal context to the narrative. Bringing the locations, family dynamics, and the Welsh language together and connecting them to the historical events of Owain's life brings the narrative alive.

One of the UK's most downloaded history podcasts, with millions of downloads to date, is the *History Hit Podcast*.³³⁶ It is hosted by Dan Snow, who is described by *Forbes* as the opposite of the best-known US historical documentarian, Ken Burns.³³⁷ Unlike Burns' stoic, uniform style, which has him as a hidden influence within his work, Dan Snow is 'up close and personal' with his audience through his television programmes and podcast. With an energetic, passionate, and personal tone throughout his interview-style episodes, Snow asks concise, relatable questions to his guests that are neither 'over his listeners' heads' nor patronising for experienced historical enthusiasts. Though Snow's podcast is focused on history, he often links historical themes to current affairs and debates. This engages his audience in discussions that are current, but also contextualises historical events through the

³³³ Alegi, 'Podcasting the Past', p. 212. This practice of having the audience get to know the historians in the podcast is based on Edward Hallet Carr's call to 'study the historian before you begin to study the past'. E. Carr, *What is History?* (New York, 1961) p. 16.

³³⁴ G. Jenner, 'You're Dead to Me Podcast', *BBC Sounds*, online edn, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/brand/p07mdbhg> (accessed 1 September 2022).

³³⁵ G. Jenner, 'Owain Glyndŵr: You're Dead to Me Podcast', *BBC Sounds*, online edn, 22 October 2021 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/brand/p07mdbhg> (accessed 1 September 2022).

³³⁶ E. Geddes, 'History is Now: Behind the numbers of the biggest UK history podcasts', *Acast*, online edn, 15 February 2022 <https://www.acast.com/blog/podcaster-stories/history-is-now-behind-the-numbers-of-the-biggest-uk-history-podcasts> (accessed 18 July 2022).

³³⁷ J. Berr, 'After Finding Success With 'History Hit' Podcast, Dan Snow Turns To Video', *Forbes*, online edn, 11 October 2017 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jonathanberr/2017/10/11/after-finding-success-with-the-history-hit-podcast-dan-snow-turns-to-video/> (accessed 28 January 2021).

lens of contemporary events that his listeners are experiencing.³³⁸ Though his brand and subscription-based history media platform are commercialised, his informal use of social media as @thehistoryguy, use of YouTube as a popular podcast listening platform, and blend of topical and historical events makes him an approachable and accessible host for a more mainstream audience, particularly with history enthusiasts who engage with social media.

While some scholars have expressed concerns about the lack of policing in podcasting when it comes to amateur presenters delivering fact-based content to mass audiences on subjects such as crime cases,³³⁹ others such as Salvati see it not as a threat to traditional historiography, but as a way to ‘help us conceptualise an alternate cultural model of history’.³⁴⁰ As these amateur podcasters enter the sphere of historical discourse alongside more professional researchers, their mainstream influence cannot be simply ignored, but rather, Salvati argues, these voices can join the ‘constellation of diverse cultural historiography ... inviting us to reconsider how historical knowledge in the twenty-first century is accessed, received, processed, and interpreted by publics beyond walled academic gardens’.³⁴¹ For historians using podcasting as a way to collaborate and show the impact of their work, Cuffe argues that this style of podcasting is a reimagined way to present their research and engage the public in the process. This more personal storytelling form of podcasting offers a wide-ranging opportunity to engage an audience in history as a process of interpretation, rather than simply a story or analysis on its own.³⁴²

Podcasting in Heritage

Alongside the growth of history podcasts came podcasts produced by heritage sites and museums. As early as 2007, heritage sites such as Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, USA, were creating podcasts about elements of the site such as blacksmithing, conservation, archaeology, farming, and early American music.³⁴³ The hosts of the *Past and Present Podcast*, Rachel West, Harmony Hunter, and Lloyd Dobyns interview different interpreters, historians, archaeologists, and practitioners who answer questions about aspects of life in

³³⁸ D. Snow, ‘Coronavirus: Intelligence Failure’, *History Hit Podcast*, online edn, 25 May 2020

<https://play.acast.com/s/dansnowshistoryhit/coronavirus-intelligencefailure> (accessed 25 April 2021).

³³⁹ R. Robinson-Greene, ‘The Ethics of Amateur Podcast Sleuthing’, *Prindle Post*, online edn, 14 June 2017 <https://www.prindleinstitute.org/2017/06/ethics-amateur-podcast-sleuthing/> (accessed 5 December 2021).

³⁴⁰ Salvati, ‘Podcasting the Past: Hardcore History’, p. 232.

³⁴¹ A. Salvati, ‘DIY histories: Podcasting the past’, *Sounding Out!*, (2014), online edn, <https://soundstudiesblog.com/2014/04/14/diy-histories-podcasting-the-presenting-of-the-past/> (accessed 1 September 2022).

³⁴² Cuffe, ‘Lend Me Your Ears’, p. 568.

³⁴³ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, (2005-2017) <https://podcast.history.org> (accessed 20 March 2021).

Colonial America. Each episode focuses on new topics, from discussing the life of founding father James Madison,³⁴⁴ to talking about cannibalism in Jamestown,³⁴⁵ to recording fifes and drums, and discussing their musical significance of the time.³⁴⁶ Lasting around fifteen minutes each episode, the podcast provides snapshots of very specific aspects of heritage, such as speaking to Ed Schulz about farming practices in Virginia,³⁴⁷ the use of myth and storytelling in early America,³⁴⁸ and interviewing curator Laura Simo about George Washington's dentures.³⁴⁹ The podcast allows listeners to hear stories that go beyond the physical heritage site, such as in an episode on early Native American settlements³⁵⁰ and another on Virginian slaves having to merge their West African cultures with North American culture.³⁵¹ The flexibility of the podcast format means there is no limit on the topics it can cover and who can be interviewed. All aspects of the heritage industry can be discussed. Stepping away from a scripted audio tour, Colonial Williamsburg's *Past and Present Podcast* was presented as more conversational platform featuring heritage professionals, focusing on topics that perhaps interpreters would not have time to, or would never chance bringing up, during a physical tour. For the curators, conservationists, and historians, it provided a more public platform to present their work to a general audience in professions that have been largely seen as more 'behind the scenes' careers. Hosted on their website, www.history.org, the podcast is accessible to anyone around the world with a computer or mobile device who wishes to learn about different aspects of Colonial

³⁴⁴ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Being James Madison', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 17 February 2014 <https://podcast.history.org/2014/02/17/being-james-madison> (accessed 20 March 2021).

³⁴⁵ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Cannibalism at Jamestown', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 6 January 2014 <https://podcast.history.org/2014/01/06/cannibalism-at-jamestown/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

³⁴⁶ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Drummer's Call', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 14 May 2007 <https://podcast.history.org/2007/05/14/drummers-call/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

³⁴⁷ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Historic Farming', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 24 September 2012 <https://podcast.history.org/2012/09/24/historic-farming/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

³⁴⁸ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'The Use of Myth in History', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 23 July 2012 <https://podcast.history.org/2012/07/23/the-use-of-myth-in-history/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

³⁴⁹ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'The Wooden Teeth That Weren't', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 20 February 2012 <https://podcast.history.org/2012/02/20/the-wooden-teeth/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

³⁵⁰ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Native Peoples in the Colonial City', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 22 April 2013 <https://podcast.history.org/2013/04/22/native-peoples-in-the-colonial-city/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

³⁵¹ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Merging Cultures', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 21 February 2011 <https://podcast.history.org/2011/02/21/merging-cultures/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

Williamsburg every week. The podcast has also been used by educators, who present the podcast to their students as a way to learn about the site or specific aspects of the time period without having to or prior to and following a visit.³⁵² Information that was previously only accessible for nearby students taking a field trip, was now accessible to any classroom that wished to download them.

Other podcasts such as those produced by The Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum in Texas and The Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture in Washington appeared, providing lectures and tours in podcast form and available on iTunes.³⁵³ Lists of museum and heritage podcasts were created so listeners could discover content that lined up with their interests, like the, now defunct, Global Museum's Podcast Index.³⁵⁴ The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (SFMOMA) flipped audio tours on their head by inviting visitors themselves to produce audio tours through exhibits in 2011.³⁵⁵ SFMOMA encouraged visitors to give their own perspectives on the featured artwork, and then in turn used these tours for other visitors both on site and as a podcast.³⁵⁶ Another example, *The Commentary Museums Don't Want You to Hear* was produced in 2005 by *Slate Magazine* as an alternate heritage podcast that showed an unfiltered audio tour hosted by Lee Siegel, which featured museums in New York. Offering a free, relaxed version of an audio tour, *Slate* created a podcast about heritage that was free from the strictures of museum bureaucracy. Andrew Bowers has commented that:

Museums, historical sites, and the companies that produce their audio tours aren't completely honest with you. They can't very well say things like "critics think this work is terrifically overrated, but we keep it on the wall because we sell a thousand posters of it a day," or "we know this sketch looks profoundly boring, but here's why it's the most interesting thing you'll see all day," or "we only hang this painting here because old Mrs. Dimble-dumble wouldn't have donated the new East Wing otherwise." They can't say things like that, but we can. And now, thanks to the

³⁵² A. Lamb and L. Johnson, 'Podcasting in the School Library, Part 1: Integrating Podcasts and Vodcasts into Teaching and Learning', *Teacher Librarian*, 34, 3, (2007) pp. 54–57.

³⁵³ J. Ragsdale, *Structures as Argument: The Visual Persuasiveness of Museums and Places of Worship* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 42.

³⁵⁴ L. Madsen-Brooks, 'Museums and podcasting: explanation and resources', *Museum Blogging*, online edn, 19 May 2006 <https://museumblogging.com/2006/05/19/museums-and-podcasting-explanation-and-resources> (accessed 5 February 2020).

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 'SFMOMA Artcast', online edn, (2005–2014), <https://www.sfmoma.org/series/artcast/> (accessed 22 May 2021).

³⁵⁶ A. Bowers, 'Introducing SlateAudio Tours', *Slate Magazine*, online edn, 26 July 2005 <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2005/07/introducing-slate-audio-tours.html> (accessed 18 July 2022).

growing prevalence of iPods and other digital audio players, you can download *Slate*'s unauthorised tours and take them with you.³⁵⁷

Another podcast produced by The Charleston Trust in 2010, focused on the life of painter Duncan Grant and combined elements of oral history interviews of Duncan Grant himself and new recordings of men who visited his home in the 1960s and 70s.³⁵⁸ Focusing on The Charleston Trust's LGBTQ+ history, the podcast was meant to explore Duncan Grant's life as a gay man and investigate Charleston's place within LGBTQ+ history through the lens of gay men who visited the area at the time. On the style of the podcast the host said, 'This podcast is intended to evoke the atmosphere of life at Charleston in Duncan Grant's last decades. It is divided into three sections, corresponding to the usual route visitors take through the house but is not intended as an audio tour and does not focus on particular objects'.³⁵⁹ The podcast interchanges between interviews of Grant himself in 1969 and interviews of men who frequented the house, asking them how they felt about staying there in the 1960s and 70s versus how they felt to walk through the house in 2010 as a heritage site. The men were able to talk about Grant's life as they remembered it, spending their time interacting with objects around the house versus seeing them behind glass or ropes.³⁶⁰ The podcast provided a multilayered approach to portraying the Charleston Trust to its listeners, by combining oral history elements, modern interviews, and a context of the wider local area in the 1960s and '70s, and in 2010. By using the voices of those who had previously inhabited the house rather than a curator or historian to describe specific objects in the house, the podcast was able to give a more personal view of the heritage site to its listeners. By combining both the oral history recordings and the modern voices, the podcast expresses aspects of intangible heritage and its relatability to today. Because of podcasts' accessibility, podcast tours and podcasts on heritage began to be produced with voices outside of the heritage industry, allowing for the voices of non-experts to chime in and be heard. The public

³⁵⁷ A. Bowers, 'Introducing SlateAudio Tours', *Slate Magazine*, online edn, 26 July 2005 <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2005/07/introducing-slate-audio-tours.html> (accessed 18 July 2022).

³⁵⁸ The Charleston Trust, 'Part 1: Downstairs 1', *Queer History*, online edn, (2010), <https://www.charleston.org.uk/history-and-collection/queer-history/> (accessed 8 January 2019).

³⁵⁹ The Charleston Trust, 'Part 1: Downstairs 1', *Queer History*, online edn, (2010), <https://www.charleston.org.uk/history-and-collection/queer-history/> (accessed 8 January 2019).

³⁶⁰ The Charleston Trust, 'Part 1: Downstairs 1', *Queer History*, online edn, (2010), <https://www.charleston.org.uk/history-and-collection/queer-history/> (accessed 8 January 2019).

In the first episode, one interviewee pointed out a chair that he used to sit in during his visits to Duncan Grant's house in the 1960s, and then proceeded to comment on how strange it felt to see it a piece of heritage, behind a rope inside the farmhouse.

no longer just consumed audio content on site from an expert but could be an active part of conversations about heritage sites and museums as interviewees or content creators.

Large heritage organisations, charities, and government agencies such as The National Parks Service in the USA, UNESCO, or English Heritage and The National Trust in the UK all have ongoing podcasts. Originally, The National Parks Service developed podcasts from 2008–2010 in order to have cost effective audio tours that could be used outside by their visitors. In a 2011 study of their audio tour podcasts, Myunghwa Kang and Ulrike Gretzel found that the style in which the podcasts were made enhanced the tourist experience through their narration and the soundscapes featured in the podcasts. Their study found that the conversational, narrative style and the use of multiple voices increased the social responses of visitors, leading to a reported sense of escapism and enjoyment when listening to the podcasts.³⁶¹ The study was unable to fully grasp one of the Park's main objectives for creating the podcasts however, which was whether mindfulness was achieved with listeners and whether a sense of stewardship or interest was conveyed to the listeners.³⁶² Because the study's participants were people already visiting the parks who were approached and asked to download the podcast for the study rather than them doing it of their own volition, it was difficult for the researchers to establish how interested the listeners were in the content of the podcasts and whether it would affect them more long term into having a sense of stewardship for the parks when not on site.³⁶³ Now, The National Parks has shifted their podcasting format, offering more generalised episodes on aspects relating to the parks that listeners anywhere can access without having to be at the parks to understand the context. The podcasts are modelled more after a mixture of *Past and Presents*' interview style and *This American Life*'s storytelling style, combining expert interviews, engaging narration and dramatic readings of letters or speeches within their episodes. For many heritage organisations today, the function of a podcast is far more aimed at allowing a general audience to access episodes from anywhere and as a tool to potentially encourage new visitors, than for listeners who are already physically at the sites.

The English Heritage's Podcast began around 2017, and is an interview style podcast which covers a multitude of subjects related to English Heritage sites such as Victoria and

³⁶¹ M. Kang and U. Gretzel, 'Effects of podcast tours on tourist experiences in a national park', *Tourism Management* 33, 2, (2012), pp. 440–55 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2011.05.005> (accessed 12 July 2020).

³⁶² Kang and Gretzel, 'Effects of podcast tours', pp. 440–442.

³⁶³ Kang and Gretzel, 'Effects of podcast tours', pp. 440–442.

Albert's birthdays at Osborne House,³⁶⁴ exhibitions at Stonehenge,³⁶⁵ and Bob Marley's blue plaque in London.³⁶⁶ The host, Charles Rowe, features guests such as historians, conservationists, costume designers, and site volunteers whilst weaving together short narratives which last around thirty to forty minutes. While some episodes such as *Halloween Episode 1: Dark Tales from Dover Castle*³⁶⁷ point more directly to a particular site and provide listeners with a link on their website to visit Dover Castle, other podcasts are more indirectly connected to English Heritage sites and are more thematic and subject based, instead telling stories of knights,³⁶⁸ Victorian fashion,³⁶⁹ and the history of mead.³⁷⁰ English Heritage has also created limited series such as *Discover the Wall* in 2019, with short ten-minute episodes hosted by YouTuber Maddie Moate on Hadrian's Wall,³⁷¹ and *Speaking with Shadows* in 2020 hosted by comedian Josie Long, around hidden narratives of minority groups connected with English Heritage sites.³⁷² Both presenters took the role of inquisitive interviewers, asking simple questions about historical events and ways of life that could be asked during a tour. Both also go on location during their podcasts, 'walking' listeners through locations, describing what they see and how it makes them feel. In the episode entitled 'Jews of York' on the *Speaking with Shadows Podcast*, Josie Long begins the

³⁶⁴ English Heritage, 'Episode 1 - Victoria and Albert's Birthdays at Osborne', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-1-victoria-and-alberts-birthdays-at-osborne> (accessed 8 January 2021).

³⁶⁵ English Heritage, 'Conversations in Making: artist Linda Brothwell on her new exhibition at Stonehenge', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-8-conversations-in-making-artist-linda-brothwell-on-her-new-exhibition-at-stonehenge> (accessed 8 January 2021).

³⁶⁶ English Heritage, 'Exodus: the story behind reggae legend Bob Marley's blue plaque in London', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-27-exodus-the-story-behind-reggae-legend-bob-marleys-blue-plaque-in-london> (accessed 8 January 2021).

³⁶⁷ English Heritage, 'Halloween Episode 1: Dark Tales from Dover Castle', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2018) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/halloween-part-1> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁶⁸ English Heritage, 'Brave knights and epic fights: The making of a legendary joust', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-17-brave-knights-and-epic-fights-the-making-of-a-legendary-joust> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁶⁹ English Heritage, 'Undressing the history of fashion with Amber Butchart', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-18-undressing-the-history-of-fashion-with-amber-butchart> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁷⁰ English Heritage, 'The rise of Mead: Toasting the world's oldest alcoholic drink', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-36-the-rise-of-mead-toasting-the-worlds-oldest-alcoholic-drink> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁷¹ English Heritage, 'Discover the Wall Audio Series', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/hadrians-wall/audio-series> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁷² English Heritage, 'Speaking with Shadows Podcast', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows> (accessed 5 April 2021).

episode walking through York, explaining her personal connection with the city through stand-up events and how the city makes her feel.³⁷³

On the English Heritage's website, the *Speaking with Shadows* podcast is described as 'the podcast that listens to the people that history forgot'.³⁷⁴ Both Long and Moate serve as recognisable but everyday voices for the limited-episode series, acting not as professional historians or curators, but people who share their introspective thoughts, comment on interviewee's information, and provide a view of history through a twenty-first century lens.

The National Trust also has a main ongoing podcast and limited podcast series by different hosts. As a part of a wider pilot project entitled *Challenging Histories Public Programme* from 2017–2019, the National Trust utilised exhibitions, events and storytelling to explore themes of public debate, overlooked histories and national anniversaries, and a series of podcasts was included in this programme.³⁷⁵ Some of the podcast series created are *Women and Power* presented by Kirsty Wark on working women connected with National Trust properties,³⁷⁶ *Prejudice and Pride* presented by Clare Balding on hidden LGBTQ+ histories,³⁷⁷ and *People's Landscape* presented by John Sergeant on lesser known connections between people and places through the ages.³⁷⁸ Using stirring music and sound effects such as jeering and shouting, journalist Kirsty Wark guides listeners through the Suffragette movement in an episode called 'The Rise of the Suffragettes', the second of her five-part series. As the non-diegetic narration from Wark discusses prominent protests, the addition of the diegetic women's voices can be heard, screaming 'Votes for Women!', under the narration. The documentary style podcast weaves compelling storytelling with informative interviews, focusing on the multilayered aspects of the Suffragette Movement,

³⁷³ English Heritage, 'Episode 3: The Medieval Massacre of the Jews of York', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows/episode-3> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁷⁴ English Heritage, 'Speaking with Shadows Podcast', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows> (accessed 5 April 2021).

³⁷⁵ National Trust, 'Challenging Histories Public Programme 2017–2019', online edn, (2017–2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/how-we-are-challenging-our-history> (accessed 5 July 2022).

³⁷⁶ National Trust, 'Women and Power Podcast', online edn, (2018) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-womens-suffrage-podcast-series-presented-by-kirsty-wark> (accessed 18 March 2021).

³⁷⁷ National Trust, 'Prejudice and Pride Podcast', online edn, (2017) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-lgbtq-podcast-series-presented-by-clare-balding> (accessed 19 March 2021).

³⁷⁸ National Trust, 'People's Landscapes: Explore the places that have shaped the nation', online edn, (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-explore-the-places-that-have-shaped-the-nation> (accessed 17 April 2021).

including the narratives of those on the frontlines, those in power against Women's Rights, and lesser-known women on the ground, such as nurses in the First World War.

In Clare Balding's 2017 series *Prejudice and Pride*, the broadcaster explored aspects such as Queer artists, women's intimacy, and same sex relationships in Ancient Rome, linking these themes to National Trust properties. A more interview style podcast than Kirsty Wark's narrative style, *Prejudice and Pride* features Clare Balding speaking with experts in a studio, pointing out hidden aspects of LGBTQ+ stories in the National Trust's history, rather than the stories of wealthy estate owners. She questions curators, historians, and critical theorists about what stories do exist and why others may have been hidden from the general public as part of traditional site interpretation.

In the 2019 *People's Landscape* podcast, the four-part series explores narratives connected to people and land, by exploring four historic National Trust landscapes, Penrhyn Castle in Wales, the Durham Coast, the Tin Coast in Cornwall, and Northey Island in Essex.³⁷⁹ The podcast explores 'what connects ice age floods and the dialogues we speak and how geological events can form the bedrock of communities or become the driving force behind neighbourhood feuds'.³⁸⁰ In episode three, 'The Castle on the Hill,' Welsh singer Caryl Parry Jones travels to Penrhyn Castle to learn about the site's collection of slate objects and its connection with Penrhyn Quarry. Walking up to Penrhyn Castle on her own, Parry comments on her initial observations about the castle:

So, getting closer to the castle now and I can see that it's much bigger than what I thought from the road. It's huge. It wouldn't be amiss in a fairy-tale book. There are turrets, there's a portcullis, there are battlements. Ironically, I can't see slate anywhere. Not one piece of slate on the exterior.³⁸¹

Once she meets up with a volunteer who shows her around the estate, Caryl Parry Jones learns about the architecture of the country house, details in the interior, the history of slate, the life of Lord Penrhyn, the Penrhyn Quarry Strikes, and the lasting impression of the Penrhyn Estate today. Listeners can hear Jones' reaction to the magnitude of the interior as

³⁷⁹ National Trust, 'People's Landscapes podcast series presented by John Sergeant', online edn, (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-podcast-series-presented-by-john-sergeant> (accessed 25 May 2021).

³⁸⁰ National Trust, 'People's Landscapes: Explore the places that have shaped the nation', online edn, (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-explore-the-places-that-have-shaped-the-nation> (accessed 17 April 2021).

³⁸¹ National Trust, 'People's Landscapes podcast series presented by John Sergeant', online edn, (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-podcast-series-presented-by-john-sergeant> (accessed 25 May 2021).

she comments on objects around the house. The volunteer explains the connection of Penrhyn Castle with the Quarry, showing Jones a view of the quarry from out the window in Penrhyn Castle. She comments:

Isn't that ironic? We've got this huge slate bed there, and only a few steps away from the slate bed we can look through the window to the quarry where people were being paid a pittance.³⁸²

The podcast gives a snapshot of the events leading up to the Penrhyn Quarry Strikes, the living conditions of quarrying families, the divisiveness of the strikes, and ongoing impression of Penrhyn Castle by the local community. Jones looks at different aspects of the estate's impact: how the quarry is operated today, how National Trust employees interact with the local community, how local residents perceive the castle, and the estate's cultural connections such as Penrhyn Choir. At twenty-two minutes, the podcast really only has time to focus on aspects related to the quarry. Other aspects of the estate's history, such as its involvement in the slave trade, were not covered in the podcast episode. The *People's Landscapes* podcast was produced at the beginning of this project, when I was in early discussions with curators from the National Trust at Penrhyn Castle and conducting an initial exploration into how podcasting could be used as a heritage tool to tell Penrhyn's multilayered narratives.

Because each of these heritage podcasts can be downloaded from anywhere and have no ties to a physical location, they are able to provide their more microscopic, personal, and multi-vocal narratives in an accessible way to a wider audience than audio guides held at a single physical heritage location. With ongoing podcast episodes and episode-limited series, these heritage organisations are able to explore a wide range of topics that can connect back to their sites. With multiple voices, familiar and engaging hosts, and cleverly positioned soundscapes, podcasts provide heritage entities such as English Heritage and The National Trust with an up-to-date way of informing an audience about intangible heritage and lesser known people connected with their sites and examples in history that can be contextualised and compared to current events happening in the world today. It could be argued that the content covered in these podcasts is much more than is feasible for a single visitor to experience in a single visit to a heritage site. However, podcasts that cover a variety of topics

³⁸² National Trust, 'People's Landscapes podcast series presented by John Sergeant', online edn, (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-podcast-series-presented-by-john-sergeant> (accessed 25 May 2021).

in a single series or in short episodes will by necessity miss out aspects of the narrative, and these typically appear to be the contested aspects of the story, like Penrhyn's connection with the slave trade, despite its centrality in the overall history of the estate. Longer form, linear storytelling of a particular heritage site is impossible in that style of podcast, as their episodes routinely jump through different parts of history and places, taking people from particular heritage sites and placing them in with a specific theme. In *Prejudice and Pride's* fifth episode, which explores queer performances, the podcast briefly goes into the life of Henry Cyril Paget, 5th Marquess of Anglesey and former owner of National Trust property Plas Newydd on Anglesey. While the episode is able to show a snapshot of Paget's life and his role in queer history, it is not able to paint a full picture of Plas Newydd's history nor Paget's role in that history.³⁸³ As opposed to the many history podcasts which feature more step-by-step narration in each episode, which then all tie in to one sweeping narrative by the end of the series, most heritage podcasts have a strong track record of creating single episode or limited series based on themes and aspects, rather than a linear narrative of a heritage site. While much information is provided in these episodes relating to their chosen theme, so much is lost by not providing wider narratives around one heritage site at a time. In order to cover these heritage sites in more depth, the heritage organisations should consider creating more long-form storytelling podcast series about one property, rather than small episodes anchored on a theme.

The Dearth of Long-form Narrative Podcasting in History and Heritage

Despite the success of long-form narrative style podcasting such as *The History of Rome* or *Serial*, no long-form storytelling podcasts were found on typical podcast distribution platforms that focused on individual heritage sites. As no general audience would look for a podcast elsewhere, it is safe to assume for the purposes of this research that no long-form storytelling podcasts in heritage exist; any that may exist but are not discoverable must have better visibility before they become viable for the heritage industry. *Serial* paved the way for other long-form, journalistic style nonfiction storytelling podcasts to emerge and did so most predominantly in the true crime genre, with podcasts such as *American Scandal*, *Dirty John*, *Dr Death*, *The Clearing*, and *Atlanta Monster* bringing controversial cases sometimes up to

³⁸³ National Trust, 'Episode five: 18 August - Parties and performances', *Prejudice and Pride Podcast*, online edn, (2017) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-lgbtq-podcast-series-presented-by-clare-balding> (accessed 25 May 2021).

50-years-old back into the spotlight by garnering the attention of millions of listeners.³⁸⁴

Honae H. Cuffe argues that like crime podcasts which have interviews and expert soundbites, oral history couples greatly with a well-crafted long-form narrative, hooking listeners with accounts of reflections on someone's life, the audio of people from a past era, and a subjective, personal-sounding narrator; all of which create an intimate experience for listeners.³⁸⁵ Ellen McCracken argues that the key to *Serial*'s success was its seriality, producing a story that makes listeners want to find out more week by week. She suggests that the effectiveness of seriality is in the idea that there is always more to discover and enforced temporal delays to stories leads to deeper imaginative engagement for an audience. In print, the deeper imaginative engagement allows readers to spend more time thinking about the story and analysing it.³⁸⁶

Storytelling style podcasts are becoming more frequently used by heritage sites, compared to using audio guides alone, but there has been little research into the use of these kinds of podcasts within the heritage industry. Heritage organisations like the National Trust are clearly utilising podcasts to tell stories surrounding specific themes connected to their sites, however there is no evidence that podcasting is being used to tell more long-form stories of individual sites. Furthermore, there is little evaluation to determine if the format of their current podcasts is connecting well with audiences, whether there could be better ways to tell certain stories through podcasting, or how podcasting is an effective tool in heritage interpretation compared to traditional media. In the National Trust's 2020/2021 Annual Report, there are several examples of how digital projects such as online events, festivals, and activities such as puzzles and crafting were effective examples of reaching audiences recently.³⁸⁷ Nowhere in this report was it mentioned how the use of podcasting has aided the Trust during the COVID-19 lockdowns, or how podcasting is being included in their digital interpretation plans for the future. This evidence points to the conclusion that heritage sites and organisations are uncertain about the place podcasting has in their digital interpretation in the future, despite the high demand for and growing popularity of history and heritage podcasts that are well produced, offer insight beyond the normal site visit, and are, most of all, engaging to listen to by audiences. While heritage sites and museums are being

³⁸⁴ P. Renfro, 'Tough on Crime: Atlanta Monster and the Politics of "True Crime" Podcasting', *Atlanta Studies*, 16 October 2018.

³⁸⁵ Cuffe, 'Lend Me Your Ears', pp. 560–561.

³⁸⁶ McCracken, *The Serial podcast and storytelling in the digital age*, pp. 1357–1359.

³⁸⁷ National Trust, 'Annual Report 2020/2021', online edn, (July 2021) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/annual-reports> (accessed 25 August 2022).

encouraged to use podcasts, and resources such as *Your Museum Needs a Podcast*³⁸⁸ have grown in popularity in the heritage industry, there is little extant research on developing effective formats for heritage podcasts. This research project aims to alleviate that gap in the literature.

³⁸⁸ H. Hethmon, *Your Museum Needs a Podcast: A Step-By-Step Guide to Podcasting on a Budget for Museums, History Organizations, and Cultural Nonprofits*, online edn, (2018) <https://www.betterlemonaudio.com/> (accessed 18 February 2019).

3. Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the methods used to address the research question raised in this project. As shown below, the methodological approach used for this project is interdisciplinary and involves a cyclical process of research and practice. I begin by reviewing my research questions and go on to explore, as well as the literature surrounding this methodological approach, the methods of data-collection and analysis required to address these research questions. Those methods were, in brief, interviews with heritage practitioners and the local community, visits to heritage sites in north Wales connected with the post-textual analysis of existing materials related to Penrhyn Castle, creating an audio text, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, and its accompanying website, and the post-textual analysis of this creative text.

I discuss in this chapter my reasons for choosing these methods and illustrate how I refined my research questions as the process continued, as is often the case with practice-based research, in order to produce a coherent and robust analysis of a multilayered media product for heritage.

I end this chapter with a brief discussion of obstacles encountered during this project and the solutions found to overcome them.

Research questions and approach

The primary research question addressed by this thesis is ‘how can podcasting be used to communicate the multilayered narrative of a heritage site?’

The methodological approach chosen for this project includes a cyclical process that means each stage iterates on stages that went before it. In this way, the research question for this project evolved over time. Originally, I set out to examine the promotional materials connected with Penrhyn Castle, fliers, leaflets, and posters for example, to see how the heritage site’s promotional messaging had changed throughout its history. My previous MRes research in writing for tourism laid the foundations for this. However, it was in the course of looking at promotional materials for Penrhyn Castle that I realised there were aspects of Penrhyn’s narrative that were missing. Through my previous studies and exploration of heritage in north Wales, I was aware of the extent of Penrhyn estate’s history, and only certain aspects of this narrative were being explored by the National Trust in publications designed for a tourism audience.

The guidebooks were the most accessible literature on the Penrhyn estate for a general audience; there had not been extensive publications from historians on the estate. This meant that the guidebooks were the only place for audiences to glean the narrative of the estate's history from its beginnings to when it was handed over to the National Trust. It was for this reason I shifted focus from all promotional materials to just the guidebooks. This enabled me to examine how Penrhyn's history had been presented from the 1950s up until 2006. As I explored the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks' content and conducted background research into guidebook literature, I realised I wanted to explore an alternate way of presenting Penrhyn's story to audiences that allowed for multiple voices and perspectives, was accessible to audiences beyond visitors to Penrhyn Castle, and was through a media widely used to a modern, digitally engaged audience.

After examining the published guidebooks and determining their gaps, researching and analysing other kinds of media and digital heritage practices alone would not be enough to answer my initial research questions. To explore the ways the Penrhyn estate's multilayered narrative could be communicated through podcasting, I would have to create a creative artefact myself, that could then be analysed alongside the guidebooks to compare and contrast the different media and their content. That is why I chose practice-based research as the approach for this project. In this chapter, I will describe this approach, detail some background literature on this method, and then move on to explore what data-collection methods I used.

Practice Based Research as Methodology

Practice-related research is an accepted methodology in medicine, design and engineering (where it is often called 'action research', referring to field-based research and participatory experiments as opposed to laboratory tests).³⁸⁹ Whilst it has always been present in one form or another in the arts and humanities, recently artistic practice has developed into a major focus of research activity, and discourse in various disciplines has made a strong case for its validity as a method of research.³⁹⁰ Practice-based research, as opposed to traditional methods of research, uses not only the traditional background research of academic study but also

³⁸⁹ P. Reason and H. Bradbury, *Handbook of Action Research, Participation Inquiry and Practice* (London, 2001) in R. L. Skains, 'Creative Practice as Research: Discourse on Methodology', *Media Practice and Education*, 19, 1, (2018), p. 84.

³⁹⁰ R. L. Skains, 'Creative Practice as Research: Discourse on Methodology', *Media Practice and Education*, 19, 1, (2018), pp. 82–97 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14682753.2017.1362175> (accessed 15 April 2021).

gathers data through artistic creation. Practice-based research as an approach is about getting the information needed to acquire a working, rather than a specialist knowledge, not in one area but in a range of areas and disciplines, and as a bowerbird-like selection of sources that would contribute to a creative work-in-progress.³⁹¹ A relatively underutilised methodology in more traditional areas of academia, research through the means of practice is primarily used in the creative arts allowing for creators not only to look at art after the creation, but to ‘push this examination into a more direct and intimate sphere’,³⁹² that allows for the practitioner to also learn about the process of the art of creation. Research centres are increasingly depending on practice-based research innovation because of its usefulness to artists, designers, and researchers to gain insight into not only the practitioner’s process, and its significant impact on the final media text.³⁹³ For any practice-based research project, there is an accompanying creative element to the thesis, an artefact that is created as a part of the research.³⁹⁴ Hazel Smith and Roger Dean argue that aspects of practice and theory work hand in hand, both in practice being research and research developing into practice.³⁹⁵ They use the term research-led practice to compliment practice-led research which ‘originates in the contemporary modus operandi of science, engineering, technology and medical research, in which research work is directed not only towards the elucidation of falsifiable ideas but also towards the production of practical outcomes...’.³⁹⁶ Because of the interdisciplinary nature of a number of creative practice projects, they propose that research-led practice, though primarily used in other fields, can apply to creative works, as some creative work has come out of initial research in other areas and is used across wide-ranging fields with interdisciplinary aspects in creative work such as filming, music production, and creative writing in psychology.

As podcast studies is an emerging and growing field, creative practice is increasingly being used to explore the use of podcasting as a digital media and a tool across other disciplines. Other doctoral projects such as Britta Jorgensen’s ‘Australia’s podcasting’ in

³⁹¹ E. Bacon, ‘Creative Research: Mixing Methods in Practice-Led Research to Explore a Model of Stories-within-a-Story to Build a Novel’, *New Writing*, 14, 2, (2017), pp. 235–56
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14790726.2016.1270969> (accessed 15 April 2021).

³⁹² Skains, ‘Creative Practice as Research’, pp. 82–97.

³⁹³ L. Candy, ‘Practice Based Research: A Guide’, *Creativity and Cognition Studios* (2006) pp. 1–6.

³⁹⁴ N. Nimkulrat, ‘The Role of Documentation in Practice-Led Research’, *Journal of Research Practice*, 3, 1, (2007), pp.1–8.

³⁹⁵ H. Smith and R. Dean, *Practice-Led Research, Research-Led Practice in the Creative Arts* (Edinburg, 2012), pp. 2–6.

³⁹⁶ Smith and Dean, *Practice-Led Research*, p. 7.

2020³⁹⁷ and Anna Williams' 'My Gothic dissertation: a podcast'³⁹⁸, in 2019 both combined practice-based research with qualitative study, producing podcast series' by mixing voice, music, sound, and narration alongside written exegesis to generate new knowledge in the fields of narrative journalism and literature by using curated frameworks to explore podcast research alongside other fields. Though there is ample research conducted in radio studies, Britta Jorgenson and Mia Lindgren argue that practice-based research is an ideal and necessary means of exploring podcasting studies as there is 'still so much that is unknown within the evolving field of podcast studies' and the 'critical frames of reference (most of them inherited from radio studies) might simply not be a very good fit for podcasting'.³⁹⁹ Therefore, creating new frames of reference requires experimentation and innovation in the field, especially when podcast studies can straddle other disciplines. Like these other PhD projects, creative practice was imperative to answer my research question of how podcasting could be used to communicate the multilayered narrative of a heritage site. Creating *Podlediad Penrhyn* allowed me to utilise practices across different disciplines such as historical research, narrative studies, journalism practices and media studies which I would not have been able to explore thoroughly through qualitative research alone. While there is growing research in podcasting in heritage, like this dissertation, many of those studies focus on case studies on individual podcasts that are unique to certain types of heritage sites, professions, pedagogy, and historic time periods. For me to explore the ways podcasting could be used to communicate multilayered narratives, I had to create my own unique podcast with a specific framework based on multidisciplinary research to focus on the multilayered aspect of Penrhyn's history. Once the project has been completed, the podcast and my framework could then be utilised and analysed by podcast scholars, historians and heritage and creative practitioners, but to explore the multilayered narrative aspect of my project, the creative artefact and its specific framework were key to informing my research.

If research is a systematic investigation to establish facts, test theories, and reach new knowledge or new understandings, then when employing a method which includes the act of creating artefacts, the same guidelines must be followed. Research offers the prospect of

³⁹⁷ B. Jorgenson and M. Lindgren, 'Pause and reflect: Practice-as-research methods in radio and podcast studies', in M. Lindgren and J. Loviglio (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Radio Podcast Studies*, (London, 2022), pp. 50-59.

³⁹⁸ S. Vaughan, 'Practice submissions – are doctoral regulations and policies responding to the needs of creative practice,' *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, 26, 3, (2021), pp. 333–352, 334 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13596748.2021.1920262> (accessed 5 September 2022).

³⁹⁹ Jorgenson and Lindgren, 'Pause and reflect', p. 52.

achieving something new in the world, and both its outcomes and methodology are expected to be available to anyone wishing to scrutinise or challenge it.⁴⁰⁰ When employing practice-based research, it is important to establish early the research question that the method is being used to explore. Practice-based research requires the same academic rigour that traditional output methods require, but what is different in this approach is that practice-based research is often a process of exploration and discovery. Many key insights within this approach can come to the researcher via serendipity rather than as part of the experiment's design. Serendipity in creative practice is defined as 'a process of making a mental connection that has the potential to lead a valuable outcome, projecting the value of the outcome and taking actions to exploit the connection, leading to a valuable outcome.'⁴⁰¹ Using this method, the initial research question is often vague or open-ended to permit flexibility in the practice and allow 'space for such serendipitous discoveries to occur'.⁴⁰²

A basic principle of practice-based research is that the research questions arise from the process of practice, the answers are directed toward enlightening and enhancing the practice involved and is usually set in a specific context.⁴⁰³ The context for this practice is the heritage industry, heritage interpretation, and the history of the Penrhyn estate and surrounding landscape. This is important, because according to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, in engaging in the act of composition — the creation of a text — one must incorporate knowledge of both domain and field. *Domain* encompasses a set of symbolic rules and procedures that identify an area of knowledge; *field* is the individuals who act as gatekeepers for that domain. For this project, the domain is heritage interpretation, and the field includes the heritage specialists, site curators, and creative practitioners that wrote the guidebooks.⁴⁰⁴

Furthermore, the artefacts that practitioners create are an integral part of practice and, within research, the making process allows for opportunities for exploration, reflection, and evaluation.⁴⁰⁵ As R. Lyle Skains lays out, the practice-based research method includes what previous researchers have established as processes within creative cognition and composition.

⁴⁰⁰ L. Candy and E. Edmonds, 'Practice-Based Research in the Creative Arts: Foundations and Futures from the Front Line,' *Leonardo*, 51, (2018), pp. 63–69 https://doi.org/10.1162/LEON_a_01471 (accessed 15 September 2022).

⁴⁰¹ S. Makri et al., "'Making my own luck": Serendipity strategies and how to support them in digital information environments', *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 65, 11, (2012), p. 2 <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.23200> (accessed 15 October, 2022).

⁴⁰² Skains, 'Creative Practice as Research', p. 93.

⁴⁰³ Candy and Edmonds, 'Practice-Based Research in the Creative Arts', p. 63.

⁴⁰⁴ M. Csikszentmihalyi, *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention* (New York, 1996) in R. L. Skains, 'Creative Practice as Research', p. 89.

⁴⁰⁵ Candy and Edmonds, 'Practice-Based Research in the Creative Arts', p. 66.

In the Practitioner Model of Creative Cognition, Skains lays out the way that *domain* and *field*, the *Genevieve Model of Creativity*, and *Multiple Representation Thesis* all interact with and influence the practitioner when creating a media text. This practitioner's model was designed and tested by a creative writing researcher, R. Lyle Skains, and in gathering cognitive and creativity models together, she created a framework through which we can understand how composition is affected in research.

This model is important to provide context for the outlining of practice-based research as this project sees it, and how it should be read when approaching this thesis. There is a growing body of research that utilises this method, but there are still cases where it is less well-known and unlikely to match exactly with another practitioner's use. However, for the purposes of this research, the Skains' Outline of Practice-based Research Method was the approach utilised.

The Outline of Practice-based Research Method is: i) establish the research problem, ii) conduct background research, iii) conduct empirical research / continue contextual research, iv) form argument leading to exegesis, v) write exegesis.⁴⁰⁶

The third stage, conducting empirical research and continuing contextual research, is the cyclical portion of the method. In this stage, the researcher will revisit the research problem multiple times, refining both their approach and their stated goal, as serendipity and reflection on the process occurs. In this project, this occurred early in the research, when the initial examination of promotional materials for Penrhyn Castle paused and illuminated a larger issue; first was that many historical promotional materials were no longer available to access, reportedly lost in a fire, and the second was that the guidebooks used for Penrhyn Castle contained areas which, due to my contextual research, I understood to be only part of the whole narrative.

I wanted to explore the ways in which heritage sites could improve upon and expand the narratives they tell their visitors. Though research on this problem began before the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic in 2020, it was serendipity that allowed for this research to dovetail with the rise of digital heritage that took place during the national lockdowns in the United Kingdom, following the outbreak of the virus.

⁴⁰⁶ Skains, 'Creative Practice as Research,' p. 94.

Practice Based Research in this project

In practice-based research, research theory informs practice and practice leads to theoretical work. It is in the process of engaging with the theoretical underpinnings of guidebooks for heritage that I examined the use of digital heritage. From the earliest stages, I was interested in how a digital, novel method of heritage interpretation could be used by sites to further engage with audiences and explore narratives that they had been heretofore ignored, for all intents and purposes. Through the theoretical and contextual reading that I had already performed prior to starting the process of creating the podcast and based on prior experience in writing-for-tourism, I understood that a podcast would suit the multilayered narrative of a heritage site like Penrhyn much better than the monolayered texts, the guidebooks.

It was imperative that this creative practice was based in the historical research undertaken about the Penrhyn estate prior to the beginning of the creative process. The practitioner model discussed above indicates that theoretical and, in this case, historical research does not stop throughout the creative process. Archival research and critical discussions with historians and heritage practitioners formed the basis of each episode for the creative text. This followed the same practices seen in true crime podcasting, where each episode would follow a particular aspect of a real criminal case where newspaper clippings might be explored, crime scene evidence could be discussed, and criminologists, detectives, forensic archaeologists, or witnesses might be interviewed. For this podcast, I brought out the specific aspects of the Penrhyn narrative that were missing from the guidebooks that I had discovered through my historical research and gave audiences parts of the narrative I had found through my own research and discussions with experts.

In the process of researching Penrhyn Castle and the estate, I was also writing and creating episodes of the podcast. But, whilst writing, I would also be interviewing members of the local community, heritage directors, historians, and other practitioners within the heritage industry. The process of research influenced the creation of the creative artefact, but the specifics of the research I undertook and the people I spoke with were always underlined by the direction of my creative practice.

The creative practice for this research was founded upon the cornerstone of my research questions. Jonathan Grix argues that practice-based researchers benefit from designing methodologies around research questions firstly, as ‘research questions point to the most appropriate research methods and hence sources’,⁴⁰⁷ and Skains discusses establishing

⁴⁰⁷ J. Grix, *The Foundations of Research* (London, 2004), p. 69.

the research problem in stage one of her outline as engaging the planning (idea generation and goal setting) processes of composition. Through understanding the way that we approach creativity cognitively, it is simple to see how the research and the creative artefact are intertwined from step one.⁴⁰⁸

Secondly, a fundamental grounding in the domain is required. In most cases, this is through the study of background literature. This research rarely stops throughout the investigative process of practice-based research. This allows the practice-based researcher to ‘know what she doesn’t know’, in order to identify gaps and to engage fully in the planning process.⁴⁰⁹ Exposure to and close readings of podcasts in a variety of genres, but particularly in genres that utilised a longform narrative structure, allowed me to understand the best approach to the medium for this project. How the podcasts created a fiction-narrative effect from non-fiction events, in most cases true crimes, was the key element explored. There were other elements specific to the podcast medium that were looked for, this included the use of music and sound, the choice of voices used, references to evidence or archival materials from crimes, the intrusion of the narrator, the tone and style of the narration, how many references to the narrator’s personal life there might have been, the length of episodes, and the number of episodes. These elements form the backbone of the chosen podcast format, and each element was something that I needed to decide on, as a practitioner, and I based this decision on what came before in other genres that had succeeded in producing a popular, and effective, podcast series. This style of podcast was appealing, because it was able to address the gaps and issues found in the guidebooks. As with any practice, consuming and evaluating other creative texts is an important part of the creative process. As discussed above, this forms the third stage of the methodological approach, continuing contextual research. Identifying key aspects that inspired me or added to the understanding of the listener in these texts allowed me to introduce those in my own creative artefact. These aspects form the basis of the analysis of the podcast created for this project: a longform narrative, a subjective narrator, music and sound, multivocality, and independent branding.

Data collection

For data collection, specific methods were used to gather the information required for the creation of the podcast. These were post-textual analysis and creative practice. Within the

⁴⁰⁸ Skains, ‘Creative Practice as Research’, pp. 86–89.

⁴⁰⁹ Skains, ‘Creative Practice as Research’, p. 93.

practice, I used common social sciences methodology such as semi-structured interviews and historical research method of archival research.

Semi-structured interviews are a method of approaching an interview with questions that may differ from interviewee to interviewee but provide some similar structure to the conversation that would otherwise occur in an unstructured interview. This is different from a structured interview, in which every participant would be given the exact same questions, with no deviation from those questions allowed, or required.

The use of semi-structured interviews was purposeful, because it allowed for participants to be expressive of their own voice and narrative, whilst still fitting to the requirements of a podcast episode.

Post-textual analysis

Post-textual analysis is a key component of this study in two distinct stages. This analysis, discussed in greater detail in chapter four, highlighted areas of the Penrhyn narrative that were minimised or missing from the publications. These gaps and issues were then directly addressed in my creation of the podcast, detailed further in chapter six.

The first stage of this methodology is the textual analysis of the National Trust's Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks, which were published between 1955 and 2006. This was a crucial step in the project's process because it allowed me to highlight issues found in the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks. As the primary/principal source of texts published exclusively about the Penrhyn estate, I examined the National Trust guidebooks as a collective rather than each text individually. By analysing each version and edition, rather than a single version or the most recent publication, the shift in focus on certain aspects of the narrative can be seen over time. I aimed to identify and analyse the focus in the narratives chosen by the writers from the beginning of Penrhyn Castle as a heritage site in the 1950s to more recent editions in the early 2000s. Simultaneously, this revealed patterns of other narratives that are repeated throughout the guidebooks. Through identifying gaps and patterns through the guidebooks, I discovered common themes such as the prioritisation of anglicised narratives throughout the editions and gaps such as the reduction of Welsh-related narratives and narratives connected to transatlantic slavery. This form of analysis underpinned the writing and producing of *Podlediad Penrhyn* podcast. The pattern of narratives identified was used as a foundation for the podcast, enabling the choice between following that pattern or abandoning it.

The second stage of textual analysis that occurred was after the creation of the podcast. Through this process, discussed in detail in chapter six, the creative artefact is compared against other podcasts to examine the media-specificities that impact the final text. I analysed *Podlediad Penrhyn*'s layers, the music and sound, longform narrative structure, myself as the narrator, and the branding of the website and compared these aspects to those issues and gaps discovered in the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks.

Textual analysis can be applied to a broad array of texts and media such as newspapers articles, grocery lists, films, or podcasts.⁴¹⁰ In this way, I am able to analyse both the podcast and the guidebooks using the same method, despite their difference in medium. Performing a post-textual analysis on the podcast allowed for the same key themes and focuses to be examined in the same way.

Creative practice

The creative practice in this research was, as mentioned, the creation of a five-episode podcast, of an hour per episode, which included narration, extracts from interviews with historians, heritage interpreters, and local community members, music and sound relating to Penrhyn and the landscape, and exploration of narratives that were missing or minimised in the guidebooks. A limited accompanying website was also created for listeners to find further information about the estate and to explore images, music, and videos. However, it was not integral to the understanding of the podcast and served as an optional addition for listeners. In other words, it is not required reading as the podcast episodes can stand alone when a listener chooses to download the podcast. As such, I decided not to focus analysis of the website in this thesis — outside of some discussion surrounding the wider branding of the podcast — as it was primarily a distribution method and would be akin to analysing where in the gift shop the guidebooks were placed, i.e., firmly outside the scope of this thesis.

A podcast framework was established for the podcast, which follows the narrative podcast often utilised in true crime podcasts such as *Serial* and *S Town*. After researching popular styles of podcasts such as interview, solo/monologue, and panel podcasts which are popular in comedy and heritage and history podcasts, I found that the narrative style podcast, which focuses on longform storytelling over multiple episodes, was an appropriate fit for trying to tell multilayered stories of an estate such as Penrhyn. This format of podcast focuses on a mixture of first-person subjective narration, a central storyline and multiple individual

⁴¹⁰ I. Cushing, *Text Analysis and Representation* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 9.

stories which ‘create a greater degree of proximity between reporter, interviewee and listener’.⁴¹¹ This style of podcast curates content in a way that feels personal to the listener, yet follows a storytelling format similar to a novel. The development of establishing this framework is explored further on Chapter 6, The Analysis of *Podllediad Penrhyn*.

Interviews

The interviews took place over a period of two years due to the interruption of the coronavirus pandemic, detailed further below. The interviews were semi-structured, as the interviewees were forewarned of the questions that I had written for them, but were able to, and in fact encouraged, to explore tangents and areas of personal importance to them. As this style of podcast relies on expert voices — expert either through being a professional or through the lived experience of that participant’s life — it was important that I gave them the freedom to answer questions in ways that best suited them, but that I also knew enough about the topics for my questions, and responses to their answers, were engaging and accurate. In this way, semi-structured interviews were important for this project, as they propose a background level of research to be conducted first, with a framework of questions created to guide conversations.⁴¹² As the questions are typically individually curated for each interviewee, and focused on a main topic, a framework for a question guide can be created, but does not have to be strictly followed, allowing for discussions to expand.⁴¹³ Semi-structured interviews allowed me to ‘explore the research area by collecting similar types of information from each participant by providing participants with guidance on what to talk about’.⁴¹⁴ As not every individual could speak on, or have knowledge in every aspect of Penrhyn’s story that I was exploring, it was important that questions be tailored specifically to each interviewee, with the Penrhyn estate as a focal point. There were some overlapping questions and similar data gathered from different interviewees, as well as different information, depending on who was interviewed. This helped me to correlate multilayered information and narratives of the estate that were often different, but still connected and interwoven into the Penrhyn estate’s story. Each interviewee was given the option to refuse or avoid any question posed to them, though no one took that option. Because this was not

⁴¹¹ Waldmann, ‘From Storytelling to Storylistening’, p. 31.

⁴¹² T. Wengraf, *Qualitative Research Interviewing: biographic narrative and semi-structured methods* (London, 2001) pp. 60-72.

⁴¹³ P. H. Kallio et al., ‘Systematic methodological review: developing a framework for a qualitative semi-structured interview guide’, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 72, 12, (2016) p. 5 <https://doi.org/10.1111/jan.13031> (accessed 15 October 2022).

⁴¹⁴ Kallio et al., ‘Systematic methodological review’, pp. 5-10.

journalism-style practice, it was not my intention to interrogate interviewees or pressure them into answering questions that they were not comfortable answering. The interviews did not follow strict oral history guidelines, either, as this was not the aim for this research. Some of those practices bled into my data collection, but as this research was not intended to fall into that category of research they were not followed completely.

When finding interviewees, my approach to sampling was based on finding those people who could discuss matters relevant to the missing elements of the Penrhyn narrative in the guidebooks, such as: family related to the Penrhyn estate, i.e., the ancestor of a tenant farmer on the estate; business owners, such as the owner of Zip World, located in Bethesda's Penrhyn quarry, connected with the estate; the local community, like the Penrhyn Choir, that have traditions rooted in Penrhyn's past; heritage practitioners involved in telling Penrhyn's story, such as the National Trust and the Slate Museum; those connected to Penrhyn's future, such as those involved in the UNESCO World Heritage bid for the slate industry in north Wales; those who knew about what was available in the archives and how they connected to Penrhyn's history; and historians that could speak on specific areas of Penrhyn's historical narrative, such as slavery, medieval history, industrial heritage, and in migration studies and diasporas.

A challenge with this sample was that during the coronavirus pandemic, not every community member or potential interviewee I spoke to was able or willing to be interviewed. However, I was able to interview a mix of local community members, experts, and business owners about the Penrhyn estate. For some interviewees, I only questioned them based on their expertise, particularly the historians, but for many of them their expertise overlapped with their personal lives. Some interviewees had family members that had worked in Penrhyn quarry, for example. Others had grandparents that were opposed to going to Penrhyn Castle and they grew up knowing those opinions. Whilst I interviewed expert and local members of the community, there were overlaps between these two categories because of their personal stake in the estate, landscape, or community in the area.

A key aspect of the sample size required was bringing out the multivocality of the Penrhyn estate's narrative. Though I initially hoped for a larger sample to interview, ultimately the delay of the coronavirus pandemic was outside of my control and the research had time constraints that had to be adhered to throughout the project. Despite this, I felt that the minority voices that were not present in the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks were found for this project, though in limited numbers.

All interviewees signed release forms for my use of the interview audio clips in my podcast and understood that it was to be available to the public upon publication.

Archival research

Another key component of my data collection was the interrogation of the Bangor University Archives and Collections, and in particular the Penrhyn Castle collection. I read through contemporary newspaper articles, letters to Lord Penrhyn, documents relating to the Jamaican plantations, and deeds connected to the early estate.

This archival research formed a core part of the contextual research that informed the creation of the podcast, the questions I posed to interviewees, and the direction of my theoretical reading.

Evaluation of approach

Throughout this chapter, I have discussed the methodological approach used in the study of this thesis. I have identified how practice-based research is both examination of the practice itself and the surrounding domain. The outcome of the research is a combination of both creative artefact and this dissertation. Just as in a scientific experiment, the creative artefact is an experiment, an exploration of a research question that can only be answered through practice. The creative artefact is the basis of the contribution to knowledge required for a successful PhD submission.⁴¹⁵

The chosen methodological approach, practice-based research, is predicated upon maintaining a stringent standard of critical knowledge developed through research and provides the wider domain of heritage interpretation with a new, robust approach that will bring us closer to answering questions about practice and creative work that have previously proven difficult or impossible.⁴¹⁶

Using a similar approach to other heritage sites and texts will enable other heritage practitioners to answer their own questions about the best way to involve multilayered narratives in the information given to their visitors. It is my hope that the structure and style of podcast I have created can form a framework or model that other heritage sites can use to approach audiences in new and effective ways. By utilising creative practice alongside my written thesis, my project can be added to the corpus of podcast studies where ‘podcast production becomes the locus of podcast knowledge creation – a space for practical

⁴¹⁵ Skains, ‘Creative Practice as Research,’ p. 86.

⁴¹⁶ Skains, ‘Creative Practice as Research,’ p. 96.

experimentation, scholarly critical analysis and reflexivity and research translation accessible to both peers, and the public'.⁴¹⁷

Methodological obstacles and their solutions

As mentioned previously, the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic came onto the world stage in early 2020, mid-way through this research undertaking. This disruption was larger than it had appeared initially, because there was no indication of the length of time that face-to-face meetings would be delayed. For a methodology that included interviews with members of the local community, this posed a large obstacle to overcome.

Fortunately, the remaining discussions that needed to take place for the podcast were able to occur over virtual meeting software such as Microsoft Teams or Zoom. Whilst this changed the dynamic of a meeting, slightly, in that I was no longer meeting with people face-to-face it did not change the outcomes of our discussions. Furthermore, this disruption actually enabled the scope of my interviews to widen. I was able to interview historians from further afield than I had previously, and in locations that I would never have been able to realistically reach in person. This expanded the richness of the multivocality of my creative artefact.

Additionally, and tied once again to the pandemic, I was forced to move from an institution-based studio to a home-based studio at the same time. This meant that there were hardware and software changes, resources to be found, and extra time used in setting up the home studio. Eventually, this led to the ability to record from anywhere and with people based farther afield.

Losing access to the Bangor University Archives during the pandemic was another challenge that temporarily delayed this project. Through the efforts of the Collections' team, however, I was able to find the texts I required safely.

Final thoughts

The remainder of this thesis serves as an example of the practice-based research approach outlined here, utilising Skains' *Practice-based Research Method*.⁴¹⁸ It is an effort to not only reflect upon the way that heritage has been interpreted and disseminated in the past, but also to highlight a method that visitors to heritage sites today can be further engaged with, providing a framework for heritage sites across the UK to create their own digital heritage media such as a podcast.

⁴¹⁷ Jorgenson and Lindgren, 'Pause and reflect', p. 52.

⁴¹⁸ Skains, 'Creative Practice as Research,' p. 96.

4. Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the National Trust's guidebooks for Penrhyn Castle produced between 1950–2006. Through textual analysis and close readings of all published guides produced by the National Trust on Penrhyn Castle, from its takeover of the estate in the 1950s to its operation of the historic site in more recent years, the chapter explores the narratives covered throughout the different guides, discussing the main themes discovered in the guidebooks and highlighting evolving content within the various editions. This chapter also identifies and addresses seven issues within the narratives of the guidebooks, including gaps in their portrayal of the Penrhyn narrative, looks at the corporate branding of the National Trust's guidebooks, and assesses some of the tone, syntax, and narrative style within their content.

The first gap or issue found is that the guidebooks minimised the narratives of slavery and people of colour connected to the estate's history; the second is that the guidebooks prioritise Anglicised narratives through their use of centralised authority and staged authenticity; the third is that focusing on a single Anglicised narrative left out other important narratives of the area, such as the industrial; the fourth is that the focus on Penrhyn is tied solely to the Castle and does not venture into the multilocal or multivocal aspects of landscape, people, or community; the fifth is that the guidebooks minimise Welsh identity and Welsh-related narratives; the sixth is that the centralised brand limits the narratives told and focuses on those central to the National Trust image and experience; and the seventh is that the guidebooks' static format means they are rarely up to date and cannot include current connections to historical matter.

Each of these issues, gaps or deficiencies are discussed below. By highlighting the identified issues in the published literature surrounding the estate, I was able to find clear areas of improvement required for future texts. This eventually led to the design and creation of the creative artefact, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, discussed later in chapter five.

Published works on the history of Penrhyn Estate

Unlike other major country house sites, there has not been a rigorous, academic study of Penrhyn's history conducted and published. There are, however, subject-specific publications restricted to certain periods of time or themes. There are a few major considerations arising from this. The first consideration is that the guidebooks do not have a grounding in academic

research. They are texts written by a monolithic entity for a tourism audience, written with a single, authoritative viewpoint that has distanced itself from the reader and attempts to appear more knowledgeable than the site's visitor. The next consideration is that the understanding of Penrhyn's complex and multiperiod history is fragmentary. As mentioned above, the academic publications surrounding the Penrhyn estate's history are subject-specific texts. They dive wholly into a single topic (e.g. slate quarrying or medieval poetry) and do not explore the wide-ranging history and significance of the site in a cohesive manner. The final consideration arising from this is that the guidebooks therefore have a status as the key public source of information on the historical significance of the site. Without additional literature, there is a high risk of an audience misunderstanding the significance of Penrhyn estate's narrative, particularly regarding its multilocal, multivocal narratives. These considerations are key to understanding the nature of this research. My project is grounded in extensive research and rigorous academic study, drawing upon scholarly voices in ways that the guidebooks never did. This project also draws together a variety of important threads in the history of Penrhyn into a cohesive narrative for audiences. The creative artefact created from this study, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, is now another key piece of the public information published on Penrhyn's historical significance – and importantly, is presented in a way that is more accessible and comprehensive than the guidebooks. To start, it is important to establish the extent to which literature has already been published on the Penrhyn estate.

Bangor University has the largest collection of archival material relating to the Penrhyn estate. This enormous archive has not been extensively explored and the heritage potential is yet to be unlocked.⁴¹⁹ This comprehensive collection of archival documents is known as the *Penrhyn Castle Papers 1888–1952* and includes letters, title deeds, leases, maps, tenancy agreements, surveys, accounts, official papers and other materials relating to the acquisition, management and inheritance of the Penrhyn estate. Together they give a detailed insight into the influence and workings of the estate over centuries.⁴²⁰ Notwithstanding this immense store of evidence, it is yet to be fully analysed and made comprehensible in a published format for a public audience.

When searching for publications in Bangor University's library database, keyword searches yielded 980 results, broken into 414 articles, 299 newspaper articles, and nine books

⁴¹⁹ Evans and Simpson, 'Assessing the impact of collections-based collaboration across archives and academia: the Penrhyn estate archive', pp. 37–54.

⁴²⁰ Bangor University, 'The Penrhyn Castle Collection', *Archives and Special Collections*, online edn, <https://www.bangor.ac.uk/archives/penrhyn.php.en> (accessed 15 April 2022).

or e-books. Most articles found were academic in nature and focused on singular parts of the Penrhyn estate's history such as its medieval owners, or its role in the slate industry in north Wales. Of the nine books, none were loanable, signifying their 'rarity' as part of the university's Archives and Special Collections where they largely feature as manuscript rather than published print copies.

There are historical research books and articles such as A. D. Carr's 'Gwilym ap Gruffydd and the Rise of the Penrhyn Estate' and Glenys Mair Lloyd's portrayal of *Piers Griffith: Pirate of Penrhyn 1568–1628*⁴²¹ which focus on early aspects of Penrhyn's history. Other books, such as *The Great Strike: A history of the Penrhyn Quarry Dispute of 1900–103* by Jean Lindsey⁴²² and *North Wales Quarrymen 1874–1922* by Merfyn Jones⁴²³, feature significant content connected to the Penrhyn Quarry, its associated infrastructure and industrial relations between quarrymen and the Lords Penrhyn, including the 'Great Strike'. However, they do not give a well-rounded narrative of the entire history of the estate, or much context into other aspects of its story. This dearth of academic content encouraged a more general approach to discovery of information. I next searched through more public channels. Most of the mentions of Penrhyn in more widely circulated books that can be purchased on e-commerce sites such as Amazon, or bookstores such as Waterstones, are about a broad aspect of Wales' history. For example, books such as *Sugar and Slate* by Charlotte Williams⁴²⁴, or *The Slave Trade* by Hugh Thomas⁴²⁵, talk about the Penrhyn estate in relation to its role in transatlantic slavery.

In relation to online resources, I conducted a general search of Google to look at sites that would be accessible to the public about the history of Penrhyn estate. These searches were conducted both on the basis of my own search history, as someone who has looked up the Penrhyn estate extensively, and from a visitor's perspective in 'incognito mode' to avoid the personalised algorithmic results. The first two pages of results rendered short articles from Wikipedia, the National Trust, and tourism sites in north Wales. Top results included the National Trust's website for Penrhyn Castle. This site features web pages about the estate's history, with around 600–1,000 words on the castle itself, the estate's connection

⁴²¹ Carr, 'Gwilym ap Gruffydd and the Rise of the Penrhyn Estate', pp. 1–20 and G. M. Lloyd, *Piers Griffith: Pirate of Penrhyn 1569–1628* (1870).

⁴²² Lindsey, *The Great Strike*, pp. 61–125.

⁴²³ Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, p. 2, 10–12.

⁴²⁴ C. Williams, *Sugar and Slate* (Cardigan, 2022).

⁴²⁵ H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade-The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440–1870* (London, 1997), pp. 508–516.

with slavery, the architecture of Penrhyn Castle, and the Great Strikes of 1900–03. These brief articles give context to Penrhyn Castle as a heritage site and show a timeline for the history of the estate but contain only 50 to 100 words for each section and do not cover the story of the estate in any great depth.⁴²⁶

During a brief search for literature on other country houses and estates in the UK, those such as Chatsworth⁴²⁷, Hardwick Hall⁴²⁸, and Highclere Castle⁴²⁹ have been focuses for both academic and popular published books. These books are more accessible to the public than anything published by the National Trust on the Penrhyn estate. While these books tend to focus on specific aspects of estate history, they are easily accessible as public sources of information on the heritage sites. By contrast, no such books exist on the Penrhyn estate.

The main source of published works associated with the Penrhyn estate are the National Trust Guidebooks published between 1950–2006.⁴³⁰ Editions of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks were published in 1955⁴³¹, 1970⁴³², 1986⁴³³, 1989⁴³⁴, 1991⁴³⁵ and 2006⁴³⁶; some of which were accessible through the Bangor University Library, others I acquired through online auction on eBay. They range in size from small, 20-page pamphlets to 95-page books with either black-and-white or full-colour photos of the house or artefacts connected to the estate. Compared to the few articles and books found on the estate, the guidebooks contain the most content on Penrhyn's history, from its origins in the medieval period through to its modern operation as a National Trust visitor site. The guidebooks include resources such as plans of the house, family trees, newspaper sections, family paintings, and photographs of pieces in the art collection, as well as quotes from letters written in the 19th century from

⁴²⁶ National Trust, 'Penrhyn Castle and Garden', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle> (accessed 10 July 2022).

⁴²⁷ D. Cavendish, *Chatsworth: The House* (London, 2002); N. Bannister and J. Barnatt, *The Archaeology of a Great Estate: Chatsworth and Beyond* (Oxford, 2009); C. Robinson, *Chatsworth: The Housekeeper's Tale* (Chesterfield, 2014). Several books have been published around aspects of the Chatsworth estate, such as farming, the domestic staff, fashion, and art collections.

⁴²⁸ P. Riden and D. Fowkes, *Hardwick: A Great House and Its Estate* (Sussex, 2019); D. Adshead and D. Taylor, *Hardwick Hall: A Great Old Castle of Romance* (New Haven, Connecticut, 2016).

⁴²⁹ L. Carnarvon, *At Home at Highclere: Entertaining at the Real Downton Abbey* (London, 2017); L. Carnarvon, *Lady Catherine and the Real Downton Abbey* (London, 2013); L. Carnarvon, *The Earl and the Pharaoh: From the Real Downton Abbey to the Discovery of Tutankhamun* (London, 2022).

⁴³⁰ The National Trust has reprinted the 2006 version again in 2008, but no new versions with expanded or changed content has been released. Versions such as the 1970 and 1986 guidebooks have predominately the same content, and some chapters from the 1991 version are carried into the 2006 version.

⁴³¹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1955), pp. 1–16.

⁴³² National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1970), pp. 1–36.

⁴³³ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1986), pp. 1–36.

⁴³⁴ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1989), pp. 1–16.

⁴³⁵ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), pp. 1–97.

⁴³⁶ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), pp. 1–68.

visitors describing their stay at the castle. Their primary focus is on the story, architecture and grounds of Penrhyn Castle, its collection and its most notable owners, the Lords Penrhyn and their family. They give readers a timeline of the estate's history, as well as brief insights into more intangible parts of the estate's history, such as its Jamaican plantations and some of the early built structures on the estate that have now disappeared. The National Trust guidebooks were chosen as a focus for literary analysis over any other sources of literature on the Penrhyn estate because they are the most comprehensive published works focused on the history of the estate and because of their public-facing nature, as guidebooks are written with a general visitor readership in mind. Before exploring the guidebooks fully, it is prudent to discuss their historical background.

Historical Background of Guidebooks

Looking into the historical context of guidebooks allows us to better understand the presentation of the Penrhyn narrative through this medium. Since the early-eighteenth century, the travel guidebook has been a staple resource for tourists seeking tangible information about the sites they're visiting.⁴³⁷ The guidebook has long been used by publishers, organisations, governments, and heritage sites as a marketable tool to promote tourism sites and produce details and narratives surrounding those sites for tourists to use either as an aid at the location of the site or as a memento to return home with.⁴³⁸ Though there is no universal definition for the guidebook, John Towner found that they all share a 'commonality of impersonal, systematic approach to providing information and guidance'.⁴³⁹ The guidebook evolved from an earlier predecessor, the road book, which were small volumes of travel-related books that included maps, written itineraries, and route signage which assisted with travel in the seventeenth century.⁴⁴⁰ Also popular before the guidebook was the travelogue, or travel narrative, which was written in first-person accounts and detailed a traveller's personal experience of their journey. They are studied under the umbrella term of travel writing, which has a different purpose to a guidebook and therefore falls outside the scope of this research.⁴⁴¹ Though guidebooks absorbed aspects from both the

⁴³⁷ S. Horner and J. Swarbrooke, *International Cases in Tourism Management* (Oxford, 2004), p. 330.

⁴³⁸ V. Peel and A. Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impacts of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol, 2016), pp. 2, 28, 176.

⁴³⁹ J. Towner, 'Guidebook', in J. Jafari (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Tourism* (London, 2000), pp. 267–69.

⁴⁴⁰ W. Mackintosh, 'The Prehistory of the American Tourist Guidebook', *Book History*, 21, 1, (2018), pp. 89–124 <https://doi.org/10.1353/bh.2018.0003> (accessed 10 July 2021).

⁴⁴¹ K. N. Jones et al., 'Travel writing and Wales', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 18, 2, (2014), pp. 101–06 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2014.908503> (accessed 15 November 2020).

travelogue and the road book, combining a narrative aspect with didactic information, the guidebook emerged as a distinctive form of writing, eventually playing a key role in the tourism industry.⁴⁴² By studying the genre, researchers can look at tourists' motivations, how writers and editors influence tourists' destination choices, and how places, cultures and histories are written for a tourist consumer over time.⁴⁴³

With the growth of the middle-class traveller and the popularity of the Grand Tour of Europe and domestic journeys around picturesque and so-called peripheral parts of Britain in Wales, Scotland and the Lake District of England in the mid-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, there was a gap in the market for 'travel guides' which steered away from the personal, author-centric, style of the travelogue, and instead were catered solely for the wants and needs of the reader.⁴⁴⁴ While there were guidebooks written in the early 1800s by individual authors, it wasn't until publishers like John Murray and Karl Baedeker came onto the publishing scene that guidebooks became a well-known and sought after tool for travelling and visiting sites.⁴⁴⁵ Murray, Baedeker, and the others who followed, such as Thomas Cook, became tourism powerhouses from the 1830s onwards by producing mass volumes of travel guides that were heavily standardised and popular amongst Victorian travellers.⁴⁴⁶

As the use of the travel guidebook became increasingly popular into the twentieth century, so did the publication of different topics within the genre. Guidebooks today can cover an array of travel related subjects, from heritage sites and national landmarks to filming locations and brewery trails. Many guidebooks such as those from Lonely Planet and Eyewitness Travel Guides are published more as 'travel guides' aimed at providing information about specific countries, major cities, or hiking trails.⁴⁴⁷ Those like the ones

K. N. Jones et al., (eds.), *Hidden texts, hidden nation: (Re)discoveries of Wales in travel writing in French and German (1780–2018)* (Liverpool, 2020).

R. P. Evans, 'Thomas Pennant (1726–1798): "the Father of Cambrian tourists"', *Welsh History Review*, 13, (January 1986), pp. 395–418; M-A. Constantine and N. Leask (eds.), *Enlightenment travel and British identities: Thomas Pennant's tours in Scotland and Wales* (London, 2017).

⁴⁴² J. Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)', in P. Hulme and T. Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002), pp. 37–53.

⁴⁴³ M. Mazor-Tregerman et al., 'Growing with Covid: Curatorial Innovation in Times of Uncertainty', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 37, 4, (2022), pp. 1–15 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2021.2023909> (accessed 25 July 2022).

⁴⁴⁴ Peel and Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impacts of Travel Guidebooks*, pp. 33–37.

⁴⁴⁵ P. François, 'If It's 1815, This Must Be Belgium: The Origins of the Modern Travel Guide', *Book History* 15, 1, (2012), pp. 71–92, 72.

⁴⁴⁶ François, 'If It's 1815, This Must Be Belgium: The Origins of the Modern Travel Guide', pp. 73–75.

⁴⁴⁷ Horner and Swarbrooke, *International Cases in Tourism Management*, p. 47.

published about National Trust properties are focused on locations, estates, monuments, architecture, or heritage collections.⁴⁴⁸

A more microscopic type of guide, National Trust books serve as a detailed aid to a day's outing, rather than a comprehensive guide to an entire town, city, or region. Since the first guidebook published in 1936 for Barrington Court in Somerset, National Trust guides have provided details that merely walking through the house or gardens cannot provide, background information about the things tourists are seeing and experiencing around them. National Trust guidebooks started out small, inexpensive, and with minimal information, often just a paragraph or two per room to be used as the visitor walked through the house. Originally only a few pages in length, guidebooks eventually expanded to include more descriptions of local history, family lineage, and the daily lives of workers who contributed to architecture, grounds, and farming on the estates. These lengthier guidebooks not only provide useful information on physical artefacts, but narratives of local history.⁴⁴⁹

The guidebook's form, though largely the same today as they were when first printed, has evolved over time with the introduction of new technologies: word processing software, graphics design software, and interactive tools to help engage tourists and promote marketing objectives in ways that guidebooks in the traditional format cannot do.⁴⁵⁰ However, similarly to how they were produced in the nineteenth century, guidebook production is typically a collaborative effort, with a group of writers and editors contributing different aspects to the guidebook's content. As many guidebooks are a part of a larger collection of books under the same named brand, such as the National Trust, researchers have found this aspect of guidebook production contentious. Most guidebooks were produced by predominantly white, middle-class men, who were often writing about and producing content about places they were not from and did not know intimately.⁴⁵¹ For many guidebooks written in English about foreign places, it has been found that an invisible narrator, standardised branding, and implied authority creates guidebooks which are examples of imperialist texts. Research has found that while guidebooks have been a useful, and popular, aid for tourists for almost 200 years, the

⁴⁴⁸ R. Prentice, *Tourism and Heritage Attractions* (London, 1995), p. 190.

⁴⁴⁹ Museums + Heritage, 'Publishing: The Changing Face of the National Trust Guidebooks', *Museums + Heritage Advisor Magazine*, online edn, 15 November 2015, <https://advisor.museumsandheritage.com/features/publishing-the-changing-face-of-the-national-trust-guidebooks/> (accessed 19 August 2021).

⁴⁵⁰ Horner and Swarbrooke, *International Cases in Tourism Management*, p. 47.

⁴⁵¹ A. Alacovska, 'The History of Participatory Practices: Rethinking Media Genres in the History of User-Generated Content in 19th-Century Travel Guidebooks', *Media, Culture & Society*, 39, 5, (2016), pp. 671–672 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716663642> (accessed 19 August 2021).

genre also can exoticise and exaggerate cultures,⁴⁵² diminish narratives of war and colonisation,⁴⁵³ and appeal to an assumed or intended male readership/audience.⁴⁵⁴ While UK heritage sites and cultural organisations like English Heritage, Cadw and the National Trust continue to publish guidebooks, other emerging media such as video, apps, augmented reality, and podcasts are being used onsite and online to tell narratives beyond what can be published in a guidebook.⁴⁵⁵ As tourists become more familiar with digital media, and the Internet allows for sites to have more up-to-date information and more expansive or layered narratives about their sites, researchers are questioning what role guidebooks play in heritage and tourism in the twenty-first century.⁴⁵⁶

Anglicised authority and the minimised narratives of slavery

The first major issue identified through textual analysis of the Penrhyn guidebooks was the anglicised authority of the narrator, and the minimised narratives of slavery within the publications. The traditional English-focused narrative style chosen for the guidebooks and the narrator removes the Welsh identity of the Penrhyn estate, despite its locale, and by extension reduces the narratives of marginalised people connected with the Jamaican plantations, masking their impact on the estate. In this section I discuss how the guidebooks' focus are on areas of Penrhyn's history that are of anglicised importance, such as aristocracy, imperialism, art collections, and western architecture. Furthermore, gaps identified in the guidebooks are the minimalised narratives of slavery, and those of people of colour connected to the estate.

⁴⁵² D. Bhattacharyya, 'Mediating India', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24, 2, (1997), pp. 371–89 [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(97\)80007-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(97)80007-2) (accessed 20 April 2021).

⁴⁵³ M. Larabee, 'Baedekers as Casualty: Great War Nationalism and the Fate of Travel Writing', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 71, 3, (2010), pp. 457–480 <https://doi.org/10.1353/jhi.0.0089> (accessed 20 August 2021).

⁴⁵⁴ J. Proteau, 'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook: Gender and the Redefinition of the Nineteenth-Century Guidebook', *Studies in Travel Writing* 23, 2, (2019), pp. 119–138 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2019.1691808> (accessed 29 May 2020).

⁴⁵⁵ M. Rothenberg, 'Review of Cadw Mobile App [application]', *Internet archaeology*, online edn, 44, (2017) <https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue44/14/index.html> (accessed 29 May 2020); E. L. Jones, 'The year of legends with Augmented Reality', *Llywodraeth Cymru/Welsh Government*, online edn., 21 July 2017 <https://digitalanddata.blog.gov.wales/2017/07/21/the-year-of-legends-with-augmented-reality/> (accessed 15 May 2020); English Heritage, 'Speaking with Shadows Podcast', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows> (accessed 5 April 2021); W. Smith et al., 'The experience of using digital walking tours to explore urban histories', in D. Lehn et al., *The Routledge International Handbook of New Digital Practices in Galleries, Libraries, Archives, Museums and Heritage Sites*, (New York, 2019), pp. 424–440. This article pertains to a walking tour app produced by the National Trust entitled 'Soho Stories'.

⁴⁵⁶ M. Mieli and M. Zillinger, 'Tourist Information Channels as Consumer Choice: The Value of Tourist Guidebooks in the Digital Age', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 20, 1, (2020), pp. 37–39 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2020.1717991> (accessed 22 August 2021); O. Adeola and O. Evans, 'Digital Tourism: Mobile Phones, Internet and Tourism in Africa', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 44, 2, (2019), pp. 190–202 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2018.1562662> (accessed 19 September 2021).

With the rise of Grand Tours in Europe across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, followed by greater exploration and travel within Britain during periods of continental warfare, many publishers opted to do away with the first-person narrator in their guidebooks, taking out the personal accounts of the travel writer and instead giving factual, impartial information purely for the tourist's travel needs. This approach allowed publishers to create guidebooks that presented as more authoritative and objective to their readers. However, this has been highlighted as problematic by researchers of the genre, as the invisibility of the author only obscures the fact that guidebooks are subjective and often come with a specific agenda.⁴⁵⁷ Readers of travelogues are prepared for a biased and more personal account of a tourist location, making them aware that the account could be skewed or inaccurate, whereas a guidebook has a tone of authority that masks such biases. As a result, Robert Foulke argues that guidebooks are 'manufactured rather than written, compiled rather than edited, designed and packaged for mass distribution rather than reviewed and evaluated'.⁴⁵⁸

Guidebooks are overwhelmingly, written using a third-person narrator, which helps separate the text and narrative from the author, or authors, and focuses on distributing information to the reader.⁴⁵⁹ Since the late-nineteenth century, guidebooks have been presented as sources that contain practical, truthful, and precise information about a travel destination or heritage site.⁴⁶⁰ Its direct, pragmatic language offers a sense of security to its readers by presenting as absolute truth, without the personalised voice of its author to provide emotion, connection, or bias.⁴⁶¹ Significantly popularised by Murray and Baedeker's works, guidebooks were seen as authoritative texts because 'they were the product of a single editor who arbitrarily decided on the routes to follow, the best places to visit and the distinctive features of each region which granted its "authenticity" and peculiar identity'.⁴⁶² Because of their widely distributed and trusted brand and the authoritative, didactic language used within

⁴⁵⁷ B. Iaquinto, 'Fear of Lonely Planet: Author Anxieties and the Mainstreaming of a Guidebook', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14, 8, (2011), pp. 705–723 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2011.555527> (accessed 20 June 2022).

⁴⁵⁸ R. Foulke, 'The Guidebook Industry', in Michael Kowalewski (ed.), *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Georgia, 1992), pp. 93–108.

⁴⁵⁹ E. Newcombe, 'Writing Whiteness: Antebellum Guidebooks and the Codification of the Landscape in Catskill Tourism and Print', *Early American Literature*, 54, 1, (2019), pp. 189–216 <https://doi.org/10.1353/eal.2019.0010> (accessed 5 June 2021).

⁴⁶⁰ Proteau, 'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook', p. 120.

⁴⁶¹ Alacovska, 'Legitimacy, Self-Interpretation and Genre in Media Industries', p. 607.

⁴⁶² Proteau, 'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook', p. 111.

their guidebooks, the nature of the genre as a whole began to be known as one that was curated by editors and factual to its core.⁴⁶³

This authoritative style is seen throughout the various versions of the Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks. Each edition, from the 1950s onwards, is written in the third person, with descriptions that direct the reader to what is significant about the house. The first edition is the most straightforward of them all, with small sections on the early history of the estate, the Pennant family, the architectural style of the country house, and the major rooms within the castle. The layout of the guidebook literally guides the reader through sections of the house and gardens, pointing out what the reader/visitor *should* find most interesting or noteworthy about the estate, for example:

Whatever its virtues or defects, Penrhyn is a homogenous whole, the creation of a single mind, for Thomas Hopper was apparently given a free hand, not only with the building of the Castle, but with the interior decoration and with the design and choice of the furniture. Both his decoration and furniture – the latter even to the tables *de nuit* in the bedroom – are uncompromisingly ‘Norman’ as Hopper conceived that style. A visitor over a century ago found them ‘far from elegant...yet exceedingly curious.’ The visitor to-day will probably agree.⁴⁶⁴

In the 1950s and 1970s versions, the reader is guided to look at the castle’s views pointing readers to prospects incorporating the estate grounds:

From the eminence on which the castle stands there are splendid views. The park, with its magnificent timber, provides a green foreground: beyond stretches in one direction the expanse of Beaumaris Bay, and the bold promontory of the Great Orme; westward lie Anglesey and Ynys Seiriol (Puffin Island); while to the east and south rises the mass of Snowdonia.⁴⁶⁵

In both examples, the author is telling the reader how they should feel about Penrhyn Castle. In the first example, the tourist would ‘probably agree’ with the author’s views on the castle based on a former visitor’s account. In the second example, the reader is told how the views from outside Penrhyn Castle are ‘splendid’ with its ‘magnificent’ timber and then directed to look for views within and beyond the estate. This authoritative and emotionally-charged language shows that the author is in control of the information being given – attempting to control the interpretation and visitor experience. Only the views they suggest are the ones worth looking at, and the castle is curious because the information they have researched says

⁴⁶³ Proteau, ‘Not Your Ordinary Guidebook’, p. 124.

⁴⁶⁴ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1955), p. 10.

⁴⁶⁵ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1955), p. 12.

so. These passages show that not only does the author know what is supposed to be significant to encounter at Penrhyn, but that because of their direct language, they are the expert on the subject. Deborah Bhattacharyya argues that authoritative language which affirmatively directs the readers to what the author thinks is ‘splendid’ or ‘magnificent’, and therefore worth viewing, can often take away the tourist’s ability to surmise for themselves on what they think about a heritage or tourist site.⁴⁶⁶ Furthermore, this perspective can leave out negative or contested aspects of a tourism site, even if it is an integral part of the site’s story.⁴⁶⁷ This can mean that subjects, perspectives and world-views of importance to the guidebook editor or author can predominate, whilst other subjects are skipped or diminished based on the editor’s preferences, without the audience being cognisant of this.

Guidebooks are both factual and performative, and Ali Behad claims that this means they ‘[borrow their] authority from a claim to verifiability, not from an experience of the speaking subject’.⁴⁶⁸ They speak from a claimed authority, something that does not belong to them. Ana Alacovska points to the fact of early guidebooks’ target audience being white, middle-class men as a reason for this verifiability. Circles of white, middle-class authors and editors worked on guidebooks together, creating content which catered to other middle-class white men, pointing travellers to spots of imperialist significance and leaving out content on narratives connected to women, marginalised groups, people of lower socio-economic classes, and people of colour.⁴⁶⁹ Alacovska’s study on Murray and Baedeker’s collection of guidebooks found that they were discourses of masculine authority and British imperialist nationalism, speaking authoritatively on places of interest to white, middle-class travellers. Even into the 1950s–80s, these authorised narratives were backed by local governments and heritage tourism sites; as the interpretation of sites such as country houses were focusing heavily on anglicised narratives of importance and imperialism such as vast art collections, opulent architecture, and ties to British aristocracy.⁴⁷⁰ This sense of articulating narratives of importance to English heritage is one that the central authority regards as the most valuable, something that connects in the reader’s mind the site to the authority, tradition, and world-view of the English or British state.

⁴⁶⁶ Bhattacharyya, ‘Mediating India’, pp. 379–381.

⁴⁶⁷ C. Buzinde, ‘Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook’, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 5, 3, (2010), pp. 231–232 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2010.508525> (accessed 20 January 2019).

⁴⁶⁸ A. Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, North Carolina, 1994), pp. 53–44.

⁴⁶⁹ Alacovska, ‘Legitimacy, Self-Interpretation and Genre in Media Industries’, pp. 608–11.

⁴⁷⁰ Buzinde, ‘Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook’, pp. 227–228.

David W. Marshall found that some sites, like the Machynlleth slate mine in mid Wales, have tried to move away from already cemented English authoritative narratives, such as the English-centric version of King Arthur. Whilst the English version of the King Arthur narrative are established as the principal version of the narratives, sites like King Arthur's Labyrinth try to push against that chivalric tale by including motifs like the Celtic cross and other icons and fantastical myths of Wales, which try to establish that Wales had its own, earlier, version of the narrative.⁴⁷¹ Country houses in Wales, however, which are seen as a quintessentially English institution, like Penrhyn appear to adhere to the anglicised version of their site's narrative in their guidebooks.

The country house guidebooks published between 1950 and 1990, by multiple organisations, were not produced in a coordinated fashion, yet there is a glaringly obvious subject that every one of them, knowingly, or not, focused on: art and architecture. This aligns with the perception and presentation of British country houses as 'treasure houses' that prevailed in the period.⁴⁷² The Penrhyn Castle guidebooks are no exception to this trend. In each edition, the overwhelming focus is on three areas: the architecture of Penrhyn Castle, the Castle's art collections, and the Pennants as an aristocratic family. Many of the guidebooks, including the Penrhyn examples, are seemingly written with a European architecture or art historian in mind. The descriptions given of the rooms, objects, the building as a whole, or the landscape outside are some of the only descriptions that are accessible to everyday visitors, because attention was not placed on this audience. Other descriptions require a more nuanced reading or a thorough understanding of background context to understand fully the narratives they are implying. This was perhaps due to the nature of the contemporary concerns of 'treasure houses' being demolished and their contents becoming dispersed on a mass scale.⁴⁷³ Across many National Trust Guidebooks written during the 1970s–1990s there is distinct use of formal language around architectural design and art pieces featured in separate chapters or art catalogues within the guidebooks.

Properties such as Clandon Park and Powis Castle use descriptors such as those below to describe art features to guidebook readers in their 1998 and 1991 editions, respectively. Many of the architects and artists are mentioned only by surname, suggesting the reader

⁴⁷¹ B. Earl in D. W. Marshall (ed.), *Mass Market Medieval: Essays on the Medieval Ages in Popular Culture*, (North Carolina, 2007) pp. 108–109.

⁴⁷² G. Jackson-Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (London, 1985).

⁴⁷³ R. Adams, 'The V&A, The Destruction of the Country House and the Creation of "English Heritage"', *Museum and Society*, 11, 1, (2013), pp. 1–18.

should be familiar enough with their work that that reference alone should suffice.⁴⁷⁴ Under a section entitled ‘Marble Hall’ in *Clandon Park* (1998):

This is unquestionably among the grandest of all eighteenth-century interiors, its conception by Leoni, its decoration by the best Italian stuccadores, and its chimneypieces by Rysbrack... At first sight it may not be obvious that the Hall is in two tones of white, for there is a subtle contrast between the granular quality of the plaster on the walls and the fine icing-sugar texture of all the architectural enrichments, the two entablatures, the capitals and the architraves to the doors and windows.⁴⁷⁵

Under a section entitled ‘The Grand Staircase’ in *Powis Castle* (1991):

The Powis ceiling is adapted from Veronese’s *Apotheosis of Venice* 1553–55 in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Doge’s Palace, Venice... In 1705 Lord Powis’s son, the second titular Duke, commissioned Verrio’s pupil Gerard Lanscroun to paint the walls of the staircase. Lord Powis’s monogram and ducal coronet is borne up by deities high on the left-hand wall above a scene representing *Vulcan forging the arms of Achilles*. On the opposite wall is the *Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite*.⁴⁷⁶

The Penrhyn guidebooks from the 1970s–1990s also reflect this culture. For much of the artwork mentioned, there is an unspoken assumption that the reader will or should be aware of architectural periods or artistic styles. The catalogue in the 1988 version has descriptions which give little information on the artist and style, assuming the reader is already aware of their output:

‘The Virgin and Child with St Joseph, St Catherine and another Female Saint’

The attribution to Cariani is derived from the catalogue of 1901 which states that No. 90 was probably bought by George Hay Dawkins Pennant, and that it was “done up” in 1899. Palluchini and Rossi (Cariani, 1983, pp. 364–5) ascribe the picture to the circle of Palma Vecchio, while noting that the figure of St Joseph is reminiscent of Cariani’s late style.⁴⁷⁷

Katherine C. Henderson argues this style of writing was informed by the need of county house operators to promote their assets to potential tourists from the 1950s–80s. The emphases on highlighting unique architectural features and valuable art collections were a focal point for many National Trust properties during this time, as the development of the country house as an icon of English national history was solidifying through the twentieth

⁴⁷⁴ National Trust, *Clandon Park, Surrey* (1979), pp. 16–17, 34–43.

⁴⁷⁵ National Trust, *Clandon Park, Surrey* (1979), p. 7.

⁴⁷⁶ National Trust, *Powis Castle, Powys* (1991), p. 30.

⁴⁷⁷ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1988), p. 32.

century.⁴⁷⁸ Several 1980s National Trust country house guidebooks came with catalogues of the artwork in the houses, situated in the back of the books, boasting of paintings by fifteenth-century Italian painters, portraits of notable political, military, cultural and family figures,⁴⁷⁹ and Chinese porcelain from the Qianlong dynasty.⁴⁸⁰ These sections, which are primarily pages of text, with one or two black and white images scattered throughout, do give a reference to artwork in a particular room, but for the average reader give little context to the history surrounding the painting, when and why it was purchased by the family, the artist themselves, or the daily functions of the rooms in which they are housed.

For the Penrhyn guidebook catalogue in the 1988 version, the descriptions are dispersed between paintings of the royal family, landscape paintings from Dutch artists such as Aert van der Neer, and family paintings of the Pennants. In the 37-page guidebook, the catalogue takes up nine pages. Some of the descriptions are used to present more personal details about the Pennant family, their Jamaica plantations, and the local area than even in the main body of the guidebook. Not only are these personal details hidden in artwork descriptions, but they also highlight the male-centricity of the guidebooks and the narrative that the centralised authority is interested in portraying. The description of the painting entitled *Anne Susannah, Lady Penrhyn* (1745–1816), gives one of the only first-hand accounts of a woman associated with the Penrhyn estate in any of the guidebooks.

She was somewhat eccentric on the subject of animals, and according to Alice Douglas Pennant, the author of the picture catalogue of 1901, '[she] used to dress up her pet dogs in little coats and bonnets and people used to say "Look at the Miss Pennants" when she had them in the carriage. She was very angry with her husband who died in 1808 leaving away all his Penrhyn property to his relation George Hay Dawkins.'⁴⁸¹

The focus of the 1980s version, however, was still its art collection, even throughout the book itself. Considering the layout of the guidebook, we can assume that more importance was being placed on the descriptions of the rooms and art than on the catalogue itself. As the catalogue is presented last, as an appendix or addition to the main text, the reader may be excused if they believe they are not encouraged to read the catalogue in search of narratives relating to the Castle or the Pennants. This means that visitors and readers of the guidebook

⁴⁷⁸ K. Henderson, 'Claims of Heritage: Restoring the English Country House in Wide Sargasso Sea', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 38, 4, (2015), pp. 94–95 <https://doi.org/10.2979/jmodelite.38.4.93> (accessed 15 April 2021).

⁴⁷⁹ National Trust, *Clandon Park, Surrey* (1979), pp. 23–45.

⁴⁸⁰ National Trust, *Polesden Lacey, Surrey* (1993), p. 9.

⁴⁸¹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1988), p. 31.

are not guided to the relevant information, and they may easily miss it entirely as these narratives were not presented in the main text. The 1950s–80s versions of the guidebooks continually point to the wealth and prestige of the family and their castle, from its ‘enormous stone candelabra and large elaborate side table’ in the great hall, to the bossed ceilings in the library that were at their ‘most extravagant’ to the ‘richly decorated flight of stairs’ in the grand staircase. Descriptors such as ‘elaborate dishes’, ‘ample fireplace’, and ‘elaborately decorated brass grilles’ all point to wanting the reader to appreciate the material splendour and opulence of Penrhyn Castle.⁴⁸²

These grand descriptors in the earliest versions continually mimic the core themes of country house heritage of the time: a push to promote the ‘treasures’ within the house and the architecture of the house as achievements of English distinction. The backdrop to this was a mass dispersal and dislocation of country house collections, coupled with the demolition or dereliction of ‘treasure houses’ across the country. Political efforts were made to save this heritage at risk.⁴⁸³ These houses were then promoted as irreplaceable parts of English cultural heritage, with a view that the ‘treasures’ they contained were best preserved in situ rather than split up across a global museum environment.⁴⁸⁴ This promotion in the 1980s guidebook is the most prominent out of any of the guidebooks, with the catalogue of pictures at the back of the book, featuring the name, era, and origin of notable artwork associated with Penrhyn Castle.⁴⁸⁵ The brevity of the earliest guides and their presumed usability by tourists as they walked throughout the house also offered another way to promote carefully curated artworks and antiquities to visitors. The impressive descriptions of paintings and interior features gave importance, value, and authority to what visitors were seeing and encountering.

In both the 1991 and 2006 editions of the guidebook, a prominent focus are the collections within the house. Dotted throughout these editions are images of Pennant family portraits, lithographs of rooms within the house, and up-close images of features such as candelabras and stained-glass windows. The idea of the country house being presented as a ‘treasure house’ of artwork and ornate decorations is at its most obvious in the latest two editions. As the most substantial editions of the guidebooks, the texts are filled with details of clocks, carpets, carvings, and pictures, with details such as how much paintings were

⁴⁸² National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1988), pp. 8–11.

