



Pope John Paul II has proclaimed that the year 2000 AD is to be celebrated as a Year of Jubilee.

With attention focused on the new millennium, an opportunity presents itself to look back on the past thousand years and to celebrate what has been achieved during that time by the Catholic people of Wales and Herefordshire. Pre-Reformation glories; the sufferings of penal times; the recusants; our Martyrs; the effects of Irish immigration, the growth of Catholic Education and the re-emergence of the Church, and its ultimate acceptance, as an important part of the national life of Wales and Herefordshire are just some of the topics worthy of celebration.

These short booklets have been and are being produced by individuals, parishes, historical study groups and schools in the Archdiocese as part of our contribution to the world-wide celebration of two thousand years of Christianity. I commend them to you and congratulate all who have taken part in this imaginative "Millennium" project.

**+John Aloysius Ward**

Archbishop of Cardiff.



## ARCHDIOCESE OF CARDIFF

### CATHOLICS IN WALES AND HEREFORDSHIRE IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

Short Studies of Notable People, Places and Events 1000-2000 AD.

## CATHOLIC CARDIFF AND THE MARQUESSES OF BUTE



Herefordshire



Wales



No. 7

Issued to Commemorate the Centenary  
of the Death of John Patrick Crichton Stuart –  
Third Marquess of Bute. October 1900

## **Millennium Prayer.**

Lord Jesus Christ,  
Lord of time and eternity  
prepare our minds to celebrate with faith  
the Jubilee of the year 2000.  
Fill our hearts with joy and wonder  
as we recall that precious moment  
when you were conceived  
in the womb of the Virgin Mary,  
that moment when you became our brother.

*Praise and glory to you, O Christ  
today and forever.*

Lord Jesus bring us with you and your mother  
on your journey to Bethlehem.  
the place where you were born.  
May we travel with you,  
firm in the faith,  
loyal to the truth,  
obedient to the will of the Father,  
along the one true path that leads to life.

*Praise and glory to you, O Christ  
today and forever.*

Jesus, at your birth the angels sang:  
Glory to God in the highest  
and peace to his people on earth.  
Two thousand years later  
we need to hear that song again.  
We need to pray for peace  
in our hearts,  
in our families,  
in our country,  
in our sad and wonderful world..

# **CATHOLIC CARDIFF AND THE MARQUESES OF BUTE**

This booklet was written by Gerry Lewis and is much indebted to 'Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute' by John Davies (University of Wales Press - 1981) and 'John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute - A Memoir' by David Hunter-Blair ( John Murray - 1921). The assistance particularly of Diane Walker and also of Dan Chidgey and Sean Cleary is gratefully acknowledged. Layout and format by Brian Passey. Illustrations with the aid of Damian Chidgey.

## CATHOLIC CARDIFF AND THE BUTE FAMILY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

### Cardiff and the Butes - Early Days

In 1780 the population of Cardiff was less than two thousand, perhaps closer to 1500, souls. The town was a pale shadow not only of its future self but of the contemporary centres of Brecon, Carmarthen and Swansea in terms of commerce, culture and society. The landed gentry of the Vale of Glamorgan had little cause to look to the town as a source of influence and prosperity; thought by Iolo Morganwg 'obscure and inconsiderable' it vied with Cowbridge for administrative dominance in the east of the county. But Cardiff stood on the threshold of an unprecedented period of expansion and wealth. It had previously enjoyed a modest if somewhat torpid prosperity through the export of agricultural produce from the surrounding area to Bristol with sailing vessels of around 80 tons negotiating the tortuous route of the Taff to the town quay close to the existing Millennium Stadium. The 'making' of Cardiff across the next half-century was to be found in this small but viable port and the growing exploitation of the iron deposits centred on Merthyr Tydfil at the head of the Taff. By use of pack-horse and cart the embryo Merthyr ironmasters had used Cardiff as their port from the sixteenth century. But as the scale of iron production increased exponentially as a feature of the Industrial Revolution so facilities for its export to the rest of Britain demanded Cardiff effect a [close to literally so] 'sea-change'.

The opening of the Glamorganshire Canal in 1794 linked Cardiff to Merthyr and is perhaps the first in a series of key acts facilitating the growth of the future capital. Each canal boat might carry 24 tons of iron products and in helping to lower the cost of iron stimulated further growth of the industry. In 1798 the canal was expanded a mile and a half south to a sea-lock which could accommodate ships of two hundred tons - somewhat appropriately in the light of the future Bute involvement with developing Cardiff trade and prosperity the first vessel to enter this new lock was *The Cardiff Castle*, one of two sloops which undertook the regular beat between south Wales and Bristol. As the eighteenth century closed over 10,000 tons of iron was being exported through the port each year. The scale of the growth of Cardiff in the first two decades of the nineteenth century should not be overstated - in 1821 its population was recorded at 3,579 which although close to doubled from 1800 still placed

the port way down the list of expanding industrial and commercial centres in Wales. What was significant to its future growth was a developing spirit of energy and enterprise in its inhabitants and those of its hinterland - evidenced by the establishment of its first bank, a press, a daily mail coach link to London, the improvement of roads, street paving and sea defences together with the foundation of a range of cultural and philanthropic societies - and, also, a racecourse. As the hills to the north of Cardiff were transformed by the emerging industries the fledgling port too had the potential for growth; who was to provide the necessary leadership and finance?

### The First Marquess of Bute

Dominating the still small town was Cardiff Castle, the property - along with much of the surrounding area - of the Bute family. In 1796 the Bute family title had been elevated to the high aristocratic rank of Marquess (despite the undistinguished service of the first Marquess-to-be as a diplomat). Across the 18th and into the 19thC. by a series of judicious marriages the family came to expand their traditional estates in Scotland and Bedfordshire with further holdings in Durham, Essex, Cambridgeshire and, of central importance to our story and that of the Bute wealth - Glamorgan. The first Marquess (1744-1814) married Charlotte Windsor in 1766. While the Herbert/Windsor holdings were but a shadow of their former glory the estate she brought to the Butes still consisted of over eleven thousand acres of enclosed land together with rights over further vast areas of common land in east- and mid-Glamorgan. The first Marquess made considerable land purchases in the Cardiff area and in the Rhondda to supplement the existing estate. The now-Bute holdings in Roath, Pengam, Llanishen, Llandaff, Llandough, Leckwith, Cogan and Lavernock encircled Cardiff, further significant holdings were centred on Llantrissant, the Rhondda Fach, the Upper Rhondda, Aberdare, Hirwaun, the Rhigos and Dowlais together with many individual farms and property scattered across the Vale and the industrialising *Blaenau* of south Wales - including relatively minor and unregarded holdings such as the 14 acres of Caerphilly Castle. The First Marquess quickly remarried upon the death of Charlotte Windsor in 1800 into the Coutts banking family, this marriage bringing £100,000 by way of a 'wedding present' to the Bute fortune.

If Cardiff was to prosper much depended on the actions of the Butes. The holding of property alone is no guarantee of wealth or position of leadership. Potentially, an estate is a possible drain upon resources as it

might be a source of revenue. Although he made what proved to be wise additions to the Windsor estate and fancied himself an accomplished estate manager the first Marquess gave comparatively little attention to his Welsh property. In part this was a consequence of his extensive and widely distributed estate holdings elsewhere but the prime distraction lay with his many varied, often hedonistic, interests including that of foreign travel (of him Boswell wrote "handsome, with elegant manners and a tempestuously noble soul, who has never applied himself earnestly to anything"). The first Marquess's most significant accomplishment was to secure the elevation of his family title. The administration of the Glamorgan estates had been left in the hands of agents - some more attentive and capable than others. As a new breed of entrepreneur emerged in south Wales during the first decades of the Industrial Revolution sharper individuals were quick to exploit the sometimes indifferent management of the Bute estate - the Dowlais Iron Company managed to lease the mineral rights of Sengenydd Common for 99 years at £23 a year. Elsewhere no attempts were made to put a price on water rights from the Taff essential to iron production, leased forests were denuded of their timber and numerous bites were taken from Bute land by simple and outright encroachment. What attention the first Marquess gave to Cardiff was intermittent and largely occasioned by the potential of Glamorgan to return an MP to the Commons in the Bute interest. He visited Cardiff infrequently and for the briefest possible periods. No household was maintained at the Castle although some attention was given to the rebuilding of its domestic quarters and the schemes of 'Capability' Brown considered for its grounds.