⁴⁸³ G. Jackson-Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (London, 1985).

⁴⁸⁴ P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (London, 1997), pp. 400–408.

⁴⁸⁵ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1979) pp. 28–37.

acquired for, books that inspired styles of furnishings, and textile patterns found in other properties in Britain.

These editions also hold the most examples of the other main theme running throughout all the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks: the aristocratic lifestyle of the Pennant patriarchs. In both the 1991 and 2006 versions, there are several mentions of high offices held by the Pennant patriarchs as part of their contribution to the British state, prestigious universities that they attended, and their political and commercial accomplishments. For example:

[Samuel Pennant] left the partnership in 1740 to become Common Councilman for the Cheap ward of London, and in 1742 he was elected Alderman for Bishopsgate ward. From 1744 to 1745 he served as one of the Sheriffs of London during the second Jacobite Rebellion, and for his defence of the City and his loyalty to the Hanoverian cause, he was knighted by George II in 1745.⁴⁸⁶

The guidebooks also highlight the Pennants' personal connection to the Victorian royal family:

In 1859 [Edward Douglas-Pennant] entertained the Queen and Prince Albert at the castle. They planted trees in the grounds, toured the Nant Ffrancon valley and the slate quarry, and after dinner at the castle heard the Llanllechid choir sing choruses from the Messiah in Welsh in the Grand Hall.⁴⁸⁷

The kitchens are shown today as they would have been arranged during the visits of the Prince of Wales in 1894. Distinguished guests were encouraged to plant trees in the garden, which provided a suitably grand setting for the castle.⁴⁸⁸

While there are descriptions of the Pennants' agricultural, industrial, and infrastructural improvements to the Penrhyn estate and associated area, what stands out as most impressive in these guidebooks are their wealth of art, their achievements in upper class circles, and the royal visits to the Penrhyn estate. The guidebooks' authoritative voice and content focused heavily on these aspects, sending a clear message that what is important about the Penrhyn estate is the lives and achievements of its male aristocratic owners and the architecture and art of the Castle. All other aspects are just presented as side stories. The findings in the analysis of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks are similar to a study of guidebooks focused on southern mansions in the US, which minimised narratives of other aspects of the plantation's history in favour of content heavily laden with architectural style jargon, art collections, and

⁴⁸⁶ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 41.

⁴⁸⁷ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), p. 29.

⁴⁸⁸ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 3.

the male owners' accomplishments which makes the 'explicit connection between the mansion and artistic periods add legitimacy and grounding to the mansion and renders it a timeless and apolitical piece of art that exist solely for admiration.'⁴⁸⁹

A breadth of knowledge exists within postcolonial discourse about the lack of marginalised voices in the representation of minority communities in fiction and historical nonfiction narratives. In guidebook literature research, however, there has been little done on the representation of marginalised voices or contested sites connected with minority groups. Because of the nature of guidebooks, their unquestioned authority and the apparent trustworthiness stemming from their presumed objectivity and informational style, most have not been looked at through a lens of colonial discourse. What little research that exists on guidebooks and other heritage content such as brochures, placards, panels, museum labels, and guided tours, has found that, on the whole, interpretative practice has placed groups such as the enslaved workers at Jamaican plantations into a subservient and stereotypical roles, where they are 'othered and exoticised and referenced only as "side stories" to larger white narratives'.⁴⁹⁰ This happened to a similar degree with women's narratives in the Penrhyn guidebooks, which were only mentioned as by-products to art pieces, and to a lesser degree with Welsh narratives.

Since the days of Baedeker and Murray, Emma Newcombe has argued that most guidebooks have been written with a white, middle-class audience in mind.⁴⁹¹ This means that the narratives included in guidebooks have been focused primarily on those of interest, or of what the writers and editors presumed to be the interest, of white, middle-class travellers. When focusing only on the connections to heritage that white, middle-class travellers have, all narratives that focus on people of colour are minimised, despite their contributions to culture in the areas that tourists visit. This, by extension, does not focus on the travel interests of people of colour.⁴⁹² In the US, popular tourist attractions like the Catskills were written about in guidebooks as picturesque, mystical landscapes that highlighted 'only what their audience of middle class tourists recognised as leisurely and pleasurable.'⁴⁹³ This left out a lengthy history of Native American cultures that existed long before the formation of the US, and created an 'aesthetic mythology'⁴⁹⁴ of the landscape that othered Native Americans into

⁴⁸⁹ Buzinde, 'Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook', p. 228.

⁴⁹⁰ Buzinde, 'Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook', pp. 220–222.

⁴⁹¹ Newcombe, 'Writing Whiteness', p. 192.

⁴⁹² Newcombe, 'Writing Whiteness', pp. 191–192.

⁴⁹³ Newcombe, 'Writing Whiteness', p. 191.

⁴⁹⁴ Newcombe, 'Writing Whiteness', p. 191.

mythical legends that served a wider story of nostalgic Antebellum America. Native Americans and enslaved black Americans are represented as minor characters that can amuse tourists through small anecdotal stories, such as Native American folklore, but ultimately are separate from the ‘embodied popular antebellum notions of settlement, improvement and expansion that are often attributed to white historical figures.’⁴⁹⁵ While there are obvious differences between representations of marginalised people in the US and the UK, there are several similarities to be drawn from these antebellum guidebooks and the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks.

Perhaps the most glaring of the identified gaps discovered during this analysis is the lack of content around the estate’s Jamaican plantations owned by the Pennants, which operated through the forced labour of hundreds of enslaved Africans from the late-seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. In the earliest editions of the guidebooks, there are no mentions of Penrhyn Castle’s connection to sugar plantations and slavery in Jamaica. In the 1970s and 1980s versions of the guidebooks, the Jamaican plantations and those enslaved for labour are only mentioned in direct correlation to Richard Pennant’s biography. The 1980s version of the guidebook makes only one mention of the subject by saying that Richard Pennant had:

Inherited considerable wealth from Jamaican estates and those shared in the Penrhyn property which he did not acquire by marriage were bought for him by his father, John Pennant.⁴⁹⁶

The statement was placed within a small biography of Richard Pennant, detailing his life’s accomplishments. The biography is written in a formal, passive voice, stating:

Pennant sat as a Member of Parliament for Liverpool and on account of his Jamaican interests actively opposed the abolition of the slave trade.⁴⁹⁷

In both the 1991 and 2006 versions of the guidebook, there are entire chapters dedicated to Richard Pennant which heralded Pennant’s many accomplishments in creating a successful, fruitful, and industrial estate, detailing all the ways he improved the landscape, built transportation routes, and started a thriving quarry.⁴⁹⁸ All descriptive language around

⁴⁹⁵ Newcombe, ‘Writing Whiteness’, p. 196.

⁴⁹⁶ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1988), p. 23.

⁴⁹⁷ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1988), p. 23.

⁴⁹⁸ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), pp. 11–18.

Richard Pennant is positive, even when it pertains to his heavy involvement in the opposition of the abolition of the slave trade:

From 1784 to 1790 he again represented Liverpool and in that time made thirty speeches, all on the Liverpool trade and the West Indies, leading the planters' defence of the slave trade with such vigour that we was known as the 'Chairman of the West Indian Merchants.'... Richard Pennant's management of the family's Jamaican property is well documented and although he never visited the island – a world apart from the mountains of Caernarfonshire – he was remarkably well informed, and kept in close touch with his representatives on the island. Pennant was particularly adept at devising new variations to the reciprocal Triangular Trade, upon which the success of the West Indian sugar industry depended.⁴⁹⁹

In each of the editions, Richard Pennant is praised as the central player to the Penrhyn estate's improvement and development. Wealth acquired from his Jamaican plantations is only vaguely mentioned in comparison, and the estate's changes are attributed to his talents of improvement, entrepreneurship and paternalism, without directly showing concrete evidence of how profits from the Jamaican plantations allowed him to vastly improve his estate in Wales. Descriptions of Richard Pennant place him as a heroic, paternal figure of estate improvement and expansion, while glossing over the central role the Jamaican sugar plantations and transatlantic slave trade played in developing the Caernarfonshire estate. This further perpetuated the idea of an idyllic, aesthetically pleasing landscape in the eyes of guidebook readers to the expansion and beauty of many of the grounds of country homes because of the central characters of the white owners, rather than the result of exploitative colonisation.⁵⁰⁰

Only the 2006 version of the Penrhyn guidebooks dedicated space specifically to the narrative of slavery connected with the Penryn estate. In all earlier editions of the guidebooks, the only mention of the concept of slavery is through Richard Pennant's opposition to the abolition of the slave trade. Other references are presented in an indirect manner which downplays the role of slavery, such as using the phrasing 'Jamaican Estate' to describe the slave plantations. Though this two-page section in the 2006 edition is entitled 'Sugar and Slavery,' these pages only mention slavery in a small paragraph within the section, continuing on instead to detail the history of the lineage of the Penrhyn and Jamaican estate being passed on through the Pennant family.⁵⁰¹ The only reference to the kinds of

⁴⁹⁹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), p. 15.

⁵⁰⁰ Newcombe, 'Writing Whiteness', p. 196.

⁵⁰¹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), pp. 40–41.

unpaid labour that the enslaved in the Jamaican plantation might be doing, is in a small section called ‘Making Sugar’. There is a small image of a sugar mill about the description, with silhouettes of men working on a sugar mill, but in the description itself, there is no mention of the people who are performing the work. Instead, the section goes into the process of making sugar canes in a mill but leaves out any mention of the enslaved who were carrying out the tasks.⁵⁰²

This kind of distancing language, separating the slave from the labour, the profit and the investment of that profit, is also seen in guidebooks in the US about southern plantation heritage sites. A study conducted on travel guides featuring numerous plantations such as The Hermitage, Magnolia Mound, and Laura Plantation found that the language used in those guidebooks about slaves did not accurately connect the enforced labour with the realities of chattel bondage at several sites, instead, placing an emphasis on the success of the plantation at the hands of the male owner, without mentioning slaves being involved in labour that made the plantation successful.⁵⁰³ Their guidebooks incorporated trivialising language, such as ‘Valsin built a grand sugar plantation ... with \$100,000 and 100 slaves’, and ‘the big house was ... a self-sufficient cotton plantation of 1,500 acres and worked by 150 slaves’.⁵⁰⁴ This language generalises the lives of the enslaved, ignoring their lived experiences and instead puts the male owner at the centre of the narrative where his acquired artwork, expansive home and industrial pursuits are all a reward for *his* hard work and ingenuity. It is his life, his achievements and his narrative which dominates the interpretation, often in sequence across multiple generations of patrilineal proprietorship, side-lining wider narratives, experiences and communities attached to the operation of the estate as a whole.⁵⁰⁵

The limited information in the Penrhyn guidebooks does not tell a layered story that includes narratives of the enslaved people of the Jamaican plantations into the overarching story of the Penrhyn estate, or the history Wales. Though there is not a plethora of published information about individuals who were enslaved in Jamaica, there is so much archival material in the Bangor University Archive that can give more of a multilayered picture of the harsh living conditions: the number of enslaved men and women, the type of labour being performed, notes on illnesses and deaths, provision of clothing and events such as uprisings that would show the effect that slavery had on the landscape and people of Jamaica and give

⁵⁰² National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 40.

⁵⁰³ Buzinde, ‘Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook’, p. 224.

⁵⁰⁴ Buzinde, ‘Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook’, pp. 227–228.

⁵⁰⁵ Buzinde, ‘Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook’, pp. 231–232.

more context to the wealth and success of the Pennant family.⁵⁰⁶ Including this evidence in the guidebooks would make more of an explicit link between Penrhyn Castle, Jamaican sugar plantations and the experiences of enslaved Africans.

In *Slave Wales*, Chris Evans expands on the Pennant family's plantation in Jamaica.⁵⁰⁷ As early as the 1660s Gifford Pennant was present on the island after the Cromwellian conquest of Jamaica in 1655. By the time of his death in 1676, he had acquired 7,327 acres on the south of the island. When his son Edward inherited the land, he added an extra 1,000 acres and 534 'negroes' with it.⁵⁰⁸ Accounts from a nearby plantation showed that slaves working on a cane plantation in Jamaica had an average lifespan of 42 years. An inventory of one of the Pennant plantations from 1807 shows that of the 87 men on record, 65 of them were under the age of 40, while only two had lived into their sixties. Inherited by Richard Pennant in 1782, income from the plantations allowed for Richard to purchase the 'second half' of the Penrhyn estate, having acquired significant tracts of Penrhyn land through his marriage to Anne Susannah Warburton. Evans reckoned that compared to the immense wealth from Jamaica, the mountains of north Wales must have seemed bleak, dark and its land unyielding to Richard Pennant. However, 'those same mountains, if shattered into a million flakes of slate could realise a fortune. Richard Pennant set about the task, using one fortune, that provided by his plantations, to unlock another.'⁵⁰⁹

These same details are not clearly outlined in any of the guidebooks. There is mention of slavery and its connection to Penrhyn in a very passive tone for most of the guidebooks, but no clear acknowledgement of the impact of slavery on the trajectory of the growth of the Penrhyn estate, the success of the slate industry, or the history of a large section of north Wales. The separation of the subjects within the guidebooks makes it easy for the reader to compartmentalise the aristocratic lives of the Pennants and the architecture and artworks of Penrhyn Castle from the lived experience of their plantations in Jamaica and also their quarries in Bethesda. In fact, these subjects are far more intricately linked.

In Jamaica, research has found that tourism materials such as guidebooks have established false images of 'island life' to Western tourists. Ignoring the harsh realities of past colonisation, forced immigration and labour for many island communities, past descriptions and images featured in guidebooks lean more towards depictions of tropical

⁵⁰⁶ Gwyn, 'Wales and the Memorialisation of Slavery in 2007', p. 311.

⁵⁰⁷ Evans, *Slave Wales*, pp. 65–70.

⁵⁰⁸ Evans, *Slave Wales*, p. 65.

⁵⁰⁹ Evans, *Slave Wales*, p. 69.

utopia than communities moving away from colonialism but now dependent on Western tourism. Promoting a narrative of a slower and more peaceful life, guidebooks have perpetuated the idea that tropical islands are there for Westerners' taking, full of tranquillity, resources, and idyllic living, filled with people living so-called simple lives, despite the reality. Travel writing and tourism literature has continually promoted the idea that many of these island communities were unable to govern themselves and in need of outside control to survive.⁵¹⁰ These evolving depictions of island life have either ignored past lives and experiences of locals or have painted them as in need of Western influence to advance. These types of accounts have cumulatively added to the image of Jamaican seen in tourism material today – as a place where locals provide a tropical paradise, and Western tourists come and go at their leisure, back to civilisation after their vacation has ended.⁵¹¹ The only representations in the guidebooks of the enslaved who laboured at the Jamaican plantations are through an idealised painting of the Denbigh sugar plantation which depicts a lightly coloured field with a few working individuals in the distance beside a cart of oxen and a man sitting in the field. In the backdrop are large, white buildings with smoke joining the horizon. This picturesque representation of plantations is a part of a wider narrative that depicts slaves as compliant, content workers, happy to do the will of their masters and quietly included in the backdrop of the landscape. Slaves are a part of a romanticised version of plantation life, transformed into caricatures who exist for the sake of the plantation and their owners.⁵¹²

In the 2006 edition of the Penrhyn guidebooks, Jamaica is presented as a hot, distant place that hosts plantations that generations of Pennant owners have passed down their line; a family whose aim was to be absentee landlords, profiting off the land and labour but residing far from the reality of living in such a distant place. Providing the wants of Europeans' taste in 'newly fashionable hot drinks, tea and coffee'⁵¹³ the guidebooks' description of the West Indies seems that of a land of plentiful, that planters 'employed' a large slave force to work in order to be successful.⁵¹⁴ There is a reference to how slaves were transported to the West Indies through a dreaded middle passage to the West Indies in order to cut and gather sugar canes, but this is the only remark made on the lives of the enslaved within this narrative.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁰ D. Harrison, *Islands, Image and Tourism*, *Tourism, tradition and culture: a reflection on their role in development* (Oxford, 2015), p. 10.

⁵¹¹ Harrison, 'Islands, Image and Tourism', pp. 11–13.

⁵¹² Buzinde, 'Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook', pp. 219–222.

⁵¹³ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 40.

⁵¹⁴ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 40.

⁵¹⁵ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 40.

In interpretation practices at plantation heritage sites, ongoing scholarship suggests that it's not enough to just tell the facts of slavery connected to the site.⁵¹⁶ In order for tourists to fully engage with the narrative and make vital connections to the impact slavery has over the wider story of the site, 'affective participation'⁵¹⁷ must occur which can evoke public memories of violence or injustice. Participatory or engaging practices such as live theatre, artistic activities or conversations with costumed heritage interpreters has been used to help shed light on repressed narratives, creating emotions within tourists which helps them connect with atrocities such as slavery.⁵¹⁸ While this kind of community and visitor participation has been happening across the National Trust in general and at Penrhyn Castle in particular, information in the 2006 guidebook (the version that is still sold at the castle today) barely goes beyond telling the most basic historical facts of slavery, and its generalised descriptions only further prioritise white narratives connected to the estate.

The last generation has given rise to an important debate in the UK's heritage sector relating to the distancing of historical slavery narratives. In 2001, John Beech described the UK as being 'in denial' about its past involvement in the transatlantic slave trade.⁵¹⁹ Since 2007, with the bicentennial of the abolition of the slave trade in Britain, there has been a gradual change in how country house heritage sites have started to interpret how the slave trade is directly linked to the growth and operation of many of these landed estates.⁵²⁰ Before this, the trade of enslaved Africans had been seen as something that benefitted industrial elites, but studies into landed estates have shone a light on how much slavery has impacted the wealth and growth of estates as well as industries such as weaving, mining and food production.⁵²¹ The uptake and incorporation slavery narratives into interpretation by Welsh heritage sites has been slow in the past, as slavery and colonialism was seen as something the English were involved in, and separate from the urban and rural industries of Wales.⁵²² Since

⁵¹⁶ B. Stefanie and D. Alderman, 'Performing a Different Narrative: Museum Theater and the Memory-Work of Producing and Managing Slavery Heritage at Southern Plantation Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, 3, (2017), pp. 270–282 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2017.1378906> (accessed 3 August 2022).

⁵¹⁷ G. John and K. M. Carlson, 'Making Change in the Memorial Landscape to the Dakota-US War of 1862: Remembrance, Healing and Justice through Affective Participation in the Dakota Commemorative March (DCM)', *Social & Cultural Geography* 17, 8, (2016), pp. 987–1016 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1147062> (accessed 5 February 2022).

⁵¹⁸ Stefanie and Alderman, 'Performing a Different Narrative', pp. 270–82.

⁵¹⁹ J. Beech, 'The Marketing of Slavery Heritage in the United Kingdom', *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 2, 3–4, (New York, 2001), pp. 85–106 https://doi.org/10.1300/J149v02n03_04 (accessed 5 February 2022).

⁵²⁰ Gwyn, 'Wales and the Memorialisation of Slavery in 2007', pp. 308–309. See also M. Dresser and A. Hann (eds.) *Slavery and the British Country House*, (Online edn., 2013).

⁵²¹ Gwyn, 'Wales and the Memorialisation of Slavery in 2007', pp. 308–309.

⁵²² Gwyn, 'The Heritage Industry and the Slave Trade', (PhD diss., Bangor University, 2014), pp. 56–60.

the bicentennial however, many sites across Wales have started conversations, created events, and highlighted stronger links to narratives connected to slavery. For Penrhyn Castle's part, the National Trust has held many events since 2007 which have aimed to tell a wider story of Penrhyn's links to slavery. Aforementioned events in the introduction chapter such as the 'What a World'⁵²³ exhibit and the 'Sugar and Slate'⁵²⁴ project which involved the local community and school groups doing activities such as going through the Bangor Archives, handling objects connected to slavery, writing poetry and exhibits on Penrhyn's connection to slavery. Most recently, *The Times* produced a three-part podcast about April-Louise Pennant, a direct descendant of one of the Pennant enslaved workers on their Denbigh plantations, who explored her family's past, and visited Penrhyn Castle in 2021.⁵²⁵ The podcast featuring April-Louise Pennant brought context to listeners on how what happened to her descendants affects her life today and told a wider story of how slavery played a part in the development of Britain and how its relevant today.⁵²⁶ These kinds of events connect Penrhyn's past to its present, helping the local community, visitors and staff play an active part in learning about slavery and its connection to Penrhyn and engage with those narratives through activities such as poetry and group projects with locals in Jamacia.

Many guidebooks' narratives about slavery are written in a way that makes slavery seem as if it is no longer relevant, stuck in time and too oppressive a subject to dwell on for a day's outing to the Big House. To the reader, this makes it seem as if there are no conversations to be had on the subject, and no need to look critically at estate owners because it was 'all in the past.'⁵²⁷ Faults are forgiven and the narratives of slavery which are briefly mentioned are subsumed within exciting and celebratory narratives about impressive architecture and art collections. The analysis of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks shows this in each edition. Whether it be that slavery is not mentioned at all, as in the earlier editions, or it is written about, but in a section in the back of the book with little context and minimised narratives around the enslaved themselves, the guidebooks present themselves as an example of colonial discourse; focused on narratives of white progress, aristocracy, and material

⁵²³ National Trust, 'New 'What a World!' Exhibition Takes an Honest Look at Penrhyn Castle's Collection and the Culture of Colonialism', online edn, 24 February 2020 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/news/new-what-a-world-exhibition-takes-an-honest-look-at-penrhyn-castles-collection-and-the-culture-of-colonialism> (accessed 18 June 2022).

⁵²⁴ Gwyn, 'Wales and the Memorialisation of Slavery in 2007', pp. 311–312.

⁵²⁵ The Times, 'The Legacy of Penrhyn Castle Part 1–2', *The Stories of our Times Podcast*, online edn, 3 August 2021 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/podcasts/stories-of-our-times> (accessed 5 October 2021).

⁵²⁶ The Times, 'The Legacy of Penrhyn Castle Part 1–2', *The Stories of our Times Podcast*, online edn, 3 August 2021 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/podcasts/stories-of-our-times> (accessed 5 October 2021).

⁵²⁷ Buzinde, 'Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook', pp. 231–232.

opulence. Their authoritative nature minimises narratives of marginalised voices and representations of slavery, and puts the white male owners – their titles, careers, possessions, and lineage – at the centre of the story. While progress is actively being made on-site at Penrhyn Castle, the latest edition of the guidebook was published in 2006, a year before the ‘big boom’ in interpretations of slavery across UK heritage. While it is positive to see these steps being taken at Penrhyn Castle, none of those changes can be seen by a visitor picking up a guidebook today. The stories of enslaved people working at plantations in Jamaica, 3,000 miles from Penrhyn Castle in Wales, at first might appear distant but are in fact a central and vital part of Penrhyn’s story as an estate. Slave narratives should not be a side story of Penrhyn’s history, in the shadow of Richard Pennant and his descendants, but an equal, active part of the narrative. The Penrhyn Castle guidebooks should reflect this but instead they are minimising the marginalised peoples’ narratives.

Authenticity, place, and identity in guidebook narratives

In this section, I discuss how authority and staged authenticity through a singular narrative leaves out key aspects of the estate’s history, such as industry. This gap in the guidebooks became part of my model for the creative artefact.

The authoritative nature of a guidebook not only encourages a reader to believe the guidebook is objective, truthful, and accurate, but also leads the reader to believe that because of those aspects, the content is authentic.⁵²⁸ Authenticity has been a heavily contested area in literature and heritage, with theorists arguing whether authenticity can even be achieved in regards to re-telling history or describing place and culture.⁵²⁹ One of the earliest studies completed about authenticity was in Dean MacCannell’s pivotal anthropological study *The Tourist*, which analysed sections of content in different guides about the city of Paris; studying the locations and narratives that were included or excluded in the guides.⁵³⁰ His research found that the way the guides were written and their content had an influence on tourists’ perceptions of the city. By including flowery language about monuments and paintings, whilst omitting information on sites like nearby slaughterhouses, the Paris guides formed a partial description of the city that not only excluded a complete view of Paris but showed a staged ‘image’ of the city the writers wished to convey at the time the guide was

⁵²⁸ Alacovska, ‘Legitimacy, Self-Interpretation and Genre in Media Industries’, p. 607.

⁵²⁹ P. Battilani et al., ‘Discussion: Teaching Tourism History’, *Journal of Tourism History*, 8, 1, (2016), pp. 57–84 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2016.1168487> (accessed 21 May 2019).

⁵³⁰ D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkley, California, 2013), pp. 57–76.

published.⁵³¹ MacCannell saw the guidebook not only as a sociological study of society, but a useful way to study the tourist's experience with the 'other', the staged authenticity of heritage sites and the perception and interpretation of those sites based on how guides were written to/for their audience.⁵³² His ethnomethodological study of sightseers used examples of guidebooks as tourism 'truth markers' that have useful information within their content that helps shape tourist's trustworthiness of a tourism site, as well as their perception on its authenticity.⁵³³ MacCannell defined authenticity as 'staged authenticity': a manufactured version of the real version of a heritage site, which he saw as a paramount motivation for what tourists wanted out of a tourism site.⁵³⁴

Many tourism and heritage sites continue to strive for authenticity. For some sites like Colonial Williamsburg, authenticity has meant attempting to transform a place to recreate a particular period, where visitors can effectively 'go back in time' and experience life in eighteenth century colonised America. This type of staged authenticity obviously cannot turn back the clock and allow people to go to the eighteenth century, however, by recreating homes, shop fronts, barns, and government buildings from the time, heritage sites like Colonial Williamsburg can curate a space that appears authentic and 'of the time'. This creates a sense of nostalgia and of the fantastic – fantasy-like – for visitors to the heritage site.⁵³⁵

Other definitions of authenticity can mean connecting with nature, whatever is most natural, disconnected from a digital environment and allowing tourists a face-to-face interaction that is more real, honest or simple.⁵³⁶ It can also mean a site is untouched or unchanged from the time it was created, or simply just 'credible and convincing'.⁵³⁷ Edward Bruner argues that this is the objective of most museum professionals, not that a site or narratives connected to a site be infallibly authentic, but that they are 'believable to the public to achieve mimetic credibility'.⁵³⁸ Regardless of the reasoning, many heritage sites strive to appear as authentic as possible to their visitors, training staff and volunteers to conduct their

⁵³¹ MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, pp. 57–76.

⁵³² MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 135.

⁵³³ MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, pp. 135–143.

⁵³⁴ MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, pp. 91–107.

⁵³⁵ E. Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, 96, 2, (1994), pp. 400–401.

⁵³⁶ H. Heynen, 'Questioning Authenticity', *National Identities*, 8, 3, (2006), pp. 287–300
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14608940600842607> (accessed 27 November 2021).

⁵³⁷ Heynen, 'Questioning Authenticity', p. 290.

⁵³⁸ Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', p. 399.

work in a way that is authentic and genuine.⁵³⁹ For the National Trust, this is a clear priority as the words ‘authenticity’ and ‘authentic’ appear 18 times throughout their branding guide published in 2014.⁵⁴⁰ The guide urges staff to pick images that look authentic and choose words for their content and narratives from their sites that sound authentic and genuine to their audience.⁵⁴¹ The branding guide gives no official definition of what they believe authenticity to mean, but it is evident that the appearance of authenticity is of high importance across their sites.

For guidebooks, authenticity can often lie simply in their assumed authority. Guidebooks are assumed to be objective and truthful, and they are often created by trusted institutional authorities, so therefore their content is the most authentic version available.⁵⁴² Jasmine Proteau argues that this is problematic, however, as it can mean that while guidebooks articulate a version of a narrative, they can either contain information which departs from that existing in local consciousness, or present information in a way to sound as impartial as possible. This can mean that guidebooks either diminish information about political and controversial topics or remove them altogether.⁵⁴³ Often, this edited content results in defining or profound events being minimised or erased to create a sense of impartiality. The problem with this is that it completely undermines the authenticity of the narrative, despite its aim to present a text that has authenticity-through-authority.⁵⁴⁴ Two major areas of Penrhyn’s story, and its most controversial, are its connection with slavery and the major industrial strikes associated with the local slate industry. These two themes are minimised throughout the various editions of the guidebooks, in favour of pages of content describing the Pennant family and their possessions. In early editions, such as the 1950s–70s versions, the only mention of Penrhyn’s connection to the slate industry is through the biographies of Richard Pennant and George Sholto Douglas Pennant.⁵⁴⁵

The 1991 and 2006 versions of the guidebooks expanded on the topics of slate and slavery but these sections are noticeably positioned in the back of the books and appear more as offshoot topics rather than as key parts of Penrhyn’s story. The 1991 guidebook does go into detail on the events of the Great Strike, a controversial and contested topic even today.

⁵³⁹ Bruner, ‘Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism’, p. 399.

⁵⁴⁰ National Trust, *National Trust Brand Standards* (2014), pp. 4, 6, 38, 44, 46, 53, 54, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71.

⁵⁴¹ National Trust, *National Trust Brand Standards*, pp. 44–46.

⁵⁴² Proteau, ‘Not Your Ordinary Guidebook’, pp. 127–128.

⁵⁴³ Proteau, ‘Not Your Ordinary Guidebook’, pp. 127–128.

⁵⁴⁴ Proteau, ‘Not Your Ordinary Guidebook’, p. 127.

⁵⁴⁵ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1979), pp. 23–24.

Aspects such as the Quarrymen's Union, strife between strikers and workers, and community fundraisers are all discussed. However, the events of the strikes are seen completely through Lord Penrhyn's eyes, with some quotes from him included in the narrative:

Lord Penrhyn was dismayed when, in 1865, the quarrymen began to form themselves into a union. Concerned that his traditional paternalistic approach was being threatened by the emergence of an intermediary body, he quickly saw to its disbandment.⁵⁴⁶

Profits had declined since 1874, which he attributed entirely to the influence of the union and their committee. He revoked the Pennant Lloyd Agreement with the words 'I decline altogether to sanction the interference of anybody (corporate or individual) between employer and employed in the working of the Quarry.'⁵⁴⁷

In comparison, the quarrymen and their families come off as a collective mob with one angry voice. This presents the quarrymen and their families as just background players to the narrative of the Pennant family's lives. In another example:

Both Lord Penrhyn and his heir George Sholto were recovering from illness at the time. Later, Adela Douglas-Pennant wrote that had they been fully involved a firmer line would have been taken, but 'sooner or later the wave of trades unionism surging over the land must have swept into the quarry.'⁵⁴⁸

While this content is factually correct, it minimises the perspectives and experiences of the quarrymen and their families. Contemporary accounts chronicled widespread starvation, illnesses, emigration and the injuries of the quarrymen and their family before and during the strikes, but none of this is mentioned in any of the guidebooks.⁵⁴⁹ Only the Pennant family's illnesses are mentioned. Though there are archival accounts of quarrymen's conversations, objectives, feelings, and actions relating to the strikes, these are not featured heavily in the guidebooks. Most of the information presented about them in the guidebooks are as a silent, and faceless group:

In 1894 the Prince and Princess of Wales came to visit the National Eisteddfod at Caernarfon. They toured the quarry under the gaze of 10,000 spectators, 3,000 of them quarrymen. Lord Penrhyn addressed the Eisteddfod as its president, urged the participants, through their artistic endeavours, to 'soar far above the grovelling

⁵⁴⁶ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), p. 86.

⁵⁴⁷ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), p. 86.

⁵⁴⁸ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), p. 86.

⁵⁴⁹ C. S. Jones, in Elwyn Hughes (ed.), *What I Saw at Bethesda* (Llandysul, 2004), pp. 1–67.

jealousies of ordinary life ... let the effect of its music be to promote the study of harmony between man and man...'⁵⁵⁰

The way information is compiled and correlated in the guidebooks make it seem as if the story of the Penrhyn estate is limited to the lives of the Penrhyn family: they live in a fantasy castle, surrounded by luxury possessions, are well connected, accomplished, successful, and have unfortunate things happen to them. The story of the estate is far more complex and vaster than the Castle or its owners. This is not to say that the guidebooks' version of Penrhyn's history is incorrect or inaccurate, but the way in which they have been written does leave out or marginalise other important narratives and subjects connected to the estate's history. Therefore, it cannot be the whole story, or the most authentic version of it, as it is just one version.

Condensing narratives down into a single version in textual representations of heritage sites can often complicate tourists' perceptions of place as sites try to 'condense the complexities of region and history into a cohesive, captivating narrative.'⁵⁵¹ Culture is commodified through this condensing of narrative through text, in order for tourists to 'feel at home anywhere' but instead different elements of the culture of a site end up as coming across as watered down or simplified.⁵⁵² This can create a struggle of narratives, where different entities or cultural groups compete for what dominant stories are told at a site, and which dominant identity wins out at a site, which can especially happen in places where there are multiple cultures at play.⁵⁵³ In Edward Bruner's 1994 study of New Salem in Illinois, he found that there was a struggle between what narratives members of the local community wanted featured at the open air museum compared to the staff. Locals wanted narratives connected to the industrial heritage and trade that helped build their ancestors' hometown but staff were more keen to focus on New Salem being a backdrop for the life of Abraham Lincoln, who lived there during his early years of practising law.⁵⁵⁴ While both of these narratives have a factual basis, in the end it was staff who won the struggle for which narrative would be dominant, thus defining the culture of New Salem as more aligned with presidential history than local industry.⁵⁵⁵ Like New Salem, narratives connected to the

⁵⁵⁰ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), pp. 86–87.

⁵⁵¹ K. Cohen-Hattab and J. Kerber, 'Literature, Cultural Identity and the Limits of Authenticity: A Composite Approach', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 6, 2, (2004), p. 59 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/jtr.470> (accessed 5 February 2021).

⁵⁵² Cohen-Hattab and Kerber, 'Literature, Cultural Identity and the Limits of Authenticity', p. 59.

⁵⁵³ Cohen-Hattab and Kerber, 'Literature, Cultural Identity and the Limits of Authenticity', p. 68.

⁵⁵⁴ Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', pp. 400–401.

⁵⁵⁵ Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', pp. 400–401.

Penrhyn estate have long been contested by some communities in north Wales. As a result, there have been ongoing conversations between National Trust staff, volunteers, and members of various local stakeholder groups about how Penrhyn's story should be presented and what narratives should be included in the site's interpretation. The Penrhyn Castle guidebooks do not reflect these ongoing conversations.

Core aspects of the Penrhyn narrative such as slate quarrying are limited in scope throughout the guidebooks. The Penrhyn slate quarry in Bethesda was a major enterprise and had a significant impact on local society and culture. The largest slate quarry in North Wales, Penrhyn Quarry in Bethesda, employed around 2,500 quarrymen during the height of its success, beginning in the 1800s.⁵⁵⁶ A major employer for the area, the Penrhyn estate also operated a port, railroad, and other infrastructure that aided of the productivity of the quarry.⁵⁵⁷ By the 1870s, the quarrymen of Gwynedd had begun to unionise and complaints of long working hours, dangerous working conditions, and menial pay were echoing throughout the quarries. The 1901–1903, Penrhyn Quarry Disputes became one of the largest industrial strikes in British history.⁵⁵⁸ The details surrounding working conditions, the labour involved with skilled slate work, and references to communal aspects of quarrying families who lived on the estate such as religion, education, literature, and music are all diminished in the guidebooks. Descriptions of the Castle's architecture, collections and male owners predominate. Much like the descriptions of the plantations in Jamaica, only the later editions clearly outline the house's connection with the quarry and how its successes aided in the Pennants' social standing and economic power.

By making the guidebooks' focus the lives of the Pennants and their possessions, the National Trust have left out other aspects of the estate's history. Taking the quarry strikes as an example, there are contemporary accounts that suggest Lord Penrhyn was a dutiful and fair landlord and proprietor, as the guidebooks suggest. But evidence also exists of quarrying families finding their complaints ignored, as well as contemporary sources detailing Lord Penrhyn's reputation for being tight-fisted.⁵⁵⁹ Paul Ramirez argues that heritage sites can get stuck in time, focusing on specific people or narratives to make them seem more authentic. A multiplicity of authenticities is needed to tell the narrative of a site. One version is not more

⁵⁵⁶ R. Coyle, *The Riches beneath Our Feet: How Mining Shaped Britain* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 125–143.

⁵⁵⁷ Lindsay, *A History of the North Wales Slate Industry*, pp. 48–49.

⁵⁵⁸ Lindsay, *A History of the North Wales Slate Industry*, pp. 220–245, 278–296.

⁵⁵⁹ Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen*, pp. 81–82.

valid or authentic than another, they are just different versions.⁵⁶⁰ The narrative presented in the guidebooks is just a single and limited version of Penrhyn's history. These guidebooks' presentations of the narrative are not the only version of Penrhyn's story, nor should they be. They are too narrow in focus, and have been edited into a too-clean, straightforward narrative to be complete representations of Penrhyn's multilayered nature.

Identity and place in heritage narratives

In this section, I highlight how the focus of each guidebook was Penrhyn Castle and the Pennant family. The surrounding society, culture and landscape of north Wales is ignored in favour of the immediate Castle and its grounds. This means the primary focus of Penrhyn, as articulated through the guidebooks, is not multilocal nor multivocal but is centred on one structure, its immediate grounds and the family who owned it.

Representations of place are quite murky in the Penrhyn guidebooks. In the earliest guidebook, it is not even evident where Penrhyn Castle is located. The only time the words 'Wales' or 'Welsh' were mentioned in the earliest guidebook are in footnotes on page five, pertaining to books that were sources on architecture of the interior of the home.⁵⁶¹ In the later editions, it is clearer that Penrhyn is in fact located in north Wales, near Bangor, but there are not many narratives that distinctly connect Penrhyn to the fabric of Wales. The 1991 version does connect the early owners of Penrhyn to the land and gives us some evidence of Penrhyn's importance to the area:

Part of the lands given to Goronwy ab Ednyfed was a promontory containing over 500 acres of land, immediately east of Bangor, which has been known for centuries as Penrhyn ... the first landed estate in North Wales.⁵⁶²

However, most of the guidebook centres on the story of the later owners, the Pennants, and how the local landscape was something the family developed for themselves, rather than focusing on the estate as a central feature in both local and Welsh histories. In the 2006 version, the first few paragraphs of the guidebook mentions Penrhyn's place in north Wales, and its connection between the West Indies and England:

⁵⁶⁰ P. Ramírez, 'What Can We Weave? Authority, Reconstructing, and Negotiating Heritages Through Archaeological Open-Air Museums', *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, 16, (2020), pp. 72–98 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11759-020-09390-y> (accessed 15 May 2022).

⁵⁶¹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1955), p. 5.

⁵⁶² National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), p. 5.

What was created here shaped thousands of lives – for good and ill – from North Wales to the West Indies. Penrhyn Castle occupies a strategic position between two rivers on the route from England to Bangor and the isle of Anglesey.⁵⁶³

Different aspects of Penrhyn's story, such as the slate industry, agriculture, Welsh culture, and the estate's connection to Jamaica are not presented in narrative form, they only feature as small informational sentences dotted throughout sections which predominately focus on the lives, achievements, and possessions of the Pennant family.

Narrative formation is 'the ultimate result of the tourism experience as it can produce an interpretation of the local historical experience in so far as it can be related to and incorporated in, the historical experience of the visitor'.⁵⁶⁴ Through the incorporation of multiple voices, heritage sites can construct narratives that are multi-layered, incorporating experiences and perspectives from different socio-economical statuses, international experiences and can tell stories of local importance which highlight the uniqueness of a site and its area.⁵⁶⁵ Through this multiplicity, tourists are able to experience a connection with place.⁵⁶⁶ This is why researchers such as Hilde Heynen claim that authenticity in any form is unattainable. Authenticity is lost and cannot be reclaimed, so the best outcome is to have continuous interactions with the past through multilayered stories which utilise a multitude of voices, accounts, and aspects.⁵⁶⁷ These can give tourists a more well-rounded version of the story of place that builds upon their preconceptions. Edward Bruner disputes MacCannell's claims that tourists are searching for authenticity in their travel experiences. Instead, he believes they are looking for a sense of 'identity, meaning and attachment'.⁵⁶⁸ Tourists are not seeking an authentic experiential part of travelling, they are seeking narratives.⁵⁶⁹ In order for tourists to feel a connection to a site, an engaging narrative must be present. First person narratives, as opposed to didactic third person narratives, can share more selective memories and experiences of everyday life. Relatable narratives are important for tourists to feel connected to a site, which helps them relate to stories in a personal way with family and friends.⁵⁷⁰ Autobiographical narratives, oral histories, and stories of the self connect

⁵⁶³ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 2.

⁵⁶⁴ J. Rickly-Boyd, 'The Tourist Narrative', *Tourist Studies* 9, 3, (2009), pp. 259–280
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1468797610382701> (accessed 27 November 2021).

⁵⁶⁵ Rickly-Boyd, 'The Tourist Narrative', pp. 261–262.

⁵⁶⁶ J. Strauser et al., 'Heritage Narratives for Landscapes on the Rural–Urban Fringe in the Midwestern United States', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 62, 7, (2019) pp. 1260–1286
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2018.1492908> (accessed 27 November 2021).

⁵⁶⁷ Heynen, 'Questioning Authenticity', p. 290.

⁵⁶⁸ Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', p. 398.

⁵⁶⁹ Rickly-Boyd, 'The Tourist Narrative', pp. 261–262.

⁵⁷⁰ Rickly-Boyd, 'The Tourist Narrative', pp. 260–262.

audiences to narratives far more than a string of impartial facts.⁵⁷¹ A multiplicity of voices from personal experience create a connection to tourists that is stronger than information given by those who talk about subjects ‘from the outside’.⁵⁷² Therefore, tourists want connection and relativity to the sites they are visiting.⁵⁷³

What creates that connection and relativity are heritage narratives which combine a sense of place and identity, and a utilisation of the landscape which can help connect past heritage to the present and future.⁵⁷⁴ A study conducted in 2019 on heritage narratives on landscapes in the Midwestern US found that there were different strands of narratives being told about the area by different groups. These ‘growth narratives’ that are told by different communities about themselves and their environments,⁵⁷⁵ were important to establish a connection to place for locals as well as tourists.⁵⁷⁶ The study established that there were multiple narratives being told about the area. A tourism narrative, an industrial narrative, a conservation narrative, and a housing narrative were all identified as themes in what was conveyed to researchers. Exploring these narratives unearthed rich stories about the landscape, local industry, the uniqueness of the area, and gaps between communities that could be addressed or developed further in the future. Groups involved with the area had different narratives, but all were looking to ‘create landscapes that enhance a sense of place and strengthen interconnections with each other’.⁵⁷⁷ While it can be complicated to include so many different narratives in one area or site, especially places that have intangible heritage, many sites are working to incorporate a multitude of communities, ethnicities, and cultural events that impacted sites. For heritage sites in areas like Manchester, this means telling multilayered stories not only about the city’s well known Victorian industrial past, but its 1960s architectural heritage as well. These stories intertwine and impact one another, but by

⁵⁷¹ Rickly-Boyd, ‘The Tourist Narrative’, pp. 260–261.

⁵⁷² Ramírez, ‘What Can We Weave?’, p. 83.

⁵⁷³ Rickly-Boyd, ‘The Tourist Narrative’, p. 264.

⁵⁷⁴ Strauser et al., ‘Heritage Narratives for Landscapes on the Rural–Urban Fringe in the Midwestern United States’, pp. 1269–1272.

⁵⁷⁵ A. Scott et al., ‘Disintegrated Development at the Rural–Urban Fringe: Re-Connecting Spatial Planning Theory and Practice’, *Progress in Planning*, 83 (2013), pp. 1–52 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2012.09.001> (accessed 27 November 2021).

⁵⁷⁶ Strauser et al., ‘Heritage Narratives for Landscapes on the Rural–Urban Fringe in the Midwestern United States’, pp. 1269–1272.

⁵⁷⁷ Strauser et al., ‘Heritage Narratives for Landscapes on the Rural–Urban Fringe in the Midwestern United States’, p. 1283.

incorporating both narratives in heritage, a more cohesive, well-rounded narrative that connects the past to the future can emerge.⁵⁷⁸

Different aspects of Penrhyn's story, such as the slate industry, agriculture, Welsh culture, and the estate's connection to Jamaica are not presented in a coherent manner within the series of guidebooks. Readers do not get a real sense of how vast the estate was, the extent of its influence on different parts of society or how many people lived and worked there. Representations of groups of people, other than the Pennant patriarchs, are highly generalised and presented in the context of how they helped the Pennant family, not in how they lived and experienced the estate. For example, the narrative of the people helping to build the castle is presented in a way that suggests they were only a vessel to complete the Pennant narrative, rather than being a part of their own. The description of carvings throughout the castle, for example, included:

Carvings abound throughout the castle, which testifies to the skills of the local craftsmen.⁵⁷⁹

Which does not mention craftsmen in any other way. That is not to say that it is wrong to highlight these local elements, but readers are given no other context to who these people were, their names, backgrounds, life stories, where they lived, how much they were paid for this work and their other interactions with the estate. Local people pop in and out of a larger narrative centred on the Pennant family, such as in a section on the servant hierarchy within the castle, but readers are rarely privy to the personal experiences of these people, or how they saw and constructed their community.⁵⁸⁰ There is one small blurb in the 2006 version about the experience of an apprentice who worked at Penrhyn for five years in the 1920s, but it is one of the only instances of accounts additional people, other than the influential people who visited the Pennant family. The major sense of place that is established throughout the guidebooks is Penrhyn as an archetypal *English* country house, with little attempt to articulate or explore its Welsh context, identity and significance.

Like many National Trust guidebooks, Penrhyn Castle's guides follow a formulaic pattern of content that points to elements of 'Englishness' that are typical features of country houses.⁵⁸¹ With the great revival of the country house in the late 1950s–60s came the idea

⁵⁷⁸ A. While and M. Short, 'Place Narratives and Heritage Management: The Modernist Legacy in Manchester', *Area*, 43, 1, (2011), pp. 4–13 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2010.00962.x> (accessed 20 September 2021).

⁵⁷⁹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 3.

⁵⁸⁰ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 27.

⁵⁸¹ Henderson, 'Claims of Heritage: Restoring the English Country House in Wide Sargasso Sea' pp. 94–95;

that the country house is synonymous with quintessential ‘Englishness’, a perception which became attached to the efforts of preservation institutions like the National Trust.⁵⁸² Often separated from its imperialistic connections at home or abroad in literary representations, the country house instead has been seen as a setting of upper class nostalgia, with a feeling of languorous ‘days gone by’ for adaptations of *Jane Eyre*, *Brideshead Revisited*, and Agatha Christie novels produced during this period.⁵⁸³ In many of these depictions, the country house stands alone as a setting, continually pointing to its aristocratic characters and collection of treasures, ignoring its wider impacts on culture, politics, society, and the realities of the lower class lives around it. Despite not being located in England, the traditional interpretation of Penrhyn Castle, as evidenced in the guidebooks, has clearly been influenced by a sense of intrinsic country house ‘Englishness’, which has had the consequence of eradicating the ‘Welshness’ of the site. The loading of Welsh country houses into English frameworks of significance, across both academic and heritage spheres, has for sites such as Penrhyn been detrimental for the construction of unique narratives of place.

Much of the content in the early version of the Penrhyn guides, mirrors those of other National Trust properties located in England; acquired art collections and antiques, descriptions of marbled staircases, carefully crafted gardens, royal connections and owners’ contributions to the British state. With little differentiation between the kinds of content, the early guidebooks read as if Penrhyn could be any number of English country houses. The difficulty with the earliest versions of the guides is not that they completely forget Penrhyn Castle’s location in Wales; there are a few mentions of the use of local blacksmiths who worked on the construction of the castle and references to the local views of Beaumaris, Great Orme, and Bangor.⁵⁸⁴ However, none of the information is arranged or focused in a way that fully expresses how Penrhyn was instrumental in the history of the locality or Wales in general.

In addition to the absence of place, the guidebooks do very little to connect its heritage narratives with the present or future of the estate. There is disjointed information about people who inhabited the castle, worked there, or contributed towards its construction.

Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, pp. 2–5, 113, 291.

⁵⁸² D. Cannadine, *The Pleasures of the Past* (New York, 1989) pp. 107–108;

Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, pp. 2–5.

⁵⁸³ S. Barnett, ‘A fitting end: the country house, Agatha Christie and Dead Man’s folly’, *Clues: A Journal of Detection*, 34, 1, (2004) pp. 63–71. Also see Henderson, *Claims of Heritage: Restoring the English Country House in Wide Sargasso Sea*, p. 95.

⁵⁸⁴ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1979), p. 9.

There is little to no information about its connection with the strikes of 1896 and 1901–1903, and no information whatsoever about the vast estate attached with the physical castle or the lives of those who worked on the land. Without a distinct narrator that is presenting the information and tying it together in a way that explains exactly why Penrhyn is a part of Welsh history as well as being intricately connected to Jamaica, the guides read as if they are written by the ‘English’ National Trust about a property that they possess in Wales. Despite the presence of park walls, country houses like Penrhyn Castle were not constructed and did not operate in isolation from their surroundings, physical and cultural: the vast landscape attached to the Castle was lived in and worked in by a community which was heavily influenced by the power of the Pennants. Without multiple narratives and voices in its guidebooks, tourists are left to assume Penrhyn Castle is a country house that stands alone, with a central family dominated by its line of patriarchs and background players, but with little community links, ties to the surrounding landscape, or a sense of grounding in place.

Welsh identity

In this section, I discuss how the guidebooks minimise the Welsh identity of the estate and the people connected to it, and any Welsh-related narratives. In the next section, I discuss how the branding of the guidebooks connect to this issue. The aforementioned authority of the National Trust is one reason why the Welsh identity of the estate has been minimised.

Another way heritage sites create connections to tourists is using local and national identity. For guidebooks however, the authorial invisibility of the narrator makes guidebooks an ‘instrument of power’ that can shape tourists’ views on culture and identity.⁵⁸⁵ The anonymity of the narrator allows for the author to manufacture culture and ‘influence the perception of people and places’ through an informative, distant voice.⁵⁸⁶ As mentioned before, these narratives can stereotype other groups of people, whilst prioritising the beauty of the site solely for the tourist’s gaze. Compared to travel writers, who openly share their accounts, experiences, and perceptions of a place – which then can be questioned, analysed, or judged based on factors such as their background, other publications, or outside accounts – the invisibility of the guidebook author allows for it to function as an informative text, unquestioned in the same way as a dictionary or encyclopaedia. This gives a false sense of

⁵⁸⁵ J. Dybiec, *Guidebook Gazes: Poland in American and German Travel Guides, 1945–2002* (Krakow, 2004), p. 17.

⁵⁸⁶ A. Dijkstra, ‘Marginalizing and Exoticizing Wales: Shifting Representations in Translated Guidebooks’, *Translation Studies*, 9, 2, (2015), pp. 198–211 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2015.1090910> (accessed 28 October 2019).

security in certain texts, creating the belief that one type of text is ‘more believable than another,’ thus allowing guidebooks to write all sorts of claims that appear as absolute truth, without any study or possible criticism of the people who wrote it.⁵⁸⁷ At Penrhyn, this is accentuated by the scarcity of academic publications on the history of the estate. Local cultures and communities can either be wildly exaggerated in guidebooks or written as background props to a location that exists as a ‘fairy-tale land’ for tourists.⁵⁸⁸

In a study conducted on the *Blue Guide to Spain*, Semiotician Roland Barthes found that local communities were heavily generalised and the nuances between professional levels and social classes were blurred for tourists. Barthes called the guidebooks an ‘agent of blindness’ because of their pointed focus on Christian iconoclasm. Tourists were guided only to look at the historical churches, vestries, and crosses that made the culture of Spain seem stuck in the past – rather than any of its modern architecture or cultural practices. Barthes concluded that guidebooks tended to represent a country as fixed in one dimension, not showing the growth or evolution of their culture, nor any of the multifaceted aspects and contested nature of national identity.⁵⁸⁹ Numerous other studies on guidebooks across locations such as Cuba,⁵⁹⁰ India,⁵⁹¹ Italy,⁵⁹² Japan,⁵⁹³ and Wales⁵⁹⁴ have found that local narratives of people, place and identity were simplified for tourists. Whilst a local resident may understand the nuances of a situation with a simple phrase or word, the guidebooks are incapable of presenting the entirety of a complex situation to an outsider in a concise manner. Ultimately, guidebooks can describe people and places in a manner wholly different than they are understood by a resident of that area, or member of that group.⁵⁹⁵ In the 2005 guide of Sicily written by Lonely Planet, Paola Smecca identified large discrepancies between the English and Italian versions of the guidebook. For an English audience, Sicilians are

⁵⁸⁷ Bassnett, ‘Travelling and Translating’, *World Literature Written in English*, 40, 2, (2004), pp. 66–76 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850408589391> (accessed 10 May 2019).

⁵⁸⁸ Dijkstra, ‘Marginalizing and Exoticizing Wales’, p. 207.

⁵⁸⁹ D. Lisle, ‘Humanitarian Travels: Ethical Communication in Lonely Planet Guidebooks’, *Review of International Studies*, 34, 1, (2008), pp. 163–164 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210508007845> (accessed 10 May 2019).

⁵⁹⁰ R. Ogden, ‘Lonely Planet: Affect and Authenticity in Guidebooks of Cuba’, *Social Identities*, 25, 2, (2017), pp. 156–68 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2017.1414592> (accessed 10 May 2019).

⁵⁹¹ Bhattacharyya, ‘Mediating India’, pp. 371–89.

⁵⁹² P. Smecca, ‘Tourist Guidebooks and the Image of Sicily in Translation’, *Perspectives*, 17, 2, (2009) pp. 109–19 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09076760903026366> (accessed 20 November 2019).

⁵⁹³ S. Favi, ‘Negotiating the Nation: Public Diplomacy and the Publication of English-Language Tourist Guidebooks of Japan in the Meiji Period (1868–1912)’, *Japan Forum*, 34, 4, (2022), pp. 1–23 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09555803.2022.2033301> (accessed 15 June 2022).

⁵⁹⁴ Dijkstra, ‘Marginalizing and Exoticizing Wales’, pp. 198–211.

⁵⁹⁵ Ogden, ‘Lonely Planet: Affect and Authenticity in Guidebooks of Cuba’, pp. 160–165.

described as ‘passionate, animated people who gesticulate wildly when speaking, love to eat, drive like maniacs and never forget a grudge’.⁵⁹⁶ In the Italian version, locals were described in far less boisterous terms, as Smecca surmises that the publishers were ‘aware that Italian readers must know their country fairly well and would not believe in gross exaggerations ... the Italian edition is more selective and accurate in the choice of vocabulary’.⁵⁹⁷

Though the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks are not designed to be guides on entire cities or countries, the history of the site makes it appropriate for them to feature information on a large part of north Wales, and the communities of Welsh people connected with the estate. Based on the guidebooks, however, readers are given little to no idea how local Welsh people viewed the estate in the past or present, or how they saw themselves as a part of its history. A Welsh-language guidebook for Penrhyn Castle has never been published. The lack of a Welsh language guidebook, however, does say something about how publishers of the guidebooks have viewed Welsh speakers. It seems as if the National Trust regard the local Welsh-speaking population of Gwynedd, the county in which Penrhyn exists and containing the largest Welsh-speaking population in the world, as not important or prioritised as visitors to a major local heritage site. There is very little to analyse in the way of how Welsh people are portrayed in the guidebooks – they are simply absent.

Anna-Lou Dijkstra also found that representations of Welsh people were lacking in guidebooks written for German audiences about Wales. Many of these guides, though written about sites within Wales, are written in a voice from a writer outside of Wales. Much of the language and imagery used in the guides pointed to Wales coming off as a ‘lesser-than’ and a foreign country with negative connotations, which she found through analysis of various guides about Wales.⁵⁹⁸ As a result, Dijkstra argued that the lack of study of diverse Welsh travel guides has contributed to the notion that Wales is almost ‘invisible’ in the scholarly tourism realm compared to its close neighbours Ireland and Scotland.⁵⁹⁹

The Penrhyn estate’s influence in the history of north Wales still has a lasting effect on some communities today. However, in the guidebooks, Penrhyn’s location within a Welsh, rural and industrial society is not as clear and many of the aspects of Welsh life – and general representations of Wales – are minimised throughout the guidebooks. With the earliest editions focused primarily on architecture and artwork, the estate’s prestige and wealth are

⁵⁹⁶ Smecca, ‘Tourist Guidebooks and the Image of Sicily in Translation’, p. 114.

⁵⁹⁷ Smecca, ‘Tourist Guidebooks and the Image of Sicily in Translation’, p. 115.

⁵⁹⁸ Dijkstra, ‘Marginalizing and Exoticizing Wales’, pp. 201–202.

⁵⁹⁹ Dijkstra, ‘Marginalizing and Exoticizing Wales’, p. 198.

evident and recognised within the guidebooks but what is absent is how prominent a role the Penrhyn estate played in the history of Wales, across cultural, social, economic, agricultural, industrial, religious and political spheres.

There are a few references to the property's original Welsh owners, the Gruffudd and the Williams families, but there is little context to who these people were, how they are significant to local history or even in fact if they were Welsh at all. Any further mention of those who occupied the land is briefly stated:

The medieval Penrhyn was built by the great “royal” Tudor family at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The buildings are likely to have been built by Tudor Hen ap Goronwy.⁶⁰⁰

Narratives connected to the social, cultural, global, industrial, and Welsh history of Penrhyn remained undeveloped in favour of a continuous focus on architectural, art, and genealogical history. Slate from the Bethesda quarries is mentioned, as the origin of furniture in the state bedroom, and there is a small remark of the view of Anglesey from the grounds, but there is no explanation of the connection of Penrhyn Castle to these locations in any of these descriptions to make visitors aware of how these fit into a larger narrative of the local area. In the 1970s–2006 guides, there are extended biographies of the early history of the estate, beginning with Ednyfed Fychan and Gwilym ap Griffith, and flowing into the Pennant family.⁶⁰¹ While these sections do give more background detail to the early history of the estate and a clear indication of Penrhyn being a Welsh estate, they also appear as short side-stories to the Pennant family, as they are often located in the latter half of the guidebook, or as precursors to Penrhyn's connection with Jamaica. The 1991 edition gives the longest descriptions of Penrhyn's early owners, detailing the distinguished careers and connections of the Griffith family. However, like the other side stories of slate and slavery, they are presented in very factual blocks of text and without much context to just how important the early owners of the Penrhyn estate were to north Wales.

Susan Pitchford argues that a lack of key indicators of Welsh narratives within tourism material about Wales contributes to a false or incomplete image of Wales to incoming tourists.⁶⁰² Pitchford details what elements constitute successful nation narratives,

⁶⁰⁰ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1955), p. 1.

⁶⁰¹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1979), pp. 11–12.

⁶⁰² S. Pitchford, ‘The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage’, *Planet: The Welsh Internationalist*, 104, (1994), pp. 43–64.

which helps build national identity in an area, a heritage site, or a piece of written work.⁶⁰³ In the case of Wales, some of the most important elements in portraying Welsh identity within a guidebook are binding commonalities such as the Welsh language, origin myths, community life, territories (such as landscape, scenery, environment, etc.), and historical memories (such as memories of injustice within working class Welsh communities).⁶⁰⁴ Pitchford's elements can certainly be contested, but regardless, these sorts of narratives being shared within former industrial communities is a part of their binding regional and national narratives.⁶⁰⁵ She argues the importance of self-autonomy for a country such as Wales in producing its own narrative: its own historical figures, like Owain Glyndŵr, being studied and taught, its own historical memories being shared, and its own triumphs in war, politics, and societal advancements presented not as an extension of English or even British identity and history, but a separate and valid identity of its own.⁶⁰⁶ When this does not happen, the identity of a nation can be read by incoming tourists as having an us-and-them narrative, which easily victimises the country and can allow outside parties to 'display the subordinate group as backward, lazy, ignorant and better off under the guardianship of a more advanced group'.⁶⁰⁷

The lack of Welsh narratives throughout the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks is another large gap identified through this analysis. Key elements such as the slate industry, the lives and experience of the communities who lived and worked on the Penrhyn estate across its history, Penrhyn's role in Wales today, and narratives reflecting cultural distinctiveness such as music, literature, and language are missing in the guidebooks, or not expanded upon compared to other themes. Defining what is and is not an example of a Welsh narrative is difficult. Bella Dicks looked at the narratives of Welsh communities across the country and identified two of the main edifices which make up Welsh identity: the land and language. These, coupled with a sense of industrial community and religion, were detectable traits of Welsh identity within heritage sites and key elements missing within the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks, despite their strong connection to Penrhyn Castle.⁶⁰⁸ Without the links to these contexts, tourists are left to assume Penrhyn Castle is a grand country house with changing owners and servants, with no way of piecing together the ties to local rural and industrial heritage that would help create a more well-rounded narrative of local Welsh history.

⁶⁰³ Pitchford, 'The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage', pp. 41–43.

⁶⁰⁴ Pitchford, 'The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage', p. 43.

⁶⁰⁵ Pitchford, 'The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage', pp. 62–64.

⁶⁰⁶ Pitchford, 'The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage', p. 8.

⁶⁰⁷ Pitchford, 'The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage', p. 41.

⁶⁰⁸ B. Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 82–83.

Additionally, the National Trust appears to have made no attempt to direct visitors to other tourism or heritage sites in the area ‘beyond the paywall’ that do provide these narratives.

Bella Dicks points out a clear divide between rural and urban portrayals of Wales.⁶⁰⁹ The folk tradition view of Wales is that in its natural form, Wales is truly itself when it is apart from anything imposed on it by English influence.⁶¹⁰ Wales often tells its stories in two parts for tourists. One is about castles, conquests, and exploitation, and the other is of the ruralness of the ‘wild’ Welsh countryside.⁶¹¹ Much of folk heritage focuses on the ‘true’ identity of Wales, ‘revealed in its purity once the trapping of Anglicised colonisers have been cleared away’.⁶¹² While sites such as Swtan Heritage Museum and St Fagans can focus on heritage interpretations that are far more distanced from Englishness, Penrhyn cannot. Penrhyn stands unique in many ways in its historical narrative, as aspects of class, colonisation, industrialisation, and rural life intertwined without any way of truly separating the aspects apart. Intrinsically connected, the site is unable to draw a clear line between England and Wales, and the transformation of the slate industry in north Wales shaped rural communities into quarrying communities, therefore becoming a different kind of Welsh that was no longer as romanticised as it was before. These aspects of Welshness are not as divided and clear-cut as some heritage sites portray, but in the ‘60s–70s, theorists began to argue that the focus of Welsh narratives should come from the people themselves.⁶¹³ Geraint Jenkins, however, sees this united community of everyday Welsh people as an inaccurate portrayal. By reducing working class communities to common themes, it can come across as an Anglophilic, Americanised, version of nationalism, interpreted as quaint and simplified communities across the whole of Wales, when in fact, some communities were not as uniform or united as some museums portray them to be.⁶¹⁴

Regardless of employing common themes in heritage sites or embracing more disjointed interpretation across Wales, Gaynor Cohen argues that the importance lies in Wales’ ability to construct its own national identity from its historical narratives. Without the narratives coming from inside Wales, the interpretation changes to show Wales as dichotomised from England which misrepresents some of the more blended realities of Welsh

⁶⁰⁹ Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community*, p. 85.

⁶¹⁰ Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community*, pp. 85–88.

⁶¹¹ Pitchford, ‘The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage’, p. 41.

⁶¹² Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community*, pp. 82–83.

⁶¹³ Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community*, p. 87.

⁶¹⁴ G. Jenkins, ‘Interpreting the Heritage of Wales’, *Folk Life*, 25, 1, (1986), pp. 5–17
<https://doi.org/10.1179/flk.1986.25.1.5> (accessed 5 May 2019).

history.⁶¹⁵ For the Penrhyn guidebooks, the Welsh are turned into supporting characters of the story, like in the one-dimensional story of Lord Penrhyn's experience with the strikes – leaving out those of the quarrymen. Local voices of those connected to the Penrhyn estate should feature throughout the guidebook, across narratives of its early history, industry, agriculture and Penrhyn Castle as local people were all involved in those narratives of Penrhyn's history. By including these multiple narratives, not only do local Welsh people get to take ownership of stories about their lives and culture, but tourists also create a deeper connection to the Penrhyn estate by learning through these multiple strands of significance in a way that creates commonality and empathy between tourists, locals, and representations of the past and place.

In the National Trust's attempt to create guidebooks on Penrhyn Castle that are authoritative, impartial, and authentic, they have prioritised a stringing together of informational facts rather than creating relatable, connecting narratives about people and place. The narratives that are in the guidebooks are far more focused on the Pennants, their possessions, and successes, than they are about Penrhyn's role, reach and identity, locally and internationally, or a multitude of voices contributing to the story of the estate instead of the story of one family. With its third-person, invisible narrator, the guidebooks present readers with a multitude of facts, but not a multitude of people who had real, complex experiences and emotions connected to those facts. Readers will never know a truly authentic version of Penrhyn's story because there are so many different experiences and perspectives of Penrhyn, stretching from the local to the global and across a range of emotions. What readers know of Penrhyn is only through a singular, invisible voice that prioritises the Pennant family and makes aspects such as Penrhyn's connection to slavery and the slate industry tangential or peripheral. While achieving authenticity in narratives about heritage sites is unachievable, creating narratives through multiple voices and experiences is possible. If the rigidity of the content and format within the guidebooks is unable to provide a connection with the multiple stories present in a heritage site such as Penrhyn for visitors – and I have found that often, it is not able to provide this connection – then the format is not the right one for the heritage industry to be using to communicate multiple heritage narratives.

⁶¹⁵ G. Cohen, 'A Sense of People and Place: The Chapel and Language in Sustaining Welsh Identity', in Deborah Fahy Bryceson, Judith Okely and Johnathan Webber (eds.), *Identity and Networks: Fashioning Gender and Ethnicity across Cultures* (New York, 2007), pp. 91–102.

Branding

In this section, I discuss how centralised branding limits the narratives told in the guidebooks. The narratives within the Penrhyn guidebooks have tended to focus on themes and issues that are central to the National Trust, not allowing other narratives to flourish – or be mentioned at all. This connects to the previous issues of a centralised English authority subsuming Welsh identity on the estate and in the connected peoples.

Branding is also another aspect of guidebook authorship that makes authenticity impossible to achieve. Guidebook pioneers such as Baedeker had guidebook editing down to a science with standardised guides for places all over the world that were the same size, colour, and layout. This branding was recognisable and trusted by tourists.⁶¹⁶ Inside, the guidebooks contained practical information such as price lists, hotels, and important landmarks presented by an invisible author; gone were the days of long, detailed accounts of travel writers and their personal journeys. The standardised guidebook became the go-to piece of media to pick up when tourists wished to travel. While this growing niche proved itself to be popular and profitable, it also severely limited the sites that could be included in a small guidebook, turning the guides into more of a list of ‘hot spots’ than an extra resource for visiting and understanding an area. Victorian readers began relying heavily on Baedeker’s guides, which in turn began influencing which sites were deemed worthy to visit and which places were to be skipped. The reliance on the guidebook can impact the reader’s decision making during their visit and can keep them from interacting with locals, who would have more up-to-date, accurate, or local-centric information. Instead of receiving information from multiple sources, the guidebook’s authoritative nature can keep the reader’s nose firmly in its pages, only receiving information from one, external narrator.⁶¹⁷

Despite Karl Baedeker’s insistence in 1858 that the main point of guidebooks is to be distant, later guidebook theorists such as Debbie Lisle argue that this sort of thinking is what leads travellers to be ‘very much at arm’s length from their destination’.⁶¹⁸ For example, Baedeker said that keeping the reader, or traveller, unaware of the impact ‘servants and guides’ had on the creation of the guidebook means that the reader could make up their own mind.

⁶¹⁶ G. Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of Decadence: Charting a Literary Fashion, 1884–1927* (New Haven, Connecticut, 2004), pp. ix–xi.

⁶¹⁷ J. Edelheim, *Tourist Attractions: From Object to Narrative* (Bristol, 2015), p. 138.

⁶¹⁸ Lisle, ‘Humanitarian Travels’, p. 162.

... keep the traveller at as great a distance as possible from the unpleasant, and often wholly invisible, tutelage of hired servants and guides... assist him in standing on his *own* feet, to render him independent, and to place him in a position from which he may receive his own impression with clear eyes and a lively heart,⁶¹⁹

This distancing removes the traveller from the realities of a place, presenting it to them in as clinical a way as possible, giving the traveller the impression they do not have to rely on anyone but the guidebook author, despite the author relying on those people themselves. A contemporary of Baedeker argued that the guidebooks so removed travellers from their destination, they were actually engines of rapid movement, thrusting them forward from attraction to attraction, object to object, not in an organic way but in a manufactured experience that was the same for each reader of the guidebook:

Baedeker, of course! This little red object can ... be regarded as a scourge of Venice ... drives its victims from bridge to bridge, from museum to museum, from hotel to hotel, instead of letting people grant themselves a moment of breathing space or peace of mind.⁶²⁰

Which once more removes travellers from the place they are visiting and makes it harder for them to experience the narratives of people around them. Since the days of Baedeker, most guidebooks have followed a similar, standardised format, colours, fonts, sizes, and either one or several invisible editors whose names either only appear at the beginning of the guidebooks, or not at all. Even guidebook brands such as Frommer and Lonely Planet, which originally attempted to combine elements of first-, second-, and third-person narrative into their guidebooks, by including small stories and advice from the author's point of view, eventually gravitated back to the standardised, authoritative, invisible narrators for the sake of the brand as a whole.⁶²¹ Jenny Walker, a longstanding guidebook writer for Lonely Planet, has talked about the evolution of guidebooks within the brand, stating that originally writers were encouraged to write with 'colour and flair', reflecting on their own experiences at the sites they were visiting.⁶²² Then, with the emergence of BBC Worldwide, Walker claims that the brand took on a new trajectory, and writers were discouraged from using a first-person

⁶¹⁹ K. Baedeker in E. Mendelson, 'Baedeker's Universe', *Yale Review*, no. 74 (1985), pp. 387–388.

⁶²⁰ A. Osterling, 'Dying Venice' in George Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of Decadence: Charting a Literary Fashion, 1884–1927* (New Haven, Connecticut, 2004), pp. ix–xi.

⁶²¹ Alacovska, 'Legitimacy, Self-Interpretation and Genre in Media Industries', pp. 607–610.

⁶²² R. Butler and S. Aatkar, 'From "Colour and Flair" to "A Corporate View": Evolutions in Guidebook Writing: An Interview with Jenny Walker', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21, 2, (2017), pp. 208–220 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2017.1324593> (accessed 10 February 2019).

narrative, and instead were asked to have a more ‘objective’ writing style, devoid of any personality or unique stories. Walker found this difficult, however:

When you’re travelling you can only ever see a country through your own eyes... and through your own perspective, so, it’s actually very hard to be objective in a uniform kind of way... and then if your name becomes detached from what you’ve written, you could argue that something that is ultimately subjective becomes presented in such a way that it resembles the truth and I think that’s problematic.⁶²³

Despite Walker’s reservations, Lonely Planet guidebooks increasingly became more standardised to ‘keep uniformity across a series’.⁶²⁴ This type of uniformity is also seen across the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks. Each edition of the Penrhyn Castle guidebook is one in a portfolio of guidebooks published around the same time for National Trust sites across England and Wales. Most sites operated by the National Trust have a guidebook that can either be purchased in the gift shop of the property, or through their online store. Alongside all marketing and branding that National Trust does on their signage, website, and publishing, each guidebook, regardless of location, size, or period of the historical site, follows the same central branding. All guidebooks published across the National Trust are presented in an authoritative, third-person narration and are published in the English language. The small, pocket-sized guidebooks from the 1950s are all the same relative size, have similar content length, and use the same colour for the cover. The same can be said for the 1970s edition, which is larger in size than the 1950s edition. The 1990s edition is significantly larger and contains more detailed house descriptions. The most current edition features more examples of life at Penrhyn through letters written by guests who stayed at the castle in the 19th century. Each edition of the guidebook closely mirrors the types of content, layout, size, and photographs in every other National Trust guidebook published around the same time. Opening up other guidebooks from across the National Trust’s property portfolio such as the Powis Castle guidebook from 1991, one can immediately see similar focuses in content as the 1991 version of the Penrhyn Castle guidebook, such as detailed and jargon-filled descriptions of styles of architecture and catalogues of the country house’s most significant paintings.⁶²⁵ In the 2009 version of the Plas Newydd guidebook, you can see similarities to the focus of the 2006 guidebook Penrhyn Castle guidebook: large high-resolution photographs, text boxes of quotes, and large family trees of the owners of the estate.⁶²⁶ Comparing the Penrhyn Castle

⁶²³ Butler and Aatkar, ‘From ‘Colour and Flair’ to ‘A Corporate View’, p. 211.

⁶²⁴ Butler and Aatkar, ‘From ‘Colour and Flair’ to ‘A Corporate View’, p. 211.

⁶²⁵ National Trust, *Powis Castle* (1991), pp. 10–29.

⁶²⁶ National Trust, *Plas Newydd: Isle of Anglesey* (2009), pp. 1–48.

guidebooks to other National Trust guidebooks through the years gives less of an idea of how the story of Penrhyn evolved through the different editions, and shows more the direction of the National Trust as a brand at the time of publishing. In the '70s–90s, there was a push for country house heritage interpretation to focus on artwork, architecture, and aristocracy so the guidebooks across the National Trust reflected this message in the type of content that writers focused on; industrial heritage and local narratives were left out.⁶²⁷ Penrhyn Castle has been presented as a National Trust property rather than a unique heritage site with a distinctive history.

The similarities in styles, content, and length of the National Trust guidebooks make the stories of these country houses all seem eerily similar. With many of the country house guidebooks focusing on the same types of heritage (this excludes industrial heritage sites, such as Quarry Bank and Shalford Mill, operated by the National Trust) it gives the impression that these houses' histories are a part of the National Trust brand more than they are their own site, so readers expect a similar story – and experience – at any National Trust location they visit. By creating guidebooks that are so married to the brand, and so focused on the same types of content, it leaves other aspects of the country houses' story out for the sake of the larger story of the brand that is comfortable and familiar to the audience. In the case of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks, this means lessening the industrial, global, and Welsh aspects of the estate's history in favour of heavily focusing on narratives around the house collection, architecture, and historic owners. This begs the question of how much National Trust guidebooks can truly be objective and authentic if there is such a standardised aim for all guidebooks across the organisation. For the guidebooks to all have the same tone and voice, be of similar lengths, and with similar themes and focuses, what parts of Penrhyn's story might have been put on the cutting room floor for the greater good of the National Trust as a brand?

For the National Trust's part, they claim that their 'authenticity' lies within the brand's longevity, and the fact they have been a trusted brand since 1895.⁶²⁸ From a tourism standpoint, this could be somewhat true for sites that are under the National Trust brand. A 2014 study into UNESCO as a brand found that sites that were given the World Heritage

⁶²⁷ Adams, 'The V&A, The Destruction of the Country House and the Creation of 'English Heritage'', pp. 1–18.

⁶²⁸ I. Downes, 'The Brand Radar: National Trust, Sarsen Stone Group and Innovation in Heritage Licensing', *Brands Untapped*, online edn, 22 April 2021 <https://brandsuntapped.com/the-brand-radar-national-trust-sarsen-stone-group-and-the-creativity-of-heritage-licensing/> (accessed 20 June 2021).

B. Sandberg et al., 'Operationalising Brand Heritage and Cultural Heritage', *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 20, 6, (2011), pp. 447–56 <https://doi.org/10.1108/10610421111166595> (accessed 28 July 2021).

status benefited from an increased global audience, with visitors seeing the sites as more ‘elevated’ compared to other tourism sites in the area because the site was brought into the fold of the longstanding UNESCO brand.⁶²⁹ As the marketing of heritage sites becomes increasingly more competitive,⁶³⁰ the stamp of approval by a recognised and trusted brand such as UNESCO can make a significant difference to a heritage site and the numbers they can attract. On the other hand, it does mean that these sites take on aspects of UNESCO’s ethos, marketing, and outreach, all of which comes with a focus on the wider brand, which can distract from the story of the site itself.⁶³¹ Similarly, sites that have been brought into the National Trust benefit from the centralised marketing and branding that tourists have come to be familiar with. As one of the UK’s leading charities and establishment brands,⁶³² The National Trust comes with a known reputation in conservation, sustainability, heritage interpretation, and historic preservation, all which can be beneficial to an individual heritage site when it is brought into the fold. While this does have its advantages, especially in the operational and financial side of a heritage site, it also means that most aspects of the site, including guidebook publishing and content writing, are highly controlled under a centralised brand that is focused on the aims of the National Trust over the individuality of the site.

In the 2014 ‘National Trust Brand Standards’, an 84-page guide to help employees ‘produce communication that lives and breathes the National Trust Brand’,⁶³³ sets out rules for fonts, colours, images, maps, and word choices to be followed across the organisation’s publications. The guide has clear standards for the size and colours of logos, the styles of frames for front covers and posters, the kinds of photos that should be chosen for the website and social media, and the tone of voice and choice of words used throughout the National Trust publications and communications. The National Trust’s main focuses in their messages are: ‘start with a love of place’, be ‘alive and dynamic’, ‘involving and inspiring’, ‘warm and welcoming’, and ‘honest and authentic’.⁶³⁴ There does seem to be a shift in the writing style conveyed in this brand guide compared to the earlier versions of the Penrhyn Castle

⁶²⁹ A. Hassan and M. Rahman, ‘World Heritage Site as a Label in Branding a Place’, *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 5, 3, (2015), pp. 210–233 <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-01-2014-0002> (accessed 28 July 2021).

⁶³⁰ C. Petr, ‘Fame Is Not Always a Positive Asset for Heritage Equity! Some Clues from Buying Intentions of National Tourists’, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 26, 1, (2009), pp. 1–18 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548400802656694> (accessed 15 May 2021).

⁶³¹ Hassan and Rahman, ‘World Heritage Site as a Label in Branding a Place’, pp. 219–220.

⁶³² A. Jenkinson and S. Branko, ‘Case Study: The National Trust - Direct Marketing as Brand Leader’, *Campaign UK*, online edn, 1 April 2004, <https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/case-study-national-trust-direct-marketing-brand-leader/996034> (accessed 27 July 2019).

⁶³³ National Trust, *National Trust Brand Standards* (2014), p. 2.

⁶³⁴ National Trust, *National Trust Brand Standards* (2014), p. 68.

guidebooks, such as examples of quotes from visitors and National Trust employees, which shows the integration of personalisation into the branding. Their aim to focus on people's stories and experiences shows an evolution away from the style and content of earlier guidebooks. However, the need to have the visitor at the forefront of the writing, with a strong emphasis on most of its messaging being upbeat, positive, and 'alive', means that ultimately the messaging is focused on the visitor as a form of customer. The message must always have a positive slant to it, even if there are negative aspects to the site that should be addressed. Whilst this is standard practice in branding and marketing and can be necessary from a business perspective of the brand, it can mean a clash between focusing on darker or contested aspects of a site's history in favour of more positive ones all for the sake of the brand. While the brand guide does say 'we celebrate the distinctiveness of our places, keeping them honest and authentic, not uniform, fake or unloved', the centralisation of the brand's standards and the uniformity across website, signage, and guidebooks means that the distinctiveness and authenticity of each site can only be taken so far. In a 2019 interview, Catherine Spencer, a Senior Content Editor for the commercial aspects of the National Trust, talked about how the Trust has a centralised agency that reviews all communication going out across different properties to ensure that the Trust's message is regulated and that it 'says the right things at the right times, and that our overall brand strategy is aligned'.⁶³⁵ This means that, like the guidebooks, other forms of communicating a site's history such as on the website are tightly controlled. Later in the same interview, Catherine Spencer said:

The team have very nearly completed a huge website consolidation project ... the primary reason for this consolidation was to increase trust in the brand ... it's easy to slip into the habit of teams operating separately and becoming siloed but the customer doesn't see that at all, if they buy a National Trust coffee or go on a National Trust holiday, it's still the National Trust to them. So, it should be a consolidated message.⁶³⁶

Upon viewing the website, I found that content written on the history of the Penrhyn estate is brief, just like all other pages for heritage sites across the National Trust. In the past, there was a blog for Penrhyn Castle where more individualistic aspects of the estate's history could be explored further, but that has now been consolidated with the new digital strategy. So,

⁶³⁵ C. Dalby, 'Cottages, Conservation and Consolidation: The New National Trust', *Figaro Digital*, online edn, 5 March 2019 <https://figarodigital.co.uk/article/cottages-conservation-and-consolidation-the-new-national-trust> (accessed 15 May 2021).

⁶³⁶ C. Dalby, 'Cottages, Conservation and Consolidation: The New National Trust', *Figaro Digital*, online edn, 5 March 2019 <https://figarodigital.co.uk/article/cottages-conservation-and-consolidation-the-new-national-trust> (accessed 15 May 2021).

while the brand guide does point out the desire for the Trust to highlight the distinctness of its different properties, it must be done in the confines of limited word counts of the website, leaving out certain aspects of the site's story. This puts the brand as the top priority in National Trust sites' narratives. By having uniform word counts and content on the website and guidebooks, not just for the sake of one site or for the limitations of print and web media, it shows that the stories of a site and how they are written must comply with the brand. The individuality of the site comes second. Debbie Lisle's study on Lonely Planet guidebooks found that while the brand wanted to appear as if authors had agency to speak their minds when writing the guidebooks, all 'authorial judgements are framed in advance by the ethical vision of the company'.⁶³⁷ The inclusion of controversial topics such as bull fighting and the exclusion of others such as sex tourism appear to the reader to be the author's choice, but the content is included depending not on the views of the author but by the central message of Lonely Planet as a brand.⁶³⁸ The reader therefore does not know whose voice or opinions are being shared in the guidebooks. Is the content that is focused on in the guidebooks due to political or social biases of the writer? Are they due to the editor who is pushing for certain types of content, so they match with other guidebooks in the brand? Are the narratives in the guidebooks reflective of what is important to local communities, or just what is marketable for the brand? By taking out the voice of the author altogether, and making the narrator a singular, authoritative, and invisible voice, the reader is left to believe that what is featured in the guidebook is absolute truth, agreed upon by all involved, and the most relevant and truthful version of the narrative of a tourism site.⁶³⁹

While studies have shown that brands with a history as rooted as the National Trust's tend to be seen as more trustworthy to their audiences,⁶⁴⁰ this does not mean that some of their messaging or the narratives being told in publications such as guidebooks should be seen as objective or authentic. What appears to be one unified, utilitarian voice talking about multiple aspects of history, culture, and community can never be seen as authentic as it is only one voice.⁶⁴¹ While this strategy works well in branding and marketing and can get tourists to sites, it clashes with heritage interpretation. Unlike in business, 'heritage is a

⁶³⁷ Lisle, 'Humanitarian Travels', p. 161.

⁶³⁸ Lisle, 'Humanitarian Travels', p. 161.

⁶³⁹ Iaquinto, 'Fear of Lonely Planet', pp. 712–716.

⁶⁴⁰ M. Prados- Peña and S. del Barrio-García, 'Do Brand Authenticity and Brand Credibility Facilitate Brand Equity? the Case of Heritage Destination Brand Extension', *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 13, (2019), pp. 10–23 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2019.05.002> (accessed 18 September 2022).

⁶⁴¹ Ramírez, 'What Can We Weave?', pp. 80–84.

process, not a product'.⁶⁴² Paul Ramirez argues that heritage must include a 'multitude of voices, views, opinions and narrative'⁶⁴³ both negative and positive, contested, and controversial, to truly be seen as well-rounded and reflective of the past. Heritage must have not only a multitude of aspects from the past, but multiple known voices in the present to make it alive, ongoing, and relatable to visitors.⁶⁴⁴ For many heritage brands, the result of the brand taking precedence means that there are gaps in the sites' heritage interpretation or what they convey to visitors is a censored narrative. The relationship between branding and heritage is complex. It can result in the watering-down of history. When a brand focuses on appealing to a particular socio-economic audience, namely tourists, or avoids colonial narratives in favour of safer or rosier ones, to maintain a lucrative brand, there is some damage done to heritage.⁶⁴⁵ For large heritage brands, this could mean heavily focusing on sites and narratives to do popular historical time periods or groups of people such as the Vikings because of how much revenue those areas of history are known to bring in.⁶⁴⁶ On a more micro level at Penrhyn Castle, it could be in featuring the Pennant's aristocratic connections more heavily due to the popularity of aristocratic or Royal Family narratives with tourists, rather than telling narratives connected with Penrhyn Quarry or the Jamaican plantations.

In a day and age where audiences are expecting more well-rounded and inclusive narratives at heritage sites as a result of events such as the Black Lives Matter movement, where they are looking for narratives that do not shy away from hard-to-hear stories or those that include voices from varying backgrounds, the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks fall short in their promise to deliver authentic multilayered aspects of the estate's history, and instead become just books in a wider series that sell a brand rather than tell a site-specific story. For brand-controlled guidebooks, there will always be limitations on the kinds of narratives shared, the lengths of those narratives, and how those narratives are written. You cannot have a brand without that similarity and uniformity. This ultimately begs the question: are guidebooks the best media to convey the multilayered aspects of heritage sites like the

⁶⁴² K. Raimund, 'Conserving and Managing Ancient Monuments. Heritage, Democracy, and Inclusion, by Keith Emerick', *Archaeological Journal*, 173, 2, (2014), pp. 406–407 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.2016.1183369> (accessed 20 June 2021).

⁶⁴³ Ramírez, 'What Can We Weave?', p. 76.

⁶⁴⁴ Ramírez, 'What Can We Weave?', p. 76.

⁶⁴⁵ Jaquinto, 'Fear of Lonely Planet', p. 718.

⁶⁴⁶ P. Ramírez, 'Colonial Representations of Race in Alternative Museums: The 'African' of St Benet's, the 'Arab' of Jorvik, and the 'Black Viking', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 27, 9, (2021) pp. 937–952 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2021.1883715> (accessed 5 May 2022).

Penrhyn estate? Or should they be retired for less restrictive, more expansive digital media that can explore multiple aspects of a country house's narrative away from the limitations of branding and the restrictions of traditional publishing?

The Decline of the Guidebook

Originally, the mass appeal of the guidebook was in its functionality, reliability, accessibility, and familiarity.⁶⁴⁷ Small, five- or six-page pocket-sized books, could help tourists walk around a site or tourist area, describing what they saw in front of them and giving them some context for where they were visiting. The compact nature of the guides meant that they could easily fit in a coat pocket or small handbag and could be pulled out at a moment's notice and be easily put away again when the tourist was finished exploring.⁶⁴⁸ The earliest Penrhyn guidebook, published in 1955 at only 19 pages long and roughly 12 x 18cm in size, was an easy pocket-sized book purchasable for one shilling and sixpence. This early version could easily be pulled out to inform a tour group of the interior and grounds of the Castle, and then could be put in a pocket or discarded after a visit.

As guidebooks grew in popularity, they also grew in size. Penrhyn Castle guidebooks published after 1955 were practically twice the size of the original ones, at around 18.5 x 24.5cm. Because of their size, the guidebooks from the 1990s–2006 looked more akin to souvenir books or coffee table books, with large professional-sized photographs, which were meant to be admired and collected from different National Trust properties. For years, the guidebooks were not just seen as an aid to a site visit, they were a lifeline for many tourists who sought guidance and context to the sites they were visiting – especially in the absence of other forms of interpretation such as information panels and museum labels. For sites like Penrhyn, for over 50 years the guidebook was the most informative, accessible, and familiar media for tourists to learn about Penrhyn estate's history. With the emergence of smartphones and portable devices, however, the guidebook has steadily seen a decline in utility and popularity for tourists and no longer serves as a lifeline it once was, transitioning into a nostalgic keepsake that is 'take it or leave it' for many tourists.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Smecca, 'Tourist Guidebooks and the Image of Sicily in Translation', pp. 110–11.

⁶⁴⁸ D. Bruce, 'Baedeker: The Perceived 'Inventor' of the Formal Guidebook - A Bible for Travellers in the 19th Century', in Richard Butler and Roslyn Russell (eds.), *Giants of tourism* (Oxfordshire, 2010), pp. 97–98.

⁶⁴⁹ J. Dickinson et al., 'Tourism and the Smartphone App: Capabilities, Emerging Practice and Scope in the Travel Domain', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 17, 1, (2012), pp. 84–101
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2012.718323> (accessed 5 June 2019).

The year 2011 was deemed the ‘Death of the Guidebook’ after sales declined across the US and the UK between 2005 and 2012.⁶⁵⁰ Popular brands such as Lonely Planet and Frommer saw a massive decline in sales as the use of travel apps and websites such as TripAdvisor became popular.⁶⁵¹ A study conducted in 2020 investigated tourist perceptions of guidebooks. Tourists from around the world were interviewed to find out how they used guidebooks compared to digital devices.⁶⁵² The study found that for most participants, smartphones were used almost exclusively during trips, whilst guidebooks were seen as a limiting resource that they had not considered buying or using. The participants turned to their phones as they felt they were the most familiar and most accurate resource to find up-to-date resources on a site.⁶⁵³ Modern tourists utilise several digital methods to feel as if they have the most trustworthy sources on a site they are visiting. Looking at multimedia, checking multiple websites or blogs, and knowing the authorship of those who are putting out travel related content are all patterns of behaviour that a majority of tourists exhibit in the digital age.⁶⁵⁴ Most tourists today no longer see guidebooks as necessary for before, during, or after their trip, whereas their phones are deemed essential.⁶⁵⁵ Guidebooks are seen as sources ‘in the moment’ which makes them virtually useless to the tourist after their trip, turning the guidebook into a souvenir that is placed on a shelf and not looked at again.⁶⁵⁶

Modern tourists see guidebooks as one of two things, a last resort when their phone has stopped working, or a souvenir that is meant to be collected and left at home. In a *Guardian* article written in 2021, Lois Pryce described guidebooks as vinyl records of the book world, whereas travel apps and websites are most often utilised by modern travellers, guidebooks are the nostalgic or ‘hipster’ way of exploring. Not necessary, but a charming

⁶⁵⁰ J. Smith, ‘Travel Guidebooks Aren’t Dead, but They’ll Never Be the Same. Maybe That’s a Good Thing’, *The Washington Post*, online edn, 4 June 2022 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/travel/2022/03/04/guidebooks-travel-writing-future/?fbclid=IwAR1ILt5IVew6pbyv1Dn7E1SfrcJYYBcTV49gTYfeTY5DM0ykOvIjkWhpwIE> (accessed 15 August 2022).

⁶⁵¹ J. Smith, ‘Travel Guidebooks Aren’t Dead, but They’ll Never Be the Same. Maybe That’s a Good Thing’, *The Washington Post*, online edn, 4 June 2022 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/travel/2022/03/04/guidebooks-travel-writing-future/?fbclid=IwAR1ILt5IVew6pbyv1Dn7E1SfrcJYYBcTV49gTYfeTY5DM0ykOvIjkWhpwIE> (accessed 15 August 2022).

⁶⁵² Mieli and Zillinger, ‘Tourist Information Channels as Consumer Choice’, pp. 37–39.

⁶⁵³ Mieli and Zillinger, ‘Tourist Information Channels as Consumer Choice’, pp. 37–39.

⁶⁵⁴ B. Pirolli, ‘Travel Information Online: Navigating Correspondents, Consensus, and Conversation’, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21, 12, (2016), pp. 1337–1343 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2016.1273883> (accessed 22 August 2021).

⁶⁵⁵ Mieli and Zillinger, ‘Tourist Information Channels as Consumer Choice’, pp. 37–38.

⁶⁵⁶ N. Tsang et al., ‘A Holistic Approach to Understanding the Use of Travel Guidebooks: Pre-, during, and Post-Trip Behavior’, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 28, 7, (2011) pp. 720–735 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2011.611741> (accessed 22 August 2021).

niche of literature to collect and a fun way to travel when digital means are not available.⁶⁵⁷ Tourists that do claim to use guidebooks insist that it is out of a need to step away from technology. Guidebooks help some tourists to ‘switch off’ when travelling.⁶⁵⁸ Guidebooks also combat online confusion, providing tourists with a direct, no-nonsense tool as opposed to the potentially complex and even harmful barrage of information and reviews that are often not vetted or verified on sites like Google or TripAdvisor reviews.⁶⁵⁹ More often however, tourists end up turning to a digital resource even if they have a guidebook, as the guidebook will never be able to offer the most up-to-date information on a heritage site. Tourists are simply more used to turning to digital aids than guidebooks.⁶⁶⁰ Apps, websites, blogs, podcasts, QR codes, and social media platforms that can be accessed by tourists’ personal devices make it a far more familiar, convenient, affordable, and accessible method than turning to a guidebook.⁶⁶¹

Guidebooks that do still thrive in print are ones written by the likes of Rick Steves and Alfred Wainwright, who keep an established first-person voice throughout their guidebooks.⁶⁶² Reading Alfred Wainwright’s first-person narratives allow tourists to feel as if he is ‘talking to you personally and willing you on to the summit’.⁶⁶³ Top guidebook brands such as Frommer that have veered away from first-person narration and personal accounts in favour of third-person, purely informational guides, have seen a distinct decline in the digital age.⁶⁶⁴

For heritage sites to make a lasting impression on tourists, narratives that can emphasise personal connections are required. This is often achieved through oral history stories, presentations on folklore, creative installations or performances, or through heritage

⁶⁵⁷ L. Pryce, ‘The Travel Guidebooks We Still Love’, *The Guardian*, online edn, 24 March 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/mar/24/the-travel-guidebooks-we-still-love> (accessed 10 October 2021).

⁶⁵⁸ Mieli and Zillinger, ‘Tourist Information Channels as Consumer Choice’, p. 42.

⁶⁵⁹ Mieli and Zillinger, ‘Tourist Information Channels as Consumer Choice’, p. 31.

⁶⁶⁰ Iaquinto, ‘Fear of Lonely Planet’, p. 178.

⁶⁶¹ Adeola and Evans, ‘Digital Tourism: Mobile Phones, Internet and Tourism in Africa’, p. 190.

⁶⁶² R. Smith, ‘Travel Guidebooks Aren’t Dead, but They’ll Never Be the Same. Maybe That’s a Good Thing’, *The Washington Post*, online edn, 4 June 2022 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/travel/2022/03/04/guidebooks-travel-writing-future/?fbclid=IwAR1ILt5IVEw6pbyv1Dn7E1SfrcJYYBcTV49gTYfeTY5DM0ykOvIjkWhpwIE> (accessed 15 August 2022).

⁶⁶³ L. Pryce, ‘The Travel Guidebooks We Still Love’, *The Guardian*, online edn, 24 March 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/mar/24/the-travel-guidebooks-we-still-love> (accessed 10 October 2021).