### **The Second Marquess**

The second Marquess (1793-1848) - John Crichton Stuart - was grandson of the first, the second Marquess's own father having died at age 25 upon a fall from a horse. In the person of the second Marquess the Bute cause found a spectacular champion. He had proved a capable scholar in his childhood and during his time at Christ's College, Cambridge. In the fashion of 'the Grand Tour' he travelled extensively on the Continent and around the Mediterranean, visiting Moscow, St. Petersburg and Vienna, and calling to Elba during the Emperor Napoleon's short exile there. During his studies and travel he developed a marked interest in land improvement, economic development and estate management which was to be the defining aspect of his character throughout his later life. Succeeding to his inheritance in 1814 he ordered an immediate and close

examination of his Glamorgan estates by the Edinburgh lawyer David Stewart and visited to inspect his land and property in person in 1815 - he commented, 'I never saw an estate in a more neglected condition'. Notwithstanding a prolonged period of convalescence necessitated by his deteriorating eyesight - near blindness which required that he be led walking or riding and could only deal with estate papers with extreme difficulty - he set himself the task of putting matters right.

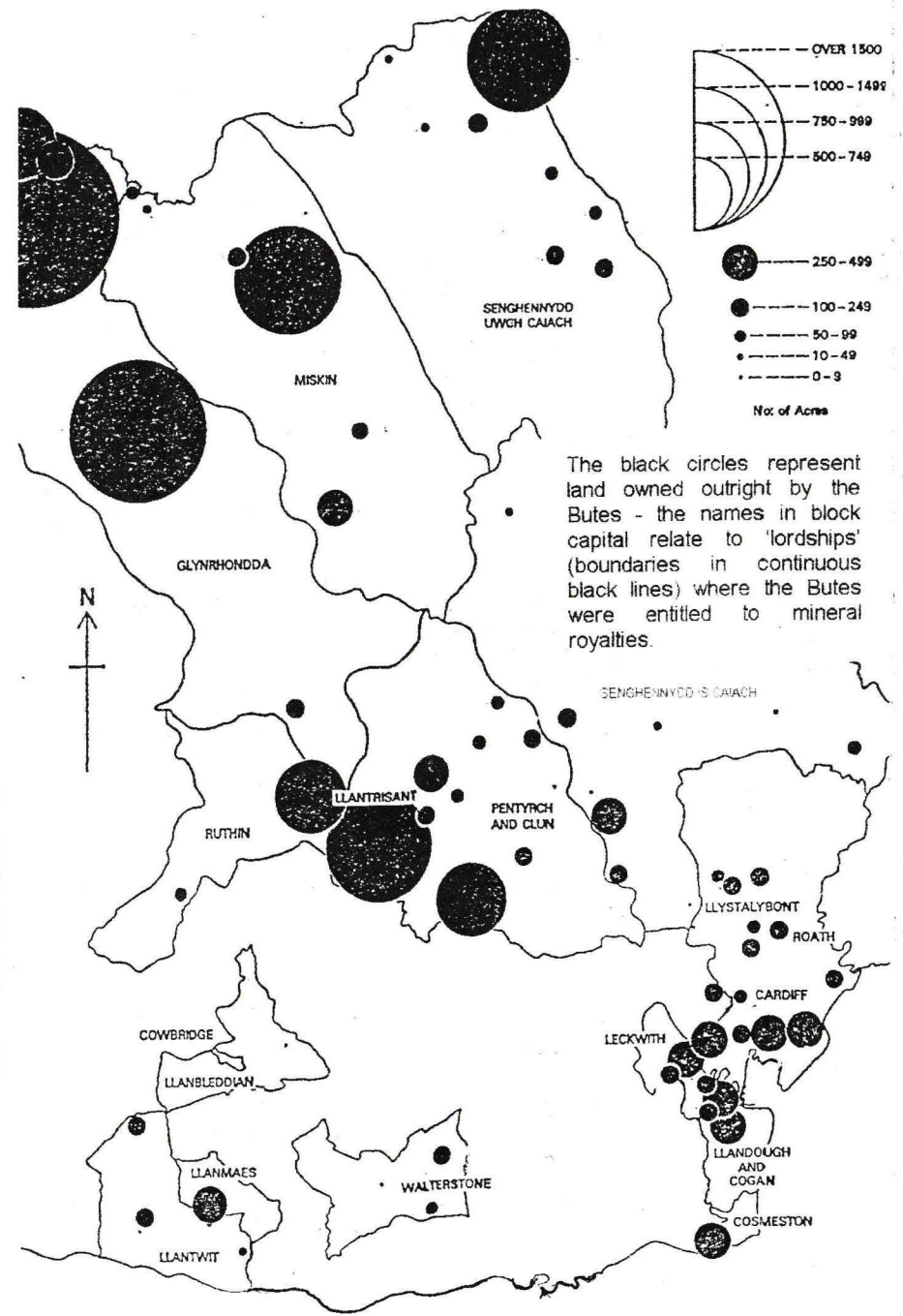
The second Marquess was a rarity for his age - an aristocrat of the first league who was proactive in the management of his estates. His relatively insular personality and appalling eyesight combined to deny him the potential pleasures of London society and a central role in politics which might have been his lot - he was a friend of both Shaftsbury and Wellington. Bute saw his function in Glamorgan as leader of the propertied classes. He despised the new breed of iron and coal masters not just as commercial rivals but because they did not share his paternalist and conservative values. He was a fierce opponent of the 'truck' system favoured by so many of the new proprietors where employees were paid or part-paid in tokens redeemable only at a company shop - with goods mostly of lowest quality at highest prices. As Lord Lieutenant he appointed JPs who shared his outlook - often Anglican ministers in the iron and coal areas rather than the largely Nonconformist 'new rich'. He placed himself at Cardiff in 1831 to direct militia action against the Merthyr rioters and help suppress unrest throughout the district. Leases and employment were distributed with a view to reinforcing the Marquess's dominant social position and political influence. Cardiff had an especial attraction to the Butes because, for several decades, of all their holdings it was one in which they could dominate the election of the MP most easily. The second Marquess was ruthless in 'managing' Cardiff's parliamentary seat - when his borough member and brother, Lord James Stuart, revealed himself of radical views during the 1832 Reform Crisis Bute promptly channelled his support to another and firmly against the tide of national sentiment captured the seat for the conservative cause.

Central as the decisions taken by the second Marquess were to prove to the future of Cardiff they were largely taken at some remove. The Bute's extensive landholdings outside of Glamorgan and the attractions of his ancestral Scottish estates meant that Cardiff was but a stop - although as the years went on perhaps the most financially important one - of many on the route of the Bute caravan. Bute tended to visit for two weeks in

spring and two weeks in autumn, timing his visits to coincide with gatherings of Glamorgan Society as at the Assize and Cardiff Quarter Sessions. The AGMs, annual dinners and similar of charities and cultural societies supported by Bute were timed to coincide with his visits. If Bute was 'physically' an often-absentee landlord he worked hard by correspondence and during his visits to convince the landed constituency of Glamorgan that he in no way took them for granted.

The second Marquess threw himself whole-heartedly into the micro-management of the Cardiff estates through the reports and actions of agents (notably Edward Priest Richards - the 'regent' of Cardiff), close attention to accounts and by periodic personal visits as a virtual 'inspector general' with total authority. Long and detailed letters flowed between Cardiff and the peripatetic Bute HQ - amongst many similar orders Bute issued instructions even as to the books to be placed in the Castle housekeeper's rooms, as to how the Castle dog was to be tied up and on the design of buttons upon the uniform of a Bute-supported school at Llantrissant. Bute was even by the then contemporary standards - a Tory with a capital T. He had a philosophy which combined a concept of ownership which allowed for the most selfish exploitation of property and labour with a reciprocal obligation to provide the 'lower orders' with leadership and appropriate charity. In Cardiff this conservative paternalist philosophy made itself manifest with a long catalogue of contributions to local charities and worthy causes which escalated as the Bute estate's own fortunes waxed larger - Cardiff's Infirmary, the Reading Rooms, the SPCK, the Agricultural Society, the Merciful Society, the Midwifery Society, the Jewish Relief Fund and many more societies received his support. Bute's charity extended the length of his estate's interests financing projects throughout his extensive 'domain' - Bridgend, Merthyr, Aberdare, Neath, Swansea, Bristol and elsewhere. No activity was beyond an appeal to his bounty - bellringing, horseracing, horticulture, and the hunt all benefited. In any new scheme seeking the endorsement of the propertied classes in Glamorgan the 'nod' of the Butes was essential. The second Marquess was a firm Protestant (like the monarch, Anglican in England - Presbyterian in Scotland) believing the Established Church the rock upon which the British constitution rested. He sought to aid the Anglican Church in meeting the challenges in the new 'frontier towns' of the iron and coal districts, giving extensive assistance in the building of new churches - particularly St. Mary's in Cardiff - and schools; he was enough of his own man, however, to decline assistance to the restoration

John Davies 'Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute'



of Llandaff Cathedral which he saw as a distraction from the more urgent cause of 'new churches'.

The Bute generosity was, in keeping with the mores of the propertied of his age, limited to *deserving* projects and was not to be squandered amongst the idle and feckless. Bute also expected a 'return' upon his charitable investment in terms of political loyalty from its recipients - his agent, Edward Priest Richards, seems to have taken an especial joy in reminding the administrators of local societies and charities of this obligation and in discontinuing support in instances of 'disloyalty'. We should not, however, think that Bute's charity was a mere calculated paternal duty. In addition to the many examples of 'institutional' giving he made orders for the relief of individual cases which came to his attention and instructions to his agents included "Edward William's wife £5 for the benefit of sea bathing at Swansea", "£10 a year to Mrs Roderick for her idiot son" and "£1 a month to the post boy who broke his leg". John Davies (*Glamorgan Historian* Vol 8:19) estimates that between 1821 and 1848 some £25,000 was donated to Glamorgan charities; a similar amount went to the Anglican church in the County for new buildings and the support of clerics. To our 21st Century egalitarian minds his efforts might be thought a tiny redress in the balancing of wealth when compared with the total Bute fortune but contemporaries regarded the second Marquess a generous man in this respect. On the occasion of his funeral the local papers abounded with expressions of grief from 'ordinary people' whom he had helped.

Bute's attitude to Catholicism and the Irish contained elements of ambiguity. He despised the Catholic religion - he encouraged large-scale Guy Fawkes celebrations upon his Scottish estates - and considered that the periodic unrest manifest in Ireland should be 'put down' with the most severe action. That said, he felt that each man had the right to determine his own religion as long as he was loyal to 'the Constitution'. He was a firm supporter of Jewish emancipation, feeling that the Jews were less of a threat to the established order than a middle-class Nonconformity. Bute parted from Wellington in supporting the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 from the beginning - if anything he would have been confirmed in his support of the Act by pressure from within Cardiff against Catholic emancipation as evidenced by a poster of 1826. The poster warned Bute "BE HE WHO HE MAY" to defend "the Blessings of the PROTESTANT RELIGION, which was won ... by the Labour and Blood of [our]

FOREFATHERS". Those "not prepared to YIELD UP [THEIR] BIBLES or to be confined to read such parts of them only as a POPISH PRIEST shall dictate" were entreated to vote against the Bute candidate. The author's request to be delivered "FROM SUCH THRALDOM, GOOD LORD" in this instance fell on a deaf Bute ear (St Peter's Magazine 1929:9 - capitals as in the original poster). In 1828 the Marquess spoke at length in the House of Lords in favour of emancipation and presented petitions supporting the proposal from Co. Wexford and Cardiff.

The obverse of Bute's paternalist bounty and leadership was the expectation that he could do exactly as he pleased with what the law said was his own. While other noblemen of his standing saw glory in political or military office or in the building of great houses or collections of art and literature rather the second Marquess saw it as his duty to further the prestige and income of his family by enhancing the management of its properties. The second Marquess was prepared to take war with the emerging breed of capitalists 'to the knife'. The initial survey of the south Wales holdings by David Stewart developed into a revitalisation programme for the local Bute estates. The agricultural management of the estates was put on a sound footing. Challenges were made to encroachments - those of the Dowlais Iron Company prompting a bitter legal battle between the Bute estate and John Guest - and leases tightened to take account of the growing value of mineral rights and potential for industrial exploitation. Rents were assiduously collected and new pockets of land purchased with a view to their 'strategic' value in controlling neighbouring economic growth - in Cardiff, Bute secured land in Cathays and its consequent preservation from exploitation for housing or industry was later to serve the community well. Many individual examples of Bute sponsored developments within the metal and coal industry can be cited but they were usually intended as 'pump-primers' to encourage the locality in their emulation. Generally, the estate sought to exploit the work of others through royalties placed upon production as a feature of leasing property. From Stewart's first estate review, attention gradually focused upon ways of exploiting the virtual stranglehold the Cardiff Bute estate might exercise as a gateway to the wealth of the industrial valleys.

### The 'Docks' and the Cardiff Irish

With a view to establishing Cardiff as the prime port of south Wales the second Marquess petitioned for the passing of the Bute Ship Canal Act of 1830 which empowered him to build an enclosed dock on the

eastern moors of the town. Partly through 'cold-feet' at the scale of the project and the need to revise the original plans work on the new docks did not begin until late 1834. The building of the docks called for large numbers of manual labourers. Because of the difficulties of finding native labour when so many opportunities for employment beckoned in the metal and growing coal industry 300 Irish workers were sought out by Bute's agents - particularly in Co. Cork - and brought to Cardiff in two shiploads. In many respects it was the opportunities for employment which the docks provided which prompted the growth of a significant Catholic community in Cardiff. The dock labourers were the 'seed corn' of the Cardiff Irish community in providing a base of contacts which prompted and facilitated further migration from an extended family or community network both from 'the old country' and from within Wales. While many of the labourers who worked on the docks moved on to other projects, some stayed seeking a rung on the ladder of 'permanent' employment which the docks helped provide. The building of railways associated with the dock and further massive extensions of the original work provided further opportunities for 'unskilled' Irish labour and served to make the 1830s a decade of sustained Irish migration to Cardiff. The overall population of Cardiff was in 1841 little more than 11,000 and the Irish element perhaps as high as 1,300 concentrated into 'Irish town' along the canal banks.

If Irish labourers had been instrumental in creating the Bute docks their efforts did not prompt a reciprocal obligation on the part of the second Marquess to help in the practice of their religion. From the late 1820s the Catholics of Cardiff had been served by visiting clergy from Merthyr and Newport. In response to the growing numbers of Irish families within Cardiff Father Joseph Dwyer was despatched to the town in March 1839 as resident priest. He was, within months, succeeded by Fr. Patrick Millea who, after use of a number of public houses as a place for Sunday Mass, secured a cottage cum warehouse in (almost inevitably) Bute Street to use as a church. If the estimates of Catholic/Irish numbers of the period vary between one and two thousand only 150 or so completed their 'Easter Duties' but whatever the congregation's exact size its place of worship was woefully inadequate. According to Bishop Brown, Vicar Apostolic and to be first Bishop of Newport and Menevia, it was one of the most despised in all of Britain with many of the congregation forced to kneel in a muddy yard. Fr. Millea, together with Messrs Henderson - a civil engineer - and Davies, the leading laymen of

the congregation, sought to buy or lease land from the Bute estate (there was little other option for a building in Cardiff) to build a small church. Their initial overtures were rejected and they - perhaps, as it transpired, not too wisely with regard to their immediate purpose - made a deputation to the Irish champion of the day, Daniel O'Connell, to press their case with the second Marquess.