⁶⁶⁴ J. Clampet Skift, ‘Google Is Letting Arthur Frommer Keep His Brand Name’ *Business Insider*, online edn, 4 April 2013 <https://www.businessinsider.com/google-is-letting-arthur-frommer-keep-his-brand-name-2013-4?r=US&IR=T> (accessed 5 March 2019). Google originally purchased the rights to Frommer’s brand in 2012, only to never print any of their guidebooks and give back the brand to its founder.

interpreters, i.e. room guides.⁶⁶⁵ Because of the dependency on digital devices, visitors to heritage sites expect and are used to engaging with digital tools during their visit.⁶⁶⁶ Multisensory digital tools such as VR and iPad games or apps are being used at museums because they are increasingly familiar to tourists and they can easily provide an emotional connection to the site through the use of voices, sounds and videos, all aspects a guidebook cannot provide.⁶⁶⁷ Visitors are expecting immersive, personalised experiences at sites that use digital tools as they are able to provide multiple viewpoints through interviews, first-person accounts, storytellers, animations, and re-enacted scenes which give a community driven narrative of a site over that of a more information-driven narrative of the guidebook.⁶⁶⁸ By utilising digital tools, museums and heritage sites are providing more familiar and up-to-date information for tourists that can often be used on-site and off-site as it is increasingly accessible to the tourist on their own devices.⁶⁶⁹

As Penrhyn's most recent guidebook was published in 2006, it can hardly be seen as up to date. Aspects of the narrative such as north Wales being granted the UNESCO World Heritage bid in 2021, of which Penrhyn is a part, is current, relevant information that a 2006 guide cannot provide. Other aspects of Penrhyn's story, such as its Jamaican connections, are being explored further at Penrhyn Castle, which is not reflected in any of the brief pages on the subject in past guidebooks.⁶⁷⁰ For sites like Penrhyn, it is not enough to just update and write a new guidebook because the previous ones are out of date. The media itself no longer works as a reliable, accessible, and familiar source. It is impossible for the guidebooks to be up to date with how long it takes for a new guide to be written, published, and distributed to the site compared to the fast-moving Internet which can have new information published and ready for consumption immediately. The modern tourist turns to a device before they turn to

⁶⁶⁵ Ramírez, 'What Can We Weave?', p. 76.

⁶⁶⁶ K. Guo et al., 'Immersive Digital Tourism: The Role of Multisensory Cues in Digital Museum Experiences', *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 0, (2021), pp. 2–4 <https://doi.org/10.1177/10963480211030319> (accessed 25 March 2022).

⁶⁶⁷ W. Hoyer et al., 'Transforming the Customer Experience through New Technologies', *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 51, (2020), pp. 57–71 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.intmar.2020.04.001> (accessed 1 September 2021).

⁶⁶⁸ Guo et al., 'Immersive Digital Tourism', p. 3.

⁶⁶⁹ S. Kim et al., 'The Mediation of Information Technology on Visitors' Experience at a Cultural Heritage Site', *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 21, 10, (2015), pp. 1126–1141 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2015.1093513> (accessed 15 May 2022).

⁶⁷⁰ S. Huxtable et al., 'Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery' *National Trust*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/addressing-the-histories-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-national-trust> (accessed 2 November 2021). This report was written about sites across the National Trust that are connected with Colonialism. This report, as well as other aspects of the Trust's research has influenced current and future heritage interpretation at Penrhyn Castle.

a book, too, which speeds up the transmission time. Tourists want experiences in the most familiar and convenient way possible, on devices like their phones, and many heritage sites are actively obliging. With the phone now being an easily pocketed tool for the tourist, it is time to move away from traditional publishing when telling stories of heritage sites. Content that caters to the brand more than it does to the narratives connected to the site and authoritative voices that are devoid of personality or empathy are exactly the opposite of what the tourist is seeking when visiting heritage sites today. For country estates like Penrhyn, there are so many narratives that should be explored: across Welsh history, the slate industry, and the transatlantic slave trade, that should not be stifled or diminished by the constrictive confines of the guidebook. Exploring elements of Welsh identity, difficult histories, or hidden voices are an essential part of Penrhyn's heritage interpretation, and require a media that can give multiple voices, viewpoints, and narratives a platform. Academic research on country houses and estates has entered an interdisciplinary and collaborative boom, creating multiple new viewpoints and narratives that should be explored at associated heritage sites. By using a different medium that is more flexible than guidebooks, the Penrhyn estate's past, present, and future can be explored in a more well-rounded and multilayered way, separate from the needs and plans of the National Trust brand. A digital medium would provide tourists with an accessible and familiar mode in which to access these narratives, connected to multiple aspects of the estate's history. Turning to digital resources will allow for a more immersive and accessible experience where audiences can experience sounds, voices, viewpoints, and personal experiences that are far more personal and up to date. This study of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks has shown that guidebooks are a limiting, out-of-date, and impersonal resource for tourists to heritage sites like country estates, and despite the nostalgic charm of the guidebook, there is a better, digital way to communicate the multilayered past: the podcast.

5. Podlediad Penrhyn

The fifth chapter of this thesis consists of the creative artefact. *Podlediad Penrhyn* accompanies this written dissertation and accounts for 40% of the overall project. The podcast is made up of five episodes, which range around 30-minutes to an hour in length and is included in this dissertation as audio files and will eventually also be available online through streaming services for a general audience. The podcast is a longform narrative podcast, which includes narration, sound effects, music, and a multivocality of voices from interview clips which I acquired following the attainment of ethical approval from Bangor University and transcribed and edited into the podcast.

The podcast communicates the story of the Penrhyn estate, from its medieval history, its connection with slavery, life at Penrhyn Castle, its influence in the slate industry and its present and future. Accompanying the podcast is a basic website, <https://www.penrhynpod.co.uk/> (English) or <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk/> (Welsh) which is where episodes of the podcast can be downloaded for examination but is not included in the analysis and serves as an additional resource for audiences to access the podcast and explore links, photos and videos which are mentioned in the podcast. The website is not meant to be an essential part of *Podlediad Penrhyn*, but an accompanying resource which audiences can choose to utilise, or not, but has no bearing on the content of the podcast itself.

6. The Analysis of *Podlediad Penrhyn*

Introduction

The following question was asked when approaching this research:

‘How can podcasting be used to communicate the multilayered narrative of a heritage site?’

The methodology chosen for this project means that a cyclical research style is required, and whilst the method shows that the analysis of Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks came first, it was that portion of study which encouraged and informed the design and development of a creative artefact: a podcast. This chapter highlights why podcasting was selected as an appropriate medium to combat the deficiencies evidenced in the guidebook analysis.

Several hypotheses were made in relation to the application of a podcast to the objective of a new way to communication of Penrhyn’s multilayered ‘story’. Firstly, the layers and elements of a podcast — that of the narrator, sound and music, multivocality, and independent branding — would be able to engage and connect with audiences in ways that a guidebook cannot. Secondly, that the mobile and international access to a podcast would suit a more global audience and the needs of a modern-day heritage site better than a printed medium. Thirdly, that listening would expand on the narrative in an immersive way, more than the act of reading a guidebook.

This chapter analyses the creative artefact that was developed as part of this research, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, a five-part podcast on the ‘story’ of the Penrhyn estate. By analysing this artefact, this chapter shows that podcasting allows a wider and more inclusive narrative to be told about any heritage site, in this instance a country house and landed estate. Whilst this podcast focuses solely on the case study of the Penrhyn estate, this model could be applied to other landed estates and heritage sites across Wales, the UK and internationally. The podcast was created to address and cover gaps and deficiencies that were identified within the corpus of Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks. By comparing the guidebooks and the podcast, looking at the similarities and differences in the content and their narratological style, this chapter argues that podcasts communicate Penrhyn’s multilayered history more than a guidebook. In addressing interpretation needs, country houses and other heritage sites need to move beyond relying solely on the written word. The chapter also explores how modern media such as the podcast addresses some of the concerns about the outdated, inaccessible, and objective nature of guidebooks. Additionally, by showing how the design choices of this podcast were made, I

provide a framework that other practitioners can follow and adapt and for other landed estates and heritage sites, with a view to creating modern, up-to-date, and accessible site-specific narratives. Through this chapter, I show how the narrative podcast, which layers elements of narration, sound and music, multivocality, and independent branding, produces a multilayered narrative of a landed estate in a way which engages and connects with a modern audience and showcases a multiplicity of historical narratives that the guidebook format is unable to achieve.

Choosing the podcast

Following the cyclical methodology of practice-based research, textual analysis of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks highlighted the weaknesses and absent narratives that could be told about the Penrhyn estate. The next step was to look at options for media focused on the Penrhyn estate outside of printed material that would be accessible to a wide audience. By looking for content that would be easily searchable and primarily focused on the multilayered history of the estate, from early history to present day, I could determine the design of a creative artefact, which became *Podlediad Penrhyn*. As stated in the guidebook chapter, in Penrhyn estate's case, there were not many examples of online media beyond an array of individual blog articles on north Wales, a limited podcast series on Penrhyn's connection with slavery and ancestry, and a few ancestry pages on the early owners of the estate, the Griffiths and Williams families. The media relating to Penrhyn that were garnering the most attention online were newspaper articles such as 'A Welsh community divided, fighting and slavery: The dark past of Wales' newest UNESCO heritage site'⁶⁷¹ and 'Slavery and Wales: The mansions and wealth that reveal how the nation was linked to the slave trade,'⁶⁷² both published by *Wales Online*; and 'Cream teas at dawn: inside the war for the National Trust' published by *The Guardian*.⁶⁷³ These articles sparked reader comments about Penrhyn's ties to slavery and the slate industry on their website, as well as on social media platforms such as

⁶⁷¹ S. Burkett, 'A Welsh community divided, fighting and slavery: The dark past of Wales' newest UNESCO heritage site,' *Wales Online*, online edn, 29 August 2021 <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/welsh-community-divided-fighting-slavery-21368750> (accessed 15 May 2022).

⁶⁷² R. O'Neill, 'Slavery and Wales: The mansions and wealth that reveal how the nation was linked to the slave trade,' *Wales Online*, online edn, 22 June 2020 https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/wales-history-slavery-statue-picton-18453159?fbclid=IwAR1B9xL1no3ZcM0IEenfjko6bhavRBTOAyq77ZJklbrrijax_V_KxzZUoj3Y (accessed 15 May 2022).

⁶⁷³ G. Hinsliff, 'Cream teas at dawn: inside the war for the National Trust,' *The Guardian*, online edn, 16 October 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/oct/16/cream-teas-at-dawn-inside-the-war-for-the-national-trust> (accessed 15 May 2022).

Facebook.⁶⁷⁴ However, these articles appeared to be focused more on the shock value that they could produce than on creating substantial discourse on the Penrhyn estate around contested issues such as slavery and the strikes.

Initial ideas for this project included developing a blog which could potentially address some of the gaps of the guidebooks and present more multilayered narratives of the estate. The blog could then be compared to the guidebooks through textual analysis. However, when looking into the blog as a modern media, there were similar limitations to the blog as there were with the guidebooks. While the blog would have provided a way to share narratives that would not be as constrained as a printed guidebook, I found that reader consumption of blogs is declining.⁶⁷⁵ Recent research has shown that there is a decline in people interacting with blogs⁶⁷⁶ and because there are now more than 600 million blogs worldwide,⁶⁷⁷ many of the writings get lost in the ether and go unread or are too hard for readers to find.⁶⁷⁸ I also found that the blog could be an unfavourable media as its main mode of communication is through text, similar to the guidebook. As determined in the chapter analysing the guidebooks, a multiplicity of narratives, as well as voices, is necessary to tell well-rounded and balanced stories attached to a heritage site. Blogs do not offer a simple or elegant way of executing this multiplicity of narratives. While videos, voice recordings, and photographs can be added to a blog, I was concerned about overwhelming the audience with too much content. A study from 2017 found that many people in the digital age no longer have the attention span to read long blog posts.⁶⁷⁹ Today's media has to cater to an audience who are always 'on-the-go', interacting on platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, continually multitasking, flipping between different types of media whilst having multiple

⁶⁷⁴ The article *Slavery and Wales: The mansions and wealth that reveal how the nation was linked to the slave trade*, published by Wales Online on June 21, 2021, received 113 shares on Facebook, and 841 comments where Facebook users commented on slavery connected with Wales, the removal of historic sites and monuments and the relevance of slavery in modern society. Some even comment on the divisive nature of articles posted on the subject of slavery and north Wales.

⁶⁷⁵ F. Mohammed, 'The Rise and Fall of the Blog', *JSTOR Daily*, online edn, 27 December 2017 <https://daily.jstor.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-blog/> (accessed 16 May 2022).

⁶⁷⁶ F. Mohammed, 'The Rise and Fall of the Blog', *JSTOR Daily*, online edn, 27 December 2017 <https://daily.jstor.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-blog/> (accessed 16 May 2022).

⁶⁷⁷ J. Wise, 'How many blogs are there in the world in 2022?', *Earthweb*, online edn, 20 June 2022 <https://earthweb.com/how-many-blogs-are-there-in-the-world/#:~:text=In%202022%2C%20there%20are%20over,than%202.5%20billion%20every%20year> (accessed 16 May 2022).

⁶⁷⁸ J. Wise, 'How many blogs are there in the world in 2022?', *Earthweb*, online edn, 20 June 2022 <https://earthweb.com/how-many-blogs-are-there-in-the-world/#:~:text=In%202022%2C%20there%20are%20over,than%202.5%20billion%20every%20year> (accessed 16 May 2022).

⁶⁷⁹ F. Mohammed, 'The Rise and Fall of the Blog', *JSTOR Daily*, online edn, 27 December 2017 <https://daily.jstor.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-blog/> (accessed 16 May 2022).

tabs open while surfing the internet.⁶⁸⁰ As people become more reliant on their phones, longer form media that keep people locked into looking at one screen for long periods of time, such as blogs, become less accessible or appealing compared to the myriad of apps that are specifically designed for and are inherently easier to navigate on mobile devices.⁶⁸¹

As I was looking for a different medium that could rival the guidebooks and catch the attention of a modern and multifarious audience, the one that stuck out the most was the podcast. Primarily accessed via a mobile device, the audial podcast medium reduces the issues of long-form content accessibility on a mobile device, and provides simple yet entertaining media for people to access ‘on-the-go’.⁶⁸² As shown in the literature review, podcasts have been steadily ascending in popularity and usage since the mid-2000s.⁶⁸³ Podcasts are now ‘woven into the daily fabric of learning and play, and social communication for contemporary “digital natives”’.⁶⁸⁴ Interactions with podcasts can happen ‘on the move’⁶⁸⁵ as listeners can play them whilst browsing their phones, using other apps, washing the dishes, driving the car, or going on a walk, for example. Podcasts are not bound to the visual channel of interaction, such as reading or watching a video, which requires the entire attention of a reader or a viewer. A multiplicity of narratives can be presented in a podcast, as well as a multiplicity of voices, in a way that is much more accessible and easier to consume than readers combing through many pages of blogs for video or audio clips. Unlike the guidebooks or a blog, listeners to a podcast on Penrhyn could consume the content while ‘on-the-go’ either while interacting with their mobile devices or by listening in a more ‘unplugged’ manner when downloading the episode and listening at a later date without the use of an Internet connection.

In addition to the logistical benefits of podcasting, I also considered its potential use in the tourism and heritage industry as a factor in choosing the medium. While popular heritage websites that had previously incorporated blogs, either began infrequently using

⁶⁸⁰ L. G. Perks et al., ‘Podcast Uses and Gratifications Scale Development’, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 63, 4, (2019), pp. 617–634 <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2019.1688817> (accessed 16 May 2022).

⁶⁸¹ S. J. Tobin and R. E. Guadagno, ‘Why People Listen: Motivations and Outcomes of Podcast Listening’, *PLoS ONE*, online edn, 17, 4, (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0265806> (accessed 15 June 2022).

⁶⁸² E. F. Hatfield, ‘Narrative Learning Using Podcasts in Interpersonal Communication’, *Communication Teacher*, 32, (2018), pp. 236–242 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17404622.2017.1372790> (accessed 20 June 2022).

⁶⁸³ Berry, ‘A Golden Age of Podcasting?’, p. 72.

⁶⁸⁴ M. Prensky, ‘Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 1’, *On the Horizon*, 9, 5, (2001), pp. 1–6 <https://doi.org/10.1108/10748120110424816> (accessed 19 June 2022).

⁶⁸⁵ M. Lundström and T. Lundström, ‘Podcast Ethnography’, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 24, 3, (2021), pp. 289–299 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1778221> (accessed 20 June 2022).

blogs or phased blogs out of their websites altogether,⁶⁸⁶ well-known heritage institutes and initiatives across the UK such as the National Trust, English Heritage, and the *History Magazine* began posting podcasts as a way to engage with listeners internationally. Because of the rise in popularity of podcasts in heritage, and their accessible and versatile manner, I decided that creating a podcast on the Penrhyn estate would be a viable way to address the gaps found in the guidebooks, expand on absent or marginalised narratives, and present narratives in a more layered manner than the guidebooks.

Creating a podcast series was a way of analysing this emerging style of media and determining if the medium could be a more accessible and more expansive way of telling multi-narratives of an estate such as Penrhyn better than the guidebooks could. As there were not any other extant podcast series on the Penrhyn estate at the beginning of this project, and other episodic podcasts only touched on aspects of the estate's history, I determined that developing the creative artefact, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, was the way forward in telling multilayered narratives connected with the Penrhyn estate.

Furthermore, without other podcasts created about the Penrhyn estate to serve similar purposes as a guidebook, there was nothing to contrast against the guidebooks. Heritage podcasts such as the aforementioned productions of the National Trust and English Heritage do not cover the history of their sites in the same way that a guidebook does. These podcasts are aimed at covering the organisations as a whole — exploring topics such as preservation, feminism, wildlife, and conservation, amongst others, in themed episodes — and they do not focus on individual histories of the sites themselves. This contrasts with how a guidebook might explore the early history of a site right up to the present day. Penrhyn has been featured on the National Trust's podcast, but the episode focused solely on the slate industry⁶⁸⁷. I could not find heritage sites which had created serialised or novel-format podcast series on the history of their site. While genres such as history or true crime do contain a plethora of podcast series on periods of British history, the lives of historical figures, or crime stories that cover the story of one subject over multiple episodes, this style was not prevalent in the heritage industry. I decided in order to show the ways I could explore multilayered stories of the Penrhyn estate was to create a podcast myself. This creative artefact could then be

⁶⁸⁶ Three different blogs on the National Trust were found, a director's blog, a book blog and a curatorial blog, all of which had not been updated since 2021 when this chapter was written in April 2022. Likewise, the blog for English heritage had last been updated in January 2021.

⁶⁸⁷ National Trust, 'People's Landscapes podcast series presented by John Sergeant', (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-podcast-series-presented-by-john-sergeant> (accessed 19 March 2021).

compared to the Penrhyn guidebooks, and their different forms, narrative and content could be analysed against one another.

Once I decided to produce a podcast, I looked into the ways that the podcast could be developed to address the gaps and deficiencies identified in the guidebook analysis: which voices would be included, which narratives would be highlighted, and whether other elements, such as sound effects or music, would be added to the podcast. This chapter argues how well-crafted and carefully chosen podcast elements such as episode format, the utilisation of sound, and the multiplicity of voices can capture an audience, educate them on minimised narratives, and make them feel a part of the multilayered story of the Penrhyn estate in a far more immersive and accessible way than a traditional guidebook.

Because landed estates like Penrhyn have been featured on short-form podcasts as individual episode foci, it was clear that there existed some interest in landed estate history in this format. However, no other landed estate or country house appears to have been explored in the same way that Penrhyn has ultimately been explored in *Podlediad Penrhyn*. No other longform multi-episode narrative podcasts were found that focus solely on the story of a single landed estate but were included as part of a wider conversation about landscape, culture, collections, or other wide aspects. By only discussing an estate's narrative in small, disconnected portions like that, there is no appreciation of the landed estate's wider narrative; and there is no appreciation for those portions of an estate's narrative that are connected to marginalised people or difficult topics, such as slavery. A longform narrative podcast aligns with the complex history of a landed estate like Penrhyn by introducing and exploring a multiplicity of stories in a constructed, narrative format. Longform content is linear and familiar to audiences, allowing for greater connection to the narrative.

Establishing a style and format: the narrative podcast

Although the podcast as a medium offered a more accessible and popular platform than a blog or guidebook, a format was needed to establish how to tell the story of Penrhyn through the style and layout of the podcast. Like a blog, a podcast must have an introduction, a main body and an 'outroduction'.⁶⁸⁸ To ensure that the podcast was more than just blocks of information strung together, as found in places throughout the guidebooks, a format and style had to be established for the podcast. One of the key elements missing in the guidebooks was

⁶⁸⁸ E. Fantini and E. Buist, 'Searching for the Sources of the Nile through a Podcast: What Did We Find?', *Journal of Science Communication*, 20, 5 (2021), pp. 1–13 <https://doi.org/10.22323/2.20020801> (accessed 15 May 2022).

the telling of multilayered narratives of the estate through multiple voices. I began with trying to establish a podcast framework that would put storytelling at the forefront of the podcast, with multiple interviewees, and their voices, as a key element. As stated in the methodology, the creation of the podcast is not focused on the results of its distribution (i.e., high numbers of listeners) nor the quality of its production but is focused on the podcast design as it relates to the narrative of Penrhyn. While pains were taken to create a professional-level podcast that could be widely distributed online without significant differences to other professional podcasts, this analysis is focused on the contrast between content in the guidebooks and the podcast, and how content has been transformed or expanded upon.

Podcast formats such as the interview, solo/monologue, and panel podcast were all considered for creating *Podlediad Penrhyn*, but each format ultimately fell short when attempting to tell multilayered stories. The interview format, which typically involves a host conducting regular interviews with new guests each episode, would have brought an expertise element to the podcast, but as interviews are typically question and answer style, listeners would have had to piece together story elements from the interviews, which could make Penrhyn's story appear fragmented or confusing. With the solo/monologue format podcast, which is popular with many history podcasts such as *Fall of Civilisations* and *The History of Rome*, there would have been potential for a strong storytelling element over multiple episodes, which could have expanded on some of the underrepresented narratives of the Penrhyn estate. That format, however, would not have utilised multiple voices and therefore would not have been a suitable option for the objective of telling the multilayered narratives of Penrhyn. A panel format podcast would have provided multiple voices and viewpoints in the multiple guests/hosts per episode, but as this format is typically discussion-led, it also would not have been suitable, as like the interview format, listeners would have had to pick out narrative elements of Penrhyn's story themselves. I then began looking into formats of podcasts that are typically used in the true crime genre: the nonfiction storytelling podcast and the journalistic serialised podcast.

Some attention should be placed on the distinction between style and format as referring to podcasts. In this instance, style refers to the way a podcast has been created to make the listener feel a certain way, utilising music or sound to create tone and effect emotional changes. Format, however, refers to the way a podcast is made and presented to the listener and often refers to the technical aspects of a podcast such as number of speakers, the method of recording audio (live and unedited, or scripted and curated), or other technical considerations.

For the purpose of this research, I am grouping storytelling style podcasts such as the journalistic radio podcast, the documentary style podcast, and serialised nonfiction style podcasts together as ‘narrative podcasts’. Narrative podcasts first and foremost prioritise a story, with a first-person subjective host, secondary voices, music and sounds all as elements that aid in the storytelling of the podcast. While some narrative podcasts can be constructed in a similar manner to documentaries, utilising a central first-person narrator who speaks informatively and questioningly but informally to the listener assists in creating more of a bond with the audience than documentaries. While heavily scripted, the format of the podcast feels personal, making stories and creating connections the focal point of a podcast. Podcasts such as those under the American National Public Radio have become synonymous with long-form journalistic style podcasts which tell a story over multiple episodes. Series such as *Serial* and *S Town* introduced a distinctive type of podcasting through storytelling with a personable host.⁶⁸⁹

Narrative podcasts differ from ‘interview podcasts’ which give information through questioning a participant rather than through the telling of a story.⁶⁹⁰ Podcasts such as those under the NPR umbrella combine elements of other formats of podcasts where ‘a personal voice remains as the central framing device, but the body of the podcast incorporates stories crafted with stylised audio clips from original interviews and media...bracketed by musical interludes’.⁶⁹¹ This format of podcast appealed to me as its narrative style captures audience’s attention in the same way fiction reading would, unlike the style of the guidebooks which present as informational, didactic texts. Podcasts such as *Serial* and *S Town* apply ‘the techniques of fiction to news production to give the settings, human subjects and topics addressed in a news story a heightened sense of drama, emotion or entertainment value that make it more compelling to listeners’.⁶⁹² Though these podcasts are factual, they are packaged as fiction in order to engage the listener and create a sense of interrelatedness that fiction can bring to readers.⁶⁹³

⁶⁸⁹ E. Waldmann, ‘From Storytelling to Storylistening: How the Hit Podcast S-Town Reconfigured the Production of Reception of Narrative Nonfiction’, *Ex-Centric Narratives: Journal of Anglophone Literature, Culture and Media*, IV, 30, (2020), pp. 27–42 <https://doi.org/10.26262/exna.v0i4.7913> (accessed 10 May 2022).

⁶⁹⁰ R. Berry, ‘There are just three types of podcasts,’ *Richard Berry: Radio and Podcast Academic*, online edn, <https://richardberry.eu/there-are-just-3-types-of-podcast/> (accessed 12 May 2022).

⁶⁹¹ T. Tran, ‘Creating Sound in Silences: The Second Wave Podcast and Pluralizing Vietnamese Diasporic Histories’, *Popular Communication*, 17, 283, (2019), pp. 288–300 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2019.1634809> (accessed 10 May 2022).

⁶⁹² Lindgren, ‘Personal narrative journalism and podcasting’, pp. 23–41.

⁶⁹³ Waldmann, ‘From Storytelling to Storylistening’, p. 32.

As mentioned in the literature review, *Serial* was a revolutionary podcast both for its format and distribution method. Its successor, *S Town*, which was hosted by Brian Read and followed the eclectic life of a man named John B. McLemore, living in the small town of Woodstock, Alabama, followed many of the same format choices but differed in its distribution from *Serial*. While *Serial* was published episode by episode, with the host sometimes bringing in new details of the court case it followed each week, *S Town* was created as a one-off packaged story and was distributed with all episodes available at the same time without the ability to update the episodes with new information. Because all seven episodes of the podcast were uploaded at once, *S Town* borrowed a finalised, novelistic style which encouraged ‘binge’ listening.⁶⁹⁴ While similar to *Serial* in that *S Town* contained multiple episodes which featured a subjective host, voices, and both music and sound effects, its distribution was much more like that of a novel or other discrete text. This meant that while the podcast could tell a long-form story, weaving in different perspectives and narratives, it behaved more like a mini-series rather than a television show, and contained a complete story in the one podcast series. The jury for the Peabody Award acclaimed the podcast as ‘breaking new ground for the medium by creating the first audio novel, a non-fiction biography conducted in the style and form of a seven-chapter novel’.⁶⁹⁵ This hybrid medium was neither a traditional audiobook, written by an author and performed by a voice actor, nor a radio show, which would have needed strict length times and release scheduling. *S Town* was a true nonfiction story told through an inquisitive host, featuring multiple voices and viewpoints, telling a multilayered story of a man’s life and the town he lived in over a seven-part podcast that grabbed listeners in the same way as a novel. *S Town* is not an easy listen, nor are the topics it covers entertaining in a conventional sense. Most of what *S Town* is about is contentious: it attempts to explore difficult topics surrounding the small town of Woodstock, such as crime and corruption, family disputes, homophobia and racism. The name of the podcast is in fact derived by the subject of the podcast calling Woodstock a ‘shit town’. Eighty million people listened to *S Town*, myself included, and like the producers intended, I binged the entire podcast in one sitting. Initially when researching ways to create a podcast, I had not thought to consider examples such as *S Town* for inspiration of the format for *Podlediad Penrhyn*, as its unconventional style felt unsuitable for a podcast about the history of a landed estate.

⁶⁹⁴ Waldmann, ‘From Storytelling to Storylistening’, p. 32.

⁶⁹⁵ Waldmann, ‘From Storytelling to Storylistening’, p. 29.

Creating a narrative style podcast as a sole practitioner seemed overly ambitious for this project because podcasts such as *S Town* and *Serial* have sizable teams full of fact-checkers, editors, sound engineers, researchers, and producers, not to mention a sizeable budget. The time it would have taken to produce multiple episodes of a long-form podcast as a sole practitioner was prohibitive on its own. Upon further research, however, the format of *S Town* fulfilled so many of the criteria that could address the key areas missing from the guidebooks. I sought to determine how I could create a scaled-down version of the longform narrative podcast that kept the same key elements of podcasts — such as music, multiple interviews, sound effects and an inquisitive narrator — without the need for it to be a large or costly production. In *S Town*, the podcast utilised multiple voices and perspectives as well as an engaging storyline, all aspects which are absent from the guidebook format. The podcast incorporated music and sound effects in a way that aided in transforming the nonfiction narrative of the former ironwork and railroad town and took both contentious and benign information about the place and created a riveting narrative that was more than just pieces of information that had been strung together; itself a key component of telling heritage narratives. While I did not intend on investigating anything comparable to murder or police corruption with *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I wanted to respect some of the more contentious and difficult narratives connected to the history of the Penrhyn estate through the podcast. The novel-like format of *S Town* suited what I was trying to achieve through the podcast and could address the gaps found in the guidebooks. This would steer clear of the podcast coming across as an audio guide to Penrhyn Castle or an academic Q&A interview format podcast. The longform narrative podcast was the best choice for the artefact, and I took key format elements from podcasts like *S Town* by creating a five-part podcast that explored Penrhyn's history as one long-form text, focusing on narratives connected to the estate such as early history, slavery, slate, life at Penrhyn Castle, and Penrhyn today.

By establishing a clear format of podcast and crafting an engaging story with a beginning, middle, and an end, I could then compare and contrast the content of the guidebook against the content of the podcast to see how differently the two present narratives connected with Penrhyn. By choosing a specific format, I can argue why narrative storytelling podcasts can create multilayered narratives of an estate such as Penrhyn.⁶⁹⁶ Markus and Tomas Lundström argue that because of the long-form nature of podcasts compared to radio shows, they can create an intimacy within a specific sphere that can 'be

⁶⁹⁶ Lundström and Lundström, 'Podcast ethnography', p. 291.

fruitfully studied in depth to capture how interaction between the podcast speakers (re-) produces a particular universe'.⁶⁹⁷ By intentionally creating *Podlediad Penrhyn* in a novel format or 'narrative radio journalism' style, it can be analysed as a narrative because of the narrative elements weaved throughout the episodes through voice and music.⁶⁹⁸ Podcasts lend themselves nicely to much of the storytelling and narrative structure in modern day fiction as multi-narratives where multiple perspectives and storylines are shared and intersect in a way that is more engaging than linear storytelling.⁶⁹⁹ That is why multilayered narratives are such a key element in this project, creating Penrhyn's story includes multiple perspectives, voices, and narratives which intersect with each other in the past, present, and future in a way that appeals to a modern audience who are increasingly more used to experiencing fiction in a similar manner. While there is a loosely linear timeline to Penrhyn's story in *Podlediad Penrhyn*, what is important are those key areas of Penrhyn's story such as slavery, slate, and early history, which impact one another and weave together a more complex and complete story of the estate itself. That is why the podcast's overall format is in five parts, entitled 'Early History', 'Slavery and Jamacia', 'Life at Penrhyn', 'Slate', and 'Penrhyn's Impact Today' respectively. Each episode details one aspect of Penrhyn's story, with multiple voices and perspectives like multi-narratives, and they can intersect with each other in a non-linear way in individual episodes, but they also maintain that fictional approach in that they move the story along into an eventual conclusion. Because of the guidebooks' brief format and informational nature, and not having a strong narrative makeup, they cannot move the story forward in the same way that the podcast can. The guidebooks offer Penrhyn's story in divided sections which provide information devoid of perspective or feeling. It is nonfiction in the most literal sense, it presents information and nothing else. While the guidebook format does occasionally address the reader in later editions by pointing out areas of the Penrhyn Castle grounds to explore, this feels more promotional than personal. In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, when I ask questions in episode five such as:

How did the quarrying families fare in these new communities abroad? What parts of their culture and life in north Wales did they carry with them to the US, and how did the skills they'd acquired working in Welsh quarries prepare them for a new life? What lasting effects did they have on American culture today?

⁶⁹⁷ Lundström and Lundström, 'Podcast ethnography', p. 290.

⁶⁹⁸ Waldmann, 'From Storytelling to Storylistening', p. 33.

⁶⁹⁹ Hatfield, 'Narrative learning using podcasts in interpersonal communication', pp. 236–240.

I am doing it as an identifiable narrator who is inquisitively exploring the story of Penrhyn, consistently building a personal bond with my listeners over questions they themselves might ask, rather than telling them to observe this or that about Penrhyn Castle in order to point out its opulence. I am not an impartial narrator, but I am an inquisitive one, and I am a known one, sharing with listeners multiple stories and perspectives of Penrhyn's overall story, and not simply presenting facts with an invisible voice absent other voices. Through this style of narrative podcast, I am not telling the audience that what I am saying is authentic because I am an authority on the subject or that my story is the only one that they should trust, but because I am building trust with my audience through the very personal act of enquiring and storytelling. I am not a spoken encyclopaedia nor history textbook; I am an enquirer and storyteller who is attempting to build a bond with my audience the same way humanity has bonded over campfire stories since the dawn of time. As established earlier, authenticity is impossible to achieve and is simply a social construct but the appearance of authenticity is important for listeners as it can tell us about what attributes we value in others.⁷⁰⁰ Choosing a format that includes factors such as narrative, language, and dialogue are crucial elements in building rapport with listeners and being perceived as authentic. As 'authenticity is both something that individuals grasp on their own through introspection and also something that is judged socially' listeners need to feel the podcast is authentic personally as well as judged to be authentic by those around them.⁷⁰¹ By including my voice as narrator and providing personal anecdotes, as well as creating validity by bringing in multiple voices to create dialogue and a familiarity, the audience can feel as if I am authentic because I am 'one of them' and the story component makes the audience feel as if they are a part of the story.⁷⁰² I am as much a part of the learning journey as the listeners. This is vastly different to what the guidebooks aim to do, which is mainly to guide the visitors through the castle and highlight the narratives of the primary owners of the estate, the Pennants, more than they aim to connect with the reader and bring them into the story of the Penrhyn estate. While achieving authenticity is not possible, and I cannot erase personal biases throughout *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I can more importantly create a bond with my listeners through the narrative format of the podcast that a guidebook simply does not have the capacity to do.

⁷⁰⁰ V. M. Meserko, 'The Pursuit of Authenticity on Marc Maron's WTF Podcast', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 29, 798, (2015), pp. 796–810 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2015.1073682> (accessed 8 June 2022).

⁷⁰¹ Meserko, 'The Pursuit of Authenticity on Marc Maron's WTF Podcast', p. 801.

⁷⁰² Hatfield, 'Narrative learning using podcasts in interpersonal communication', p. 236.

The longform narrative podcast can help create a connection between audiences and landed estates. By modelling my framework on crime podcasts such as *S Town* and *Serial*, I can use the layering of subjective narration, sound and music, and multivocality to tell layered, expanded stories. Other landed estates, which have previously utilised documentary, interview, or monologue podcast formatting, can take this same narrative podcast framework to create a podcast that tells a more multilayered story of their landed estate.

Sound, voice, music, and effects

An important layer of the narrative podcast format is using sound and music effectively. This layer is one of the more immediate and obvious changes when choosing a podcast as the medium over the traditional guidebook medium of telling an estate's story. The narrative format of *Podlediad Penrhyn* was chosen because of its layering of scripted voices, interviews, music, sound effects, and diegetic ambient noises, that were recorded on location.⁷⁰³ While all podcasts are voice-based, narrative podcasts such as radio dramas, radio journalism podcasts, and novel-format podcasts include other elements such as non-diegetic music (sometimes called dramatic music), diegetic sound effects (those that appear to be in the audio scene being heard), and multiple voices that contribute to the storytelling element of the narrative podcast. Bartosz Lutostański defines these as 'audionarratives', as this style of storytelling does not exclusively use voices. However, it is completely sound based.⁷⁰⁴ Audionarratology is a relatively new subfield of narratology that studies sound in relation to narratives, taking into account voices and nonverbal elements such as sound effects, fading, silence, and pauses.⁷⁰⁵ This subfield is dedicated to 'the relationship between sound and narrative' where sound, voice, music, and effects are all a part of telling a story.⁷⁰⁶ Studying these elements as key parts of audionarratives helps researchers see how acoustic techniques contribute to the storytelling process beyond the content of the story. By showing how *Podlediad Penrhyn* is an audionarrative rather than a piece of nonfiction, I can compare *Podlediad Penrhyn* to other narrative format podcasts such as *Serial* and *S Town*, as well as analyse how *Podlediad Penrhyn* presents narratives connected to the Penrhyn estate compared to the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks. Podcast researchers, such as Eden Kinkaid, have found that presenting voice data as text is inadequate, and that 'while many researchers

⁷⁰³ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 8.

⁷⁰⁴ B. Lutostański, 'A Narratology of Radio Drama: Voice, Perspective, Space', *Audionarratology*, 117, (2016), pp. 117–31 <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110472752-008> (accessed 11 June 2022).

⁷⁰⁵ Lindgren, 'Personal narrative journalism and podcasting', p. 34.

⁷⁰⁶ Lindgren, 'Personal narrative journalism and podcasting', p. 34.

attempt to contextualise quotes from research participants in their written word, some scholars argue that text alone falls short in communicating what words actually signify'.⁷⁰⁷ The words that are written or said are not the only data to be communicated to the reader or listener. Elements such as a voice's tone, intonation, and emotion are not accessible in text based sources and encode more information than what can be conveyed through simple transcription alone.⁷⁰⁸ *Podlediad Penrhyn* as an audionarrative helps show the ways that the narrative podcast goes far beyond conveying facts connected to the Penrhyn estate; the use of sound, music, silences, voice, and sound effects invite listeners into an intimate space or 'aural point of view' that allows them to connect with the narratives and interact with the podcast in a way that cannot be achieved by text alone.⁷⁰⁹

Sounds are 'immersive, immediate and embodied'.⁷¹⁰ Both diegetic and non-diegetic sounds can help design a space for a listener, illustrate temporal relations, indicate immediacy, and provoke emotion, which is embodiment.⁷¹¹ Sound 'operates as a presentational device that can strategically direct attention' or it can deflect.⁷¹² Sound can allow listeners to give meaning to what they hear: they can find sound appealing, annoying, inspiring, troubling, or any other emotion.⁷¹³ As opposed to text, sound is immersive because listeners have a 360 degree listening capability whereas the eyes only have a 135 degree view each. Viewers can turn their eyes away from a view or hyper focus on one area of a view, but it is far more difficult for listeners to close their ears. The immersive nature of sounds means that listeners hear all sounds at once and can experience a layering of sounds from different directions at the same time, allowing listeners to connect more imaginatively and in a deeper manner than through visuals where the use of the eyes takes over.⁷¹⁴ Psychological studies have shown that the storytelling element of longform narrative podcasts or radio dramas through sound can retain listeners' attention more than news related audio.⁷¹⁵

⁷⁰⁷ E. Kinkaid et al., 'The Podcast-as-Method?: Critical Reflections on Using Podcasts to Produce Geographic Knowledge', *Geographical Review*, 110, (2020), pp. 78–91 <https://doi.org/10.1111/gere.12354> (accessed 11 June 2022).

⁷⁰⁸ Kinkaid et al., 'The Podcast-as-Method?' p. 81.

⁷⁰⁹ H. Rogers and M. Herbert, 'Podcasts and Urban Studies: Notes from the Field; Sounds from the Studio', *Urban Policy and Research*, 38, 1, (2020), pp. 63–73 <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2019.1663726> (accessed 8 June 2022).

⁷¹⁰ J. Eckstein, 'Radiolab's Sound Strategic Maneuvers', *Argumentation*, 31, (2017), pp. 663–680 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10503-016-9416-4> (accessed 11 June 2022).

⁷¹¹ Eckstein, 'Radiolab's Sound Strategic Maneuvers', p. 664.

⁷¹² Eckstein, 'Radiolab's Sound Strategic Maneuvers', p. 665.

⁷¹³ Eckstein, 'Radiolab's Sound Strategic Maneuvers', p. 666.

⁷¹⁴ Eckstein, 'Radiolab's Sound Strategic Maneuvers', p. 666.

⁷¹⁵ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 4.

Lindgren has asserted that narrative podcasting ‘builds on a linear consumption model with a beginning, middle, and an end, enticing listeners to stay engaged’.⁷¹⁶ As opposed to text or images, which are static, sound does not sit still in the same way, it is active and moves. This can give listeners a sense that time is passing, and the story being told is immediate.⁷¹⁷ Unlike with the eyes reading text or looking at images, it is far harder to jump around in an audionarrative and cherry-pick elements to participate in. This creates a relationship between the listener and the podcast that requires a level of commitment similar to fiction narratives, where listeners must join the journey of the narrative podcast from start, stay through the middle, and travel to the end to get the full story.⁷¹⁸ This use of sound in a linear fashion, over a number of episodes in *Podlediad Penrhyn* is why the narrative podcast is a more multilayered means of communicating Penrhyn’s overall story than any of the guidebooks. The format of the guidebooks, and their content, is designed to be idly flicked through and it is divided into sections that can be skipped over or dismissed at the reader’s leisure. Text box insertions with occasional photographs are placed throughout the guidebooks in sections that relate to the estate; to particular rooms, as brief biographies of Pennant family members, or to communicate facts that do not enhance the main narrative but exist as side information. This format much more resembles that of a newspaper or news website than it does a novel, which is meant to be read from cover to cover in a linear fashion. These sections of text can be consumed similarly to a newspaper, as readers can consume the headlines and features that interest them the most without having to read the entire paper, or articles in full. It is clear that the older versions of the guidebooks, published in the 1950s–70s, served as room guides, as the reader could flick through the pages whilst taking a tour, and the small booklets would inform the reader of what they saw in front of them. This, however, does not give a comprehensive story nor much context to the estate’s history (beyond the architecture and art of Penrhyn Castle) and instead more closely resembles news content, or nonfiction facts than it does parts of a narrative. In the newer versions, 1980s–2006, content about the estate (beyond the Castle) does expand greatly, with the 1991 version compiled into more of a linear framework. The 2006 version, however, is more heavily reliant on boxes of text that are separate from the main the narrative, featuring eye-catching titles on life at Penrhyn Castle such as ‘Conservation in Action,’⁷¹⁹ ‘A chamber

⁷¹⁶ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 3.

⁷¹⁷ Eckstein, ‘Radiolab’s Sound Strategic Maneuvers’, p. 667.

⁷¹⁸ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 3.

⁷¹⁹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 9.

for chamber pots’,⁷²⁰ and ‘The royal visit in 1894’,⁷²¹ which catch the readers’ eyes, while the text flowing throughout might be skipped.

Whilst these guidebooks might be picked up and flicked through at a later date, after a visit to the castle, the layout of every guidebook signals that first and foremost they are meant as a form of room guide, which gives context to the architectural and artistic elements of the castle and surrounding gardens. The first page of the 2006 version starts the guests off at the entrance of the castle, and then guides them through the entrance gallery, the grand hall and the library.⁷²² This shows that the guidebooks do not function as an effective storytelling model for the estate but act literally as *guide*-books to navigate around the castle. This means that their function is more about telling Penrhyn’s story in a purely factual manner so as to give context to what visitors see around them, rather than as a full story that can connect audiences with characters, accounts, scenes, and a narrator in ways that awaken the reader’s imagination. By contrast, *Podlediad Penrhyn* invites listeners on a journey of Penrhyn in a linear format, taking listeners through Penrhyn’s story, including important narratives which occurred outside the Castle and not necessarily represented in the Castle’s interiors and collections; from its early history to its expansion through slavery and slate, to its significance to north Wales and the wider world, collectively giving the Penrhyn estate a story with a beginning, middle, and an end. *Podlediad Penrhyn* takes similar standalone facts that were featured in the guidebooks and expands on them, turning text *titbits* into exciting plot points of Penrhyn’s past, present and future.

Music

Through using sound as the primary medium, I was able to introduce elements such as diegetic ambient noises, soundscapes, voices, and non-diegetic music which helps progress Penrhyn’s story along in a narrative format, and help listeners locate themselves within a space and time.⁷²³ The immersive nature of using sound as the medium for *Podlediad Penrhyn* meant that I could make scenes seem quicker or slower, inserting a sense of time passing, whilst also conveying meaning behind the sound. For example, the non-diegetic, or dramatic, medieval music that I use in episode one that tells the story of the Griffith and Williams family signals for readers to go back in time, as it were. This is the only episode where I use music that utilises instruments such as drums, acoustic guitars, and wind

⁷²⁰ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 23.

⁷²¹ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 28

⁷²² National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), pp. 2–7.

⁷²³ Eckstein, ‘Radiolab’s Sound Strategic Maneuvers’, p. 666.

instruments, as they form part of the common language an audience would be aware of from medieval-centric media.⁷²⁴ The use of non-diegetic sound effects of horns in episode one when I am describing a raid at Penrhyn, signals to readers that this event was intense and threatening. This gave further context and intrigue to the story of the Griffith family, taking events found in the pages of legal documents from the Penrhyn archive and turning them into an immersive story of Penrhyn's early history. This is in contrast to descriptions in the guidebook that tell readers the aftermath of the dispute but does not put the reader in the moment of the story in the way that the podcast does.

Following his death disputes arose as to his true heirs which led to court action. After two years the court made an award, which, in effort, was to split up the medieval Penrhyn estate.⁷²⁵

The immersivity of creating these scenes using carefully selected choices between diegetic and non-diegetic sound — again, the difference between sound recorded as-is, and sound added in post-processing — puts listeners into the aural landscape of the story and allows the listeners to use their imagination to explore characters and events as exciting parts of a story, and not just as facts.⁷²⁶

In episode three, I included lively Victorian-style dramatic music to enhance the story of the Pennant's well connected, aristocratic lifestyle. I also layer that music with, if it were an audio drama, the *diegetic* sounds of kitchenware and people conversing and laughing alongside my non-diegetic narration where I talk about a grand party hosted at Penrhyn Castle. The difficulty in categorising some of this audio is in the nature of the narrative. By straddling the line between nonfictional account and a documentary-style re-enactment, it is difficult to highlight exactly what is diegetic and what is not. Working for the podcast is the combination of the frequent use of personal headphones by listeners and the diegetic ambient noise, such as cutlery and murmuring voices, that creates a sense of aural privacy for the listener.⁷²⁷ The private nature of podcasts creates an environment where my listeners can transport themselves into the scene I am describing, putting themselves into scenes I am describing through sound. While the 2006 guidebook does go into detail about the event in a

⁷²⁴ K. C. Alvstad and R. Houton (eds.), *The Middle Ages in Modern Culture History and Authenticity in Contemporary Medievalism* (Dublin, 2021) p. 16.

⁷²⁵ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991), p. 6.

⁷²⁶ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 6.

⁷²⁷ Eckstein, 'Radiolab's Sound Strategic Maneuvers', p. 671.

highlighted textbox, the same immersive layering of sounds can obviously not be put inside the guidebook.

Between 10 and 13 July 1984 Penrhyn Castle experienced some of its grandest entertaining in honour of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales... There was a nine-course dinner in the evening followed by an evening party for over 200 guests, which was rounded off with a supper at midnight featuring truffled quail, lobster, foie gras and every other available delicacy...⁷²⁸

By layering the non-diegetic sound of my narration describing the event of the party with the *imagined* diegetic Victorian music, ambient voices, and dinnerware noises, I can touch the imagination of the listener. The listener can create the ideal scene in their mind of what I am describing more easily through the additional channel of communication. The ambient diegetic sounds of light chatter, silverware, footsteps and water can help listeners imagine a space and put themselves in that space, on location with the podcast.⁷²⁹ This blending of the dramatic and the documentary was intentional. This type of dramatised storytelling ‘generate[s] a more vivid image in people’s minds, with listeners more emotionally aroused and interested in the story’.⁷³⁰ My listeners are not just reading about the grand party that went until midnight, they are listening to what it could have sounded like, and can therefore picture themselves in the scene, listening to music at the dinner table, conversing with others in high society until the break of dawn. This allows my audience to go beyond understanding the facts of the Royal visit to Penrhyn and encourages them to imagine what it might be like to be there. This would not be possible without layering the diegetic and non-diegetic sounds of music and ambient noise with the narration.

Ambient noise

Sounds such as music and ambient noise can also establish a sense of place in a way that can highlight culture, gender, and class.⁷³¹ In a geographical based podcast *Cork is the Lee*, podcaster and researcher Richard Scriven created his own podcast to look at the ways sound could create a sense of place around the River Lee, in Cork, Ireland.⁷³² What he found was that by recording the diegetic ambient sounds of the area, or recording the river itself, helped

⁷²⁸ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006), p. 28.

⁷²⁹ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 9.

⁷³⁰ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 4.

⁷³¹ D. Rogers and M. Herbert, ‘Podcasts and Urban Studies: Notes from the Field; Sounds from the Studio’, *Urban Policy and Research*, 38, 1, (2020), pp. 63–73 <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2019.1663726> (accessed 8 June 2022).

⁷³² R. Scriven, ‘Making a Podcast: Reflecting on Creating a Place-Based Podcast’, *Area*, 54, (2022), pp. 260–265 <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12776> (accessed 18 June 2022).

convey a sense of place connected to the river to listeners that connected their imagination to the story of the location.⁷³³ Since R. Murray Schaffer's study of the use of soundscapes as a means of interpreting place, research has since considered the use of sound in the home, in natural landscapes, and in geopolitical countries.⁷³⁴ Sound can provide an immersive experience of listening which can evoke a place and bring about bonding emotions to that place such as positive, distressing and confusing emotions.⁷³⁵ Sounds such as water, like those recorded for *Cork is the Lee*, give a voice to the river, and communicate to listeners its contemporary and historical/geographical presence in the area. On page, readers can only read about the existence of the river, but in the podcast, listeners can actually hear it, and it becomes more of a presence in the story than a factoid.⁷³⁶ While the river is not a living human which can give knowledge about the area, it is a presence which can help listeners imaginatively put themselves near the river whilst listening to the podcast.⁷³⁷ The sounds I chose to include throughout *Podlediad Penrhyn* can also create a sense of place for listeners, giving them a chance to connect with the landscape of Penrhyn.

In episode four, I include the diegetic audio of slate being split by a quarryman and demonstrator who gave me a presentation on slate work at the National Slate Museum, Llanberis. Whether slate is being worked on by a quarryman, or walked on in Snowdonia, a unique sound is created when something comes into contact with the rock. I wanted to include the ambient sound of slate in the podcast in the music to further enhance the story of Penrhyn and highlight its integral role in the history of the Penrhyn estate. Unlike the guidebooks, which only feature slate as an aspect of the estate's story in casual mentions in the earlier editions and as brief references in the 2006 edition, I wanted slate to be more of an integral part of Penrhyn's story, where listeners could not only hear about slate in north Wales but hear the slate itself; experience the sound for themselves without being there physically. This allows listeners to experience the sound of a key part of the landscape of the Penrhyn estate, which helps them put themselves mentally in the quarry, working with the quarrymen. While guidebooks can tell readers about the quarry and the significance of slate to the Penrhyn estate, they are not able to deliver an experience of the landscape and provide a sense of place through an immersive experience of sound like *Podlediad Penrhyn* can.

⁷³³ Scriven, 'Making a podcast', pp. 261–263.

⁷³⁴ Scriven, 'Making a podcast', p. 261.

⁷³⁵ Scriven, 'Making a podcast', p. 263.

⁷³⁶ Scriven, 'Making a podcast', p. 263.

⁷³⁷ Scriven, 'Making a podcast', pp. 264–265.

Voice

While sound is the primary medium in podcasting, voice is the central means of communication to an audience.⁷³⁸ The oldest form of distributing narratives was through the use of voice and sound. Mariann Hardey and Simon J. James explain that ‘listening to a voice or voices tell a story without other media is an ancient human experience harkening back to oral tradition’.⁷³⁹ Today, the foundation of podcasts harken to those oral storytelling traditions which are ‘driven by voices’.⁷⁴⁰ The oral nature of podcasting can reveal an array of emotions, speech patterns, diverse languages, accents and vernacular, cultural backgrounds, and life experiences of the speakers through listening to their voices.⁷⁴¹ The voice is an effective means of reaching an audience, because like other sounds, it is immersive and immediate, as well as expressive; it can ‘reveal basic emotions such as fear, passion, happiness, anger and sadness which makes the listener realise that the stories of the voices are actual lived experiences’.⁷⁴² The use of voice has the ability to create a resonance between listener and speaker, where both can vibrate with the same emotions, something that goes far beyond the traditional communication triangle of form, meaning, and function.⁷⁴³ The voice appeals to the humanistic aspect of one body to another through vocal vibration, which as a result can bring credibility and connection to the words that are being said to the listener.⁷⁴⁴ This humanistic aspect of using the voice in podcasting is an effective way to argue academic points, foster a debate, give evidence, encourage learning, and, of course, tell stories.⁷⁴⁵ While silent reading ‘can also be an effective tool for this, it is a different experience’.⁷⁴⁶ Accents, tones, and intonation in voices all signal to listeners that they are listening to fellow human beings, with complex experiences and emotions, rather than looking at data on a page.⁷⁴⁷

⁷³⁸ S. McHugh, ‘The Affective Power of Sound: Oral History on Radio’, *The Oral History Review*, 39, 2, (2012), pp. 187–206 <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/41811718> (accessed 8 June 2022).

⁷³⁹ M. Hardey and S. James, ‘Digital Seriality and Narrative Branching: The Podcast Serial, Season One’, *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 19, 1, (2022), pp. 74–90 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2022.2029513> (accessed 27 May 2022).

⁷⁴⁰ Lindgren, ‘Personal narrative journalism and podcasting’, p. 36.

⁷⁴¹ Kinkaid, ‘The Podcast-as-Method?’, p. 84.

⁷⁴² McHugh, ‘The Affective Power of Sound: Oral History on Radio’, pp. 187–206.

⁷⁴³ M. Hagood, ‘The Scholarly Podcast’, in Jeremy Wade Morris and Eric Hoyt (eds.), *Saving New Sounds: Podcast Preservation and Historiography* (Ann Arbor, 2021), pp. 181–194.

⁷⁴⁴ Hagood, ‘The Scholarly Podcast’, p. 185.

⁷⁴⁵ Hagood, ‘The Scholarly Podcast’, p. 185.

⁷⁴⁶ Hagood, ‘The Scholarly Podcast’, p. 185.

⁷⁴⁷ Kinkaid et al., ‘The Podcast-as-Method?’, p. 82.

Penrhyn's story should be just that: a story. A story is meant to entertain, evoke emotions, and be immersive. These are all elements that sound can do, turning research content into engaging stories through voice.⁷⁴⁸ In episode two, I feature the voice of Dr Marian Gwyn, who speaks about difficult subjects such as slavery, forced labour, death rates of enslaved individuals in Jamaica, and exploitation. On page her transcribed words can be powerful, but through the podcast listeners can hear the inflection and emotion in her voice when she is speaking on these subjects. Mack Hagood gives an example of how different words on paper can be communicated through voice:⁷⁴⁹

Take for example, the phrase 'he's dead.' In a podcast, I could utter these two words in many different ways, altering the words' meaning and function subtly or completely, all without adding or subtracting a letter from the script I am reading. Almost effortlessly, I may voice these two words as a lament, an admission or a threat.⁷⁵⁰

In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, listeners can hear the seriousness in Dr Marian Gwyn's voice, the pauses she makes and the words that she emphasises, which is not available in the same way in the written form, which is even difficult to convey for this dissertation.

So, can you imagine the tension? So, to keep a resentful, enslaved workforce under control. You have got to be brutal. And so the whippings, the codes, the enslavement codes, you can lop off arms, you can lop off legs you can mutilate noses, ears, you know, as well as hang you can kill because they are your chattels. They are there for you to do whatever you want. Plus, you've got disease, you've got the tropical diseases, the indigenous tropical diseases.⁷⁵¹

In the podcast, listeners can hear the exact words she emphasises, the words that she repeats and the emotion in her voice. Even the pauses she makes reminds the listener that they are hearing another human and can build suspense to the words she is saying, allowing the audience to be a part of the process of the story, utterance by utterance.⁷⁵²

The 2006 guidebook does not mention any of the physical aspects of slave labour, so the only indication readers have into the harsh realities of the lives of the enslaved in Jamaica was through a few phrases in the guidebook.

⁷⁴⁸ Kinkaid et al., 'The Podcast-as-Method?', p. 79.

⁷⁴⁹ Hagood, 'The Scholarly Podcast', p. 185.

⁷⁵⁰ Hagood, 'The Scholarly Podcast', p. 185.

⁷⁵¹ K. Jones, 'Episode two', *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).

⁷⁵² L. McMurty, "'I'm Not a Real Detective, I Only Play One on Radio": Serial as the Future of Audio Drama', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 49, 2, (2016), pp. 306–324 <https://doi.org/10.1111/jpcu.12401> (accessed 8 March 2021).

The success of the planters' estates depended on a large labour force of slaves... The slaves were transported from there on the dreaded "middle passage" to the West Indies, where they were employed to cut and gather the sugar canes.⁷⁵³

While the differences of what is covered in the guidebooks versus the podcast will be discussed later on in this chapter, the minimal words in the guidebooks do not articulate the seriousness of slavery in Jamaica the same way that Dr Gwyn's voice can throughout episode two of *Podlediad Penrhyn*. In print, the text about slavery is presented as a sequence of facts that the reader cannot surmise whether the author believes them to be good, bad, or any kind of emotion. The reader is not directly privy to the emotion behind the writer's meaning, they only have access to the words. And because the guidebooks are written in a nonfiction manner, and not in a story with immersive elements, all the readers get are the facts. Perhaps they could surmise through phrases such as 'dreaded "middle passage"' that life was difficult, but in what way? Was the journey rough because of the sea, the weather, the slave traders, or the conditions of the boat? Because there is not any further expansion on those facts, and the narrator is invisible and emotionless, the reader is left to guess at just how harsh life was for those on the Jamaican plantations, and how they as humans today should process this information.

In the guidebooks, the humanistic element of expression is usually missing. Pitch, volume, speed, and emphasis are lost in the written word, which can only imitate impressions of the voice.⁷⁵⁴ In the case of the guidebooks, this information comes in a sequence of facts, devoid of resonance from one body to another that only the voice can accomplish. While there are obviously advantages to using visuals and text to convey information such as illustrations and graphs, when dealing with serious topics like those covered in *Podlediad Penrhyn*, these advantages must go beyond words, in a way that can appeal to audiences in a humanistic way. While the guidebooks may be able to convey some aspects of Penrhyn's history, a podcast like *Podlediad Penrhyn* 'offers the ability to use not just the words but also sound, music and silence — powerful tools for formulating arguments, providing evidence, illustrating points, developing empathy and giving listeners space to think'.⁷⁵⁵

Overall, country houses and landed estates have a wealth of information to convey using music, voice, and sound. Audiences can access the narrative of a landed estate when travelling, commuting, or walking around a heritage site when an audio format is chosen but,

⁷⁵³ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006) p. 40.

⁷⁵⁴ Hagood, 'The Scholarly Podcast', p. 185.

⁷⁵⁵ Hagood, 'The Scholarly Podcast', p. 185.

more importantly, music captures the feelings of a place or people and gives that to the listener, voices can tell their own stories rather than dilute and potentially mistranslate through a mediator, and sounds can bring a place to life in ways that words alone sometimes do not. Using this layer of a longform narrative podcast, more can be done with a single artefact than a guidebook or other written medium.

The narrator, intimacy, and perceived authenticity

The next layer in the narrative podcast is that of the narrator. One of my primary goals in producing a creative artefact that would expand Penrhyn's story beyond the pages of the guidebook, was to make sure those who were speaking about Penrhyn were not invisible voices. A primary observation in the guidebooks analysis was the invisibility and anonymity of the author and the presumed institutional authority of the guidebooks. The invisible narrator minimised marginalised narratives, prioritised anglicised upper-class narratives and presented informational texts, rather than stories of Penrhyn's multilayered history. In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, it was important for there to be a multitude of known voices contributing their ideas, perspectives, experiences and expertise to Penrhyn's story, allowing the audience to hear and contemplate a multilayered narrative. My goal was to create a bond between the listeners and the speakers that is then translated to a connection to the overall story of the Penrhyn estate.

Establishing intimacy from the narrator to a podcast audience

In narrative podcasts, this connection begins with the host, or narrator.⁷⁵⁶ Using an engaging, subjective narrator is a key component in making non-fictional stories turn into what the listener perceives as a narrative as entertaining as fiction.⁷⁵⁷ This format distances itself from the more traditional form of print journalism, where narrators of documentaries and radio programmes attempt to present themselves as unbiased and neutral, outsourcing their emotional labour to those they are interviewing.⁷⁵⁸ While this can be useful when the focus is simply to inform or educate audiences, studies have shown that narrative driven journalism is more effective in engaging audiences, inviting 'a more complex and nuanced appreciation for socio-political realities than in more traditional news models'.⁷⁵⁹ By allowing the narrator to establish themselves as a subjective, flawed and biased storyteller, the narrator becomes

⁷⁵⁶ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 4.

⁷⁵⁷ Waldmann, 'From Storytelling to Storylistening', pp. 37–38.

⁷⁵⁸ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 3.

⁷⁵⁹ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 3.

humanised to the listener: ‘one of us’.⁷⁶⁰ Research has found that the social aspect of listening to a subjective host can lead to listeners feeling connected to a podcast and connected to the host.⁷⁶¹ My creative artefact is based on the premise that narration from a subjective narrator can create a sense of intimacy and emotional connection to a narrator on a far more of a personal level than through an objective news reporter.⁷⁶² In traditional reporting, the narrator is required to cover the topics decided for them by higher bodies of management, in a unified language fit for the corporation, because it uses ‘top-down distribution and ... controlled messaging’ which brings to mind the unified branding message of the National Trust.⁷⁶³ In independent podcasting like *Podlediad Penrhyn* however, the host or narrator can speak for themselves, thus relaying information in a more personal way. Instead of relaying information in a formal, professional, and unified voice, which is often how mainstream radio or news is presented to an audience, a podcast host with control over what they say, and the freedom to speak as themselves, can create an intimate bond with listeners who feel as if the host could be a member of their community, ethnic group, religion, or background.⁷⁶⁴

For *Podlediad Penrhyn*, it was important to me as a researcher that the narrator of my creative artefact be an explorative, inquisitive facilitator: learning alongside their audience about Penrhyn, rather than appearing as an authoritative, invisible voice as in the guidebooks. I wanted someone who was interested and invested in Penrhyn’s story, but not intimately knowledgeable about the estate to the extent that they could not connect with a general, broad audience. I chose myself as the narrator, because through this research I was exploring Penrhyn’s history for the first time; I was invested in learning and sharing the estate’s story, and as someone who does not have a background in history or heritage, I could speak to the audience as someone who is like them, rather than an expert or subjective reporter. Through *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I was not interested in becoming completely objective in telling Penrhyn’s story, partly because through my research I have seen that complete objectivity is unattainable, but also because I was more interested in creating a connection with my

⁷⁶⁰ Dowling and Miller, ‘Immersive Audio Storytelling’, p. 173.

⁷⁶¹ S. J. Tobin and R. E. Guadagno, ‘Why People Listen: Motivations and Outcomes of Podcast Listening’, *PLoS ONE*, online edn, 17, 4, (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0265806> (accessed 15 June 2022).

⁷⁶² Tobin, ‘Why people listen: Motivations and outcomes of podcast listening’, pp. 2–4.

⁷⁶³ V. Meserko, ‘Going Mental: Podcasting, Authenticity, and Artist-Fan Identification on Paul Gilmartin’s Mental Illness Happy Hour’, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58, 3, (2014), pp. 456–469 <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2014.935848> (accessed 11 June 2022).

⁷⁶⁴ R. Berry, ‘Will the iPod Kill the Radio Star? Profiling Podcasting as Radio’, *Convergence*, 12, 2, (2006), pp. 143–162 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856506066522> (accessed 27 June 2022).

listeners. They could journey with me through Penrhyn's story, experiencing my reactions, emotions and thoughts of Penrhyn through the episodes.

My personal perspective is that of someone who has grown up in the American south, in the Appalachian Mountains, where cultural aspects such as industrial heritage, music, community storytelling, and the mountainous landscape are common aspects of history for the area; areas of life I which I saw similarities in north Wales. These similarities, coupled with the interest I have in Penrhyn's story, the heritage and history of north Wales, and the natural connection I felt to the place I was living meant that I related to some of the areas key to Penrhyn's history more. These areas ended up becoming prominent throughout the podcast. Needless to say, my own personal biases impacted the podcast. When choosing which narratives to include or exclude, and which narratives to expand upon from the guidebooks, for example, were places that my biases impacted the creative artefact. However, I never attempted to hide those biases, or my identity, from the audience. Through the process of creating *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I formed the belief that Penrhyn's story needed to be viewed as a story about everyone who lived and worked on, or was influenced by the Penrhyn estate, as opposed to what I found in the guidebooks, which was that the focus of Penrhyn's history was on the Pennant family and the architecture and artwork of their Castle, with other narratives associated with the estate either communicated through the Pennant family's eyes, or presented as marginal side stories. I crafted *Podlediad Penrhyn* in a way that showed I believed more emphasis should be placed on telling Penrhyn's story as a community's story. Similarly, I wanted to highlight that the integral international dimensions of the story: Penrhyn's — through the global slate trade and transatlantic slavery — reached far and wide. Through my voice as narrator, I ensure that the stories I tell about Penrhyn are factual but also through my own lens, I have not been handed a script from a third party to read out as my own nor have the narratives in my podcast been edited or guided by an invisible, external source. I do not speak with a reporter's objective voice, but I am upfront with my audience by using my own voice. I do not claim to be an expert, nor am I an invisible, authoritative narrator distancing my words from my feelings. I present myself as a person with views, emotions and complications like every other human, and while it is impossible for me to be completely neutral on Penrhyn's story, at least I am not invisible. I give my audience the choice to judge whether they agree with what I say, what other speakers and contributors say. In *Podlediad Penrhyn* I am an explorer and a facilitator of other speakers' words, whilst building a connection with my audience.

In order for me to build this connection, my role in *Podlediad Penrhyn* could not be that of an expert or authoritative voice, but as another part of the story myself. In *Serial*, host Sarah Koenig built up intimacy with her listeners not because she is the author of the written text she performs, but as a part of the audionarrative, becoming ‘author, narrator, interviewer and character’.⁷⁶⁵ Sarah Koenig’s emotions about the stories and evidence she discovers are on full display throughout the podcast. Listeners journey with her through these emotions in the same way readers would journey through a fiction novel, invested in the feelings and thoughts of the main character.⁷⁶⁶ Mia Lindgren says that journalists giving their own feelings through narrative podcasting is ‘part of the genre’s DNA’; the host’s emotions being on display creates immersion and intimacy for the listener through ‘a combination of aural, technological and aesthetical storytelling factors’.⁷⁶⁷ The host’s emotions further aid the storytelling aspect of the podcast, creating an intimate storytelling experience for listeners.⁷⁶⁸ In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, showing my feelings about aspects of Penrhyn’s history can help connect audiences with the estate’s story, whilst feeling an intimacy with me as a narrator. At the start of episode two, I describe my reaction to learning about Penrhyn’s involvement with slavery:

This episode, I talk with Dr Marian Gwyn about her research in heritage and slavery and her work at Penrhyn Castle; Eleanor Harding, the former Assistant Curator for Wales; and with Dr Chris Evans, whose research into Wales’ connection with slavery led him to write the book, *Slave Wales*. During our interviews, I think I counted somewhere around 40 times that I said the word ‘wow’ when hearing about the history of the plantations.

‘Wow’, as in, I can’t believe that happened.

‘Wow’, as in, this is really hard to hear.

‘Wow’, as in, I had no idea how interwoven the slave trade was to the history of Wales and everyday life in Britain in the 18th century.⁷⁶⁹

From the onset, my audience can hear that this information is something that is tough for me to hear as the host of the podcast. This also signals to the audience through the words that I say and how I say them that I believe what I am learning is wrong, troubling, and alarming. This differs from the way that the guidebooks describe Penrhyn’s connection with slavery.

⁷⁶⁵ A. Symons, ‘Podcast Comedy and “Authentic Outsiders”’: How New Media Is Challenging the Owners of Industry’, *Celebrity Studies*, 8, 1, (2017), pp. 104–118 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2016.1217162> (accessed 18 May 2022).

⁷⁶⁶ Hardey and James, ‘Digital Seriality and Narrative Branching’, pp. 75–79.

⁷⁶⁷ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 4.

⁷⁶⁸ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 5.

⁷⁶⁹ K. Jones, ‘Episode two’, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).

While the guidebooks describe aspects such as ‘forced labour’ and ‘transportation’, readers are not privy to the writer’s feelings on the matter. My findings showed that the way in which the forced labour of producing sugar was written in the 2006 guidebook distanced enslavement from the work, thus appearing to minimise the seriousness of enslaved labour in Jamaica. In text, readers cannot know how the writer feels about a difficult subject like slavery because the author of the guidebooks is invisible. Because of the limitations of the guidebooks, such as the word count, format, and standardised branding, the writer cannot expand on their emotions on the subject of historical slavery, nor can they explain why they wrote the labour of producing sugar in such a distancing way to the reader. It’s up to the reader to infer and interpret what was meant, to see behind the words. In *Podlediad Penrhyn* I can directly communicate to my audience how I am feeling about these subjects, and they can hear the way in which I respond to facts through the sounds of my voice, pauses, inflections, or other audible methods of communication that text cannot capture in the same way. By sharing my actual real-time reactions, I am telling my readers upfront my opinion on aspects of Penrhyn’s story, not leaving them to guess about what I meant by certain statements. By exposing my emotions, I am inviting listeners to feel a connection with me if they also feel stunned, speechless, horrified, alarmed, or troubled, by the stories told about Penrhyn’s connection to slavery. This enhances the story of Penrhyn and slavery beyond the facts, and signals to the listener that they feel an intimacy with my emotions and a connection with Penrhyn’s story. Through this subjective approach, I become both an informative voice and a private character in Penrhyn’s story.⁷⁷⁰ While I am steering listeners through Penrhyn’s story in a professional sense — in that I am curating, editing, writing, and compiling the podcast — my own personal views make me a part of the story. This combination can help ‘awaken the listener’s imagination and encourage engagement’.⁷⁷¹

Mia Lindgren found in that intimacy was a key theme throughout podcast literature. Storytelling elements used in radio journalism were now being utilised in podcasting, turning into ‘hyper-intimacy in podcasting’.⁷⁷² This shift in objective journalism to personal storytelling by a subjective, first person narrator is now being valued by listeners as highly as

⁷⁷⁰ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 10.

⁷⁷¹ Lindgren, ‘Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism’, p. 8.

⁷⁷² S. Baelo-Allué, ‘Transhumanism, transmedia and the Serial podcast: Redefining storytelling in times of enhancement’, *International Journal of English Studies*, 19, (2019), pp. 113–131, <https://doi.org/10.6018/ijes.335321> (accessed 20 June 2022).

consuming the content of the news.⁷⁷³ By pivoting away from traditional objective news journalism and embracing narrators with subjective views and emotions, podcasts can bring in an array of topics and let ‘personal, humorous, serious stories, laughs, affections, cries, frustrations and anger succeed one another’.⁷⁷⁴ These humanistic elements build intimacy with listeners, are perceived as authentic and can establish their trust.⁷⁷⁵

Perceived authenticity

While it has been established in the guidebook chapter that authenticity is a constructed concept and is unachievable in telling non-fiction heritage narratives, the appearance of authenticity is important for podcast hosts to connect with their listeners. In a world which has evolved from authoritative, large conglomerate media sources to more independent creators using digital collaboration and audience participation, Meserko argues that ‘performed intimacy’ from creators is vital for listeners to feel a connection with a podcast.⁷⁷⁶ Modern listeners are looking for hosts they can relate to and narratives that do not feel wholly foreign.⁷⁷⁷ Many comedians find that the podcast format allows them to talk about personal aspects of their lives without the influence or control of traditional television or radio formats.⁷⁷⁸ By turning to podcasting, comics can control what they talk about, and can speak in more conversational ways, deep diving into personal subjects that they may not be able to cover on television. Comic Gil Martin found with his podcast that ‘there’s a depth to it ... the stuff I’m able to talk about in podcasts is stuff I have always wanted to talk about on stage, but I could never figure out a way to do it’.⁷⁷⁹ By sharing personal perspectives, in combination with talking about ‘topics that diverge from mainstream production codes’ podcast hosts can bring a sense of authenticity to their listeners.⁷⁸⁰ Since the growth of podcasts in the mid-2000s, podcasting has been known as a platform of ‘digital intimacy’ where first person-singular subjective storytellers tell personal experiences, share their

⁷⁷³ R. C. Nee and A. D. Santana, ‘Podcasting the Pandemic: Exploring Storytelling Formats and Shifting Journalistic Norms in News Podcasts Related to the Coronavirus’, *Journalism Practice*, 16, 8, (2021), pp. 2–7 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1882874> (accessed 18 June 2022).

⁷⁷⁴ F. Berg, ‘Podcasting about Yourself and Challenging Norms: An Investigation of Independent Women Podcasters in Denmark’, *Nordicom Review*, 43, (2022), pp. 94–110 <https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0006> (accessed 20 June 2022).

⁷⁷⁵ B. Jorgensen, ‘Playing with perspective: Narrative voice and trust in Australian independent podcasts’, *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 19, (2021), pp. 137–153 http://dx.doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00038_1 (accessed 20 June 2022).

⁷⁷⁶ Meserko, ‘Going Mental’, p. 458.

⁷⁷⁷ Symons, ‘Podcast Comedy and ‘Authentic Outsiders’, p. 115.

⁷⁷⁸ Symons, ‘Podcast Comedy and ‘Authentic Outsiders’, p. 115.

⁷⁷⁹ Meserko, ‘Going Mental’, p. 460.

⁷⁸⁰ Symons, ‘Podcast Comedy and ‘Authentic Outsiders’, pp. 107–08.

thoughts and emotions and share narratives beyond a traditional pedagogical manner, which listeners expect from podcast hosts.⁷⁸¹ In narrative podcasts, while the hosts primarily speak through a more scripted format, as opposed to the conversational podcast that many comedians use, the hosts of narrative podcasts provide a sense of authenticity by also talking about personal aspects of their own lives.⁷⁸² True crime podcasts, the most prominent and popular style of longform narrative podcast, provide powerful storytelling models by utilising a subjective, intimate host, interviewees and facts, as the narrator jumps into the story itself. The narrator involves themselves in the story, investing their personal views and emotions and sharing personal experiences, presenting a form of transparency and an authentic voice to the listeners.⁷⁸³ When deciding on what format of podcast to use for *Podlediad Penrhyn*, the journalistic, narrative, first-person subjective style of podcast appealed to me because of the bond I had felt as a listener to hosts such as Sarah Koenig of *Serial*, Brian Read of *S Town*, and Jamie Bartlett of *Crypto Queen* who guided me through the stories, interviews, and evidence of their podcasts, but also made me feel connected and empathetic to them as hosts because of the sense of vulnerability they conveyed. Choosing to model *Podlediad Penrhyn* after those styles and formats of podcasts instead of history monologue or interview-style podcasts was so that I could go beyond the facts of Penrhyn's story and share how I was feeling and what I was thinking about Penrhyn throughout. My aim with *Podlediad Penrhyn* was to make a podcast that could reach a broad audience, and that as host of the podcast I could connect with listeners in a humanistic way, linking facts about Penrhyn to real people that listeners could relate to and sympathise with. By doing this, I shared parts of my own life with the audience that were pertinent to Penrhyn's story. In episode four, I talked about my own experience of Welsh slate. I began the episode by talking about how I had heard about slate as a popular roofing product from my father, who is a roofer in the US. Knowing about slate and its importance was personal for me. It brought back memories of me going to work with my dad and wanting to learn about his job and the materials he used to create roofs across our state.

Being the daughter of a roofer, my first knowledge of slate was through learning about it from my dad. My father, William Jones, has owned his own roofing company in North Carolina for the last 30 years. I've never gone up a roof to work with him nor

⁷⁸¹ J. H. Wang, 'The Perils of Ladycasting: Podcasting, Gender, and Alternative Production Cultures', in Jeremy Wade Morris and Eric Hoyt (eds.), *Saving New Sounds: Podcast Preservation and Historiography*, (Ann Arbor, 2021), pp. 51–70.

⁷⁸² Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 11.

⁷⁸³ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 11.

do I have a steady hand with a hammer, but I'm no stranger to some roofing lingo. Growing up, I heard about different types of roofing materials, from shingles to metal roofing and sheet rock. On car journeys he'd point out houses or buildings that he'd roofed over the years, telling me about the materials that he used or historic roofs that he'd replaced. One thing I always remember him saying was how slate was top-notch roofing material. He'd tell me about how durable it was, how he wished he could use it on roofs in the US, and how valuable it was today, almost as if slate was the gold of roofing materials. Fast forward to me moving to Wales, I was flabbergasted at just how many buildings were covered with slate! ... I'd never seen slate before moving to Wales, but despite this, its reputation preceded itself.⁷⁸⁴

I wanted to open this episode by pointing out the international influence of Welsh slate, showing its lasting importance into the present. In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, it was important to me that slate did not come across as simply a roofing material, but a culturally significant aspect of north Welsh life that reached international shores. Rather than presenting this as a standard fact, I showed it in a narrative format, taking what could be didactic information and making it personal. Authentic images of life can be created by offering 'mundane'⁷⁸⁵ information of everyday life to an audience, with the narrative construction of the content turning 'administrative processes, fiscal policies or cold case murders into compelling audio storytelling over multiple episodes'.⁷⁸⁶ Nonfiction narrative podcasts bring the human experience to life and listeners engage with the content in a more complex and personal manner than 'mere cognitive understanding'.⁷⁸⁷ By utilising narrative storytelling in nonfiction podcasts, listeners perceive the stories as authentic and trustworthy, as narratives convey universal themes to listeners that most can relate to in some way.⁷⁸⁸ By talking about conversations I had with my dad around slate, I was able to accomplish many things at once; I created a narrative that my audience can relate to on a human level. I am building an intimate bond through universal themes of family relationships but all the while I am also showcasing Welsh slate's international influence. Through this subjective, intimate voice, I am providing a perceived authentic voice,⁷⁸⁹ transparently showing my own involvement in the story but also highlighting the important part of the episode: Welsh slate. In my analysis of the guidebooks, middle-class, primarily male anglicised narratives were seen as trustworthy and authoritative. Likewise, in radio, Western, male voices are perceived to be

⁷⁸⁴ K. Jones, 'Episode four', *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).

⁷⁸⁵ Symons, 'Podcast Comedy and 'Authentic Outsiders'', p. 107.

⁷⁸⁶ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 11.

⁷⁸⁷ Hatfield, 'Narrative learning using podcasts in interpersonal communication', p. 237.

⁷⁸⁸ Hatfield, 'Narrative learning using podcasts in interpersonal communication', p. 237.

⁷⁸⁹ Lindgren, 'Intimacy and Emotions in Podcast Journalism', p. 11.

authoritative and credible narrators/hosts, pushing many women to change their voices or the topics they explored to be seen as more white, middle-class, and male-centric.⁷⁹⁰ Because of the intimate and personal nature of podcasts that audiences have now come to expect, this issue has shifted. Authority no longer lies in Western male-centric content and voices, but in narrators presenting themselves as ‘real’ and ‘individually authentic’.⁷⁹¹ Listeners are used to podcasts where personal stories with open and sometimes vulnerable narrators create a safe space where they and their guests share authentic versions of themselves.⁷⁹² In *Second Wave*, a narrative style podcast on Vietnamese-American history, host Thanh Tan investigates different themes of Vietnamese-American communities while interspersing her own personal stories of growing up in one such community.⁷⁹³ While the podcast’s aim is to explore topics such as beauty pageants, pho, and the South Vietnamese flag, to reach a broad audience of either those not exposed to Vietnamese culture, or second generation Vietnamese-Americans with less exposure to these traditions, the anchor to exploring these topics is through Tan’s personal reflections and the bond she builds with her listeners.⁷⁹⁴ Each episode opens with Tan’s subjective thoughts and feelings on subjects, before exploring them in more detail through interviews. Though she did not actually live through certain events such as the rise of singer Khánh Ly, through refugee communities in the 1970s, she was able to give humanistic context, thus creating perceived authenticity to her listeners, and establishing trust by presenting herself as a human with a background, and a life, just like anyone else. While there were other expert voices to give context to major events and historical moments, it is Tan’s exploration of difficult narratives such as diaspora and racism through her own background and perspective that listeners connect with and see as genuine, as it is her as a personal, intimate host that they have come to trust.⁷⁹⁵

When I began *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I was concerned that I was not the right host. Based on years of authoritative, branded media like guidebooks, I worried that by not being a part of an organisation like the National Trust, or an expert on Penrhyn’s history, or native to north Wales that somehow, I was not qualified to tell its story. By researching other podcasts and seeing their effects on listeners however, I found I could obtain authority in what I was

⁷⁹⁰ Berg, ‘Podcasting about yourself and challenging norms’, p. 97.

⁷⁹¹ C. Mottram, ‘Finding a pitch that resonates: an examination of gender and vocal authority in podcasting’, *Voice and Speech Review*, 10, 1, (2016), pp. 53–69 <https://doi.org/10.1080/23268263.2017.1282683> (accessed 26 June 2022).

⁷⁹² Meserko, ‘*Going Mental*’, p. 457.

⁷⁹³ Tran, ‘Creating sounds in silences’, p. 287.

⁷⁹⁴ Tran, ‘Creating sounds in silences’, p. 287.

⁷⁹⁵ Tran, ‘Creating sounds in silences’, pp. 287–93.

saying, not by being an expert on the Penrhyn estate, nor by being tied to the brand of the National Trust, but by being myself. By establishing myself as an outside but explorative narrator who had a strong interest in exploring Penrhyn's history and its Welsh and international connections I could become an inquisitive facilitator to other voices such as experts and locals. By sharing my emotions and thoughts through a narrative format, I could build a bond with my listeners, creating digital intimacy, and perceived authenticity through stories I had never explored before such as Penrhyn's early history, and through stories that were more personal to my own background such as the quarrymen's migration to industrial areas in the US and the use of slate roofing. By using myself as a non-expert voice, interspersing personal stories, and emotions throughout *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I could explore the Penrhyn estate's history and significance in a way that not only turned the invisible author into a known voice, but one that is human and relatable to an audience. By utilising the narrative podcast with a subjective narrator, I was able to turn facts into what were essentially the immersive and engaging plot points of a story, bringing the history of Penrhyn alive rather than sitting still on the pages of the guidebooks.

Country house interpretation is continually concerned with making connections to audiences. More recently, it has become important for heritage sites to be personal, authentic, and multidimensional in interpretation.⁷⁹⁶ By choosing to use a subjective narrator, country house interpretation can more easily connect with audiences as a podcast can feel like an intimate one-to-one conversation with the host. Authenticity is not something that can truly be achieved, but the perception of being authentic is important and that is easily achieved through a subjective narrator who is direct with the audience. Multidimensionality is also simple to achieve with subjective narrators, as the subjective narrator naturally brings in a viewpoint other than the dominant one by giving listeners information through their lens rather than the lens of a larger organisation.

Independent podcasting, accessibility, and branding

The next layer to discuss in narrative podcasts is that of independent branding. In a study of *Second Waves*, Tony Tran found that, while the narratorial style of the podcast allowed narratives to be presented to listeners in a humanistic way, the NPR brand constricted how difficult narratives such as 'diasporic politics and refugee narratives' were presented to audiences. Tran found that *Second Waves* came off as an 'off-shoot' of *This American Life*, a

⁷⁹⁶ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, pp. 40, 151–160.

podcast which tells stories of various topics in single episodes. While this format and style is familiar to audiences, Tran found that *Second Waves* struggled to tell a wider narrative of Vietnamese American history, because the podcast's focus on wildly differing topics each week meant the topics could not be carried from one episode to the next. This meant that many stories were limited or cut short because of the style of the podcast format.⁷⁹⁷ As it touched on difficult subjects, Tran believed that *Second Waves* being under the NPR branding and with similar time constraints and format as *This American Life* hindered the actual story that host Thanh Tan was trying to tell, making some of the topics shallow for listeners. He argues that multiple episodes of one area of history would have suited the podcast far better allowing the host Tan to dive deeper into more difficult subjects. However, because the podcast was under the umbrella of NPR, associated limitations meant that the audience were not aware of why this formatting or length of the podcast was chosen. Was it for the benefit of NPR's usual branding, or was it what was best for *Second Waves*?

To combat the limitations which sometimes accompany podcast production within larger organisations, many podcasters have chosen to go independent.⁷⁹⁸ Rather than adhere to any sort of gatekeeping, many journalists, celebrities, former radio hosts, and other professionals are turning to independent podcasting where they can create, produce, and disseminate their own content without some of the limitations that come with conforming to larger brand guidelines and structures.⁷⁹⁹ This freedom allows for traditional boundaries to be broken down in the media, and gives more choice to individuals as to where they consume news and entertainment. While podcasters operating within the scope of large organisations must adhere to branding, length, and content specifications, independent podcasters have full control over what they create and how they create it. However, the downside to independent podcast production is that they run the risk of only attracting a small audience.⁸⁰⁰ This is not always the case, however, as independent podcasts such as *The Emily Show*, *My Dad Wrote a Porno* and *Reality Gays*⁸⁰¹ have received ample success, with all three having millions of downloads, international tours, and popular merchandise. In the early days of creating *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I contemplated approaching an organisation such as the National Trust to

⁷⁹⁷ Tran, 'Creating sounds in silences', p. 297.

⁷⁹⁸ Berg, 'Podcasting about yourself and challenging norms', p. 94.

⁷⁹⁹ Berg, 'Podcasting about yourself and challenging norms', p. 95.

⁸⁰⁰ Berg, 'Podcasting about yourself and challenging norms', p. 95.

⁸⁰¹ Several podcasts such as *My Dad Wrote a Porno* and *Reality Gays* are under the distribution company Acast, but they are not branded podcasts under this company. I am defining *independent podcasts* as creatively independent even though some of these examples are under the distributing label Acast.

see if they would be interested in using the podcast at Penrhyn Castle, as I knew this could possibly bring in a wide audience of those around the UK who are members of the National Trust or those who already listen to their podcasts such as *People's Landscapes* or *Women and Power*. However, as I researched the guidebooks and independent podcasting, it became clear the best solution in telling multilayered narratives of the estate would be to keep the podcast as an independent entity. By creating, producing, and branding the podcast myself, I avoid any of the constraints and limitations that befall the writers of the Penrhyn guidebooks by having to format the guidebooks to the National Trust's specification. This of course does not necessarily prevent the National Trust from incorporating Podlediad Penrhyn into its future heritage interpretation and visitor experience programmes at Penrhyn Castle. Importantly though, the National Trust did not control, limit or direct the narrative. Unlike other comparable media, such as radio broadcasting, that would be created under very specific stylistic guidelines and time constraints, podcasts like *Podlediad Penrhyn* give full editorial freedom to their creators.⁸⁰² By independently producing the podcast I could make decisions on the length of episodes, the number of guests contributors, the narratives I could expand on, and the ability to highlight a wider range of heritage organisations and local businesses connected to the Penrhyn estate for the benefit of the podcast alone; rather than because brand guidelines dictated what I was allowed to explore. The format of the podcast allowed me to expand on narratives that I found were limited in the guidebooks without worrying about doing so for the wider needs of any organisation I was connected with or participants I was interviewing. I could also talk about the National Trust in a more exploratory way, challenging their previous heritage practices and talking about the changes they have made in their interpretation as it pertains to the story of the estate, as an outside voice. I could also include interviews from people associated with other organisations such as the National Slate Museum or the UNESCO Heritage Bid team without needing to ask permission from a higher authority within the institution. I could feature different voices from organisations and businesses, such as Zip World, as equal parts of Penrhyn's story, without the focus being on organisational marketing. It also meant that I did not have any narratives I needed to primarily focus on for the benefit of an organisation or business, but instead could focus on a multitude of narratives and make the estate and its wide-ranging historical influences the main focus.

⁸⁰² Waldmann, 'From Storytelling to Storylistening', p. 37.

In the past, the dominant auditory media, radio, was controlled by large organisations such as the BBC or National Public Radio. To reach broad audiences, radio broadcasters had to align themselves with these organisations, working under their branding as an employee or affiliate. To create radio shows independently was costly and largely unattainable for the everyday person, as professional studios and equipment were needed in order to broadcast radio shows. In recent years however, producing podcasts has become accessible and affordable for many, and the growth in independently produced media such as YouTube videos and podcasts has meant that modern listeners are used to independently made media. Power dynamics have been challenged as media has become more participatory and convergent, allowing independent podcasts to circumvent traditional routes of reaching the public such as radio.⁸⁰³ This accessibility allowed me to create a home studio and allows listeners to access *Podlediad Penrhyn* for free online. I was able to create a podcast that did not need financial or physical backing from a larger organisation, nor did I need to rely on a professional studio or network to get my podcast to listeners.

Although being aligned with a larger organisation would mean that *Podlediad Penrhyn* would have access to professional branding, marketing and an institutional audience, this could come at a price of not being able to format the podcast in the way that I chose, potentially leaving out key areas of Penrhyn's history that I believe are critical to expand on from the guidebooks. By making the podcast myself, I could ensure that *Podlediad Penrhyn's* primary focus was communicating key parts of the history of the estate through an accessible format to my listeners; accessible both in how they could obtain the podcast and in the language used throughout. Independently producing *Podlediad Penrhyn* also meant that I could make a podcast as an unconventional longform narrative podcast to present content about Penrhyn in a less formal and didactic way than the guidebooks. Some historians and heritage professionals have engaged with independent podcasting as a way to reach broader, modern audiences. This allows them to embrace a shift in normal formatting and create podcasts that are more conversational and laid back in nature, whilst still exploring academic topics. *Historians on Housewives* is a podcast which connects historical events to scenes in the reality television franchise, *The Real Housewives*.⁸⁰⁴ Hosts Kacey Calahane, Dr Jessica Millward, and Max Speare interview historians on subjects such as race and power, slavery,

⁸⁰³ Meserko, 'The Pursuit of Authenticity on Marc Maron's WTF Podcast', p. 796.

⁸⁰⁴ K. Calahane et al., 'Scholars Do Bravo Too: Reality Television, Public History, and the Historians on Housewives Podcast', *Journal of Women's History*, 32, 4, (2020), pp. 135–38
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2020.0043> (accessed 26 May 2022).

medieval history, and domestic violence interspersed with scenes of *The Real Housewives*.⁸⁰⁵ The hosts decided on that format for their podcast in order to reach a broad audience through focusing on an area of life that is current and relevant, but which also allows the hosts to explore aspects of history through that lens. By creating and producing this podcast independently, the hosts could reorient themselves as people who enjoy current entertainment and reality TV just like the ‘rest of us’, rather than being seen simply as experts in the clips of documentaries.⁸⁰⁶ The hosts could explore academic subjects and bring on experts to their podcast and still maintain a conversational and relatable format that does not limit audiences based on their educational level. The podcasters found that by crafting a unique podcast with a mix of contemporary media and history that *Historians on Housewives* had ‘a more democratic reach amongst audiences with different levels of formal education if compared, for instance, to a museum or heritage site visitation’.⁸⁰⁷ A 2021 study on academically-focused podcasts found that listeners to archaeology podcasts are repelled by hosts using numerous jargon phrases that are more industry specific than for the entertainment of listeners.⁸⁰⁸ Some academics are used to delivering a podcast in the same way they might present a conference paper, which can mean that a broad audience is either put-off by the podcast or confused.⁸⁰⁹ In the past, more traditional style radio shows such as NPR were synonymous with liberal, educated, and even elite audiences, appearing less accessible for groups who did not fall into those categories.⁸¹⁰ The rise of podcasts that are more intimate, conversational, or storytelling in nature, however, have left those connotations behind. Independent podcasts allow for historians to think outside the norm in terms of how they present history and how they present themselves, making history feel more accessible both to those who are familiar with their expertise and those who are not as exposed to academia or the heritage industry. As an independent podcast, I was able to choose a unique format for my podcast that informed my audience of Penrhyn’s story but in a way that felt personal and informal. I could plan a multi-episode podcast where I used personal stories, conversational language, and music and sound effects in my storytelling to connect with my listeners in a way that signalled that *Podlediad Penrhyn* was made for a ‘community of peers.’⁸¹¹ This

⁸⁰⁵ Calahane et al., ‘Scholars Do Bravo Too’, pp. 135–38.

⁸⁰⁶ Calahane et al., ‘Scholars Do Bravo Too’, pp. 135–38.

⁸⁰⁷ C. Slotten, ‘Podcasting as Public Archaeology’, *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 9, 2, (2021), pp. 134–137 <https://doi.org/10.1080/20518196.2021.1928449> (accessed 17 May 2022).

⁸⁰⁸ Slotten, ‘Podcasting as Public Archaeology’, p. 134.

⁸⁰⁹ Slotten, ‘Podcasting as Public Archaeology’, pp. 134–35.

⁸¹⁰ Waldmann, ‘From Storytelling to Storylistening’, p. 30.

⁸¹¹ Fatani and Buist, ‘Searching for the Sources of the Nile’, p. 2.

differs from some well-known branded podcasts which can signal to potential listeners that the content is not intended for a broad audience, is accessible only to middle-class society, or intended only for historical enthusiasts and experts.⁸¹² By creating *Podlediad Penrhyn* as an independent podcast, I was also able to interview people associated with different organisations and feature their perspectives and experiences without needing to be aligned with them myself. In contrast to the guidebooks, whose formats, lengths, and content had to align with other guidebooks under the National Trust brand, *Podlediad Penrhyn* could be a unique creative artefact, focused on not just the potential visitors interested in a National Trust property but a wide audience across the world who could connect with me as a host and Penrhyn's multilayered story.

Additionally, I was able to create a website that was unique to the podcast and the Penrhyn estate. The website includes text and images associated with different aspects of Penrhyn's story, with photos, colours, and videos that are different to brands such as the National Trust or the National Slate Museum. Through my own branding, Penrhyn does not have to be only synonymous with individual sites such as the country house or the slate quarry, but those aspects could be presented as equal parts in Penrhyn's story. Much like in the music of the podcast, I wanted to create a website with fonts, colours, and images that reflected Penrhyn's multilayered story; north Wales' vibrant local community and prominent landscape, Penrhyn's connection to slavery in Jamaica, and Penrhyn's influential role in the past, present, and future of the slate industry. When working with artist Bethan Scorey, I commissioned a piece that captured the five aspects of the Penrhyn estate that I discuss in each episode in a single image, where portions could be separated for individual episode thumbnails to encapsulate the multilayered aspect of Penrhyn. I sent Bethan a Pinterest board full of images relating to different aspects of the estate's history, such as Penrhyn Quarry, medieval structures built by Penrhyn's early owners, and paintings of one of the Pennant's Jamaican plantations. Bethan recreated images of aspects of Penrhyn Castle, the Blue Slate man statue, and the slate beds in Penrhyn Quarry for the designs, making key images to symbolise aspects of the estate's story. Bethan created a tapestry of Penrhyn's story for the podcast, putting together images of Penrhyn's story into one image, despite them belonging to different geographical locations or time periods. This signals to the audience that Penrhyn's story is local as well as global, in the past as well as in the present, and that by including them all on one tapestry, that *Podlediad Penrhyn* is about this estate's story that is

⁸¹² Waldmann, 'From Storytelling to Storylistening', pp. 31–32.

accessible to them right there on their computer screen, regardless of what location the symbols represent. By designing elements of the website myself, I created a digital atmosphere that was focused on *Podlediad Penrhyn* and not on the National Trust as a whole. Though podcasts are primarily an auditory based media, many podcasts have associated websites that are not vital to the listening experience, but a supplementary resource. Alex Symons found when analysing *Serial*'s website that it helped expand the story world of the murder of Hae Min Lee, through pictures of people involved in the case, maps of the local area, letters written around the time of the case, cell phone records of the suspects, and files from the case, such as affidavits. These epitexts 'invite audience participation since listeners have direct access to the evidence. It encourages active engagement with the narrative'.⁸¹³ The website for *Podlediad Penrhyn* exists for the same reason: to enhance Penrhyn's story should listeners want to see old photographs of Penrhyn Castle and those who worked there during the Victorian era, watch a medieval performance of Guto'r Glyn, listen to more music from the Penrhyn Male Choir, or hear more about past exhibits created by the National Trust. The website was not limited in any way in its content, length, or the types of images or videos I could include for the sake of an overarching brand as was found in the guidebooks. The website (<https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk/> in Welsh and <https://www.penrhynpod.co.uk/> in English) can serve as an additional digital resource for the podcast with visuals, links, book recommendations, and added information on the Penrhyn estate without needing to serve as a hub for visitors to find parking information, membership prices, upcoming events, as with a heritage site operated by the National Trust. The website exists solely as a resource for listeners of the podcast to further their experience of the Penrhyn estate's story.