O'Connell's only apparent action was to criticise Bute's refusal to part with a parcel of land for a Catholic church in a scathing speech at a public dinner in Bandon, Co. Cork, in December 1839. O'Connell contrasted Bute's refusal with the generosity of spirit displayed by the Cardiff Irish in protecting the property of Bute and others by enrolling as special constables in the face of the Chartist rising earlier in the year. O'Connell further praised the courage of Irish soldiers in defending the Westgate Hotel against the Chartist mob - hardly remarks to promote solidarity between Welsh and Irish workers. O'Connell was confusing Newport with Cardiff and this confusion give opponents of his wider views a ready opportunity to rubbish his allegations of Bute ingratitude (additionally, modern historians question contemporary newspaper accounts of the Irish aversion *en bloc* to Chartism in south Wales and their large-scale employment as special constables in particular).

The main result of O'Connell's speech was its widespread condemnation in the press and a likely confirmation of the second Marquess in the righteousness of his views. The *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* of 21 December 1839, condemned: "... the bloated Irish beggerman [O'Connell] who vilified our Protestant Lord Lieutenant in a speech at a dinner at Bandon." *The Times* stoutly defended the Marquess in a leader entitled: "The Marquis (sic) of Bute and the Papists". According to *The Times* the Marquess had more than discharged his responsibilities to the builders of his docks in the payment of wages.

"There are, therefore, no bounds to the rancorous abuse of the papists directed against the Lord Lieutenant of Glamorganshire. We say that Lord Bute was right and we trust that his example will not be without followers amongst the Protestant proprietors of this realm. For see how the case stands. This crowd of Irishmen came for a specific purpose, and to obtain wages from his Lordship during the progress and until the completion of a public work, which it was known would be terminated within a



John, second Marquess of Bute, K.T.

1793 - 1848

after a painting by Raeburn.

given period. The Irish emigrants were not compelled by the noble Marquis to work for him. He did not invite them. Had they not swarmed about him and pressed their services, he would have commanded native hands in plenty.”

“a Mass-house, which once erected, would have been for ever beyond the control or influence of the lord of the soil, surrounded by his estate, but menacing him and it, and convertible through sundry devices into an instrument of molestation and disturbance to every Protestant dwelling near the spot, ... [a] perpetual torment [to] his successors.”

The leader continues at some length in the same inspired tone, warning of conceding any privilege to the ‘Popish Priesthood’ which will be turned invariably:

“against all men and all rights and all principles and all creeds which are not in their nature subservient to the ends of popery. His lordship cannot fail to have perceived what an embryo hornet’s nest he creates who rears a Mass-house and plants a priest - an enemy’s garrison - at his own threshold. What a focus of intrigue - What a cradle of insolence - What a fire-brand of hatred, falsehood, perfidy, hypocrisy, never ceasing encroachment and irreconcilable war, lies hid under that veil of bastard liberality which is employed for the service of their priest-craft by the delegates of the “Holy See” and which spreads over all their worldly transactions!”

In particular, *The Times* warned against allowing *domestics* to attend Mass - potential vassals and secret agents of the priest, or, should his schemes and occasions call for it, “betrayers of the Master whose bread they eat and under whose roof they are sheltered.”

*The Times* leader was re-printed in many of the South Wales newspapers and embroidered with local prejudice. For all this, within three years and despite renewed newspaper condemnation, land was secured for the building of a Catholic church from a Mr. Highwall (small parcels of land, notably in Crockherbtown, were free of Bute control) but only through the action of an Italian Catholic, Stivin Staurengi, acting as an agent for Fr. Millea and who kept the ultimate reason of the purchase a secret.



### **The Second Marquess and the 'Famine Irish'**

A series of bad harvests in the 1840s culminating in the 'Great Famine' of 1846/47 caused a rapid increase in the pace of Irish migration to Cardiff. Poor as the migrant labourers of the 1820s and 30s might have been the 'famine migrants' were thought a lower class again. The second Marquess had little natural sympathy for the migrant paupers placing them firmly in the category of the 'undeserving poor', regarding them as authors of their own misfortune, compounding their poverty by their flight from home and presenting an unfair and unwarranted charge to the Poor Law authorities of south Wales; he favoured a savage application of the 'Removal' and 'Vagrancy' laws which would have allowed the Irish poor to be quickly returned. He was particularly incensed by the allegation that the Poor Law authorities in Ireland were paying ships' captains to bring their paupers to ports such as Cardiff. He used his access to government to press for a restriction of their numbers by action within Ireland - he demanded that the Irish local agencies be brought to 'a proper sense of their duties' (quoted Davies, 1981:95). The scale of the tragedy was such that Bute was inevitably drawn into the local response and despite his reservations contributed financially to the Cardiff relief efforts. In response to the threat of 'Irish Fever' (typhus) Bute advocated that the mayor of Cardiff should quarantine all vessels in the Penarth Roads until satisfied with the state of the passenger's health. He even went to the extent of drawing up detailed plans for the island of Flat Holm to be used as a quarantine station (O'Leary, 2000:83).

Despite Bute's opposition hunger proved the greater imperative and Cardiff saw a major expansion in the late 1840s of its Irish population - in raw numbers smaller than the influx into Liverpool and elsewhere but proportionately to its population more so than any other port or town in Britain.

### **The Triumph of the Dock Venture**

The Docks assured the Bute fortune and the future of Cardiff - their opening in 1839 was the occasion of large-scale local rejoicing. Their building had been a mammoth task, a project unprecedented in scale and cost initiated by one man from his own fortune. Initial estimates costed the project at £70,000 but this proved woefully optimistic and the project was to demand some £350,000 for its completion. The works were financed largely with borrowed money; the Glamorgan estates were heavily

mortgaged and the escalating costs of the project were a source of genuine anxiety to Bute, rich as he was - worst still, upon the completion of the first dock trade seemed to stagnate. Then with the completion of rail links between Cardiff and Merthyr the coal trade commenced its rise to spectacular proportions and Cardiff put its ascendancy over Newport, Swansea and Merthyr beyond doubt. By the mid-1840s the wisdom of the docks investment was apparent - it was clear to all that Cardiff was well on its way to becoming one of the leading ports in Britain. The coal wagons of the 1840s were the first of millions upon millions, most adding to the Bute fortune by royalties upon the coal's mining and each one by fees charged for its transportation and export. Bute harboured hopes of a port-side community, distinct from old Cardiff, of an architectural stature to rival Georgian Bath or Edinburgh - in fact, the raw energy and cosmopolitan attractions inevitable to a 19thC. port proved stronger than Bute's aspirations and 'Butedown' took on a very different aspect and character. The second Marquess could, however, speak with justification of the port rivalling Liverpool as a centre of commerce and trade - the docks were expanded at Cardiff time and time again over the following years to a point where it could claim to be the busiest port in the world.

The mid-decade also brought Bute a cause of satisfaction after sadness within his personal life. Lady Maria Bute, first wife of the second Marquess, was a chronic invalid who was unable to have children. She died in 1841 and the Marquess remarried four years later to Lady Sophia (formerly Hastings). At a time of the emerging triumph of the docks project he was further blessed by a long-awaited heir, then fate intervened. The second Marquess died most unexpectedly on 18 March 1848 while on a visit to Cardiff 'showing off' his newly-born heir to the populace. His body was found by servants in his dressing-room, now the Castle's small private chapel.

### **The Third Marquess - Early Life**

John Patrick Crichton Stuart, destined third Marquess of Bute, Earl of Windsor, Mountjoy and Dumfries and holder of some nine other titles was born on 12 September 1847 at Mountstuart House on the Isle of Bute just six months before the death of his father. His mother, Lady Sophia, took close to exclusive charge of his upbringing until her own death 12 years later. Lady Sophia Bute was a strong-minded, sometimes combative woman and an uncompromising Protestant - although like her late husband she may have expressed a certain personal regard for

'Cardiff's' Bishop Brown. After ejecting Bute's 'liberal' brother, onetime-MP Lord James Stuart, Lady Sophia spent long periods at Cardiff Castle hoping, in part, to remedy the absence of a Bute patriarch. She purchased a riverside farm near to the castle and converted it to a public gardens - still bearing her name. She gave teas for Sunday-school children and presented them with hymn and flannel books, included in her many 'good works' was the heavy subsidy of a number of *colporteurs* - evangelical salesmen of the Bible and fundamentalist tracts - who toured south Wales with the specific charge of converting the Catholic Irish. One of the early public duties of the third Marquess was to stand as a nine year-old boy next to his mother as the foundation stone was laid for the intended Welsh-language Anglican church of All Saints in the firmly Irish district of Newtown.

Lady Sophia was a loving mother to the boy, if anything inclined to be over-protective. The young Marquess was brought up largely at Mountstuart House surrounded by mostly adult female company and exposed only grudgingly and briefly to the 'country sports' which were the common lot of his aristocratic contemporaries. Even as a child the third Marquess was solitary and introspective, strongly drawn to matters of history and religion - both with a strong romantic flavour - seeking opportunities to discuss a range of related issues with his elders and making pencil illustrations of events in Scottish history and of religious ceremonies and artefacts. Reputedly even as young as six he made notes of a visit to the supposed grave of Charlemagne which served as a model for features in the re-building of Mountstuart House.

Upon the death of Lady Sophia Bute the young Marquess was the subject of a bitter and lengthy dispute over the exercise of a multiple-guardianship. The issue was taken to law and was compounded by constitutional disputes centred upon an English court making a ruling upon the guardianship of a Scot - especially one so wealthy. For a time the young Marquess was in approving tow of his effective 'foster-mother' Lady Elizabeth Moore as they fled from the control of the court-approved guardian - his father's kinsman, General Stuart. Doubtless the adventure had huge appeal to the just-teenage Bute who had devoured and lived in his mind the adventures of so many Scottish heroes - Mary Queen of Scots, Rob Roy McGregor, Wallace, the Bruce and the fictional characters of Sir Walter Scott. General Stuart determined that Bute should attend Harrow and in preparation for this he was sent to Malvern Wells school from which the master wrote of the 13 year-old: "I was startled to discover

a liking for the Romish priesthood and ceremonial. I shall, of course, do my best to bring him to sounder views." The third Marquess settled well to the company of other boys and proved robust enough at games. However, his letters 'home' reveal that his mind was still firmly centred on matters of religion and that he had little sympathy with low-church doctrine denying the sacramental nature of the Eucharist. He could be particularly censorious of chaplains whose sermons he regarded as confused and muddle-headed.

After two years John Patrick attended Harrow where again he was a quiet but happy boy. He won prizes for his poetry and his Latin. He made a strong friendship with George E. Sneyd who was to become his lifelong secretary until Sneyd's death in 1894 and with Adam Hay Gordon - Bute said of him "We were as brothers" - who also died in the same year as Sneyd. In contemplating their deaths Bute confided that he had prayed for both by name at every Mass he had attended for many years. He left school in 1865 and in the spring of that year as a 17-year old made the first of his many trips to the Holy Land. He returned with what he proclaimed his most valued possession - a certificate from the Franciscan fathers who acted as guardians of Mount Zion to certify his pilgrimage there. In the autumn of 1865 he entered Christ's Church, Oxford where he continued to prefer books and religious criticism in favour of wilder pastimes - the extent of Bute's youthful rebellion seems limited to his dressing as a devil in scarlet costume at a fancy-dress ball he was hosting. He was, if introspective, a strong-minded individual and as he came to secure growing legal rights over his property in his teenage years - a gradual process under then Scots law - he was not slow to direct his guardians as to how his own affairs were to be conducted. He spent his first summer vacation upon another visit to the Holy Land, this time the trip extending to take in Constantinople, Kurdistan and Armenia with frequent diversions to Christian shrines across Europe. In later years Bute responded to requests for him to date the advent of his Catholic faith by selecting Autumn 1866 upon the return from this trip.

Bute's conversion to Catholicism came across three stages. In the first he was an open enquirer - motivated by ideals and notions of high romance. In the second phase he decided that he was in fact a Catholic but he awaited formal reception into the Church. It was after the beginning of this second phase, while at Oxford, he developed a friendship with the Catholic Scots gentry family of Charles Scott Murray living at Danesfield



A later example of the young Bute art - May 1867- representing Margaret Queen of Scotland receiving Holy Communion. (taken from Hunter-Blair "A personal memoir")

near Marlow. Here he met the private family chaplain, Fr. R. T. Capel, who was to receive him into the Church and Bute used the weekends he spent at the home to further his understanding of doctrine and Catholic practice. Transfer to the third phase of his Catholicism - his formal entry into union with Rome - demanded careful timing.

### The Crossing to Rome

Left to his own devices Bute would have joined the Catholic church - consistent with his own understanding of the long-standing Church tradition relative to baptism and re-birth - for the feast of Easter 1867. But he found himself facing considerable pressure not to convert from within his immediate household, wider family, the High Court officials who oversaw his guardianship and his Oxford tutors. He wrote of this period, "Life is odious here at present" (Hunter-Blair, 1921:45). He

bowed to the arguments of his family sufficiently to postpone entry to the church until the age of majority. In effect he reconciled himself to a close to a two-year period when he was a Catholic in his heart if not strictly so in name. Inevitably, rumours of Bute's impending conversion crept into the public domain and became the subject of comment in county and government circles and a hot topic of debate at Oxford.

### A Man of Property

It was during the period of the Bute minority that the full return of his father's investment in the Cardiff dock became apparent. To the second Marquess, in the words of the *Western Mail*, great wealth 'flowed into his coffers, unsought and unbidden'. Bute's annual *income* upon his majority was estimated at £100,000 - possibly the estate income was to double during his lifetime and the wealth contained in his property holdings defy comprehension. Major celebrations of the Bute coming of age were planned on all his estates - particularly so at Cardiff in his presence. Largely through the effect of the Dock's the population of the town now stood at 60,000 and was growing fast. The celebrations stretched across a whole week and included balloon ascents, balls, concerts, regattas, fetes, public ox-roasting, 'treating' for the children, a fabulous fireworks display and three public dinners including a Corporation banquet on a scale rare even in the sumptuous official feasts of the mid-Victorian heyday. Special trains brought thousands from the outlying Bute lands to enjoy and participate in the events and to pass beneath the triumphal arches erected for the occasion. On an early - if doubtless constrained - ecumenical occasion Catholic, Anglican and Nonconformist ministers offered thanks for Bute's coming of age.

After the celebrations Bute elected to spend the autumn at the Castle reading and giving quiet thought to his intended course of action. Around this time it would appear that a planned engagement to an aristocratic lady foundered - although contrary to contemporary and subsequent speculation this may well have been unrelated to his planned reception into the Church. He left from Cardiff Castle for the chapel of the Sisters of Notre Dame, Southwark where he was received into the Catholic church - after an hour of prayer before the Blessed Sacrament - on 8 December 1868 (Feastday of the Immaculate Conception). Fr. Capel was the officiating priest, assisted by Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark. Perhaps partly to avoid the inevitable furore the young convert had determined upon a third pilgrimage to the Holy Land and left for the Continent almost

immediately after the ceremony to connect with his yacht at Nice - a mode of pilgrimage not, unfortunately, open to many!

Inevitably, Bute's conversion provoked a tempest in the still largely anti-Catholic press and the newspapers were full of allegations of papist duplicity and subtle Jesuit intrigue. Bute was, in all probability, the richest man in the world and occupied a place in the British public imagination similar to that of royalty and the media mega-stars of today. Couple the thirst for news of this man of breath-taking wealth, Britain's most eligible bachelor, already marked in the public mind as something of an eccentric, with an alien and scheming religion and there was a news story to be rivalled by no other. It ran for weeks. The papers in Scotland were particularly vicious, as was *The Times*. The *Glasgow Herald* ascribed "the perversion to priestly influences acting upon a weak, ductile and naturally superstitious mind, we may expect a continual eclipse of all intellectual vigour." The contention that Bute had not come to his own firm decision caused him pain which was to last across the years and when much later writing of his reception into the Church he took care to stress that he was a Catholic in outlook before even meeting Fr. Capel and that this priest had played no part in his conversion other than to confirm in discussion Bute's existing perceptions.