Podcast scholar Kim Fox found that 'accessibility, freedom and authenticity of independent podcasting is well suited to the project of community building.'⁸¹⁴ Because I am a known individual and not a silent voice under an institutional brand, listeners have the potential to interact with me in the future where I could build an online community around the podcast that is not location specific but international. Because I am utilising a podcast and not on-site resources such as a guidebook, an audio guide, a geo-specific app or a physical guide, my podcast can be accessible from anywhere and to anyone with access to the internet on digital devices such as a phone, a tablet, or a computer. This medium of communication,

⁸¹³ Symons, 'Podcast Comedy and 'Authentic Outsiders'', p. 121.

⁸¹⁴ K. Fox et al., 'A Curriculum for Blackness: Podcasts as Discursive Cultural Guides, 2010–2020', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 27, 2, (2020), pp. 298–318 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2020.1801687> (accessed 27 June 2022).

which is freely available online internationally, has a wider chance of reaching broad audiences⁸¹⁵ than more geographically-tied media such as guidebooks, whose accessibility is oftentimes limited only to the site it covers.⁸¹⁶ While I can create a sense of place in the podcast through sounds, as stated earlier, the podcast is not dependent on the actual space itself to tell the narrative of Penrhyn's story and therefore reaches a wider range of audiences. By choosing to craft Penrhyn's story as a global one and disseminate it through a globally accessible platform, I am able to reach an audience other than those who live in or visit north Wales. I attempted to build an intimate connection between my listeners and Penrhyn's story by choosing the podcast, primarily because of it being a digitally accessible media, but also due to independently producing it in a narrative format without any demands from an institutional brand, and without needing to focus on something external to the text, such as a specific place or object in the castle, or aspects of the overarching brand in the same way that the guidebooks do. Obviously, not everything about independent podcasting is accessible to everyone, such as those whose hearing is impaired, those who do not speak the English language, or those that do not have access to the Internet or a smart device. However, a podcast like *Podlediad Penrhyn* is still a far more accessible resource for communicating the story of the Penrhyn estate because its free online platform rather than a site-specific guidebook (not republished since 2006) offered for sale by the National Trust. *Podlediad Penrhyn*, its five episodes and its website, can exist as its own entity, building an audience across the world in a free, current, and accessible way to a broad audience. The independent podcast means I am able to feature voices connected to larger organisations, but ultimately, I can communicate Penrhyn's story in a way that avoids the constraints of more traditional, branded media.⁸¹⁷

Landed estates and country house heritage sites often struggle to communicate stories to their visitors which are not physically grounded in on-site architecture, collections or landscape. These are narratives of events and places however might be integrally connected to the history of the estate and as in the case of the Penrhyn Quarry and the Jamaican sugar plantations. Off-site stories are often left out of other heritage interpretation tools (including guidebooks) due to this difficulty. Pertinent stakeholders in landed estate and country house narratives, such as local communities and businesses, and other heritage sites that once fell

⁸¹⁵ Kinkaid et al., 'The Podcast-as-Method?', p. 71.

⁸¹⁶ Ramírez, 'What Can We Weave', p. 83.

⁸¹⁷ Hatfield, 'Narrative learning using podcasts in interpersonal communication', p. 237 and Berg, 'Podcasting about yourself and challenging norms', p. 96.

under the umbrella of the estate in question are not always discussed or are not always able to be discussed because of complicated negotiation and potential rivalries between owning or controlling organisations. By establishing a podcast that all relevant stakeholders can be involved with and collaborate on, through an independent production, each voice can be equitably featured rather than be controlled by a single, authoritative, and centralised brand.

Multivocality and the benefits of multilayered narratives

Perhaps the most important layer of *Podlediad Penrhyn* is multivocality. In a technical sense, multivocality means multiple voices.⁸¹⁸ In heritage, this term is often broadened, however, to mean either a multiplicity of voices or narratives displaying a ‘multitude of life experiences, perspectives and expertise’.⁸¹⁹ When an individual tells a story, the narrative is told through the lens of their emotions and views and that individual therefore describes the past or the world around them differently to someone else. Showing an audience these different perspectives is ‘fundamental to experiencing and creating faithful representations of knowledge’, because individuals tell stories with different depictions of the same event, their emotions and view layering the truth of the event and without seeing these layers, we are only seeing one point of view, one subjective truth.⁸²⁰ Each of the guidebooks had one authoritative voice telling Penrhyn’s story. Heritage interpretation has long been criticised for practices which lead to a single or dominant academic voice when communicating historic narratives.⁸²¹ This has led to limiting representations of marginalised groups, indigenous peoples, or an array of local voices.⁸²² Ramesh Srinivasan has pointed out that ‘museum professionals have long acknowledged that the discourses and descriptions they present around objects do not fully account for the diversity of possible perspectives’, and many in the heritage industry have been keen to implement practices which give a multiplicity of pasts through use of multivocality.⁸²³ By using the narrative podcast, which heavily relies on a narrator and interviewee voices, multivocality can be achieved for landed estates such as Penrhyn. Alongside my own voice, I included a mix of voices from academic historians, heritage practitioners and volunteers, local interest groups and business owners, and local

⁸¹⁸ M. Montanelli et al., ‘University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community. A case of ‘multivocal nudge’ for sharing heritage in times of social distancing’, *Journal of Public Archaeology*, 4, (2020), pp. 1–14 https://doi.org/10.23821/2020_3d/ (accessed 15 July 2022).

⁸¹⁹ Montanelli et al., ‘University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community’, p. 1.

⁸²⁰ Srinivasan et al., ‘Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges’, p. 270.

⁸²¹ Srinivasan et al., ‘Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges’, p. 265.

⁸²² Srinivasan et al., ‘Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges’, p. 265.

⁸²³ Srinivasan et al., ‘Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges’, p. 265.

people with ancestry connected to the Penrhyn estate. Whilst providing the audience with multiple perspectives and personal stories in the guidebooks is difficult through their limiting textual format, with only side text boxes as options for presenting accounts or perspectives outside of the main narrative, *Podlediad Penrhyn* uses a format that allows multiple voices to be presented equally through the flow of audio, without stepping out of the bounds of the medium or stepping away from Penrhyn's story. Stories of Penrhyn's early history, its connection with slavery, stories of Penrhyn Castle, the local culture of slate quarrying, and of Penrhyn's present day all flow through one story as each voice contributes something throughout the five episodes. By showcasing stories through multivocality, it does not mean that Penrhyn's story becomes a free-for-all where any and every voice can have its say, but it does allow more aspects and perspectives, which have been previously suppressed in resources such as the guidebooks to come to the forefront of the narrative. Whilst providing an important platform for the articulation of academic research findings, the incorporation of multiple voices can bring more equality to *expert* and *source* by utilising the voices of connected communities who can bring a humanistic element to historical narratives and redirect 'controlling dialogues onto relevant stakeholders'.⁸²⁴ Whilst none of the voices in *Podlediad Penrhyn* can bring first-hand accounts of major events such as the Great Strikes, Penrhyn's medieval history, nor its connection to Jamaica to the fore, and thus cannot be primary sources of Penrhyn's history, they can give context to Penrhyn's layered history and can comment on how Penrhyn's history impacts north Wales and beyond, today.

To help audiences see the true diversity of historical locations, great effort is made to tell visitors that archaeology sites are in fact global sites, with influences and people from many areas present.⁸²⁵ In a study of archaeology in Dublin, Wallace describes Dublin in the ninth through twelfth centuries as 'a port town with Norse, Gaelic, Celtic and English ties, a hybridised multivocality'.⁸²⁶ This causes audiences to see Dublin historically as not just the home of one group of people, but a multitude, who all influenced and grew the area, either through inhabiting the port, or by influencing it in some way from afar. A single, unified narrative of a place only allows for Western narratives to remain dominant, and indigenous communities can appear to be simplified groups that only existed through the lens of colonisers or dominant rulers.⁸²⁷ Multivocality promotes history being reoriented away from

⁸²⁴ Srinivasan et al., 'Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges', p. 272.

⁸²⁵ J. Habu, et al., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives* (New York, 2008), pp. 1–11.

⁸²⁶ Habu et al., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives*, p. 202.

⁸²⁷ Habu et al., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives*, p. 37.

a purely English or Western lens to a global one, where local groups and marginalised peoples, such as indigenous groups and enslaved groups, can be seen as integral parts of the identity of a place.⁸²⁸ Recently, heritage organisations such as the National Trust have been attempting to reorient their heritage interpretation to include narratives of slavery and colonialism as a more integral part of many landed estates' story.⁸²⁹ In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I dedicated episode two to the story of Penrhyn's connection with slavery in Jamaica, Wales' role in transatlantic slavery, and how Penrhyn Castle's interpretation of its Jamaican links is ever evolving. Through the voices of Dr Marian Gwyn, Dr Chris Evans, and Eleanor Harding, the former curator for north Wales at the National Trust, the podcast expanded on narratives of slavery and Penrhyn's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. In the guidebooks, the enslaved are presented as a silent workforce who performed labour on the distant plantations. In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, however, I wanted to expand beyond the existence of the plantations, dive into what life would have been like for those enslaved on the Pennant plantations, talk about the labour involved in the making of sugar, and explore as much of the limited information that is known about individuals in forced labour from Jamaica. While there are not many sources in Bangor University Archives and Special Collections which provide individual stories of the slaves who operated the Pennant plantations, the voices of Gwyn, Evans and Harding brought a context to what archival information could be found, such as slave registers, epistolary recollections of uprisings, deaths, the involvement of Wales in the institution of slavery, and both past and current heritage interpretation of slavery in Wales. These expert voices from heritage and academia enabled a multilayered story of slavery's part in the estate's history to be woven throughout the podcast. Dr Gwyn told the audience of her visits to Jamaica, where she spoke to those who lived and worked in the areas of the former Pennant plantations, as well as an exhibition she managed at Penrhyn Castle, where schoolchildren from Jamaica, Bangor, and Liverpool participated in writing poetry about slavery and the history of the Penrhyn estate. In the podcast, I explored what life would have been like for the enslaved labourers of Jamaican plantations, and the conditions under which they suffered. By including this previously marginalised group, I was able to discuss Penrhyn's connection to the transatlantic slave trade in Britain. By expanding upon archival

⁸²⁸ Habu et al., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives*, pp. 37–38.

⁸²⁹ S. Huxtable et al., 'Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery' *National Trust*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/addressing-the-histories-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-national-trust> (accessed 2 November 2021).

information, I was able to show narratives connected to Jamaica in a way that humanised the enslaved labourers. The purely informational aspects of the Pennant plantations narrative in the guidebooks was underdeveloped but by expanding upon the narrative with these expert voices and by talking about modern exhibitions and the ongoing discourse around slavery at country houses like Penrhyn, *Podlediad Penrhyn* demonstrates to listeners that slavery was a critical and active part of Penrhyn's story despite the dearth of information available on these marginalised narratives. Junko Habu argues that multivocality could be used to 'challenge the concept of Britishness which has ties to British imperialism and colonialism'.⁸³⁰ As organisations like the National Trust attempt to transform heritage interpretation to deal more multilayered, international stories, such as issues of historical slavery and colonialism, podcasts like *Podlediad Penrhyn* can use multivocality to reorient views about landed estates and the histories and identities of Britain and Wales. The informal and intimate nature of podcasts helps promote marginalised narratives and can shape how country houses are seen, not just through a rose-tinted lens of British history, but as global sites connected to places like Jamaica.

In episodes one and three, I explored the Penrhyn estate's local narratives through its medieval history and the influence of slate in north Wales. Susan Pitchford describes indicators of Welsh identity as binding narratives, those that cover elements of community living, memories tied to landscapes, and historical memories.⁸³¹ As I discuss Penrhyn's early history in episode one, or Eryri/Snowdonia and the Welsh language, poetry, and community events such as Eisteddfodau, and the effects of the Great Strikes on the local community in Bethesda and beyond, all of these aspects come together as a narrative that binds the community of north Wales far better than information in a guidebook. Through the fiction-like narratives in episode one of marriage, war, politics, alliances, and the life and writings of Guto'r Glyn, the Griffiths family become not just short biographies at the beginning of a guidebook but living and breathing people who shaped north Wales. In episode three, I moved away from describing the slate industry as primarily an instrument for the economic growth of the estate, as found in the guidebooks, and expanded on slate's influence of the experiences of local people through crafts, exportation, family dynamics, culture, and its influence on tourism in the area today; especially through the recent UNESCO World

⁸³⁰ Habu et al., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives*, p. 5.

⁸³¹ Pitchford, 'The Tourist Trap', pp. 43–64.

Heritage bid. In the guidebooks, slate and Penrhyn quarry is described through descriptions such as:

It was slate that was to transform the fortunes of Richard Pennant and Penrhyn.⁸³²

Richard Pennant's reforms and later mechanisations greatly increased the output of the quarry, but the work of the quarrymen remained fundamentally unchanged.⁸³³

Every year 136,000 writing slates were produced at Port Penrhyn, consuming 3,000 feet of timber for the frames, and employing up to 30 men.⁸³⁴

In episode four of *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I wanted to expand on slate's influence beyond that of Richard Pennant's success, to include its importance to north Wales. By utilising the local and expert voices of Dr Dafydd Roberts, former Keeper of the National Slate Museum, Lois Jones, the senior programming and partnership officer at Penrhyn Castle, and Teleri Owen, a researcher of women in the quarrying communities in north Wales, Penrhyn Quarry becomes much more than just the Pennant family's success; it becomes a site on which workers honed their skills, risked their lives, made their livelihoods, and bonded through music and debate, becoming integral not just economically for the estate and its owners, but to the stories of those who lived and worked on the estate. All three interviewees contributed different narratives on the same theme in Penrhyn's story; Dr Roberts talked about the makeup of a quarry, the daily lives of quarrymen, and international exportation; Lois Jones talked about current local perception of Penrhyn and Penrhyn Castle's evolving interpretation around slate; and Teleri Owen spoke about the strikes and women's role in the slate industry. Through multivocality, narrative podcasts are able to 'avoid binary black and white narratives or "good guy vs bad guys"'.⁸³⁵ In literature such as the guidebooks, and in archival evidence such as letters and newspapers, writings about the Lord Penrhyn's, the quarrymen, and the strike breakers who went back to work during the Great Strikes were largely negative. But by using multivocality in episode four, I filled in some of the gaps not written about in the guidebooks, showing a more nuanced version of the estate's history, pinpointing exact events and time periods which affected those living and working at Penrhyn, and allowing the audience to hear about the players in Penrhyn's story as living people. By including a multitude of voices — local voices as well as experts in their field — a more expansive

⁸³² National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006) p. 44.

⁸³³ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006) p. 44.

⁸³⁴ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006) p. 44.

⁸³⁵ Tran, 'Creating sounds in silences', p. 295.

picture of slate and Penrhyn emerged; multifaceted, multigenerational, and multilocal, taking the narrative beyond an enterprise cultivated by the Pennant family.

Through the multiplicity of voices and stories, I expand on areas of importance to the Penrhyn estate, such as the Welsh choirs, which are only briefly mentioned in a sentence of the 2006 guidebook as:

When their leader, W.J. Parry was successfully sued for libel against Lord Penrhyn, his costs were met from a public appeal, and three local choirs toured Britain to raise money for the strikers.⁸³⁶

Through multiple interviews from Teleri Owen, who speaks about the women's choirs, Alun Davies, the chairman of Côr y Penrhyn, and Elfed Bullock and Rheinallt Davies, members of Côr y Penrhyn who speak about the choirs formed in Penrhyn quarry which evolved into Côr y Penrhyn today, I was able to showcase multiple narratives of this aspect of Penrhyn's history. Teleri Owen speaks about an underexplored part of Penrhyn's history: women's contribution to the strike efforts through the formation of choirs; whilst Elfed Bullock and Rheinallt Davies bring a current perspective to how the early choirs created a legacy for generations to participate in music much like the quarrymen did in Penrhyn quarry. These different perspectives bring a layered effect to the same subject, showing multiple aspects of one part of the estate's history through a multiplicity of narratives, conjoining past and present. While the guidebooks inadvertently ostracised local Welsh communities and culture from the story of Penrhyn, *Podlediad Penrhyn* shows them to be individual people and important components of the estate's story, that come to the forefront of Penrhyn's story rather than being a marginalised collective.

Through the use of multivocality, I can reorient Penrhyn's identity from that of the Pennant family and their British country house, to that of a Welsh estate with global connections, whose history includes the powerful Griffith and Williams families, the quarrying families of north Wales, and the working families of the estate, such as the tenant farmers and domestic servants. These histories and their narratives can impact the lives of people today. Whilst stories of the Pennant family and their country house powerbase are not abandoned by the podcast, featuring heavily in episode three and then explored throughout other parts of the podcast, they are not the dominant narrative; they are, presented as parts of the estate's story. Penrhyn's story is instead presented as a multiplicity of narratives and voices involved inside and outside of the country house, both locally and globally.

⁸³⁶ National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006) p. 65.

Carol McDavid argues that multivocality can be both local and global as, ‘these arenas influence each other a lot and “local” and “global” should not be seen as rigid, simple or non-permeable categories’.⁸³⁷ Heritage is, by nature, already a shared experience amongst members of the same socio-cultural group, pieces of the shared past of the group and narratives revolving around them are shared but also disseminated amongst external groups.⁸³⁸ It therefore makes sense that multivocality in heritage is a local as well as a global way to spread historical narratives.⁸³⁹ Heritage is a collective experience, and audiences should receive heritage narratives through collective voices as well.⁸⁴⁰ Because heritage is a collective experience, across different groups or communities, multivocality in historical narratives often also involves multilocality.⁸⁴¹ Narratives often do not involve just one location or one group of people, so physical landscapes can be defined through social, multi-local terms.⁸⁴² Multilocality comes into play through aspects such as place names, definitions, stories, and language, because different groups in a single geographical area bring multiple meanings to that landscape through social agreement. The identity of a place is far more multi-locational when one considers more than the physical location. Landscapes do not have to be completely defined through their geospatial locations but instead through the far-off legends and migration stories told about a place, and the connections to other lands it may have through people, trade, travel, ideas and material culture, for example. Multivocality is a way to create space that isn’t completely tied to the land but is a landscape that holds identity and meaning for all those who are connected with it, locally and internationally, as well as intergenerationally. Through multivocality, a place can have a multitude of meanings that are beyond the spatial; but also physical, emotional, and experiential through multiple points in time.⁸⁴³ While anthropologists and historians can study place and present findings to a wider public, they are not place-makers, so presenting a multitude of the voices who are the place-makers gives validity and a connection to the audience.⁸⁴⁴ Digital media such as podcasts, which are globally accessible online, become an easy channel to allow for the complexities of

⁸³⁷ C. McDavid, ‘Multivocality and Archaeology’ in Claire Smith (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York, 2014), pp. 5090–5095.

⁸³⁸ S. Levy, ‘How Students Navigate the Construction of Heritage Narratives’, *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 45, 2, (2017), pp. 157–188 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2016.1240636> (accessed 28 May 2022).

⁸³⁹ D. Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade & the spoils of history* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 31.

⁸⁴⁰ Levy, ‘How Students Navigate the Construction of Heritage Narratives’, p. 159.

⁸⁴¹ M. C. Rodman, ‘Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality’, *American Anthropologist*, 94, 3, pp. 640–656 <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1992.94.3.02a00060> (accessed 10 April 2019).

⁸⁴² Rodman, ‘Empowering Place’, p. 649.

⁸⁴³ Rodman, ‘Empowering Place’, p. 649.

⁸⁴⁴ Rodman, ‘Empowering Place’, p. 641.

multilocality and multivocality to be more understandable and palpable to the average audience. While more immovable heritage such as archaeological sites, heritage sites, and museums are geographically limited and whilst disseminating a multiplicity of narratives through the traditional interpretation media is difficult, digital media like podcasts can be detached from a physical space. A heritage site like a museum might use static media such as museum labels and interpretation panels, to tell visitors a singular narrative of the site or artefact. The utility of these static forms of narrative is hampered by the necessary brevity of the medium, which then causes a lack of the larger cultural context and often a lack of multiple voices and perspectives.⁸⁴⁵ Because physical landscapes are defined through multilocal and social terms, digital resources which allow for personal stories alongside expert information brings a more nuanced, cultural and humanistic view of place beyond location alone.⁸⁴⁶ In *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I brought in voices that could speak about places like Jamaica, Penrhyn quarry, Penrhyn Castle, the town of Bethesda, and emigration locations such as Bangor, Pennsylvania. These narratives, whilst multi-generational and multi-locational, make up part of the landscape of Penrhyn's story. The estate provides a connection between all of these voices, experiences and knowledge without them needing to be in the same location or to even know of each other. This connects the living to the dead, and the local to the global.⁸⁴⁷ In episode five, I spoke with Dr David Gwyn, an industrial and landscape archaeologist who specialises in the history of north Wales slate; Dr Robert Tyler, whose research is in Welsh emigration to countries such as the US, Australia, and Patagonia; and Sean Taylor, the owner of Zip World, about the past and present of the Penrhyn slate landscapes. Dr David Gwyn gave context to the recently awarded UNESCO World heritage status for the north Wales slate industry, showing listeners the importance of Welsh slate as a roofing material both locally and globally. Dr Robert Tyler spoke about some of the global outcomes of people connected to Penrhyn's story. Sean Taylor spoke on a part of Penrhyn quarry's use today, where visitors can explore Penrhyn quarry through tours and zipline experiences and attend concerts in the quarry. Sean also shared his hopes for Zip World and the tourism industry in north Wales, and thus the continuation of the story of Penrhyn. It is through the longform narrative podcast that we are able to listen to how these voices are woven into a story of Penrhyn, where Penrhyn quarry's story in the past connects to its present and will influence its future. All three aspects are a part of Penrhyn's landscape.

⁸⁴⁵ Ramírez, 'What Can We Weave', p. 83.

⁸⁴⁶ Srinivasan et al., 'Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges', p. 272.

⁸⁴⁷ Rodman, 'Empowering Place,' p. 649.

Because I use the podcast to share immersive narratives through multiple voices, Penrhyn's story comes alive through the voices, perspectives, knowledge and experiences of different people. In episode three, Jean Williams talked about her uncle, Ifan Evans, who was a tenant farmer on the Penrhyn estate. Jean's voice connects the past to the present, as she speaks about the stories she heard as a child about her uncle, Ifan, cultivating his farm in the early 1900s and how she connects with and visits the area today. Voices such as Richard Pennington's, the senior collections and house manager for Penrhyn Castle, and Ann Dolben's, a volunteer at the National Trust site for over seven years, give context to the enormity, complexity, and overall significance of the house, collections and the grounds of the estate. Jean Williams' voice instead brings a more personal and individual connection to Penrhyn's story into the mix. It is this combination of expert and personal accounts that creates multivocality, and therefore allows for Penrhyn's story to be a part of a heritage which is evolving and ongoing. Through *Podlediad Penrhyn*, I can make Penrhyn's landscape stretch beyond Penrhyn Castle and north Wales, to places such as Jamaica and the USA, as well as into the past, present, and future. *Podlediad Penrhyn* allows these voices and perspectives to come together and create a sense of place for the estate in a way that does not relegate it to a side narrative of the estate, as in the guidebooks, but as an equal part of the estate's narrative. *Podlediad Penrhyn* creates a landscape involving narratives of the past, voices of the present, and hopes for the future. The Penrhyn estate is not presented as overwhelmingly synonymous with the Pennant family and their ownership, but as a multilayered story from multiple locations, time periods, and groups of people. In today's world, where audiences crave connection and stories that have meaning, any landed estate and country house can use a podcast to showcase multiple elements of the estate in ways that other media alone cannot. A podcast is a portable resource that can be exported freely, utilised remotely, and become a core part of a site's narrative. A landed estate is not solely the domain of its historical owners, it is made up of multiple groups of people from the past, the present, and into the future. Bringing all of those people together and creating a podcast, or sourcing their voices to do so, makes the longform narrative podcast a feasible method of creating a narrative that works for all stakeholders rather than solely the dominant ones. This is advantageous for the central authority as well as the community surrounding a landed estate because a podcast such as *Podlediad Penrhyn* brings together people to visit a site and to discuss its past, present, and future. Raising dialogue about a heritage site can only involve more visitors, but it does so in a way that local communities do not feel forgotten or neglected.

The benefits of multivocality through digital resources

During the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, heritage organisations accelerated a move to digital resources as a way to reach existing, broader, and new audiences and in an attempt to bring more multivocality to their heritage interpretation.⁸⁴⁸ Heritage institutes such as the University of Cagliari have attempted to make history a more shared experience amongst heritage professionals and non-professionals in order to close the gap between what historians and practitioners see as the collective past, and how audiences see the collective past.⁸⁴⁹ By using online platforms that were not simply digital conversions of pre-existing content, but producing new digital media such as blogs, podcasts, and social media posts, the heritage institute found that they were able to bring more multivocality to the history they were sharing. A worldwide audience could get involved and thus more voices could be featured alongside expert voices through a podcast. Their podcast allowed them to more seamlessly feature an array of voices from different ethnicities, classes, academic backgrounds, and genders, creating a ‘multitude of life experiences, perspectives and expertise’ in one collective story.⁸⁵⁰ Podcasting can present a multitude of voices through one platform, and it is through this platform the past is more easily shared and discussed amongst stakeholders. No one group or individual has complete control of the narrative, and their individual voices make up a blended, collective past.⁸⁵¹ By utilising a digital medium such as podcasting through the 2020 pandemic, when the majority of society was isolated in their own homes, an international audience could experience historic narratives without needing to come on-site, and more global voices could contribute to the story, making it more multi-locational.⁸⁵² Similarly, podcasting allowed for *Podlediad Penrhyn* to be a global project, both in the people I interviewed and the audience that can experience it as a published podcast. With the podcast being a digital project, I was able to work on it through the global pandemic, continuing the project even when isolated at home by utilising video conferencing software. In the podcast *Source of the Nile*, produced in Egypt about different aspects of the story of the Nile River, the English language was used to ‘promote transnational conversation and narratives’ making the podcast more accessible to a global audience by using a commonly used global language.⁸⁵³ Whilst English was not the primary language spoken in the podcast’s

⁸⁴⁸ Montanelli et al., ‘University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community’, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁹ Montanelli et al., ‘University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community’, p. 2.

⁸⁵⁰ Montanelli et al., ‘University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community’, p. 2.

⁸⁵¹ Montanelli et al., ‘University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community’, p. 2.

⁸⁵² Montanelli et al., ‘University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community’, p. 2.

⁸⁵³ Fatani and Buist, ‘Searching for the Sources of the Nile’, pp. 5–6.

location, it allowed for the host to interview worldwide guests and give the potential to create global discussions and perhaps ‘challenge mainstream perspectives’ on the history of the Nile.⁸⁵⁴ For *Podlediad Penrhyn*, it was important for the Welsh language to be heard by listeners and for it to be spoken about as a key part of Welsh identity on the Penrhyn estate throughout the podcast. Additionally, the podcast title, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, is in Welsh, but the audio is in English. This is primarily because as a first-language English speaker, I would have been unable to create a Welsh-language podcast. However, part of the reason English was chosen is because the English language is a widespread international language, and this opens the podcast to a larger, more global, audience. However, because the Welsh language is important to the identity of the estate, the people, and the narrative I chose to include it in the podcast title. When written bilingually, as the *Podlediad Penrhyn Podcast*, the title follows the same format that any Welsh-English bilingual name or sign would, with the syntax order switched for the languages. Furthermore, this method of exploration and discovery that shows the narrative to the podcast audience in an inquisitive manner was only possible in my role and background as a newcomer, both to the area and the language.

Initially, *Podlediad Penrhyn* was not intended to be a podcast that I worked on completely from home. I had intended on interviewing most participants in person either at an agreed location or at Bangor University’s media studio. Some of the interviews I was able to record in person before the beginning of the pandemic, but most had to be conducted from my home through online video conference software, such as Zoom or Microsoft Teams. Had the project been attached to a specific location, such as Penrhyn Castle, it would have been completely paused through the pandemic as I would not have been able to go on-site. There were some significant delays in the *Podlediad Penrhyn* project. The interviews with people associated with the National Trust were postponed because of the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic as the Trust closed for nine months. The world moved online, however, and my interviews were able to eventually move ahead. I adapted to the situation by bringing together equipment for a home studio and through the use of video conferencing software, was able to once again interview contributors, record narration, and edit the podcast. Fortuitously, this also gave me the opportunity to feature voices from further afield than north Wales. Some of my contributors were interviewed from mid and south Wales and all the way from the United Arab Emirates. While COVID-19 delayed this project significantly, the medium I had chosen allowed me to continue through the pandemic and featured internationally sourced voices,

⁸⁵⁴ Fatani and Buist, ‘Searching for the Sources of the Nile’, pp. 5–6.

which would not have happened offline. By choosing the podcast, I could more easily talk to an array of people, such as volunteers, people in the north Wales community, business owners, and historical experts. Without any travel involved on my part or the interviewees, I could approach a multitude of voices more easily, without asking them to jeopardise their health by leaving their homes, or mine by leaving my home. Through the pandemic, I cast my net farther than perhaps I would have at the beginning of the project. This allowed me to feature voices of stakeholders across north Wales and beyond, and feature them as equal parts of Penrhyn's story, and not as extensions.

For many heritage organisations, temporary, rotating exhibitions have been a way to tell off-location stories, bringing in artefacts, interpretive panels, and adjacent tours and talks.⁸⁵⁵ For the Penrhyn estate, this has been pursued through events such as the *Sugar and Slate* exhibition in 2007 and the *Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel* project in 2018 which were temporary events highlighting different aspects of Penrhyn's history. While these exhibitions can bring local awareness, activity, and engagement to the local area, these solutions are a temporary one in creating broader stories of off-site importance.⁸⁵⁶ Through digital projects such as *Podlediad Penrhyn*, Penrhyn's story does not have to be site-specific, but a multilocal and multivocal experience for listeners, whether they are physically in north Wales or anywhere in the world. As opposed to the guidebooks, which remain in a singular, authoritative voice, multiple voices in *Podlediad Penrhyn* are needed to tell a story such as Penrhyn as 'place and voice are not, or not just, academic creations...places are not defined simply by researchers or by the topics that preoccupy them in particular settings'.⁸⁵⁷ Stories of Penrhyn's past, present, and future do not have to simply be accessed in Penrhyn Castle, in north Wales or through the pages of guidebooks that have not been updated in almost 20 years, but through their mobile device wherever in the world they are, at any time, thus signalling to audiences that Penrhyn's story is far less of a bygone geographical spot, but is a living, breathing, and ongoing place; a story told by a multitude of people, and accessible to a global audience.

In heritage, digital tools and their modern impact are often seen in relation to collecting and storing data and studying and disseminating knowledge. Little emphasis has been put on the ways digital technology can create dialogue and close the gap between

⁸⁵⁵ Srinivasan et al., 'Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges', p. 265.

⁸⁵⁶ Srinivasan et al., 'Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges', p. 265.

⁸⁵⁷ Rodman, 'Empowering Place', p. 641.

museums as authorities and communities being seen as extensions or consumers.⁸⁵⁸ Areti Galani, argued that policy makers around Europe should ‘champion the potential transformative power of digital technology, especially that of online platforms and digitisation techniques’.⁸⁵⁹ By utilising digital techniques, museums and heritage sites can change the way they exist in their communities, operating more as broadcasters who feature a multiplicity of voices than the keepers of history.⁸⁶⁰ While *Podlediad Penrhyn* is not an online social network, nor a conversational podcast in which multiple guests weigh in on topics in real time, it is a digital platform which features a multitude of voices, accounts, and information all in one space. As some of those contributing are local as well as expert voices, *Podlediad Penrhyn* offers a way for a multitude of voices to be featured and included in Penrhyn’s story without creating an us-versus-them dichotomy between expert voices and local voices, or a so-called culture war binary. *Podlediad Penrhyn* offers a space for personal experiences alongside expert information to coexist in equal importance throughout the podcast. By utilising a digital platform like *Podlediad Penrhyn*, landed estates can create narratives from a multitude of people, both local and global to add to the story of the estate, the multivocality of the narrative podcast means that audiences are aware that the story they are being told is through a multitude of voices and not one, central voice, but through a facilitator, who combines these voices to make multilayers of an estate’s story. Contributors to *Podlediad Penrhyn* are also aware that they are not being asked to participate in the podcast because the National Trust wishes for them to learn about the Penrhyn Castle heritage site through a physical or digital event, but that their voice is a part of that story as much as the castle’s. If landed estates began looking farther than digital platforms as tools only to preserve and collect and began using digital tools such as creating longform narrative podcasts, their interpretation would grow to be seen as more participatory, accessible and global to audiences and contributors alike.

Layering the narrative podcast

By combining each layer of the longform narrative podcast, I was able to deliver a more well-rounded and nuanced story of the Penrhyn estate than the guidebooks. As a format for telling stories, the audio medium of podcasting allows for a continuation of historical storytelling in

⁸⁵⁸ A. Galani et al., ‘Problematising digital and dialogic heritage practices in Europe’, in *European Heritage, Dialogue and Digital Practices* (London, 2019) <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429053511> (accessed 25 May 2022).

⁸⁵⁹ A. Galani et al., ‘European Heritage, Dialogue and Digital Practices’, p. 16.

⁸⁶⁰ A. Galani et al., ‘European Heritage, Dialogue and Digital Practices’, p. 17.

a way that is not lost when those voices can no longer be listened to; the digital nature of the podcast allows those voices to be heard at any time, anywhere across the globe. This combats the lack of focus on marginalised voices in some narratives across the UK and wider world and can simultaneously allow for local communities to celebrate their history and feel listened to, or that their stories are as important as what the centralised narrative has been, historically.

Changing the narrative focus from the invisible, controlled narrator's perspective to that of a subjective, inquisitive and exploratory narrator creates a sense of intimacy and connection with the narrative of a landed estate. The choice of narrator was a conscious, deliberate design choice that influenced not only the format but the style and tone of the podcast. The informal narrator does not reduce the focus on the history of a heritage site but creates a close bond between the listener and the subject and resonates with modern audiences.

As part of the close bond with listeners, sound and background audio create a soundscape that audiences are able to step into in a more immediate and immersive way than words often can. Sound and music can transcend accessibility barriers, such as language, to bring a story closer to a wider group of people. Sound and music create an experience that goes beyond reading and understanding the words in a guidebook by transporting listeners to a world that sounds lived in and immediate, even if the world being explored existed hundreds of years ago.

Exploring the history of a place through voice is important to the narrative podcast, especially using multiple voices and perspectives. Utilising multivocality, multi-dimensional voices of an area, culture, or people, is an easier and more effective way of showing plural narratives and highlighting that though historically only certain perspectives have been told there are other numerous stories that can and should be heard. Multivocality allows for showing nuance, different sides of a story, facets of a heritage site that may be overlooked, or simply a personal view that authoritative narration cannot reproduce.

Together, these layers of a podcast create a longform narrative that communicates the multilayered story of a contested, international, and multi-generational site like Penrhyn more than the didactic and informational guidebooks can. Longform narrative podcasting has been used to tell the narratives of criminal cases, unique people and situations, and geographical locations and can be used to explore heritage for a global, modern audience.

7. Conclusion

Context of the study

In this study I set out to explore the ways in which the Penrhyn estate can be communicated to audiences. Leading from that, I sought to examine the ways that podcasts can be used to communicate multilayered narratives, such as those of a landed estate, so that I could identify and highlight best practice. This research shows that there is much in podcasting that can inform the storytelling of historical interpretation in future.

The National Trust has previously relied heavily on guidebooks for communicating information about Penrhyn Castle. This medium has been found to be limited and restrictive (chapter three). Podcasting has seen a recent rise in popularity for telling longform narratives and is suited to the kind of historical storytelling heritage interpretation needs (chapter four), and through the practice-based research method (chapter two) I created a podcast that explored the multilayered narrative of Penrhyn's heritage (chapter five). Creating a podcast alone is not sufficient to answer the research questions, which is why I then went on to analyse the output of the practice (chapter six), highlighting each aspect of the podcast format and how it improves communication for the important aspects of Penrhyn's narrative.

To answer the research questions, I interviewed stakeholders of today's Penrhyn, historians of Penrhyn's past, and custodians of Penrhyn's future, and composed a creative artefact that explores the multilayered narrative of the Penrhyn estate. By identifying ways that the country house can use narrative podcasting's unique features like the subjective narrator, music and sounds, multivocality, and independent branding, I was able to highlight best practice for other heritage sites. This thesis bears original contributions to knowledge and understanding across all parts of the project.

This summarises the foundation on which this project was constructed. In the sections below, I highlight my main findings based on the research questions, discuss the limitations of the study, explore how the bricolage creative methodology impacted the project, and assess its implications for future work.

Synthesis of the findings

One of the primary conclusions which emerged from this thesis is that the linear narrative within traditional guidebooks is not sufficient to tell a narrative as complex and layered as that of a country house like Penrhyn Castle. The use of a singular, objective, and invisible narrator establishes an authority behind the text that distances the audience and presents the

facts as the only narrative of value. The guidebooks prioritised anglicised narratives and minimised enslavement stories, often ‘othering’ the enslaved labourers and local Welsh communities. The analysis of the guidebooks showed that the limited, centralised format of the traditionally published text is not particularly accessible and is outdated compared to modern media when telling multilayered stories of landed estates. The guidebooks themselves reveal a centralised, mostly singular narrative of the Lords Penrhyn and their estate, rather than engaging with the multiple narratives associated with the estate throughout its history. This use of the singular narrative also minimises the use of place and identity within the guidebooks, rarely pointing to the estate’s location and landscape setting within Wales, or to the lives of the local Welsh community that lived and worked on the estate. The centralised branding of the guidebooks also puts focus on the National Trust, rather than the multilayered story of the estate. Critically, the analysis revealed that though the last eighteen years has seen a decline in the publication of guidebooks, the emergence of new media across that same time showed that there were gaps in the methods of heritage interpretation used.

Exploring the longform narrative podcast during the creation of *Podlediad Penrhyn* meant that I was able to present facts about the estate in a story-like manner — with a beginning, middle, and an end. Establishing this narrative structure allowed me to create a podcast with multiple stories, voices, and perspectives by design. This was much easier in a medium like podcasting than it would be in physical objects on-site, or in a linear design like a guidebook. By establishing myself as a known, subjective narrator, I created intimacy and a connection with my intended audience, which cannot be done in a purely informational reference text like the guidebooks. Sound, music, and ambient noises create an immersive experience, and can potentially connect audiences with the landscapes, culture, and stories as if they were there. Multivocality allows for a multitude of narratives and perspectives, including local, business, and expert voices. This allows for traditional Anglo-centric narratives to be challenged, and narratives on Welsh culture, slavery, and women to be highlighted through the multiplicity of featured voices. The use of voice and sound allows for the narrator, and any guest speaker, to convey emotion, use and celebrate language and dialects, and create a resonance between the speaker and the listener. This resonance is a method of developing a sense of authenticity and credibility that the written word alone cannot convey. This human-centric aspect of using the voice in podcasting is an effective way to argue academic points, foster a debate, give evidence, encourage learning, and, of course, tell stories. By creating a podcast without institutional branding, I could lean on the estate’s history in the imagery used, fonts chosen, and colours depicted in the accompanying

website. This created a connection with the estate itself, rather than the organisation that manages Penrhyn Castle, but not the entirety of the once extensive and far-reaching Penrhyn estate. Through the act of creating the podcast, and using a multilayered approach, I could physically show the difference in the way narratives are expressed and how information is disseminated, highlighting the benefits of a new media type in heritage interpretation for estates with multiple layers of narrative to share and communicate. Additionally, the creative artefact is not bound by location; both in terms of its creation and consumption. In its creation, this freedom of location meant that international voices could be included in the episodes. A global pool of contributors could be reached through the new method. This also highlights how, despite a global pandemic, people can be reached wherever they are. Though *Podlediad Penrhyn* has not yet been released to the public, the potential for a global audience to interact with this artefact is infinitely higher than their ability to interact with any plaque or information on Penrhyn located inside the Castle during a lockdown, or in a guidebook that people would have to visit the site to purchase. Audiences can be reached off-site as much as on-site with a digital product like a podcast that is distributed through more global channels than guidebooks. Lastly, this multilayered, novel approach to heritage interpretation of the Penrhyn estate not only allowed for more voices, but also included spaces for previously minimalised narratives in a way that a short, immutable text does not, creating an immersive experience that presented the narratives of a landed estate like Penrhyn in an engaging and impactful manner.

How narrative podcasts can be used to tell multilayered stories of landed estates

As a multidisciplinary piece of research, this thesis is useful for a multitude of researchers, practitioners, and sectors. The analysis of the National Trust's guidebooks on Penrhyn Castle can be used by guidebook researchers. As Benjamin Iaquinto,⁸⁶¹ and Deborah Bhattacharyya⁸⁶² suggest, there is a need for more research into guidebook content. This thesis serves as an examination of a body of guidebooks and analyses the medium and its content in a way which encourages further critical analysis of country house guidebooks. At the time of this study, I found no other research which had analysed the content of a 'complete' set of guidebooks for a single heritage site, from the first edition to the most

⁸⁶¹ Iaquinto, 'Fear of Lonely Planet', p. 706.

⁸⁶² Bhattacharyya, 'Mediating India', p. 373.

current. This study can serve as an example for guidebook and tourism literature researchers, who can examine similar themes, such as minimised narratives, the singular, subjective narrator, place-specific narratives, authenticity, and authority in other country house and heritage guidebooks.

The creative artefact, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, and my analysis of the same, can be used by creative practitioners and researchers in the future as a model for narrative storytelling in heritage and as an example of practice-based research in heritage. Future creative researchers can follow a similar podcast format to *Podlediad Penrhyn* by using elements such as longform storytelling, a subjective narrator, music and sounds, and multivocality to create other heritage-focused podcasts, and analyse their finished podcast against mine. Likewise, this thesis could be used as a model for heritage practitioners or those connected with landed estates as a model for future podcasting on landed estates. Whilst elements of *Podlediad Penrhyn* are of course unique to the Penrhyn estate's history, many landed estates have multilayered histories that include industrial heritage, agriculture, narratives connected to transatlantic slavery, and local narratives that can all be explored and presented in a longform storytelling podcast similar to *Podlediad Penrhyn*. Heritage organisations and country house interpretation researchers can follow the same method chosen here — analysis of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks and the creation of a longform narrative podcast — to expand upon the interpretation of other country houses with novel elements, such as those mentioned above, alongside interviews from relevant staff, volunteers, connected enterprises, local people, historians, and the incorporation of archives and collections to create a rich interwoven tapestry of a site's heritage. The accessibility of podcasting means that, like *Podlediad Penrhyn*, many voices both internal to and local to the heritage site can be used to create a narrative podcast for landed estates, allowing for a plethora of interested groups inside and outside of the heritage industry to collaborate and contribute to the projects. This is particularly suited to collaborative research projects combining academic and heritage perspectives.

Thanks to the flexibility of podcasting, future episodes of *Podlediad Penrhyn* could also be produced. Those episodes can expand upon and shore up areas of narrative that have been underrepresented in the past even further than the current five episodes. Just as the story of the Penrhyn estate is ongoing, so too could a podcast continue to take account of new research, local developments and additional perspectives. Some narrative style podcasts such as *Queen of the Con*, *Sweet Bobby* and *Dirty John* have chosen to record and present special Q&A episodes or postseason live-recorded interviews, which breaks from the typical format

but add information about the making of the podcast or give updates on related events that have occurred since the airing of the episodes. Other podcasts, like *Dr Death*, simply add more narrative formatted episodes when new information is found or if they wish to expand on specific topics. For example, as the UNESCO World Heritage status becomes more deeply embedded in the slate landscapes of Gwynedd, future episodes could reflect the growth of slate tourism in north Wales and the effect on the Penrhyn estate. Likewise, as the National Trust continues their transformation plan around country houses and transatlantic slavery, more stories could be added to *Podlediad Penrhyn* to reflect these developments and their historical ties. Other narratives that have been previously minimised in the guidebooks and briefly covered in the podcast, such as women's involvement in the slate industry, could be expanded upon in new episodes or seasons. These options mean that *Podlediad Penrhyn* can be seen as a creative “whole” just as it is, or as a fluid text that can be added to over time.

Lastly, this thesis adds to the growing body of research which contributes to the objectives of the Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates at Bangor University. This research centre has been established to advance both public and academic understanding of the role of landed estates and country houses in the histories, cultures and landscapes of Wales. This thesis provides research into how the histories of Welsh country estates can be disseminated and interpreted digitally. Future researchers of the Institute can build on my research of the Penrhyn estate and explore other digital methods that Welsh estates can use to communicate multilayered narratives to a modern, global audience. Podcasts such as *Undisclosed*, which was a podcast created as a result of *Serial*, can build on the initial content of a podcast series but are not created by or distributed by the original creators, are great examples of how stories highlighted in *Podlediad Penrhyn* can also be built upon by other practitioners. Other researchers of the Penrhyn estate's history could do something similar to *Undisclosed* and build their own podcast, or other digital media, from the initial episodes of *Podlediad Penrhyn*.

Developments of *Podlediad Penrhyn*, the creative artefact

The novel bricolage methodology of this study allowed me to answer the research questions and address a range of limitations associated with traditional guidebooks for heritage sites. By utilising a multilayered approach in which I analysed the guidebooks, created a new and different format in which to communicate Penrhyn's story, and analysed the new format story against the guidebooks, I not only highlighted the identified gaps and limitations found within the guidebooks, but presented a fully developed alternative in the form of *Podlediad*

Penrhyn. By creating the podcast, I provided a creative artefact which went beyond simply exploring what could be made through providing examples of distantly similar podcasts in heritage, but through uniquely tailoring a media that was able to tell the multilayered stories of the Penrhyn estate. By using a mixed methods approach, bringing textual analysis and practice-based research together, I was able to dive into the history and background of guidebooks and analyse the content of the Penrhyn Castle guidebooks as a set, which helped me to identify key themes and predominant gaps throughout the different editions. This then helped me look at alternative methods of presenting the Penrhyn estate's story in ways that addressed those gaps and limitations. I was able to produce a creative artefact that was informed by what came before, transforming a larger corpus of historical information into a new medium that is accessible and relevant to what is popular and familiar to audiences today. Without the initial textual analysis, I would not have been able to identify those gaps and key themes in the guidebooks or then present Penrhyn's story in a more multilayered manner. Likewise, creating the podcast was also vital to answering the research questions. It was not enough to simply identify the gaps in the guidebooks or look at adjacent heritage podcasts to suggest ways Penrhyn's story could be transformed from the guidebooks. While I had discovered the ways crime stories were being told in a longform, multilayered way through my research, the specific approach of using a subjective narrator, music and sounds, multivocality, and independent branding in a narrative podcast had not been done for any country house. I listened to many heritage podcasts which had narrative elements, either singular episodes of stories around revolving topics, or a series focusing on a particular person, movement, or time period, layered with music, sounds, and multivocality, but there were very few multi-episode podcasts focused on a singular heritage site. Creating *Podlediad Penrhyn* allowed me to address the findings in the guidebook analysis and develop a creative artefact that was suited for the multilayered aspects of a landed estate; being multigenerational, multilocational, and multicultural. By creating my own podcast, I was then able to show the ways *Podlediad Penrhyn* could tell the multilayered stories of the Penrhyn estate and compare the new media with the traditional; especially contrasting against the gaps of the traditional. Whilst the significance and context of a creative artefact like *Podlediad Penrhyn* can be described in words, the only way for it to be truly understood is through it being produced by a creative practitioner like myself.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶³ Candy et al., 'Practice-based research', pp. 27–41.

The process and end result contributed to knowledge: by creating the podcast I was able to gain insight into the components of this type of text such as selecting specific music and sounds, finding and recording voices, and tailoring personal narrative segments specific to Penrhyn's story. The process of creating the podcast was vital to this study as elements such as choosing the format of podcast and compiling specific elements had to be started or performed to transform key elements found in the guidebooks into a new media, which only a practitioner could achieve. By then using the cyclical approach and analysing the podcast against the guidebooks I was able to address the criteria that I had established through analysing the guidebooks. Furthermore, this thesis would not be complete without the creative artefact, the reader's understanding would be missing a crucial component of the research. This categorises the study as practice-based research, rather than practice-led research; a similar, but ultimately different, approach to practice-related research which does not rely on the creative artefact being present in the body of the thesis for the research to be understood.

Limitations to this study

The events of the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic severely affected the creative portion of this thesis, *Podlediad Penrhyn*, limiting the extent to which some areas of research could be explored as initially intended. While the podcast evolving into a completely remote production was a positive experience overall and allowed for more varied voices to be included, the events of the pandemic meant that some recordings with potential interviewees did not materialise. Initially, I wanted to include more local voices and include perspectives from those who had an ancestral connection to Penrhyn from places like Jamaica and the USA, but either scheduling, miscommunication, or no responses from potential interviewees meant that those additional interviews could not go ahead. This limited the research, because multivocality relies on many perspectives and while I had included a plethora of voices and perspectives in the podcast, the research was nonetheless limited compared to what I had originally intended it to be. COVID-19 also impacted further research into National Trust guidebooks, as my initial plan was to obtain more data on the historical production of National Trust guidebooks, such as who had written them, what guidelines they were given, why certain changes were made between editions, and to understand any reasons behind why further editions of the guidebooks have not been produced since 2006. The National Trust closed for large portions of the pandemic, including the furloughing of a significant number

of staff. This meant I had limited access to staff at Penrhyn Castle and at the National Trust's publishing office in Swindon. Ultimately, that data was unable to be obtained for this study.

When the time came to produce the podcast, initially I had access to the university's recording studio, where I could record interviewees and myself, as the narrator, on professional grade microphones, and edit the podcast through institutionally owned software, such as the industry standard Adobe Audition. Very early in the recording process, COVID-19 made it impossible for me to access the studio and I had to adjust to recording the podcast through a home set-up instead. While I did obtain professional grade equipment and software for creating the podcast at home, the focus of this thesis has always been on the content of the podcast and its format, not the specific technology used nor the 'professional' quality of the podcast. Research into any specifics of what software or equipment is to be used, or which editing software to utilise, are therefore beyond the scope of this research project.

The perspective of the solo practitioner can be limited compared to a group of practitioners, and while the creation of the podcast was necessary for this research, my focus lay on the content and format of the narrative podcast, and it was therefore beyond the scope of this research to operate at the same level as a group of professional practitioners whose teams contain experts such as sound engineers, script writers and editors, podcast producers, fact checkers, etc. While my aim was to create a podcast which was well-produced, well-edited, and clear to listen to for an audience, it was not possible to create a podcast at the same level as a team of highly funded professionals from a multitude of fields. This limited what I could do solo in a project such as this, but perhaps areas such as podcast sound production, script editing, and recording practices could be explored further in heritage podcasting through larger teams of multidisciplinary practitioners.

Beyond the effects of COVID-19, there are limitations to this thesis in the distribution of the podcast. Because *Podlediad Penrhyn* has not been launched publicly at the time of writing, any data beyond the point of assembling the podcast is beyond the scope of this research. This thesis focused on best practice in ways to tell multilayered stories connected to the Penrhyn estate and does not include data on how the podcast is received by an audience, nor does it include any analysis of data regarding the number of downloads and streams of episodes or of podcast followers on the various platforms. Further research would be required to see how the podcast is received by an audience and whether there are any secondary effects of audiences listening to the podcast, such as them subsequently visiting a site or websites connected to the Penrhyn estate or if those outside north Wales visiting the area after listening. Further research would be beneficial to determine whether an audience would be

interested in additional episodes, or to discover if specific narratives resonate with the audience. Research into the long-term benefits of narrative podcasting to connected heritage and tourism sites such as Penrhyn Castle, Zip World, and the National Slate Museum would also be beneficial to see how a digital artefact such as *Podlediad Penrhyn* can bring visibility to contributors online.

While narrative podcasting has been found to be an accessible media to a modern audience, every media has its limitations. While millions of people around the world do have access to the internet and technology such as phones, tablets, and computers, many unfortunately do not. Audiences with certain disabilities, hearing problems and without an understanding of the English language will not find podcasts as accessible as other media. Research into the ways in which podcasts can be made accessible to groups such as these is beyond the scope of this research.

Further Research

Several areas of research within this thesis — the guidebook research, podcasting in the heritage industry, and the use of digital storytelling in country house interpretation — have had a limited amount of research performed in them at the time of writing. While there has been research into tourism guidebooks published by prominent distributors such as Baedekers, Blue Guides, or Lonely Planet, research into guidebooks in the heritage industry is very limited. Further research into heritage guidebooks — their content, layout, and distribution — could help historians better understand how heritage sites were perceived and presented at the time of their publication.⁸⁶⁴ This would help heritage practitioners see the limitations, key themes, and gaps in heritage guidebooks and help them produce more well-rounded media connected with their sites, by expanding beyond the limitations of the historical guidebook content. Additionally, research into country house guidebooks is a way researchers can find gaps within historical narratives, identifying minimised narratives within contemporary publications. More widespread research into country house guidebooks could help organisations such as the National Trust see if there are patterns across different country houses in the ways they were interpreted, to improve on interpretation in the future. This thesis takes a microscopic perspective of one country house's guidebooks. But, by researching more country house guidebooks, researchers would be able to identify common

⁸⁶⁴ M. Mazor-Tregerman et al., 'Travel Guidebooks and the Construction of Tourist Identity', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 15, 1, (2015), pp. 80–98 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2015.1117094> (accessed 15 August 2022).

themes, see the predominant narratives, and identify gaps across narratives that correlate across heritage sites. Overall, for an organisation like the National Trust, this would go a long way towards establishing a new framework for more inclusive, multilayered, and engaging narratives for modern audiences across the entire network of heritage sites in Wales, England and Northern Ireland.

As the use of digital tools grows within the heritage industry, so too should research into best practice grow, to find how to best disseminate heritage interpretation through the use of tools such as digital storytelling. Research into the ways digital storytelling is being used in heritage, how audiences perceive digital narratives, and the types of formats used to deliver digital storytelling would be useful to both historians and creative heritage practitioners. While large organisations such as the National Trust and English Heritage are using digital storytelling practices in their ongoing podcasts, little research has been done on how effective these podcasts are for engaging audiences, how they are created, or how they could be improved upon. More research into how podcasts are being used in heritage interpretation could help heritage practitioners and researchers craft effective and accessible podcasts for new and broader audiences. Research into digital storytelling in heritage is limited, so examining how the practice is currently being used, in media such as podcasting, would assist heritage sites and heritage practitioners develop best practice for telling heritage stories online. Furthermore, research into multidisciplinary creativity can also help creative practitioners, historians, and heritage practitioners find accessible and innovative ways to collaborate to create immersive and factual stories that are engaging for audiences.⁸⁶⁵ As there are growing uses of podcasting in heritage, therefore the development of frameworks for how to produce podcasts in heritage would help practitioners and historians create better products. Research into podcasting in heritage could help heritage practitioners, creative practitioners, and historians reach new audiences and tell more multilayered stories.

Conclusion

The coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic of 2019–21 caused major disruptions across the globe. What came out of the pandemic for the heritage industry was a marked shift away from traditional interpretation of heritage to that of a reliance on digital events and technologies to reach audiences confined to their homes. A key question across the industry was how can we tell a heritage narrative when the audience cannot physically come to the

⁸⁶⁵ Nielsen, 'Museum Communication and Storytelling', pp. 440–448.

heritage site? This thesis and the creative practice were developed throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, which neatly sorted me as a heritage practitioner into the same box as others, questioning how the Penrhyn estate's story could still be developed without me being able to leave my home.

While I had always envisioned working with digital media for this project, it was not until working on the dissertation whilst locked out of the University buildings that I realised how vital the digital tools were to completing the project; not just from the composition of the thesis, but the digital interviews that took place when I could no longer visit interviewees directly. In this way, COVID-19 helped highlight the importance of digital tools in heritage — something good coming from such an awful event. As heritage organisations like the National Trust look to tell multilayered stories after events like the Black Lives Matter movement, this thesis gives a strong case for why digital storytelling is an instrumental way forward in reaching global, modern audiences.

Research into digital tools and how they can be used in heritage and numerous other fields has been conducted already, but it is of vital importance to also examine the ways these digital tools can be used creatively. The study of popular podcasting media has been overly focused on comedy and true crime for their storytelling, intimacy, vulnerability, and music and sounds. All of these aspects are integral to heritage too, and this medium should be explored more often, especially for landed estates, as there are so many stories filled with nostalgia, emotion, culture, memory, happiness, grief, anger and many other human connections that can and should be given to the world that have so far remained hidden behind the complex facades of country houses. Estates like Penrhyn have a multilayered history with its communities, locations, global connections, intergenerational stories, and more. Keeping track of all of this is difficult for any visitor, and heritage sites are continually growing and evolving as time marches on. No longer should one aspect of these narratives be committed to the ink on the paper pages of a guidebook but should be explored in all their depth with the voices, music, and sounds of a longform narrative podcast.

Bibliography

- Abrams, Lynn, *Oral History Theory* (London, 2010), p.1.
- Adams, Ruth, 'The V&A, The Destruction of the Country House and the Creation of "English Heritage"', *Museum and Society*, 11, 1, (2013), pp. 1–18.
- Adamson, Peter, 'The History of Philosophy Without any Gaps', *History of Philosophy Podcast*, online edn, <https://historyofphilosophy.net/> (accessed 8 September 2021).
- Adeola, Ogechi and Olaniyi Evans, 'Digital Tourism: Mobile Phones, Internet and Tourism in Africa', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 44, 2, (2019), pp. 190–202
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2018.1562662> (accessed 19 September 2021).
- Adshead, David and David Taylor, *Hardwick Hall: A Great Old Castle of Romance* (New Haven, Connecticut, 2016).
- Alacovska, Ana 'The History of Participatory Practices: Rethinking Media Genres in the History of User-Generated Content in 19th-Century Travel Guidebooks', *Media, Culture & Society*, 39, 5, (2016), pp. 671–672
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716663642> (accessed 19 August 2021).
- Alacovska, Ana, 'Legitimacy, Self-Interpretation and Genre in Media Industries', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 18, 6, (2015), pp. 601–619
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549415572318> (accessed 20 January 2019).
- Alegi, Peter, 'Podcasting the Past: Africa Past and Present and (South) African History in the Digital Age', *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 2, (2012), pp. 206–220
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2011.640344> (accessed 15 June 2021).
- Alvestad, Karl C. and Robert Houton (eds.), *The Middle Ages in Modern Culture History and Authenticity in Contemporary Medievalism* (Dublin, 2021).
- Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Fron Haul - Quarrymen's Houses', online edn, <https://museum.wales/slate/fron-haul/> (accessed 18 July 2022).
- Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Researching the Welsh Slate Industry', online edn, <https://museum.wales/curatorial/industry/resources/slate-industry/> (accessed 22 June 2022).
- Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Siop Amgueddfa Cymru / National Museum Wales Shop', online edn, <https://shop.museum.wales/> (accessed 22 June 2022).
- Amgueddfa Cymru/Museum Wales, 'Timeline: Some Important Dates', *National Slate Museums: A Guide to the Museum*, online edn, 28 September 2013

- <https://web.archive.org/web/20130928085753/http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/426/> (accessed 14 July 2022).
- Anderson, Ian G., ‘Understanding the Digital Legacy of the World War I: Cymru1914’, *Cultural Trends*, 27, 2, (2018), pp. 99–118
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2018.1453443> (accessed 29 June 2022).
- Arnold, Ken, ‘It Will Be the Best of Times, It Will Be the Worst of Times: Post-COVID Museums’, *Museum Association*, online edn, 29 April 2020
<https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/opinion/2020/04/29042020-best-of-times-worst-of-times/#> (accessed 15 July 2022).
- Bacon, Eugen, ‘Creative Research: Mixing Methods in Practice-Led Research to Explore a Model of Stories-within-a-Story to Build a Novel’, *New Writing*, 14, 2, (2017), pp. 235–56 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790726.2016.1270969> (accessed 15 April 2021).
- Baelo-Allué, Sonia ‘Transhumanism, transmedia and the Serial podcast: Redefining storytelling in times of enhancement’, *International Journal of English Studies*. 19, (2019), pp. 113–131, <https://doi.org/10.6018/ijes.335321> (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Bangor University, ‘Funding Awarded to Complete Cataloguing of Penrhyn Castle Papers: News and Events: Bangor University’, online edn,
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/news/archive/funding-awarded-to-complete-cataloguing-of-penrhyn-castle-papers-20984> (accessed 15 April 2022).
- Bangor University, ‘The Penrhyn Castle Collection’, *Archives and Special Collections*, online edn, <https://www.bangor.ac.uk/archives/penrhyn.php.en> (accessed 15 April 2022).
- Barnatt, John and Nicola Bannister, *The Archaeology of a Great Estate: Chatsworth and Beyond* (Oxford, 2009).
- Barnett, Stuart, ‘A fitting end: the country house, Agatha Christie and Dead Man’s folly’, *Clues: A Journal of Detection*, 34, 1, (2004) pp. 63–71.
- Bartneck, Christoph, Aya Masuoka, Toru Takahashi and Fukaya Takugo, ‘The Learning Experience With Electronic Museum Guides’, *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, 1, (2006) pp. 18–25 <https://doi.org/10.1037/1931-3896.S.1.18> (accessed 20 May 2020).
- Bassnett, Susan, ‘Travelling and Translating’, *World Literature Written in English*, 40, 2, (2004), pp. 66–76 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850408589391> (accessed 10 May 2019).

- Battilani, Patrizia, Bertram M. Gordon, Jan Hein Furnée, Kevin J. James, Richard White and Eric G. E. Zuelow, 'Discussion: Teaching Tourism History', *Journal of Tourism History*, 8, 1, (2016), pp. 57–84 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2016.1168487> (accessed 21 May 2019).
- Bedford, Leslie, 'Storytelling: The Real Work of Museums', *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 44, 1, (2001), pp. 27–34 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.2001.tb00027.x> (accessed 13 July 2022).
- Beech, John G., 'The Marketing of Slavery Heritage in the United Kingdom', *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 2, 3–4, (New York, 2001), pp. 85–106 https://doi.org/10.1300/J149v02n03_04 (accessed 5 February 2022).
- Behdad, Ali, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, North Carolina, 1994).
- Benjamin, Stefanie and Derek Alderman, 'Performing a Different Narrative: Museum Theater and the Memory-Work of Producing and Managing Slavery Heritage at Southern Plantation Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, 3, (2017), pp. 270–282 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2017.1378906> (accessed 3 August 2022).
- Berg, Freja Sørine Adler, 'Podcasting about Yourself and Challenging Norms: An Investigation of Independent Women Podcasters in Denmark', *Nordicom Review*, 43, (2022), pp. 94–110 <https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0006> (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Berr, Jonathan, 'After Finding Success With 'History Hit' Podcast, Dan Snow Turns To Video', *Forbes*, online edn, 11 October 2017 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jonathanberr/2017/10/11/after-finding-success-with-the-history-hit-podcast-dan-snow-turns-to-video/> (accessed 28 January 2021).
- Berry, Richard, 'A Golden Age of Podcasting? Evaluating *Serial* in the Context of Podcast Histories', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 22, 2, (2015), pp. 170–178 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1083363> (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Berry, Richard, 'There are just three types of podcasts,' *Richard Berry: Radio and Podcast Academic*, online edn, <https://richardberry.eu/there-are-just-3-types-of-podcast/> (accessed 12 May 2022).
- Berry, Richard, 'Will the iPod Kill the Radio Star? Profiling Podcasting as Radio', *Convergence*, 12, 2, (2006), pp. 143–162, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856506066522> (accessed 27 June 2022).

- Best, Katie, 'Making museum tours better: understanding what a guided tour really is and what a tour guide really does', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 27, 1, (2012) pp. 35–52 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2012.644695> (accessed 30 June 2022).
- Bhattacharyya, Deborah P., 'Mediating India', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24, 2, (1997), pp. 371–89 [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(97\)80007-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(97)80007-2) (accessed 20 April 2021).
- Bottomley, Andrew, 'Podcasting: A Decade in the Life of a "New" Audio Medium: Introduction', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media: Golden Years of Audio*, 22, 2, (2015), pp. 164–169 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1082880> (accessed 18 May 2020).
- Bottomley, Andrew, *Sound Streams: A Cultural History of Radio-Internet Convergence* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2020).
- Bowers, Andy, 'Introducing SlateAudio Tours', *Slate Magazine*, online edn, 26 July 2005 <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2005/07/introducing-slate-audio-tours.html> (accessed 18 July 2022).
- Boyang, Li, Mohini Thakkar, Yijie Wang and Mark O. Riedl, 'Storytelling with Adjustable Narrator Styles and Sentiments', *Interactive Storytelling*, 8832, (2014), pp. 1–12 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-12337-0_1 (accessed 8 July 2022).
- Bragg, Melvyn and Simon Tillotson, *In Our Time: Celebrating Twenty Years of Essential Conversation* (London, 2018).
- Bragg, Melvyn, 'In Our Time: History - Top 10', *BBC Radio*, online edn, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01gnsp2> (accessed 28 August 2022).
- Braundel, Fernand, *On History* (Chicago, 1982), p. 27.
- Breedon Group, 'Welsh Slate', online edn, <https://www.welshslate.com/> (accessed 10 July 2022).
- British Broadcasting Company, '2021 sees over 1.3bn plays on BBC Sounds with podcast listening up nearly 25%', online edn, 20 December 2021 <https://www.bbc.com/mediacentre/2021/over-1bn-plays-on-bbc-sounds-with-podcast-listening-up-nearly-25-percent> (accessed 6 September 2022).
- British Broadcasting Company, 'The Archers', *BBC Radio 4*, online edn, (1950–2022), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006qpgr> (accessed 20 May 2022).
- Brodie, Ellie, Tim Hughes, Veronique Jochum, Sarah Miller, Nick Ockenden, Diane Warburton, *Pathways through participation* (London, 2011), pp. 1–85.
- Brown, Stacy, *The school librarian's technology playbook: innovative strategies to inspire teachers and learners* (Santa Barbara, California, 2020).

- Bruce, David M., 'Baedeker: The Perceived 'Inventor' of the Formal Guidebook — A Bible for Travellers in the 19th Century', in Richard Butler and Roslyn Russell (eds.), *Giants of tourism* (Oxfordshire, 2010), pp. 97–98.
- Bruner, Edward M., 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, 96, 2, (1994), pp. 400–401.
- Burkett, Sian, 'A Welsh community divided, fighting and slavery: The dark past of Wales' newest UNESCO heritage site,' *Wales Online*, online edn, 29 August 2021 <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/welsh-community-divided-fighting-slavery-21368750> (accessed 15 May 2022).
- Butler, Rebecca and Sofia Aatkar, 'From "Colour and Flair" to "A Corporate View": Evolutions in Guidebook Writing: An Interview with Jenny Walker', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21, 2, (2017), pp. 208–220 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2017.1324593> (accessed 10 February 2019).
- Buzard, James, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002), pp. 37–53.
- Buzinde, Christine N., 'Discursive Constructions of the Plantation Past within a Travel Guidebook', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 5, 3, (2010), pp. 231–232 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2010.508525> (accessed 20 January 2019).
- Calahane, Kacey, Jessica Millward and Max Speare, 'Scholars Do Bravo Too: Reality Television, Public History, and the Historians on Housewives Podcast', *Journal of Women's History*, 32, 4, (2020), pp. 135–138 <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2020.0043> (accessed 26 May 2022).
- Candy, Linda and Ernest Edmonds, 'Practice-Based Research in the Creative Arts: Foundations and Futures from the Front Line,' *Leonardo*, 51, (2018), pp. 63–69 https://doi.org/10.1162/LEON_a_01471 (accessed 15 September 2022).
- Candy, Linda, 'Practice Based Research: A Guide', *Creativity and Cognition Studios* (2006) pp. 1–6.
- Candy, Linda, Ernest Edmonds and Craig Vear, 'Practice-based research', in *The Routledge International Handbook of Practice-Based Research*, (2021) pp. 27–41 <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429324154-3> (accessed 8 July 2022).
- Cannadine, David, *The Pleasures of the Past* (New York, 1989).
- Carlin, Dan, 'Death throes of the republic v. Hardcore History', *Hardcore History Podcast*, online edn, (2011) <http://www.dancarlin.com> (accessed 15 April 2021).

- Carlin, Dan, 'Globalization unto death', *Hardcore History Podcast*, online edn, (2010)
<http://www.dancarlin.com> (accessed 15 April 2021).
- Carnarvon, Lady, *At Home at Highclere: Entertaining at the Real Downton Abbey* (London, 2017).
- Carnarvon, Lady, *Lady Catherine and the Real Downton Abbey* (London, 2013).
- Carnarvon, Lady, *The Earl and the Pharaoh: From the Real Downton Abbey to the Discovery of Tutankhamun* (London, 2022).
- Carr, A. D., *Medieval Wales* (London, 1995).
- Carr, A.D., 'Gwilym ap Gruffydd and the Rise of the Penrhyn Estate', *Welsh History Review*, 15, (1990), pp. 1–20.
- Carr, Edward Hallett, *What is History?* (New York, 1961).
- Carr, David, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington, 1986) in Geoffrey Roberts *The History and Narrative Reader*.
- Cavendish, Deborah, *Chatsworth: The House* (London, 2002).
- Claisse, Caroline, Daniela Petrelli, Nick Dulake, Mark T. Marshall, Luigina Ciolfi, 'Multisensory Interactive Storytelling to Augment the Visit of a Historical House Museum', *IEEE*, 3rd Digital Heritage International Congress held jointly with 24th International Conference on Virtual Systems & Multimedia, (2018), pp. 1–2
<https://doi.org/10.1109/digitalheritage.2018.8810099> (accessed 16 July 2022).
- Cohen, Gaynor, 'A Sense of People and Place: The Chapel and Language in Sustaining Welsh Identity', in Deborah Fahy Bryceson, Judith Okely and Johnathan Webber (eds.), *Identity and Networks: Fashioning Gender and Ethnicity across Cultures* (New York, 2007), pp. 91–102.
- Cohen-Hattab, Kobi and Jenny Kerber, 'Literature, Cultural Identity and the Limits of Authenticity: A Composite Approach', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 6, 2, (2004) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/jtr.470> (accessed 5 February 2021).
- Cohen, Steve, 'Shifting Questions: New Paradigms for Oral History in a Digital World', *Oral History Review*, 1, (2013) p. 161.
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Being James Madison', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 17 February 2014
<https://podcast.history.org/2014/02/17/being-james-madison> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Drummer's Call', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 14 May 2007
<https://podcast.history.org/2007/05/14/drummers-call/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Historic Farming', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 24 September 2012
<https://podcast.history.org/2012/09/24/historic-farming/> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Merging Cultures', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 21 February 2011
<https://podcast.history.org/2011/02/21/merging-cultures/> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Native Peoples in the Colonial City', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 22 April 2013
<https://podcast.history.org/2013/04/22/native-peoples-in-the-colonial-city/> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'The Use of Myth in History', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 23 July 2012
<https://podcast.history.org/2012/07/23/the-use-of-myth-in-history/> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'The Wooden Teeth That Weren't', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 20 February 2012
<https://podcast.history.org/2012/02/20/the-wooden-teeth/> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'Cannibalism at Jamestown', *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, 6 January 2014
<https://podcast.history.org/2014/01/06/cannibalism-at-jamestown/> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, *Colonial Williamsburg's Past and Present Podcast*, online edn, (2005–2017) <https://podcast.history.org> (accessed 20 March 2021).
- Constantine, Mary-Ann and Nigel Leask (eds.), *Enlightenment travel and British identities: Thomas Pennant's tours in Scotland and Wales* (London, 2017).
- Cook, Terry, 'Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms', *Archival Science*, 13, 2–3, (2012), pp. 95–120
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-012-9180-7> (accessed 2 July 2022).
- Côr y Penrhyn, <https://www.corypenrhyn.cymru/> (accessed 30 July 2022).
- Coyle, Geoff, *The Riches beneath Our Feet: How Mining Shaped Britain* (Oxford, 2010).
- Crowther, David, 'AMA on Reddit', *Reddit*, online edn, (2014)
https://www.reddit.com/r/history/comments/1fxid0/hello_im_david_crowther_of_the_history_of_england/ (accessed 8 July 2021).

- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly, *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*, (New York, 1996).
- Cuffe, Honae H., 'Lend Me Your Ears: The Rise of the History Podcast in Australia', *History Australia*, 16, 3, (2019), pp. 553–569 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14490854.2019.1636676> (accessed 29 July 2022).
- Cushing, Ian, *Text Analysis and Representation* (Cambridge, 2018).
- D. Harrison, *Islands, Image and Tourism*, *Tourism, tradition and culture: a reflection on their role in development* (Oxfordshire, 2015).
- Dalby, Caity, 'Cottages, Conservation and Consolidation: The New National Trust', *Figaro Digital*, online edn, 5 March 2019 <https://figarodigital.co.uk/article/cottages-conservation-and-consolidation-the-new-national-trust> (accessed 15 May 2021).
- Dallen, Timothy and Susan Boyd, *Heritage Tourism* (Essex, 2003), p. 3.
- Davies, Caroline, 'National Trust Hastens Projects Exposing Links of Country Houses to Slavery', *The Guardian*, online edn, 22 June 2020 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jun/22/national-trust-hastens-projects-exposing-links-of-country-houses-to-slavery> (accessed 8 June 2022).
- Davies, John, 'The end of the Great Estates and the Rise of Freehold Farming in Wales', *Welsh History Review*, 7, 2, (1974), pp. 186–212.
- Dickinson, Janet E., Karen Ghali, Thomas Cherrett, Chris Speed, Nigel Davies and Sarah Norgate, 'Tourism and the Smartphone App: Capabilities, Emerging Practice and Scope in the Travel Domain', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 17, 1, (2012), pp. 84–101 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2012.718323> (accessed 5 June 2019).
- Dicks, Bella, *Heritage, Place and Community* (Cardiff, 2000).
- Dijkstra, Anna-Lou, 'Marginalizing and Exoticizing Wales: Shifting Representations in Translated Guidebooks', *Translation Studies*, 9, 2, (2015), pp. 198–211 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2015.1090910> (accessed 28 October 2019).
- Dodek, Wendy L., 'Bringing Art to Life through Multi-Sensory Tours', *Journal of Museum Education: Early Learning*, 37, 1, (2012), pp. 115–24 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10598650.2012.11510723> (accessed 20 June 2020).
- Dolen Jamaica-Cymru/Jamaica Wales Alliance, '*Eisteddfod in Jamaica*', online edn, <http://www.jamaicawalesalliance.com/index.asp?pageid=714664> (accessed 30 July 2022).
- Douglass, William and Paulina Raento, 'The tradition of invention: Conceiving Las Vegas', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31, (2004), pp. 7–23.

- Dowling, David O., and Kyle Miller, 'Immersive Audio Storytelling: Podcasting and Serial Documentary in the Digital Publishing Industry', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 26, 1 (2019), pp. 167–184 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2018.1509218> (accessed 28 July 2020).
- Downes, Ian, 'The Brand Radar: National Trust, Sarsen Stone Group and Innovation in Heritage Licensing', *Brands Untapped*, online edn, 22 April 2021 <https://brandsuntapped.com/the-brand-radar-national-trust-sarsen-stone-group-and-the-creativity-of-heritage-licensing/> (accessed 20 June 2021).
- Duncan, Mike, 'Podcast Archives 2007- 2012', *The History of Rome Podcast*, online edn, <https://thehistoryofrome.typepad.com/> (accessed 21 August 2019).
- Durrani, Mariam, Kevin Gotkin and Corrina Laughlin, 'Serial, Seriality, and the Possibilities for the Podcast Format', *American Anthropologist*, 117, 3, (2015), pp. 1–4 <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12302> (accessed 10 July 2022).
- Dragouni, Mina and Kalliopi Fouseki, 'Drivers of community participation in heritage tourism planning: an empirical investigation', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 13, 3, pp. 237–256 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2017.1310214> (accessed April 5, 2023).
- Dybiec, Joanna, *Guidebook Gazes: Poland in American and German Travel Guides, 1945–2002* (Krakow, 2004).
- Earl, Benjamin in David W. Marshall (ed.), *Mass Market Medieval: Essays on the Medieval Ages in Popular Culture*, (North Carolina, 2007) pp. 108–109.
- Eckstein, Justin, 'Radiolab's Sound Strategic Maneuvers', *Argumentation*, 31, (2017), pp. 663–680 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10503-016-9416-4> (accessed 11 June 2022).
- Edelheim, Johan R, *Tourist attractions: From object to narrative* (Bristol, 2015).
- Edison Research, 'Comedy, news, and society and culture podcasts most listened-to genres in podcasting', *Edison Research Report*, online edn, (2019), <https://www.edisonresearch.com/comedy-news-and-society-and-culture-podcasts-most-listened-to-genres-in-podcasting/> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- Edison Research, 'The Infinite Dial', *Edison Research Report*, <https://www.edisonresearch.com/infinite-dial-2019/> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- Edwards and Knibb Publishers, *The Cambrian Tourist* (London, 1825).
- English Heritage, 'Brave knights and epic fights: The making of a legendary joust', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-17-brave-knights-and-epic-fights-the-making-of-a-legendary-joust> (accessed 5 April 2021).

- English Heritage, 'Conversations in Making: artist Linda Brothwell on her new exhibition at Stonehenge', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-8-conversations-in-making-artist-linda-brothwell-on-her-new-exhibition-at-stonehenge> (accessed 8 January 2021).
- English Heritage, 'Discover the Wall Audio Series', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/hadrians-wall/audio-series> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- English Heritage, 'Episode 1 – Victoria and Albert's Birthdays at Osborne', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-1-victoria-and-alberts-birthdays-at-osborne> (accessed 8 January 2021).
- English Heritage, 'Episode 3: The Medieval Massacre of the Jews of York', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows/episode-3> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- English Heritage, 'Exodus: the story behind reggae legend Bob Marley's blue plaque in London', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-27-exodus-the-story-behind-reggae-legend-bob-marleys-blue-plaque-in-london> (accessed 8 January 2021).
- English Heritage, 'Halloween Episode 1: Dark Tales from Dover Castle', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2018) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/halloween-part-1> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- English Heritage, 'Speaking with Shadows Podcast', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/inspire-me/speaking-with-shadows> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- English Heritage, 'The rise of Mead: Toasting the world's oldest alcoholic drink', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-36-the-rise-of-mead-toasting-the-worlds-oldest-alcoholic-drink> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- English Heritage, 'Undressing the history of fashion with Amber Butchart', *The English Heritage Podcast*, online edn, (2019) <https://soundcloud.com/englishheritage/episode-18-undressing-the-history-of-fashion-with-amber-butchart> (accessed 5 April 2021).
- Evans, Chris, *Slave Wales: The Welsh and Atlantic Slavery 1660–1850* (Cardiff, 2010).
- Evans, R. Paul, 'Thomas Pennant (1726–1798): "the Father of Cambrian tourists"', *Welsh History Review*, 13, (January 1986), pp. 395–418.

- Evans, Shaun and Elen Wyn Simpson, 'Assessing the Impact of Collections-Based Collaboration across Archives and Academia: The Penrhyn Estate Archive', *Archives and Records*, 40, 1, (2019), pp. 37–54 <https://doi.org/10.1080/23257962.2019.1567307> (accessed 10 June 2022).
- Fantini, Emanuele, and Emilie Buist, 'Searching for the Sources of the Nile through a Podcast: What Did We Find?', *Journal of Science Communication*, 20, 5 (2021), pp. 1–13 <https://doi.org/10.22323/2.20020801> (accessed 15 May 2022).
- Fariello, Megan, 'Mediating the "Upside Down": the techno-historical acoustic in Netflix's *Stranger Things* and *The Black Tapes* podcast', *Sound Studies*, 5, 2, (2019), pp. 122–139 <https://doi.org/10.1080/20551940.2019.1587581> (accessed 15 September 2022).
- Favi, Sonia, 'Negotiating the Nation: Public Diplomacy and the Publication of English-Language Tourist Guidebooks of Japan in the Meiji Period (1868–1912)', *Japan Forum*, 34, 4, (2022), pp. 1–23 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09555803.2022.2033301> (accessed 15 June 2022).
- Fink, Joseph and Jeffrey Cranor, 'Welcome to Night Vale', *Nightvale Presents Network*, online edn, <https://www.welcometonightvale.com/> (accessed 2 September 2022).
- Flynn, M. K., 'Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland: The Former Maze Prison/Long Kesh', *Irish Political Studies*, 26, 3, (2011), pp. 383–401 <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2011.593741> (accessed April 12, 2023).
- Fludernik, Monika and Ura Margolin, 'Introduction', *German Narratology I of Style*, 38, (2004), pp. 148–87.
- Fludernik, Monika, 'Conversational Narration/Oral Narration' in J. Pier *Handbook of Narratology* (Boston, 2009), pp. 63–64.
- Forster, E. M., *Aspects of the Novel* (London, 1927).
- Foulke, Robert, 'The Guidebook Industry', in Michael Kowalewski (ed.), *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Georgia, 1992), pp. 93–108.
- Fox, Kim, David O. Dowling and Kyle Miller, 'A Curriculum for Blackness: Podcasts as Discursive Cultural Guides, 2010–2020', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 27, 2, (2020), pp. 298–318 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2020.1801687> (accessed 27 June 2022).
- Foy, Kay, *Life in the Victorian Kitchen: Culinary Secrets and Servants' Stories* (Barnsley, 2014).
- François, Pieter, 'If It's 1815, This Must Be Belgium: The Origins of the Modern Travel Guide', *Book History* 15, 1, (2012), pp. 71–92.

- Galani, Areti, Katie Markham, and Rhiannon Mason, 'Problematising digital and dialogic heritage practices in Europe: Tensions and opportunities', *European heritage, dialogue and digital practices*. (London, 2019), pp. 9–36 (accessed 25 May 2022).
- Garau, Chiara and Emiliano Ilardi, 'The "Non-Places" Meet the "Places:" Virtual Tours on Smartphones for the Enhancement of Cultural Heritage', *Journal of Urban Technology*, 21, 1 (2014), pp. 79–91 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10630732.2014.884384> (accessed 18 June 2021).
- Geddes, Emi, 'History is Now: Behind the numbers of the biggest UK history podcasts', *Acast*, online edn, 15 February 2022 <https://www.acast.com/blog/podcaster-stories/history-is-now-behind-the-numbers-of-the-biggest-uk-history-podcasts> (accessed 18 July 2022).
- Gladstone, Steve, *Freedom Trail Boston - Ultimate Tour & History Guide - Tips, Secrets & Tricks*, online edn, (2012).
- Gorbman, Claudia, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Indianapolis, 1987).
- Gottschall, Jonathan, *The Storytelling Animal: How Stories Make Us Human* (Boston, 2013).
- Grix, Jonathan, *The Foundations of Research* (London, 2004).
- Gunpowder and Sky, 'Dust: A Sci-Fi Experience Podcast', online edn, <https://gunpowdersky.com/portfolios/dust-podcast> (accessed 1 September 2022).
- Guo, Kexin, Aleri Fan, Zinran Lehto and Jonathon Day, 'Immersive Digital Tourism: The Role of Multisensory Cues in Digital Museum Experiences', *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 0, (2021), pp. 2–4 <https://doi.org/10.1177/10963480211030319> (accessed 25 March 2022).
- Gwyn, David, *Welsh Slate: Archaeology and History of an Industry* (Aberystwyth, 2015).
- Gwyn, Marian, 'The Heritage Industry and the Slave Trade', (PhD Diss., Bangor University, 2014).
- Gwyn, Marian, 'Wales and the Memorialisation of Slavery in 2007', *Atlantic Studies*, 9, 3, (2012), pp. 299–318 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2012.688629> (15 July 2022).
- Habu, Junko, Clare Fawcett and John M. Matsunaga, *Evaluating Multiple Narratives* (New York, 2008).
- Hagood, Mack, 'The Scholarly Podcast', in Jeremy Wade Morris and Eric Hoyt (eds.), *Saving New Sounds: Podcast Preservation and Historiography* (Ann Arbor, 2021), pp. 181–194.
- Hague, Douglas Bland, 'Penrhyn Castle', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 21, (1959) pp. 27–45.

- Hakala, Ulla, Sonja Lätti and Brigitta Sandberg, 'Operationalising Brand Heritage and Cultural Heritage', *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 20, 6, (2011), pp. 447–56 <https://doi.org/10.1108/10610421111166595> (accessed 28 July 2021).
- Hall, Alan, 'Cigarettes and Dance Steps in Reality radio', in John Biewen and Alexa Dilworth (eds.), *Reality Radio* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2017).
- Hammersley, Ben, 'Audible Revolution', *The Guardian*, online edn, 12 February 2004 <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/feb/12/broadcasting.digitalmedia> (accessed 15 October 2021).
- Hardey, Mariann and Simon J. James, 'Digital Seriality and Narrative Branching: The Podcast Serial, Season One', *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 19, 1, (2022), pp. 74–90 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2022.2029513> (accessed 27 May 2022).
- Harrison, Rodney, 'Heritage Futures Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices', in Veysel Apaydin (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Cultural Memory and Heritage* (London, 2020), pp.185–189.
- Hassan, Azizul and Mizan Rahman, 'World Heritage Site as a Label in Branding a Place', *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 5, 3, (2015), pp. 210–233 <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-01-2014-0002> (accessed 28 July 2021).
- Hatfield, Elizabeth F., 'Narrative Learning Using Podcasts in Interpersonal Communication', *Communication Teacher*, 32, (2018), pp. 236–242 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17404622.2017.1372790> (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Henderson, Katherine C., 'Claims of Heritage: Restoring the English Country House in Wide Sargasso Sea', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 38, 4, (2015), pp. 94–95 <https://doi.org/10.2979/jmodelite.38.4.93> (accessed 15 April 2021).
- Herbert, David, *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (London, 1995), p. 2.
- Herman, Ana-Maria, 'How (repeat) museum displays are *always* experimental: (re-)making MUM and the city-laboratory', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25, 8, (2019), pp. 796–807 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1544921> (accessed 15 October, 2022).
- Herman, David, *Narratologies: New Perspectives on Narrative Analysis* (Ohio, 1999).
- Hethmon, Hannah, *Your Museum Needs a Podcast: A Step-By-Step Guide to Podcasting on a Budget for Museums, History Organizations, and Cultural Nonprofits*, online edn, (2018) <https://www.betterlemonaudio.com/> (accessed 18 February 2019).

- Heynen, Hilde, 'Questioning Authenticity', *National Identities*, 8, 3, (2006), pp. 287–300
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14608940600842607> (accessed 27 November 2021).
- Hickling, Alfred, 'Review: Classical: How to listen to a painting', *The Guardian*, 29 November 2004.
- Hinsliff, Gaby, 'Cream teas at dawn: inside the war for the National Trust,' *The Guardian*, online edn, 16 October 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/oct/16/cream-teas-at-dawn-inside-the-war-for-the-national-trust> (accessed 15 May 2022).
- Horner, Susan and John Swarbrooke, *International Cases in Tourism Management* (Oxford, 2004).
- Hoyer, Wayne D., Mirja Kroshke, Bernd Schmitt, Karsten Kraume, Venkatesh Shankar, 'Transforming the Customer Experience through New Technologies', *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 51, (2020), pp. 57–71
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.intmar.2020.04.001> (accessed 1 September 2021).
- Hudson, Alex, 'Podcasts: Who still listens to them?', *BBC Click*, online edn, 23 July 2011
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/click_online/9545533.stm (accessed 18 April 2021).
- Hugh, Thomas, *The Slave Trade—The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440–1870* (London, 1997).
- Hughes, Owen, 'Quarry Firm Welsh Slate Sold as Part of Multi-Million Pound Deal', *North Wales Live*, online edn, 17 April 2018 <https://www.dailypost.co.uk/business/business-news/quarry-firm-welsh-slate-sold-14540744> (accessed 5 July, 2022).
- Huxtable, Sally-Anne, Corinne Fowler, Christo Kefalas and Emma Slocombe, 'Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery' *National Trust*, online edn, (2020) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/addressing-the-histories-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-national-trust> (accessed 2 November 2021).
- Iaquinto, Benjamin Lucca, 'Fear of Lonely Planet: Author Anxieties and the Mainstreaming of a Guidebook', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 14, 8, (2011), pp. 705–723
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2011.555527> (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Jackobson, Roman, *Language in Literature* (London, 1987), pp. 90–94.
- Jackson-Stops, Gervase (ed.), *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (London, 1985).

- Jenkins, Geraint J., 'Interpreting the Heritage of Wales', *Folk Life*, 25, 1, (1986), pp. 5–17
<https://doi.org/10.1179/flk.1986.25.1.5> (accessed 5 May 2019).
- Jenkinson, Angus and Branko Sain, 'Case Study: The National Trust — Direct Marketing as Brand Leader', *Campaign UK*, online edn, 1 April 2004,
<https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/case-study-national-trust-direct-marketing-brand-leader/996034> (accessed 27 July 2019).
- Jenner, Greg, 'Owain Glyndŵr: You're Dead to Me Podcast', *BBC Sounds*, online edn, 22 October 2021 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/brand/p07mdbhg> (accessed 1 September 2022).
- Jenner, Greg, 'You're Dead to Me Podcast', *BBC Sounds*, online edn,
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/brand/p07mdbhg> (accessed 1 September 2022).
- John, G. E. and K. M. Carlson, 'Making Change in the Memorial Landscape to the Dakota–US War of 1862: Remembrance, Healing and Justice through Affective Participation in the Dakota Commemorative March (DCM)', *Social & Cultural Geography* 17, 8, (2016), pp. 987–1016 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1147062> (accessed 5 February 2022).
- Jones, Charles Sheridan, in Elwyn Hughes (ed.), *What I Saw at Bethesda*, (Llandysul, 2004), pp. 1–67.
- Jones, Christopher, 'The Future of History is Mobile' in Herminia Din and Steven Wu (eds.), *Digital Heritage and Culture: Strategy and Implementation* (London, 2014), pp. 177–193.
- Jones, D. I., 'The Royal Visit to the Penrhyn Slate Quarries Bethesda, North Wales', *The Cambrian: A Magazine for the Welsh in America*, (1893) p. 269.
- Jones, Erin Lloyd, 'The year of legends with Augmented Reality', *Llywodraeth Cymru/Welsh Government*, online edn., 21 July 2017
<https://digitalanddata.blog.gov.wales/2017/07/21/the-year-of-legends-with-augmented-reality/> (accessed 15 May 2020).
- Jones, Kathryn N., Carol Tully and Heather Williams (eds.), *Hidden texts, hidden nation: (Re)discoveries of Wales in travel writing in French and German (1780–2018)* (Liverpool, 2020).
- Jones, Kathryn N., Carol Tully and Heather Williams, 'Travel writing and Wales', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 18, 2, (2014), pp. 101–106
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2014.908503> (accessed 15 November 2020).

- Jones, Kayla, 'Episode five', *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).
- Jones, Kayla, 'Episode four', *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).
- Jones, Kayla, 'Episode one', *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).
- Jones, Kayla, 'Episode three', *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).
- Jones, Kayla, 'Episode two', *Podlediad Penrhyn*, (2022) <https://www.podpenrhyn.co.uk> (accessed 10 October 2022).
- Jones, R. Merfyn, *The North Wales Quarrymen: 1874–1922* (Cardiff, 2014).
- Jorgensen, Britta, 'Playing with perspective: Narrative voice and trust in Australian independent podcasts', *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 19, (2021), pp. 137–153 http://dx.doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00038_1 (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Jorgenson, Britta and Mia Lindgren, 'Pause and reflect: Practice-as-research methods in radio and podcast studies', in Mia Lindgren and Jason Loviglio (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Radio Podcast Studies*, (London, 2022), pp. 50-59.
- Kahl, Christian, 'Tourist Attractions: From Object to Narrative', *An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 31, 4, (2015), pp. 678–682 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13032917.2020.1738646> (accessed 5 August 2019).
- Kalay, Yehuda E., 'Preserving cultural heritage through digital media' in Yehuda E. Kalay (ed.) *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage* (London, 2007), pp. 1–2.
- Kallio, Hanna, Anna-Maija Pietilä, Martin Johnson and Mari Kangasniemi, 'Systematic methodological review: developing a framework for a qualitative semi-structured interview guide' *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 72, 12, (2016) p. 5 <https://doi.org/10.1111/jan.13031> (accessed 15 October 2022).
- Kang, Myunghwa, and Ulrike Gretzel, 'Effects of podcast tours on tourist experiences in a national park', *Tourism Management* 33, 2, (2012), pp. 440–455 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2011.05.005> (accessed 12 July 2020).
- Keri, Jonah, 'The Jonah Keri Podcast: Mike Duncan', *CBS Sports*, online edn, 4 October 2017 <https://www.cbssports.com/general/news/the-jonah-keri-podcast-mike-duncan/> (accessed 5 March 2019).

- Kern, Jonathan, *Sound Reporting: The NPR Guide to Audio Journalism and Production* (Chicago, Illinois, 2008).
- Kim, So-Ra, Seung Ho Youn, Seo-Ho Um and Timothy J. Lee, 'The Mediation of Information Technology on Visitors' Experience at a Cultural Heritage Site', *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 21, 10, (2015), pp. 1126–1141 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2015.1093513> (accessed 15 May 2022).
- Kindt, Tom and Hans-Harald Mueller, 'Narrative Theory and/or/as Theory of interpretation', in Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Muller (eds.) *What Is Narratology? Questions and Answers Regarding the Status of a Theory* (Berlin, 2003), p. 211.
- King, Ellie, M. Paul Smith, Paul F. Wilson, Mark A. Williams, 'Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis, March – June 2020', *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 64, 3, (2021) pp. 487–504 <https://doi.org/10.1111/cura.12413> (accessed 2 July 2022).
- Kinkaid, Eden, Kelsey Emard and Nari Senanayake, 'The Podcast-as-Method?: Critical Reflections on Using Podcasts to Produce Geographic Knowledge', *Geographical Review*, 110, (2020), pp. 78–91 <https://doi.org/10.1111/gere.12354> (accessed 11 June 2022).
- Kontiza, Kalliopi, Angeliki Antoniou, Abdullah Daif, S. Reboresda-Morillo, M. Bassani, Silvia González-Soutelo, I. Lykourantzou, C. Jones, J. Padfield, M. López-Nores, 'On How Technology-Powered Storytelling Can Contribute to Cultural Heritage Sustainability across Multiple Venues—Evidence from the Crosscult H2020 Project', *Sustainability*, 12, 4, (2020), pp. 1–36 <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12041666> (accessed 15 July 2022).
- Lamb, Annette, and Larry Johnson, 'Podcasting in the School Library, Part 1: Integrating Podcasts and Vodcasts into Teaching and Learning', *Teacher Librarian*, 34, 3, (2007) pp. 54–57.
- Lanser, Susan, *The Narrative Act. Point of View in Prose Fiction* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 300–308.
- Larabee, Mark D., 'Baedekers as Casualty: Great War Nationalism and the Fate of Travel Writing', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 71, 3, (2010), pp. 457–480 <https://doi.org/10.1353/jhi.0.0089> (accessed 20 August 2021).
- Leahy, Helen Rees, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practice of Visiting and Viewing* (New York, 2016).