Bute's friendship with Benjamin Disraeli - he had been present at the Cardiff coming of age celebrations and, despite the literary embroidery described below, was to be a civil witness to Bute's wedding almost three years later - was poorly served when Disraeli used the event of Bute's conversion as the inspiration of his novel, *Lothair*, published in May 1870. The novel tells of a fabulously wealthy and naive young nobleman whose loyalty and wealth is sought by the Churches of England and Rome and a romantic revolutionary sect to boot. Kidnap, intrigue, murder and falsehood abound to the inevitable happy ending - the story is peopled by thinly-veiled and generally damning caricatures of many of the leading society members of the day. Bute is (with some justice) represented as a man of over-intense religiosity, obsessed with religious minutiae, seeking to escape from the pressures of vast inherited wealth and responsibilities. Bute escaped lightly compared to Cardinal Manning, Anglican Bishop Wilberforce, and various other clerics, government ministers and Oxbridge dons who were painted variously black villains or simpletons. The novel was a great success - not least because of its vicious characterisation. The 'Bute' of the novel was to travel before the real-life

Marquess for the rest of his life. The book's immense popularity both reflected the intense interest in Bute and kept the issue of his conversion in the public eye - *Lothair* in its turn inspired the naming of ships, streets, songs, a scent and a racehorse owned by Baron Rothschild.

Bute was sufficiently bothered by possible Scottish reaction to his conversion that he avoided visiting his Scot's estates for two years and it is suggested that he preferred Cardiff at this time because he felt that the growing Catholic population there would be sympathetic to his actions. But he still thought the Isle of Bute 'his real home' (Hunter-Blair, 1921:94 - he was, in fact, for the most part kindly received upon his return to Bute and Mountstuart was where he felt most comfortable). While savage criticism there was of Bute's conversion in sections of the Glamorgan press and in Nonconformist Chapel it was to a degree muted proportionate to his position as potential patron and dominant landowner.

Bute's post-conversion cruise extended to take in much of the Mediterranean and a stay at Rome where in February 1869 he was confirmed by Pius IX. He returned to Cardiff for the summer and resumed his travels the following autumn. A year to the day of his reception into the church Bute watched in Rome at the opening of the Vatican Council of Pius IX as 700 mitred prelates entered St Peter's behind a gem-encrusted silver processional cross which Bute had presented to the Pope a few days previously. Bute spoke with many delegates of the prime issue under consideration by Council - the infallibility of the Pope under strictly defined conditions speaking on faith and morals. For once his sympathies were with the liberal wing of the debate but he had no major difficulties in accepting the vote of the Council to endorse the Papal claims. Inevitably, while at Rome he 'overdosed' on art, architecture and archaeology, this time his romantic streak feeding upon thoughts of his Stuart 'ancestors' who spent time exiled in the Eternal City and also finding expression in a developing comradeship with the Papal Zouaves - a gentlemen-volunteer military bodyguard dressed in the most exotic version of an original North African costume (surprisingly, no subsequent suggestions were offered by way of uniform amendment for the members of the Glamorgan Artillery Volunteers of which Bute was Colonel). Just months later the Zouaves were to prove their bravery to the point of death in a vain and unrealistic attempt to defend the Papal State against the invading Italian forces of Victor Emanuel. Bute sent a large donation to the Papacy to support it in its period of enforced exile. Bute returned to Cardiff Castle in September 1870.

### **The Peer at Cardiff**

The third Marquess was obliged to settle to his social and business responsibilities at Cardiff - but he confessed that the bustle of the port and grim industrial valleys had little appeal for him; "Athens and Assisi have spoilt me for anything else" (quoted Davies, 1981:138). Bute at first spent longer periods at the Castle than the second Marquess but the romantic and nostalgic temptations of his Scottish homeland and his love for exotic travel soon returned and, indeed, grew with his advancing years. His prolonged absences in the 1870s drew fierce Cardiff criticism - Bute loved the peace of his Scottish estates and became heavily involved in religious, cultural and educational projects north of the border as well as continuing to indulge his love of 'pilgrimage'. Cardiff ire was also raised by Bute's considerable expenditure on 'all things Scottish' from what was held to be 'Welsh money'; Bute spent £600,000 on rebuilding Mountstuart after its destruction by fire - a sum not far short of his father's dock investment - further large sums in support of Scottish universities and a variety of churches and heavily subsidised a range of Scots cultural/historical magazines and endeavours of a romantic flavour. Like his father, Bute oversaw the fortunes of his Welsh estate largely from a distance making strategically timed visits to Cardiff when thought necessary. Unlike his father, he evidenced little interest in the minutiae of Estate management; while he gave close attention to matters when necessary he preferred to involve himself largely in broad-brush decisions while everyday work was left to his proven agents. If second and third Marquesses were both inward-looking and shared a capacity for fine detail and sustained application their chosen fields of endeavour were on very different planes.

### **A Happy Marriage**

Bute's personal life took on a more settled aspect with his marriage in April 1872 to Gwendolen Fitzalan-Howard, Daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. The then Archbishop Manning officiated and (the by now) Mgr. Capel celebrated the Nuptial Mass. The marriage united two branches of 19thC. upper-class Catholicism - it would be interesting to know how Bute's extreme 'convert' romanticism was received in the Howard household which in common with most 'old Catholic' families of England had a preference for a reserved and understated religion. Bute, for his part, professed himself delighted with what he found at Arundel; "You will understand that the unassuming simplicity of it all appeals to a person



**John Patrick, third Marquess of Bute, K.T.  
1847 - 1900**

**Mayor of Cardiff  
1890 - 1891**

like me - especially when I see the goodness that accompanies it" (quoted Hunter-Blair, 1921:109). The Butes received a wedding present from the Pope - Bute's own favourite was a *relique* of St. Margaret of Scotland, which he planned to install in a silver bust. Lady Gwendolen seemed to take Bute's brand of piety in her stride and was to play the harmonium at services in the private chapel at Cardiff Castle. The marriage was a happy one, producing four children - Margaret born 1875; John, the heir, born 1881; Ninian, born 1883 and Colum, born 1885.

### A Patronage Revived

Bute picked up the threads of his father's charitable patronage which had lapsed to a degree during the period of his minority. To Bute's death a recurring criticism from the wider south Wales population was that Catholic causes - like Bute's Scottish expenditure - now took the money which was properly 'theirs'. One story which enjoyed a general currency was that a set of bells promised by the Bute estate to the Anglican St. Margaret's in Roath was redirected to Catholic St. Peter's upon the third Marquess's directions - untrue (Bute did not pay for St. Peter's bells) but indicative of the inevitable tittle-tattle which followed upon a major patron reassigning his loyalties. In fact, Bute's giving remained widespread. In addition to many smaller charitable actions - he instituted within his estate the office of 'almoner' - Bute donated £10,000 and a site in Cathays for University College, £13,000 to the Hamadryad Hospital, £10,000 to the building of a drill hall, £5,000 upon the collapse of the Cardiff Savings Bank, £5,000 to a Miner's Provident Society - further thousands of pounds to Cardiff's Infirmary, Merthyr Hospital, Aberdare Cottage Hospital, and a 'rest' home at Porthcawl. His growing 'mineral' fortune allowed him to be generous to his farm tenants in the prolonged agricultural depression of the day. The Corporation and people of Cardiff benefited from the donation of what became Roath Park, Cardiff Arms Park and the inevitable Bute Park and numerous small squares intended to provide green spaces within the urban confusion. To celebrate his own silver wedding in 1897 he gave a reception for 3,000 in Cardiff's Exhibition Hall and established a fund of £1,000, the interest to provide assistance to poor girls in making a respectable marriage - with the proviso that the money be accompanied by a reading of the first 11 verses of the 2nd chapter of St. John's Gospel. Bute's passion for all things ancient extended to include the Welsh language and history and he contributed generously to related causes. His address to the Cardiff National Eisteddfod of 1882 upon the need to safeguard the Welsh language is seen by some as bringing about

the formation of the Welsh Language Society.