- Levy, Sara, 'How Students Navigate the Construction of Heritage Narratives', *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 45, 2, (2017), pp. 157–188
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2016.1240636> (accessed 28 May 2022).
- Lewi, Hannah, Wally Smith, Dirk vom Lehn and Steven Cooke, *The Routledge International Handbook of New Digital Practices in Galleries, Libraries, Archives, Museums and Heritage Sites* (New York, 2019).
- Lindgren, Mia and Siobhán McHugh, 'Not dead yet: emerging trends in radio documentary forms in Australia and the US', *Australian Journalism Review*, 35, 2, (2013), pp. 107–108 <https://ro.uow.edu.au/lhapapers/1099/> (accessed 15 May 2022).
- Lindgren, Mia, 'Personal narrative journalism and podcasting', *the Radio Journal International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media*, 26, (2016), pp. 23–41
https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.23_1 (accessed 10 June 2022).
- Lindsay, Jean, *A History of the North Wales Slate Industry* (Newton Abbey, 1974).
- Lindsey, Jean, *The Great Strike: A History of the Penrhyn Quarry Dispute of 1900–1903*, (Newton Abbot, 1987).
- Lisle, Debbie, 'Humanitarian Travels: Ethical Communication in Lonely Planet Guidebooks', *Review of International Studies*, 34, 1, (2008), pp. 163–164
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210508007845> (accessed 10 May 2019).
- Liu, Peng, and Lan, 'Museum as Multisensorial Site: Story Co-Making and the Affective Interrelationship between Museum Visitors, Heritage Space, and Digital Storytelling', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 36, 4, (2021), pp. 403–426
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2021.1948905> (accessed 29 June 2022).
- Llechi Cymru/Welsh Slate, 'Penrhyn Slate Quarry and Bethesda, and the Ogwen Valley to Port Penrhyn', online edn, <https://www.llechi.cymru/slateareas/ogwenvalley> (accessed 15 July 2022).
- Llechi Cymru/Welsh Slate, 'Slate Areas', online edn, <https://www.llechi.cymru/slateareas> (accessed 8 July 2022).
- Llechi Cymru/Welsh Slate, 'The BID and Management Plan', online edn, <https://www.llechi.cymru/thebid> (accessed 20 July 2022).
- Lloyd, G.M., *Piers Griffith: Pirate of Penrhyn 1569–1628* (1870).
- Llywodraeth Cymru/Welsh Government, 'A New World Heritage Site for Wales', online edn, 28 July 2021 <https://gov.wales/new-world-heritage-site-wales> (accessed 8 July 2022).

- Lord, Barry and Gail Dexter Lord (eds.), *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions* (Walnut Creek, California, 2002).
- Lowe, Hilary Iris, 'Dwelling in Possibility', *The Public Historian*, 37, 2, (2015), pp. 42–60 <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2015.37.2.42> (accessed 14 July 2022).
- Lowenthal, David, *The heritage crusade & the spoils of history* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 6.
- Lundström, Markus and Tomas Poletti Lundström, 'Podcast Ethnography', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 24, 3, (2021), pp. 289–299 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1778221> (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Lurie, Julia, 'This American Life Channels "True Detective" in a New Podcast', *Mother Jones Magazine*, online edn, 19 September 2014 <https://www.motherjones.com/media/2014/09/ira-glass-sarah-koenig-julie-snyder-serial-podcast-this-american-life/> (accessed 5 May 2022).
- Lutostański, Bartosz, 'A Narratology of Radio Drama: Voice, Perspective, Space', *Audionarratology*, 117, (2016), pp. 117–31 <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110472752-008> (accessed 11 June 2022).
- MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkley, California, 2013).
- Mackintosh, Will B., 'The Prehistory of the American Tourist Guidebook', *Book History*, 21, 1, (2018), pp. 89–124 <https://doi.org/10.1353/bh.2018.0003> (accessed 10 July 2021).
- Madsen-Brooks, Leslie, 'Museums and podcasting: explanation and resources', *Museum Blogging*, online edn, 19 May 2006 <https://museumblogging.com/2006/05/19/museums-and-podcasting-explanation-and-resources> (accessed 5 February 2020).
- Makri, Stephann, Ann Blandford, Mel Woods, Sarah Sharples and Deborah Maxwell, "'Making my own luck": Serendipity strategies and how to support them in digital information environments', *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 65, 11, (2012), p. 2 <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.23200> (accessed 15 October, 2022).
- Mandler, Peter, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (London, 1997).
- Margolin, Ura 'Narrator', in John Pier, Wolf Schmid and Peter Huhn (eds.) *Handbook of Narratology* (Boston, 2009), p. 351.
- Markman, Kris M., 'Considerations-Reflections and Future Research. Everything Old is New Again: Podcasting as Radio's Revival', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media: Golden*

- Years of Audio*, 22, 2, (2015), pp. 240–243
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1083376> (accessed 18 April 2020).
- Martin, A. R., ‘The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality’, online edn, 15 October 1859 <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4465341> (accessed 4 July 2022).
- Mayer, Tamar and Sefy Hendler, ‘Growing with Covid: Curatorial Innovation in Times of Uncertainty’, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 37, 4, (2022), pp. 1–15
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2021.2023909> (accessed 25 July 2022).
- Mazor-Tregerman, Maya, Yoel Mansfeld and Ouzi Elyada, ‘Travel Guidebooks and the Construction of Tourist Identity’, *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 15, 1, (2015), pp. 80–98 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2015.1117094> (accessed 15 August 2022).
- McCracken, Ellen, *The Serial Podcast and Storytelling in the Digital Age* (New York, 2017).
- McDavid, Carol, ‘Multivocality and Archaeology’ in Claire Smith (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York, 2014), pp. 5090–5095.
- McElhearn, Kirk, Richard Giles and Jack D. Herrington, *Podcasting Pocket Guide* (North Sebastopol, California 2005).
- McHugh, Siobhán, ‘How podcasting is changing the audio storytelling genre’, *The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 14, 1, (2016), pp. 65–82
https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.65_1 (accessed 18 April 2020).
- McHugh, Siobhán, ‘The Affective Power of Sound: Oral History on Radio’, *The Oral History Review*, 39, 2, (2012), pp. 187–206 <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/41811718> (accessed 8 June 2022).
- McMurty, Leslie Grace, “‘I’m Not a Real Detective, I Only Play One on Radio’: Serial as the Future of Audio Drama’, *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 49, 2, (2016), pp. 306–324
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jpcu.12401> (accessed 8 March 2021).
- Meister, Jan Christoph, ‘Narratology’, in John Pier, Wolf Schmid and Peter Huhn (eds.) *Handbook of Narratology* (Boston, 2009), p. 329.
- Mendelson, Edward, ‘Baedeker’s Universe’, *Yale Review*, 74, (1985) pp. 386–403.
- Merched Chwarel, ‘Amdanom Ni - About Us’, online edn,
<https://www.merchedchwarel.org/about-1#/about-the-project> (accessed 10 June 2022).
- Merriman, Nick, *Beyond the Glass Case: The past, the heritage and the public in Britain* (Leicester, 1991), p. 8.

- Meserko, Vincent, 'Going Mental: Podcasting, Authenticity, and Artist-Fan Identification on Paul Gilmartin's Mental Illness Happy Hour', *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58, 3, (2014), pp. 456–469 <https://doi.org/20.1080/08838151.2014.935848> (accessed 11 June 2022).
- Meserko, Vincent, 'The Pursuit of Authenticity on Marc Maron's WTF Podcast', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 29, 798, (2015), pp. 796–810 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2015.1073682> (accessed 8 June 2022).
- Meyer, Isaac, 'The History of Japan Podcast', online edn, <https://isaacmeyer.net/the-history-of-japan-podcast/> (accessed 8 September 2021).
- Michigan State University, 'Oral History in the Digital Age', <http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/> (accessed 12 May 2023).
- Mieli, Micol and Malin Zillinger, 'Tourist Information Channels as Consumer Choice: The Value of Tourist Guidebooks in the Digital Age', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 20, 1, (2020), pp. 37–39 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2020.1717991> (accessed 22 August 2021).
- Mink, Louis O., *Historical Understanding* (New York, 1987), p. 312.
- Mohammed, Farah, 'The Rise and Fall of the Blog', *JSTOR Daily*, online edn, 27 December 2017 <https://daily.jstor.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-blog/> (accessed 16 May 2022).
- Molz, Jennie Germann, *Travel Connections: Tourism, Technology, and Togetherness in a Mobile World* (London, 2012).
- Montanelli, Mattia Sanna, Martina D'Asaro and Antonia Giorri, 'University of Cagliari as a Heritage Community. A case of 'multivocal nudge' for sharing heritage in times of social distancing', *Journal of Public Archaeology*, 4, (2020), pp. 1–14 https://doi.org/10.23821/2020_3d/ (accessed 15 July 2022).
- Mottram, Christine, 'Finding a pitch that resonates: an examination of gender and vocal authority in podcasting', *Voice and Speech Review*, 10, 1, (2016), pp. 53–69 <https://doi.org/10.1080/23268263.2017.1282683> (accessed 26 June 2022).
- Multitone Electric Company, 'Multitone Radio Guide', Advertisement for *Multitone Electric Company LTD*, (1961).
- Museums + Heritage, 'Publishing: The Changing Face of the National Trust Guidebooks', *Museums + Heritage Advisor Magazine*, online edn, 15 November 2015 <https://advisor.museumsandheritage.com/features/publishing-the-changing-face-of-the-national-trust-guidebooks/> (accessed 19 August 2021).

- National Trust, 'A Brief History of Penrhyn Castle', online edn, 16 June 2015, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/features/a-brief-history-of-penrhyn-castle> (accessed 11 June 2022).
- National Trust, 'Annual Report 2020/2021', online edn, (July 2021) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/annual-reports> (accessed 25 August 2022).
- National Trust, 'Beyond Penrhyn: Changing the Way We Work', online edn, 27 January 2020 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/projects/beyond-penrhyn-changing-the-way-we-work> (accessed 30 July 2022).
- National Trust, 'Challenging Histories Public Programme 2017–2019', online edn, (2017–2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/how-we-are-challenging-our-history> (accessed 5 July 2022).
- National Trust, 'Episode five: 18 August - Parties and performances', *Prejudice and Pride Podcast*, online edn, (2017) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-lgbtq-podcast-series-presented-by-clare-balding> (accessed 25 May 2021).
- National Trust, 'Manon Steffan Ros - 12 Stories', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/features/manon-steffan-ros---12-stories> (accessed 10 June 2022).
- National Trust, 'National Trust Annual Report 2019/2020,' online edn, <https://nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/annual-report-201920.pdf> (accessed 18 June 2022).
- National Trust, 'New 'What a World!' Exhibition Takes an Honest Look at Penrhyn Castle's Collection and the Culture of Colonialism', online edn, 24 February 2020 <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/news/new-what-a-world-exhibition-takes-an-honest-look-at-penrhyn-castles-collection-and-the-culture-of-colonialism> (accessed 18 June 2022).
- National Trust, 'Penrhyn Castle and Garden', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle> (accessed 10 July 2022).
- National Trust, 'People's Landscapes: Explore the places that have shaped the nation', online edn, (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-explore-the-places-that-have-shaped-the-nation> (accessed 17 April 2021).
- National Trust, 'People's Landscapes podcast series presented by John Sergeant', (2019) <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-podcast-series-presented-by-john-sergeant> (accessed 19 March 2021).

National Trust, 'Prejudice and Pride Podcast', online edn, (2017)

<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-lgbtq-podcast-series-presented-by-clare-balding> (accessed 19 March 2021).

National Trust, 'Slate or State, by Walker & Bromwich', online edn, 25 July 2017

<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/features/slate-or-state-by-walker-and-bromwich> (accessed 10 June 2022).

National Trust, 'Slate or State: New Artists in Residence Exhibition Unveiled', online edn,

<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/penrhyn-castle/news/slate-or-state-new-artists-in-residence-exhibition-unveiled-#:~:text=Slate%20or%20State%2C%20an%20art,great%20quarry%20sculpture%20and%20its> (accessed 15 July 2022).

National Trust, 'Snowdonia', online edn, [https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/days-](https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/days-out/regionwales/snowdonia)

[out/regionwales/snowdonia](https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/days-out/regionwales/snowdonia) (accessed 11 June 2022).

National Trust, 'Women and Power Podcast', online edn, (2018)

<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-womens-suffrage-podcast-series-presented-by-kirsty-wark> (accessed 18 March 2021).

National Trust, 'Ysbyty Ifan', online edn, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/ysbyty-ifan> (accessed 11 June 2022).

National Trust, *Clandon Park, Surrey* (1979).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1955).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1970).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1979).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1986).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1988).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (1989).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle: Gwynedd* (1991).

National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (2006).

National Trust, *Plas Newydd: Isle of Anglesey* (2009).

National Trust, *Polesden Lacey, Surrey* (1993).

National Trust, *Powis Castle, Powys* (1991).

Nee, Rebecca C. and Arthur D. Santana, 'Podcasting the Pandemic: Exploring Storytelling Formats and Shifting Journalistic Norms in News Podcasts Related to the Coronavirus', *Journalism Practice*, 16, 8, (2021), pp. 2–7

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1882874> (accessed 18 June 2022).

- Newcombe, Emma, 'Writing Whiteness: Antebellum Guidebooks and the Codification of the Landscape in Catskill Tourism and Print', *Early American Literature*, 54, 1, (2019), pp. 189–216 <https://doi.org/10.1353/eal.2019.0010> (accessed 5 June 2021).
- Nickerson, Matt, 'History calls: delivering automated audio tours to visitors' cell phones', *IEEE*, 2 (2005), pp. 30–34 <https://doi.org/10.1109/ITCC.2005.166> (accessed 15 June 2021).
- Nielsen, Jane K., 'Museum Communication and Storytelling: Articulating Understandings within the Museum Structure', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 32, 5, (2017), pp. 440–455 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2017.1284019> (accessed 20 June 2022).
- Nimkulrat, Nithikul, 'The Role of Documentation in Practice-Led Research', *Journal of Research Practice*, 3, 1, (2007), pp.1–8.
- O'Neill, Ryan, 'Slavery and Wales: The mansions and wealth that reveal how the nation was linked to the slave trade,' *Wales Online*, online edn, 22 June 2020 https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/wales-history-slavery-statue-picton-18453159?fbclid=IwAR1B9xL1no3ZcM0IEnfjko6bhavRBTOAyq77ZJkIbrrijax_V_KxzZUoj3Y (accessed 15 May 2022).
- Ofcom, 'Audio on demand: the rise of podcasts', online edn, 30 September 2019 <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/about-ofcom/latest/features-and-news/rise-of-podcasts> (accessed 1 September 2022).
- Ofcom, 'Media Nations Report: UK 2019', online edn, (2019) https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0019/160714/media-nations-2019-uk-report.pdf (accessed 5 April 2021).
- Ogden, Rebecca, 'Lonely Planet: Affect and Authenticity in Guidebooks of Cuba', *Social Identities*, 25, 2, (2017), pp. 156–68 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2017.1414592> (accessed 10 May 2019).
- Orr, Matthew, Eric Poitras and Kirsten R. Butcher, 'Informal Learning with Extended Reality Environments: Current Trends in Museums, Heritage and Tourism', in V. Geroimenko (ed.) *Augmented Reality in Tourism, Museums and Heritage: A New Technology to Inform and Entertain* (Leicester, 2021), pp. 3–26 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-70198-7_1 (accessed 15 April 2022).
- Osterling, Anders, 'Dying Venice' in George Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of Decadence: Charting a Literary Fashion, 1884–1927* (New Haven, Connecticut, 2004), pp. ix–xi.
- Palombini, Augusto, 'Storytelling and Telling History: Towards a Grammar of Narratives for Cultural Heritage Dissemination in the Digital Era', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 24,

- (2017), pp. 134–139 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2016.10.017> (accessed 10 July 2022).
- Parker, Robert, ‘Las Vegas: Casino gambling and local culture’, in Dennis Judd and Susan Fainstein (eds.), *The Tourist City* (London, 1999), pp. 107–123.
- Peel, Victoria and Anders Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impacts of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol, 2016).
- Pennant, Thomas, *A Tour in Wales* (1778).
- Perks, Lisa Glebatis, Jacob S. Turner, and Andrew C. Tollison, ‘Podcast Uses and Gratifications Scale Development’, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 63, 4, (2019), pp. 617–634 <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2019.1688817> (accessed 16 May 2022).
- Perks, Robert and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London, 2015).
- Petr, Christine, ‘Fame Is Not Always a Positive Asset for Heritage Equity! Some Clues from Buying Intentions of National Tourists’, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 26, 1, (2009), pp. 1–18 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548400802656694> (accessed 15 May 2021).
- Pierson, Robin, ‘The History of Byzantium Podcast’, online edn, <https://thehistoryofbyzantium.com/> (accessed 5 March 2019).
- Pirolli, Bryan, ‘Travel Information Online: Navigating Correspondents, Consensus, and Conversation’, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21, 12, (2016), pp. 1337–1343 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2016.1273883> (accessed 22 August 2021).
- Pitchford, Susan, ‘The Tourist Trap: Turning Tourism to Our Advantage’, *Planet: The Welsh Internationalist*, 104, (1994), pp. 43–64.
- Pitchford, Susan, *Identity Tourism, Imaging and Imagining the Nation* (Bingley, 2008), pp. 43–64.
- Porter, Jeff, *Lost Sound: The Forgotten Art of Radio Storytelling* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2016).
- Powell, Timothy B., ‘A Drum Speaks: A Partnership to Create a Digital Archive Based on Traditional Ojibwe Systems of Knowledge’, *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage*, 8, 2, (2007), pp. 167–180 <https://doi.org/10.5860/rbm.8.2.290> (accessed 5 July 2022).
- Prados-Peña, M. Belen and Salvador del Barrio-García, ‘Do Brand Authenticity and Brand Credibility Facilitate Brand Equity? The Case of Heritage Destination Brand Extension’, *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 13, (2019), pp. 10–23 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2019.05.002> (accessed 18 September 2022).

- Prensky, Marc, 'Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 1', *On the Horizon*, 9, 5, (2001), pp. 1–6 <https://doi.org/10.1108/10748120110424816> (accessed 19 June 2022).
- Prentice, Richard, *Tourism and Heritage Attractions* (London, 1995).
- Price, William R. and Catherine L. Ronck, 'Quarrying for World Heritage Designation: Slate Tourism in North Wales', *Geoheritage*, 11, 4, (2019), pp. 1839–1854 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12371-019-00402-0> (accessed 28 July 2022).
- Prince, Gerald, 'Surveying Narratology', in Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Mueller (eds.) *What is narratology: Questions and answers regarding the status of a theory* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 1.
- Propp, Vladimir, *Morphology of the Folktale* (Bloomington, 1958).
- Proteau, Jasmine, 'Not Your Ordinary Guidebook: Gender and the Redefinition of the Nineteenth-Century Guidebook', *Studies in Travel Writing* 23, 2, (2019), pp. 119–138 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2019.1691808> (accessed 29 May 2020).
- Pryce, Lois, 'The Travel Guidebooks We Still Love', *The Guardian*, online edn, 24 March 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/mar/24/the-travel-guidebooks-we-still-love> (accessed 10 October 2021).
- Puckett, Kent, 'Narrative Theory's Longue Duree' in Matthew Garratt (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative Theory* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 13.
- Quah, Nicholas, 'The 10 Nonfiction Podcasts That Changed Everything', *Vulture*, online edn, 1 October 2019 <https://www.vulture.com/article/best-nonfiction-podcasts-all-time.html> (accessed 18 September 2021).
- Ragsdale, J. Donald, *Structures as Argument: The Visual Persuasiveness of Museums and Places of Worship*, (Cambridge, 2007).
- Raimund, Karl, 'Conserving and Managing Ancient Monuments. Heritage, Democracy, and Inclusion, by Keith Emerick', *Archaeological Journal*, 173, 2, (2014), pp. 406–407 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.2016.1183369> (accessed 20 June 2021).
- Ramírez, Paul, 'Colonial Representations of Race in Alternative Museums: The 'African' of St Benet's, the 'Arab' of Jorvik, and the 'Black Viking'', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 27, 9, (2021) pp. 937–952 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2021.1883715> (accessed 5 May 2022).
- Ramírez, Paul, 'What Can We Weave? Authority, Reconstructing, and Negotiating Heritages Through Archaeological Open-Air Museums', *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, 16, (2020), pp. 72–98 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11759-020-09390-y> (accessed 15 May 2022).

- Reason, Peter and Hilary Bradbury, *Handbook of Action Research, Participation Inquiry and Practice*, (London, 2001) in R. L. Skains, 'Creative Practice as Research: Discourse on Methodology', *Media Practice and Education*, 19, 1, (2018), p. 84.
- Renfro, Paul M., 'Tough on Crime: Atlanta Monster and the Politics of "True Crime" Podcasting', *Atlanta Studies*, 16 October 2018.
- Reynolds, John Mark and Roger Overton (eds.), *The New Media Frontier* (Wheaton, Illinois, 2008).
- Rich, Jennifer, 'Sound, mobility and landscapes of exhibition: radio-guided tours at the Science Museum, London, 1960–1964', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 52, (2016), pp. 61–73 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2016.02.010> (accessed 20 July 2020).
- Rickly-Boyd, Jillian, 'The Tourist Narrative', *Tourist Studies* 9, 3, (2009), pp. 259–280 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1468797610382701> (accessed 27 November 2021).
- Riden, Philip and Dudley Fowkes, *Hardwick: A Great House and Its Estate* (Sussex, 2019).
- Ritchie, Donald A., *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–4.
- Roberts, Glyn, 'Griffith of Penrhyn, Caernarfonshire', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, online edn, <https://biography.wales/article/s1-GRIF-PEN-1300> (accessed 12 May 2022).
- Roberts, Geoffrey, 'Introduction', in G. Roberts (ed.) *The History and Narrative Reader* (London 2001), p. 6.
- Roberts, Owain Rhys Roberts and Dafydd Tudur, 'The First Seven Months of the Covid-19 Pandemic: Reflections from the National Library of Wales', *Alexandria: The Journal of National and International Library and Information Issues*, 30, 2–3, (2020), pp. 213–216 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0955749021996193> (accessed 10 July 2022).
- Robinson, Christine, *Chatsworth: The Housekeeper's Tale* (Chesterfield, 2014).
- Robinson-Greene, Rachel, 'The Ethics of Amateur Podcast Sleuthing', *Prindle Post*, online edn, 14 June 2017 <https://www.prindleinstitute.org/2017/06/ethics-amateur-podcast-sleuthing/> (accessed 5 December 2021).
- Rodman, Margaret C. 'Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality', *American Anthropologist*, 94, 3, pp. 640–656 <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1992.94.3.02a00060> (accessed 10 April 2019).
- Rogers, Dallas and Miles Herbert, 'Podcasts and Urban Studies: Notes from the Field; Sounds from the Studio', *Urban Policy and Research*, 38, 1, (2020), pp. 63–73 <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2019.1663726> (accessed 8 June 2022).
- Rose, Charlie, 'Tim Cook (CEO of Apple) interviewed by Charlie Rose', online edn, (2017) Full transcript: <https://charlierose.com/videos/23392> (accessed 5 September 2022).

- Rothenberg, Miriam, 'Review of Cadw Mobile App [application],' *Internet archaeology*, online edn, 44, (2017) <https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue44/14/index.html> (accessed 29 May 2020).
- Rubin, Steve, Floraine Berthouzoz, Gautham J. Mysore, Wilmot Li and Maneesh Agrawala, 'Content-based tools for editing audio stories', *Association for Computing Machinery*, (UIST Conference 2013), pp.113–122 <https://doi.org/10.1145/2501988.2501993> (accessed 5 August 2022).
- Ryan, Marie-Laure and Ernst van Alphen, 'Narratology' in Irene Makaryk (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (Toronto, 1993), p. 110–116.
- Salvati, Andrew J., 'DIY histories: Podcasting the past', *Sounding Out!* (2014), online edn, <https://soundstudiesblog.com/2014/04/14/diy-histories-podcasting-the-presenting-of-the-past/> (accessed 1 September 2022).
- Salvati, Andrew J., 'Podcasting the Past: Hardcore History, Fandom, and DIY Histories', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 22, 2, (2015), pp. 231–236 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2015.1083375> (accessed 18 June 2022).
- San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 'SFMOMA Artcast', online edn, (2005–2014), <https://www.sfmoma.org/series/artcast/> (accessed 22 May 2021).
- Schoolfield, George, *A Baedeker of Decadence: Charting a Literary Fashion, 1884–1927* (New Haven, Connecticut, 2004).
- Scott, A. J., C. Carter, M. R. Reed, P. Larkham, D. Adams, N. Morton, R. Waters, D. Collier, C. Crean, R. Curzon, R. Forster, P. Gibbs, N. Grayson, M. Hardman, A. Hearle, D. Jarvis, M. Kennet, K. Leach, M. Middleton, N. Schiessel, B. Stonyer, R. Coles, 'Disintegrated Development at the Rural–Urban Fringe: Re-Connecting Spatial Planning Theory and Practice', *Progress in Planning*, 83 (2013), pp. 1–52 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2012.09.001> (accessed 27 November 2021).
- Scriven, Richard, 'Making a Podcast: Reflecting on Creating a Place-Based Podcast', *Area*, 54, (2022), pp. 260–265 <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12776> (accessed 18 June 2022).
- Sheftel, Anna and Stacey Zembryzkycki, 'Slowing Down to Listen in the Digital Age: How New Technology is Changing Oral History Practice', *The Oral History Review*, 44, 1, (2017), p.103.
- Shiri, Ali, Deanna Howard and Sharon Farnel, 'Indigenous Digital Storytelling: Digital Interfaces Supporting Cultural Heritage Preservation and Access', *International*

- Information & Library Review*, 54, 2, (2021), pp. 93–114
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10572317.2021.1946748> (accessed 4 July 2022).
- Skains, Rebecca Lyle, ‘Creative Practice as Research: Discourse on Methodology’, *Media Practice and Education* 19, 1, (2018), pp. 82–97
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14682753.2017.1362175> (accessed 15 April 2021).
- Skift, Jason Clampet, ‘Google Is Letting Arthur Frommer Keep His Brand Name’ *Business Insider*, online edn, 4 April 2013 <https://www.businessinsider.com/google-is-letting-arthur-frommer-keep-his-brand-name-2013-4?r=US&IR=T> (accessed 5 March 2019).
- Slotten, Chelsi, ‘Podcasting as Public Archaeology’, *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 9, 2, (2021), pp. 134–137 <https://doi.org/10.1080/20518196.2021.1928449> (accessed 17 May 2022).
- Smecca, Paola Daniela, ‘Tourist Guidebooks and the Image of Sicily in Translation’, *Perspectives*, 17, 2, (2009) pp. 109–19 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09076760903026366> (accessed 20 November 2019).
- Smith, Hazel and R. T. Dean, *Practice-Led Research, Research-Led Practice in the Creative Arts* (Edinburg, 2012).
- Smith, Jen Rose, ‘Travel Guidebooks Aren’t Dead, but They’ll Never Be the Same. Maybe That’s a Good Thing’, *The Washington Post*, online edn, 4 June 2022
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/travel/2022/03/04/guidebooks-travel-writing-future/?fbclid=IwAR1ILt5IVEw6pbyv1Dn7E1SfrcJYYBcTV49gTYfeTY5DM0ykOvIjKWhpwIE> (accessed 15 August 2022).
- Snow, Dan, ‘Coronavirus: Intelligence Failure’, *History Hit Podcast*, online edn, 25 May 2020 <https://play.acast.com/s/dansnowshistoryhit/coronavirus-intelligencefailure> (accessed 25 April 2021).
- Srinivasan, Ramesh, Robin Boast, Jonathan Furner and Katherine M. Becvar, ‘Digital Museums and Diverse Cultural Knowledges: Moving Past the Traditional Catalog’, *The Information Society*, 25, 4, (2009), pp. 265–278
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01972240903028714> (accessed 10 June 2022).
- Stephens, Leslie and Sidney Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 23, (London, 1890), p. 235.
- Stareschki, Amy, ‘Squatting History: The Power of Oral History as a History-Making Practice’, *The Oral History Review*, 41, 2, (2014), p. 188.
- Strauser, John, William P. Stewart, Nicole M. Evans, Lorraine Stamberger and Carena J. van Riper, ‘Heritage Narratives for Landscapes on the Rural–Urban Fringe in the

- Midwestern United States', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 62, 7, (2019) pp. 1260–1286 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2018.1492908> (accessed 27 November 2021).
- Sun, Jerry Chih-Yuan and Shih-Jou Yu, 'Personalized Wearable Guides or Audio Guides: An Evaluation of Personalized Museum Guides for Improving Learning Achievement and Cognitive Load', *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction: Human Factors and Personalized Learning*, 35, (2019), pp. 404–414 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10447318.2018.1543078> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- Symons, Alex, 'Podcast Comedy and 'Authentic Outsiders': How New Media Is Challenging the Owners of Industry', *Celebrity Studies*, 8, 1, (2017), pp. 104–118 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2016.1217162> (accessed 18 May 2022).
- Tahana, Ngaroma and Martin Oppermann, 'Maori cultural performances and tourism', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 23 (1998) pp. 23–30 <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2007.9686776> (accessed May 5, 2023).
- Tallon, Loïc and Kevin Walker, *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience: Handheld Guides and Other Media* (Lanham, Maryland, 2008).
- Tarr, Russell, 'Active History Podcast Database', online edn, <https://www.activehistory.co.uk/library/podcasts/> (accessed 8 September 2021).
- The Charleston Trust, 'Part 1: Downstairs 1', *Queer History*, online edn, (2010), <https://www.charleston.org.uk/history-and-collection/queer-history/> (accessed 8 January 2019).
- The Times, 'The Legacy of Penrhyn Castle Part 1–2', *The Stories of our Times Podcast*, online edn, 3 August 2021 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/podcasts/stories-of-our-times> (accessed 5 October 2021).
- Tobin, Stephanie J. and Rosanna E. Guadagno, 'Why People Listen: Motivations and Outcomes of Podcast Listening', *PLoS ONE*, online edn, 17, 4, (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0265806> (accessed 15 June 2022).
- Todorov, Tzvetan, *Grammaire du Decameron* (Hague, 1969), p. 10.
- Tor Labs, 'Stories from Among the Stars,' *Macmillan Podcasts*, online edn, <https://podcasts.macmillan.com/podcast/stories-from-among-the-stars/> (accessed on 15 August 2022).
- Toth, John, 'The Virtual Teaching Artist: An Aesthetic Approach to Designing a Museum Podcast', *Teaching Artist Journal*, 9, 4 (2011), pp. 213–25 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15411796.2011.604619> (accessed 7 April 2020).

- Towner, John, 'Guidebook', In Jafar Jafari (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Tourism* (London, 2000).
- Tran, Tony, 'Creating Sound in Silences: The Second Wave Podcast and Pluralizing Vietnamese Diasporic Histories', *Popular Communication*, 17, 283, (2019), pp. 288–300 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2019.1634809> (accessed 10 May 2022).
- Tsang, Nelson K. F., Gloria K. Y. Chan and Kevin K. F. Ho, 'A Holistic Approach to Understanding the Use of Travel Guidebooks: Pre-, during, and Post-Trip Behavior', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 28, 7, (2011) pp. 720–735 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2011.611741> (accessed 22 August 2021).
- Tumarkin, Maria, 'This narrated life: The limits of storytelling', *Griffith Review*, 4, (2014), pp. 175–184 <https://www.griffithreview.com/articles/this-narrated-life/> (accessed 2 July 2022).
- Underberg-Goode, Natalie, 'Digital Storytelling for Heritage Across Media', *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals*, 13, 2, (2017), pp. 103–114 <https://doi.org/10.1177/155019061701300205> (accessed 13 July 2022).
- United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO), 'Museums around the World in the Face of COVID-19', online edn, (2020) <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373530> (accessed 20 July 2022).
- Urbina, Gabriel, Zach Valenti, Emma Sherr-Ziarko, Michaela Swee, Cecila Lynn-Jacobs, Zach Libresco, Noah Masur, Michelle Agresti, Scotty Shoemaker, Ariela Rotenberg, Alan Rodi and Sarah Shachat, 'Wolf 359', online edn, <https://wolf359.fm/> (accessed 1 September 2022).
- Van Winkle, Christine M. and Ken Backman, 'Designing interpretive audio tours to enhance meaningful learning transfer at a historic site', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 6, 1, (2011), pp. 29–43 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2010.518761> (accessed 4 September 2022).
- Vaughan, Sian, 'Practice submissions – are doctoral regulations and policies responding to the needs of creative practice,' *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, 26, 3, (2021), pp. 333–352 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13596748.2021.1920262> (accessed 5 September 2022).
- Vodafone, 'Comedy takes the top spot for Brits' favourite podcast genre', online edn, 28 April 2022 <https://www.vodafone.co.uk/newscentre/press-release/comedy-takes-the-top-spot-for-brits-favourite-podcast-genre/> (accessed 30, April 2022).
- Vrettakis, Ektor, Vassilis Kourtis, Akrivi Katifori, 'Narrative – Creating and Experiencing Mobile Digital Storytelling in Cultural Heritage', *Digital Applications in Archaeology*

- and Cultural Heritage*, 15, (2019), pp. 1–17
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.daach.2019.e00114> (accessed 15 July 2022).
- UNESCO, ‘Draft Medium Term Plan 1990-1995’, *UNESCO-ICOMOS*, Document 25 (1989), p. 57.
- Waldmann, Ella, ‘From Storytelling to Storylistening: How the Hit Podcast S-Town Reconfigured the Production of Reception of Narrative Nonfiction’, *Ex-Centric Narratives: Journal of Anglophone Literature, Culture and Media*, IV, 30, (2020), pp. 27–42 <https://doi.org/10.26262/exna.v0i4.7913> (accessed 10 May 2022).
- Wang, J. H., ‘The Perils of Ladycasting: Podcasting, Gender, and Alternative Production Cultures’, in Jeremy Wade Morris and Eric Hoyt (eds.), *Saving New Sounds: Podcast Preservation and Historiography*, (Ann Arbor, 2021), pp. 51–70.
- Wang, Xinyuan, Rosa Lasaponara, Lei Luo, Fulong Chen, Hong Wan, Ruixia Yang and Jing Zhen, ‘Digital Heritage’, in Huadong Guo, Michael F. Goodchild and Alessandro Annoni (eds.), *Manual of Digital Earth*, online edn, (2019), pp. 565–591
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-32-9915-3_17 (accessed 26 July 2022).
- Weaver, David, ‘Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38, 1, (2011), pp. 249–267.
- Wengraf, Tom, *Qualitative Research Interviewing: biographic narrative and semi-structured methods* (London, 2001) pp. 60-72.
- While, Aidan and Michael Short, ‘Place Narratives and Heritage Management: The Modernist Legacy in Manchester’, *Area*, 43, 1, (2011), pp. 4–13
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2010.00962.x> (accessed 20 September 2021).
- White, Andrew, ‘Digital Britain: New Labour’s Digitisation of the UK’s Cultural Heritage’, *Cultural Trends*, 20, 3–4, (2011), pp. 317–325
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2011.589712> (accessed 29 June 2022).
- White, Hayden, ‘The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality’, *Critical Inquiry*, 7, 1, (1980), pp. 5–27.
- Williams, Charlotte, *Sugar and Slate* (Cardigan, 2022).
- Willox, Ashlee Cunsolo, Sherilee L. Harper and Victoria L. Edge, ‘Storytelling in a Digital Age: Digital Storytelling as an Emerging Narrative Method for Preserving and Promoting Indigenous Oral Wisdom’, *Qualitative Research*, 13, 2, (2012), pp. 127–147
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112446105> (accessed 29 July 2022).

- Wilson, Michael C., 'Heritage landscapes compared/contrasted/contested/interpreted, lost/won', *Reviews in Anthropology*, 48, 2, pp. 59–87
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00938157.2019.1631023> (accessed April 5, 2023).
- Wise, Jason, 'How many blogs are there in the world in 2022?', *Earthweb*, online edn, 20 June 2022 <https://earthweb.com/how-many-blogs-are-there-in-the-world/#:~:text=In%202022%2C%20there%20are%20over,than%202.5%20billion%20every%20year> (accessed 16 May 2022).
- Wissmann, Torsten and Stefan Zimmermann, 'Sound in media: audio drama and audio-guided tours as stimuli for the creation of place', *GeoJournal*, 80, 6, (2015), pp. 803–10
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-015-9645-3> (accessed 25 April 2022).
- Yang, Harrison Hao and Shuyan Wang (eds.), *Cases on formal and informal e-learning environments*, (Hershey, Pennsylvania, 2012).
- Zeppell, Heather and C. Michael Hall, 'Arts and heritage tourism', in B. Weiler and C.M. Hall (eds.), *Special Interest Tourism* (1992), pp. 47–68.
- Zip World, 'Penrhyn Quarry Tour', online edn,
<https://www.zipworld.co.uk/adventure/penrhyn-quarry-tour> (accessed 18 July 2022).

I. Appendix

List of interviewees

Dr Shaun Evans – Lecturer in Early Modern & Welsh History and Director of the Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates, Bangor University.

Dr Gwilym Owen – Senior Lecturer in Property Law and Legal History, Bangor University.

Professor Ann Parry Owen – Research Fellow and Project Leader, The Poetry of Guto'r Glyn, University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth University.

Dr Chris Evans – Professor in History, Faculty of Creative Industries, University of South Wales.

Dr Marian Gwyn – Heritage Consultant and Researcher, specialising in Britain and its connection to the Atlantic Slave Trade.

Eleanor Harding – Former Assistant Curator for Wales, National Trust.

Richard Pennington – Senior Collections and House Manager at Penrhyn Castle, National Trust.

Ann Dolben – Volunteer at Penrhyn Castle, National Trust.

Dr Dafydd Roberts – Former Keeper of the National Slate Museum, Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru.

Teleri Owen – Welsh politics and Government PhD researcher at Cardiff University,

Dr Robert Llewelyn Tyler – Assistant Professor of Humanities and Social Sciences, Khalifa University.

Elfed Bullock – Member of Côr y Penrhyn.

Rheinallt Davies – Member of Côr y Penrhyn.

Dr David Gwyn OBE – Archaeologist and Historian, former advisor to Gwynedd Council on the UNESCO World heritage bid for the Slate Landscape of Northwest Wales.

Sean Taylor – Owner and Founder of Zip World.

Jean Williams – Descendant of Ifan Evans, former tenant farmer working and living on the Penrhyn estate.

Lois Jones – Senior programming and partnership officer at Penrhyn Castle, National Trust.

Alun Davies – Chairman and Member of Côr y Penrhyn.

Participant information sheet in English



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality
and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Information Sheet

Title of PhD project: Interpreting Penrhyn: How podcasts can be used to communicate the multi-layered narrative of a Welsh Estate.

Researcher's name: **KAYLA JONES**

The capability of digital tools to capture both the tangible and intangible essence of heritage sites is a growing asset to the heritage industry. The use of new media has allowed for a technology-driven alternative to preserving cultural heritage, that has been found to be a valuable way to interpret heritage to visitors and a useful tool for researchers and contributors around the world to collaborate.

Research has shown that digital tools such as podcasts can be an effective method of storytelling in the digital age, especially in tourism as the format is far more convenient and versatile than a traditional guidebook. As a not a widely utilized tool in the heritage sector, exploring the ways podcasting can be created for visitors will be a beneficial contribution to research in both heritage and tourism.

The primary aim of the project is to create a digital artefact, a podcast, which will be used as a tool in promoting the Penrhyn estate to potential tourists to the North Wales area, as well as a local-centric platform for narratives to be shared by voices in the local community and academics knowledgeable of the Estate's diverse history. The podcast will consist of around five, 30 minute episodes, and will have an accompanying website to share photos, links and videos pertaining to the podcast. The three end goals of this project will be to convey Penrhyn Estate's global and local influence, increase heritage tourism to the area and present community narratives of the Estate.

To achieve the aims of the research, a two staged mixed methods approach was adopted, firstly in the form of textual analysis and secondly in a practiced based methodology Textual analysis was conducted on all published National Trust Penrhyn Castle Guidebooks which will in turn inform the content of the podcast. The podcast will be adopted from the format of the guidebooks, and redesigned to suit the layered nature of the Estate's history and the uses of new technology in the heritage industry. Ultimately, this project will be a digital resource that conveys the varied

narratives and perspectives of the Penrhyn Estate whilst establishing a best practice model for practitioners or the heritage industry.

Data collected for the podcast will be through the form of interviews and recorded audio, as well as some photographs and video clips for the accompanying limited website. All data will be stored on the Bangor University's M drive. The university system is password protected. Once data has been compiled and edited to make the podcast, the podcast will be hosted both on a public podcast hosting site such as PodBean, and podcast directories such as iTunes, Soundcloud and TuneIn as well as linked to the website which will be connected to the university's ISWE site. The podcast will be hosted on a website which will be accessible to the general public.

Participants who have agreed to interviews have a right to withdraw from the interview and also have a right to withdraw the use of the interview from this project. Interviews conducted will be an hour (1) in length and the participants may conduct the interview in Welsh or English. Interviews can be conducted at the university, at the participant's workplace, or via Skype/Google Hangouts.

Questions asked in the interviews will pertain to the history, heritage and future of the Penrhyn Estate. Participants will be asked informal questions about their knowledge or experience of aspects of the estate's history such as early history, Penrhyn Castle, Penrhyn Quarry, Port and Railroad, Penrhyn's Jamaican Plantations and Penrhyn Estate's current and future uses.

For further information, please contact

Kayla Jones (Investigator): hipa36@bangor.ac.uk

Professor Andrew Edwards (1st supervisor): a.c.edwards@bangor.ac.uk

Dr Shaun Evans (2nd supervisor): shaun.evans@bangor.ac.uk

Dr Steffan Thomas (3rd supervisor): s.w.thomas@bangor.ac.uk

Participant information sheet in Welsh



'Cod Ymarfer Prifysgol Bangor ar gyfer Sicrhau Ansawdd a Safonau
Academaidd Rhaglenni Ymchwil' (Cod 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLEG Y CELFYDDYDAU, DYNIAETHAU A BUSNES

TAFLEN WYBODAETH I GYFRANOGWYR

Teitl y project: Dehongli'r Penrhyn: Sut y gellir defnyddio podlediadau i gyfleu naratif aml-haenog ystâd Gymreig?

Enw'r ymchwilydd: **Kayla Jones**

Mae gallu offer digidol i godi hanfod nodweddion cyffyrddadwy ac anghyffwrdd safleoedd treftadaeth yn ased cynyddol i'r diwydiant treftadaeth. Mae defnyddio cyfryngau newydd wedi rhoi dull arall technolegol i ddiogelu a chadw treftadaeth ddiwylliannol. Gwelwyd bod hyn yn ffordd werthfawr o ddehongli treftadaeth i ymwelwyr ac yn gyfrwng defnyddiol i hyrwyddo cydweithio ymysg ymchwilwyr a chyfranwyr ledled y byd.

Mae ymchwil wedi dangos y gall offer digidol fel podlediadau fod yn ddull effeithiol o adrodd straeon yn yr oes ddigidol, yn enwedig ym maes twristiaeth, gan fod y fformat yn llawer mwy cyfleus ac amlbwrpas na thywyslyfr traddodiadol. Bydd edrych ar y ffyrdd y gellir creu podlediadau i ymwelwyr yn gyfraniad buddiol i ymchwil mewn treftadaeth a thwristiaeth gan nad yw'n gyfrwng a ddefnyddir yn helaeth yn y sector treftadaeth ar hyn o bryd.

Prif nod y project yw creu arteffact digidol, sef podlediad, a fydd yn cael ei ddefnyddio fel cyfrwng i hyrwyddo ystâd y Penrhyn i ddarpar dwristiaid i ardal Gogledd Cymru, yn ogystal â gweithredu fel llwyfan lleol i naratifau gael eu rhannu gan leisiau yn y gymuned leol ac academyddion sy'n wybodus yn hanes amrywiol yr ystâd. Bydd y podlediad yn cynnwys tua phum pennod, 30 munud yr un, a bydd gwefan gysylltiedig i rannu lluniau, cysylltiadau a fideos sy'n ymwneud â'r podlediad. Tri nod sylfaenol y project hwn fydd cyfleu dylanwad byd-eang a lleol Ystâd y Penrhyn, cynyddu twristiaeth treftadaeth i'r ardal a chyflwyno naratifau cymunedol yn ymwneud â'r ystâd.

Er mwyn cyflawni nodau'r ymchwil, defnyddiwyd dull gweithredu dulliau cymysg mewn dau gam. Yn gyntaf ar ffurf dadansoddiad testunol ac yn ail mewn methodoleg wedi'i seilio ar ymarfer. Gwnaed dadansoddiad testunol ar yr holl Arweinyfrau ar Gastell Penrhyn a gyhoeddwyd gan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol, a bydd hyn, yn ei dro, yn llywio cynnwys y podlediad. Seilir y podlediad ar fformat yr arweinyfrau, a'i ailgynllunio i weddu i natur haenog hanes yr ystâd a'r defnydd o dechnoleg newydd yn y diwydiant treftadaeth. Yn y pen draw, bydd y project hwn yn adnodd digidol

sy'n cyflwyno naratifau a safbwyntiau amrywiol Ystâd y Penrhyn gan ddod yn fodel o ymarfer gorau ar gyfer ymarferwyr neu'r diwydiant treftadaeth.

Cesglir data ar gyfer y podlediad trwy gyfweiliadau a recordiadau sain, ynghyd â rhai ffotograffau a chlipiau fideo ar gyfer y wefan gyfyngedig a fydd yn cyd-fynd â'r podlediad. Bydd yr holl ddata'n cael ei storio ar yriant M Prifysgol Bangor. Mae system y brifysgol wedi'i diogelu gan gyfrinair. Unwaith y bydd y data wedi cael eu casglu ynghyd a'u golygu i wneud y podlediad, bydd y podlediad yn cael ei gynnal ar safle cynnal podlediad cyhoeddus fel PodBean, a chyfeiriaduron podlediad fel iTunes, Soundcloud a TuneIn, yn ogystal â bod yn gysylltiedig â'r wefan a fydd wedi'i chysylltu â safle Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru y brifysgol. Bydd y podlediad yn cael ei gynnal ar wefan y gall y cyhoedd fynd iddi.

Mae gan gyfranogwyr sydd wedi cytuno i wneud cyfweiliadau hawl i dynnu'n ôl o'r cyfweiliad ac mae ganddynt hawl hefyd i wrthod â gadael i'r cyfweiliad o'r project hwn gael ei ddefnyddio. Bydd y cyfweiliadau a gynhelir yn awr o hyd a gall y cyfranogwyr gynnal y cyfweiliad yn Gymraeg neu yn Saesneg. Gellir cynnal cyfweiliadau yn y brifysgol, yng ngweithle'r cyfranogwr, neu trwy Skype / Google Hangouts.

Bydd y cwestiynau a ofynnir yn y cyfweiliadau yn ymwneud â hanes, treftadaeth a dyfodol Ystâd y Penrhyn. Gofynnir cwestiynau anffurfiol i'r cyfranogwyr am eu gwybodaeth neu eu profiad o agweddau ar hanes yr ystâd, megis ei hanes cynnar, Castell Penrhyn, Chwarel y Penrhyn, Porth Penrhyn a'r rheilffordd, planhigfeydd y Penrhyn yn Jamaica, a'r defnydd a wneir o Ystâd y Penrhyn ar hyn o bryd a defnydd tebygol yn y dyfodol.

Am fwy o wybodaeth, cysylltwch â

Kayla Jones (Ymchwilydd): hipa36@bangor.ac.uk

Yr Athro Andrew Edwards (goruchwyliwr 1^{af}): a.c.edwards@bangor.ac.uk

Dr Shaun Evans (2^{il} oruchwyliwr): shaun.evans@bangor.ac.uk

Dr Steffan Thomas (3^{ydd} goruchwyliwr): s.w.thomas@bangor.ac.uk

Ethics Forms



'Cod Ymarfer Prifysgol Bangor ar gyfer Sicrhau Ansawdd a Safonau
Academaidd Rhaglenni Ymchwil' (Cod 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLEG Y CELFYDDYDAU, DYNIAETHAU A BUSNES

Ffurflen Gydsynio i Gyfranogwyr

Enw'r ymchwilydd: Kayla Jones

Mae'r ymchwilydd uchod wedi rhoi gwybodaeth ddigonol i mi am yr ymchwil yr wyf wedi gwirfoddoli i gymryd rhan ynddi. Deallaf fod gennyf yr hawl i dynnu'n ôl o'r ymchwil ar unrhyw adeg. Deallaf hefyd y caiff fy hawl i fod yn ddienw a'm hawl i gyfrinachedd eu parchu.

Rwy'n cytuno i'r cyfweiliad gael ei recordio. (dileu/diwygio yn ôl yr angen)

Richard Pennington

Llofnod y cyfranogwr

Sep 14 2022

Dyddiad

Darperir dau gopi o'r ffurflen hon. Dylai'r cyfranogwr gadw un copi a dylai'r ymchwilydd gadw'r copi arall.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: KAYLA JONES

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected should I wish to be anonymous.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant

Date

8/6/2021

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and
Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant *Ann Dolben* ANN DOLBEN

Date 8-02-21

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 8/1/2020

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 8/1/2020

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

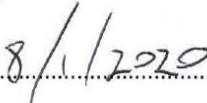
Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 6/1/20

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

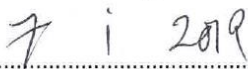
Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

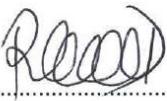
COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

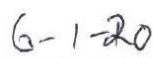
Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 6/1/20

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant *Eilfed Bullock*

Date *6 - 1 - 2020*

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

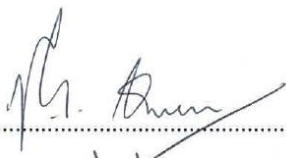
COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and
Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 26/2/20

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>


COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

.....
Date
Sep 16 2022

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Dr Robert Avelyn Tyler

Signature of participant

Sep 18 2022

Date

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Professor Ann Parry Owen

Signature of participant

Sep 18 2022

Date

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant *Chris Evans*

Date Sep 22 2022

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Marian Gwyn

Signature of participant

Sep 14 2022
Date

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: Kayla Jones

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant *Eleanor Harding*

Date *1/2/21*

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.



Bangor University's 'Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards of Research Programmes' (Code 03)
<https://www.bangor.ac.uk/ar/main/regulations/home.htm>

COLLEGE OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND BUSINESS

Participant Consent Form

Researcher's name: KAYLA JONES

The researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any point. I also understand that my rights to anonymity and confidentiality will be respected should I wish to be anonymous.

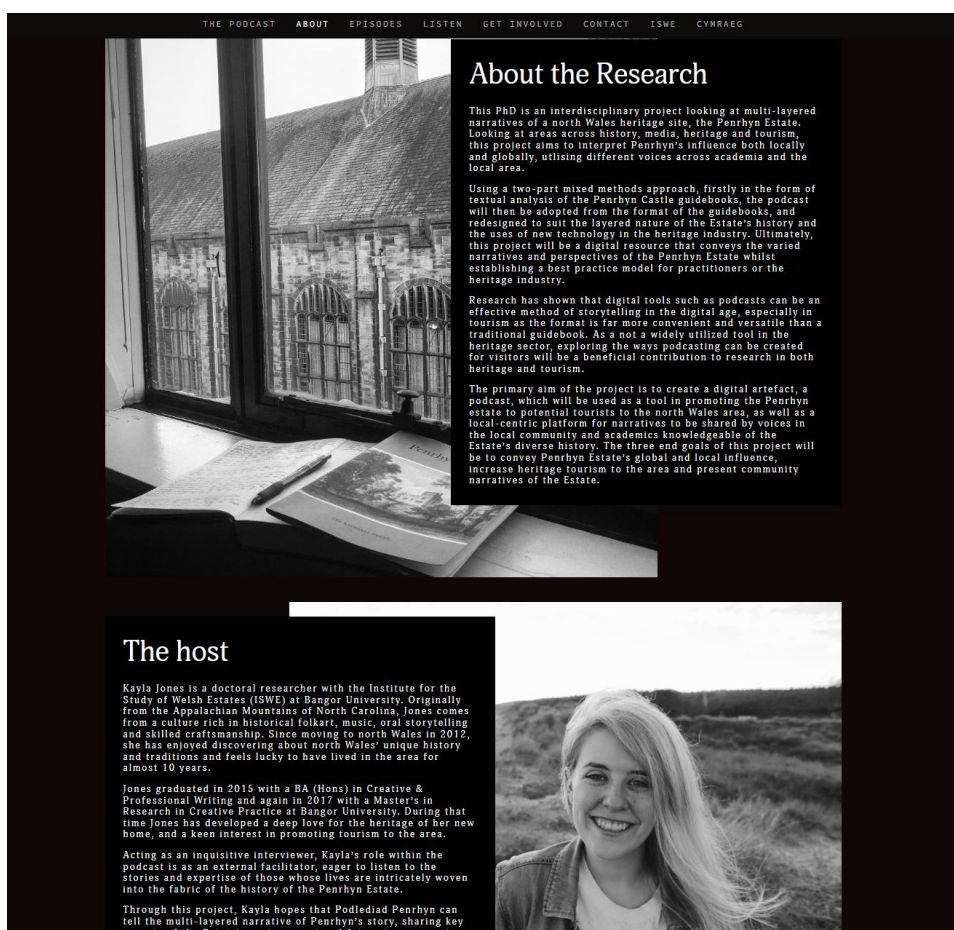
I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. (delete/amend as needed)

Signature of participant 

Date 14/06/2021

This form will be produced in duplicate. One copy should be retained by the participant and the other by the researcher.

Screenshots of the website in English



THE PODCAST ABOUT EPISODES LISTEN GET INVOLVED CONTACT ISWE CYMRAEG

tell the multi-layered narrative of Penrhyn's story, sharing key aspects of the Estate's past, present and future in an engaging and exploratory way to both locals familiar with Penrhyn's history and those who will encounter the area's vast history for the first time on a popular and easy to access platform.

EPISODES

SEP 16, 2022

EPISODE 1: EARLY HISTORY

Welcome to *Podllediad Penrhyn*, a five-part podcast about the history of the Penrhyn estate in northwest Wales. Penrhyn Castle is a country house in Gwynedd, now a major visitor attraction managed by the National Trust, which previously sat at the heart of an extensive landed estate stretching across parts of in northwest Wales. Your host, PhD researcher Kayla Jones, will take you through various aspects of the estate's story, from its medieval history, connections with slavery and role in the global slate industry to considerations of Penrhyn today, its place in north Wales, and its status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

[Read More →](#)

SEP 15, 2022

EPISODE 2: SLAVERY AND JAMAICA

In this eye-opening episode, host Kayla Jones explores Penrhyn's connection with the slave trade in the 18th-19th century. Recorded during the height of the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2020, this episode highlights one of many heritage sites across the UK that have been looking a bit closer into their colonial connections, Penrhyn Castle, which is a National Trust property in northwest Wales.

[Read More →](#)

SEP 14, 2022

EPISODE 3: LIFE AT PENRHYN CASTLE

This is the third episode of *Podllediad Penrhyn*. In this episode, Kayla explores life at Penrhyn, from the building of the castle, servant life, the operation of the estate and the lives of the families who lived in and worked the tenant farms. Penrhyn Castle is a Neo-Norman country house located near Bangor in northwest Wales. Penrhyn Castle was built for Lord Penrhyn in 1822-37, on the site of earlier gentry houses, and served as a powerbase for the Pennant family until the 1950s.

[Read More →](#)

THE PODCAST ABOUT EPISODES LISTEN GET INVOLVED CONTACT ISWE CYMRAEG

SEP 13, 2022

EPISODE 4: SLATE

In episode four, Kayla explores one of the most crucial and at times contested parts of Penrhyn Estate's history: slate. Penrhyn Quarry, once the largest slate quarry in the world, employed thousands of quarrymen and brought large employment to the area. For many, slate quarrying was not just a job, it was a way of life, and a highly skilled trade that was honed over a lifetime. Though quarrying was a dangerous occupation, it was also one that created community and camaraderie amongst quarrying families.

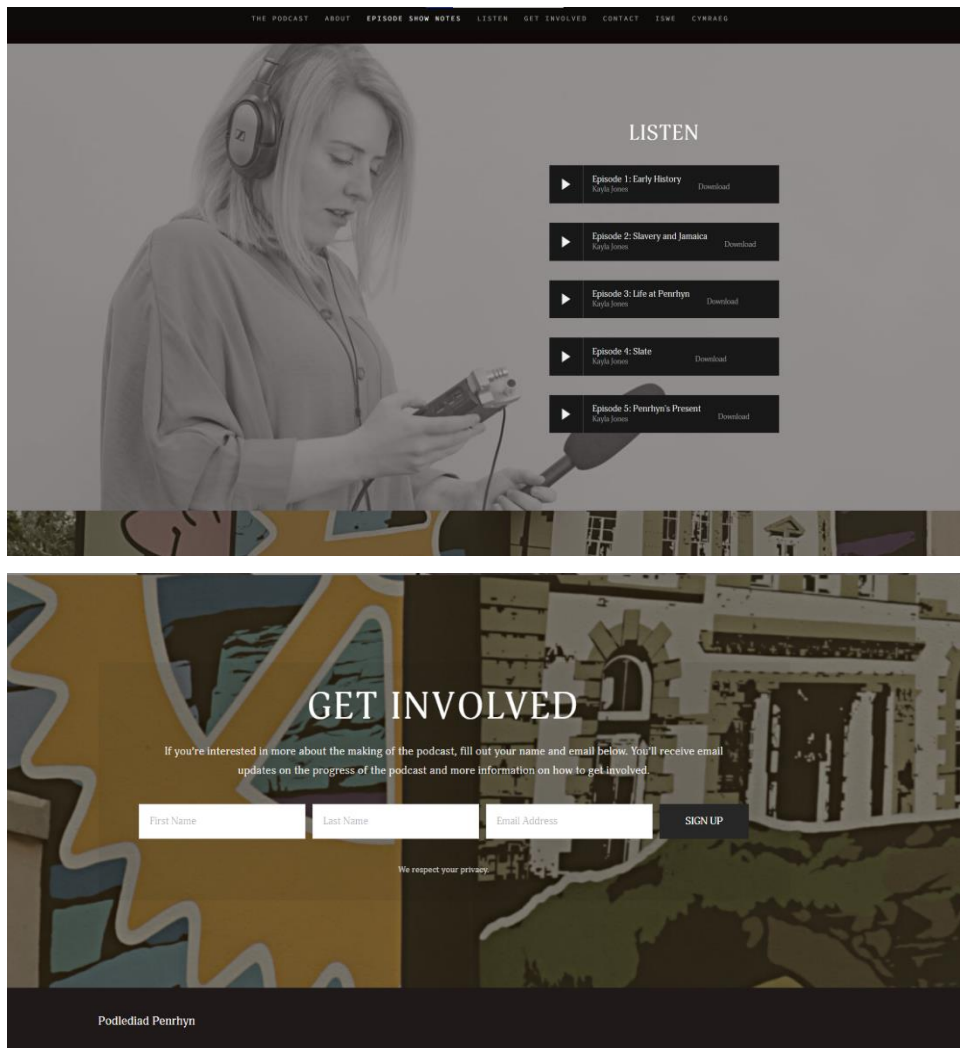
[Read More →](#)

SEP 12, 2022

EPISODE 5: PENRHYN'S IMPACT TODAY

In the fifth and final episode, we'll look at the impact of Penrhyn Castle as a heritage site today, from Penrhyn's transformation project, to other exhibits about the estate's communities, books, plays and art installations that are being created, and the continuing conflict of the heritage site and local perception. This episode will also look at other heritage sites associated with the estate, the new uses of the quarry today and the continuation of slate work in North Wales. *Podllediad Penrhyn* will wrap up by talking about the future impact of the estate with the Unesco World Heritage bid and the impact of the estate's history for future generations.

[Read More →](#)



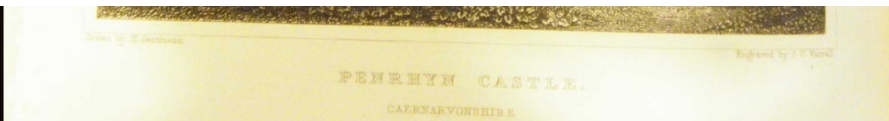
THE PODCAST ABOUT EPISODES LISTEN

PODLEDIAD PENRHYN

GET INVOLVED CONTACT ISWE CYMRAEG

SEPTEMBER 15, 2022

EPISODE 1: EARLY HISTORY



Painting of Penrhyn Castle. Courtesy of Bangor University Archives and Special Collections.

WELCOME TO *PODLEDIAD* *PENRHYN*, A FIVE- PART PODCAST ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE PENRHYN ESTATE IN NORTHWEST WALES.

Penrhyn Castle is a country house in Gwynedd, now a major visitor attraction managed by the National Trust, which previously sat at the heart of an extensive landed estate stretching across parts of in northwest Wales. Your host, PhD researcher Kayla Jones, will take you through various aspects of the estate's story, from its medieval history, connections with slavery and role in the global slate industry to considerations of Penrhyn today, its place in north Wales, and its status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.



Kayla Jones, Podlediad Penrhyn host and PhD researcher with the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estates at Bangor University.

You can learn more about Kayla's research through the website of Bangor University's Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates: [Podcasting Penrhyn](#).

For many, the Penrhyn Estate is synonymous with the slate industry in Gwynedd or slavery in Jamaica, both of which can be challenging topics to explore today.

You can learn more about Kayla's research through the website of Bangor University's Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates: [Podcasting Penrhyn](#).

For many, the Penrhyn Estate is synonymous with the slate industry in Gwynedd or slavery in Jamaica, both of which can be challenging topics to explore today. Though slavery and slate are central to Penrhyn's history they are not the only aspects of its story. Penrhyn's medieval owners, the Gruffydd family, utilised their Welsh and English connections to grow their influence in north Wales and were one of the most prominent landed gentry families in the area. With stories of powerful marital alliances, contested wills and even raids and piracy, Penrhyn's early owners were far from boring.

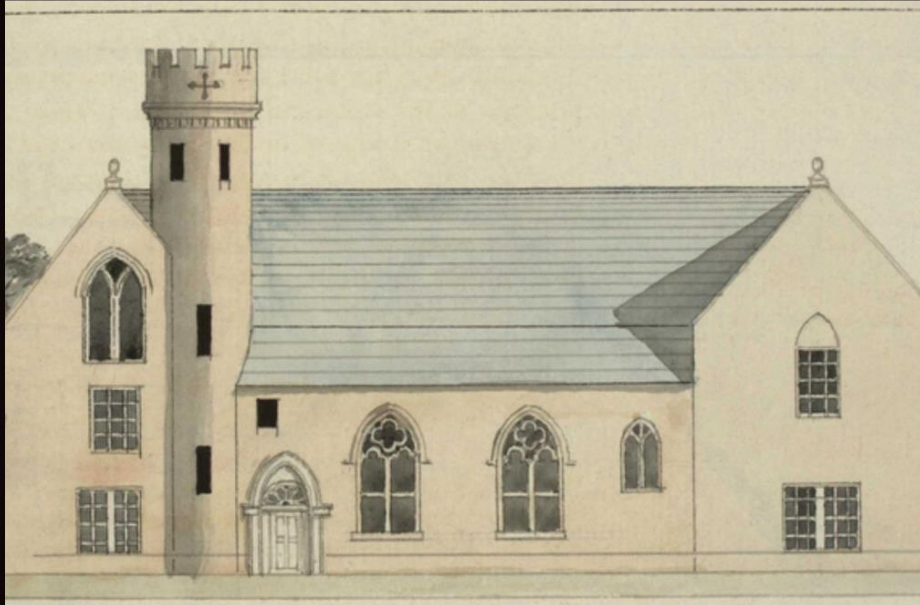
Despite having little tangible evidence of the Gruffydd family's legacy at today's Penrhyn Castle, archives, poetry, and legal records held in Bangor University Archives and Special Collections give us an interesting snapshot of the medieval family's identity and influence in the area. Kayla spoke with historian Dr Shaun Evans, Director of the Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates (ISWE) at Bangor University, about the estate's early owners.

To learn more about the research of ISWE and their events, visit their [website](#).

“

“I think it's really interesting that when most people think about the history of Penrhyn, they'll talk about the Pennant family's plantations in Jamaica and their involvement in transatlantic slavery, or they'll talk about the Penrhyn slate quarry in Bethesda and the great strike of 1900-03, both of which, of course, are really important parts of local and Welsh history. But if you mention Penrhyn to a historian of medieval Wales, they're likely to immediately think of the Gruffydd family.”

— Dr Shaun Evans



Medieval structure previously located on the Penrhyn estate. Accessed via Wikimedia Commons, available from the National Library of Wales.

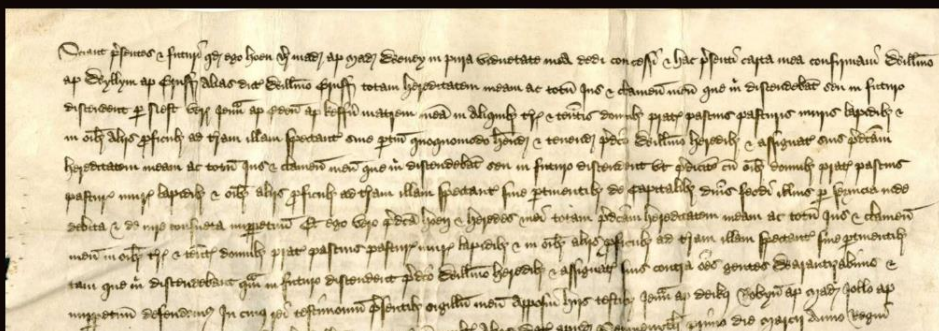
WHO WERE THE GRUFFYDD FAMILY?

The Gruffydd, or Griffiths, family, were a gentry family descended from a man

WHO WERE THE GRUFFYDD FAMILY?

The Gruffydd, or Griffiths, family, were a gentry family descended from a man named Ednyfed Fychan, who was a notable steward to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (Llywelyn the Great), King of Gwynedd, and eventual ruler of Wales in the early 1200s. By 1282, however, Edward I of England had conquered the Kingdom of Gwynedd. Though the Princes of Gwynedd no longer ruled in Wales, a class of Welsh gentry families, or *uchelwyr*, emerged to take on local leadership of their communities. The Gruffydd family of Penrhyn were one of the most powerful examples of these families.

The Gruffydd family acquired land across Anglesey and Caernarfonshire, building the Penrhyn estate across the 1300s–1600s. Ancestry was a key feature in the Gruffydd family's status. Gwilym ap Gruffydd extended his influence through marriage to Morfudd which brought substantial lands into his possession across Anglesey and Caernarfonshire.





Family papers of the Gruffydd family, a part of the Penrhyn Castle Papers from 1340–1627. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections

Despite losing his land because of his involvement in the Glyndŵr Rising of 1400 and 1415, Gwilym ap Gruffydd was eventually given a pardon for his part in the revolt, and was able to buy back his land, as well as the land of nearby 'rebels'. This turned Gwilym into a major landowner, and an influential leader in north Wales.

Gwilym's second marriage to Joan Stanley, the daughter of a prominent Cheshire sheriff, established strong English connections for the Gruffydds, in a time when the Welsh could not usually hold office after the enforcement of penal laws. Gwilym and his son appealed to the English courts about their loyalty to the English Crown, and were allowed certain privileges, including the status and authority accompanying the office of Chamberlain of north Wales.

A COURT CASE THAT LOOKED A LOT LIKE HENRY VIII'S LIFE...

When Gwilym II died in 1531, he left the estate to his son Edward Griffith, who then had three daughters but no male heir. More than a decade of disputes over the inheritance of his estate ensued between his daughters and his brother, which resulted in a heated battle in court and even a raid on Penrhyn.

Kayla spoke with Dr Gwilym Owen — Senior Lecturer in Property Law at Bangor University — about his research into the dispute centred on the Penrhyn entail. Through years of research, Gwilym pieced together the complexity of the case, which centred on the nature of Edward's three marriages.

Edward kept going between two of his wives, Agnes, and Jane Puleston. Originally, Edward married two sisters in succession, Jane, who died shortly after marriage, and Agnes. After this, Edward evidently married a woman named Jane Puleston, who was much more to his father's liking. His father Gwilym did not approve of his marriage to Agnes and encouraged Edward to marry Jane Puleston instead, probably because of her financial connections.

Dr Owen found that Edward kept changing his mind between his two wives, which made his entail complicated. He ended up having three daughters with Jane Puleston, who eventually claimed that they were entitled to his estate. However, his brother Rhys argued that his marriage to his first wife, Agnes, was the only one that was legal, meaning therefore that Rhys was the sole heir to the Penrhyn estate. Although Edward married Agnes as a teenager, and there was talk of the marriage not being consummated, it was hard to tell whether his marriage was bigamous or not.



Large seal from the deeds connected to the Gruffydd family. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

One of the most interesting parts of Dr Owen's research was the connection he found between Edward's situation with his two wives and Henry VIII's, whose marriage was being tested in the courts at the same time as Edward's. At the time, comparisons were being made between Edward's marital situation and Henry VIII's, as the king was contesting his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, who had

VIII's, as the king was contesting his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, who had originally married his brother Arthur before his death in 1502. Based on Henry VIII's situation, Edward of Penrhyn questioned whether it was his marriage to Agnes which was bigamous because of his earlier marriage to her sister Jane, or whether his marriage to Jane Puleston was bigamous, because he was still married to Agnes. This put in question whether his three daughters by Jane Puleston were legitimate or not, just like Mary Tudor (eventually Mary I) who was originally delegitimised by her father in 1533 when he married Anne Boleyn.

Regardless of the legal proceedings, Jane Puleston's father, John Puleston, was not willing to give up the fight for his granddaughters' inheritance. After Edward died in Dublin Castle, John Puleston raided Penrhyn with soldiers bearing guns and bows, trying to find a document that Rhys claimed proved he was the rightful owner of the estate. This was documented in a petition to the King written by Rhys, who complained about John Puleston's unlawful trespassing on what he claimed was his estate. These and many other letters on the Penryn entail are housed in Bangor University Archives, as part of the [Penrhyn Collection](#), which can be explored online or by visiting the archives.

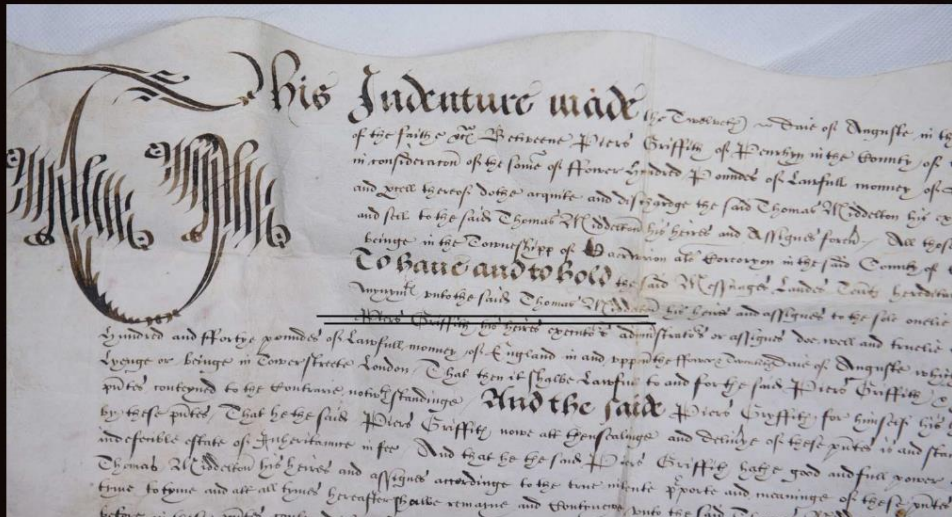
After years of litigation, the two sides agreed to divide the estate between Edward's daughters and his brothers. Dr Owen wrote a book about his findings called *At Variance: The Penrhyn Entail*, [visit here to learn more](#).

PENRHYN'S PIRATE OWNER

Eventually, Penrhyn was passed down to Rhys' son Piers (or Pyrs) Griffiths, whose life was even more eventful than his father's. Piers lived between 1568-1628 and has since gained notoriety as a pirate. There are stories surrounding

OWNER

Eventually, Penrhyn was passed down to Rhys' son Piers (or Pyrs) Griffiths, whose life was even more eventful than his father's. Piers lived between 1568-1628 and has since gained notoriety as a pirate. There are stories surrounding Piers about raids on the high seas alongside Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh. Legend has it, Piers also built a secret tunnel between Port Penrhyn and the old house at Penrhyn. Most of what is written about Piers is considered fictitious, however, what is known about him is that he certainly acted like a pirate financially! After years of his ancestors building up the Penrhyn Estate, Piers mismanaged his inheritance, slowly mortgaging off the estate until 1621 when Penrhyn was sold to John Williams.



Indenture granted to Piers Griffith of Penrhyn, a part of the Penrhyn Castle Papers from 1340–1627. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

John Williams, originally from Conwy, rose to become a well-known figure during James I's reign, holding a number of positions including as King's chaplain in 1617, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Archbishop of York. John Williams died in 1650 and is buried in Llandygai Church, where there is a grand monument erected in his memory. He died without children and passed on the estate to his nephew Griffith Williams. Eventually a portion of the estate was passed down to Ann Susanna Warburton after there were no male heirs to inherit the estate. Ann Susanna married Richard Pennant who grew the estate in the 18th century. We will explore the Pennants in the next two episodes.

WELSH POETRY AT PENRHYN

Kayla also spoke with Professor Ann Parry Owen, from the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, whose research focuses on medieval Welsh literature, language, and poetry. An important part of the cultural life of Welsh gentry families revolved around the patronage of praise poetry focused on the status and identity of the family. One of the many Welsh bards welcomed to Penrhyn was the prominent poet Guto'r Glyn, who sang about the family's impressive Welsh lineage, their noble virtues, their marriages and children and their hospitality. Praise poetry (*canu mawl*) provides a rich snapshot into the lives of Welsh gentry families, such as the types of food they ate, the clothes they wore,

and their roles and responsibilities in Welsh society.

Welsh gentry families, such as the types of food they ate, the clothes they wore, and their roles and responsibilities in Welsh society.

In the podcast, Kayla plays a portion of a poem composed by Guto'r Glyn about the Gruffydd family of Cochwillan, relatives of the Gruffydd family Penrhyn, who lived in a nearby hall house. This recording was produced as a part of a research project directed by Prof. Owen called The Guto'r Glyn Project which included a website created around the life and poems of Guto'r Glyn. The website has a plethora of resources about life in medieval Wales, as evidenced through Guto's poetry, ranging from medicine and agriculture to religion and war. You can also read Guto's poems with Welsh or English explanatory notes, and about his patrons' lives, [like the Griffiths](#). Check out [Guto's Wales](#) for more.

HERE IS A SNIPPET OF GUTO'R GLYN'S POETRY ABOUT THE GRIFFITHS OF COCHWILLAN:



WHERE CAN YOU FIND MORE ABOUT PENRHYN'S MEDIEVAL HISTORY?

Bangor University Archives and Special Collections house a large collection of historical records created by or connected with the Gruffydd and Williams family of Penrhyn; you can [explore the collection online](#) or visit the University to research the archive. If you want to do a bit of physical exploring, St Tegai's Church in Llandygai, located near the main public entrance to Penrhyn Castle, holds several monuments, plaques, and crypts connected with Penrhyn's medieval history. William Griffith and his wife are buried at St Tegai's, and there is also a monument and alabaster tomb for John Williams in the church. To learn more about the church, [visit here](#).





Monument to John Williams located at St Tega's Church in Llandygai. Courtesy of the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estates.

Professor Ann Parry Owen suggests that a great way to learn more about Welsh praise poetry is to visit the [National Library of Wales](#) or explore their digital collection online. This collection includes the Black Book of Carmarthen, The White Book of Rhydderch and the Book of Taliesin, which are examples of the earliest versions of Welsh prose and the Welsh language.

Dr Evans recommends the list below which will give you more detail about the medieval history of Wales:

A.D. Carr, 'Gwilym ap Gruffydd and the rise of the Penrhyn estate', *Welsh History Review* 15, 1 (1990), available online here:

<https://datasyllwr.llgc.org.uk/journals/pdf/AWJAJ016002.pdf>

A. D. Carr, *The Gentry of North Wales in the Later Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2017)

Professor Ann Parry Owen suggests that a great way to learn more about Welsh praise poetry is to visit the [National Library of Wales](#) or explore their digital collection online. This collection includes the Black Book of Carmarthen, The White Book of Rhydderch and the Book of Taliesin, which are examples of the earliest versions of Welsh prose and the Welsh language.

Dr Evans recommends the list below which will give you more detail about the medieval history of Wales:

A.D. Carr, 'Gwilym ap Gruffydd and the rise of the Penrhyn estate', *Welsh History Review* 15, 1 (1990), available online here:

<https://datasyllwr.llgc.org.uk/journals/pdf/AWJAJ016002.pdf>

A. D. Carr, *The Gentry of North Wales in the Later Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2017)

D. J. Bowen, 'Y Canu i Gwilym ap Gruffudd o'r Penrhyn a'i fab Gwilym Fychan', *Dwned* 8 (2002)

D. Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr: Hanes Beirniadol Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1300-1525* (Cardiff, 2014)

R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford, 2000)

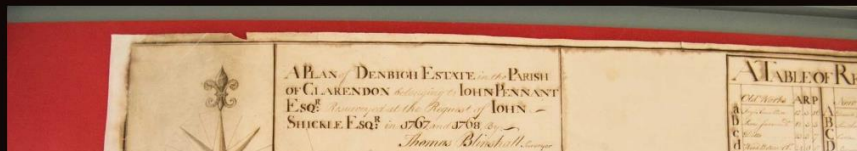
♥ 0 LIKES < SHARE

Episode 2: Slavery and Jamaica >

SEPTEMBER 15, 2022

EPISODE 2: SLAVERY AND JAMAICA

EXPLORE PENRHYN AND WALES' ROLE IN TRANSATLANTIC SLAVERY IN EPISODE TWO OF *PODLEDIAD PENRHYN*.

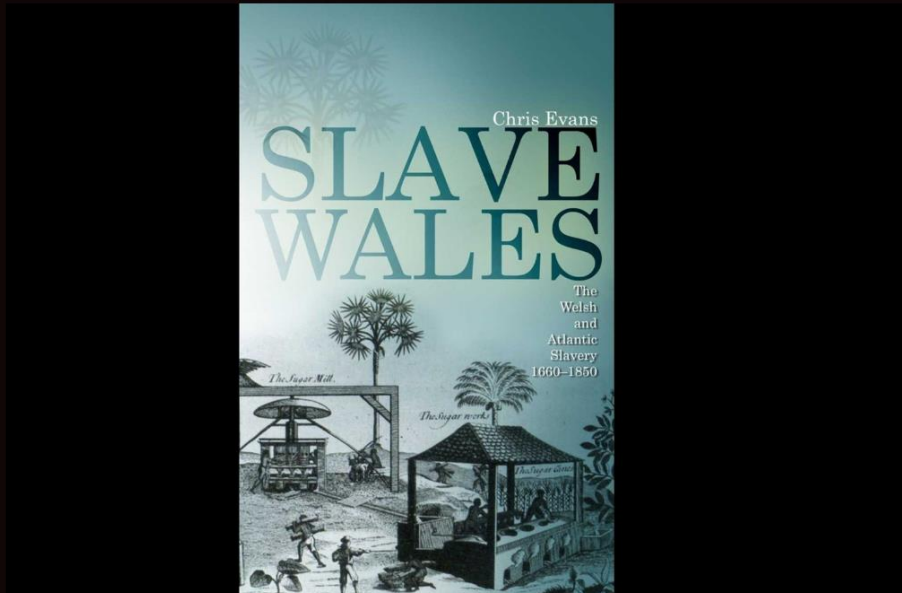


Large map of the Denbigh and Clarendon estates in Jamaica. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

In this eye-opening episode, host Kayla Jones explores Penrhyn's connection with the slave trade in the 18th-19th century. Recorded during the height of the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2020, this episode highlights one of many heritage sites across the UK that have been looking a bit closer into their colonial connections, Penrhyn Castle, which is a National Trust property in northwest Wales.

Join Kayla as she learns about the Jamaican sugar plantations owned by the

Join Kayla as she learns about the Jamaican sugar plantations owned by the Pennant family, previous owners of the Penrhyn estate. Richard Pennant and his second cousin, George Hay Dawkins, were absentee landlords in Jamaica, managing their plantations from afar, using the profits to fund enterprises in Wales, most notably Penrhyn Quarry, which was once the largest slate quarry in the world.



Slave Wales by Dr Chris Evans.

Slave Wales by Dr Chris Evans.

THOUGH JAMAICA IS THOUSANDS OF MILES FROM NORTH WALES, THEIR STORIES ARE INTRICATELY INTERTWINED

One of the most surprising parts of the episode, was finding out how Wales played a part in the transatlantic slave trade and how interwoven slavery was into the society and economy of 19th century Britain. Kayla spoke with Dr Chris Evans, who authored the book *Slave Wales* which highlights how Wales played an active part in the growth of slavery worldwide, and how Welsh-based industries such as copper mining and woollen mills helped maintain the slave trade in surprising ways.

[To read Chris Evans' book *Slave Wales*, visit here.](#)

For those who wish to explore plantation systems and the harsh realities of enslaved life in Jamaica, Dr Evans recommends Professor Trevor Burnard's book *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, exploring the diary of plantation owner Thomas Thistlewood.





Dr Marian Gwyn presenting on the Penrhyn estate. Courtesy of the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estates.

This episode also features [Dr Marian Gwyn](#), who is a heritage consultant and researcher, whose work specialises in the ways heritage organisations can share their connections to colonialism. The Pennant family acquired plantations in Jamaica when Gifford Pennant went over as a soldier in the Cromwellian Army in 1656. He ended up buying extensive land in the West Indies. The family eventually became a large producer of sugarcane in the Clarendon area.

The family also rose in social standing in Jamaica, when Gifford Pennant's son, Edward, became the Chief Justice of Jamaica. Edward then had two sons, Samuel, who became Lord Mayor of London, and John who was a well-known West Indies merchant based in Liverpool. Eventually, the family returned to the UK, acting as

merchant based in Liverpool. Eventually, the family returned to the UK, acting as absentee landlords while the day-to-day operations of the plantations were left to agents. The money made from the sugar production in Jamaica allowed John Pennant to purchase half of what was known as the Penrhyn estate. His son, Richard Pennant, bought the other half of the estate through an advantageous marriage to Anne Susannah Warburton in 1765. Richard Pennant became the first Lord Penrhyn, and as MP for Liverpool was an outspoken supporter of rights for slave owners in the UK. His growing fortune allowed him to develop the Penrhyn estate, and he built roads, houses, schools, agricultural buildings and began to develop the slate quarry.





Event at the Archives and Special Collections at Bangor University exploring Penrhyn's Jamaican connection. Courtesy of the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estates.

Dr Gwyn highlighted the horrors of life in Jamaica for enslaved workers, pointing out the harsh working and living conditions and high death rates of Jamaican enslaved workers who were working on the Pennant Plantations at the time. Though there is not much information about the individuals who laboured on the Pennant plantations, Dr Gwyn talked to Kayla about what she did find in the Penrhyn papers at Bangor University Archives. There are wills, inventories, maps, and letters as well as annual inventory lists that give the names, ages, and health assessments of the enslaved workers on the plantations. Letters were sent back and forth between Richard Pennant and his agents, which talk about uprisings and sickness amongst the enslaved and unbearable weather conditions in Jamaica. Through her research, Dr Gwyn found that around 30 percent of enslaved workers would be too ill to work at any given time.



Painting of Richard Pennant by Henry Thompson, circa 1800. Accessed via Wikimedia Commons available from the National Library of Wales.

In 2007, Dr Gwyn headed up the 'Sugar and Slate' project at Penrhyn Castle, which was a special exhibition and events programme that explored Penrhyn's connection with slavery during the Bicentenary of the 1807 Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade. For the project, local volunteers visited the archives to look through documentation connected to the Jamaican plantations. The volunteers wrote down their findings as a part of the exhibit, which highlighted just how interwoven the slave trade was to life in the UK in the 18th century, and to the development of the Penrhyn estate. The project also included school children from the 'Penrhyn Triangle': north Wales, Liverpool, and Jamaica. The students created artwork, stories and poetry on artifacts connected to the slave industry.

[To look through former exhibitions, booklets and artifacts of the Sugar and Slate Project, visit here.](#)

“

“So without slavery to provide the basis for these institutions, then the industrial

“So without slavery to provide the basis for these institutions, then the industrial revolution would not have happened so quickly when it did in Britain. By now it must be a part of the story, but not as an additional story.”

— Dr Marian Gwyn

Kayla also spoke with Eleanor Harding, who was formally the National Trust's Assistant Curator for Wales at Penrhyn Castle who spoke about past, present and future exhibitions, and events at Penrhyn Castle focusing on Penrhyn's Jamaican plantations.

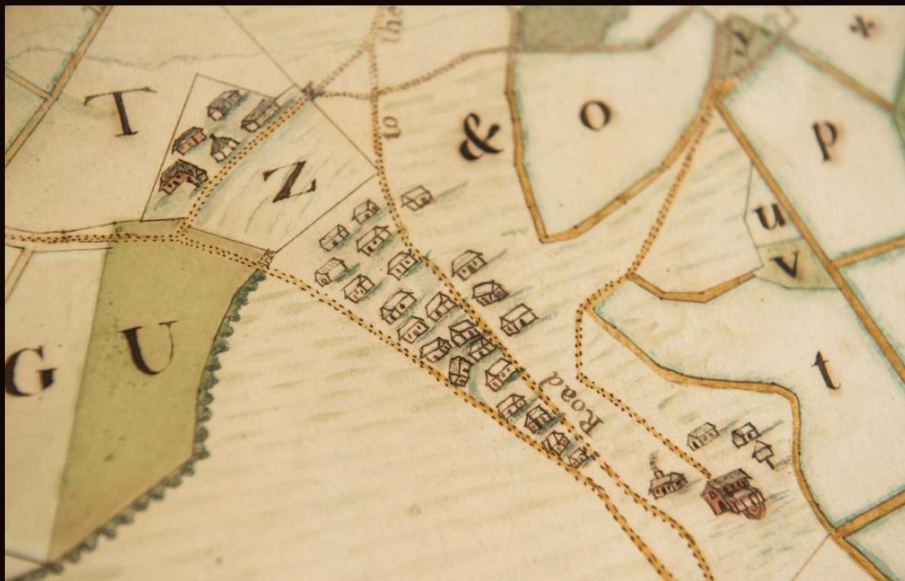
The only visual representation of the plantations at the Castle are two paintings that were commissioned by the family in the mid-1800s after the end of the slave trade in Britain. Not much is known about the paintings other than they are a very stylised, romantic version of the plantations, with bright colours and the depictions of a few labourers working idly in the fields. The paintings of the plantations that are mentioned in the podcast are [featured on the National Trust's website](#).

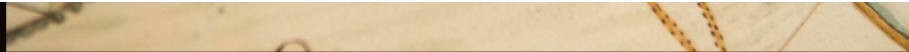
In 2020, the National Trust released a report on many of its sites' connection with transatlantic slavery and colonialism. The report gives widespread evidence of heritage sites across the UK that have connections to the slave trade around the world. Visit their website to read the report, entitled [Addressing our histories of colonialism and historic slavery](#).

“The National Trust cares for places and collections on behalf of the nation, and many have direct and indirect links to colonialism and historic slavery. We've released a report examining these connections as part of our broader commitment to ensure that these links are properly represented, shared and interpreted. The buildings in our care reflect many different periods and a range of British and global histories – social, industrial, political and cultural. As a heritage charity, it's our responsibility to

“The National Trust cares for places and collections on behalf of the nation, and many have direct and indirect links to colonialism and historic slavery. We've released a report examining these connections as part of our broader commitment to ensure that these links are properly represented, shared and interpreted. The buildings in our care reflect many different periods and a range of British and global histories – social, industrial, political and cultural. As a heritage charity, it's our responsibility to make sure we are historically accurate and academically robust when we communicate about the places and collections in our care”.

— The National Trust





Illustrations of structures formerly located on the Jamaican plantations. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

In the episode, Eleanor mentions an exhibition in 2020 and 2021 called *What a World!* which showcased a collection of Penrhyn's links to colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade. Inspired by a group of local children, the objects on display were presented based on the children's experience with the objects. The students' poems were then displayed throughout the castle alongside the objects, and they challenged visitors to view these objects in a new light.

To see more about the exhibition, visit the [National Trust's page](#).

Lastly, Kayla references the S4C television program *Welsh Treasures: Houses, Land and Secrets* which is a six-part series looking at country houses in Wales such as Penrhyn, Powis Castle, Tredegar House, Chirk Castle and Plas Newydd. The program is hosted by comedian Tudur Owen and investigates hidden stories and uncomfortable histories connected with prominent houses across Wales. Click here to [learn more about the program](#).

Though Penrhyn's history is complex, and often hard to learn about, it is so important to bring visibility to its connection to the slave trade. *Podlediad Penrhyn* is just one small part of the research and work being done around slavery and its connection with north Wales. To learn more about research at Bangor University's Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates, visit the website.

SOURCE: SLAVERY AND JAMAICA

♥ 58 LIKES ↗ SHARE

THE PODCAST ABOUT EPISODES LISTEN

PODLEDIAD PENRHYN

GET INVOLVED CONTACT ISWE CYMRAEG

SEPTEMBER 14, 2022

EPISODE 3: LIFE AT PENRHYN CASTLE





Exterior of Penrhyn Castle.

EXPLORING LIFE AT PENRHYN CASTLE

Welcome to the third episode of *Podlediad Penrhyn*. In this episode, Kayla explores life at Penrhyn, from the building of the castle, servant life, the operation of the estate and the lives of the families who lived in and worked the tenant farms. Penrhyn Castle is a Neo-Norman country house located near Bangor in northwest Wales. Penrhyn Castle was built for Lord Penrhyn in 1822-37, on the site of earlier gentry houses, and served as a powerbase for the Pennant family until the 1950s.

In the first two episodes, Kayla looked at the beginnings of the estate, from its medieval owners the Gruffydd and Williams families to the Pennants in the 18th-20th centuries. The previous episode looked at how the Jamaican plantations owned by the Pennant family brought substantial wealth into north Wales, which the family then invested into the slate industry, the estate, and the building of an opulent castle.

In episode three, Kayla speaks with Richard Pennington, the National Trust's House and Collections Manager at Penrhyn Castle for over 20 years, about Penrhyn's unique architecture and life in the country house. She also speaks with Ann Dolben, a long-term volunteer at the castle with an extensive knowledge of the house's art collection and owners. To learn more about Penrhyn Castle, their

the house's art collection and owners. To learn more about Penrhyn Castle, their exhibitions and latest events, visit the [National Trust website](#).

PENRHYN UNDER RICHARD PENNANT

Richard Pennant is known for expanding the Penrhyn estate through buying additional land in the area and transforming parts of the land for agricultural and industrial use. Richard inherited a portion of the estate through his marriage to Anne Warburton and proceeded to buy additional shares from profits acquired from his sugar plantations in Jamaica.



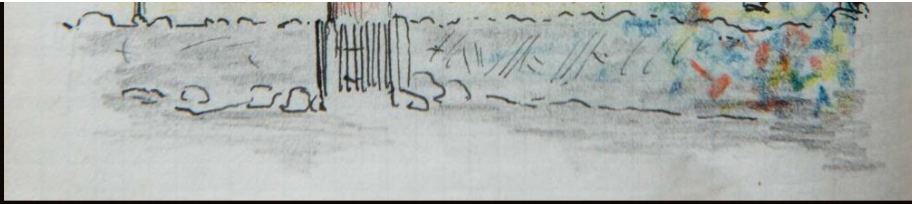


Illustration of a cottage constructed during Richard Pennant's improvement of the Penrhyn estate. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

Around 600,000 trees were planted on the estate, as well as crops such as cabbage and turnip, and farms and houses were built for local workers, bringing in more employment to the area. There was originally a medieval house at Penrhyn that Richard Pennant set about modernising; however little remains of that structure today. It was his heir, a distant relative by the name of George Hay Dawkins Pennant, who would build the elaborate castle that stands on the estate today. He developed Port Penrhyn, built railroads, and invested in agricultural improvements. While there had been small-scale quarrying on the Penrhyn estate for years, it was Richard Pennant who began developing the slate quarries on his estate into a growing enterprise.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF PENRHYN CASTLE



Exterior of Penrhyn Castle.

George Hay Dawkins Pennant envisioned a grand castle for his growing estate and hired architect Thomas Hopper to design and build the colossal structure from 1822-37. By this point, the estate had grown exponentially from the time Richard owned it, and George Hay Dawkins Pennant desired to build a home that reflected his status as a major landowner with over 70,000 acres of land. Thomas Hopper's other projects include Gosford Castle, Englefield House, Kentwell Hall and the conservatory house at Carlton House and were often designs that harkened back to medieval-type styles. The architect chose Neo-Norman for Penrhyn Castle, and exterior designs are meant to look like a defensible castle that has stood in north Wales for centuries, complete with features such as turrets, a tower, and a keep. Hopper also installed elaborate stained-glass windows and placed large, intimidating luminaries in the grand hall. Overall, the house took around fifteen years to finish and cost around £150,000 to build, around £49,500,000 in today's money.

THE INTERIORS OF THE CASTLE

THE INTERIORS OF THE CASTLE



Bedroom in Penrhyn Castle. Accessed via Wikimedia Commons photographed by Andrew Mcmillan.

Lord Penrhyn and his architect Thomas Hooper took great pains to make the interiors of the castle just as imposing as the exterior. Ceilings in the great hall, drawing room, chapel and library are designed in intricate bossed plaster arches that catch the eye anywhere you look. Signature pieces such as a large slate bed and billiards table were made by local craftsmen and are still displayed in the house today.

Furniture, fireplaces, doorways and mirror frames were designed by Thomas Hopper to bring a sense of opulence and heritage throughout the castle. The grand staircase is one of the main focal points in the cast, with Arabian art influence and uniquely carved faces above doorways.

With a keep, stained glass windows, and colonnades the interiors were also meant to have the feel that the castle was built in Norman times. However, much of the furniture and decor were typical for a Victorian country house, with Asian inspired wallpaper, an extensive library and large drawing and dining rooms to impress incoming guests.

PENRHYN'S ART COLLECTION





The Portrait of Catrina Hooghsaet by Rembrandt, acquired by the Douglas Pennant family in 1860. Accessed via Wikimedia Commons, available from the National Library of Wales.

Lord Penrhyn and his daughter Alice were keen art enthusiasts, and by his death in 1886, Lord Penrhyn had amassed an extensive collection of paintings and sculptures that are displayed throughout the castle. Alice compiled a detailed catalogue of the collection, which included artwork by Van Der Veer, Thomas Gainsborough, Diego Ortey, and Van Dyck. Portraits of the generations of the Pennant family are displayed in the dining room, as well as paintings of the Williams family, Penrhyn's early modern owners who were featured in episode one.

Paintings of the quarry were commissioned in 1832, giving a snapshot view of the steep inclines of the slate beds during the period, and the perilous work for the quarrymen, who are depicted dangling on ropes throughout the quarry. Another painting depicts Queen Victoria's visit to the Castle in 1859, at the height of the slate industry in Wales.

In 2021, the *What a World* exhibit explored some of the artwork and objects displayed throughout Penrhyn Castle through the poetry of school children from local schools in Bangor and Bethesda. Paintings of Penrhyn's sugar plantations and taxidermied exotic birds, all connected to transatlantic slavery or Empire, were displayed throughout the house alongside poetry written about their reactions to the objects.

To learn more about the *What a World*, check out the exhibit on the [National Trust's website](#), or watch the video below.



WORKING AT

WORKING AT PENRHYN CASTLE



Penrhyn estate staff, 1896. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

Working at Penrhyn Castle was a busy job, with long working hours for servants

Working at Penrhyn Castle was a busy job, with long working hours for servants in the early 1900s. The National Trust has records of workers such as cooks, housekeepers, maids, and footmen that worked within the castle. Richard talked to Kayla about how the house would have functioned with twenty-three female housemaids, kitchen, and laundry staff and eleven male staff in the house and stables.



Maid at Penrhyn Castle. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

Maid at Penrhyn Castle. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

Alongside serving the family when they were in residence, staff were also prepared for grand parties, royal visits, and extended events such as hunts and festivals. Staff especially prepared for the stay of Queen Victoria in 1830, and again in the 1850s, intricately planning the bed she would sleep in, the sites she would visit on the estate and the foods she would eat during meals. Weeks of preparation were necessary for the Prince of Wales' visit in 1924 when he came for a grand evening party and the Eisteddfod, at which he was crowned in bardic robes. On this occasion, servants made up twenty-six bedrooms and the kitchens prepared over 1,150 meals for two hundred guests. Guests were served a nine-course meal and a midnight meal with delicacies and desserts, accompanied by entertainment featuring the Penrhyn Male Voice Choir.

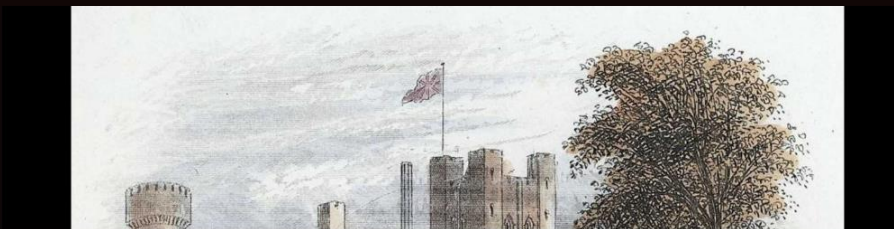
Servants' Quarters in Penrhyn Castle can still be explored today, such as The Lamp Room, the China Room, the Kitchen, and Cook's Sitting Room. The book *Penrhyn's Servants Quarters* gives a detailed look at servant life at Penrhyn and is available onsite or through the National Trust.

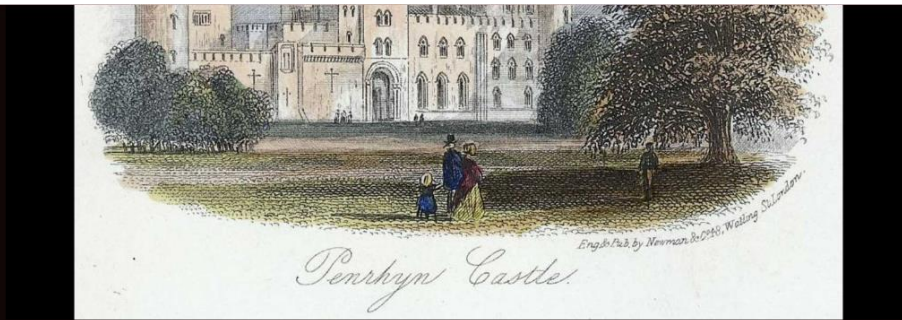


Fishing tools used by the gameskeeper of the Penrhyn estate. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

In 2009, the National Trust interviewed Alice Evans, a former maid at Penrhyn Castle, about her experience working there as a young girl. Alice detailed daily life as a maid, with working time starting at 6 am, meals prepared throughout the week, and strict dress codes of the staff. Explore [this BBC article](#) to see the full interview.

PENRHYN AS A POWERBASE





Painting of Penrhyn Castle by J. Newman & Co, circa 1865. Accessed via Wikimedia Commons, available from the National Library of Wales.

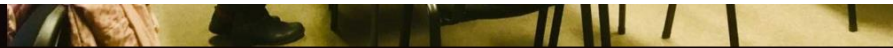
Despite grand parties and royal visits, Penrhyn went unoccupied for much of the year, with the Pennants residing in London or inhabiting their other houses most of the year. The castle served as more of a powerbase for the family, with the Pennants preferring to stay in the Northamptonshire estate more frequently during the rising tensions of the strike. More on that in episode four.

Alan George Sholto Douglas-Pennant and his two eldest sons lost their lives in the First World War, leaving the estate to his youngest son Hugh Napier in 1927. By 1949, much of the land was sold off, and the estate needed maintenance. Hugh's niece, Janet Pelham inherited the house in the fifties and attempted to live in the castle for about six months. Without proper upkeep and heating, however, she found the castle too large to maintain. Jane turned over the castle to the National Trust soon after.

BEYOND THE CASTLE BEYOND THE CASTLE

In recent years, stories of the lives of those who lived and worked on the estate are being explored through public history events and activities. In 2018, ISWE hosted a number of events called *Tu Hwnt Chwarel* / Beyond the Quarry where people from the local area could share memorabilia, attend archival visits, archaeological tours, and lectures, and participate in oral history recordings around life on the Penrhyn Estate.





Tu Hwnt Chwarel / Beyond the Quarry event in 2018. Courtesy of the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estate.

Artifacts such as drawings, deeds, reports, and photographs were brought in during the heritage memorabilia day. To view artifacts that were collected for the event, explore People Collection Wales' website, which has digital artifacts collected from all over Wales. To learn more about the *Tu Hwnt Chwarel* project and similar events hosted by ISWE, visit the ISWE website here.



Past exhibits at Penrhyn Castle have highlighted the estate's connection with

Watch on YouTube

Past exhibits at Penrhyn Castle have highlighted the estate's connection with slavery, its involvement with the slate industry, and the events of the strikes. Kayla rounded off the episode by speaking with Ann Dolben about an exhibit in 2018 in which author Manon Steffan Ross created twelve stories around Penrhyn's past, present and future. The stories explored some of the more difficult sides of Penrhyn's history such as the Penrhyn Lockout; more on this in episode four. The powerful stories provided a great representation of how painful the events of the strikes were to local quarrying families, the relevance to the Strike to this day, and how Penrhyn Castle can be used as a place of contemplation and discussion amongst different generations in Wales, Jamaica, and beyond.

To learn more about the exhibit, have a look back on Penrhyn's page on the event at the National Trust's website.

♥ 33 LIKES < SHARE

< Episode 2: Slavery and Jamaica

Episode 4: Slate >

Podlediad Penrhyn

SEPTEMBER 13, 2022

EPISODE 4: SLATE



Quarryman splitting slate. Photographed at the National Slate Museum in Llanberis, north Wales.

THE PENRHYN ESTATE AND THE SLATE INDUSTRY

Quarryman splitting slate. Photographed at the National Slate Museum in Llanberis, north Wales.

In episode four, Kayla explores one of the most crucial and at times contested parts of Penrhyn Estate's history: slate. Penrhyn Quarry, once the largest slate quarry in the world, employed thousands of quarrymen and brought large employment to the area. For many, slate quarrying was not just a job, it was a way of life, and a highly skilled trade that was honed over a lifetime. Though quarrying was a dangerous occupation, it was also one that created community and camaraderie amongst quarrying families.





A demonstration of a quarryman splitting slate at the National Slate Museum. Photographed at the National Slate Museum in Llanberis, north Wales.

To learn more about the significance of slate to the history, culture, and landscape of north Wales, Kayla spoke with Dr Dafydd Roberts, the former Keeper of the National Slate Museum in Llanberis. Dr Roberts has since retired after more than 40 years at the museum, giving up the role in 2021. He spoke with Kayla about working life in the quarries in north Wales, as well as the strikes at Penrhyn Quarry.



Model of a quarryman working at Dinorwic Quarry. Photographed at the National Slate Museum in Llanberis, north Wales.

The National Slate Museum is the former site of Dinorwic Quarry, another large quarry in the area. Today, the museum highlights the work and culture of quarrying, educating visitors on the history of the trade, and slate as a material. The museum puts on slate demonstrations, often by quarrymen who have deep family connections to the area. Visit the website to learn more about [the National Slate Museum](#).

THE HISTORY OF SLATE IN NORTH WALES

Small scale quarrying in the area goes back almost 2,000 years to the Romans, where slate was quarried for the construction of a fort near Caernarfon. King Edward I also utilised slate within the construction of the castles he erected to consolidate his conquest across north Wales. Large scale quarrying like that at Penrhyn Quarry did not come along until the 18th century, however.



Slate fencing in north Wales. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates

In the eighteenth century, travel writers such as Richard Warner and William Bingley described most of north Wales as a 'wild' country, with poor transportation links and rugged terrain. From the eighteenth century, Wales was a popular destination for travel, with early tourists regularly writing up their tours and journeys, commenting on the landscape, farming, local culture, and early developments to the slate industry.

To explore some of the accounts written by European travellers to Wales, a great resource is the [European Travellers to Wales Project](#), a three year AHRC-funded project at Bangor University, which explored travelogues, guidebooks, diaries, letters, and blogs written by travellers to Wales. By the later part of the 19th century, Welsh slate had become known as a long lasting, durable, and popular roofing material and was highly sought out around the world. In episode five, we will explore how Welsh slate's global significance earned it UNESCO World Heritage status for the slate landscapes of Gwynedd.





Lithograph print of Penrhyn Slate Quarry in 1852. Accessed via Wikimedia Commons, available from the National Library of Wales.

From producing 40,000 tons of slate in 1820 to 120,000 tons of slate by the end of the century, Penrhyn Quarry had quickly grown to the largest quarry in the area, with the main workings almost a mile long. Other slate quarries at Dinorwic, Blaenau Ffestiniog, and Berwyn popped up in the area, making north Wales the leading producer of slate worldwide at the time. Through her research on the history of Welsh slate, Kayla found Jean Lindsey's book *North Wales Slate*, a comprehensive account of the industry, with detailed information on the expansion of the slate industry, the adjacent railway industry, and the growth of the quarries architecturally, economically, technically, and socially.

THE PENRHYN QUARRYMEN

THE PENRHYN QUARRYMEN

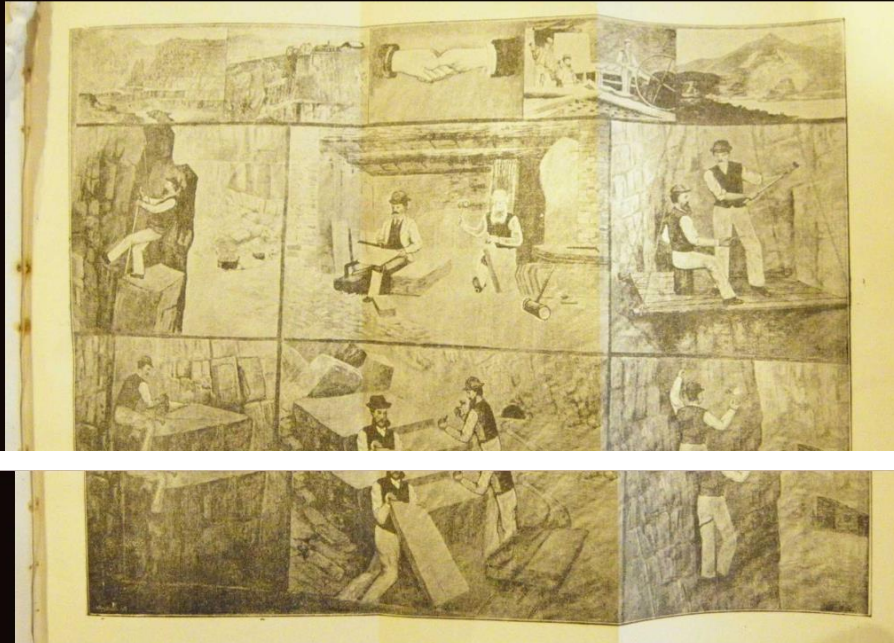


Quarrymen and quarry management photographed at Penrhyn Quarry. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

At the height of the slate industry in north Wales, Penrhyn Quarry employed

At the height of the slate industry in north Wales, Penrhyn Quarry employed around 3,000 men. Penrhyn Quarry was the highest producing quarry in the area, which meant Lord Penrhyn and his agents had control over setting the prices for slate in the area as well as setting the pay for quarrymen, working hours, and site conditions.

Where a quarryman worked in the quarry determined the skillset he would need to develop, as each role was specialised in one area at a time. There were men who worked on the rockface, extracting the slate from the sides of the quarry with explosives, and picks and shovels. There were also experienced splitters, who were skilled at splitting the slate into exact measurements ready to be shipped out. Below is an example of the sizes of slate splitting which is displayed at the Slate Museum.



Images of quarrymen at various stages of working with slate. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

The work was physically demanding and often perilous, with reports of men falling from the rock face or losing fingers whilst splitting the slate. Despite these hardships, the quarrymen and their families lived lives that were often full of cultural activity. Whilst on breaks in the quarry, men would gather in *cabans* for meals and breaks where they would debate politics, share poetry and sing – in Welsh of course. Men would practice their entries for upcoming Eisteddfodau, cultural festivals held locally, regionally, and nationally, with competitions in music, poetry, and other crafts in a tradition that continues to this day. To learn more about the Welsh Eisteddfod tradition, [check out the website for the National Eisteddfod](#).

To learn more about the life of quarrymen, Kayla highly recommends the book *The North Wales Quarrymen* written by R. Merfyn Jones, who was a Professor of Welsh History and Vice Chancellor at Bangor University. The book is a leading source on the lives of the quarrymen, the Penrhyn Strikes, the aftermath and impact of the slate industry in north Wales, and the importance of the unique history of the Welsh speaking quarrying communities in the 18th-20th centuries.

RISING TENSIONS IN THE QUARRY

RISING TENSIONS IN THE QUARRY



North Wales Quarrymen's Union plaque photographed at the National Slate Museum, Llanberis.

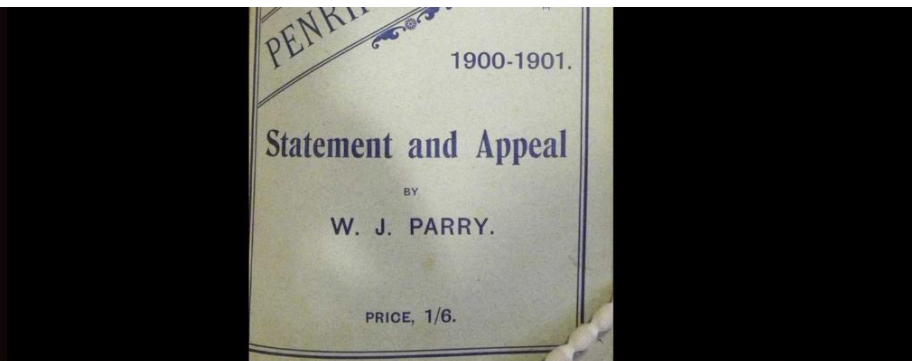
A North Wales Quarrymen's Union was formed in 1874 in the hope of negotiating

A North Wales Quarrymen's Union was formed in 1874 in the hope of negotiating better pay and working conditions. When violence struck in the quarry in 1900, Lord Penrhyn pressed charges against twenty-six men and dismissed them before the incident went to court. To protest the dismissals, the Penrhyn Quarrymen gathered to show their support for the accused men and were then all suspended from work for two weeks. Tensions from this event led to military force being brought in. Ongoing negotiations had been going back and forth between Lord Penrhyn and the Quarrymen but on November 19, 800 men had been left out of the agreements. Three days later, 2,000 quarrymen refused to work, thus initiating the Great Strike, or the Penrhyn Lockout from 1900–03: the longest running industrial dispute in British History.

THE 'GREAT' STRIKES

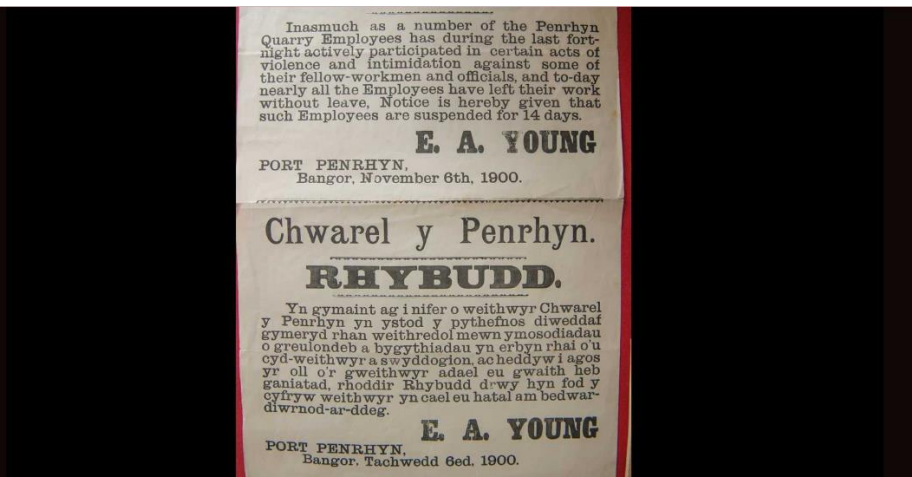
Kayla talked with Teleri Owen, a Master's student at Cardiff University, who conducted a research project at Llandudno Museum on women's involvement in the strikes, as well as how the strikes affected communities like Bethesda. Teleri recommends C. Sheridan Jones' account of his time in Bethesda during the strikes. Sheridan Jones was a journalist at the time of the strikes, and sections of his book *What I Saw at Bethesda* appeared in the *Daily News* and in *The Echo*, making the strikes well known events around the UK.





Pamphlet written by the President of the North Wales Quarrymen's Union, William J. Parry. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

Jones detailed widespread starvation in Bethesda, with families having empty pantries and bare front rooms from having sold off what little furniture they possessed. He also talked about unrest during the strikes, with the presence of police forces in communities a particular point of contention. Those who did go back to work were offered a 5% pay increase. Those who were still striking would smash up the homes of those who broke the strike to return to work, and some quarrymen had to be escorted by police into the quarry for protection. Four hundred men returned to work, which weakened the strike effort and caused further division in communities.



Poster of Penrhyn Quarry Notice issued by Penrhyn Quarry Manager E.A. Young in English and Welsh. Courtesy of Bangor University's Archives and Special Collections.

Quarrymen were divided into strikers and *cynffonwyr* ('collaborators') — those who went back to work. The words '*Nid Oes Bradwr yn y Ty Hwn*' ('There is no Traitor in this House') were printed for strikers to display in their windows to show they had not given up the strike. The events took a toll on people physically as well as mentally, for those on both sides of the strike, as evidenced in Jones' writings about starvation, illness, and, sometimes, suicide for strike breakers. Even for those who left to find work elsewhere, the adjustment to a new life was difficult for many.



'Nid Oes Bradwr yn y Ty Hwn' ('There is no Traitor in this House') signs that were placed in the windows of quarrymen's homes. Obtained from Wikimedia Commons.

Money was raised at events such as festivals and choral performances for the quarrying families across the UK, as other industrial communities sympathised with the plight of the quarrymen. Women were intricately involved with the effort, putting on theatre and choral performances in north Wales as well as

effort, putting on theatre and choral performances in north Wales as well as further afield. The Penrhyn Welsh Ladies' Choir performed in London in 1901 and in Bristol in 1903, where they raised over £3,000 for the strike effort.

The former exhibit [Merched Chawrel](#), which was created as part of a project about women and the slate industry, is a great resource for understanding women's vital role in quarrying communities and their efforts during the strikes. The project, which ran from 2018 to 2019 was a traveling exhibit that was featured in Storiol Museum, Bangor, The National Slate Museum, Penrhyn Castle, Blaenau Ffestiniog Library and the Llechwedd Slate Caverns. Local artists Marged Pendrell, Jwis Williams, Lisa Hudson and Lindsey Colbourne collaborated on the project, bringing in inspiration from the [quarries](#) of north Wales where they live and work. The project combined physical elements of slate, household items from quarrying families and original artwork from the artists. Their website has stories of women in quarrying communities, photos of their past exhibitions and modern-day artists who worked on installations inspired by women in the community.

THE QUARRY TODAY





Penrhyn Quarry in Bethesda, north Wales. Photographed by Mike Hudson via Wikimedia Commons.

Though north Wales is no longer the leading slate producer, slate is still extracted from the Welsh landscape and exported around the world. At Penrhyn Quarry, there are around 200 quarry men and women that work in the quarry. Today, a lot of the slate is still produced for roofing and other building materials, but it is also used as luxury gifts and decor such as serving boards, house signs, wine racks and more.

Prominent quarrying areas now look different than they did in the late 19th century, but the impact and history of the industry has not faded away. In Bethesda, the memory of the slate industry is kept alive through performances, exhibits, music, and artwork, with many past events highlighting the influence of the slate industry in the area. Though recollections of the strikes can be painful, discussions, collaboration and education into the industry has led to many with ancestry in the area to explore more about the slate industry.

ancestry in the area to explore more about the slate industry.

Below is a mural painted in 2021 in Bethesda, highlighting some of the key points in the village's history, including the strikes and the choral efforts during the time. The painting was created by artist Darren Evans and was funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund as a part of the successful UNESCO World Heritage Bid.



A mural painted in Bethesda by Darren Evans, funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund.

A mural painted in Bethesda by Darren Evans, funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund.

You can explore the quarry yourself through a self-guided tour, entitled "Slate and Strikes" through a series of QR codes through historypoints.org. The project marked the 120-year anniversary of the strikes in 2020, and 19 plaques were placed around the area with tidbits of the story of the strikes. In our final episode, we will explore the success of the bid and the Penrhyn estate today, from the quarry, the castle, and the community as we wrap up the story of *Podlediad Penrhyn*.

♥ 17 LIKES < SHARE

< Episode 3: Life at Penrhyn castle

Episode 5: Penrhyn's Impact today >

Podlediad Penrhyn

THE PODCAST ABOUT EPISODES LISTEN

PODLEDIAD PENRHYN

GET INVOLVED CONTACT ISWE CYMRAEG

SEPTEMBER 12, 2022

EPISODE 5: PENRHYN'S IMPACT TODAY

THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT OF THE PENRHYN ESTATE

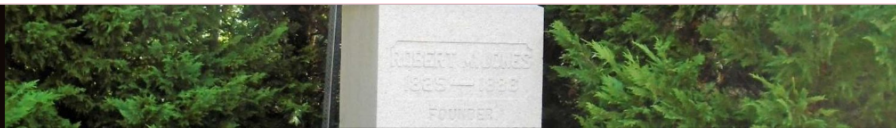
Welcome to the final episode of *Podlediad Penrhyn*. In this episode, Kayla explores the future of the Penrhyn estate, how it has evolved across the 21st century, and how its impact in the slate industry has reached other parts of the world.

First up, Kayla speaks to Dr Robert Llewelyn Tyler, a lecturer at Khalifa University whose research focuses on Welsh immigration around the world. He speaks to Kayla about Welsh families from quarrying communities like Gwynedd immigrating to states like Pennsylvania and New York in the United States.

Through his research, Dr Tyler found that people who had immigrated from

Through his research, Dr Tyler found that people who had immigrated from places like Bethesda, Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bangor would set up new Welsh speaking communities in the US with their own churches, shops, events, and societies. Dr Tyler found documentation in these communities on events like Eisteddfodau, poetry competitions and St. David's Day celebrations from the late 19th century-early 20th century.

Communities such as Bangor, Pennsylvania were established by quarrying families from north Wales, who immigrated during striking periods at Penrhyn Quarry. Bangor was established by Robert M. Jones, who immigrated from Bangor in Wales and helped grow the slate industry in the area. A statue was erected in his honour in the area and still stands today.



Monument of Robert M. Jones in Bangor, Pennsylvania. Photographer William Fischer, Jr via the Historical Marker Database.

The Welsh in America had their own Welsh-language newspapers, like *Y Drych* which was established in 1851 until it merged with *Ninnau*, which is still published today. Newspapers would report on local events in Welsh communities like local Eisteddfodau, and other competitions, and are great indicators of how strong the quarrying communities were in the USA at the time. If you would like to explore past issues of *Y Drych*, check out the online library at the [National Library of Wales](#). Go to their website to read the current newspaper, called *Ninnau*.

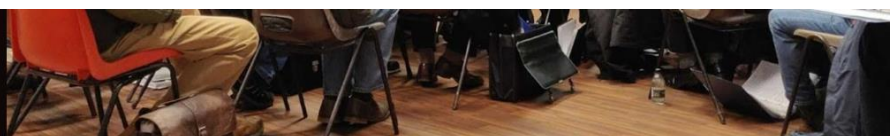
Though the use of the Welsh language in the USA faded out over time, many traditions remain in these former slate communities. Welsh festivals, choirs and St David's societies are going strong, with descendants of quarrying families from north Wales playing an active role in keeping Welsh traditions alive. The [Slate Belt Heritage Center](#) in Bangor, Pennsylvania, is a museum and historical society that pays tribute to the immigrant quarrying communities. They have a [Welsh exhibit](#) in the museum and hold talks and events about the Welsh in the area.

The University of Pennsylvania put together an extensive research project on the slate industry in the area, on the history of the quarrying families, the geology of the sites and the industrial heritage of the area. To learn more about the project, visit [The Slate Belt's website](#).

If you want to learn more about Welsh immigration to the US, Dr Tyler suggests books such as *Americans from Wales* by Edward G. Hartmann, which chronicles Welsh immigration to the US since the American Revolution. He also suggests

Welsh immigration to the US since the American Revolution. He also suggests *Cymry America*, written by R.D. Thomas in 1872, which details his experience of traveling around Welsh communities in the US.

THE LEGACY OF CÔR Y PENRHYN IN WALES TODAY



Côr y Penrhyn rehearsal in Bethesda, north Wales

Back in north Wales, Kayla attended a rehearsal session with Côr y Penrhyn at Neuadd Ogwen in Bethesda. In episode four, Kayla explored the history of the choir, its origins in Penrhyn Quarry and its role in the Great Strike. For episode five, Kayla spoke to two current members of the choir and their experience singing in the group. Elfed Bullock, who was eighty-two at the time of the interview, has been in the choir for more than 50 years. He described his favourite performance, a song called "The Creation" which was performed at the Chicago Cultural Centre in 2006. Below is a video from that performance.



Watch on  YouTube

Kayla also spoke to Rhainallt Davies, one of the youngest members of the choir. He speaks about their many international performances, as well as their notable collaborations, such as performing at Glastonbury with Damon Albarn's Supergroup in 2017. Below is a video of that performance.



Côr y Penrhyn has two albums, one of which was recorded at Penrhyn Castle, with some songs performed at Penrhyn Quarry. Throughout the coronavirus (COVID-19) lockdown, the choir has also held virtual performances that have

with some songs performed at Penrhyn Quarry. Throughout the coronavirus (COVID-19) lockdown, the choir has also held virtual performances that have been watched around the world. Below is a video of their powerful rendition of *Mor Fawr Wyt Ti*, filmed in Snowdonia. To explore their music or check out their upcoming performances, visit the [Côr y Penrhyn website](http://www.corypenrhyn.cymru).



THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE BID AND THE FUTURE OF

THE FUTURE OF TOURISM IN NORTH WALES



From land being sold or given to the National Parks in Snowdonia, to portions of the quarry now being a part of adventure parks, and buildings and farms associated with the estate transformed into local businesses and homes, much has changed on the Penrhyn Estate since it was in the hands of the Lords

Penrhyn. Despite these changes, the influence of the slate industry is still strong in north Wales, proven by the recently successful UNESCO World Heritage bid that was achieved in July 2021. Kayla spoke with Dr David Gwyn about the world heritage bid that has been in development for the last twenty years.

UNESCO stands for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and is an international corporation that awards sites across the world with protected and specialised status with funding for preservation and education. Some of the most notable sites are the Taj Mahal, the Great Wall of China, and the Pyramids. With a stringent list of criteria, the process from application to receiving the bid can take years. The slate industry in north Wales was initially chosen out of a list of 41 bids from the UK. At the time of the interview with Dr Gwyn, there were eleven bids still in competition, and a year from the final announcement.





Photograph of Snowdonia, a part of the slate landscape of the UNESCO World Heritage Site in north Wales

In July 2021, north Wales received UNESCO World Heritage status. Dr Gwyn hopes that this recognition can help bring visibility to the slate industry that locals and tourists alike can learn about when exploring the area. To learn more about the world heritage status and the bid, check out the [Wales Slate website](#).

Kayla rounded up the final episode with an interview with Sean Taylor, the director and founder of [Zip World](#), which is an adventure park in north Wales, partially located in Penrhyn Quarry. Zip World has the longest zip line in Europe and over one million visitors have visited the attraction. Sean talked with Kayla about the inception of Zip World, how it began with a vision of having people flying down the quarry and experiencing the landscape from above the ground. Sean hopes that with experiences offered by Zip World such as the [Quarry Tours](#), that people will learn more about the history of the slate industry and its significance in tourism today.



Thanks for listening!

THANKS TO ALL INVOLVED IN *PODLEDIAD PENRHYN*

Kayla would like to take the opportunity to thank all the interviews who contributed their time, expertise, and personal stories to this digital project. Thank you to the Drapers' Company for sponsoring this PhD project. Special thanks to Kayla's supervisors, Professor Andrew Edwards, Dr Shaun Evans and Dr Rhys Thomas for their guidance and support throughout the project.

Thanks for listening!

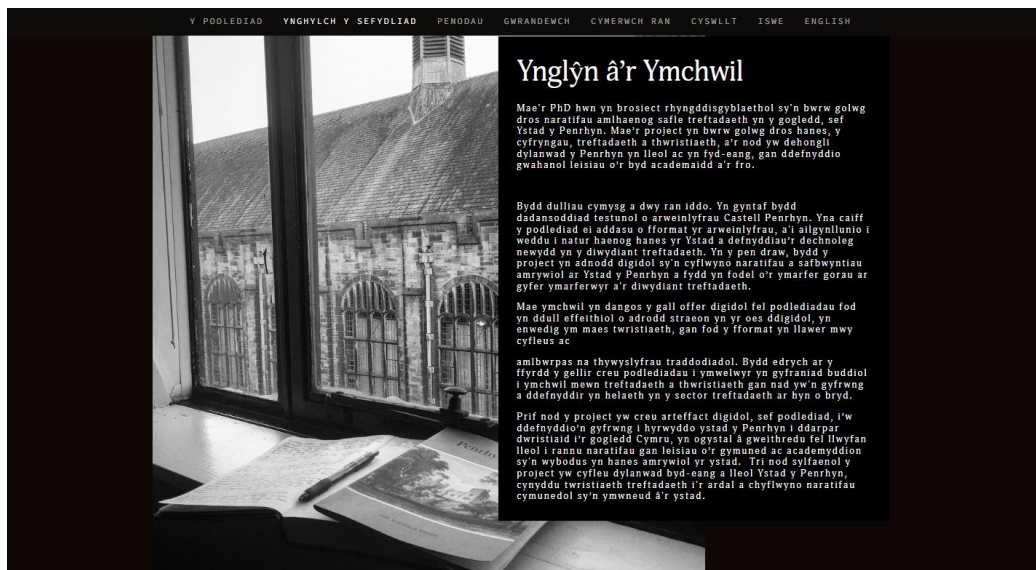
THANKS TO ALL INVOLVED IN *PODLEDIAD PENRHYN*

Kayla would like to take the opportunity to thank all the interviews who contributed their time, expertise, and personal stories to this digital project. Thank you to the Drapers' Company for sponsoring this PhD project. Special thanks to Kayla's supervisors, Professor Andrew Edwards, Dr Shaun Evans and Dr Steffan Thomas for their guidance and encouragement throughout the creation of the podcast. Thanks to Joshua Glendenning for providing the music and sound effects for the podcast, and Bethan Scorey for the original artwork. This project is a part of the research conducted at the Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates at Bangor University. Visit the ISWE website to learn more about this project and others at ISWE.

♥ 26 LIKES < SHARE

< Episode 4: Slate

Screenshots of the website in Welsh



Y PODLEDIAD
YNGHYLCH Y SEFYDLIAD
PENODAU
GWRANDEWCH
CYMERWCH RAN
CYSWLLT
ISWE
ENGLISH

ngwead hanes Ystad Penrhyn.

Trwy'r prosiect hwn, mae Kayla'n gobethio y gall Podlediad Penrhyn adrodd hanes amhaenog stori'r Penrhyn, a rhannu agweddau allweddol ar orffennol, presennol a dyfodol yr Ystad mewn ffordd deniadol a dadlennol i bobl leol sy'n gyfarwydd â hanes y Penrhyn ac i'r rhai a fydd yn dod i adnabod hanes yr ardal am y tro cyntaf ar blatfform poblogaidd a hawdd ei gyrchu.

PENODAU

SEP 16, 2022

CROESO I PODLEDIAD PENRHYN, PODLEDIAD PUM RHAN AM HANES YSTÂD Y PENRHYN YNG NGOGLEDD ORLLEWIN CYMRU.

Arferal elstedd wrth galon stad helaeth o dir yn ymestyn ar draws rhannau o ogledd orllewin Cymru. Bydd eich gwesteigr, yr ymchwilydd PhD Kayla Jones, yn eich tywys trwy wahanol agweddau ar stori'r ystad, o'i hanes canoloesol, ei chysylltiadau â chaethwasiaeth a'i rôl yn y diwydiant llechi byd-eang i feddwl am Penrhyn heddiw, ei le yng ngogledd Cymru, a'i statws fel Safle Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO.

Read More →

SEP 15, 2022

YSTYRIED RÔL PENRHYN A CHYMRU MEWN CAETHWASIAETH TRAWSATLANTIG YM MHENNOD DAU O PODLEDIAD PENRHYN.

Mae'r bennod hon yn dipyn o agoriad llygad wrth i Kayla Jones archwilio cysylltiad Penrhyn â'r fasnach gaethweision yn y 18fed-19eg ganrif. Wedi'i recordio yn ystad anterth y mudlad Black Lives Matter yn 2020, mae'r bennod hon yn tynnu sylw at un o lawer o safleoedd treftadaeth ledled y DU sydd wedi bod yn edrych ychydig yn agosach ar eu cysylltiadau trefedigaethol, yn cynnwys Castell Penrhyn, sy'n eiddo i'r Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol yng ngogledd orllewin Cymru.

Read More →

SEP 14, 2022

ARCHWILIO BYWYD YNG NGHASTELL PENRHYN

Croeso i'r drydedd bennod o *Podlediad Penrhyn*. Yn y bennod hon, mae Kayla yn archwilio bywyd ym Mhenrhyn, o adelladau'r castell, bywyd y gweision a'r morynion, gweithrediad y stad a bywydau'r teuluoedd oedd yn byw ac yn gweithio ar ffermydd y tenantiaid. Plasty gwledig Neo-Normanidd wedi'i leoli ger Bangor yng

SEP 13, 2022

YSTÂD Y PENRHYN A'R DIWYDIANT LLECHI

Ym mhennod pedwar, mae Kayla'n archwilio un o'r darnau pwysicaf o hanes Ystad y Penrhyn ac un o'r rhai mwyaf dadleuol ar adegau llechi. Roedd Chwarel y Penrhyn, y chwarel llechi fwyaf yn y byd ar un adeg, yn cyflogi miloedd o chwarelwyr ac yn dod â swyddi niferus i'r ardal. I lawer, nid swydd yn unig oedd gweithio yn y chwarel, roedd yn ffordd o fyw, ac yn grefft bynod fedrus a oedd yn canol ei niferus drwy'r byd. Er bod chwarels yn waith peryglus, roedd hefyd yn un a oedd yn creu cymuned a chyfeillgarwch ymhlith teuluoedd y chwarel.

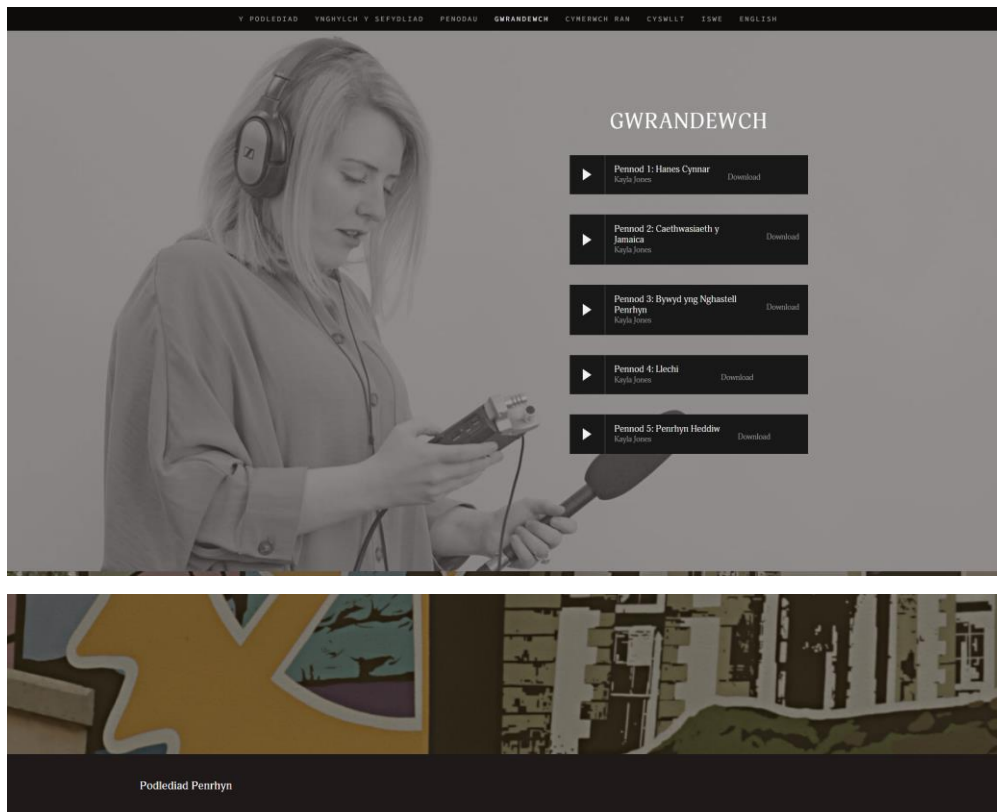
Read More →

SEP 12, 2022

EFFAITH RYNGWLADOL STAD Y PENRHYN

Croeso i'r bennod olaf o *Podlediad Penrhyn*. Yn y bennod hon, mae Kayla yn ystyried dyfodol ystad y Penrhyn, sut mae wedi esblygu ar draws yr 21ain ganrif, a sut mae ei heffaith yn y diwydiant llechi wedi cyrraedd rhannau eraill o'r byd.

Read More →



Y PODLEDIAD
YNHYLCH Y SEFYDLIAD
PENODAU
GWRANDEWCH
PODLEDIAD PENRHYN
CYMERWCH RAN
CYSWLLT
ISWE
ENGLISH

SEPTEMBER 16, 2022

CROESO I
PODLEDIAD
PENRHYN,
PODLEDIAD PUM
RHAN AM HANES
YSTÂD Y PENRHYN
YNG NGOGLEDD
ORLLEWIN CYMRU.

Peintiad o Gastell Penrhyn. Archifau a Chasgladau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor

Plasty gwledig yng Ngwynedd yw Castell Penrhyn sydd bellach yn atyniad mawr i ymwelwyr, a reolir gan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol.

Arferai eistedd wrth galon stad helaeth o dir yn ymestyn ar draws rhannau o ogledd orllewin Cymru. Bydd eich gwesteigr, yr ymchwilydd PhD Kayla Jones, yn eich tywys trwy wahanol agweddau ar stori'r ystâd, o'i hanes canoloesol, ei chysylltiadau â chaethwasiaeth a'i rôl yn y diwydiant llechi byd-eang i feddwl am Penrhyn heddiw, ei le yng ngogledd Cymru, a'i statws fel Safle Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO.

Kayla Jones, gwesteigr Podlediad Penrhyn ac umchwilydd PhD yda Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru ym Mhrifysgol Bangor.

Kayla Jones, gwesteher Podlediad Penrhyn ac ymchwilydd PhD gyda Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru ym Mhrifysgol Bangor.

Gallwch ddysgu mwy am ymchwil Kayla trwy wefan Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru Prifysgol Bangor: Podlediad Penrhyn

I lawer, mae Stad y Penrhyn yn gyfystyr â'r diwydiant llechi yng Ngwynedd neu gaethwasiaeth yn Jamaica, a gall y ddau ohonynt fod yn bynciau heriol i'w harchwilio heddiw. Er bod caethwasiaeth a llechi yn ganolog i hanes Penrhyn nid dyma'r unig agweddau ar ei stori. Defnyddiodd perchnogion canoloesol Penrhyn, y teulu Gruffydd, eu cysylltiadau Cymreig a Seisnig i ymestyn eu dylanwad yng ngogledd Cymru ac roeddent yn un o dirfeddianwyr amlycaf yr ardal. Gyda hanesion am gynghreiriaid priodasol pwerus, herio ewyllysiau a hyd yn oed cyrchoedd a môr-ladrad, roedd perchnogion cynnar Penrhyn ymhell o fod yn ddiflas.

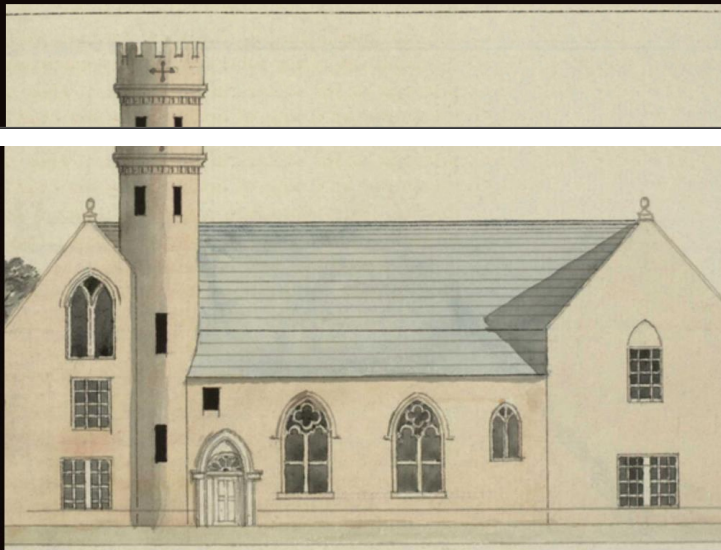
Er mai ychydig o dystiolaeth bendant sydd gennym o etifeddiaeth y teulu Gruffydd yng Nghastell Penrhyn heddiw, mae archifau, barddoniaeth, a chofnodion cyfreithiol a gedwir yn Archifau a Chasgladau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor yn rhoi cipolwg diddorol i ni o hunaniaeth a dylanwad y teulu canoloesol yn yr ardal. Bu Kayla'n siarad â'r hanesydd Dr Shaun Evans, Cyfarwyddwr Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru (SYYC) ym Mhrifysgol Bangor, am berchnogion cynnar y stad.

I ddysgu mwy am ymchwil SYYC a'u digwyddiadau, ewch i'w gwefan.

“

Dw i'n meddwl ei bod hi'n ddiddorol iawn pan fydd y rhan fwyaf o bobl yn meddwl am hanes Penrhyn, byddan nhw'n sôn am blanhigfeydd y teulu Pennant yn Jamaica a'u rhan nhw â chaethwasiaeth ar draws yr Iwerydd, neu fe fyddan nhw'n sôn am chwarel lechi'r Penrhyn ym Methesda a streic fawr 1900-03, sydd ill dau, wrth gwrs, yn rhannau gwirioneddol bwysig o hanes lleol a Chymru. Ond os soniwyd chi am Penrhyn wrth un o haneswyr Cymru'r Oesoedd Canol, maen nhw'n debygol o feddwl yn syth am y teulu Gruffydd.”

— Dr Shaun Evans



Strwythur canoloesol a oedd arfer sefyll ar stad y Penrhyn. Cyrchwyd trwy Wikimedia Commons, ar gael gan Lyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.

PWY OEDD Y TEULU GRUFFYDD?

Roedd teulu'r Gruffydd, neu'r Griffiths, yn deulu bonheddig oedd yn ddisgynyddion i ŵr o'r enw Ednyfed Fychan, a oedd yn stiward nodedig i Lywelyn ab Iorwerth (Llywelyn Fawr), Brenin Gwynedd, ac a fu yn y diwedd yn rheoll Cymru ar ddechrau'r 1200au. Erbyn 1282, fodd bynnag, roedd Edward I o Loegr wedi concro Teyrnas Gwynedd. Er nad oedd Tywysogion Gwynedd yn llywodraethu yn Nghymru mwyach, daeth dosbarth o deuluoedd boneddigion Cymreig, neu uchelwyr, i'r amlwg i ymgymryd ag arweinyddiaeth leol yn eu cymunedau. Teulu Gruffydd o'r Penrhyn oedd un o'r enghreifftiau mwyaf pwerus o'r teuluoedd hyn.

Daeth y teulu Gruffydd i feddiant ar dir ar draws Ynys Môn a Sir Gaernarfon, gan adelladu stad y Penrhyn rhwng y 1300au a'r 1600au. Roedd llinach yn nodwedd allweddol yn statws y teulu Gruffydd. Estynnodd Gwilym ap Gruffydd ei ddylanwad trwy briodas â Morfudd a daeth hynny â thiroedd sylweddol i'w feddiant ar draws Môn a Sir Gaernarfon.



Papurau'r teulu Gruffydd, rhan o Bapurau Castell Penrhyn o 1340–1627. Archifau a Chagliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor

Er iddo golli ei dir oherwydd ei ymwneud â Gwrthryfel Glyndŵr yn 1400 a 1415, yn y diwedd cafodd Gwilym ap Gruffydd hardwn am ei ran yn y gwrthryfel, a llwyddodd i brynu ei dir yn ôl, yn ogystal â thir y 'gwrthryfelwyr' cyfagos. Trodd hyn Gwilym yn dirfeddiannwr o bwys, ac yn arweinydd dylanwadol yng ngogledd Cymru.

Gydag all briodas Gwilym â Joan Stanley, merch siryf amlwg o sir Gaer, sefydlwyd cysylltiadau Seisnig cryf i'r teulu Gruffydd, mewn cyfnod pan na allai'r Cymry fel arfer ddal swydd ar ôl gorfodi'r deddfau cosbi. Apellodd Gwilym a'i fab i lysoedd Lloegr ynghylch eu teyrngarwch i Goron Lloegr, a chanlatawyd breintiau penodol iddyn nhw gan gynnwys y statws a'r awdurdod a oedd yn gysylltiedig â swydd Siambrlen gogledd Cymru.

ACHOS LLYS A OEDD YN EDRYCH YN DEBYG IAWN I FYWYD

YN EDRYCH YN DEBYG IAWN I FYWYD HARRI'R WYTHFED...

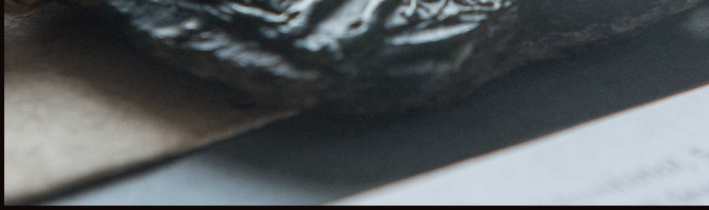
Pan fu farw Gwilym II yn 1531, gadawodd y stad i'w fab Edward Griffith, a gafodd dair merch ond dim etifedd gwrywaidd. Bu mwy na degawd o anghydfod rhwng ei ferched a'i frawd ynghylch etifeddiaeth ei stad, a arweiniodd at frwydr chwyrn yn y llys a hyd yn oed cyrch ar y Penrhyn.

Bu Kayla'n siarad â Dr Gwilym Owen - Uwch Ddarlithydd mewn Cyfraith Eiddo ym Mhrifysgol Bangor - am ei ymchwil i'r anghydfod yn ymwneud ag etifeddiaeth y Penrhyn. Trwy flynyddoedd o waith ymchwil, darluniodd Gwilym gymhlethdod yr achos, a oedd yn canolbwyntio ar natur tair priodas Edward.

Roedd Edward yn cadw i fynd rhwng dwy o'i wragedd, Agnes, a Jane Puleston. Yn wreiddiol, priododd Edward ddwy chwaer yn olynol, Jane, a fu farw yn fuan ar ôl priodi, ac Agnes. Ar ôl hyn, mae'n amlwg bod Edward wedi priodi merch o'r enw Jane Puleston, a oedd yn llawer mwy at ddand ei dad. Nid oedd ei dad Gwilym yn cymeradwyo ei briodas ag Agnes ac anogodd Edward i briodi Jane Puleston yn lle hynny, mae'n debyg oherwydd ei chysylltiadau ariannol.

Canfu Dr Owen fod Edward yn parhau i newid ei feddwl rhwng ei ddwy wraig, a oedd yn gwned ei etifeddiaeth yn gymhleth. Yn y diwedd cafodd dair merch gyda Jane Puleston, a honnodd yn y diwedd fod ganddynt hawl i'w stad. Fodd bynnag, dadleuodd ei frawd Rhys mai ei briodas â'i wraig gyntaf, Agnes, oedd yr unig un a oedd yn gyfreithlon, gan olygu felly mai Rhys oedd unig etifedd stad y Penrhyn. Er i Edward briodi Agnes yn ei arddegau, a bod sôn nad oedd y briodas wedi'i chyflawni, roedd yn anodd dweud a oedd ei briodas yn un ddwywreiglog (*bigamous*) ai peidio.





Sêl fawr o'r gweithredoedd sy'n gysylltiedig â'r teulu Graffydd. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor

Un o'r rhannau mwyaf diddorol o ymchwil Dr Owen oedd y cysylltiad a ganfu rhwng sefyllfa Edward a'i ddwy wraig a sefyllfa Harri VIII, yr oedd ei briodas yn cael ei phrofi yn y llysoedd ar yr un pryd ag un Edward. Ar y pryd, roedd cymariaethau'n cael eu gwneud rhwng sefyllfa briodasol Edward a sefyllfa Harri VIII, gan fod y brenin yn herio ei briodas â Catherine o Aragon, a oedd wedi priodi ei frawd Arthur yn wreiddiol cyn ei farwolaeth yn 1502. Ar sail sefyllfa Harri VIII, holodd Edward o'r Penrhyn ai ei briodas ag Agnes oedd yr un ddwywreiglog oherwydd ei briodas gynharach â'i chwaer Jane, neu a oedd ei briodas â Jane Puleston yn un ddwywreiglog, oherwydd ei fod yn dal yn briod ag Agnes. Roedd hyn yn codi amheuaeth a oedd ei dair merch gyda Jane Puleston yn gyfreithlon ai peidio, yn union fel Mari Tudur (Mari I yn y diwedd) a gafodd ei dad-gyfreithloni yn wreiddiol gan ei thad ym 1533 pan briododd Anne Boleyn.

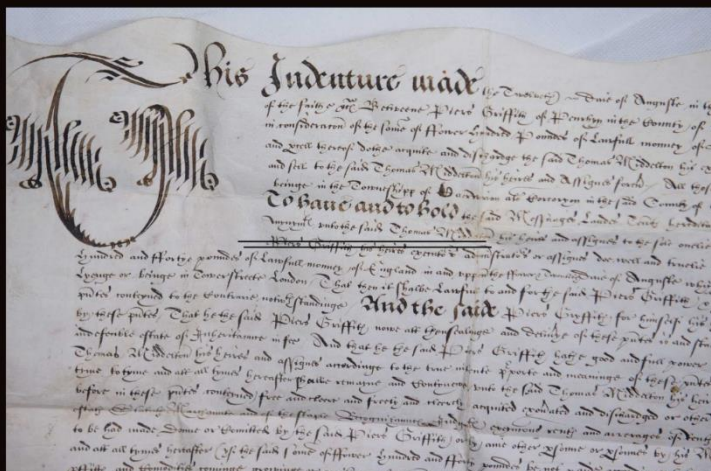
Waeth beth fo'r achos cyfreithlon, nid oedd tad Jane Puleston, John Puleston, yn fodlon rhoi'r gorau i'r frwydr dros etifeddiaeth ei wyresau. Ar ôl i Edward farw yng Nghastell Dulyn, ymosododd John Puleston ar y Penrhyn gyda milwyr yn cario gynnuau a bwâu, i geisio dod o hyd i ddogfen yr honnai Rhys ei bod yn profi mai ef oedd perchennog cyflawn y stad. Cafodd hyn ei gofnodi mewn deiseb i'r Brenin a ysgrifennwyd gan Rhys, a gwynodd am dresmasu anghyfreithlon John Puleston ar yr hyn yr oedd yn honni oedd ei ystad ef. Cedwir y rhain a llawer o lythyrau eraill ar y Penrhyn yn Archifau Prifysgol Bangor, fel rhan o Casglad y Penrhyn, y gellir eu harchwilio ar-lein neu drwy ymweld â'r archifau.

Wedi blynyddoedd o ymgysylltu, cytunodd y ddwy ochr i rannu'r ystad rhwng merched Edward a'i frodyr. Ysgrifennodd Dr Owen lyfr am ei ganfyddiadau o'r enw *At Variance: The Penrhyn Entail*, ewch i edrych yma i ddysgu mwy.

PERCHENNOG MÔR-

PERCHENNOG MÔR-LEIDR PENRHYN

Yn y diwedd, trosglyddwyd Penrhyn i lawr i fab Rhys, Piers (neu Pyrs) Griffiths, yr oedd ei fywyd hyd yn oed yn fwy cyffrous na bywyd ei dad. Roedd Piers yn byw rhwng 1568-1628 ac ers hynny daeth yn enwog fel môr-leidr. Ceir hanesion am Piers yn cymryd rhan mewn cyrchoedd ar y moroedd mawr ochr yn ochr â Syr Francis Drake a Syr Walter Raleigh. Yn ôl y chwedl, adelladodd Piers dwmnel cyfrinachol rhwng Porth Penrhyn a'r hen dy ym Mhenrhyn. Mae'r rhan fwyaf o'r hyn sy'n cael ei ysgrifennu am Piers yn cael ei ystyried yn ffuglen, fodd bynnag, yr hyn a wyddys amdano yw ei fod yn sicr yn ymddwyn fel môr-leidr yn ariannol! Wedi blynyddoedd o adelladu stad y Penrhyn gan ei hynafiaid, camreoli ei etifeddiaeth wnaeth Pyrs, gan forgoisio'n araf oddi ar y stad hyd at 1621 pan werthwyd Penrhyn i John Williams.



Indentur a roddwyd i Piers Griffith o'r Penrhyn, rhan o Bapurau Castell Penrhyn o 1340-1627. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor

Maentur a roddwyd i Piers Gwritin o'r Penrhyn, rhai o papurau Castell Penrhyn o 1340–1627. Archifau a Chasgladau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor

Cododd John Williams, oedd yn wreiddiol o Gonwy, i fod yn ffigwr adnabyddus yn ystod teyrnasiad Iago I, gan ddal nifer o swyddi yn cynnwys Caplan y Brenin yn 1617, Esgob Lincoln, Arghwydd Ceidwad y Sêl Fawr, ac Archesgob Efrog. Bu John Williams farw yn 1650 a chladdwyd ef yn Eglwys Llandygai, lle mae cofgolofn fawreddog wedi ei chodi er cof amdano. Bu farw heb blant a throsglwyddodd y stad i'w nai Griffith Williams. Ymhen amser, trosglwyddwyd rhan o'r ystad i Anne Susanna Warburton gan nad oedd etifeddlon gwrywaidd i etifeddu'r ystad. Priododd Anne Susanna â Richard Pennant a dyfodd y stad yn y 18fed ganrif. Byddwn yn edrych ar deulu'r Pennant yn y ddwy benod nesaf.

BARDDONIAETH GYMRAEG YNG NGHASTELL Y PENRHYN

Bu Kayla hefyd yn siarad â'r Athro Ann Parry Owen, o'r Ganolfan Uwchfeyrdiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd, y mae ei hymchwili yn canolbwyntio ar lenyddiaeth, iaith, a barddoniaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol. Roedd rhan bwysig o fywyd diwylliannol y teuluoedd bonedd Cymreig yn ymwneud â noddi canu mawl a oedd yn canolbwyntio ar statws a hunaniaeth y teulu. Un o'r lluo beirdd a groesawyd i'r Penrhyn oedd y bardd amlwg Guto'r Glyn, a ganai am linach Gymreig drawiadol y teulu, eu rhinweddau bonheddig, eu priodasau a'u plant a'u croeso. Mae canu mawl yn rhoi cipolwg cyfoethog ar fywydau uchelwyr Cymru, megis y mathau o fywyd yr oeddwn yn ei fwyta, y dillad a wisgent, a'u rolau a'u cyfrifoldebau yn y gymdeithas Gymreig.

Yn y podlediad, mae Kayla yn chwarae rhan o gerdd a gyfansoddwyd gan Guto'r Glyn am deulu Gruffydd o Gochwillan, perthnasau teulu Gruffydd Penrhyn, oedd yn byw mewn plasty cyfagos. Cynhyrchwyd y recordiad hwn fel rhan o brosiect ymchwili a gyfarwyddwyd gan yr Athro Owen o'r enw Prosiect Guto'r Glyn a oedd yn cynnwys gwefan a grëwyd am fywyd a cherddi Guto'r Glyn. Mae gan y wefan lu o adnoddau am fywyd yng Nghymru'r oesoedd canol, fel y gwelir ym marddoniaeth Guto, yn amrywio o feddygaeth ac amaethyddiaeth i grefydd a rhyfel. Gallwch hefyd ddarllen cerddi Guto gyda nodiadau esboniadol Cymraeg neu Saesneg, ac am fywydau ei noddwyr, fel y Griffiths. Ewch i Cymru Guto i weld mwy.

DYMA BWT O FARDDONIAETH GUTO'R GLYN AM DEULU GRIFFITHS COCHWILLAN:



BLE GALLWCH CHI DDARGANFOD MWY AM HANES CANOLOESOL Y PENRHYN?

Mae Archifau a Chasgladau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor yn gartref i gasgliad mawr o gofnodion hanesyddol a grëwyd gan neu sy'n gysylltiedig â theuluoedd Gruffydd a Williams o'r Penrhyn; gallwch chi archwilio'r casgliad ar-lein neu ymweld â'r Brifysgol i ymchwilio i'r archif. Os ydych chi eisiau gwneud ychydig o ymchwilio corfforol, mae Eglwys Sant Tegai yn Llandygai, sydd wedi'i lleoli ger y brif fynedfa gyhoeddus i Gastell Penrhyn, yn cynnwys nifer o henebion, placiau, a chryptau

eu claddu yn Sant Tegal, ac mae cofglofn a beddrod alabastr i John Williams yn yr eglwys hefyd. I ddysgu mwy am yr eglwys, cliciwch yma.



Cofeb i John Williams yn Eglwys Sant Tegal yn Llandygol. Diolch i Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru

Mae'r Athro Ann Parry Owen yn awgrymu mai ffordd wych o ddysgu mwy am ganu mawr Cymraeg yw ymweld â Llyfrgeli Genedlaethol Cymru neu archwilio eu casgliad digidol ar-lein. Mae'r casgliad hwn yn cynnwys Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch a Llyfr Taliesin, sy'n enghreifftiau o'r fersiynau cynharaf o ryddlaith Gymraeg a'r iaith Gymraeg.

Mae'r Athro yn argymhell y rhestr isod a fydd yn rhoi mwy o fanylion i chi am hanes canoloesol Cymru:

A.D. Carr, 'Gwilym ap Gruffydd and the rise of the Penrhyn estate', *Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru* 15, 1 (1990), ar gael ar-lein yma:
<https://datasylwr.llgc.org.uk/journals/pdf/AWJA016002.pdf>

AD Carr, *The Gentry of North Wales in the Later Middle Ages* (Caerdydd, 2017)

D.J. Bowen, 'Y Canu i Gwilym ap Gruffydd o'r Penrhyn a'i fab Gwilym Fychan',

hanes canoloesol Cymru:

A.D. Carr, 'Gwilym ap Gruffydd and the rise of the Penrhyn estate', *Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru* 15, 1 (1990), ar gael ar-lein yma:
<https://datasylwr.llgc.org.uk/journals/pdf/AWJA016002.pdf>

AD Carr, *The Gentry of North Wales in the Later Middle Ages* (Caerdydd, 2017)

D.J. Bowen, 'Y Canu i Gwilym ap Gruffydd o'r Penrhyn a'i fab Gwilym Fychan', *Dwned* 8 (2002)

D. Johnston, *Llen yr Uchelwyr: Hanes Beirniadol Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1300-1525* (Caerdydd, 2014)

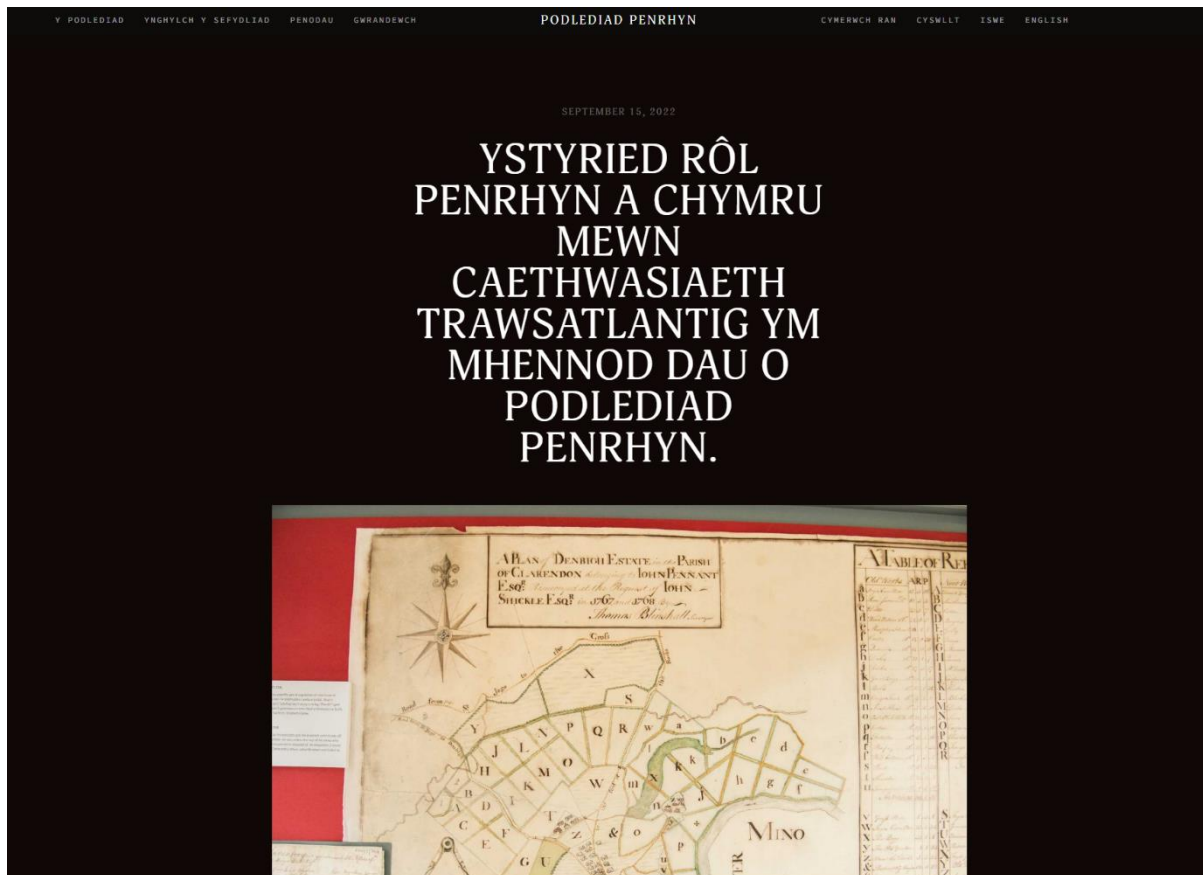
R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford, 2000)

♥ 0 LIKES < SHARE

Ystyried rôl Penrhyn a Chymru mewn caethwasiaeth trawsatlantig ym mhennod dau o Podllediad Penrhyn. >

Podllediad Penrhyn

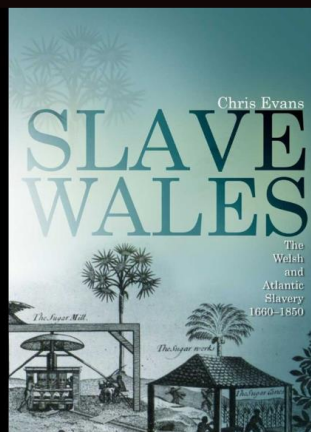




Map mawr o ystadau Dinbych a Clarendon yn Jamaica. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor

Mae'r bennod hon yn dipyn o agoriad llygad wrth i Kayla Jones archwilio cysylltiad Penrhyn â'r fasnach gaethwelson yn y 18fed-19eg ganrif. Wedi'i recordio yn ystod anterth y mudlad Black Lives Matter yn 2020, mae'r bennod hon yn tynnu sylw at un o lawer o safleoedd treftadaeth ledled y DU sydd wedi bod yn edrych ychydig yn agosach ar eu cysylltiadau trefedigaethol, yn cynnwys Castell Penrhyn, sy'n eiddo i'r Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol yng ngogledd orllewin Cymru.

Ymunwch â Kayla wrth iddi ddysgu am blanhigfeydd siwgr y teula Pennant yn Jamaica, cyn berchnogion stad y Penrhyn. Roedd Richard Pennant a'i ail gefnder, George Hay Dawkins, yn landlordiaid absennol yn Jamaica, yn rheoli eu planhigfeydd o bell, gan ddefnyddio'r elw i ariannu mentrau yng Nghymru, yn fwyaf nodedig Chwarel y Penrhyn, a fu unwaith y chwarel lechi fwyaf yn y byd.





Caethwasiaeth Cymru gan Dr Chris Evans.

ER BOD JAMAICA FILOEDD O FILLTIROEDD I FFWRDD O OGLEDD CYMRU, MAE EU STRAEON WEDI'U CYDBLETHU'N RHYFEDD

Un o rannau mwyaf syfrdanol y bennod oedd darganfod sut y chwaraeodd Cymru ran yn y fasnach gaethweision ar draws yr Iwerydd a chymaint o ran oedd gan gaethwasiaeth yng nghymdeithas ac economi Prydain yn y 19eg ganrif. Siaradodd Kayla â Dr Chris Evans, awdur y llyfr *Slave Wales* sy'n dangos sut y chwaraeodd Cymru ran weithredol yn nhwrf caethwasiaeth ledled y byd, a sut y bu i ddiwydiannau Cymreig megis mwngloddio copr a melinau gwlan helpu i gynnal y fasnach gaethweision mewn ffyrdd amlsgwyl.

I ddarllen llyfr Chris Evans *Slave Wales*, ewch i'r fan hyn.

I'r rhai sy'n dymuno archwilio systemau planhigfeydd a realiti llym bywyd caethweision yn Jamaica, mae Dr Evans yn argymhell llyfr yr Athro Trevor Burnard *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, sy'n edrych ar ddyddiadur perchennog planhigfa, Thomas Thistlewood.



Dr Marian Gwyn yn cyflwyno ar stad y Penrhyn. Diolch i Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru

Mae'r bennod hon hefyd yn cynnwys Dr Marian Gwyn, sy'n ymgynghorydd ac ymchwilydd treftadaeth, y mae ei gwaith yn arbenigo yn y ffyrdd y gall sefydliadau treftadaeth rannu eu cysylltiadau â gwladychiaeth. Daeth planhigfeydd i feddiant y teulu Pennant yn Jamaica pan aeth Gifford Pennant drosodd fel milwr ym Myddin Cromwell yn 1656. Prynodd ef diroedd helaeth yn India'r Gorllewin. Yn y pen draw, daeth y teulu yn gynhyrchydd siwgr câns mawr yn ardal Clarendon.

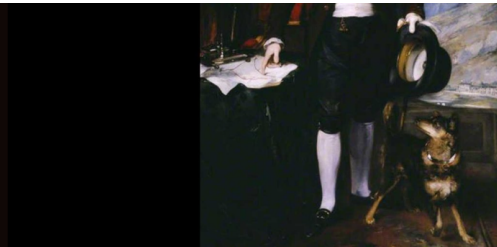
Cododd y teulu hefyd mewn safle cymdeithasol yn Jamaica, pan ddaeth mab Gifford Pennant, Edward, yn Brif Ustus Jamaica. Yna cafodd Edward ddau fab, Samuel, a ddaeth yn Arghwydd Faer Llundain, a John a oedd yn fasnachwr adnabyddus ag India'r Gorllewin wedi'i leoli yn Lerpwl. Yn y diwedd, dychwelodd y teulu i'r DU, gan weithredu fel landlordiaid absennol tra bod gweithrediadau dydd i ddydd y planhigfeydd yn cael eu gadael i asiantau. Roedd yr arian a wnaed o gynhyrchu siwgr yn Jamaica yn caniatáu i John Pennant brynu hanner yr hyn a elwid yn stad y Penrhyn. Prynodd ei fab, Richard Pennant, hanner arall y stad trwy briodas fanteisiol ag Anne Susannah Warburton yn 1765. Daeth Richard Pennant yr Arghwydd Penrhyn cyntaf, ac fel AS dros Lerpwl roedd yn gefnogwr di-flewyn-ar-dafod i hawliau perchnogion caethweision yn y DU. Caniatodd ei ffortiwn cynyddol iddo ddatblygu stad y Penrhyn, ac adeiladodd ffyrdd, tai, ysgolion, adeiladau amaethyddol a dechreuodd ddatblygu'r chwarel lechi.





Digwyddiad yn Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig ym Mhrifysgol Bangor yn archwilio cysylltiad Penrhyn â Jamaica. Ddiolch i Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru

Tynnodd Dr Gwyn sylw at erchyllterau bywyd yn Jamaica i'r caethweision, gan sôn am amodau gwaith a byw llym a chyfraddau marwolaeth uchel gweithwyr caethiwus Jamaica a oedd yn gweithio ar Blanhigfeydd Pennant ar y pryd. Er nad oes llawer o wybodaeth am yr unigolion a fu'n llafurio ar blanhigfeydd Pennant, bu Dr Gwyn yn siarad â Kayla am yr hyn a ddarganfuwyd ganddi ym mhapurau'r Penrhyn yn Archifau Prifysgol Bangor. Mae yna ewyllysiau, rhestrau elddo, mapiau, a llythyrau yn ogystal â rhestrau stoc blynyddol sy'n rhoi enwau, oedranau ac asediadau iechyd y gweithwyr caethiwus ar y planhigfeydd. Roedd llythyrau'n cael eu hanfon yn ôl ac ymlaen rhwng Richard Pennant a'i asiantau, sy'n sôn am wrthryfeloedd a salwch ymhlith y caethweision a'r tywydd annlodebol yn Jamaica. Trwy ei hymchwili, canfu Dr Gwyn y byddai tua 30 y cant o gaethweision yn rhy sâl i weithio ar unrhyw adeg benodol.



Poentiad o Richard Pennant gan Henry Thompson, tua 1800. Cyrchwyd trwy Wikimedia Commons, ar gael gan Lyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.

Yn 2007, bu Dr Gwyn yn bennaeth ar y prosiect 'Slwgr a Llechl' yng Nghastell Penrhyn, sef arddangosfa arbennig a rhaglen o ddigwyddiadau a oedd yn archwilio cysylltiad Penrhyn â chaethwasiaeth yn ystod Daucanmlwyddiant Deddf 1807 i ddiddymu'r Fasnach Gaethweision. Ar gyfer y prosiect, daeth gwirfoddolwyr lleol i'r archifau i edrych trwy ddogfennau sy'n gysylltiedig â planhigfeydd Jamaica. Ysgrifennodd y gwirfoddolwyr eu canfyddiadau fel rhan o'r arddangosfa, a oedd yn amlgu pa mor gydgysylltiedig oedd y fasnach gaethweision i fywyd yn y DU yn y 18fed ganrif, ac i ddatblygiad ystâd y Penrhyn. Roedd y prosiect hefyd yn cynnwys plant ysgol o 'Driongl Penrhyn': gogledd Cymru, Lerpwl, a Jamaica. Creodd y myfyrwyr waith celf, straeon a barddoniaeth ar arteffactau sy'n gysylltiedig â'r diwydiant caethweision.

I edrych trwy gyn-arddangosfeydd, llyfrynau ac arteffactau'r Prosiect Slwgr a Llechl, ewch yma.

“

“Felly heb gaethwasiaeth i fod yn sail i'r sefydliadau hyn, yna ni fyddai'r chwyldro diwydiannol wedi digwydd mor gyflym ag y gwnaeth ym Mhrydain. Erbyn hyn mae'n rhaid iddo fod yn rhan o'r stori, ond nid fel stori ychwanegol.”

– Dr Marfan Gwyn

Siaradodd Kayla hefyd ag Eleanor Harding, a arferai fod yn Guradur Cynorthwyol Cymru yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol yng Nghastell Penrhyn a soniodd am arddangosfeydd y gorffennol, y presennol a'r dyfodol, a digwyddiadau yng Nghastell Penrhyn oedd yn canolbwyntio ar blanhigfeydd y Penrhyn yn Jamaica.

Yr unig gynrychiolaeth weledol o'r planhigfeydd yn y Castell yw dau ddarlun a

Nghastell Penrhyn oedd yn canolbwyntio ar blanhigfeydd y Penrhyn yn Jamaica.

Yr unig gynrychiolaeth weledol o'r planhigfeydd yn y Castell yw dau ddarlun a gomisllynwyd gan y teulu yng nghanol yr 1800au ar ôl diwedd y fasnach gaethweision ym Mhrydain. Nid oes llawer yn hysbys am y paentiadau heblaw eu bod yn fersiwn hynod arddulliedig, ramantus o'r planhigfeydd, gyda lliwiau llachar a darluniau o ychydig o lafurwyr yn gweithio'n hamddenol yn y caeau. Mae'r paentiadau o'r planhigfeydd y sonnir amdanynt yn y podlediad yn cael sylw ar wefan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol.

Yn 2020, cyhoeddodd yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol adroddiad ar gysylltiad llawer o'i safleoedd â chaethwasiaeth trawsatlantig a gwladychiaeth. Mae'r adroddiad yn rholi tystiolaeth eang o safleoedd treftadaeth ledled y DU sydd â chysylltiadau â'r fasnach gaethweision ar hyd a lled y byd. Ewch i'w gwefan i ddarllen yr adroddiad, o'r enw *Mynd i'r afael â'n hanes o wladychiaeth a chaethwasiaeth hanesyddol*.

“

“Mae'r Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol yn gofalu am lleoedd a chasgliadau ar ran y genedl, ac mae gan lawer ohonynt gysylltiadau uniongyrchol ac anuniongyrchol â gwladychiaeth a chaethwasiaeth hanesyddol. Rydym wedi rhyddhau adroddiad yn edrych ar y cysylltiadau hyn fel rhan o'n hymrwymiad ehangach i sicrhau bod y cysylltiadau yma yn cael eu cynrychioli, eu rhannu a'u dehongli'n briodol. Mae'r adeiladau yn ein gofal yn adlewyrchu llawer o wahanol gyfnodau ac ystod o hanesion Prydeinig a byd-eang – cymdeithasol, diwydiannol, gwleidyddol a diwylliannol. Fel elusen dreftadaeth, ein cyfrifoldeb ni yw sicrhau ein bod yn hanesyddol gywir ac yn gadarn yn academiaidd pan fyddwn yn cyfathrebu am y lleoedd a'r casgliadau sydd yn ein gofal”.

– Yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol



Darluniau o adeiladau a arferai sefyll ar y planhigfeydd yn Jamaica. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor

Yn y bennod, mae Eleanor yn sôn am arddangosfa yn 2020 a 2021 o'r enw *Am Fydd!* a oedd yn arddangos casgliad o gysylltiadau Penrhyn â gwladychiaeth a'r fasnach gaethweision ar draws yr Iwerydd. Wedi'u hysbrydoli gan grŵp o blant lleol, cyflwynwyd y gwrthrychau a oedd yn cael eu harddangos yn seiliedig ar brofiad y plant gyda'r gwrthrychau. Yna arddangoswyd cerddi'r myfyrwyr drwy'r castell ochr yn ochr â'r gwrthrychau, a heriwyd ymwelwyr i edrych ar y gwrthrychau hyn mewn goleuni newydd.

I weld mwy am yr arddangosfa, ewch i Dudalen yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol.

Yn olaf, mae Kayla yn cyfeirio at raglen deledu S4C *Trysorau Cymru: Tŷ, Tai a Chyfrinachau* sef cyfres chwe rhan yn edrych ar blastai yng Nghymru fel Penrhyn, Castell Powys, Tŷ Tredegar, Castell y Waun a Phlas Newydd. Y digrifwr Tudur Owen sy'n cyflwyno'r rhaglen ac mae'n ymchwilio i straeon cudd a hanesion anghyfforddus sy'n gysylltiedig â phlastai amlwg ledled Cymru. Cliciwch yma i ddysgu mwy am y rhaglen.

Er bod hanes Penrhyn yn gymhleth, ac yn aml yn anodd dysgu amdano, mae mor bwysig tynnu sylw at ei gysylltiad â'r fasnach gaethweision. Mae *Podlediad Penrhyn* yn un rhan fach o'r ymchwil a'r gwaith sy'n cael ei wneud ynghylch caethwasiaeth a'i gysylltiad â gogledd Cymru. Gallwch ddysgu mwy am ymchwil Kayla trwy wefan Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru Prifysgol Bangor.

♥ 0 LIKES < SHARE

Yn olaf, mae Kayla yn cyfeirio at raglen deledu S4C *Trysorau Cymru: Tir, Tai a Chyfrinachau* sef cyfres chwe rhan yn edrych ar blastal yng Nghymru fel Penrhyn, Castell Powys, Tŷ Tredegar, Castell y Waun a Phlas Newydd. Y digrifwr Tudur Owen sy'n cyflwyno'r rhaglen ac mae'n ymchwilio i straeon cudd a hanesion anghyfforddus sy'n gysylltiedig â phlatai amlwg ledled Cymru. Cliciwch yma i ddysgu mwy am y rhaglen.

Er bod hanes Penrhyn yn gymhleth, ac yn aml yn anodd dysgu amdano, mae mor bwysig tynnu sylw at ei gysylltiad â'r fasnach gaethwelson. Mae *Podlediad Penrhyn* yn un rhan fach o'r ymchwil a'r gwaith sy'n cael ei wneud ynghylch caethwasiaeth a'i gysylltiad â gogledd Cymru. Gallwch ddysgu mwy am ymchwil Kayla trwy wefan Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru Prifysgol Bangor.

0 LIKES SHARE

< Croeso i *Podlediad Penrhyn*, podlediad pum rhan am hanes ystâd y Penrhyn yng ngogledd orllewin Cymru.

Archwilio Bywyd Yng Nghastell Penrhyn >

Podlediad Penrhyn



Y PODLEDIAD YNGHYLCH Y SEFYDLIAD PENODAU GWRANDENCH

PODLEDIAD PENRHYN

CYMERCH RAN CYSWILT ISWE ENGLISH

SEPTEMBER 14, 2022

ARCHWILIO BYWYD YNG NGHASTELL PENRHYN



Gwedd allanol Castell Penrhyn.

Croeso i'r drydedd bennod o *Podlediad Penrhyn*. Yn y bennod hon, mae Kayla yn archwilio bywyd ym Mhenrhyn, o adelladu'r castell, bywyd y gwelson a'r morynion, gweithrediad y stad a bywydau'r teuluoedd oedd yn byw ac yn gweithio

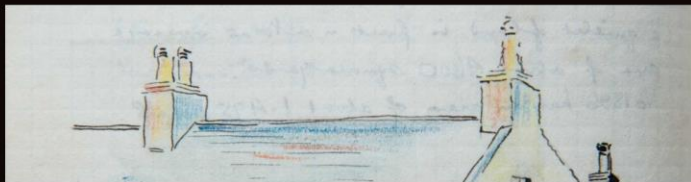
archwilio bywyd ym Mhenrhyn, o adelladu'r castell, bywyd y gweision a'r morymion, gweithrediad y stad a bywydau'r teuluoedd oedd yn byw ac yn gweithio ar ffermydd y tenantiaid. Plasty gwledig Neo-Normanaidd wedi'i leoli ger Bangor yng ngogledd orllewin Cymru yw Castell Penrhyn. Adelladwyd Castell Penrhyn ar gyfer yr Arglwydd Penrhyn ym 1822-37, ar safle tai bonedd cynharach, a bu'n ganolfan grym pwysig i'r teulu Pennant tan y 1950au.

Yn y ddwy bennod gyntaf, bu Kayla yn edrych ar ddechreuadau'r ystâd, o'i pherchnogion canoloesol, y teuluoedd Gruffydd a Williams i'r Pennantiaid yn y 18fed-20fed ganrif. Roedd y bennod flaenorol yn edrych ar sut y daeth planhigfeydd Jamaica a oedd yn eiddo i deulu Pennant â chyfoeth sylweddol i ogledd Cymru, cyfoeth a fuddsoddodd y teulu wedyn yn y diwydiant llechi, yr ystâd, ac adelladu castell ysbennnydd.

Ym mhennod tri, mae Kayla yn starad â Richard Pennington, Rheolwr Tŷ a Chasgladau'r Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol yng Nghastell Penrhyn ers dros 20 mlynedd, am bensaerniaeth unigryw Penrhyn a bywyd yn y plasty. Mae hi hefyd yn starad ag Ann Dolben, gwirfoddolwr hirdymor yn y castell sydd â gwybodaeth helaeth am gasgliad celf a pherchnogion y tŷ. I ddysgu mwy am Gastell Penrhyn, eu harddangosfeydd a'r digwyddiadau diweddaraf, ewch i Wefan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol.

PENRHYN DAN RICHARD PENNANT

Mae Richard Pennant yn adnabyddus am ehangu stad y Penrhyn trwy brynu tir ychwanegol yn yr ardal a thrawsnewid rhannau o'r tir ar gyfer defnydd amaethyddol a diwydiannol. Etifeddodd Richard ran o'r ystâd trwy ei briodas ag Anne Warburton ac aeth ymlaen i brynu cyfranddalladau ychwanegol o'r elw a gafwyd o'i blanhigfeydd swgr yn Jamaica.



Darlun o fwrthyn a godwyd wrth i Richard Pennant wellio stad y Penrhyn. Archifau a Chasgladau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Plannwyd tua 600,000 o goed ar y stad, yn ogystal â chnydau fel bresych a malp, a chodwyd ffermydd a thai ar gyfer gweithwyr lleol, gan ddod â mwy o gyflogaeth i'r ardal. Yn wreiddiol roedd tŷ canoloesol ym Mhenrhyn y dechreuodd Richard Pennant ei foderneiddio; er hynny ychydig sydd ar ôl o'r adellad hwnnw heddiw. Ei etifedd, perthynas pell o'r enw George Hay Dawkins Pennant, fyddai'n adelladu'r castell cywain sy'n sefyll ar y stad heddiw.

Datblygodd Borth Penrhyn, adelladodd reilffyrdd, a buddsoddodd mewn gwelliannau amaethyddol. Tra bu chwarela ar raddfa fechan ar stad y Penrhyn ers blynnyddoedd, Richard Pennant a ddechreuodd ddatblygu'r chwarell llechi ar ei stad yn fenter oedd yn tyfu.

ADEILADU CASTELL PENRHYN



Gwedd allanol Castell Penrhyn.

Roedd George Hay Dawkins Pennant eisiau castell mawreddog ar i ystâd gynyddol a chyflogodd y pensaer Thomas Hopper i ddylunio ac adeiladu'r strwythur anferth o 1822-37. Erbyn hyn, roedd yr ystâd wedi tyfu'n aruthrol o'r amser yr oedd Richard yn berchen arni, ac roedd George Hay Dawkins Pennant yn dymuno adeiladu cartref a oedd yn adlewyrchu ei statws fel tirfeddiannwr mawr gyda dros 70,000 o erwau o dir.

Mae prosiectau eraill Thomas Hopper yn cynnwys Castell Gosford, Englefield House, Kentwell Hall a'r tŷ gwydr yn Carlton House ac yn aml roeddent yn ddyluniadau a oedd yn efelychu arddulliau canoloesol. Dewisodd y pensaer arddull Neo-Normanaldad ar gyfer Castell Penrhyn, a'r bwriad oedd i wedd allanol yr adeilad edrych fel castell amddiffynadwy sydd wedi sefyll yng ngogledd Cymru ers canrifoedd, ynghyd â nodweddion fel tyredau, tŵr, a gorthwr. Hefyd gosododd Hopper ffenestri gwydr llw cywrair a rhoi goleuadau mawr, brawychus yn y neuadd fawr.

Drwyddi draw, cymerodd y tŷ tua phymtheg mlynedd i'w orffen a chostiodd tua £150,000 i'w adeiladu, tua £49,500,000 yn artan heddiw.

TU MEWN I'R CASTELL

TU MEWN I'R CASTELL



Ystafell wely yng Nghastell Penrhyn. Cyrchwyd trwy Comin Wikimedia llun gan Andrew Mcmillan.

Aeth yr Arglwydd Penrhyn a'i bensaer Thomas Hooper i drafferth mawr i wneud tu mewn y castell yr un mor fawreddog â'r tu allan. Mae nenfydau yn y neuadd fawr, y partiwr, y capel a'r llyfrgell wedi'u dylunio mewn bwa plastr cymhleth sy'n dal y llygad ble bynnag yr edrychwch. Gwnaeth crefftwyr lleol ddarnau unigryw fel gwely llechen mawr a bwrdd biliards ac maent yn dal i gael eu harddangos yn y tŷ heddiw.

Dyluniwyd dodrefn, lleoedd tân, drysau a ffraniau drychau gan Thomas Hopper i ddod ag ymdeimlad o ysblander a threftadaeth ledled y castell. Y grisiau mawreddog yw un o'r prif ganolbwyntiau yn y castell ac maent yn dangos dylanwad celf Arabaidd a wynebau cerfiedig uwchben drysau.

Gyda gorthwr, ffenestri llw, a cholofneydd roedd y tu mewn hefyd i fod i gyfleu'r

Dylanwadi Cefn Arddarod a Wynedau Cefniedig dwyben drysau.

Gyda gorthwr, ffenestri llw, a cholofnfydd roedd y tu mewn hefyd i fod i gysleu'r teimlad bod y castell wedi'i adeddlu yn oes y Normaniaid. Fodd bynnag, roedd llawer o'r ddoefn ar y addurniadu yn nodweddiadol o blasty Fictoriaidd, gyda phapur wal wedi'i ysbrydoli gan Asia, llyfrgell helaeth a pharhyrau ac ystafelloedd pwybar mawr i wneud argraff ar y gwesteion oedd yn dod i mewn.

CASGLIAD CELF PENRHYN



Portread o Catrina Hooghsaet gan Rembrandt, caffaelwyd gan deulu Douglas Pennant yn 1860. Cyrchwyd trwy Wikimedia Commons, ar gael gan Lyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.

Roddwyd yr Arghwydd Penrhyn a) ferch Alice yn frwd dros gelf, ac erbyn ei farwolaeth yn 1886, roedd yr Arghwydd Penrhyn wedi hael casglad helaeth o henwoliaethau fel Thomas Gainsborough, Diego Ortiz, a Van Dyck. Ardangosir portreadau o genedlaethau teulu'r Pennant yn yr ystafell fwyta, yn ogystal â phaeintlaidau o deulu Williams, perchnogion modern cynnar Penrhyn a gafodd sylw yn mhennod un.

Comislynwyd paentiaidau o'r chwael yn 1832, yn rhol cipolwg ar lethrau serth y gwylau llechi yn ystod y cyfnod, a'r gwaith peryglus Pr chwaelwyr, a wellr yn hongian ar raffau ar hyd a lled y chwael. Mae paentiad arall yn darlunio ymwellaau y Frenhines Fictoria â'r Castell ym 1859, yn anterth y dwyandiat llechi yng Nghymru.

Yn 2011, bu'r arddangosfa *Am Fyd* yn archwilio rhwyfaint o'r gwaith celf a'r gwrthrychau sydd fy gweidd ledled Cymru Penrhyn twr farddoniaeth plant o ysgollon lleol yng Mangor a Bethesda. Roedd darluniau o blanhigfydd siwgr Penrhyn ac adar egosgit taerddermal, pob ŵch yn gysylltiedig â chaeftawasiaeth drawsiwerydd neu'r Ymmoderaeth, ar hyd y tŷ ochr yn ochr â barddoniaeth a ysgrifennwyd am eu hymateb fy gwrthrychau. I ddysgu mwy am *Am Fyd*, edrychwch ar yr arddangosyn ar wefan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol, neu gwybillych y fideo isod.



CWETLHO VMC

GWEITHIO YNG NGHASTELL PENRHYN



Staff stad y Penrhyn, 1896. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Roedd gweithio yng Nghastell Penrhyn yn waith prysur, gydag oriau gwaith hir i weision a morynlon yn y 1900au cynnar. Mae gan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol gofnodion am weithwyr fel cogyddion, howsgiper, morynlon a gweision llyfral a oedd yn gweithio yn y castell. Siaradodd Richard â Kayla am sut y byddai'r tŷ wedi gweithio gyda thair ar hugain o forynlon tŷ, staff cegin a golchdy ac un ar ddeg o staff gwrywaldd yn y tŷ a'r stablau.



Morwyn yng Nghastell Penrhyn. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Ochr yn ochr â gwasanaethu'r teulu pan oeddent gartref, roedd y staff hefyd yn gorfod paratol ar gyfer partion mawreddog, ymweliadau brenhinol, a digwyddiadau estynedig fel helfeydd a gwyliau. Paratodd y staff yn arbennig ar gyfer arhosiad y Frenhines Fictoria yn 1830, ac eto yn yr 1850au, gan gynllunio'n fanwl y gwely y byddai'n cysgu ynddo, y safleoedd y byddai'n ymweld â nhw ar y stad a'r prydau bwyd y byddai'n eu bwyta. Yr oedd angen wythnosau o baratoi ar gyfer ymweliad Tywysog Cymru yn 1924 pan ddaeth am barti hwyrol mawreddog a'r Elsteddfod, lle cafodd ei urddo yng ngwisg yr Orsedd. Y tro hwn, roedd yn rhaid i'r gweision baratoi chwech ar hugain o ystafelloedd gwely a pharatodd y ceginau dros 1,150 o brydau ar gyfer dau gant o westeion. Cyflwynwyd pryd naw cwsr a phryd canol nos gyda danteithion a phwddiau i westeion, ynghyd ag adloniant a oedd yn cynnwys Côr Meibion y Penrhyn.

Gallwch weld llyfdd cysgu'r gweision a'r morynlon yng Nghastell Penrhyn hyd heddiw, megis Ystafell y Lamp, yr Ystafell Lestri, y Gegin, a Lolfa'r Cogydd. Mae'r llyfr *Penrhyn's Servant's Quarters* yn rhoi golwg fanwl ar fywyd gweision ym Mhenrhyn ac mae ar gael ar y safle neu drwy'r Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol.



Offet pŷgata a ddefnyddwyd gan piper stad y Penrhyn. Archifau a Chyngladau Arhennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Yn 2009, bu'r Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol yn cyfweild ag Alice Evans, cyn-forwyn yng Nghastell Penrhyn, am ei phrofiad yn gweithio yno yn ferch ifanc. Manylodd Alice ar fywyd beunyddiol fel morwyn, gydag amser gweithio yn dechrau am 6 y bore, prydau'n cael eu paratol drwy gydol yr wythnos, a rheolau gwisg llym y staff. Ewchi'r erthygl hon gan y BBC i weld y cyfweiliad llawn.

PENRHYN FEL CANOLBWYNT GRYM



Panitiad o Gastell Penrhyn gan J. Newman & Co, tua 1865. Cyrchwyd trwy Wikimedia Commons, ar gael gan Lyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.

Er y partion mawreddog a'r ymweliadau brenhinol, roedd Penrhyn yn wag am lawer o'r flwyddyn, gyda'r Pennantiaid yn byw yn Llundain neu'n byw yn eu tal eraill y rhan fwyaf o'r amser. Roedd y castell yn fwy o sylfaen grym i'r teulu, gyda'r Pennantiaid yn dewis aros yn eu stad yn Swydd Northampton yn amlach yn ystod tensynau cynyddol y streic. Mwy am hynny ym mhennod pedwar.

Colodd Alan George Sholto Douglas-Pennant a'i ddau fab hynaf eu bywydau yn y Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf, gan adael yr ystâd i'w fab ieuengaf Hugh Napier ym 1927. Erbyn 1949, roedd llawer o'r tir wedi'i werthu, ac roedd angen cynnal a chadw'r ystâd. Etifeddodd nith Hugh, Janet Pelham y tŷ yn y pumdegau a cheisiodd fyw yn y castell am tua chwe mis. Ond heb gynnal a chadw a gwresogi priodol, roedd hi'n gweld y castell yn rhy fawr. Trosglwyddodd Jane y castell i'r Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol yn fuan wedyn.

TU HWNT I'R CASTELL

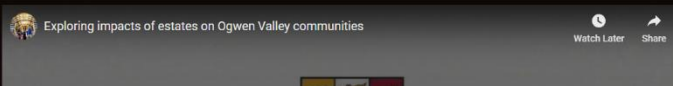
Yn ystod y blynyddoedd diwethaf, mae straeon am fywydau'r rhai a oedd yn byw ac yn gweithio ar yr ystâd wedi bod yn cael eu harchwilio trwy ddigwyddiadau a gweithgareddau hanes cyhoeddus. Yn 2018, cynhaliodd SYC nifer o ddigwyddiadau o'r enw *Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel*. lle gallai pobl o'r ardal leol rannu pethau cofadwy, mynychu ymweliadau archifol, teithiau archaeolegol, a

gwerinfaeadau hanes cynoeddus. Yn 2018, cynnalodd SYC nifer o ddigwyddiadau o'r enw *Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel*. lle gallai pobl o'r ardal leol rannu pethau cofiadwy, mynychu ymweliadau archifol, telthiau archaeolegol, a darlithoedd, a chymryd rhan mewn recordiadau hanes llafar am fywyd ar Stad y Penrhyn.



Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel | Beyond the Quarry yn 2018 Diolch i Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru.

Daethpwyd ag arteffactau fel lluniau, gweithredoedd, adroddiadau, a ffotograffau i mewn yn ystod y diwrnod atgofion treftadaeth. I weld arteffactau a gasglwyd ar gyfer y digwyddiad, archwiliwch Gwefan Casgliad y Werin Cymru, sydd ag arteffactau digidol a gasglwyd o bob rhan o Gymru. I ddysgu mwy am y prosiect *Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel* a digwyddiadau tebyg a gynhelir gan SYC, ewch i wefan SYC yma.



Mae arddangosion yn y gorffennol yng Nghastell Penrhyn wedi amlgu cysylltiad yr ystad â chaethwasiath, ei ran yn y diwydiant llechl, a hanes y streiciau. Daeth Kayla a'r bennod I ben trwy siarad ag Ann Dolben am eitem yn 2018 lle creodd yr awdur Manon Steffan Ros ddeuddeg stori am orffennol, presennol a dyfodol y Penrhyn. Roedd y straeon yn archwilio rhai o effennau mwy anodd hanes Penrhyn fel Streic y Penrhyn; rhagor am hyn ym mhennod pedwar. Roedd y straeon grymus yn ffordd wych o ddangos pa mor boenus oedd digwyddiadau'r streiciau i deulaoedd chwarelyddol lleol, perthnasedd i'r Streic hyd heddiw, a sut y gellir defnyddio Castell Penrhyn fel man myfyrio a thrafod ymhlith cenedlaethau gwahanol yng Nghymru, Jamaica, a thu hwnt.