Bute as a Catholic was no longer eligible to nominate Anglican clergy to the livings within his 'gift' - but uniquely he established a trust which allowed for the livings to be locally decided with his retaining an input. Unsurprisingly, Bute favoured Anglo-Catholics with a strong Welsh bent. His support for Anglican schools continued if on a reduced scale. Unlike his father, he did see fit to help with the restoration of Llandaff Cathedral - despite the unfriendly assertion of a visiting Catholic priest that it was 'no more than a whited sepulchre'. Typically, he elected to restore a 12thC. ruined church at Cogan - prompting criticism that he would rather restore the ancient where it was redundant than pay for the new where it was needed. Bute remained on good terms with the local Anglican hierarchy and had a continuing close friendship with the vicar of St John's, David Howell, from whom he part-learned Welsh.

### Bute's Catholicism

Bute's religion was not that of most of his 'Irish' co-religionists; it was informed by a romantic mysticism and love of the 'high Gothic' which often bordered upon the pedantic. He spent long periods in prayer and subjected himself to periodic fasts. His devotion to Catholicism was at times obsessive and a concerned confessor of today would surely counsel the need for greater balance in his religious perspective. Sometimes his long and detailed letters to bishops - particularly in central Europe - on matters antiquarian would receive no reply not through rudeness or inefficiency but, in probability, because no-one knew what he was talking about. Despite an attractive personality within his established circle he was awkward in society and, at times, must have been 'extremely hard work' - given to talk at length about the most minute detail of ritual and its medieval antecedents, suddenly to initiate a conversation with remarks such as - 'Isn't it monstrous that St. Magnus hasn't got an octave' (Davies, 1981:26) or to propose discussions upon the precise theological value of the verse on the Precious Blood "*Cujus una stitia saluum facere Totum mundreum quit ab omni scelere*" (Hunter-Blair, 1921:101), although, in fairness, the latter was a challenge to a proselytising Protestant clergyman. From Cardiff Castle he made a number of visits to the Benedictine Abbey at Belmont where he shared in the eternal rhythms of monastic office and struck up a friendship with Dom Bede Vaughan, the Prior, and once of Courtfield. Bute had all the enthusiasm - and more - of the convert. His sincerity of faith was, however, beyond doubt and

allowance must be made for the more elaborate fashions of worship which were a feature of the Catholicism of his day. Continental Catholic festivals, which Bute enjoyed, could extend across 24 hours, even Nonconformist sermons might extend to four or five hours - Bute was by far not the only religious 'enthusiast' of his day. Lady Knightley wrote that it was clear that he 'really did *care* for God' (Davies, 1981:24). Bute's total engagement with his religious beliefs was not grounds for criticism from clerics to whom the purpose of life on earth was to love God and earn eternal salvation. If some within the Catholic Church might have had reservations over the degree of his religiosity they were put aside in consideration of his social status and value as a benefactor. Bute was to take a leadership role within the Catholic church in Britain - amongst many other dignitaries Cardinal Manning dined at Cardiff Castle. Bute brought his influence to bear upon Newman to help persuade him to take the offered Cardinalship. He led Scottish delegations to Pius IX in 1875 and to the ordination jubilee celebrations of Leo XIII in 1888 and received the Papal orders of the Grand Cross of St. Gregory and of the Holy Sepulchre. The Catholic Church in Scotland benefitted extensively from Bute's patronage. On the wider scene Bute contributed £10,000 to the Catholic Poor Schools Committee and his name appears time and time again at the head of subscription list to a wide range of Catholic causes across Great Britain.

Bute's wealth and position meant that his relationship with the members of the hierarchy was not one of unquestioned deference - Pius IX was apparently known to him as 'old Pecci' (the Pope's surname). Bute sent his three sons to his old school of Harrow rather than a leading Catholic institution - this at a time when 'Cardiff's' Bishop Hedley's pastoral letters resounded with instructions to Bute's poorer religious brethren to support Catholic schools upon pain of grievous sin. On the matter of schooling he had marked disagreements with the Scottish hierarchy; he felt that Cardinal Manning's refusal to sanction Catholic attendance at Oxbridge was mistaken and was delighted when the prohibition was removed. For all of his own devotion Bute repeatedly expressed dismay when any of his friends and acquaintances elected for religious orders. He retained an independent streak within the framework of acknowledging church authority; unlike Disraeli's *Lothair* his acceptance of evolving doctrine was far from unquestioning but a consequence of considerable informed thought. Bute was well aware of the attractions of his wealth and that his own personality was not the prime

reason for so many distinguished churchmen making their way to his door. He fully comprehended the factional interplay within the English and Welsh and Scottish hierarchies and kept himself apart from any involvement.

### **An abiding Romance**

Bute's devotion to Catholicism cannot be divorced from his abiding Romanticism. The Romantic Movement of the 19thC. was a reaction to the harshness and materialism of an industrialising world, the Romantics sought to find shelter from the grime and obsession with money in a high-Gothic world, seeing aspects of medieval society - art, literature and architecture - as better models for emulation than those of the modern age. If in one aspect of his character Bute represented the ultimate pinnacle of industrial capitalism the pendulum swung with a ferocity backwards to a corresponding apex of romantic indulgence. Bute was still in his late teens when he commissioned William Burges to turn Cardiff Castle into a 'shrine of the Romantic', and later to re-build Castell Coch. Both achievements are breathtaking in scope and detail - they demand a visit of anyone seeking to know the mind and motivation of the third Marquess. Bute's own sitting room was decorated with murals based on his recollections of the Holy Land - surely the last word in 'holiday snaps'. The summer smoking room, the Chaucer room, the Arab room, the nursery, the roof gardens, chapel - the entirety of the fabric at Cardiff Castle - stand not just as evidence of an opulence and way of life undreamt of by most but of a mind-cast largely unknown to this century. The patronage extended to the most brilliant painters and sculptors of the day - Bute was living the part of the Renaissance prince. Houses adjacent to the Castle walls were knocked down to provide a better 'aspect'. Five farms were 'trimmed' in their extent to enlarge the adjacent parkland. The work at Cardiff was but a portion of the total Bute effort and he took an informed and detailed interest in the progress of work from the drawing board through to completion - on occasion giving the most minutely detailed instructions and advice. Bute was drawn to work 'in progress' admitting himself that his interest in a building project tended to evaporate upon its completion. He was to earn the nickname 'the Lord of Bricks and Mortar' and was generally thought the best amateur architect of the day.

Castell Coch was the scene of an experiment inspired by Bute when in 1875 he ordered that a vineyard be planted upon its slopes - it was spared the colonies of beavers and wallabies Bute had introduced at

Mountstuart. While the vineyard was to eventually fail it enjoyed some successful years and contributed a profit to the estate. Bute took pleasure in serving the wine to guests without specifying its origin and seeking their opinions as to its provenance and characteristics. Bute even sought with serious purpose the opinions of Welsh scholars upon a suitable name for the wine, eventually a matter left unresolved. He did not, apparently, favour the light-hearted advice of a magazine reporter:

“The Marquis of Bute has, it appears, a Bute-iful vineyard at Castle Coch, near Cardiff, where it is to be hoped such wine will be produced that in future Hock will be superseded by Coch, and the unpronounceable vintages of the Rhine will yield to the unpronounceable vintages of the Taff. *Cochheimer* is as yet a wine *in potentia*, but the vines are planted.”