I ddysgu mwy am yr arddangosfa, edrychwch yn ôl ar dudalen Penrhyn ar y digwyddiad ar wefan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Genedlaethol.

♥ 0 LIKES < SHARE

< Ystyried rôl Penrhyn a Chymru mewn caethwasiath trawsatlantig ym mhennod dau o Podlediad Penrhyn.

Ystad y Penrhyn a'r Diwydiant Llechl >

Podlediad Penrhyn

SEPTEMBER 13, 2022

YSTÂD Y PENRHYN A'R DIWYDIANT LLECHI



Chwarelwr yn hollti llechi yn Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru. Tynnwyd y llun yn Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru yn Llanberis.



Chwarelwr yn hollti llechi. Tynnwyd y llun yn Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru yn Llanberis.

Yn mhennod pedwar, mae Kayla'n archwilio un o'r darnau prysicaf o hanes Ystâd y Penrhyn ac un o'r rhai mwyaf dadleuol ar adegau: llechi. Roedd Chwarel y Penrhyn, y chwarel llechi fwyaf yn y byd ar un adeg, yn cyflogi miloedd o chwarelwyr ac yn dod â swyddi niferus i'r ardal. I lawer, nid swydd yn unig oedd gweithio yn y chwarel, roedd yn ffordd o fyw, ac yn grefft hynod fedrus a oedd yn cael ei mireinio drwy'ch bywyd. Er bod chwarela yn waith peryglus, roedd hefyd yn un a oedd yn creu cymuned a chyfeillgarwch ymhlith teuluoedd y chwarel.

I ddysgu mwy am arwyddocâd llechi i hanes, diwylliant, a thirwedd gogledd Cymru, bu Kayla yn siarad â Dr Dafydd Roberts, cyn Geldwad Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru yn Llanberis. Ers hynny mae Dr Roberts wedi ymddeol ar ôl mwy na 40 mlynedd yn yr amgueddfa, gan roi'r gorau i'w rôl yn 2021. Bu'n siarad â Kayla am fywyd gwaith yn y chwarel yng ngogledd Cymru, yn ogystal â'r streiciau yn Chwarel y Penrhyn.





Model o chwarelwr yn gweithio yn Chwarel Dinorwig. Tynnwyd y llan yn Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru yn Llanberis.

Mae Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru ar hen safle Chwarel Dinorwig, chwarel fawr arall yn yr ardal. Heddiw, mae'r amgueddfa'n dangos gwaith a diwylliant y chwarel, gan addysgu ymwelwyr am hanes y fasnach, a'r llechen fel deunydd. Mae'r amgueddfa'n cynnal arddangosiadau llechi, yn aml gan chwarelwyr sydd â chysylltiadau teuluol dwfn â'r ardal. Ewch i'r wefan i ddysgu mwy am Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru.

HANES LLECHI GOGLEDD CYMRU

Mae chwarela ar raddfa fechan yn yr ardal yn mynd yn ôl bron i 2,000 o flynyddoedd i'r Rhufeiniaid, pan oedd llechi'n cael eu cloddio ar gyfer adeiladu caer ger Caernarfon. Defnyddiodd y Brenin Edward I lechi hefyd wrth adeiladu'r cestyll a gododd i atgyferthu ei goncwest ar draws gogledd Cymru. Fodd bynnag, ni ddaeth cloddio ar raddfa fawr fel yn Chwarel y Penrhyn tan y 18fed ganrif.



Ffens o lechi yng ngogledd Cymru. Ddiolch i Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru.

Yn y ddeunawfed ganrif, disgrifiodd ysgrifenywyr am deithiau fel Richard Warner a William Bingley y rhan fwyaf o ogledd Cymru fel gwlad 'wyllt', gyda chysylltiadau trafnidiaeth gwael a thir garw. O'r ddeunawfed ganrif, roedd Cymru'n gyrchfan boblogaidd ar gyfer teithio, gyda thwristiaid cynnar yn ysgrifennu am eu teithiau'n rheolaidd, gan roi sylwadau ar y dirwedd, ffermio, y diwylliant lleol, a datblygiadau cynnar yn y diwydiant llechi. Er mwyn archwilio rhai o'r adroddiadau a ysgrifennwyd gan deithwyr Ewropeaidd i Gymru, adnodd gwych yw'r Prosiect Teithwyr Ewropeaidd i Gymru, prosiect tair blynedd a ariannwyd gan yr AHRC ym Mhrifysgol Bangor, a oedd yn edrych ar lyfrau teithio, arweinyddiaid, dyddiaduron, llythyrau, a blogiau a ysgrifennwyd gan deithwyr i Gymru.

Erbyn diwedd y 19eg ganrif, roedd llechi Cymreig wedi dod yn adnabyddus fel deunydd tol hirhoedlog, gwydn a phoblogaidd ac roedd galw mawr amdanynt ledled y byd. Ym mhennod pump, byddwn yn archwilio sut yr enillodd arwyddocaidd byd-eang llechi Cymru statws Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO i dirweddau llechi Gwynedd.





Print lithograff o Chwarel Lechl Penrhyn ym 1852. Cyrcbwgwd trwy Wikimedia Commons, ar goel gan Lyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.

O gynhyrchu 40,000 tunnell o lechl ym 1820 i 120,000 o dunelli o lechl erbyn diwedd y ganrif, roedd Chwarel y Penrhyn wedi tyfu'n gyflym i fod yn chwarel fwyaf yr ardal, gyda'r prif welthfeydd bron i filltir o hyd. Ymddangosodd chwareli llechl eraill yn Dinorwig, Blaenau Ffestiniog, a Berwyn yn yr ardal, gan wneud gogledd Cymru yn brif gynhyrchydd llechl fedfed y byd ar y pryd.

Trwy ei hymchwili ar hanes y llechen Gymreig, daeth Kayla o hyd i lyfr Jean Lindsey *North Wales Slate*, hanes cynhwysfawr y diwydiant, gyda gwybodaeth fanwl am ehangu'r diwydiant llechl, y diwydiant rheilffordd cyfagos, a thwf y chwareli yn bensaernïol, yn economaidd, yn dechnegol, ac yn gymdelthasol.

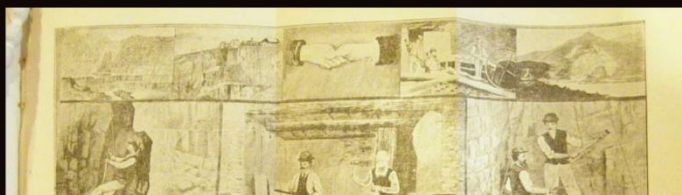
CHWARELWYR Y PENRHYN

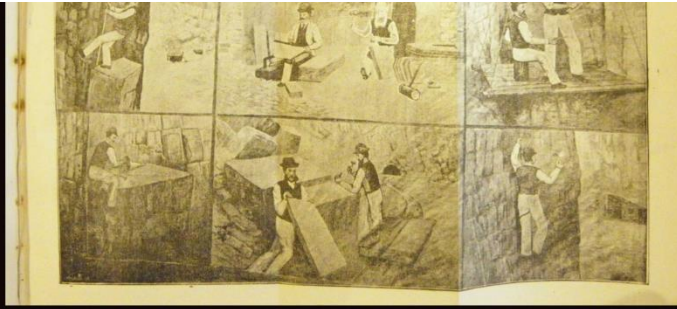


Ffotograff o chwarelwyr a rheolwyr chwarel yn Chwarel y Penrhyn. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Yn anterth y diwydiant llechl yng ngogledd Cymru, roedd Chwarel y Penrhyn yn cyflogi tua 3,000 o ddynion. Chwarel y Penrhyn oedd y chwarel oedd yn cynhyrchu fwyaf yn yr ardal, a olygal fod gan yr Arglwydd Penrhyn a'i asiantau reolaeth dros osod y prisiau ar gyfer llechl yn yr ardal yn ogystal â gosod y tâl i chwarelwyr, oriau gwallth, ac amodau'r safle.

Lle roedd chwarelwyr yn gweithio yn y chwarel oedd yn pennu'r set sgiliau y byddai angen iddo ei datblygu, gan fod pob rôl yn arbenigo mewn un maes ar y tro. Roedd yna ddynion yn gweithio ar wyneb y graig, yn tynnu'r llechl o ochrau'r chwarel gyda ffrwydron, a cheibiau a rhawiau. Roedd yna holltwyr profiadol hefyd, a oedd yn fedrus wrth rannu'r llechen yn fesuriadau manwl gywir yn barod i'w hanfon allan. Isod mae enghraifft o'r meintiau hollti llechl sy'n cael eu harddangos yn yr Amgueddfa Lechl.





Delweddau o chwarelwyr ar wahanol gamau o weithio gyda llechi. Archifau a Chasgladau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Roedd y gwaith yn gorfforol feichus ac yn aml yn beryglus, gydag adroddiadau am ddynion yn disgyn o wyneb y graig neu'n colli bysedd wrth hollti'r llechen. Er gwaetha'r caledi hwn, roedd y chwarelwyr a'u teuluoedd yn byw bywydau a oedd yn aml yn llawn gweithgarwch diwyllianol. Tra'n cael seilbiant yn y chwarel, byddai dynion yn ymgasglu mewn *cabanau* am brydau ac egwyl lle byddent yn trafod gwleidyddiaeth, yn rhannu barddoniaeth ac yn canu – yn Cymraeg wrth gwrs. Byddai dynion yn ymarfer eu ceisiadau ar gyfer Eisteddfodau, gwyliau diwyllianol a gynhelir yn lleol, yn rhanbarthol ac yn genedlaethol, gyda chystadlaethau cerdd, barddoniaeth a chrefftau eraill mewn traddodiad sy'n parhau hyd heddiw. I ddysgu mwy am draddodiad Eisteddfodol Cymru, edrychwch ar wefan yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol.

I ddysgu mwy am fywyd chwarelwyr, mae Kayla yn argymhell yn fawr y llyfr *Chwarelwyr Gogledd Cymru* ysgrifennwyd gan R. Mertyn Jones, a oedd yn Athro Hanes Cymru ac yn is-ganghellor Prifysgol Bangor. Mae'r llyfr yn fflynhonnell flaenllaw ar fywydau'r chwarelwyr, Streiciau'r Penrhyn, canlyniadau ac effaith y diwydiant llechi yng ngogledd Cymru, a phwysigrwydd hanes unigryw cymunedau chwarelyddol Cymraeg y 18fed-20fed ganrif.

TENSIYNAU CYNYDDOL YN Y

CYNYDDOL YN Y CHWAREL

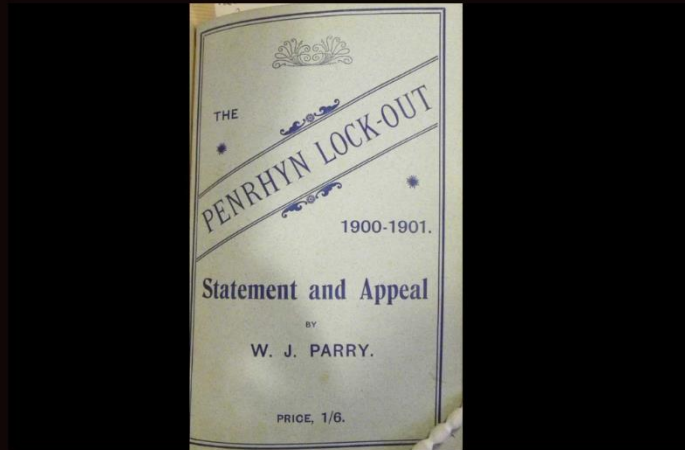


Llan o blac Undeb Chwarelwyr Gogledd Cymru yn Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru yn Llanberis.

Ffurfiwyd Undeb Chwarelwyr Gogledd Cymru yn 1874 yn y gobalith o negodi gwell cyflog ac amodau gwaith. Pan welwyd trais yn y chwarel yn 1900, daeth yr Arglwydd Penrhyn â chyhuaddiadau yn erbyn chwech ar hugain o ddynion a'u diswyddo cyn i'r digwyddiad fynd i'r llys. I brotestio am y diswyddiadau, ymgasglodd Chwarelwyr y Penrhyn i ddangos eu cefnogaeth i'r dynion a gyhuddwyd ac yna fe'u gwaharddwyd o'u gwaith am bythefnos. Arweinlodd tensiynau o'r digwyddiad hwn at ddod â grym milwrol i mewn. Roedd trafodaethau parhaus wedi bod yn mynd yn ôl ac ymlaen rhwng Arglwydd Penrhyn a'r Chwarelwyr ond ar Dachwedd 19, roedd 800 o ddynion heb gael cytundeb. Dri diwrnod yn ddiweddarach, gwrthododd 2,000 o chwarelwyr weithio, a thrwy hynny gychwyn y Streic Fawr, neu'r Cloi Allan o 1900-03: yr anghydfod diwydiannol hiraf yn hanes Prydain.

Y STREICIAU 'MAWR'

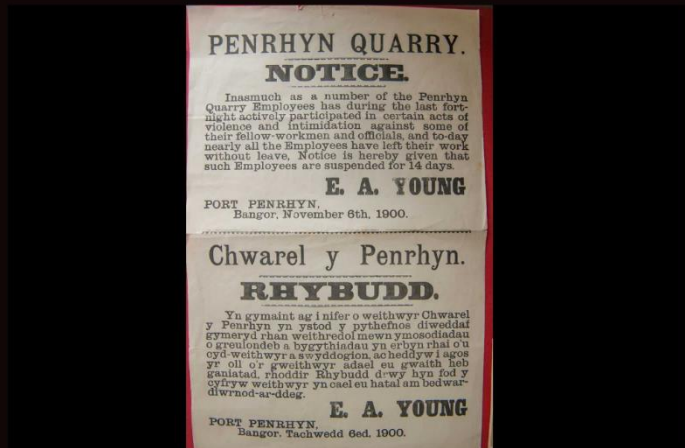
Bu Kayla yn starad â Teleri Owen, myfyrwr Meistr ym Mhrifysgol Caerdydd, a gynhaliodd brosiect ymchwil yn Amgueddfa Llandudno ar ran menywod yn y streiciau, yn ogystal â sut yr effeithiodd y streiciau ar gymunedau fel Bethesda. Mae Teleri yn argymhell hanes C. Sheridan Jones am ei amser ym Methesda yn ystod y streiciau. Newyddiadurwr oedd Sheridan Jones adeg y streiciau, ac ymddangosodd darnau o'i lyfr *What I Saw at Bethesda* yn y *Daily News* ac yn yr *Echo*, gan wneud y streiciau yn ddigwyddiadau adnabyddus ledled y DU.



Pamffled a ysgrifennwyd gan Lgwydd Undeb Chwarelwyr Gogledd Cymru, William J. Parry. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Soniodd Jones am newyn eang ym Methesda, gyda phantris gweiglun y teuluoedd ac ystafelloedd ffrynt moel wedi iddynt werthu cyn lleied o ddodrefn oedd ganddynt. Soniodd hefyd am aflonyddwch yn ystod y streiciau, gyda phresenoldeb heddluoedd mewn cymunedau yn destun cynnen arbennig. Cynigiwyd codiad cyflog o 5% i'r rhai a aeth yn ôl i'r gwaith. Byddai'r rhai oedd yn

gwaith, a bu'n rhaid i'r rhai chwarelwyr gael eu hebrwng gan yr heddlu i'r chwarel i'w hamddiffyn. Dychwelodd pedwar cant o ddynion i weithio, a wanhaoedd yr ymdrech i streicio ac achosi rhwyg pellach mewn cymunedau.



Poster a Hysbysiad yn Chwarel y Penrhyn a gyhoeddwyd gan Reolwr Chwarel y Penrhyn EA Young yn y Gymrong a'r Sarnog. Archifau a Chasgliadau Arbennig Prifysgol Bangor.

Rhanwyd chwarelwyr yn streicwyr a *chynffanwyr* ('cydweithredwyr')—y rhai a aeth yn ôl i'r gwaith. Argraffwyd y geiriau '*Nid Oes Bradwr yn y Ty Hwn*' i streicwyr eu harddangos yn eu ffenestri i ddangos nad oeddent wedi rhoi'r gorau i'r streic. Effeithiodd y digwyddiadau ar bobl yn gorfforol yn ogystal ag yn feddyllol, y rhai ar y ddwy ochr i'r streic, fel y dangosir yn ysgrifau Jones am newyn, salwech, ac, weithiau, hunanladdiad i'r rhai a dorrodd y streic. Hyd yn oed i'r rhai a adawodd i ddod o hyd i waith yn rhywle arall, roedd addasu i fywyd newydd yn anodd i lawer.





Arwyddion 'Nid Oes Bradwr yn y Ty Hwn') a osodwyd yn ffenestri cartrefi chwarelwyr. Wedi'i gael o Wikimedia Commons.

Codwyd arian mewn digwyddiadau megis gwyliau a pherfformiadau corawl ar gyfer teuluoedd y chwarelwyr ar draws y DU, wrth i gymunedau diwydiannol eraill gydymdeimlo â thrafferthion y chwarelwyr. Bu merched yn rhan annatod o'r ymdrech, gan gynnal perfformiadau theatr a chorawl yng ngogledd Cymru yn ogystal ag ymbellach i ffwrdd. Perfformiodd Côr Merched Cymreig y Penrhyn yn Llundain yn 1901 ac ym Mryste ym 1903, lle codwyd dros £3,000 at y streic.

Mae'r arddangosfa Merched Chwarel, a grëwyd fel rhan o brosiect am fenywod a'r diwydiant llechi, yn adnodd gwych ar gyfer deall rôl hanfodol menywod mewn cymunedau chwarelyddol a'u hymdrechion yn ystod y streiciau. Roedd y prosiect, a oedd yn rhedeg o 2018 i 2019 yn arddangosfa deithiol a gafodd sylw yn Amgueddfa Storiol, Bangor, Amgueddfa Lechi Cymru, Castell Penrhyn, Llyfrgell Blaenau Ffestiniog a Cheudyllau Llechi Llechwedd. Bu'r artistiaid lleol Marged Pendrell, Jwls Williams, Lisa Hudson a Lindsey Colbourne yn cydweithio ar y prosiect, gan gael ysbrydoliaeth o chwarell gogledd Cymru lle maent yn byw ac yn gweithio. Roedd y prosiect yn cyfuno elfennau ffisegol llechi, eitemau cartref gan deuluoedd chwarelyddol a gwaith celf gwreiddiol gan yr artistiaid. Mae gan eu gwefan straeon am fenywod mewn cymunedau chwarelyddol, lluniau o'u harddangosfeydd yn y gorrffennol ac artistiaid modern a weithiodd ar osodladau a ysbrydolwyd gan fenywod yn y gymuned.

Y CHWAREL HEDDIW



Chwarel y Penrhyn yn Methesda, gogledd Cymru. Tynwyd y llun gan Mike Hudson trwy Wikimedia Commons.

Er nad gogledd Cymru yw'r prif gynhyrchydd llechi bellach, mae llechi'n dal i gael eu cloddio o dirwedd Cymru a'u hallforlo ledled y byd. Yn Chwarel y Penrhyn, mae tua 200 o ddynion a merched yn gweithio yn y chwarel. Heddiw, mae llawer o'r llechi yn dal i gael eu cynhyrchu ar gyfer tol a deunyddiau adeiladu eraill, ond fe'u defnyddir hefyd fel arnhegion moethus ac addurniadau megis byrddau gweini, arwyddion tal, raciau gwin a mwj.

Mae ardaloedd chwarelyddol amlwg yn edrych yn wahanol erbyn hyn i'r hyn oeddent ar ddiwedd y 19eg ganrif, ond nid yw effaith a hanes y diwydiant wedi pylu. Ym Methesda, cedwir cof y diwydiant llechi yn fyw trwy berfformiadau, arddangosion, cerddoriaeth, a gwaith celf, gyda nifer o ddigwyddiadau'r gorffennol yn amlwgu dylanwad y diwydiant llechi yn yr ardal. Er y gall atgofion

pyntir Methesda, ceirw Cor y diwydiant heidi yn rhyw trwy berron madau, arddangosion, cerddoriaeth, a gwaith celf, gyda nifer o ddigwyddiadau'r gorffennol yn amlygu dylanwad y diwydiant llechl yn yr ardal. Er y gall atgofion o'r streiciau fod yn boenus, mae trafodaethau, cydweithio ac addysg am y diwydiant wedi gwneud i lawer sydd â hynafiaid yn yr ardal ddysgu mwy am y diwydiant llechl.

Isod mae murlun a beintiwyd yn 2021 ym Methesda, sy'n dangos rhai o'r pwyntiau allweddol yn hanes y pentref, gan gynnwys y streiciau a'r ymdrechion corawl yn ystod y cyfnod. Crëwyd y llun gan yr artist Darren Evans ac fe'i hariannwyd gan Gronfa Dreftadaeth y Loteri Genedlaethol fel rhan o Gais Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO llwyddiannus.



Murlun wedi ei boentio ym Methesda gan Darren Evans, a ariannwyd gan Gronfa Dreftadaeth y Loteri Genedlaethol.

Gallwch grwydro'r chwarel eich hun trwy dalith hunan-dywys, o'r enw "Slate and Strikes" gyda chyfres o Codau QR trwy historypoints.org. Roedd y prosiect yn nodi 120 mlynedd ers y streiciau yn 2020, a gosodwyd 19 plac o amgylch yr ardal gyda phytiau am stori'r streiciau.

Yn ein pennod olaf, byddwn yn archwilio llwyddiant y cais ac ystâd y Penrhyn heddiw, o'r chwarel, y castell, a'r gymuned wrth i ni gloi stori *Podlediad Penrhyn*.



Murlun wedi ei boentio ym Methesda gan Darren Evans, a ariannwyd gan Gronfa Dreftadaeth y Loteri Genedlaethol.

Gallwch grwydro'r chwarel eich hun trwy dalith hunan-dywys, o'r enw "Slate and Strikes" gyda chyfres o Codau QR trwy historypoints.org. Roedd y prosiect yn nodi 120 mlynedd ers y streiciau yn 2020, a gosodwyd 19 plac o amgylch yr ardal gyda phytiau am stori'r streiciau.

Yn ein pennod olaf, byddwn yn archwilio llwyddiant y cais ac ystâd y Penrhyn heddiw, o'r chwarel, y castell, a'r gymuned wrth i ni gloi stori *Podlediad Penrhyn*.

0 LIKES < SHARE

< Archwilio Bywyd Yng Nghastell Penrhyn

Effaith Ryngwladol Stad y Penrhyn >

Podlediad Penrhyn

Y PODLEDIAD YNGHYLCH Y SEFYDLIAD PENODAU GWRADEWCH

PODLEDIAD PENRHYN

CYMERWCH RAN CYSWLLT ISWE ENGLISH

SEPTEMBER 12, 2022

EFFAITH RYNGWLADOL STAD Y PENRHYN

Croeso i'r bennod olaf o *Podlediad Penrhyn*. Yn y bennod hon, mae Kayla yn ystyried dyfodol ystâd y Penrhyn, sut mae wedi esblygu ar draws yr 21ain ganrif, a sut mae ei heffaith yn y diwydiant llechi wedi cyrraedd rhannau eraill o'r byd.

Yn gyntaf, mae Kayla yn starad â Dr Robert Llewelyn Tyler, darlithydd ym Mhrifysgol Khalifa y mae ei ymchwil yn canolbwyntio ar fewnfudo o Gymru i bob cwr o'r byd. Mae'n siarad â Kayla am deuluoedd Cymreig o gymunedau chwarelyddol fel Gwynedd yn mewnfudo i daleithiau fel Pennsylvania ac Efrog Newydd yn yr Unol Daleithiau.

Trwy ei waith ymchwil, canfu Dr Tyler y byddai pobl oedd wedi mewnfudo o lefydd fel Bethesda, Blaenau Ffestiniog a Bangor yn sefydlu cymunedau Cymraeg newydd yn yr Unol Daleithiau gyda'u hieglwys, siopau, digwyddiadau, a'u cymdeithasau eu hunain. Daeth Dr Tyler o hyd i ddogfennau yn y cymunedau hyn am ddigwyddiadau fel Eisteddfodau, cystadlaethau barddoniaeth a dathliadau Dydd Gŵyl Dewi o ddiwedd y 19eg ganrif i ddechrau'r 20fed ganrif.

Sefydlwyd cymunedau fel Bangor, Pennsylvania gan deuluoedd chwarelyddol o ogledd Cymru, a fewnfudodd yn ystod cyfnodau'r streic yn Chwarel y Penrhyn. Sefydlwyd Bangor gan Robert M. Jones, a ymfudodd o Fangor yng Nghymru a helpu i dyfu'r diwydiant llechi yn yr ardal. Codwyd cerfyn er anrhydedd iddo yn yr ardal ac mae'n dal i sefyll heddiw.




Cofeb Robert M. Jones ym Mangor, Pennsylvania. Ffotograffydd William Fischer, Jr trwy'r Historical Marker Database.

Roedd gan Gymry America eu papurau newydd Cymraeg eu hunain, fel *Y Drych* a sefydlwyd yn 1851 hyd nes yr unodd â *Ninnau*, sy'n dal i gael ei gyhoeddi heddiw. Byddai papurau newydd yn adrodd ar ddigwyddiadau lleol mewn cymunedau Cymreig fel Eisteddfodau lleol, a chystadlaethau eraill, ac maent yn gofnodion gwych o ba mor gryf oedd y cymunedau chwarelyddol yn UDA ar y pryd. Os hoffech archwilio hen rifynnau o'r *Drych*, edrychwch ar y llyfrgell ar-lein yn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru. Ewch i'w gwefan i ddarllen y papur newydd cyfredol, o'r enw *Ninnau*.

Er bod y defnydd o'r Gymraeg yn UDA wedi pylu dros amser, erys llawer o draddodiadau yn yr hen gymunedau llechi hyn. Mae gwyliau, corau a chymdeithasau Dewi Sant yn dal yn gryf, gyda disgyddion o deuluoedd chwarelyddol o ogledd Cymru yn chwarae rhan weithredol mewn cadw traddodiadau Cymreig yn fyw. Amgueddfa a chymdeithas hanesyddol yw'r Slate Belt Heritage Centre ym Mangor, Pennsylvania, sy'n talu teyrnged i'r cymunedau chwarelyddol a ymfudodd. Mae ganddynt a'r Arddangosfa Gymreig yn yr amgueddfa ac maent yn cynnal sgrysiâu a digwyddiadau am Gymry'r ardal.

Lluniodd Prifysgol Pennsylvania brosiect ymchwil helaeth ar y diwydiant llechi yn yr ardal, ar hanes y teuluoedd chwarelyddol, daeareg y safleoedd a threfnadaeth ddiwydiannol yr ardal. I ddysgu mwy am y prosiect, ewch i wefan The Slate Belt.

Os ydych chi eisiau dysgu mwy am fewnfudo o Gymru i'r Unol Daleithiau, mae Dr Tyler yn awgrymu llyfrau fel *Americans from Wales* gan Edward G. Hartmann, sy'n cronicleu mewnfudo Cymreig i'r Unol Daleithiau ers y Chwyldro Americanaidd.

Tyler yn awgrymu llyfrau fel *Americans from Wales* gan Edward G. Hartmann, sy'n cronio mewn fudo Cymreig i'r Unol Daleithiau ers y Chwyldro Americanaidd. Mae hefyd yn awgrymu *Cymry America*, gan R. D. Thomas yn 1872, sy'n manylu ar ei brofiad o deithio o amgylch cymunedau Cymreig yn yr Unol Daleithiau.

ETIFEDDIAETH CÔR Y PENRHYN YNG NGHYMRU HEDDIW



Ymarfer Côr y Penrhyn yn Methesda, gogledd Cymru.

Yn ôl yng ngogledd Cymru, aeth Kayla i sesiwn ymarfer gyda Chôr y Penrhyn yn Neuadd Ogwen yn Methesda. Ym mhennod pedwar, roedd Kayla yn archwilio hanes y côr, ei wreiddiau yn Chwarel y Penrhyn a'r rôl yn y Streic Fawr. Ar gyfer

canu yn y grŵp. Mae Lled Bullock, oedd yn wyth deg dau adeg y cyrwyllad, wedi bod yn y côr ers dros 50 mlynedd. Disgriflodd ei hoff berfformiad, cân o'r enw "The Creation" a berfformiwyd yng Nghanolfan Ddiwylliannol Chicago yn 2006. Isod mae fideo o'r perfformiad hwnnw.



Bu Kayla hefyd yn siarad â Rhelallt Davies, un o aelodau ieuengaf y côr. Mae'n siarad am eu perfformiadau rhyngwladol niferus, yn ogystal â'u cydweithrediadau nodedig, megis perfformio yn Glastonbury gyda Supergroup Damon Albarn yn 2017. Isod mae fideo o'r perfformiad hwnnw.





Mae gan Gôr y Penrhyn ddau albwm, un ohonynt wedi ei recordio yng Nghastell Penrhyn, gyda rhai caneuon yn cael eu perfformio yn Chwarel y Penrhyn. Drwy gydol cyfnod clo'r coronafeirws (COVID-19), mae'r côr hefyd wedi cynnal perfformiadau rhithwir sydd wedi cael eu gwyllo ledled y byd. Isod mae fideo o'u dehongliad pwerus o *Mor Fawr Wyt Ti*, wedi ei ffilmio yn Eryri. I wrando ar eu cerddoriaeth neu edrych ar eu perfformiadau sydd i ddod, ewch i wefan Côr y Penrhyn.



CAIS TREFTADAETH Y

CAIS TREFTADAETH Y BYD UNESCO A DYFODOL TWRISTIAETH YNG NGOGLEDD CYMRU



O dir yn cael ei werthu neu ei roi i Barciau Cenedlaethol Eryri, i rannau o'r chwarel sydd bellach yn rhan o barciau antur, ac adelladau a ffermydd sy'n gysylltiedig â'r stad wedi eu trawsnewid yn fusnesau a chartrefi lleol, mae llawer wedi newid ar Stad y Penrhyn ers iddi fod yn nwylo Arghwyddi Penrhyn. Er gwaetha'r newidiadau hyn, mae dylanwad y diwydiant llechi yn dal yn gryf yng ngogledd Cymru, a brofwyd gan gais diweddar am safle Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO a hwyddodd ym mis Gorffennaf 2021. Siaradodd Kayla â Dr David Gwyn am y cais treftadaeth byd sydd wedi bod yn cael ei ddatblygu dros yr ugain mlynedd diwethaf.

Mae UNESCO yn sefyll dros Safle Treftadaeth y Byd yn Eryri, i rannau o'r chwarel sydd bellach yn rhan o barciau antur, ac adelladau a ffermydd sy'n gysylltiedig â'r stad wedi eu trawsnewid yn fusnesau a chartrefi lleol, mae llawer wedi newid ar Stad y Penrhyn ers iddi fod yn nwylo Arghwyddi Penrhyn. Er gwaetha'r newidiadau hyn, mae dylanwad y diwydiant llechi yn dal yn gryf yng ngogledd Cymru, a brofwyd gan gais diweddar am safle Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO a hwyddodd ym mis Gorffennaf 2021. Siaradodd Kayla â Dr David Gwyn am y cais treftadaeth byd sydd wedi bod yn cael ei ddatblygu dros yr ugain mlynedd diwethaf.

mlynedd diwethaf.

Mae UNESCO yn sefyll dros Sefydliad Addysgol, Gwyddonol a Diwylliannol y Cenhedloedd Unedig, ac mae'n gorforaeth ryngwladol sy'n rhoi statws gwarchodedig ac arbenigol i safleoedd ar draws y byd gyda chyllid ar gyfer cadwraeth ac addysg. Rhai o'r safleoedd mwyaf nodedig yw'r Taj Mahal, Wal Fawr Tsieina, a'r Pyramidiau. Gyda rhestr llym o feini prawf, gall y broses o wneud y cais i dderbyn y statws gymryd blynyddoedd. Cafodd y diwydiant llechi yng ngogledd Cymru ei ddewis i ddechrau allan o restr o 41 o geisiadau gan y DU. Ar adeg y cyfwelliad gyda Dr Gwyn, roedd un ar ddeg o geisiadau yn dal i fod yn cystadiu, fwydodyn cyn y cyhoeddiad terfynol.



Fotograff o Eryri, rhan o dirwedd llechi Safle Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO yng ngogledd Cymru.

Ym mis Gorffennaf 2021, derbyniodd gogledd Cymru Statws Treftadaeth y Byd UNESCO. Mae Dr Gwyn yn gobeithio y gall y gydnabyddiaeth hon helpu i dynnu sylw at y diwydiant llechi ac y gall pobl leol a thwristiaid fel ei gilydd ddysgu amdano wrth grwydro'r ardal. I ddysgu mwy am statws treftadaeth y byd a'r cais, edrychwch ar y wefan Wales Slate.

amdano wrth grwydro'r ardal. I ddysgu mwy am statws treftadaeth y byd a'r cais, edrychwch ar y wefan Wales Slate.

Daeth Kayla â'r bennod olaf i ben gyda chyfwelliad â Sean Taylor, cyfarwyddwr a sylfaenydd Zip World, sef parc antur yng ngogledd Cymru, wedi'i leoli'n rhannol yn Chwarel y Penrhyn. Mae gan Zip World y llinell sip hiraf yn Ewrop ac mae dros filiwn o ymwelwyr wedi ymweld â'r atyniad. Siaradodd Sean â Kayla am ddechreuad Zip World, sut y dechreuodd gyda gweledigaeth o gael pobl yn hedfan i lawr y chwarel a phroff'r dirwedd o uwchben y dddear. Gyda'r profiadau a gynlir gan Zip World fel y Teithiau Chwarel, mae Sean yn gobeithio y bydd pobl yn dysgu mwy am hanes y diwydiant llechi a'i arwyddocaâd mewn twristiaeth heddiw.



Disiakh am wrandod

**DIOLCH I BAWB A
GYMERODD RAN YN
PODLEDIAD PENRHYN**

DIOLCH I BAWB A GYMERODD RAN YN *PODLEDIAD PENRHYN*

Hoffai Kayla gymryd y cyfle i ddiolech i'r holl rai a gyfnewlwyd a gyfrannodd eu hamser, eu harbenigedd, a'u straeon personol i'r prosiect digidol hwn. Diolch i Gwmni'r Brethynwyr am noddi'r prosiect PhD hwn. Diolch yn arbennig i oruchwylywr Kayla, yr Athro Andrew Edwards, Dr Shaun Evans a Dr Steffan Thomas am eu harweiniad a'u hanogaeth drwy gydol creu'r podlediad. Diolch i Joshua Glendenning am ddarparu'r gerddoriaeth ac effeithiau sain ar gyfer y podlediad, a Bethan Scorey am y gwaith celf gwreiddiol. Mae'r prosiect hwn yn rhan o'r ymchwiliad a wnaed yn Sefydliad Ymchwil Ystadau Cymru ym Mhrifysgol Bangor. Ymwelwch â Gwefan SYVC i ddysgu mwy am y prosiect hwn ac eraill yn SYVC.

♥ 0 LIKES < SHARE

< Ystâd y Penrhyn a'r Diwydiant Llechl

Podlediad Penrhyn

Podcast scripts

Episode 1 Script

Intro

If you've ever had the privilege of visiting or living in north Wales, you'll know just how special of a place it is. The grey mountains of Snowdonia tower over the skyline and the views of the Menai Straits and the Irish sea from Anglesey make north Wales such an eye-catching place to be. Coupled with a rich culture, language and history, I've found there is so much to discover about north Wales over the ten years that I've been here.

After starting a PhD in Welsh history in 2018, I've learned so much about north Wales' history and how it can impact life even today. Through my research, I've found that the Penrhyn Estate, a former landed estate in north west Wales, is a huge part of north Wales' story, that spans from Wales' Medieval landed gentry families to the rise of the slate industry, to today, where the area is now a UNESCO world heritage site, Penrhyn Estate has been a major player in all of it, with a complicated and multilayered history that spans across centuries in north Wales and across the world.

That's what we're going to be exploring in this 5-part podcast, the past, present and future of the Penrhyn Estate, through the voices of locals, business owners, academic experts and archival documents connected with the estate. My name is Kayla Jones, I'm a researcher with the Institute for the Studies of Welsh Estates at Bangor University. Welcome to Podlediad Penrhyn.

In this podcast, we'll be exploring aspects of one estate's story by looking at the early history, exploring local Welsh narratives, examining the estate's effect on the global slate industry, and looking at the role of slavery in the estate's development, journeying through all aspects of the estate and its impact on north Wales today.

There is no doubt a fair amount of contention associated with the Penrhyn Estate. For many who are familiar with the estate, the name Penrhyn is synonymous with the slate industry or its ties to slavery in Jamaica. From the 18th through early 20th century, the Pennant family who owned the estate dominated the slate industry which in turn shaped the cultural landscape and the lives of many in the local area who went to work in Penrhyn Quarry as a result.

While the Pennants have left a lasting effect on Penrhyn's story, they're not the only family who owned the Penrhyn Estate. In Medieval Wales it was the Griffiths, an influential

Welsh gentry family with a noble lineage and political influence who built a powerful base at Penrhyn.

Join me, as I explore medieval north Wales in this first episode of Podlediad Penrhyn.

Shaun Evans

I think it's really interesting that when most people think about the history of Penrhyn, they'll ever talk about the Pennant family's plantations in Jamaica and their involvement in transatlantic slavery, or they'll talk about the Penrhyn slate quarry in Bethesda and the great strike of 1900-03, both of which, of course, are really important parts of local and Welsh history. But if you mention Penrhyn to a historian of medieval Wales, they're likely to immediately think of the Griffith family.

Kayla Jones

That's Dr Shaun Evans, he's the Director of the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estates and also my supervisor. The Institute explores the impact Welsh estates and country houses had on the culture and landscape of north Wales. Shaun's interested in the history of gentry culture in Wales across 1500-1900, and his research on the history of landed estates provides an insight into identity, heritage, ancestry and authority in Wales.

In this first episode, I'm chatting with Shaun about the estate's early owners, and how the Griffith's family was an integral part of Penrhyn's story and north Wales' history. Though we obviously have less visible evidence about the Griffith's family than later on in Penrhyn's history, with stories of influential leaders, powerful marital alliances, contested wills and even raids and piracy, Penrhyn's early owners were far from boring.

Shaun Evans

So, by the 13th century, the princes of Gwynedd were the heartlands here in northwest Wales, had become the most powerful of the native Welsh princes. However, in 1282, the Kingdom of Gwynedd was conquered by Edward I of England, the culmination of about 200 years of attempts to conquer Wales, which had started soon after the Norman conquest in 1066. It sometimes suggested that earlier rulers of Gwynedd and particularly the 8th century King Rhodri Molwynog established a court on the site, which was to later become Penrhyn Castle.

Though there's very little to support this. The English conquest of Wales in 1282, which was cemented in place with the erection of a chain of castles along the North Wales coast. Places such as Conwy, Caernarfon and Beaumaris was important for the developments

of the Penrhyn Estate. The removal of the princes of Gwynedd created a sort of vacuum of leadership and authority and governance in Welsh society, and into this space gradually stepped an array of new gentry or in Welsh Arglwydd families who were to dominate Welsh society and politics until the beginning of the 20th century.

Kayla Jones

The Griffiths were one of these first landed gentry families in north Wales. Descending from a notable steward to the Prince, Ednyfed Fychan, the Griffiths acquired land across Gwynedd, Anglesey and Caernarfonshire from the 1300s-1600s, developing it into what was later known as the Penrhyn Estate.

Shaun Evans

And one of the groups of emerging gentry that did particularly well within the new political context of 14th century North Wales, were the various descendants of a man called Ednyfed Fychan and Ednyfed Fychan was a very influential man, effectively serving as the chief minister to the powerful princes of Gwynedd Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Dafydd ap Llewellyn from about 1215 until his death in 1246. And following the death of his son Tudur and grandson Heilyn, they continue to serve the princes of Gwynedd.

And what's really interesting in that in recognition of their service, the princes of Gwynedd granted them and their descendants various lands across North Wales, which they held on very, very favourable terms. One of their descendants was a man called Gwilym Ap Gruffydd, who, to all intents and purposes was the founder of the Penrhyn Estate and the first person who definitely had a house or in Welsh, a plas on the site of the current Penrhyn Castle. Ednyfed Fychan was recognized by the Gruffydd family as their primary ancestor, and they proudly displayed his coat of arms at their house in Penrhyn and at their church at Llandygai, and his coat of arms consisted of three Englishman's heads cut off at the neck or when there would be a more politically correct replacing the severed heads with three helmets.

Kayla Jones

Part of the lands given to Ednyfed Fychan's son Goronwy ab Ednyfed contained 500 acres near Bangor and was referred to as a promontory or Penrhyn, meaning a high land that juts out into the sea. Through the generations, the land was divided up between the family, until

1390 when Gwilym ap Griffith married Morfudd, daughter of Goronwy Fychan of Penmyndd on Anglesey and reunited Penrhyn.

Shaun Evans

He's a really important figure in medieval Welsh history, and it's probably also worth saying at this point that the ap in Gwilym Ap Gruffydd names means son of so he was Gwilym, son of Gruffydd, son of Gwilym. This is the traditional naming system and shows the importance of ancestry in medieval Wales. Gwilym's immediate ancestors, his father, grandfather and great grandfather and so on were not primarily based here in northwest Wales, but instead it's a place called Nant in Prestatyn in the north east.

As with so many other Welsh gentry families, it was marriage that played a critical part in the emergence of the Gruffydd family and the developments of the Penrhyn Estate. Both his father and grandfather's marriages led to the family acquiring substantial land holdings in Anglesey and Caernarfonshire and Gwilym's own first marriage to his distant cousin, Morfudd daughter of Goronwy ap Tudur of Penmynydd in Anglesey eventually brought in more lands across Anglesey and Caernarfonshire.

By the late 14th century, Gwilym had established himself as an influential man in Anglesey, where he served as an important local officeholder and administrator and lived at a place called Pynhwnllys and later at his in-law's historic residence at Penmynydd.

Kayla Jones

From 1391 to 1397 Gwilym held various official roles on Anglesey, including the role of Sheriff in 1396-97. By 1400, an uprising had begun for Welsh independence. During this period, Gwilym had the tough decision to join the efforts or be loyal to the English crown.

Shaun Evans

So as we've seen since the conquest of 1282, the principality of Wales had been ruled by the English crown. However, in 1400 Owain Glyndŵr, revolted, proclaimed himself Prince of Wales and succeeded in encouraging many, many of his fellow Welsh gentry to join his rebellion.

This, for a period, caused a major threat to the operation of English authority in Wales. Gwilym's father and uncle threw their weight behind the cause of Owain Glyndŵr, and were killed during the revolt. Furthermore, the uncles of William's wife, Rhys and

Gwilym ap Tudur of Penmynydd, have played critical parts in the rebellion, including the dramatic capture of Conwy Castle in 1401, one of the highlights of the rebellion. So Gwilym naturally was also drawn into the conflict that we don't have many details of the nature and extent of his involvement.

Kayla Jones

Gwilym decided to join in the revolt in 1402. By 1415 however, English rule had been restored in Wales. Gwilym's father and uncle died for the cause. Gwilym lost his lands to the crown in 1406 for his part in the revolt but was able to buy them back within less than a year. His surrender to the English crown meant that Gwilym received a pardon and more land to boot!

Shaun Evans

Certainly by 1407, he had made his peace with the English authorities and had received a pardon for his involvement. This pardon not only allowed him to reacquire his own lands, which had been confiscated earlier in the conflict, but also led to him being granted the seized lands of 27 other rebels in Caernarfonshire and Anglesey and eventually much of the land belonging to his dead wife's Penmynydd relations. This was spectacularly fortunate. As the great medieval Welsh historian A.D. Carr concluded, Gwilym ap Gruffydd emerged from the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr far better endowed than he had been when he joined it.

He was now a major landowner. And he kept on adding to his territorial power through purchase. There are 38 deeds in the Penrhyn Estate archive, which show his purchases between 1413 and 1431. In about 1410, he appears to have selected Penrhyn as the power base from which he would manage this land, building a house or a plas which would be the site of his descendant's influence for generations to come.

Kayla Jones

Things were looking up for Gwilym. In 1405 Gwilym married his second wife, Joan Stanley, and with that came even more land holdings.

Shaun Evans

Gwilym married twice and both matches were of significance to the developments of the estate, as we've seen, his first marriage to Morfudd has strengthened links with one of the

region's most prominent families and eventually allowed him to acquire their lands in Anglesey and Caernarfonshire. His second marriage in around 1413 to Joan, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hughton, was a masterstroke.

This seems to have been a deliberate attempt to align with a powerful English family in the aftermath of the Glyndŵr rebellion. The Stanleys were influential across Cheshire and North Wales and forming a connection with them via marriage, firstly helped to secure up Gwilym's position of power in uncertain times and secondly would hopefully open up new opportunities for him in the post Glyn dŵr era. The marriage is also significant because it was for this occasion that the Penrhyn entail was probably established, meaning that the newly formed Penrhyn estate would pass to the eldest son and heir of Gwilym and Joan, the product of two esteemed Welsh and English lineages.

Kayla Jones

Gwilym's marriage to Joan Stanley established a connection with the powerful Stanley family for over a century. It did however, essentially disinherit his son from his first marriage to Morfydd who was only left with some of his mother's land on Anglesey. Meanwhile, Gwilym and Joan's children were far more connected to the Tudor throne than ever before. Between 1410 and his death in 1431, Gwilym built a fortified manor on what is now known as Penrhyn. Gwilym died in 1430, having inherited even more additional land, this time land from his brother in law, Tudur ap Goronwy. The Penrhyn Estate was then handed down to his son Gwilym Fychan or William Griffith.

Though the Griffiths had been fortunate, there were still more hurdles to get over. After the Owain Glyndŵr uprising, restrictions were put on the Welsh, that kept them from holding office, making it hard for Welsh gentry families to gain power or political influence.

Shaun Evans

Especially after the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr, a number of disadvantageous penal laws were enforced, including an important one which prevented Welshmen from holding office. This, coupled with continuing restrictions on Welshmen being able to purchase land, severely restricted the power and influence of emerging Welsh gentry families.

To get around this, Gwilym and his son petitioned the crown, stressing their loyalty and their English credentials to have the restrictions removed. What you kind of see with the Griffith family is straddling of two cultures, on the one hand, they were proud to parade their

dissents from Ednyfed Fychan, including on occasions the severed Englishman's heads, and they were prolific patrons of Welsh language poetry. On the other hand, they were keen to serve the English crown in positions of governance and administration. They adopted an English-style surname, and pursued marriages to English families such as the Stanleys.

Kayla Jones

For some historians, this could be seen as the Griffiths somewhat abandoning their Welsh background. For others, it is just seen as a way the Griffiths could utilize their English connections in order to have influence in their area. It is important to see families such as the Griffiths in a bit of a multicultural and bilingual perspective in order to succeed in Medieval Britain.

The Griffiths had to be able to write and read in Welsh, English and Latin to conduct their affairs. Rather than using scribes like many families had in this period, we have examples in the archives where the family would practice their writing in multiple languages. Many documents are written in Welsh such as praise poetry, however, in terms of formal administration and governance, it was English and sometimes Latin that would be used for official paperwork.

Shaun Evans

I think it's natural to look at the Griffiths family through this prism of Englishness and Welshness, but at the same time, if you go to the church Llandygai and look at the 15th century alabaster tomb, which probably commemorates Gwilym and Joan, you see an image of status, honour and authority that would have been recognized as such across Europe.

Kayla Jones

Unlike so many of their Welsh contemporaries, Gwilym and his son Gwilym III were allowed certain privileges because of their English connections. This in turn allowed them to grow the estate and hold higher offices such as Chamberlain of north Wales.

Shaun Evans

So in late medieval Wales, your status as a gentleman, as a person of status, honour and authority was usually defined by possession of an illustrious ancestry, ownership of land and lordship and leadership, especially in military contexts. And the Griffiths family, the

descendants of Gwilym Ap Gruffudd, were able to demonstrate and display all of these attributes.

Additionally, Welsh families craved official recognition of the positions of leadership they occupied within their communities by being appointed to office, holding positions, roles of governance and administration. After the conquest of Gwynedd, the English crown created a principality which in the north consisted of the new counties of Caernarfon, Anglesey and Meirionnydd, and the Crown needed officials to govern and administer this territory. The most important roles were usually granted to absentee English nobles, it says an awful lot about the status and identity of the Griffiths family of Penrhyn that successive members were appointed to one of the top offices in the principality, the Chamberlainship of North Wales, which basically had responsibility for the financial management of the principality on behalf of the king.

This office provided a major boost to the family's sense of status and authority, confirming their position as the preeminent gentry family in 15th century north Wales, and it was continually referenced in the Welsh language praise poetry addressed to the family.

Kayla Jones

Praise poetry was a powerful and unique way of bestowing accolades on the nobility whilst telling a story about their lives. Often, praise poetry was written and performed by poets who wrote about their patrons' triumph on the battlefield, their well connected lineage, the impressive architecture of their homes or their gracious hospitality towards guests.

Shaun Evans

In medieval Wales, the best way to promote your status as a gentleman was to commission Canu Mawl or praise poetry, these praise poems in the form of elegies and eulogies were created by professional and highly esteemed bardic practitioners who would travel around the country houses of Wales to sing the praises of their hosts.

We know what Penrhyn, the Griffith family, had household poets in the early 15th century, and a man named Gwilym Ap Sefnyn. These poems were delivered as public performances within the great halls of places such as Penrhyn to an audience, often in the context of great feasting and drinking, hospitality, generosity and celebrations, or on the occasions of death and usually always with the accompaniment of music, the harp, Crwth or other form of beat keeper performed by the poets himself, or a professional declaimer.

There's a corpus of about 100 poems which have survived in manuscript commissioned by the Griffith family across the 15th and 16th century, including some of the biggest names in the Welsh Bardic order during this period. This is probably an indication of much greater patronage, the Griffith family were also involved in the two famous Caerwys Eisteddfod 1523 and 1567, which were established to regulate this bardic tradition. So, it's important to recognize that the Welsh language formed a core part of the cultural and social life of houses such as Penrhyn, and it'd be great if we could find ways of reintroducing this performance into Penrhyn Castle today.

Kayla Jones

Another prominent poet, Guto'r Glyn, also wrote praise poetry for the Griffith family. He wrote about the family's court at Llandygai, and Gwilym being a leader in Gwynedd. Professor Ann Parry Owen, a professor at Aberystwyth University whose research focuses on medieval Welsh language and poetry, spoke to me about the history of praise poetry and how Guto'r Glyn's poetry gives us a snapshot of Welsh society at the time.

Ann Parry Owen

You learn so much about medieval Welsh society and language. It sort of changes in the 12th century, you know the quart poets of the 12th and 13th century, they're usually described as sort of heroic. They praise heroic deeds on the battlefield, generosity in the court, the elements that made a prince, what's validated his status in a way. There were things like and bravery, the ability to battle, to lead an army. Their mind, you know, how clever they are and how generous they are towards their own people and all these different qualities go up to, you know, they add up to the perfect prince.

So you have a lot of emphasis on battles and killing of the enemy and quite graphic details as well in the 12th century and 13th century, poetry. That's one style. And then as we move to the 14th century and 15th century, things sort of change, as society changes as well, things become more materialistic. So by the 15th century, when you have Guto'r Glyn, as a poet, the qualities he praised in the patron yes, we've got sort of bravery and generosity, but it's more the outward expression of their power, their clothing, their houses, what sort of furniture they had in them. For Guto'r, if he's welcome to a house, he perhaps he might mention the oranges on the table or perhaps the wall hanging on the wall, or sort of quilts on the bed because they're all representative of, wealth, wealth, material wealth and power.

The poetry, well it gives people an idea of what life was like in the period. You know, you can go to a medieval castle and there's walls there and all the mortar and everything that's gone. Or you just have the sort of between the stones and there's nothing there. You have to sort of imagine everything. In the poetry you know, you see life as it was.

So a combination of the poetry and visiting castles gives you everything.

Kayla Jones

Though we know very little about Guto'r's background or lineage, it's clear that he was a well-trained and respected poet in Wales.

Ann Parry Owen

Well, Guto'r Glyn was a traditional praise poet. You know, perhaps the most famous medieval poet is Dafydd ap Gwilym, but Guto'r Glyn was a thoroughly, you know, home grown poet. We don't know much about his background, who his parents were, his father might have been a poet, we don't know. But he was obviously well trained and he obviously had a lot of talents as well.

Because one thing about his poetry is, is I'm not going to say easy, but it's not difficult to understand. Some poets from the period you have to be there with a dictionary and you're just sort of trying to work out what on earth they're saying. But Guto'r Glyn is comparatively easy to understand, which is usually a mark of a good poet, because it means that they can do the cynghanedd, the intricate thing with the metrics. They can do that sort of easily like poets today and some of the best poets today, they can talk in cynghanedd because it comes so naturally. Well, you can feel that in Guto'r Glyn's poems. And there's something quite personable about him as well. As he as he got older, he suffered from rheumatism, obviously, he reached probably 80 years old. So and he did suffer from rheumatism, and he complains about that. And, you know, you sort of you can identify with him And he enjoyed, you know, lavish meals and he enjoyed having spices in his in his stew and things like that, so there's lots of things we feel we can. Oh yes, that would be nice. We can sort of identify with him. He's not sort of cold and far.

Kayla Jones

In 2012, Anne was a part of an online project about Guto'r's poetry. On the website, Guto's Wales, there's a collection of his poetry, information about life in Wales through his poetry and the lives of his patrons.

Ann Parry Owen

We devised a project where we produced a new edition of the poems and sort of an academic study of the actual poetry. You know, with the translations, manuscript versions and things like that. And then as well, we produced a second website. We called it Guto'r's Wales to introduce people to various aspects of life in the period. Topics like houses and buildings, the battlefield, medicine, agriculture, the feast and things like that.

And then we just explored various themes by using Guto'r's poetry, as a platform to find more information, like information about bread. What does he say about bread? Well, it's interesting that the best bread was always white bread. You know, for us, artisan bread was always brown isn't it, by far. In that period, the white was the best bread because it had been well prepared and filtered, it didn't break your teeth when you crunched into it.

And then you learned about different wines, what wines he mentions. Some from Portugal, Germany. So, you learned so much about the material culture of the period through his poetry. So, by creating that website and introducing pictures and quotations, we thought we'd sort of introduce a different audience to the poetry, sort of bring them to the poetry, but through another door, through the back door.

Kayla Jones

As well as writing praise poetry for the Griffiths family at Penrhyn, Guto'r also wrote poetry about the Griffiths of Cochwillan, a distant relative of Gwilym Griffith who lived in a manor house in Llandygai, not far from Penrhyn Castle. As a part of the website, there was an animation created to show Guto'r performing at Cochwillan in front of his patrons and their guests during a grand feast.

Kayla Jones

Here is the audio from Guto'r's performance at Cochwillan, but you can see the entire performance over at Gutorglyn.net.

Guto's Poem- In praise of Wiliam ap Gruffudd of Cochwillan

Mae gwahawdd ym a gohir
Draw gan hael i drigo'n hir:
Wiliam ap Gruffudd waywlas
Ap Rhobin, gwreiddin y gras.
I'w dai y'm gwahoddai hwn
Ac i'm hoes drwy gomhisiwn.
Mawr amod ym a rwymodd,
Mwy yw fy rhwym am fy rhodd.
Mae da Wiliam i'm dwylaw,
Mae'n feistr ym yn f'oes draw.
Gwely ares goleurym
A siambr deg sy'n barod ym.
Mae yno i ddyn mwyn a ddêl
Fwrdd a chwpwrdd a chapel
A gwydych allor Gwchwillan
Ac aelwyd teg i gael tân;
Y mae deuwres i 'mdiro:
Ei goed o'r glyn gyda'r glo.
Gwledd fraisg ac ymgeledd fry,
Gwin aml a'i gywain ymy.
Ni chât Ddafydd, llywydd llwyd,
Gan Ifor ryw giniewfwyd;
Iolo Goch ni welai gael
Rhyw fwythau yn nhref Ithael.
Eiddil yw llu i ddal llys
Wrth enaid yr wyth ynys;
Nid gwydychder, nid gwayw awchdwn,
Nid hael hael ond dwylaw hwn.
Fy nef, ei fro ef, erioed
Fu lan Ogwen flaeneugoed.
Mi af i'w lys, mwyfwy wledd,

Mal eidion moel i adwedd;
 Ni ddof fyth o Wynedd fawr
 O dai Wiliam hyd elawr.

Bwrw ydd wyf, beraidd ofeg,
 Breuglod hir i'r briglwyd teg.
 Samson yn awchlôn a wnaeth
 Â'i flew arian filwriaeth;
 Wiliam â'i wallt, waywlym ŵr,
 Arial mawl, yw'r ail milwr.
 Tew ei blaid, llonaidd pob llys,
 Trwy Wynedd a'r tair ynys:
 Llwyn o iachau'n llawn iechyd,
 Llin y gŵr, yw Llŷn i gyd.
 Môn a ddaw i'r man ydd êl,
 Meirionnydd, mae ar annel.
 Blodau aml ei blaid yma,
 Blodeuyn y ddeuddyn dda,
 Ei dad a'i fam, odid fyth
 Rôl haelion ryw wehelyth.
 O'u mab hirbraff mae perbren
 Y sy grair i sir Gaer wen.
 Y sirif fyth oeswr fo
 A swyddau'r wlad sy eiddo.
 Mal Gwilym ail y gelwynt
 Mab Gruffudd ar gynnydd gynt;
 Urddas o enw, gras a grym,
 I hwn eilwaith hen Wilym!

Kayla Jones

The job of a praise poet such as Guto'r would be to write glowing praise poetry about their patron, noting their virtues, appearance, home, land, wife or children and impact in the area. These poems would then be performed in front of an audience like at the feast we just listened to. In exchange, the poet would receive gifts, clothing and accommodation.

Ann Parry Owen

We don't have much information about Guto's background, how the poems were performed, but they were probably performed to some sort of accompaniment, either the harp. We went with the harp on the Guto'r Glyn animation or tapping of a stick to tap the rhythm out.

There's a lot of different theories about how they were actually performed. The poets would visit various households throughout Wales. Guto'r Glyn, I think he covered every corner of Wales from down in Gwent, in Carmarthenshire, Anglesey and, you know, his original patch, the north northeast of Wales. It was called Cylch Clera, a Bardic Circuit.

They would visit sort of houses, especially at certain times of the year or in wedding feasts, and they would offer praise poems and they would be paid through accommodation, gifts such as clothing. Clothing is mentioned quite a lot. And other sorts of gifts as well which were important to them. But the fact that the patrons patronized this poetry shows how for so many centuries, how important it was for the medieval society at the time.

Kayla Jones

Hiring a praise poet was very significant to Welsh gentry families, and the Griffiths family had several poems performed about them through the generations. Today, the poetry that Guto'r Glyn and other poets have written about the Griffith family allow us to learn about their lives and influences in North Wales when so many physical heritage connected with Penrhyn's medieval history no longer exists.

Kayla Jones

Gwilym III died in 1531, leaving the estate to his son Edward Griffith. Perhaps one of the most perplexing parts of Edward's life was what happened after his own death. His younger brother Rhys Griffith and his father-in-law John Puleston acting in the interest of wife and three daughters went into a long legal battle for Edward's inheritance. Rhys claimed that he was the obvious beneficiary, being the next male in line, while John Puleston believed that his daughter and three grandchildren had a claim to the inheritance.

In order to understand the dispute in more detail, I'm speaking with Dr Gwilym Owen, he's the Senior Lecturer in Property Law and Legal History at Bangor University. After being introduced to the Penrhyn Collection at Bangor Archives, Gwilym became fascinated with the story of the contested inheritance and spent the next several years

researching the case. His first book, *At Variance: The Penrhyn Entail* details his research into the dispute and gives an insight into mid-Tudor litigation.

Gwilym Owen

This sparked off a huge dispute concerning the inheritance of the, the Penrhyn inheritance, and it started in 1540 and it went on into another generation and was still being litigated in the early 1600s. Basically, it was a dispute between Edward Griffith's three daughters, so when Edward died in 1540, he was in Dublin, he died of the flux in Dublin Castle.

So he was away. The dispute was between Edward's three daughters by his third marriage to Jane Puleston and between those daughters and his brother, Rhys Griffith. Both parties were claiming that the Penrhyn inheritance. The respective arguments were along these lines, Rhys, the brother of Edward, he was claiming that the inheritance passed to him in what lawyers, legal historians call a entail male.

Kayla Jones

An entail is where you have land which is settled upon one particular line of descent, i.e., the male line, being passed down to the first in the line. Rhys claimed that the documentation showed that the Penrhyn Estate went down the male line of descent. The hard part for Rhys however, was that the documents had gone missing, making it difficult for him to completely inherit the Penrhyn Estate without his nieces claiming rights to at least a portion of it.

Gwilym Owen

Edward married three times. Two daughters of Cochwillan to start with, there was one by the name of Jane. That marriage wasn't consummated. My research has shown that out of the shadows of history comes a lady called Agnes, her sister. And he married her. And as far as we know, he didn't have any children with her. And then he married for a third time, one Jane Pulston. Now, his father, Edward's father, Sir William Griffith the third, didn't approve of the union with Agnes. And did all that he could to try and get Edward to marry Jane, possibly because she was better off financially, I don't know, but that's what happened.

But don't forget, at this time, when this marriage to Agnes took place, it was round about 1527, Edward Griffith would have only been a teenager. The problem was that he kept on chopping and changing his mind. One minute he'd be with Agnes, then the next minute

he'd be with Jane Pulston and he was going to and fro between these particular ladies. Now, he had children, three daughters of Jane Pulston.

Kayla Jones

The problem for Edward was, was his marriage to Jane Pulston bigamous or not? To find the answer to that question, it seems as if Edward looked at the relationships of someone that mirrored his in many ways, a man with one of the most complicated love-lives in all of history... King Henry VIII.

Gwilym Owen

He had an eye for what was going on at the royal court at this time. Because don't forget, who was on the throne at this time? Henry the VIII. And at this time, Henry the VIII was trying to get out of his union with Catherine of Aragon to marry Anne Boleyn, and I've done an article in law and humanities on this with the kind permission of the trustees of the Powis estate, because those documents with the National Library of Wales on loan and we've been able to get hold of the documents relating to the marriage between Edward Griffith and Agnes.

And you can see evidence there that witnesses are saying that the marriages of like quality to the one of Henry the VIII. There was a lot around whether when Catherine got the dispensation, whether she'd actually consummated the union with Henry's brother, Arthur. And it was the same thing here with Jane. There were dispensations from Cardinal Wolsey saying that he was getting out of his marriage with Jane and with Agnes.

And questions were being raised as to the validity of these dispensations, mimicking what was happening with the validity of the dispensations between Catherine of Aragon and to enable her to marry Henry VII after Arthur died. What we see here is a mimicking of this particular marriage.

And the trouble was that Henry VIII, the acts of royal supremacy was making the legislation fit his particular circumstances. Question was, how was all this playing out in places like north Wales? Edward probably didn't... he was just doing what the king did, perhaps he felt that if he didn't do what the king did, he'd be up for treason. So it was very difficult for him to interpret, very difficult for him to know were his kids legitimate or not? And that's why this litigation went on and on and on.

Kayla Jones

What was typical of the time was inheritance going down the male line, so it is likely that the arbitrators proceeded on the basis that at least a part of the estate would have been entail male. However, with Edward's wife still living, the entire estate couldn't be completely entail male, as he would have likely made provisions for his widow. Regardless of this, his brother Rhys believed the entire inheritance belonged to him.

Gwilym Owen

A husband had to make provisions for his wife. So, if it was all entail male, there wouldn't be dower or anything like this. So, Rhys' claims that it was all entail male, a little bit spurious, and that probably would have been known to the arbitrators. So, they probably thought, well, part of it could have been entail male, which would have been normal, we'll give him that. And the other part, well, perhaps if they're legitimate... they just, it was a compromise and they worked it out pragmatically, really. That's what I think.

Kayla Jones

While the ending of the dispute seemed to turn out mostly satisfactory for the parties involved, a transcription showed that at one point, John Pulston was willing to go to extreme measures to reinstate his nieces' fortune. While Edward was away in Dublin, it seems as if John Pulston wanted to take matters into his own hands by raiding Penrhyn.

Gwilym Owen

There was a raid on the Penrhyn, and in fact, this is my favourite document in the whole of the documents that I've read concerning the Penrhyn Estate. It's a petition by Rhys Griffith to the King. It's talking about the time when Edward died in Dublin Castle of the Flux. Rhys is saying to the king, well, look, Edward's not there, he's died. The evidence that proves my case because of this document with regard to the saying that the inheritance is entail male is actually in the monuments room in Penrhyn Castle. The daughter's grandfather, Sir John Pulston was looking after their interests. He's got soldiers in and he's raided the Penrhyn. This is now making life difficult for me.

Kayla Jones

The letter refers to John Pulston bringing ‘evil disposed persons with him, forcibly entering the house and breaking up all of the locks. It says he brought guns and bows, in fashion and manner of war. All over the Penrhyn inheritance.

Kayla Jones

The raid at Penrhyn was not the only sensational part of Penrhyn’s early history. Rhys’ son, Prys Griffiths, lived a life of intrigue, adventure and risk. Legend has it, Prys was known to be some sort of pirate or privateer during the Spanish Armada and served alongside Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh. This seems mostly fictitious, but it does seem as if he lived a venturous life onboard ships, writing poems about the sea.

Shaun Evans

So, all sorts of legends have developed around the life of Piers Griffith. Piracy, adventures on the sea, potential involvement in the Spanish Armada campaign of 1588. Whatever he did get up to led to the ruin of the estate, this estate, which had been built up by his ancestors over generations. And what we see during his lifetime is him mortgaging more and more land until he eventually lost all of the Penrhyn Estate.

Kayla Jones

Prys Griffith seemed like an interesting fellow, even allegedly building a secret tunnel between Port Penrhyn to Penrhyn Castle. His habits with money were less intriguing, however, and he mortgaged off the Penrhyn estate bit by bit for more than 20 years. Unfortunately, Prys’ unpredictable habits with money led to the end of the Griffith family owning the Penrhyn Estate.

Shaun Evans

So, at the same time, Prys Griffith was mortgaging off his land and selling his land, some Welshman were doing incredibly well in the new context of the Tudor and Stuart period. Perhaps the most successful Welshman during this period was from Conwy, a man called John Williams, who by 1621, had been appointed Lord Keeper of the Great seal James I, essentially the chief minister in the land and bishop of Lincoln. And with this new wealth, he

purchased much of the former Penrhyn Estate. He had links to the Griffith family of Penrhyn through the house of Cochwillan, another prominent Welsh gentry residence.

Kayla Jones

Born in Conwy in 1582, John Williams rose to hold a number of titles throughout his lifetimes, from archdeacon of Carmarthen, prebendary of Lincoln and of Peterborough, Dean of Salisbury, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and Archbishop of York. He even became the King's chaplain in 1617. John Williams died in 1650 and is buried at Llandygai church where there is a monument to him there still today. Williams died unmarried and without an heir, which meant the Penrhyn estate was passed to his nephew Griffith Williams. Unfortunately, the next few Williams generations left the estate a bit fragmented.

Shaun Evans

In the late 17th century, the last Williams male heir died without a son, and so the estate was split between Gwen and Ann Williams and Ann Williams's granddaughter, Ann Susanna Warburton married Richard Pennant, who had made a fortune with Jamaican sugar plantations. And between 1765 and 1785 Richard Pennant in addition to the Penrhyn lands he had received via his wife also managed to purchase the other half of the estate, thus reuniting the Penrhyn lands.

Kayla Jones

From the Griffiths to the Williams, the Penrhyn Estate's early history is nothing short of a little tangled.

If there's anything personal to take away these stories, it's that like throughout all of time, family is complicated. Through generations of the Griffith family owning the Penrhyn Estate, we're given a snapshot into one of the most powerful landed gentry families in north Wales.

Shaun Evans

Well, families such as the Griffith family exerted influences on so many aspects of life that it's really impossible to understand the history of Wales without appreciating their role and their impact. In cultural spheres it was their bardic patronage that did so much to preserve

Welsh language culture during the medieval period. But they exerted influences on so many aspects, from the economy to agriculture to industry in military context, serving as members of parliament and in local office holding positions.

They were really prominent members of society. It's also important to remember that on the Penrhyn Estate there would have been vast numbers of tenants, tenant farmers and people working on the estates in the house itself to serve as servants, but also outside in agricultural roles and as retainers and so forth as well. So, understanding the history of the Penrhyn Estates also provides opportunities to understand all aspects of society across history as well.

Kayla Jones

It seems as if Penrhyn's early history can easily be overlooked when you look around today. Compared to its latter history, with the view of Penrhyn castle through the mountains and the continuous influence of the nearby quarry, Penrhyn's early history could get lost in what we can't see. But families such as the Griffiths helped shape early north Welsh culture and society, both by championing their Welsh heritage and by thriving in positions of power in an English political system. Reminders such as Gwilym Owen's research, evidence in the Bangor University archives, monuments in Llandygai church and vibrant descriptions in praise poetry are such great reminders that Penrhyn's early history was filled with families whose influence and power stretched across north Wales and beyond and there is still so much more to explore.

As we go through this podcast, we'll be looking at different aspects of Penrhyn's history; seen and unseen, right here in Wales and across the world. Join me next time as I continue Penrhyn's story with its new owners, the Pennants. We'll explore Penrhyn's connections to slavery in Jamaica, a place that is more than 4,000 miles from north Wales, but so intricately connected to the history of the Penrhyn estate.

Thank you for listening to the first episode of Podlediad Penrhyn. If you want to explore the history of the Penrhyn Estate, please visit the website podpenrhyn.co.uk, which has photos, links and reading recommendations.

Episode 2 Script

Kayla Jones

Along my journey with the history of the Penrhyn Estate, one of the hardest aspects has been learning about the Jamaican plantations that were once owned by the Pennant family.

This episode, I talk with Dr Marian Gwyn about her research in heritage and slavery and her work at Penrhyn Castle, Eleanor Harding, the former Assistant Curator for Wales at the National Trust and with Dr Chris Evans, whose research into Wales' connection with slavery led him to write the book *Slave Wales*. During our interviews, I think I counted somewhere around 40 times that I said the word “wow” when hearing about the history of the plantations.

“Wow” as in I can’t believe that happened.

“Wow” as in this really hard to hear.

“Wow” as in I had no idea how interwoven the slave trade was to the history of Wales and everyday life in Britain in the 18th century.

Join me as I explore Penrhyn’s connection to historical slavery in Jamaica in episode two of Podlediad Penrhyn.

Kayla Jones

The Atlantic Slave Trade has a long, grisly history, which began in the 1440’s when the Portuguese started trading with sub-Saharan Africa. While they were also there to trade goods, a part of the trade involved the purchase of captives. Captives who then became slaves as agricultural laborers, dockside laborers, and personal servants.

Chris Evans

So, the trade starts very early and the English and the British are really quite slow to be involved. It’s not really till the middle decades of the 17th century that the English become involved, but thereafter they become involved on a very large scale indeed. In the 18th century, when the slave trade was at its height, the English are the major traffickers in the Atlantic world.

Kayla Jones

That's Chris Evans, he's going into the origins of the Atlantic Slave trade and explaining Britain's involvement. While Wales wasn't a major player in the trading of slaves, there were other ways that Wales' history is intertwined with slavery.

Chris Evans

The slave trade is concentrated in a handful of ports, a surprisingly large number of ports, also quite small and participate in slave trade. The British slave trade is dominated first by London, then by Bristol and then by Liverpool after 1750. As far as I am aware, no slave vessel ever left the Welsh port or directly left the Welsh port for Africa. And the reasons for that, I think, are quite simple, that slave trading is big business. You need a lot of money to engage in it. It's a business for big boys. And Welsh ports are small. They're not home to a very substantial merchant communities. So, in that sense, it's not surprising that Wales was not directly involved in slave trading. On the other hand, the reach of slave traders is very, very, very deep because trading for slaves is something that involves assembling a very substantial cargo of trade goods with which you are going to buy enslaved human beings. So all kinds of areas of the British Isles and of continental Europe more widely are contributing to the slave trade, not through their ports, but through industrial regions of subregions that are supplying forms of cloth or metalwears or glass, all kinds of consumer goods that will find a market on the Guinea Coast.

Kayla Jones

The trading of goods such as copper, sugar and wool played integral roles in the slave trade.

Chris Evans

Copper is really, really important here. Copper and its alloy brass. Both of these metals are really in high demand in West Africa. Copper is smelted in West Africa, but copper is also really quite rare. So, it's a desirable metal which West Africans are always eager to acquire. It commands a high price and therefore slave traders like buying up copper in parts of parts of Europe, including Wales, and then transporting it to West Africa in the form of rods or in so-called manillas kind of bracelet-like articles that act as a form of currency. So copper is absolutely critical there. And when Swansea, in Swansea District becomes the major

producer of copper by the middle of the 18th century, a lot of that is built on the foundation of demand from West Africa. It's also built upon demand from the plantation economies of the Caribbean because, of course, the major driver of Atlantic slavery is the demand for labour in the Caribbean, in the Sugar Islands. And to produce sugar you need copper because copper, forms the vessels in which sugar is, sugar sap is boiled down, the vessels in which sugar is refined and therefore cotton and copper vessels, they are literally known as Copper's in the sugar trade are absolutely essential pieces of kit. So, copper has a vital importance both for the acquisition of slaves in West Africa and in the exploitation of enslaved workers in the Caribbean.

Kayla Jones

So, while plantations like the Pennant's plantations in Jamaica were producing sugar to export around the world, copper from Wales was being imported into Jamaica in order for the production of sugar to be possible.

Chris Evans

The slave trade involves the export of textiles, partly cotton, but also woollen textiles and the woollen industry in Wales contributes to that. Welsh, so-called Welsh plains. Quite simple woven goods are exported to West Africa in the late 17th into the 18th centuries. And once again, it's the colour and the novelty of these items that is attractive to Africans. Of course, in tropical rainforest, you don't find many sheep. So, woollen fibres are a novelty and an exciting kind of addition to the material palette of West Africans. So woollen goods of all kinds, including woollens from Wales, are traded as part of the process of acquiring slaves, but more importantly, from the vantage point of Wales. And of course, Welsh woollens provide the basic uniform of enslaved workers in the Caribbean and then what becomes the American South. That's to say, slaves have to be clothed, they need prison uniforms, as it were. Welsh cottons are cheap, cheaply acquired, and they are relatively robust and therefore they are shipped to the Caribbean in absolutely huge quantities. Thousands of yards of fabric are shipped out every year from principally from London and Bristol to supply the rapidly growing plantation workforce.

Kayla Jones

It was hard to compute just how much of the world at that time was being built to sustain the practice of slavery. Not only was slave labour being used for the eventual exportation of products, but products being produced in freer parts of the world such as Wales was being exported to aid slave labour on sugar plantations like the ones operated by the Pennants with goods such as woollen textiles.

Chris Evans

You know, sugar plantations, I often like to say, are like oil rigs. They specialize in producing a very high value commodity and everything else needed to sustain life and production is brought in from elsewhere. The food is brought in from elsewhere, the industrial kitchens brought in from elsewhere in the form of copper vessels and the clothing that the industrial work wear is brought in from outside. So, it's a really tightly knit global system.

Marian Gwyn

I think Chris Evans from the University of South Wales describes them very well. He describes the colonies in the Caribbean as oil rigs.

Kayla Jones

That's Dr Marian Gwyn. Marian is a heritage consultant and researcher, whose work specialises in the ways heritage organizations can share their connections to colonialism.

Marian Gwyn

They were just there to pump money out, oil rigs pump oil out. The Caribbean pumped sugar out. So, they were never self-sufficient. People who went over there, some families went out. But on the whole, it tends to be young white men hoping to make quick money and get back to Europe, to to Britain, where they could spend their money having made their fortune within a few years.

Kayla Jones

Marian explained to me just how brutal the system was in a place such as Jamaica, even compared to North America at the time.

Marian Gwyn

It was a very brutal system and very different to that of North America, because if you think of North America, the colonization of North America, people from Europe went over there as they were settlers. They took their families. They built roads, railways, universities, schools, churches. They, they built social infrastructure because they went there to live there. If you have a look at the Caribbean, they were never settlers, they were they were planters, or what have you. Very, very different, different system. You also have, for example, in North America, you have people because they actually lived there. They invested the fortune that they made from slavery in the infrastructure where they lived, what you had in the Caribbean and the Pennants of Penrhyn Castle are a fine example of this. They, because they became absentee land owners in, say, round about the 1720s, 1730s, this is when most of the big the big plantation owners left very early on because it's just so horrible to to live there. And so, they took all their profits out. And so any money spent in the Caribbean was just to support sugar production. So, you don't get things like massive investment in schools and universities. None of that. None of that. Only what was spent in the Caribbean was only there to just about cover what was actually needed to cover the production of sugar. Life expectancy for white people was short. Life expectancy for black people was incredibly short.

Kayla Jones

In the estimated 350 years that Europe was involved in the slave trade, between 11 and 12 million Africans were transported across the Atlantic. Only 5% of those were sent to North America. This is compared to the 60% that were sent to the tiny islands of the Caribbean.

Marian Gwyn

So, can you imagine the tension? So, to keep a resentful, enslaved workforce under control. You have got to be brutal. And so, the whippings, the codes, the enslavement codes, you can lop off arms, you can lop off legs you can mutilate noses, ears, brand, you know, as well as hang you can kill because they are your chattels. They are there for you to do, you know, whatever you want. So, you talk. Plus, you've got disease, you know, you've got the tropical diseases the indigenous tropical diseases. You've got the diseases coming in from Africa as well, yellow fever was one that was taking over.

Kayla Jones

By all accounts, Jamaica was not an easy place to live, and those who could afford to leave, did. This meant that the planters of these plantations eventually transitioned to life back in Europe, while the workers on the plantations had no means of escape. For planters such as Gifford Pennant, who went to Jamaica in 1655, it was only two generations later that the family transitioned back to the UK, opting to be absentee landlords, maintaining their estates through agents.

Chris Evans

The planters were relatively few in number, they probably constituted not really much more than five percent of the population of Jamaica. They are a tiny elite. They are massively rich though, rich beyond the dreams of avarice, they are billionaires by a contemporary by contemporary standards. They are seen from Britain as in some ways corrupted by the tropics. You know, it's, it's warm, it's sultry. It's not like our climate. People succumb to loose living, drinking rum all day, wallowing in their luxury clothes. They're not great people. They're rich, but they're not couth.

Kayla Jones

The Penrhyn Estate's initial connection with Jamaica came in the 1600's when Gifford Pennant, who was originally from Flintshire, travelled to Jamaica as a soldier in the Cromwellian Army.

Marian Gwyn

And we do know that Gifford Pennant, the first Pennant, went over there as a soldier in about 1656, 1657. So, within a couple of years of when it first became a British colony. And originally, he was a soldier in the Jamaican Defence Force. Now it became expedient, especially, of course, when Charles the second came back to the throne for a lot of people who had been in the Cromwellian Army not to come back home. It was expedient for the British government to keep soldiers over there while turning them into planters, and so land grants became available very, very cheaply. Gifford Pennant was obviously a very capable and shrewd man because what he started doing was buying and selling pockets of land. And very soon he acquired land that was 18 times the natural, the average of the whole things on

the island. He wasn't the biggest there are plenty bigger, plenty bigger, but he was the bottom of the top third, you know.

Kayla Jones

Through the years, the Pennant family found great success in Jamaica, eventually owning four substantial properties in Clarendon, Jamaica, which was considered the heartland of sugar making on the island.

Marian Gwyn

Now, it fluctuated because of course, the Pennants were there for many, many years in Jamaica and so they were buying and selling land. They effectively had six permanent plantations, you know, that they held most of the time, although these built up and then towards the end, you know, they were sold off. For most of the time they had about six plantations. For most of the time they had about six plantations and they also owned a few pens. Plantations is where you grow the crops, the sugar cane, and the pens basically the farms that kept the plantations going. This is where your cattle, your livestock would be.

Kayla Jones

Gifford Pennant's son, Edward became the Chief Justice of Jamaica. Edward then had two sons, Samuel, who became Lord Mayor of London, and John who was a well known West Indies merchant in Liverpool. By then, the Pennants had returned to the UK, leaving the day to day operation of their plantations to agents. In his lifetime, John had purchased half of what was known as the Penrhyn Estate, while his son Richard secured the other half through an advantageous marriage in 1767. In our first episode, we talked about Penrhyn's early owners, the Griffith's family. In the 1600s, the estate was sold to a John William's, and eventually without a male heir, William's great granddaughter Anne Susannah Warburton got a portion of the Penrhyn estate. She married Richard in 1765, thus connecting the Pennant name with Penrhyn Estate. Richard Pennant became the first Lord Penrhyn, and an MP for Liverpool and the Penrhyn Estate soon flourished under his care, as he improved his tenanted farms, built roads, houses, hotels, schools and agricultural buildings. He also began developing Penrhyn slate quarry.

Marian Gwyn

During the entire time of Richard Pennant's life, income to the Pennant coffers was greater from the plantations than from the quarry. And so, all the money to do what or rather the vast majority of the money that built the early stages of the Penrhyn Estate under Richard Pennant came from slavery money not just from the plantations, of course, because he was also MP for Liverpool and had business interests in Liverpool. But they were all slave related. And so, you're talking about slave related income formed the basis of Penrhyn Estate.

Kayla Jones

Back in Jamaica, the labour involved in the production of sugar was unending and arduous. Men, women, children and even the sickly would get involved in different aspects of production.

Marian Gwyn

The actual sugar producing gang was divided into three. This was the biggest of the the body of slaves where you had the big gang, the little gang and the grass gang, the big gang was where the healthy adults would work. The little gang would have been those who were not so physically able and the little gang, sorry the grass gang would have been the very young children, the ill and the infirm and they would have been going around clearing, clearing the waste so that the big cane production could continue to make sure that they were cropping most of the year. You'd be doing sort of 10 acres at a time. And then seasonally you'd move on. Then, during the winter season, you would be hoeing, weeding and laying your crops ready for the next season. So, there was work continuously.

Once you crush cane juice, you have to boil it up straightaway because otherwise the cane just goes off immediately. So, you carry your cut canes as quickly as possible to the cane crushers. And then once the cane is crushed, you take it to the boiler house immediately to start the boiling process. And so, then you have to have your barrels. Some barrels were brought in, but every plantation would have a Cooper who could fix repair, make barrels. You've also got stock because you need oxen. And so, you've got your cattlemen, you've got Watchmen, you've got all sorts of...there's something like, I think Denbigh plantation had something like over twenty different occupations there for enslaved workers.

Kayla Jones

As a part of her research, Marian visited Jamaica and explored its connection to the Penrhyn Estate.

Marian Gwyn

I was very lucky as part of my research to be able to go to Jamaica. And this was twofold, really. One was to find out how Jamaica was talking about its history and how and then also want to further my research on the Pennant plantations. And I was very lucky to go around the Education Department and they took me around many of their schools, primary school, secondary school, special schools. And it was lovely just to see how they taught slavery. One thing that came across very, very strongly is that they do not see themselves as victims at all. They see themselves as survivors, as victors, as they fought for their freedom. And they won it. And they said several people told me very clearly that slavery is an important part of that history, but it is not the only part. And they do not want that to be the only part of their history that is focused on. And I thought that was absolutely, wow, inspiring. Absolutely inspiring.

Kayla Jones

While there are a few plantations that are now heritage sites, what remains of the Pennant plantations have basically disappeared. Most of what we know about the people who laboured on the Pennant plantations, are housed in the archives at Bangor University.

Marian Gwyn

And so there are things like wills, inventories and maps, you know, things, things like that. When they became absentee landowners and of course, stop buying into Penrhyn estate in north west Wales um the plantations are being run by their agents. And so, you have letters going backwards and forwards. So, we have a lot more records there. So those records are how we find out anything about the enslaved workers that they have there. There are annual inventories and there are accounts that were sent over about twice a year. The inventories list, for example, names, ages, health of the enslaved workers on each plantation. Now, the records are not complete. There are massive holes in them. So, it would be lovely if we had whole records from year to year to year so we could do comparisons what have you, but we don't. So, we can only deal with what we got. But they do give us names and ages, health and

also because the plantation owners needed to know not only who was working, but who was not working. We get a list of who was suffering from illnesses on the plantations as well. So, if something like the average on any plantation in the Caribbean was that 30 percent of enslaved workers would be too ill to work at any one time.

Kayla Jones

Eleanor Harding, former the Assistant Curator for Wales at Penrhyn Castle, gave me a snapshot of the letters that were sent to the Lord Penrhyns from their agents about life in Jamaica.

Eleanor Harding

So, yeah, they were absentees, and when you go to Bangor University Archives and look through the absolutely huge numbers of papers and a lot of what you find is letters from managing agents from in Jamaica. And you can get a bit of a picture, therefore, about what the relationship was between the Lords Penrhyns and their agents, but also have to bear in mind that we only have what survived and we have nothing from the Pennants to their agents, only from the agents to the Pennants. So, it's not it's not a complete record and but it's very detailed and you can really quickly get a picture of the different personalities and the interests of each agents. Like there is one called Shand who honestly spends almost all of his letters talking about the weather.

And then there's another one who, his name is David Hewitt and he spends a lot of time talking, particularly on the management and the control of enslaved people and talking about sort of monitoring their behaviour and their moods and kind of trying to understand is there going to be, he clearly is very fearful of insurrection. And at one point, he even commissioned an enslaved man to spy on others with the promise of his freedom if he reports back a plot to rise up against the managing agents or the slavers. So there's that kind of detail and then there's obviously always information on the state of the sugar being produced, the amount of sugar, on supplies going in and out of Jamaica to equip the plantations, and also quite a lot of technological development. So a really interesting picture.

Kayla Jones

Despite being thousands of miles apart, the letters in the archives show that the Pennants were very involved in the workings of the Jamaican plantations, receiving regular updates and records of all of the slaves working there, even the ones that had long run off.

Eleanor Harding

So, sort of astonishingly, for decades after people run away and escape slavery from this particular from these particular plantations, they are listed still as a slave on the plantation and you know, their category, as opposed to as opposed to planter or kind of sugar factory worker or whatever the terms are that used to describe occupation they're just listed as runaways. There is a kind of cash in various different places in newspapers, often they advertised, they advertised the details of runaway slaves in order to try and get them back. I think what comes out very clearly there is that the Pennants. Well, certainly that Richard Pennant and George Hay Dawkins Pennant were very closely involved in the management. So, you have letters asking for the permission to purchase enslaved people, you get big annual accounts that list all of the names of the enslaved and all of the you know, if any of them died, what the cause was of their death. The names of the babies that have been born. So, you do get a sense that, yeah, they were very close...they were very closely involved, which is really remarkable. When you think how long it took for a letter to cross the Atlantic and also how spotty that was, you know letters could go missing quite easily and it must have been a very slow and painful form of correspondence. And yet, the big decisions seems were always being made by the Pennants.

Kayla Jones

Paintings of the plantations which are housed at Penrhyn Castle are the only pictorial representation of the plantations. Commissioned by the family in 1870 after the abolition of slavery, the paintings depict an almost pastoral, scenic views of the plantations and the people working in the fields. The realities of slavery was anything but picturesque, and neither was the true end of slavery in Jamaica.

Marian Gwyn

In North America, you've got these slave landscapes around you. You've got your plantations, you've got your great houses, you know, everything around you. In Britain of

course, you could hide your connections to slavery. And whereas the big planters were known, what was unknown was the huge amount of people who were invested in slavery otherwise. And when eventually it became untenable to keep slavery going, what was the killer point for the planters was that they agreed to accept compensation, money to end slavery. And so 20 million pounds then the equivalent of several billion pounds now was put forward by the government. This was 40 percent of the government spend that year, 40 percent. It was massive, massive. But instead of saying, you know, half the people say, oh, no, no, just dreadful slavery, dreadful. I've got nothing to do with slavery, 47000 claims went in, 47, And it really opened up to everyone just how ubiquitous slave ownership actually was.

Kayla Jones

In 2007, the UK commemorated the Bicentennial of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Across the UK, heritage sites and museums put special exhibits and events which featured British connections to historic slavery. Penrhyn Castle held an exhibition entitled Sugar and Slavery which was headed up by Marian. The project, which spanned across two years, explored the Pennants early involvement in Jamaica, the realities of life on Jamaican sugar plantations and how the Pennants' plantations helped fund other endeavours on the Penrhyn Estate in north Wales. One of Marian's main priorities for the Sugar and Slavery project, was having the community involved in telling the story.

Marian Gwyn

And so, I thought, let's have the community actually tell the story itself. Only something like about eight panels were official panels telling the story, those are the panels that I wrote on the history. Then what I did, I put a call out for volunteers. I appointed a wonderful person as a project assistant to work with me, a fantastic woman by the name of Hilary McGlaughlin. She took the volunteers that came forward, we'd we basically thought that we'd get about 10 people put in their name. We had twenty five in the end, which is phenomenal. She took them to Bangor University Archives, cause of course you have to remember these are historical documents there. And basically what I said was, I want you to write whatever you want. They'll be no editing, the only criteria is that it must be no more than two sides of A4.

Kayla Jones

Local volunteers visited the archives at Bangor University, and looked through documents such as trade deals, shipping documents and slave records. These documents showed the names of slaves working on the Penrhyn plantations and their prices. Marian then had the volunteers write whatever they wanted about their findings on an A4 sheet of paper.

Marian Gwyn

And it was just so moving, so powerful. And then for the rest of the exhibition, I decided I wanted to recreate the Penrhyn Triangle of we've got the slave trade triangle of Britain, Africa and the Americas, but the Penrhyn Triangle is Bangor Liverpool and Jamaica.

Kayla Jones

Local schools from Ogwen Valley as well schools in Liverpool and Jamaica assisted with the creation of the exhibit, providing artwork, poems and stories. Visual aids such as artifacts, hand drawn images of slavery and an audio-visual presentation showed just how widespread the impact of the slave trade was and how the history of north Wales and Jamaica are so intricately linked, even from thousands of miles apart.

Marian Gwyn

I had, for example, a 18th century tea service put in one little cabinet next to a cabinet that had things like shackles and chains just to show that while you were drinking your tea, this was the reality of what was what was happening.

Kayla Jones

The Sugar and Slavery project put on events such as a study day around Britain and the slave trade, practical art days and a Caribbean weekend which all helped to shed light on Penrhyn's connection with slavery. However, the exhibit was just a temporary one, and now Penrhyn Castle is in the midst of a transformation project where the history of the Jamaican plantations will be embedded further into the story of the estate.

Kayla Jones

Eleanor explained to me some of the challenges of incorporating the history of Jamaican plantations into a castle in north Wales without having many artifacts or visual representations.

Eleanor Harding

The reason that we do that kind of people focused interpretation is because the Trust is very keen to be sensitive to the House and its architecture. Which makes introducing lots of other information about other places or histories that aren't directly related to what you see in front of you, quite challenging. And there's very little in the House to prompt conversation about slavery and the family's income beyond obviously just massive wealth. So, you hopefully your default question is to ask where is that money coming from?

But, you know, we don't have in the same way the other historic houses have representations of people of colour or black people. We have very little, all of the documents that would have once, were at Penrhyn at some point around Jamaica papers have gone to Bangor University archives and we don't have the kind of environment that would allow us to display them very easily anyway, yeah it just means that it involves a lot of work for us to be able to responsibly talk about these histories in a way that kind of cares for everybody who is engaged in that conversation, whether that's a visitor or a staff or volunteer who is doing the guiding.

And we have done some programming and exhibitions over the past, decade? Or even more, 15 years at Penrhyn around the history of Penrhyn's involvement with the slave trade but then that knowledge and confidence that is gained during that period can leak away quite quickly because once the intervention is taken out of the space, there is no longer the same prompt to talk about it. So, yeah, that's we're really working hard on educating ourselves. I think to do that, we are working with lots of other people to look at the Castle's links to Jamaica from different angles. So, over the past couple of years we've worked with academics, artists, poets, schoolchildren, educators, all to try and get different perspectives on how to learn more and how to share more about Penrhyn and the Jamaican plantations.

Kayla Jones

Though there are no physical artifacts to show visitors from the Jamaican plantations, Eleanor and the staff at Penrhyn Castle hope to show visitors the profound links to the plantations through the wealth displayed throughout the castle.

Eleanor Harding

We are doing a lot more focusing at the moment on what the money bought as a means to talk about where it came from. And that's both collections within the House and the House itself, but also we are starting to work on how we can look more widely at the investment in the quarry and the estate that also to the Jamaican plantations and the wealth that was produced there by enslaved people.

In 2019, we spent a considerable amount of time creating an exhibition called What a World, which is focused on colonial consumption and the ways in which the Pennant's fortune from the slave trade are manifest in the House.

And alongside that, doing a big training program and research program to ensure that everybody who you would encounter in the castle if you came to visit the exhibition or not to visit the exhibition, but just to visit the grounds or to go to the cafe or whatever, would be informed and confident about the history of Penrhyn's relationship, with, you know, where wealth came from i.e. slavery.

Kayla Jones

Events such as the recent Black Lives Matter protests around the world have propelled sites to explore their colonial connections, highlight more hidden stories, and show the ways the Transatlantic Slave Trade was woven into so many areas of history. Questions around the ways Britain and heritage organizations such as the National Trust should present it's colonial connections are still being disputed today.

In September 2020, The National Trust released a report about 93 of its properties, detailing the connections the properties had to historic slavery. On their website they say about the report "The National Trust cares for places and collections on behalf of the nation, and many have direct and indirect links to colonialism and historic slavery. We've addressed a report examining these connections as part of our broader commitment to ensure that these links are properly represented, shared and interpreted. The buildings in our care reflect many different periods and a range of British and global histories - social, industrial, political and

cultural. As a heritage charity, it's our responsibility to make sure we are historically accurate and academically robust when we communicate about the places and collections in our care". This new step is a way forward in telling a longstanding and multilayered story of slavery and it's connection with heritage properties such as the country houses operated by the National Trust.

Marian Gwyn

When we think of slavery in Britain, we always focus on the end of slavery, the ideas of the 19th century without actually looking at it at its beginnings during the Elizabethan period and then going into the Stewart era where all the insurance companies were set up, there, all the credit systems to support this international system. So without slavery to provide the basis for these institutions, then the industrial revolution would not have happened so quickly when it did in Britain. So it is to understand that history and to embed it. It must be a part of the story, but not as an additional story. It must be integrated. If you can talk about the carpets, the curtains, the Lords and the ladies, then it should be normalized. And I don't mean to be dismissed or to lessen it. But say, for example, now, if you could talk about stately homes that have been built on, say, money from coal mining in Lancashire, then we can be as open about slavery, money from Jamaica.

Kayla Jones

For Chris Evans, he sees highlighting the immense connection of slavery throughout Wales and the UK as an important step going forward in heritage interpretation.

Chris Evans

It's a question of the broader system of education about realising how much the footprint of Atlantic slavery is to be found in all parts of the of the British Isles. We can see the ways in which Wales was involved in the slave trade. Wales played a specific role in terms of copper and wool in the Atlantic slave system. Other parts of the British Isles played a similar role, for example, some of what slaves ate in plantations was often referred to as Clyde Herring. And that's because these are herrings that are caught off the of the West Coast of Scotland and heavily salted and then shipped to the sort of Caribbean. It's a specific Scottish contribution to the Atlantic slavery. So, the more we look around, the more we find specific contributions have been made by parts of Britain that we think have no connection to the Atlantic slavery, but in fact, do. So I think what we need is a general awareness of that that

will give people a new perspective on properties that have a conspicuous connection to slavery, Like Penrhyn Castle, but will also give people the knowledge to appreciate the landscapes that appear to us to be natural, like mid-Wales, the, you know, sheep runs of Mid-Wales that appear to be natural, unspoiled landscapes, but are in fact, a former industrial areas that helped clothe slaves in the West Indies. So, it's a long term project rather than than an instant fix, as you can imagine.

Kayla Jones

When I was in the middle of recording this podcast, the Coronavirus pandemic happened, I was separated from loved ones and isolating at home. During this time, so many of us were unable to explore public spaces like museums and heritage sites. Country houses like Penrhyn Castle struggled to figure out how to reach the public, when so much of their heritage interpretation is in person. Despite the challenges, many heritage sites turned to digital platforms, and suddenly conversations like those about estates such as Penrhyn and its Jamaican plantations which seemed so far away, could be had around the world online, through platforms such as social media, podcasts and shows.

Though events of a global pandemic had much of the world slowed down for a while, it also allowed time for difficult questions around things like history and politics. What that time did offer us, was a space to have some of these difficult conversations, such as the ones around slavery. For Penrhyn Castle, it was a great way for these conversations to be explored in programs such as Welsh Treasure Houses on S4C and future exhibits going forward. While these are never easy conversations, they are necessary ones to have, and it is exciting to see where those conversations will go.

Kayla Jones

Thank you for listening to this episode of Podlediad Penrhyn. If you want to explore the history of the Penrhyn Estate and its connections with slavery, please visit the website podpenrhyn.co.uk, which has photos, links and reading recommendations.

Episode 3 Script

Kayla Jones

Growing up, I was fascinated with castles and country houses. I'd read about them in books and watch far too many period dramas with finely dressed women in big dresses; dancing and chatting away in grand halls, wondering what it'd be like to see some of these huge, historic houses one day. Going to such sites wasn't available on school trips or weekend afternoons with my family, there's nothing quite so old or grand in your local area going up in the American south.

When I came to the UK, I'll admit I was excited to finally visit these heritage sites. It's so easy to get lost in the grandeur of the rooms, getting caught up in the intricate details carved into the ceilings, walking around the lavish furniture and gazing up at striking paintings donning the walls of these great houses. It's tempting to put yourself in the shoes of those who lived there, envisioning yourself attending some great party, enjoying a three course meal or pulling a book off the shelf of your extensive library.

Walking through these sorts of houses, they have the ability to make you feel like you've stepped into some sort of fairy-tale. That's often because the owners of these grand estates wanted to create domestic interiors which would reflect their status, wealth, influence and learning. Families such as the Pennants built stately, architectural wonders and filled them full of eye-catching art collections, bespoke furniture and decorations and extensive gardens and parklands. More often than not however, the wealth behind these houses are complicated.

Through this podcast, I've learned so much about what it takes to maintain and expand these country estates. In the case of Penrhyn castle, its history is more multilayered and far reaching than just the castle and its many treasures. There's that popular saying, "it takes a village to raise a child." I think something similar can be said for country estates, it takes a community to run them.

In our last episode, we explored the sugar plantations owned by the Pennant family and the harsh realities of slavery in Jamaica. In this episode, we'll explore how the vast wealth generated at those plantations helped build the Pennant legacy: an intimidating Neo-Norman castle, a new quarry at the height of the slate industry, and the expansion of the Penrhyn Estate to its largest in the late 19th century. We'll do this through the stories of the owners and the lives of so many others who lived and worked on the estate. I'm Kayla Jones and welcome to the third episode of Podlediad Penrhyn.

Kayla Jones

Previously, we looked at how Richard Pennant, who lived from 1739 to 1808 was an absentee, but heavily involved landlord to his Jamaican plantations. When his father died in 1781, Richard decided to use the profits from the plantations to grow his estate in north Wales.

Richard Pennington

So he inherited a much smaller, or he bought into a much smaller estate. And he embarked on an ambitious plan of purchase and enclosure of many parts of the estate that had fallen even though they were being used by them or owned by the Pennant family. They weren't really being used so he also solidified the estate as to how it was and then grew it fairly significantly over a period of time.

Kayla Jones

That's Richard Pennington, he's been the senior collections and house manager at Penrhyn Castle for 24 years. He spoke with me about the large influence of the Pennant family in north Wales, starting with Richard Pennant.

Richard Pennington

Interesting one because obviously, their influence stretches over many decades, even centuries in this part of north Wales. So, starting with Richard Pennant and his influence on the society of north Wales, is really about the industrialization of this area of north Wales.

So, before he invests in this area, you're looking at a very much an agricultural base of work and very much subsistence farming, very low tech, very poor connections, transport, connections between communities. And so, his influence is enormous in that he brings industrialization into this area of north Wales. He brings investment and capital into north Wales. And then he also brings in those transport links initially with roads, but also with rebuilding the port, there's greater influence from the sea. They just kept expanding and kept driving the growth of the local population as well by providing jobs. So, Richard Pennant's influence is really key to turning north Wales around into a very much more populated area.

Kayla Jones

Though other prominent families were also developing the area during this time, Richard Pennant was known as a great improver in north Wales, taking a bare and underinvested estate, and turning it into a well-connected enterprise.

Ann Dolben

He was a businessman, but he was also because of the age of improvement, he was an improver, and he wasn't happy with his inheritance. There's a story about how he said it was going to cost me, it was going to cost him money, not save him money, not make him money. And he seems to have set his mind to improving the estate so that he would make money and he had the capital to do it because he was making quite a big fortune from the sugar plantations in Jamaica.

Kayla Jones

That's Ann Dolben, she's been volunteering at Penrhyn Castle for over seven years.

Ann Dolben

First things first, he decided that the place was virtually inaccessible, just horse tracks. So, he built a road from the quarry in Bethesda down towards Capel Curig. He also looked at what he could make from his land and the land isn't that brilliant for productive farming. So, he used his agent to look at what could be done. Now, my understanding is that it was basically subsistence farming, whereas every autumn a lot of the stock would be slaughtered and it was very much living hand to mouth. And so, paying the rents on their farms to the landowner was a bit hit and miss. And they came up with the idea of, first of all, not slaughtering the animals, putting in things like winter crops.

Turnip and winter cabbage so that they could keep the idea of progression going. They also recognized that the climate being what it is, they needed shelter for the animals through the winter. So, some areas he and his agent built new buildings on the farm so they could shelter the animals. But over 600,000 oak trees were planted throughout the estates so that at least when the wind blows down the straits, as it were, the animals could shelter among the trees.

Also on the estate was the mountain of Bethesda which had been let out in the past to various local families to do very small-scale quarrying of slate. And this was at a time when

there was a building boom, if you like, because of industrialization, people moving to cities, new houses, new buildings, slate was at a premium.

Kayla Jones

Whilst developing his estate, Richard Pennant turned his attention to the vast amount of slate on his land. Previously, the quarry had been leased out to individuals to do small scale quarrying until Richard took over the estate and decided to maintain the quarry himself.

Ann Dolben

So, he and his agent, Benjamin, pulled together all the leases, which I think had been set at about a pound a year and said, “No, I will manage the quarrying. I will manage the mountain.” And basically, if you work the quarry, you are given a portion of land and you will be paid according to how much slate you produce, which turned into a very good idea. Except he had to get his slate out of northwest Wales to the markets. Roads were difficult. It would be much better and much more productive to send them by sea. But he had to get the slate from the quarry to the sea. And there was the River Cegin. And so, what he did, he had built a roadway which eventually became a tramway from the quarry down to the mouth of the River Cegin, where he built Port Penrhyn, and that became the hub of his export industry.

Kayla Jones

This was the beginning of the Penrhyn Estate’s success in north Wales slate. Richard and his agent Samuel Wyatt signed agreements with distributors in Liverpool, who then sent his slate across the UK to be used in an array of construction projects such as windowsills, barns, cladding and shelves.

Ann Dolben

He and his agents are said to have really opened up north west Wales, because what happened, I mean, lots of landowners had slate on their lands, both on the north coast and further inland. You know, you’ve got Port Dinorwic, and they saw him making money. And so they followed his example, if you like, they built transport to the ports, developed the ports, and they developed their own slate export business based roughly on his principles.

Kayla Jones

Upon Richard's death in 1808, the estate then passed to his cousin, George Hay Dawkins Pennant, as Richard and his wife were childless. At this point, the estate Dawkins inherited was far larger than the one Richard had 27 years previously.

Richard Pennington

It was when George Hay Dawkins' took over the estate, which was early 1800s, the estate was somewhere between 40,000 acres and 70,000 acres just in Gwynedd as we know it now. So, it was a massive amount of land within north Wales. That estate also reached into parts of Bangor as well, and they owned lots of land in and around Bangor, and they owned a multitude of estates elsewhere. So they had estates in England and houses in England as well.

Kayla Jones

To showcase his growing wealth and influence, George Hay Dawkins Pennant decided to build a formidable castle nestled in the foothills of Snowdonia. To understand Penrhyn Castle, we have to dive into the mind of its architect Thomas Hopper, who Dawkins-Pennant hired to design the castle. Hopper, who's other projects include Gosford Park, Galton Park and a Conservatory for the Prince of Wales at Carlton House, shared Dawkins-Pennant's vision of creating a grand castle, creating a design that more closely resembled the exterior of a medieval stronghold than that of the country house of a 19th century gentry family.

Richard Pennington

So the architectural style of the castle is called Neo-Norman. It is meant to look like an old-fashioned Norman Castle. So it is about making it look as if it's a defensible castle of old. It is very important to Thomas Hopper when he built it and designed it, that it should look like that from the outside. It isn't a defensible castle. The windows are too big for you to be able to defend it from any marauders. But it does try to maintain some of that indoors. Our understanding and we don't have a huge amount of information as to why decisions were made by Thomas Hopper and George Hay Dawkins in the way that they built the castle, that those records don't survive...but looking at it, we know that the circulation spaces inside the building are meant to look relatively bare. Stone floors, no ornamentation on the walls and to look as if they're castle spaces.

And then when you get into the living spaces, you get into the library and bedrooms and dining rooms, that's when the house comes over from that part of it, and it looks as if it's a very much older house as well. So that's part of the work that Thomas Hopper tried to do on the architecture inside is to make it look that it wasn't a newly built castle designed and delivered over 15 years, it was meant to look as if it was a castle that had been here for hundreds of years and had been adjusted for the designs of modern life in that time.

You may get a ceiling that extends outside of a room into a corridor. It's all fake for a harsh word on it. It's all about giving that impression that this is a very very old house, that the family have very very old roots in north Wales and they're continuing to live and develop this space in perpetuity.

Kayla Jones

While Hopper's goal was to have the house appear intimidating to its visitors, it was a far cry from a medieval castle that could defend itself during battle.

Ann Dolben

If that was a medieval castle, that keep would be down in a couple of days, because it's in completely the wrong place. It's looked on as a Neo-Norman castle, but it also has all sorts of other features, you know the turrets, the towers, it has a keep. There's a story that was told in a letter by one of the nephews of George Hay Dawkins' Pennant that George came into the breakfast room one morning looking rather miserable. He said "Oh, lord, they want me to have a keep now. And I don't even know what a keep is." So it gives you the impression, A. that Hopper was calling the shots, and B. that George was funding it.

Kayla Jones

By all accounts, Hopper was an eclectic architect, putting ornate details throughout the castle, and hiring local craftsmen to create signature features throughout the staircases, hallways, library and drawing room.

Ann Dolben

Ah, the decorations. The heads and faces are everywhere. He has in the library, on the columns. Even on one of the desks, because he designed a lot of furniture to fit in with his Norman theme. There's a little desk which, you know, a double desk round the knee hole,

just what your knee would come into contact with a desk, there are two carved heads. In the drawing room, if you look up to the ceiling, the sort of way the walls arch into the ceiling, there are sheep's heads poking through.

Going up the stairs it fascinates the children when they come...on the corbels, there are faces and heads, but then around the doors that staircase, that grand staircase was largely a guest area, and if you had an apartment, a room of suites off the staircase going to bed with your flickering candle and coming face to face around the door with these grotesque heads, bless him. Whether it was him or whether it was his stonemason's, they didn't know when to stop.

Kayla Jones

Based on Hopper's designs, local craftsmen also made furniture and decorations out of heavy Welsh oak, slate, marble and limestone.

Ann Dolben

You know, the stone for the outer walls of the castle, largely local. I've been told that the oak for the pillars etc, local, certainly the workmen were local. Where he could he kept it local and even, well, whether it's deliberate or not it's come down to that, acknowledged the quality of work.

A lot of the carvings on the fireplaces, carvings in the great hall, the decoration there. Books like ancient architecture of England, seemed to have been a favourite of his, where he would take bits from everywhere and what we have are the lithographs that were one in the 1840s as the castle was new, that show the impact of what he put in. So, I don't think he was hidebound in his choice of style, but what he thought would suit. And the other thing, of course, he was very fortunate. He had the craftsman locally to carry out his work.

Kayla Jones

An estimated £150,000 was spent building and updating Penrhyn castle, equivalent today to about £49,500,000. Thomas Hopper set out to design a lavish and colossal country house for George Hay Dawkins Pennant and succeeded. While Dawkins Pennant built his dream castle, his son Edward Douglas Pennant, the 1st Lord Penrhyn, filled it with art.

Ann Dolben

There is a story that George Hay Dawkins' Pennant, towards the end of his life, told Edward to fill his house with great art. Now, whether it was Edward's own interest or whether he was fulfilling that, we don't know. He had the interest in art, and it's again, quite an eclectic consideration.

Kayla Jones

The Pennants' extensive art collection featured work from around the world, from prolific artists such as Rembrandt, Jan Steen, Van Der Veer and Diego Velázquez.

Ann Dolben

We have the medieval religious paintings, the beautiful ones. We have got about five of those on display, just in the breakfast room. We have Dutch painters, we had a Rembrandt which was sold two or three years ago. We also have Italian paintings and landscape paintings. It's a real eclectic collection.

Kayla Jones

It's the art featuring people and places connected with the Penrhyn Estate, that best aids in telling Penrhyn's story. Paintings of the Pennant family, and their predecessors, the Williams, hang in the Grand Hall, giving us an indication of their likenesses. Other paintings of the Pennant's Jamaican plantations and the Penrhyn Quarry, give us depictions of the industrial landscapes connected with the estate.

Ann Dolben

Perhaps two of the oldest paintings that are on show, not oldest in terms of when they were painted, but links to the castle, are two members of the Williams family, again in the breakfast room on either side of the fireplace, a gentleman and a lady. The names of them are not quite clear, but they're obviously members of the Williams family and they came from the old house.

Then there's that magnificent Hawkins painting and it's of the quarry and it's supposed to commemorate a visit by the then Princess Victoria to the quarry. And it's a fascinating painting, there's a little group of dignitaries in the middle which are supposed to

contain Victoria. There are some very well-dressed quarrymen, which are supposed to be local dignitaries who wanted to be painted in.

But you also have how the slate was quarried. You have the beginnings of the galleries, how the men descended tied to these ropes, the way they levered the blocks of slate, while dandling from these ropes from the quarry wall. But it's an interesting painting, I think, because there used to be in the 19th century, a fashion for having religious paintings of the road to heaven and the road to hell.

And the road to heaven was sunlit and the road to hell wasn't. If you look at that painting head on, the right-hand side of it is light and lots of detail and all these people. And on the left, it's much, much darker. It's as if the quarry was in shade. But if you look carefully, you can see how some of the practices are leading to accidents. There is a bit where they're levering off a block of slate and you look directly beneath it and there are men working. And one man is being carried away. It reflected where the family's money came from. It reflects Victoria's visit, but it's also realistic in that it reflects what really happened.

Kayla Jones

By the time this painting was made in 1832, Penrhyn Quarry was a thriving and growing enterprise, dominating the slate industry during the 19th century. The Pennant's power and influence in north Wales had never been stronger. Whilst this was good for the family, the effect on north Wales has been seen to be both positive and negative. While the Pennant's were becoming powerhouses in the slate world, unrest was rising up in the quarry, with ongoing strikes between 1896, and 1900 through 1903.

Richard Pennington

We haven't got a huge view on Richard Pennant's standing in with the local communities. But we really have a much better understanding of the first and second Lord Penrhyns, Edward Gordon Douglas and George Sholto and the influence that is still felt across this area of north Wales, particularly in Bethesda. From that family and first Lord Penrhyn is always characterized as the old gentleman. So, he is seen as supportive, and he's also seen as a very good estate manager.

So he is a good person to have in keeping your house up to date, your farms, he's seen in a positive view on that side. And George is seen very differently, mainly because of obviously the enormous difficulties of the strike in north Wales. So the strike between 1900-

03 creates this environment of real antagonism between the local community and the Pennant family in Penrhyn. So it's a real...they do really sort of spread out all across the range of emotions you can feel.

Kayla Jones

The long-term developments of the Penrhyn estate turned the quarry and its adjacent enterprises such as Penrhyn Port and railway, into one of the top employers in north Wales. Alongside this, the Pennants employed tenant farmers, domestic staff, gamekeepers and gardeners. George Sholto inherited the estate in 1886, at the height of the slate industry. While the first Lord Penrhyn was seen more positively in the local area, his son George Sholto Douglas Pennant, the second Lord Penrhyn, was not looked upon so favourably by many of his quarry employees.

Ann Dolben

The quarry owners were no angels, but the Pennants did provide a very basic hospital. You know, later Pennants were perhaps not quite as thoughtful of the workers. You know, you have things leading up to the strike but you look at the different ways in which different Pennants interacted with the workers, and it's really quite interesting. Richard was thought to be a fair businessman, a fair owner and landlord.

George spent a lot of his work and money on the castle while maintaining the quarry, but provided work, a lot of work to local men. Edward, again, the art collector, but he actually interacted with the quarryman, and allowed representatives, quarrymen's representatives on the management board of the quarry. And then you come to George Sholto, who didn't.

Kayla Jones

Penrhyn Quarry became the largest slate quarry in the world at this time. Nearly 3,000 quarrymen worked in the quarry, making quarrying a way of life in areas such as Bethesda, Bangor, and Anglesey. Though the quarry and adjacent enterprises offered widespread employment to many in north Wales, they weren't always seen as fair, adequately paid or safe opportunities. In 1874 the quarrymen established a union in the hopes of negotiating better pay and work compensation with the Lord Penrhyns over the years, but to no avail. By the 1900s, though the second Lord Penrhyn was seen as a staple figure in the community, it

was often a distant one as he did not speak Welsh and spent large portions of the year in his other estate in England.

Richard Pennington

It's always been seen as the strikes that happened in the quarries could be down to the language barrier, if you like, of Welsh speaking community, trying to communicate with an English speaking owner and landlord. But we do have evidence that the second Lord Penrhyn was heavily invested in the Eisteddfod, which the locals would have been as well. So yeah, it's a real interesting mix of how they influence this area.

And at the time, they are the main source of employment, or if you want, well paid employment in the Bangor and Bethesda area. And again, that employment part comes with risks, the risks of being at the mercy of the owner of the quarry. And it's a dangerous and difficult job.

Kayla Jones

In our next episode, we'll be exploring the slate industry and the strikes in more detail. More than 100 years on, the events of the strikes and Lord Penrhyn's decisions during the time, still affect local communities in north Wales today. Penrhyn is often associated with the Lord Penrhyns, their grand castle and their insurmountable wealth. For many today however, their hope is that stories of the lives of those who worked on the Penrhyn estate also can be prevalent in the estate's history, such as the quarrymen, farmers, craftsmen, dock workers, gardeners and domestic staff.

While we've spoken about the design and construction of Penrhyn Castle, it is the staff who maintained and sustained the castle throughout the years, while the Pennants were in residence or away.

Richard Pennington

We have some recollections from people who were working here in the 1900s, which tell you about the busy style of looking after the house at that time. Essentially, it's long days and hard work because it's a long distance castle at all stages. So work starts early.

There's the usual hierarchy of servants. The cook is really important, you usually have a house steward, there's a housekeeper in there, maintaining all of it. Then as far as we can tell, the interactions between servants and the family who are living on site are fairly

typical in that, you know, the junior servants are kept out of the way and expected to do their tasks without being seen. There are some of the staircases that are used by the servants, and aren't used by the family, and they're clearly marked in their use across the house.

Kayla Jones

In 1883, the staff consisted of 23 female housemaids, kitchen and laundry staff and 11 male staff, in the house and the stables. Mornings started at 6:30 am when the junior staff got up, the hall boy hoisted the standard on the keep, and the family were tended to if they were in residence. Throughout the day, various meals would have been prepared for the family and staff, dishes cleaned in the China room, hats and shoes polished in the brushing room, pies and desserts assembled in the pastry room, and lighting for the castle prepared in the lamp room.

When the Pennant's were in residence, work was more chaotic for the staff as grand parties and royal visits were extravagant and often extended events.

Richard Pennington

I hesitate to call them social climbers, but they were keen to move ahead in society. The way to do that is to invite the great and the good to your house to give them incredible parties, and the house is designed to do that. It's got discrete suites of rooms where you could put people in for the duration of the party. And we've got evidence of one of the big parties that they had was in 1894 for the Prince of Wales who was coming to the Eisteddfod.

So, he was here for three days and they spent an absolute fortune on decorating, buying new furniture, buying new beds. And then it's you know, once people are here, then it's then about who else do you invite? So, all the great and the good come. Queen Victoria came here as Princess Victoria in 1830, but also as Queen Victoria in the 1850s. And again, the party is enormous, there's lots of people here. It's three days of partying, and it is a very serious, and expensive business.

Kayla Jones

During these events, staff would prepare literal tons of food and drink, and hundreds of meals. When the Prince of Wales visited for the Eisteddfod in 1894, 26 bedrooms were made up for a house party, and over 200 guests showed up for dinner and a grand evening party. The staff decorated the castle, prepared the dining room for a nine course meal and helped

guests dress for different events. Over the course of the 3 days, the kitchens prepared over 1,150 individual meals and 89 dishes.

Richard Pennington

It's three days of partying and it is a very serious and expensive business. We know that they were good at this because, you know, Edward Gordon Douglas, when he inherited he's just Colonel Edward Gordon Douglas Pennant, by the 1860s, he gets elevated to the peerage so they were good at this sort of level of working their way up through society but also being in the right levels in that society.

So, Lord Penrhyn would have gone regularly shooting with the Prince of Wales on his estates and on the Prince of Wales' estates in England as well. So yeah, very much they are circulating in the very highest levels of society in England.

Kayla Jones

Despite grand parties and royal visits, Penrhyn Castle was more of a powerbase than a home, and was not lived in by the second Lord Penrhyn and his family year-round. For portions of the year, the castle remained quiet with few staff on site. Because of their continual travel, and inability to speak Welsh, the Pennants hired mostly English-speaking staff, from England and Scotland.

Richard Pennington

The Douglas-Pennants didn't really use this as their main house, it was one of three houses that they were continually rotating themselves around during the year. So you would have parts of the year where there would be very few servants on site. The rest would have gone to their estates in Northampton or to the London house and then worked with them down there.

We haven't got the research down to the nth degree to work out exactly who was there. But when we look at censuses for this area, we do see that the majority of staff working here are English or Scottish descent. So, it's very, very junior day staff who would come in from Bangor. We find it quite difficult to work out how many local people worked in domestic roles within the castle, there's a few out in the gardens. But again, the majority of the staff seem to be coming from either English or Scottish descent. So again, it's bringing lots of English speakers into the house to make sure that they're understood properly.

Kayla Jones

The limited amount of interaction that Lord Penrhyn had with his Welsh workers and tenants caused a further separation between the Pennants and the local community at the time. After the Great Strikes and the decline of the slate industry in north Wales, the family spent increasingly less time in the area. The estate was passed down to George Sholto's son, Edward Sholto Douglas-Pennant in 1907, who preferred to spend the majority of his time in his Northamptonshire estate.

Ann Dolben

I always find it interesting that the third lord Penrhyn preferred to spend his time in his Northamptonshire estates, he said that the air was better for him, but I wonder if he meant atmosphere. The family could not have been popular in the First World War in the 1920s in the area, they could not have been, I mean they're still not popular in some quarters now, you know, 100 years on.

Kayla Jones

During the first World War, the third Lord Penrhyn's heir, Alan George Sholto Douglas-Pennant and his two middle sons all lost their lives in the war. His only surviving son, Hugh Napier Douglas-Pennant became the fourth Lord Penrhyn upon Alan's death in 1927.

During the Second World War, Penrhyn was used as a hiding place for art from the National Gallery. A collection of Old Masters was evacuated from London to parts of north and mid Wales, and Penrhyn was chosen because it was one of the few buildings in Wales with doors large enough to admit some of the biggest paintings from the National Gallery. The pictures were stored in the dining room and coach houses for a period of time, before being further concealed in underground slate mines in Blaenau Ffestiniog as the threat of enemy bombing increased in the UK.

Without any children, Hugh Napier left the estate to his niece, Lady Janet Pelham who inherited the Penrhyn Estate from her uncle in 1949. With much of the land sold off, and the castle in need of maintenance, the estate looked much different than it once had. As a result, Jane decided to turn over the castle to the National Trust in the 1950s.

Ann Dolben

The story goes that she tried to live in it for a few months after she'd inherited it, lived in the keep for about six months with her husband. And you could imagine, post-war, little money, certainly a lack of servants, a vast place to heat and maintain. She decided that the best thing she could do was to give it up and bring in the National Trust and persuade them that along with land belonging to the estate, about half of the land of the estate, intended so that the National Trust could, you know, develop the castle. She would give it up. Then eventually, she sold the quarry as well, but she maintained her family's link to the estate. And you know, they still have links there as well.

So, I think the way the castle has developed, certainly under the Trust, has imitated that in a way I don't think much time or interest was given to the strike et cetera for many, many years, and that coupled with local people's anger and hostility meant that there were a lot of people, local people who said that they would never come to the castle, they would never come to that place.

Kayla Jones

Penrhyn Castle's heritage interpretation has been evolving over the last several years. Previously, a lot of emphasis was placed on the Pennant family's wealth, their royal connections, the castle's architecture and the castle's art collection. In more recent years, the National Trust has been focusing more broadly on Penrhyn's history outside of the Pennants, looking more closely into the lives of all who made up the estate and helped maintain it.

Richard Pennington

Now, we're really keen that people understand what you need to do to build a house such as this. So, where that money comes from, how it's made and the difficulties of obviously telling those stories, because we really have difficult stories to tell about this family and how they've made their wealth. They've made their wealth through slavery and sugar in Jamaica and they've made their wealth through the mineral rights of north Wales and difficult social relationships they have with their workers as well. So, it's really challenging for us.

But what we're trying to get through to people and for them to take away, even if it's in a small piece of their minds, that this is a really important house. The story's really important. The way the wealth and capital is used in the 1880s and 1900s is a really important story. It's not a house full of just shiny things. There is a social history to this house. We want

people to understand where that wealth comes from, what the price is paid by different parts and different people in different parts of the world. And that's really what we're hoping people take away from here, as well as it being a nice day out.

Kayla Jones

Beyond the castle, stories and artifacts from farming communities on the Penrhyn Estate are being explored. In 2018, the Institute of the Study of Welsh Estates hosted a number of events called Beyond The Quarry, where people from the local community could attend archival visits, heritage tours, local history presentations, and a community memorabilia day all about agriculture, gamekeeping and estate housing and quarrying on the estate. Dr Shaun Evans, who I spoke to in episode one, headed up the project alongside Dr Marian Gwyn. Artifacts from Bangor Archives as well as contributions from the local community, helped highlight the lives of those who lived and worked on the Penrhyn Estate.

Shaun Evans

It's also important to remember that on the Penrhyn Estate there would have been vast numbers of tenants, tenant farmers and people working on the estates in the house itself to serve as servants, but also outside in agricultural roles and as retainers and so forth as well. So understanding the history of the Penrhyn Estates also provides opportunities to understand all aspects of society across history as well.

So, what the Institute for the Study of Welsh Estates has been set up to do is to mine these fantastic archives to provide new insights into the histories and cultures and landscapes of Wales. At Bangor University we're really fortunate to have a fantastic corpus of archives in the university archives and special collections, including the fantastic Penrhyn estate Archive. Penrhyn Castle is just down the road from Bangor University, and so naturally we were really keen to find out more about the historical impacts and influences of the Penrhyn estate.

A couple of years ago, we got some funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund to run a project called Tu Hwnt i'r Chwarel or Beyond the Quarry to look at the lives and experiences of the people who lived and worked on the Penrhyn Estates across the 19th and early 20th centuries. And what we found was a significant influence of the estate on local agriculture and rural life, on the landscape in terms of the built environment, some really interesting

things relating to poaching and game keeping. It was a real insight into how Dyffryn Ogwen and the local society changed over the course of the 19th and early 20th century.

Kayla Jones

In the archives, photographs of former maids and gamekeepers from Penrhyn Castle give us faces to those who worked in domestic roles at Penrhyn. Drawings and deeds of early structures give us an idea of what the Penrhyn Estate would have looked like during Richard Pennant's ownership.

For the memorabilia day, people from the local community brought in photographs, paintings, house plans and reports connected to their ancestors from the Penrhyn Estate. Photographs were brought in from local tenant farmers from Glanmor Isaf Farm, showing farming techniques such as threshing, and show us what 5th generation farmers working on the land looked like. Someone also brought in a certificate from a farming competition in 1936, showcasing cultural events that happened on the estate.

For Jean Williams, events such as memorabilia day was a way to share her family's story at Gerlan Farms, a former tenant farm on the Penrhyn Estate.

Jean Williams

I can trace it back to 1815. Well, there's a story behind it, because originally my great grandmother married into a farming family that were farming one of the rented farms from Penrhyn Castle. And she married into the family and had two children then, and one of them was my grandmother. They moved down to South Wales because, of course, all the conflict with the quarry and what have you. A lot of people went to South Wales and part of the family did go. And one of her brothers, one of my grandmother's brothers, I think he took he took over the farm, probably 1895, something like that. He was born in 1870 and he died in 1955.

Kayla Jones

Jean has memories as a child of her mother bringing her to visit her Uncle Ifan, who had originally emigrated to the US with family, but came back when he found out Gerlan Farms was up for rent on the Penrhyn Estate.

Jean Williams

Well, he was actually a hobo. He was out there for two years. And then he got to hear that there was trouble in the running of the farm. And in those days, I've been reading a bit about it. If you ran the farm down, the estate was really looking at how people were running them. And if they did let them go, then obviously they were turfed out, you know. So, he ended up taking over the farm.

And I knew that he had four children because my mother used to tell me. And as a child, my mother used to take us to this farm in Gerlan in Bethesda. So I can remember going to see him when I was about six or seven, vaguely remember going. So, I'd be going into the old farmhouse. Which I now realize was the old family home as it went back to the 1880s, when I started researching the family tree.

Kayla Jones

After riding the rails across the US from New York to Washington for two years, Ifan decided to return to north Wales to run his family farm, in the hopes of one day owning the farm rather than renting it.

Jean Williams

So, he did really well. But to think that he'd been off to America for two years come back and decided he wants to run it because the other family had run it down and he did and he ended up buying it.

Jean Williams

According to family, Uncle Ifan used to walk his sheep to market over the tops of the mountains. I think probably if he was going towards the markets down the coast, then he would be walking over the tops to Aber and across the mountains. So, I think they had it very hard, but I just think he was so determined.

Kayla Jones

Farming on the Penrhyn Estate was not an easy life by any means, with long working hours and little time for activities off of the farm. Jean connected with Ifan's daughter, Betty, who wrote her a letter about growing up on Gerlan Farm. In her letter to Jean, Betty described the

hardships of being a tenant farming family on the Penrhyn estate, before her father was able to own the farm outright.

Jean Williams

She says, “My father was a tenant too, and went early to Llandygai to pay the rent. Penrhyn Estate were not good to tenants and would not do anything to improve the house. No way could you get a bathroom put in or anything. My father had to work hard to pay in the beginning. Well, all along, really, to bring up the farm in every way as it was badly neglected. Landowners were very strict. And if the farms were not worked well and kept their value and improved, then the tenants were put out.”

Kayla Jones

Ifan eventually bought Gerlan Farm and lived out his entire life working on the land. Though his daughter Betty eventually moved to Ireland, she and other members of her family like Jean and her parents, would often go back to Gerlan farm to visit, feeling a strong connection to the local area and the land.

Jean Williams

You know, that that to me was amazing because, of course, it mentions my grandmother, that she and her brothers and sisters used to make a pilgrimage to Gerlan farm every year because, of course, that was the family home for her. So ,she must have had quite a connection with Gerlan farm, she obviously had a calling back to Gerlan Farm. It obviously meant a lot to my grandmother, who obviously passed that on to my mother, because my grandmother was born there. Gerlan really is on a nice day.. It’s a beautiful place, it’s overlooking the whole of the slate quarry isn’t it.

Kayla Jones

Though there is far more evidence of the lives of the Pennant family through the generations, these collections and accounts help us discover more about the lives of those who worked on the estate. Evidence of local competitions, choral performances and Eisteddfod festivals give us a snapshot of active, connected communities on the Penrhyn Estate.

Today, social media platforms such as Facebook have allowed many people to connect online about their ancestors who worked on the estate, and provide a way for people

to share photos, traditions and stories of the past. Online and in person, discussions around the Penrhyn Estate are ongoing and active.

For some, getting involved with events or projects with Penrhyn Castle is a way to engage with their family's past.

Through the years, exhibitions and artist installations have been a way for people in local communities such as Bethesda to express their feelings about how living and working on the Penrhyn Estate affected their ancestors' lives. Access to the castle allows for a freedom to utilize and analyse a space that would once have been off limits for them. For others, any association with the Penrhyn Estate is a painful reminder of the past, and some people in the local community refuse to visit the castle.

Ann Dolben

There is a book, called the 12 stories, was as if written by a volunteer whose father and grandfather had links with the quarry and hated the place. The very name was anathema to them. But she had come to work as a volunteer at the castle and one day after her father's death, brought her mother expecting a lecture on "how could you possibly?" and the mother went through the whole place and quietly at the end said, "oh I am sorry for them. I would much rather have my story than theirs." And you know, looking at what had happened and at the end of the story that this volunteer, this fictional volunteer said, "well now the castle belongs to me. I can come in and go where I want and they can't stop me anymore." So, there are all sorts of feelings like that.

I mean, we've had visitors, black visitors with the surname Pennant who've come and visited. In conversation...because as volunteers we tend to have conversations with visitors. "How do you feel about coming to a place like this when clearly your ancestors were enslaved on their land?" And they make the same point. "Well, I'm free to go where I want. I can come here. I can appreciate what happened." So, forgiveness is the wrong word, but acceptance seems to be beginning to come through, but like a snowdrop, you know?

Kayla Jones

In the past, the National Trust has described Penrhyn as a "Fantasy Castle" with many treasures and lavish gardens. The truth is, when I have walked around Penrhyn Castle, there is something fantastical about it. With its eye-catching architecture, impressive craftsmanship and a vast art collection, it's easy to marvel at a site like this. But what's also true is that

when we focus solely on the castle and its treasures, we miss out on something so much more rewarding: life.

Thousands of people worked and lived on the Penrhyn Estate, which means there are loads of stories of families cultivating the land, schools being built, churches attended weekly, recipes being passed down, holidays celebrated and businesses opening. Alongside that there were hardships endured, financial difficulties, harsh living conditions, families moving away, health scares and death. Simply put, not the story of one building, but the story of life in a community. For country houses like Penrhyn, it took a community to build the home, and to live and work on its land. Now, it's taking a community to explore so many facets of life on the Penrhyn Estate.

Through this podcast, it's been eye-opening to see the discussions, research and projects that are happening in north Wales to discover these different areas of the Penrhyn Estate's story, and I'm excited to now also be one part of the conversation.

Kayla Jones

Thank you for listening to this episode of Podlediad Penrhyn. If you want to explore the history of the Penrhyn Estate, please visit the website podpenrhyn.co.uk, which has photos, links and reading recommendations.

Episode 4 Script

Kayla Jones

Being the daughter of a roofer, my first knowledge of slate was through learning about it from my dad. My father, William Jones, has owned his own roofing company in North Carolina for the last 30 years. I've never gone up a roof to work with him nor do I have a steady hand with a hammer, but I'm no stranger to some roofing lingo.

Growing up, I heard about different types of roofing materials, from shingles to metal roofing and sheet rock. On car journeys he'd point out houses or buildings that he'd roofed over the years, telling me about the materials that he used or historic roofs that he'd replaced. One thing I always remember him saying was how slate was top-notch roofing material. He'd tell me about how durable it was, how he wished he could use it on roofs in the US more, and how valuable it was today, almost as if slate was the gold of roofing materials.

Fast forward to me moving to Wales, I was flabbergasted at just how many buildings were covered with slate! Houses, fences and walkways are all covered in slate. I could see what my dad had been talking about, it was unlike anything I'd ever seen him work with before. Though Welsh slate is not often used in the US anymore, it's regarded as long lasting, and something you wish you could get your hands on to cover your roof.

I'd never seen slate before moving to Wales, but despite this, its reputation preceded itself.

Welcome to the fourth episode of Podlediad Penrhyn. I'm your host, Kayla Jones, and in this episode, we'll be exploring the Penrhyn Estate's connection to the slate industry.

Kayla Jones

While slate has obviously been forming in north Wales for millions of years, our first knowledge of it being quarried in this area started with the Romans.

Dafydd Roberts

There's evidence for slate quarrying in this area going back almost 2000 years. We know that the Romans, when they came to this part of Wales, it was locally quarried slate within their fort at Segontium near Caernarfon. We know as well that when King Edward I built his chain of castles in north west Wales to conquer and colonize this part of Wales, that some of those castles, Conwy, for example, included locally quarried slate within their structures.

Kayla Jones

That's Dr Dafydd Roberts, the former Keeper of the National Slate Museum in Llanberis. Since doing this interview, Dr Roberts has retired in 2021, after more than 40 years at the museum. As the son of a quarryman, Dr Roberts connection with the industry, is also a personal one. I'm talking with him on this episode about different aspects of slate quarrying in north Wales, from the history of the quarries, to how slate is being quarried still today in Penrhyn Quarry.

Dafydd Roberts

So, you've got another starting point in the 13th century and then you can move on over the centuries and by the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, we're aware of slate from this area being sold gradually, further and further afield. So not just locally, but sold to Ireland, for example, and sold then into Western Europe. And once the Industrial Revolution kicked off in the UK from the 17th, 16, 17, 1770–80s onwards, there was a demand there then for a mass produced, long lasting, cheap roofing material to roof the new industrial towns and cities of Britain.

So Welsh slate fitted that bill and Welsh slate then has been developed rapidly and extensively from the 1780s onwards as a provider of roofing material for industrial conurbations, initially in Britain, but then further afield as well, because it wasn't just a case of slate being sold from North Wales into a UK market from the 1840s and 50s onwards Welsh Slate found its way worldwide.

Kayla Jones

Slate was an attractive new material to use for roofing by the 18th century for its durability and longevity.

Dafydd Roberts

You've got to think about what was available previously, for example. So, if you wind the clock back to the 16th and 17th centuries, what you tended to find being used was then locally produced roofing materials, which depended on what was available in the locality. So, you have pan tiles of clay, for example, in East Anglia or wooden shingles or little thick slates or stones quarried in Oxfordshire, for example. You know, being used in big localities, their fine.

But once you have a larger connotations developing, then there's a need then for an industrialised type of roofing material which is immediately available in large quantities, and which, as I say, lasts a very long time. So that was a niche for Welsh slate above all else. Now, others came in as well in due course. France, Luxembourg, Spain, North America, Norway, for example, all produced slate, which competed with Welsh Slate. So, we didn't have a monopoly, but this slate was the best in the world.

Kayla Jones

In the 1760s, slate quarrying was still relatively small scale in north Wales. It began to grow when owners such as Lord Penrhyn took over the management of Penrhyn Quarry by creating transport links that made it quicker to transfer slate to new locations around the UK.

Dafydd Roberts

The development of a quarry is something which takes place over centuries. It's evolution if you like it. It's not like building a car where you can start, you know, with some wheels and then you end up with a built machine in a couple of hours. Quarries like Penrhyn evolved. So you'd have had scratchings, you might say, on the surface of the land there in the 16th and 17th centuries, where some slate is being extracted by local farmers, smallholders, people of that sort. The change there was the introduction of significant amounts of capital by Richard Pennant from the late 18th century onwards, which enabled those scratchings then and to develop into a large, cohesive, modern, by his standards, operating quarry.

And that then kept on evolving. Now you've got to get at the slate, so you've got to extract the slates from the rock face. That means then that you need to work away at the mountain slope there, remove the overburden, the waste rock that then entails piling up those huge dips of slate waste, which you see. You then need the shelves or the steps of the galleries, of the terraces from which you produce the slates. So, you've got to work those sort of backwards and outwards, so they don't all collapse on top of each other. That then affects the landscape. You need the production areas where the quarrymen then sit to produce, and work their slate to turn the slabs of rock into roofing slate. Those initially started out as being Gwalia, or open fronted splitting areas, which then evolved in the early 20th century into the large production mills which we still see evidence for.

Kayla Jones

What started out as four carts to move slate out of the quarry turned into Lord Penrhyn developing Port Penrhyn in 1786, as well as a railway and roads to deliver the slate to Liverpool or Manchester and then on to its final destination.

Dafydd Roberts

You, of course, need to transport the finished product because there's no good having roofing slate at Bethesda and a market for them in Manchester and no means of getting them from one to the other. The big change there, it was almost revolutionary, you might say, was the construction of a tramway in 1801 linking Penrhyn Quarry to the coast at Port Penrhyn. And of course, the development of Port Penrhyn, as well as being a port where vessels could berth at most states of the tide, take on a cargo of slate carried down by a rail, and then move that slate on efficiently into whatever was needed around the coast of Britain and beyond.

So the railways, the quarries themselves and the structures within them were part of the evolution of the quarry itself. So if we go there now, we can still see a working quarry that's been developing and evolving over the last 30 years or so in a completely new site beyond the old quarry itself. But the old quarry itself is also evolving, interestingly, because that, of course, isn't derelict in any sense of the word.

Kayla Jones

By the latter part of the 19th century, Penrhyn Quarry's main pit was almost a mile long, and around 100,000 tons of slate was being extracted each year. With around 2,000 men working the slate beds, Penrhyn Quarry became the largest slate quarry in the world.

Dafydd Roberts

Well, Penrhyn Quarry was and still is a major producer of slate. It became, along with Dinorwic Quarry here in Llanberis, one of the two largest slate quarries in the world by the 19th century. So, the owners of Penrhyn Quarry and the owners of Dinorwic Quarry between them could decide what happened in terms of the selling prices of Slate and in terms of the working conditions for men and their quarries and, you know, in terms of the economic impact of the industries.

Kayla Jones

Because of this large influence, Penrhyn Quarry was a leader in the slate industry in north Wales, setting prices for slate and establishing working expectations amongst quarrymen in the area. The slate industry's impact on the local area was immense and is still something that is evolving today.

Dafydd Roberts

Penrhyn was vitally important in all of that. It was a massive working concern. Look at the existing quarry. Look at the surrounding abandoned quarry area. Around that, you'll see the massive impact it had on the landscape. You'll see as well in the valley the impact it's had on the demography of the area and the built heritage. So, you know, you've got a largest town for the area, Bethesda. You've got a densely populated hinterland then around it in the shape of the villages of Gerlan, Llanllechid, Tregarth for example. So, it's had those impacts. It's also as well, I would say, provided work for a locally recruited Welsh speaking labour force, which had its own values and its own culture and its own way of living as well in so many ways as a society which has a high regard for itself and which was at the forefront of Welsh language, culture and literature from the late 18th century onwards. So Penrhyn Quarry is much more than just a working site. It gave birth if you like, to a culture, to communities, and to the amazing range of activities within that community from the 18th century on literally up till now, because that culture is still evolving. It's not anything static, it's there developing and evolving in Dyffren Ogwen and Bethesda now as we speak.

Kayla Jones

Being a part of a quarrying community became a part of north Wales' identity, with a large part of the population working in the quarries, or industries connected with the quarries. In the quarry itself, there were those who worked on the rock face, splitters, and other workers such as weighers, hauliers, brakesmen, stationary enginemen, locomotive engine drivers, blacksmiths, saw-sharpeners, carpenters, and general labourers. Through the harshest of seasons, men arose early from parts of Gwynedd and Anglesey to travel into the quarry for a day's work.

Dafydd Roberts

Men would each come to work so they'd come in by train, usually some walking as well, lots walking from the town of Bethesda, and they'd be at work by about seven o'clock in the morning. Then the working day lay ahead of them in the early 1900s they'd be working until about 5:30 or so in the afternoon.

Kayla Jones

From a young age, boys would be brought in to work in the quarries alongside more experienced quarrymen, first lending a helping hand whenever needed, and eventually beginning to work with the slate themselves. Boys would graduate to become journeymen, and eventually, quarrymen proper, which was the most skilled of the quarrymen.

Dafydd Roberts

So typically, then let's say in 1920, I know about this because my father started work in 1920. He started work at Penrhyn Quarry at the age of 14 and would then have been taken on to learn his craft as a slate quarryman. And that took a few years. So you were an apprentice, a journeyman, as it were, as they called it, for the first three or four years of your working life, you would be given slate blocks to experiment with by more proficient quarrymen they teach you to have to split into one of those, so you play about, if you like, effectively and try to gain some experience of splitting those blocks. And then by the age of 17 or 18 or so, you would then hope to be a fully-fledged quarryman.

Now, that term quarryman embraced two separate set of skills. One skill was the skill of working at the rock face and men tended to specialize at that. So, there was one set of quarrymen who would be working at the workplace more or less on a daily basis and using their skills. Then, too, it was explosives, gunpowder, pick and shovel and so on at the rock face to extract large slabs of slate with the rock face perhaps weighing five or 10 tons each, and then reduced those to smaller sizes and send them up then to their colleagues for splitting. And then that was the second aspect of a quarryman's skill.

You had another cohort of quarryman who would consider themselves to be very skilled splitters and their skill lay primarily in taking those blocks of slate from their colleagues elsewhere and then splitting those down very finely into fixed rates of various sizes. Both men had both sets of men had interchangeable skills. So at the end of the quarry month, as it were, when they wanted to up their make the men from the Rockface would

come up and help their colleagues to split more slates so that they could then gain more income effectively and vice versa. At the start of the quarry month, men who are splitters would go to help their colleagues in the rockface. So, you would maximize the skills of both cohorts by sort of swapping over. But they tended to specialize either in rock work, rock face work or in splitting work.

Kayla Jones

While the work was difficult and long, the men somehow found time for creativity and discourse with each other during their lunch breaks.

Kayla Jones

During my visit to the slate museum, I stepped inside one of the rooms that was meant to resemble a mess hall or caban, where the men were able to have their lunch, have a bit of a chat, a debate or even share a bit of poetry.

Kayla Jones

You can hear just how lively it is in here, voices echoing through the halls, animated conversations going on during their meal. This was a way men could practice for their entries into the local Eisteddfod, an annual festival and competition where people would compete in poetry submissions, singing and art. The men also practice singing together, which eventually turned into a male choir.

Alun Davies

The choir was founded in 1893. It was founded to go over to Chicago to the World's Fair in 1893. The quarry here in Bethesda...the Penrhyn Quarry is made up...it works in a unique way. What was unique at the time was the steps in the mountain, which are about 100 foot high. And they called galleries and every gallery had a name. I'm not sure how many galleries there were, there must have been 40, 50 galleries in total. There were about 3000 men working in the quarry, and most of these galleries, if not all of the galleries, had a small choir in the gallery.

Kayla Jones

That's Alun Davies, he is the chairman of the Penrhyn Choir, which is still going strong today.

Alun Davies

You've probably heard of the National Eisteddfod. Well, the quarry used to have an Eisteddfod every year, which was a competition between the different galleries. So there used to be a small choir on every one of the galleries, most of the galleries, anyways. And in 1893, they decided that some of the men from each of the choirs on the galleries should come together and go over to Chicago. And that's the first ever that we know of anyway, first ever reference to the Penrhyn male choir, because every gallery had a different name.

Kayla Jones

Singing and participating in the Eisteddfod were binding activities in quarrying communities, bringing families together to hear loved ones perform. That aspect still remains in north Wales today, but we'll hear more on this and the choir in the last episode.

Kayla Jones

While the community aspect of working at Penrhyn Quarry was enjoyable for the men, many of the working conditions were not.

Dafydd Roberts

It was heavy work. You know, you're dealing with a heavy rock working outside of the rock face, you know, all times of the year, blizzards of winter, scorching summer days, on the other hand, so that that took its toll and undoubtedly. Then, of course, the splitting of the rock as well. It was lighter work in one sense, but that too had its more insidious nature because when you split a block of slate, it gives off an invisible cloud of silica dust. Which if that gets into your lungs and it will, that then causes a terrible disease called silicosis, where your lungs are blocked effectively by the slate dust. So that was the longer term toll, if you like, of it. So, you know, the immediate toll of people being injured, by rockfalls, blasting accidents, things of that sort. But then, of course, in the longer term, the more insidious effects of inhaling slate dust.

Kayla Jones

It was not unusual for men to fall from great heights and obtain life threatening injuries, for fingers to accidentally cut off during slate cutting and long term effects such as arthritis or mental health issues to occur as a result of working in the quarry. Because of these conditions and low wages, the quarrymen formed a union in 1874 called the North Wales Quarrymen's Union.

Dafydd Roberts

In 1874, Undeb Chwarelwyr Gogledd Cymru a North Wales Quarrymen's union was set up to represent the quarry men who worked in the slate quarries in north west Wales. Now, the existence of that union was resented by some of the quarry owners and by the owners of Penrhyn quarry in particular, especially by the 1880s and 1890s. They saw the unions interfering in the management of the quarry, whereas on the other hand, the men said and wanted to become wanted to remain members of a union which could speak for them as a whole, not just as individuals.

Kayla Jones

Initially, there was an agreement between the first Lord Penrhyn and the quarrymen called the Pennant Lloyd Agreement, which established a minimum wage of 27s 6d a week for the quarrymen in 1874, after a series of strikes across north Wales quarries. A committee was set up to negotiate on behalf of the quarrymen, and the Pennant Lloyd agreement was upheld until 1885 when the second Lord Penrhyn, George Sholto said "I decline altogether to sanction the interference of anybody (corporate or individual between employer and employed in the working of the quarry." This meant that any minimum wage requirements were thrown out and negotiations around working conditions, time off and salary raises became contentious between the quarrymen and Lord Penrhyn for more than a decade.

Dafydd Roberts

So, you had the makings there of a situation which would lead to difficulties in terms of tensions and it led eventually to one of the longest labour disputes in British Labour history, Penrhyn Quarry between November 1900-1903, where the men came up against an intelligent quarry owner and quarry manager who wanted to make sure that the men would return to work without the benefit of a union to support them.

Kayla Jones

Lord Penrhyn employed a new manager to the quarry in 1887, Emilius Alexander Young, known as E.A. Young, who was a personal friend to George Sholto and the former accountant to the quarry. E.A. Young quickly began managing the quarry with a heavy fist, something that the quarrymen had not been used to in the past. With the rise of regimented factory and mill regulations across the UK during the industrial revolution, E.A. Young believed that adopting these sorts of methods would help with the quarry's declining profits. Young dismissed long term quarrymen without due process, brought in outside contractors and hired slate inspectors who kept watchful eyes over the quarrymen, but were seen as spies of the management. Young also dismissed anyone who was prominent in the union with little cause and banned the men from collecting Union dues in the quarry. An initial Lockout in 1897 where men were refused work without explanation exacerbated negotiations with Lord Penrhyn and his men.

Dafydd Roberts

They saw the men working the quarry, as their hands, their labour force to do with as they wanted to and didn't want a union to interfere and get in the way. Lord Penrhyn was probably quite afraid of what was going on at the time because he saw democracy beginning to take its place, beginning to make itself known in these communities. County council, which had been set up there were strident and impudent young men like David Lloyd George by that time making their views known.

And these were feared, resented by Lord Penrhyn and his sort. So he saw himself as fighting a battle not just in Bethesda, but as fighting a battle on behalf of people like himself across the industrial sector in the UK.

Kayla Jones

Tensions escalated when a riot broke out in October 1900, and Lord Penrhyn pressed charges against 26 men, dismissing them immediately. To show their support for the men, the quarrymen gathered together and walked past Penrhyn Castle in silent protest. This resulted in all men involved being expelled from working in the quarry for 2 weeks without pay. When the men returned to the quarry in November, 800 men were not allowed back into work, and had not been included in new working agreements with Lord Penrhyn. This resulted in widespread outrage at the quarry, and three days later, 2,000 quarrymen walked

away from their work. This began one of the longest and most contentious industrial disputes in British history. The Great Strike from 1900-1903. Initial funds raised by the North Wales Quarrymen Union were hardly sustainable enough for the Penrhyn Quarrymen, resulting not only in hardship on the quarrymen, but their families, devastating local communities like Bethesda.

Teleri Owen

So the typical quarrying family, I mean, if you've ever been to the quarry areas of North Wales, it's quite a classic sort of Victorian industrial community, crammed in houses, quite small, terraced streets. A lot of these communities, primarily existed just because of the industry, and the houses were just thrown up, often, that was the main living conditions for people. But with regards to health and that some studies have shown that the women who lived in heavy industry areas, their health was just as bad as the men who were maybe doing it really what we consider a dangerous job.

Kayla Jones

I spoke with Teleri Owen, a Master's student at Cardiff University, who conducted a research project with the Llandudno Museum on Women's involvement in the strikes. She also looked at how the strikes impacted communities like Bethesda during the 1900-1903 strikes as well as long term. She spoke with me about how low wages affected communities socially as well as physically and mentally during the strikes from the effects of a poor diet.

Teleri Owen

A couple of reports suggested that the main diet was just meat once a week with whatever vegetables they could find and grow in the garden. A lot of the women and men were noted for really high rates of tea consumption, and that was sort of the only thing that they had to keep them going. I think when you think about it, it is a typical sort of industrial sort of setting and low living conditions, really poor housing, poor diet, you know, that results in really poor health for the whole family, not just, you know, the men or the women of the children.

Kayla Jones

Houses in places like Bethesda were built by Lord Penrhyn and rented out by the quarrymen and their families. The events of the strikes made this complicated, as Lord Penrhyn evicted families who were striking from his houses during this time. Despite the low pay and crowded housing, it was the women who were often blamed for the quarrymen's misfortune.

Teleri Owen

A lot of them when you do see images, they do look malnourished. And there was one report that stated that the quarrymen's health was the worst of all industrial workers in the whole of the UK, but oftentimes they used to blame the wives for that, that it was their fault. They'd failed. They were buying gaudy finery and wasting money because it was women's job to look after the wages and budget. So, they were often blamed for that. And I think a lot of contemporaries didn't just realize it was just down to the fact that their wages just weren't high enough to sustain a large family, never mind even sustaining a man and a woman, you know, husband and wife. It just wasn't enough.

During the strike, it was a massive form of stress on the women because they were already blamed for the poor health in the area and the poor health of their families. So, trying to uphold that sort of there's nothing wrong here, I think, would have been really, really stressful on top of the stress already. I think some women, they really found it hard. And there was reports of them going to the seaside, which I think is about a five mile walk to collect cockles, they're not the most nutritious thing. They're not the most pleasant thing to eat, really. And they're just so small and such hard labour just to even get that just to have some sort of food on the table. It was a massive form of stress.

And I think it was C. Sheridan Jones, he wrote a, he stayed in Bethesda for a while during the strike. And his account really does demonstrate that a lot of the women were under so much pressure, the houses were often empty. There was no food in the cupboards, but it was so clean, which is maybe something that you wouldn't necessarily think of. But again, it's that societal pressure of making sure that the families looks as if there's no suffering going on. But behind the scenes, you can really see that the cupboards are empty. And it was just a completely dire situation.

Kayla Jones

The C. Sheridan Jones that Teleri is referencing was a journalist who wrote for the Daily News and the Echo who went to live in Bethesda during the Strikes. His accounts, titled What I Saw at Bethesda chronicled the hardships of families during the strikes and was read across the UK.

Teleri Owen

But as well, he goes into detail, sort of around the mental health aspect of it, which is quite unusual for that time, I'd say. And he does sympathise with cases of suicide, which obviously back then that was illegal and a massive social stigma.

Kayla Jones

C. Sheridan Jones wrote about a quarryman who originally travelled to south Wales to find work during the Strikes but had to return to the area when one of his children fell ill. Many families were split up during this period so the men could provide for the families. Several quarrymen travelled to south Wales to find alternate work, whilst others travelled to places as far as America to start a new life in quarries abroad. More on that in our final episode.

Teleri Owen

But he talks about the impact that that has on the family and how one man, he was forced to find work elsewhere. He'd moved to South Wales with his son, so they were both working down there and the family. So, the mother and the other children were left back in Bethesda. But then he described how some of the children started to fall sick. So he had to return home. Then his son had an accident. I think it was in the coal mine, so he had to return home as well. And then it was just they had nothing to live off. So his only option was to return to the quarry. But once he did that, that left them as sort of social outcasts. He was heckled in the streets. His wife and children would have been heckled in the streets and maybe attacked. And in the end, the pressure of it all he did, he ended up, committing suicide.

Kayla Jones

As the strikes went on, some 500 men returned to work, breaking the strike. Parts of the community took this harshly, viewing those men as saboteurs of the strike, and weakening their efforts. Soon, a divide began in quarrying communities, with those returning to work

often being harassed by strikers. Some men were escorted by police into the quarry, as rocks and blunt objects were thrown at the strike breakers. This out-casting took a toll on some of their strike breakers mental health like the man mentioned in Jones' account.

Teleri Owen

The impact then on his family was that they wouldn't get anything from the Quarrymen's Union because he broke the strike and, you know, as well as the stigma of being a strike breaker, they also had that added stigma of the husband had committed suicide. He described the man as a Judas because he was a strike breaker. But oftentimes when that sort of thing did happen to a family, the women were left to deal with all the the impact of A. being a strike-breaker's wife and B. having a husband who had committed suicide. And often times, they'd have to testify in court which is just an added emotional stress. He says in his account it's just something that he never ever wants to see happen again.

Kayla Jones

Several letters were written to Lord Penrhyn in an attempt to get him to end the strikes and agree to the quarrymen's requests. One woman who moved down to south Wales with her family wrote a letter to Lord Penrhyn pleading with him to end the strikes so her children could be brought up in north Wales again. Most of these letters went unanswered.

Teleri Owen

So, there's actually quite a few letters from women in of Lord Penrhyn's collection in the special archives in Bangor University, and a lot of them, it's quite interesting because there seems to be more letters from working class women than there are working class men. Possible reason for that is maybe a lot of women were forced before marriage to go away to work, often as domestic servants in English speaking households. So, they may have been more likely to speak English than their husbands, but also it was a way of sort of they could do this anonymously and without the sort of male gaze watching over them, and they could really have their say in the matters.

But some of the letters there was one from a lady who would move to New Tredegar in South Wales. Her husband had found work as a coal miner, and they'd moved down there, and she really didn't like it. She really wanted to move back up to, you know, where her home was, where she's from. She sort of describes the living conditions and impact it was

having on her children that they were learning habits that the children of the north would never, ever have, but she really, really wanted it all to be over. And she was begging Lord Penrhyn to just end the strikes so they could return.

Teleri Owen

Penrhyn was quite religious himself, so I think a lot of these letters do sort of draw on the religious aspect of things, but they do give a really valuable insight into some women's lives. But as well, there were letters from more upper-class women, Lady Florence Dixie was a 19th century feminist, sort of early feminist, and she was actually related to Penrhyn. I think they were cousins, quite distant, but she was writing to him and she sort of sided with the strikers a bit, and she was basically begging him to have a meeting with the strike breakers and the unions and just try and sort something out so it could end. His replies are so stubborn. He just wouldn't have any of it.

Kayla Jones

It didn't help that Lord Penrhyn and his agents were monoglots, meaning that he could not speak with the quarrymen directly and interpreters had to be used for negotiations with the quarrymen. This meant that there was a divide created between Lord Penrhyn, his agents and the quarrymen, where the Welsh were often ostracised by those in charge, with letters showing that EA Young and Lord Penrhyn communicated about the quarrymen and their families in derogatory terms.

Teleri Owen

The local community, they were really religious. The extent to which religion played a role in the cause of the strike, I don't think was really that prominent. But there's this whole idea of sort of the Lord Penrhyns sort of representing this Anglican Tory Englishness that was just being imposed on this Welsh nonconformist traditional community. I think that was a massive tension. And something we do see during the strike is that a lot of the strike breakers were actually pushed out of the chapels, which is where most of the people in the community would have gone.

A lot of people at that time didn't like what was then part of the Church of England, and they weren't Anglican. They were nonconformist. So it's quite interesting to note how a

lot of people were pushed out of the chapels and into the Anglican Church, where that was associated with Lord Penrhyn and the quarry managers and this sort of Englishness aspect to it.

Kayla Jones

Through her research, Teleri found that women were a large part of many aspects of the strikes, from contributing in committee meetings, to fundraising and more intense aspects of the strikes such as rioting and protesting outside the quarry.

Teleri Owen

I think we tend to think of it as just a male only sort of sphere where it was the men and the Union against Penrhyn and the managers of the quarry. But it really wasn't. In a lot of the strike meetings women, some reports say that they made up around half of the people who were attending again, an impact that might have been that the men often went to South Wales or elsewhere to find work and often the women and children we left back in Bethesda, so that might have had an impact.

But there was speeches by women in the strike committee meetings, when they decided on the iconic sort of Nid Oes Bradwr yn yr Ty Hwn signs. There's not a traitor in this house signs which had become a symbol of the strike. Women were present then and it was often women's job to put them up in the house. But also, these sort of committee meetings would often end in sort of mass demonstrations, protest, sometimes they ended up turning into riots. But some of the reports suggest that women made up a third of those events, even the more violent acts of sort of rioting.

Kayla Jones

Strikers would hang signs in their windows which state "There is no traitor in this house" in Welsh so that the community would know who was holding out the strike. Throughout the strikes, emotions were high amongst quarry families, which could result in mass division between those who worked or left the area, and those who stuck out the strike. Despite this division however, there was also unity and support for the quarrymen, with many locals rallying together to take up funds for the families.

Teleri Owen

There were already a few men's choirs that were traveling and performing benefit concerts to raise money for the Penrhyn Strike Relief Fund. So, the fund would give a small weekly allowance to families who were striking, but they asked a group of around 20 women whether they'd be interested as well in doing a few of these benefit concerts. They travelled around the whole of the UK and often they went to London because it was quite a strong Welsh community in London. And they'd performed these concerts often in chapels. And there was a few of the sort of like band stands at the time. But they did have a lot of concerts and they raised a really, really large amount of money for the relief fund. It was one of the biggest contributions they'd had. They raised over £10,000 back then which is a lot, a lot of money today.

Kayla Jones

Choirs such as the Penrhyn Male Choir and the Penrhyn Welsh Ladies Choir performed across the UK, raising money for the quarrymen and their families. The Penrhyn Ladies Choir performed in London in 1901, and Bristol in 1903, where they raised over £3000 for the strike efforts. Many industrial communities like mining, factory workers, and mill workers sympathized with the quarrymen's plight, and money was sent from across the UK to support the efforts over the 3 years of the strike.

Over time however, efforts waned as the slate industry started to decline and living conditions were on the brink for many families. On November 14, 1903, the union decided to end the strikes and the quarrymen went back to work having not gotten their demands met by Lord Penrhyn.

For those who left, stayed, broke strike or held fast to the effort, the Great Strikes were a life altering experience that fragmented the quarrying communities of north Wales and devastated the area. Even after the strikes were over, the effects were felt across north Wales. Teleri likens the events after the strikes to what happened to Berlin after the wall fell in 1989. A community that was trying to move on but were feeling the effects of a catastrophic event long after it happened.

Teleri Owen

So, this is sort of a theory of mine where I've applied it in to do with the strike, but I think it does stand. The idea of wall sickness is when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, you'd expect that a

lot of people in East Berlin and East Germany would lead happier lives. I think that's sort of the Western narrative of it, and, you know, that they'd, you know adapt and it would be fine. But what actually happened was that a lot of people really, really suffered after the wall came down. A lot of people had grown up, never known anything but the wall, and it really had a detrimental impact, it was a lot of cases of suicides and people happen to be admitted to mental hospitals because they were suffering with the effects of the wall coming down. The idea of it is that when a community goes to a really traumatic experience, the effects aren't really shown in the community until a couple of years later, when it's returned to some sort of stability.

So in Bethesda, I think we can definitely say that that is a valid theory because you'd expect increases in the inpatients of the mental hospital at the time. But during the strike, there was only two directly related to the strike cause. But what we see is a couple of years later, with the religious revival of 1904-1905, there was a dramatic increase in the amount of women, a lot of them from Bethesda who were admitted to the hospital because of religious mania and the religious revival really, really did take hold in Bethesda.

Kayla Jones

After the strikes, a religious revival swept through Bethesda, as well as stories of bad omens and superstitions being spread throughout the area.

Teleri Owen

And this is when we start to see a lot of people, possibly because of the stress of the strike. It's then manifesting a couple of years later when the community is "normal" again. But as well. There's one interesting case where one mother claimed that a three month old baby had spoken to her and had warned her for the year to come, said that it was a terrible year.

Now, it's pretty far-fetched to think that a three month old baby could form fully formed sentences. But she ran to her neighbour's house, and when the neighbour came round, she asked the baby, did you just warn your mother about the year to come and how bad that would be? And the baby answered yes. And then the report said that the baby then died.

That story did really shake a lot of people up in the community. A lot of superstitious people thought that it was a really bad omen that bad things were on the horizon again. But I think what we can attribute that to is just the stress of, you know, having to deal with no wages, no income, just a completely broken community for three years and then the death of

a child. I think the poor mother, in that case was obviously experiencing some sort of either psychosis or other diagnosis.

I think that's just one story that really demonstrates how much stress these women were carrying with them and how that manifests at the end of the strike when it all seems to be forgotten and everything's normal again.

Kayla Jones

For many families, the end of the strikes meant they had to transition out of the quarrying lifestyle altogether. By the early 1900s, the quarry was already declining, so only a portion of the men who were working before the strikes were employed again at the quarry. This meant that a large majority of quarrymen and their families were not only having to switch professions, but having to leave a way of life that they'd known for generations.

Teleri Owen

I mean the strike came at the time where the industry was already in decline and if anything the strike sort of sped up that decline. A lot of people wouldn't have found work after that. So the community is just already broken. But then not having that strike, they're not having that sort of sense of we're striking, we're all together in this, and it's just, nothing's changed. But yet, so much has changed in those three years. I think that's definitely a lot of strain to put on a single community.

Kayla Jones

That strain has been felt in Bethesda for generations. Into the World Wars, the Pennant family were negatively received in the area. Today, many still see Penrhyn Castle as a symbol of oppression in north Wales, with some people choosing not to visit the property. I spoke with Lois Jones, the senior programming and partnership officer at Penrhyn Castle, who told me about her experience growing up learning about the slate industry and how she hopes Penrhyn can be used as a useful space for the community today.

Lois Jones

It's always been a symbol of oppression. The story of Penrhyn strike was something that, you know, I grew up with. I remember learning about it in school. And I suppose Penrhyn Castle was kind of the symbol of everything to do with that history. And I think that's one of the

things that makes it kind of a great place to come and learn, really, because there are a lot of examples of oppression of workers that are, the Welsh language has been oppressed for centuries. The history of colonialism and slavery, it's it's all around this. But Penrhyn kind of symbolizes it. You know, it's a symbol of all of it, I think. And it's kind of I suppose that makes a good case study in a way.

Kayla Jones

For many, the effects of the strikes on their ancestors meant they vowed never to step foot in Penrhyn Castle.

Lois Jones

I was speaking to somebody in Bethesda I was talking about our plans and, you know, different projects and how we want to bring local voices into the castle and this and that. I'm really sorry, but I just I just can't, you know, my father, my grandfather, my great grandfather, they all worked in Penrhyn Quarry. And I just I know I can't ever visit. But don't worry about it, though, because, I I'll be the last generation that feels that way. I mean my son, he visits with his children and that just made me realize, gosh, she was she was almost apologizing to me because, you know, I think she wanted to please me. She was just saying she just couldn't do it. There have been people who just, physically couldn't actually step foot in the place.

Kayla Jones

With memories of the strike still felt in the local area, Lois and her colleagues have the challenging job of working out how Penrhyn can be relevant today and how it can transform into a useful space for locals today.

Lois Jones

I think I think it's different today. But I think the challenge for us today is making, you know, as we've sort of touched on already, it's making it relevant. So, you know, it's not just about the history, but it's about why is Penrhyn Castle relevant today? Why should local people be interested in being involved, visiting, taking part in things? How can we make it a useful space for communities to use?

I think there's definitely something about language, about the Welsh language there and Penrhyn Castle, so English, I mean, you know, when you're preparing interpretation in Welsh, you can't, it is the Grand Hall, is the breakfast room. Is the dining room. That's just what it is, because that's you know, it's completely kind of ingrained into the walls of the place somehow. The structure of society, you know, was English at that time, society was ruled up by people like the Pennants. But what's so interesting about Penrhyn is, you know, the language of the fields and the quarry was Welsh and the Welsh language absolutely flourished in that environment. And I think the legacy of that is the culture that we have today in this area. I mean, think about Bethesda and, you know, music and the bands that, you know, come out. That have come out in Bethesda recently, you know, you've got you've got choirs, you've got brass bands, you've got popular bands like Maffia Mr Huws and Celts and 9Bach and Gruff Rhys, and that's all kind of come from the legacy of that culture that flourished on the Penrhyn estate.

Kayla Jones

For Dafydd Roberts, it was important that Penrhyn's story with the slate industry did not end with the strikes. Though Penrhyn Quarry only employs around 200 people today, it is still a working, thriving quarry.

Dafydd Roberts

So, it's all in a large pattern, if you like, of evolution over 200 plus years. And the fascinating thing, of course, is that this is happening to an industry which was regarded as one of the iconic Welsh industries, which is still iconic in its own way. So it's an elderly landscape which is still evolving. Now, you can't say that in terms of the coal industry by now anyway or sadly. But you can still say that about Slate because of Port Penrhyn built in the 1780s and 1790s, is still being used today in 2020 to export slate cargoes of Slate aggregates to still go out from Port Penryn across Western Europe. So that's fascinating for me as a historian because it shows that these facilities and these resources still evolve.

Kayla Jones

Often, when we think about heritage that is world famous, we think about towering castles and intimidating pyramids. We're not going to immediately think of something like a roofing material, something as fundamental as slate. But the presence of slate in north Wales

transformed thousands of people's lives. It's atop roofs all over north Wales and under our feet when we walk in the Ogwen Valley. It's written by travel writers visiting Wales in the 1700s and people performing poetry and songs in Eisteddfods today. It's been there through tragedy and triumph in communities and has sparked debate, collaboration and creativity. It's hard to tell sometimes, but the history of the slate industry is just as visible as towering castles and intimidating pyramids, you just might have to look a bit closer to realize. As Dafydd Roberts said, slate is a part of an ancient landscape, but it's always evolving. And that latest evolution, is becoming a world famous site on the UNSECO World Heritage bid in 2021. Join me next time as I explore the Penrhyn Estate today, and its role in being a part of the newly granted UNESCO World Heritage site for the slate industry in north Wales.

Kayla Jones

Thank you for listening to this episode of Podlediad Penrhyn. If you want to explore the history of the Penrhyn Estate and its history, please visit the website podpenrhyn.co.uk, which has photos, links and reading recommendations.

Episode 5 Script

Kayla Jones

Eleven years ago, I moved to north Wales from North Carolina, never having visited the UK previously. The first few months were daunting to say the least, and I spent a lot of time wondering if I'd fit in and looking for ways I could be useful in my new community. Thankfully, I moved in with a lovely family in Menai Bridge, who helped me become acclimated into my new surroundings, made me feel welcomed and included. I absolutely love life in north Wales and feel extremely lucky to live here.

For anyone who has moved to a new country, however, adjusting to a new culture, surroundings and even language can be hard and intimidating at first. So, when I found out that a portion of the quarrying families from Penrhyn Quarry and other quarries across north Wales migrated to the US to work in quarries across the States, I immediately became interested in their stories.

How did the quarrying families fair in these new communities abroad? What parts of their culture and life in north Wales did they carry with them to the US, and how did the skills they'd acquired working in Welsh quarries prepare them for a new life? What lasting effects did they have on American culture today?

In the previous episode, we left off with learning about how the slate industry shaped the history and culture of north Wales from the 18th through 20th centuries and the Penrhyn's estate's lasting effect on north Wales today. In this episode, we're going a bit further afield, to learn how quarrying families migrated to new communities in the US, leaving a lasting mark on places such as Bangor, Pennsylvania which was named after its Welsh counterpart. We'll also be exploring local efforts to secure UNESCO World Heritage Status for the landscapes associated with the Gwynedd Slate Industry and what winning this nomination mean about the local and global significance of Penrhyn in the past and into the future.

Kayla Jones

I'm speaking with Dr Robert Tyler whose research is in Welsh immigration to countries such as the US, Australia and Patagonia. New communities full of Welsh quarrying families were established, inspired by the so-called "American Dream" in hopes of working in slate quarries in the US, bringing with them their highly trained slate working experience, religious faith and Welsh language.

Robert Tyler

There are lots of motives behind the immigration decision, aren't there. There's refugees, which we know a lot about today, religious motives in the past, certainly political motives and linguistic motives in the case, the Welsh to get linguistic, religious freedom. Thus, we have the community in Patagonia specifically created for that reason. But obviously the driving force for the vast majority is the economic motive, isn't it? It's a search for a better life, without a doubt.

So, we see coal miners in South Wales, tin plate workers in West Wales, iron workers, steel workers. And in the case of your research, Kayla, the slate quarry men and their families, of course, from Blaenau Ffestiniog, Bethesda, etc. searching for a better life. And yes, there was the motive of linguistic and indeed religious freedom. The hatred of the established church, the Anglican Church, the tithe paying. It's the idea of religious freedom in the United States. And they hoped to, in many cases, establish a Welsh speaking community and succeeded to an extent, at least for a couple of generations. But the ultimate motive is definitely a better lifestyle for their families.

Kayla Jones

As the industrial revolution boomed throughout the US, skilled workers were in high demand and the Welsh had a reputation of being talented, hard workers.

Robert Tyler

And of course, what aided Welsh migrants to a greater extent than Irish migrants was they were equipped with industrial skills that the American state is, you know, crying out for. They wanted skilled miners, skilled steel workers, template workers, and in your case, quarryman. And when the slate industry kicks off in upstate New York, in Vermont, and to an extent and elsewhere, Pennsylvania, for example, these are the places they go and they congregate in Granville, in Pulteney, in Bangor, in Pennsylvania.

They congregate together. And a lot of these people knew each other as well. Gwilym Roberts identifies 50 per cent of the population of some of these communities came from either Blaenau Ffestiniog or Bethesda so they would have known each other, attended the same chapels. And yeah so, they recreated your carbon copies of religious denominations of cultural associations. Carbon copies were transplanted with the same people, primarily.

Kayla Jones

Welsh quarrying families integrated quite well into American society in the 19th century, with some climbing the social ladder.

Robert Tyler

They owned the local shops. You know, they're Welsh speaking people and they replicated their community in Blaenau, Ffestiniog, etc. in Pulteney, Granville, different geographical setting, but certainly the societies were very, very similar, at least in the initial years. So, yes, they were shop owners and of course, religious leaders, cultural leaders, teachers, tradesmen, merchants.

Kayla Jones

Through Robert's research, he found that the Welsh language passed down to the second generation of Welsh immigrants in these communities.

Robert Tyler

They adopt public roles, police officers postmaster's and especially in Republican areas, politicians as well, for that matter, which is all part of the acceptance once they became bilingual and remember, Blaenau Ffestiniog, Bethesda today are 80 percent Welsh speaking, 100 years ago, there were 80 percent only Welsh speaking and even more so. So, once they became bilingual, which was rapid and earnestly desired, although many of them did remain, monoglots only spoke Welsh, that was the only real hurdle, if you could even call it that.

Kayla Jones

The Welsh also continued many traditions from Wales in these new quarrying communities such as Welsh speaking churches, poetry competitions, choirs and St. David's Day celebrations.

Robert Tyler

You know, the one we always think about is the Eisteddfod. The great Welsh Festival of Music and Poetry Competition. But everything seemed to be very much of a high cultural nature. Every single meeting, banquet. St David's Day banquet, any type of gathering of the Welsh involved singing poetry, recitation frequently of a competitive nature. Now this is all

well and good isn't it? We can say every culture has this high level. But what was fascinating, I think this is an admirable testimony, testament even to working class Welsh people, that these cultural events and they are very impressive to understand.

Strict meter poetry, Cynghanedd it's a literature poetry, it's over my head anyway it's very, very difficult. But the people who are patronising these and competing were slate workers, were working class people, coal miners, farmers, the poor working-class people and their families that we all sort of focus on men unfortunately because most of the history is written by men about men, and that's just the way it is. And their families, certainly women take this massive part and to this, not so much poetry composition, but certainly recitals and so on. And yes, it's fascinating the proportion of these Welsh working-class communities that took part in what could be classed as high culture. It's like 90%.

The Welsh working class were extremely cultured and very skilful at what they did. And this is noted again and again in the American press, certainly Welsh workers were respected because of the musicality, because of their culture.

So, what I did is, for example, you get from the American press, you get reports of Eisteddfod, competitions and who wins. And the list of winners can take up two pages in the American local press. Sometimes they did it or you just jump into the Welsh language press in North America, Y Drych, which is the Welsh language newspaper from 1851, went right down until it merged with Ninni a few years back, went right through the period and reports on who won what, in what competition and the Eisteddfod in these competitions.

So you can find in the American press this all in English, obviously a whole list, so if there is an Eisteddfod in Granville or Bangor or Pulteney and they have a whole list of the winners of the poetry competitions, et cetera. So, what you do, you get the list, then you cross-reference with the American census, which is available online now, thank you very much. And you can find, I mean obviously there's a lot of John Joneses and David Davis', but many of them you can locate them with complete certainty, of what their job was.

Kayla Jones

Robert used these publications to learn more about how many people were Welsh speaking in the US and what they did for a living.

Robert Tyler

And you'll find out that 90 percent again are slate workers, quarryman. So, you can cross-reference from Eisteddfod reports in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s and so on, and later

from the American press, from the Welsh American press, cross-reference the names of the winners of these pretty tricky competitions with the American census and find out exactly what they did.

A lot of them, all of them nearly a working class people with the equivalent in other cultures, European cultures. People who would be involved in that would be scholars, professors, musicians, professional people, they're not, they're overwhelmingly working class people. And I find that, you know, rather encouraging, well, rather proud of it, to be honest with you. So, yeah, that's a great and admirable testament to Welsh cultural life that it is patronised by working class people overwhelmingly.

Kayla Jones

Over time the descendants of Welsh migrants to the US gradually lost the ability to speak Welsh, but many traditions have remained, especially in quarrying communities. Statues and plaques of Robert Morris Jones, the founder of Bangor Pennsylvania, commemorate the slate industry in the area, and his leadership in helping it flourish. Born in Bethesda, Jones immigrated to the US and opened the Bangor Slate Quarry in 1866. He named the new area Bangor, because it reminded him of Bangor, Wales. Other Penrhyn Quarrymen also travelled to the US to work in Bangor Quarry, bringing with them invaluable skills that helped flourish the slate industry in the US.

Today, the Slate Belt Heritage Centre in Bangor, Pennsylvania highlights the history of the Welsh in Pennsylvania and their contribution to the slate industry. Descendants of the Welsh families who immigrated to Bangor have played an active role at the museum, erecting Welsh exhibits, talks and events. Like several states in the US, the small but proud population of Welsh Americans choose to put on Welsh festivals and events and sing in Welsh choirs, just as quarrying families had done back in Bethesda.

Speaking of Bethesda, I caught up with some of the members of the Penrhyn Choir during a rehearsal, where some of them have been showing up for practice for more than 50 years.

Elfed Bullock

My name is Elfed Bullock. I'll be 82 in April, and I've been in the choir 50 years now.

Kayla Jones

This is Elfed. He's the oldest member of the choir. With four brothers in the choir before him and now his sons are members, Elfed proudly told me he was a part of a family of singers.

Elfed Bullock

My four brothers have been in the choir before me. So, I really wanted to join the choir, but I didn't know when, because when you're young, you've got plenty of things to do. But when I did join, I really enjoyed the time in the choir.

Kayla Jones

When I asked him why he thought the choir had been so popular in the community for so long, he credited the multigenerational aspect that has been typical with many members.

Elfed Bullock

It's kept the generations together. You know, when I joined the choir, I was about one of the youngest in the choir then. And, you know, people have been in the choir years before me because they worked in the quarry then the choir started in a way in the quarry. They had a little competition between different parts of the quarry. And somebody told them, why don't you get together and form a long, big choir and that's how the Penrhyn male voice choir started.

Kayla Jones

Throughout the years of his performances with the choir, singing in Chicago, where the original choir performed at the World's Fair in 1892, is one of his favourite memories.

Elfed Bullock

One of the highlights was, again, in Chicago, we went to Chicago every year, there's a music festival from the North America, Canada, Welsh people that lives there and they come together every year and the choir has been invited more than once to perform in this get together. When we were in Chicago and Cincinnati, I'll always remember, we were singing in a concert in Cincinnati, we were singing the creation and they dimmed the lights and we were singing in the hall of mirrors, mirrors all around the place. And once we said "and there

was light", the lights came on and, you know, with all the mirrors, it was fantastic. I'll never forget that.

Kayla Jones

For Rheinallt Davies, one of the choir's youngest members, he also agrees that the choir is a way to bring multigenerational families together.

Rheinallt Davies

Well, it's the one of the most beautiful forms of art, really. Um, you know, when we when we sing locally, people do sort of tend to come out in in droves, really to hear us, because to be honest with you, we don't really sing often locally, when we do, it's normally sort of a Christmas concert or a special event. Um, so no it just brings everybody together, you know, small children to their great grandchildren and great granddaughter. They all come to come to watch the choir. It brings everyone together.

Kayla Jones

Typically, the choir performs in well-known locations around the UK, as well as to large audiences in the US.

Rheinallt Davies

We've been to Norway, America. That I've personally been to, obviously the lads that've been there for years before they've been to, you know, further afield or what have you. We played at Somerset House, all as part of being part of Damon Albarn's supergroup, The Good, the bad and the Queen. We played four tracks on their new album, so that was exciting, actually recording with them. Last year we played Glastonbury, one of the first Welsh choirs to ever sing at in Glastonbury. We sort of made history, like the question you asked Elfed, you know, in 50 years time, who knows where we'll be.

Kayla Jones

To commemorate the original choir, Cor Y Penrhyn has performed at Penrhyn Quarry. They've also recorded a couple of albums at Penrhyn Castle. While the choir went through hard times during the Great Strikes, and today acknowledge all that the quarrymen had been

through the years, today the choir chooses to celebrate them through their music, by focusing on music that Elfed says is a bit brighter.

Elfed Bullock

The way of singing for choir has changed quite a bit. When I joined the choir, it was mostly hymns and very hard pieces, you know. But today, with the choir that we've got, we sing bright music and something very light, sort of thing, you know. That's why so many young people are coming into the choir. You know, in the old days, the old men liked hymns and so on, but today you got something a bit lighter to sing.

Kayla Jones

In 2021, slate landscapes in north Wales became a UNESCO world heritage site. A project, that has been 20 years in the making. While the bid was ongoing, I chatted with Dr David Gwyn a historian and archaeologist, specialising in industrial heritage areas in north Wales. He was a part of the team developing the UNESCO World Heritage bid.

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO picks sites across the world that are considered of outstanding universal value to humanity. Some of UNESCO's most famous sites are the Taj Mahal, Stonehenge, The Great Wall of China and the Pyramids. Now, the slate industry would appear alongside these world heritage sites.

David Gwyn

I initially raised the matter, I suppose, 20 years ago. And we were told at the time. Put it on the back burner, wait until the United Kingdom government is producing its next round of potential bids to UNESCO. And so, we did. This came around about the time that the Llangollen Canal and the Pontcysyllte Aqueduct was nominated and the precise chronology of events eludes me.

But I recall the day after the Pontcysyllte nomination, I made a point of mentioning this to a friend of mine who was chair of the economic group in Gwynedd Council's cabinet. I let him make the initial suggestion. I knew he would and I said, yes, we can do that. But it mustn't be just for Blaenau Ffestiniog, it must be for everywhere. And it needs you to drum up the political support. So that's how it began.

Now there were obviously a great number of other individuals and organizations that needed to be persuaded, but that did all take place round about the time that the United

Kingdom government announced that it was looking for new potential World Heritage sites to go on the tentative list. We got in there, it was quite a busy period as I recall.

Kayla Jones

After being included in a list of 41 bids from the UK, they remained in the running after the list was whittled down to 10 or 11 bids. This is no small feat, as the criteria for being considered as a world heritage site is stringent and long.

David Gwyn

UNESCO insists that every site that is to be considered for nomination as a World Heritage site needs to demonstrate outstanding universal value. In other words, it needs to tell a global story for mankind. Now, to cut a very long story short, there are practically no sites devoted to stone quarrying on the World Heritage List. There are quite a few that are to do with the mining of coal or copper. But UNESCO does seem to have recognized that stone quarrying is an omission. Also, there perhaps are insufficient sites that contain the totality of an industry, not just the extraction site, the processing sites, but also transport, railways, roads, harbours and communities. So, the slate industry does offer the possibility of an inscription, the World Heritage inscription that contains all those different elements. Also, I think the Welsh bid will benefit from a sense on UNESCO's part that there are a great many high-status sites already inscribed castles, palaces, gardens, cathedrals.

Kayla Jones

While there has been a need for other places globally to be recognized by UNESCO outside of Europe, David feels that the north Wales slate industry is an important area to recognise, as there is a rise in the heritage industry to recognize the significance of industrial sites. For slate in particular, it definitely qualifies as having a global story.

David Gwyn

Slate as a roofing material with the sort of product that's easy to ship worldwide. As a rule, stones aren't exported over very wide areas unless they're very prestigious, like marble, for instance, or unless somebody is trying to make a point. Like, for instance, the Normans used stone from Normandy in buildings in England and that would have been an expensive

business. But it said we're here to stay but slate isn't like that. It's it's a very, very functional material.

And so, when the great building boom of the 19th century takes place and when European powers are also, of course, busy establishing empires all over the place, not necessarily formal empires, but commercial empires, when English, British banking systems getting active all over the globe, it does make sense to use this material for roofing and for other purposes.

Now, French slate, not surprisingly, goes to the French part of Canada. British Welsh slate goes to Australia, New Zealand, but it goes to South America. It goes to the eastern seaboard of the United States. So Welsh slate was very much in competition with other products, with other slates, with other types of roofing material. But it did very well. It lasted it tends to last a little bit better than French Slate did. So, it was it was a popular roofing material and deservedly so.

Kayla Jones

Welsh slate has travelled the world round. From the US, Australia, Europe, Argentina and the West Indies, slate has been placed on buildings such as historic houses in New Orleans and New York. Though there has been other slate imported around the world, the quality of Welsh slate has earned itself a lasting legacy.

Today, even though the slate industry is not as booming as it once was, north Wales now being a UNESCO world heritage site will be a way for the local community to celebrate north Wales' story in the heritage of slate and a way for the wider world to see just how significant north Wales' contribution was to this vital industry.

I asked Dr Gwyn how we would feel if the area received the UNESCO inscription, which gladly we now know, is a world heritage site.

David Gwyn

Well, I'd be very pleased indeed if we did get the inscription. And in terms of what it means to local communities, I hope that it will enable people to take pride in what their ancestors have done, not just their fathers and grandfathers, but the women who were in many ways the backbone of the slate communities. I hope it will be seen as something that is relevant to the stories of local people, not just another piece of high-level bureaucracy, and that people won't think that it's like planning blight, that it will actually enable us to tell stories about the past

to research stories more thoroughly, to make sure that we've got a better understanding of our past. So, I think the possibilities are considerable.

Kayla Jones

David also hopes that from a tourism standpoint, the UNESCO World Heritage inscription will put north Wales and the slate industry on more of a global map. When I asked him what he hoped tourists would discover when visiting Wales, he pointed to just how instrumental the slate industry was to the story of north Wales.

The Gwynedd Slate Industry relied on global demand. Now, as a UNESCO world Heritage site, it provides a chance for economic development by sharing the history of the slate industry through sustainable, global tourism.

David Gwyn

What I hope they would take away is the strong sense of how people in the area have invested their lives and their skills in this industry. And this is evident on every front in the landscape scale of the quarrying, the huge slate mills, the railways themselves and the settlements which were created by quarry families. So many of these places can be visited. Now, Penrhyn Quarry is an active, working quarry, but on the other hand, part of the historic workings are now given over to tourism. You can experience their landscape scale by going down one of the zip wires. If you have a mind to do so, you can explore the villages. You can go and have a cup of tea in Bethesda. You can see the way that the quarry is able to export from the sea. You've only got to go up to some of the higher levels. You can see the vista of the Ogwen Valley and the Menai Straits and Liverpool Bay in the distance, and of course, the castle because the castle, more eloquently than anywhere else, shows the sources of capital that made the industry possible.

Kayla Jones

David and all those involved with the UNESCO world heritage bid, found out they were successful on the 28th of July 2021. Through the work of the work of heritage organizations such as the Slate Museum, ISWE and the work of National Trust and their transformation project, the Welsh slate industry is already being recognized more and more on a global stage. And their looking forward to the opportunities that the inscription can bring for the slate landscapes of north Wales.

In the meantime, tourism continues to grow in north Wales, with the landscape being a major draw for those who wish to hike, kayak, surf and zipline in Snowdonia. I spoke with Sean Taylor, who is the founder and director of Zip World, about how Penrhyn Quarry is now home to the fastest zipline in the world.

Sean Taylor

OK, one of my other passions is rugby. And so, I'm actually now the president of my local rugby club, which is Bangor Rugby club. We were actually back in 2006, sorry, 2012, we played a cup game in Bethesda. And I looked up and saw Penrhyn Quarry and Penrhyn Quarry did a great job of keeping people out there. It was the biggest manmade hole until 1952. So, we won the game. Then Monday basically cold called and spoke to the managing director and he didn't throw me out of the house, he said listen, have a chat with the planners, see what they say, and it just mushroomed from there.

Before that, my mother grew up five miles away from Penrhyn Quarry, up the valley toward Capel Curig at a farm. So obviously I've got a massive local connection. I went to school. In fact, our headquarters is 200 meters from where I went to school in Llanrwst. So I basically had a great childhood up in the mountains gathering sheep things like that.

Kayla Jones

After a long year career in the military and as a bodyguard, Sean spent 23 years away from Wales before having what he described as a longing to return home, or in Welsh, the phenomenon known as Hiraeth.

Sean Taylor

I was in the military for 20 years in the Royal Marine commandos. Then I was in security as a bodyguard for four years. And then I started kind of adventure tourism and being out of the way away from Wales for 26 years and there is a word in Welsh called Hiraeth, which basically you've heard of Hiraeth. So, yeah, I had a longing to come back home. So, I came back home in 2007, set up my first business, which is treetop adventure, which is now Zip World Forest, and it's kind of snowballed. Today we've 465 staff on the books. So every site really proud of from Penrhyn Quarry, which is the fastest Zip line in the world, the first quarry carts in the UK to underground and another quarry to another tower colliery which is Coal. So, we've gone from slate to coal.

Kayla Jones

Though parts of Penrhyn Quarry are still in operation today, other parts such as where Zip World have their zip lines, have been repurposed. Alongside their adventure activities, Zip World also puts on events such as concert festivals like Zip World Rocks, where the Penrhyn Male Choir have performed in the past, in the same area where small choirs sang together in the quarry beds back in the 19th century. Now, Zip World offers Penrhyn Quarry tours in ex army trucks, where visitors can learn about the history of the quarry, a story which Sean sees as an important part of north Wales' past and future.

Sean Taylor

It's probably because of my background, because my mother was born four miles away and said it's incredibly important for me to respect the past, the legacy for the future. And I think it's such an amazing story. It's really important that the history of the strike and how Lord Penrhyn and the descendants of that family kind of built it, because it's obviously a lot of there's a lot of slavery, which is bad, but there's all good things as well. So that happened and it created massive amount of employment.

Kayla Jones

Zip World, and adventure tourism in north Wales continues to flourish, with a growing number of tourists recognizing the area as a hotspot for outdoor attractions. For Sean, he hopes that the activities at Zip World can help highlight the beauty of the local landscape and former industrial sites like Penrhyn Quarry to tourists and locals alike.

Sean Taylor

I want people to come out the car and go, wow, look at that. And I call it biblical. And if I've been away for a month or so, I come back and it kind of hits you. It really hits you in the base of your stomach, and you go "wow, look at that." And it makes me incredibly proud that I'm involved with this. So, it's the initial expressions when I see people's face and then to come off there, and it's not just about being on the fastest zip line in the world, it's about having that whole experience of having from the toilets to being clean, locally sourced food, really friendly, helpful staff and going back and saying...you know what. That was an amazing experience. And they basically tell their friends, tell their family. And that's why. And also,

part of our story is, you know, when we're busy, we make money, but we always keep on reinvesting into sites. There's more plans for Penrhyn Quarry, which I'm sure you can talk to me in the next podcast. We are starting to sell bits of slate, to that memory, and you know, and I just want people to go you know that was magical and we want to come back and tell our friends.

Kayla Jones

One of my favourite things to do since moving to north Wales, is driving through the Ogwen Valley. I love going to this little pizza place in Betws-Y-Coed, and having a relaxing drive through a breath-taking landscape.

Through many of life's ups and downs, it's been a calming reassurance to look up at the Snowdonia mountains, see the sheep grazing peacefully and the cascading slate painting parts of the mountains with its striking dark colours. As the roads wind and I get lost in my thoughts, the landscape comforts me every time I drive, being just the same no matter how hard the world has been around me.

At one time, a large part of this rural, industrial landscape was a part of the massive, sprawling Penrhyn estate. When I look out the window of my car and am reminded of this, I realize what all I've learned through my journey with the Penrhyn Estate. Penrhyn's story doesn't begin and end at Penrhyn Castle or the decline of the slate industry in the 1900s. Penrhyn's history is not only the history of the castle and its owners, it's the history of these landscapes, these communities, the generations of people who lived and worked in these places and gave them their character.

Now, Penrhyn's history is what I see when I drive through the Ogwen Valley. It's the research and events that has been done by Bangor University and the Bangor University Archives and Special Collections and the continual changes being made through the National Trust. It's in other quarrying communities like Bangor, Pennsylvania, who pursue and celebrate their north Welsh roots. It's in communities in Jamaica, whose history was forever impacted by its connection with Penrhyn. It's in the work of local artists and musicians whose work is influenced by their lives in Bethesda and it's in the unified voices of the Penrhyn Choir, who share their talent to audiences around the world.

If I had one word to describe the history of the Penrhyn estate it would be multilayered. Like so many country estates, it has a history that spans hundreds of years and connects so many themes, events, activities and lives, making it impossible to only focus on

just one aspect. Penrhyn's story is complicated and at times controversial and uncomfortable. But it is also industry-leading, community-focused, multigenerational, global and most importantly, ongoing.

I hope that through this platform of this podcast, the multilayered narrative of the Penrhyn estate, its chapter in the history of Wales and beyond... is what you've discovered as well.

Kayla Jones

Thank you for listening to this episode of Podlediad Penrhyn. This podcast has been produced, edited and written by Kayla Jones. Thanks to all of our interviewees and academic experts for sharing their research and personal stories of the Penrhyn Estate. Special thanks to my supervisors Dr Shaun Evans, Professor Andrew Edwards and Dr Steffan Thomas for their guidance and encouragement throughout this project. If you want to explore the history of the Penrhyn Estate and its history, please visit the website podpenrhyn.co.uk, which has photos, links and reading recommendations. Thank you.