Bute brought his religion and love for the romantic together in a translation of the Roman Breviary into English. The project extended over seven years and in furtherance of which Bute took lessons in Hebrew from a London Rabbi (like his father he favoured Jewish emancipation and donated to Jewish causes) the better to consider the authenticity of the Latin Bible passages in the search for an exact English translation. Bute's breviary was published in 1879 and while it received critical endorsement from interested parties it had little impact upon the Roman clergy - who, of course, continued to read the original Latin texts. The price of the large, lavishly illustrated two-volume work was beyond the means of most priests. The work did, however, find favour amongst Anglo-Catholics, especially in a number of monastic communities within the United States where it supplied the offices of the day in the vernacular. In later life Bute published many articles in the *Scottish Review*, which he funded; critics complained that, while scholarly, his contributions could be dull and obscure - when he submitted a number of articles to Catholic periodicals anonymously they were rejected on similar grounds.

### **Bute and the Catholic Church in Wales**

The news of Bute's conversion was, of course, greeted with delight by the Catholic Church in Wales, especially by the ageing Irish *portress* employed at the Castle who spoke of her delight - 'at last there was another Catholic in the Castle'. The 1860s had been a troublesome time for the Catholic church in Cardiff where the local clergy found themselves struggling to provide an infrastructure of church and school

buildings with little more than the meagre offerings of their poor congregations as inadequate funding. Such were the financial straits that the Rosminian Order, who provided Cardiff's priests, came close to withdrawing from the town; at St Peter's (Roath, Cardiff) the congregation was charged for its seats at Sunday Mass on a sliding scale of nearness to the altar - Bute did not approve. What Catholic patrons there were within the diocese - Nicholls, Vaughans, Wegg-Prossers, Herberts - were concentrated away from the industrial areas and certainly not of the colossal wealth of the third Marquess. If his conversion, as it has been described, was "the greatest stroke of luck for the Catholic church in Great Britain" it was literally perceived as heaven-sent by the Catholic clergy of Cardiff.

### **Bute and 'Catholic Cardiff'**

Invariably Bute estate's patronage was expanded to include the previously taboo Catholic causes. One of his first gifts was the addition of a rood-screen at the newly-build and imposing St Peter's (to be replaced by the further donation of the existing stone rood screen finished in 1900 after the death of the third Marquess). Bute's mind quickly turned to the erection of a church at Cardiff to supplement the existing small St. David's (Cardiff's first purpose-built Catholic church) in Stanley Street and St. Peter's. His first intention was to secure the Welsh language Anglican church of All Saints in Newtown - where he had laid the foundation stone as a boy - for Catholic use. The 'Welsh' church had not proved popular, not least because its members faced real hostility from its overwhelmingly Irish neighbours. All Saints had been financed by the Bute trustees in the third Marquess's minority and the completed building handed to the Church Commissioners. Bute proposed in 1871 to finance an alternative home for the Welsh-speaking Anglicans in a more salubrious part of the town and convert the church to Catholic use. This required an Act of Parliament but, despite the support of Llandaff's Bishop Ollivant for the Bute proposal, the Bill was lost at the second reading with Evangelical MPs taking the measure as a slight to the Protestant cause. Perversely, Welsh language services ceased at All Saints in 1880 and the church was offered for sale in 1890 by which time a new RC church had been built with Bute assistance - St. Paul's, Newtown.

Defeated in his first attempt to provide a new Catholic church for Cardiff Bute suggested that one be built in the Castle grounds and set arrangements in hand for the Castle church to be placed in the hand of the



Oratorian Fathers. The involvement of the Oratorians would have the significant effect of making much needed priests available to Cardiff whose few Rosminian priests looked after a large town population plus Mass stations scattered from Llantwit Major to Caerphilly. But Bishop Brown was against the idea - thinking, no doubt, that as Bishop decisions as to the strategic development of the diocese were his prime concern. The Bishop was concerned that a church close to the existing two (themselves contending for finance from much the same sources) could split the town into small, rival parishes. Brown was also conscious that the Rosminian Order had made considerable investments by way of loans to finance the building of St. Peter's and did not wish to have the Rosminian primacy in the town put at risk - the sum of £100 paid to a Rosminian priest to act as chaplain to the Castle was one of the few significant and reliable stipends available to the hard-working clergy. The plan for the 'Castle-church' was allowed to quietly fade away.

### Two Cardiff Foundations

Bute helped bring two charitable orders of Nuns to Cardiff in 1872. Bishop Brown was seeking to establish an order of the Sisters of Nazareth within Cardiff and sought the assistance of the Marquess. But independently of the Bishop's wishes a further order was drawn to Cardiff. In February 1868 a young nun of the Order of the Good Shepherd lay dying at Dalbeth, Glasgow. Sister Mary of St. Cuthbert O'Hagan was originally from Cardiff and her recorded dying wish was for the conversion of the Marquis of Bute - this was far from preternatural foresight as the young Bute's attraction to Catholicism was a matter of public knowledge but the young nun did express the hope that one day the Duke would support a house of her order in her home town. Within weeks - prior to his formal conversion - Bute communicated via Fr. Capel to the order's Mother Provincial at Hammersmith his intention to support a House of the Good Shepherd.

While obviously the preparation for the two orders of nuns arriving in Cardiff overlapped the stories might be told separately. Their respective diaries both lead to a similar 'punch line' concerning their arrival.

### Nazareth House

On 6 August 1872 six Sister's of Nazareth arrived from London and took possession of a house in Tyndall Street which had been loaned

rent-free by the third Marquess:

"On their arrival, they found the house quite empty, and the Sisters passed their first night sitting on the floor; having borrowed from the neighbours one chair; on which Mother General sat during the night-watches!"

The priests and people of Tyndall Street rallied around when they realised the nun's predicament and within days sufficient furniture was provided - the kindness of the poor people in giving from their meagre stock making a huge impression upon the nuns. After being empty some time the house needed a through cleaning and again the inhabitants of Newtown took on the job mob-handed. Gifts were handed to the Sisters - small packets of tea, vegetables and cheese. Some were even thrown over the wall of the Sister's garden to preserve the secrecy of the donor. A chapel was improvised and Bishop Brown called to welcome the nuns to his diocese. The first Mass was celebrated on 28 August and the Blessed Sacrament reserved. A further, this time temporal, guest arrived the very next day - an old woman of one hundred and three years of age, described as so utterly destitute that she possessed but one garment (presumably a shift of sorts). Other poverty-stricken individuals soon followed - the Sister Infirmarian had a heavy daily workload, dressing wounds, applying ointments, lotions and 'eye-water', distributing bandages and medicines. The *speciality* of this house was to offer care and accommodation to children (orphans, sick or deserted) and those in need of a home through infirmity or age. While at Tyndall Street Mother Mary St. Peter Glenham, the first superior, caught typhus from one of her charges and died - mission work within Britain was not without its real dangers.

It soon became clear that the house in Tyndall Street was far too small for their work. This time the Marquess was more aware of the order's work and needs. He still had the desire to mark his conversion by erecting a significant building in Cardiff. In 1873 he offered two and a half acres of land in the North Road, and £1000 towards the new building fund; his donation was doubled from the will of a French priest, a Pere Bernin, who had then recently died at Nazareth House, Hammersmith. Bute involved himself in the design of the new building - causing some heart flutters with his insistence that his own architect draw up building plans to replace the developing originals upon pain of his funding being withdrawn. Specifically, he brought to the project an awareness that the

institution would need to be able to develop to meet the needs of a fast-growing town and insisted that plans be prepared with future expansion in mind. On 23 March 1874, the Right Rev. Dr. Hedley, then coadjutor to Bishop Brown and future Bishop of Newport, laid the foundation stone of Nazareth House.

Nazareth House opened for 'business' the following autumn: "The accommodation provided was for 65 children and 46 aged persons." Bute's assessment of future needs was almost immediately proved correct. Extensions were built in 1879, 1890, 1898 and a new school in 1908 - Bute continued to offer substantial support to the foundation - milk, coke, firewood and other produce from his neighbouring farms, the financing of summer day trips (sometimes using the estate's boats in the Bristol Channel) and numerous 'treats'. Both the Marquess and Marchioness made frequent visits to Nazareth House during their Cardiff sojourns, most often informally so that they could talk freely with those in its care - the Castle grounds were declared open to the nuns and their charges and it seems that there was a real warmth behind Bute's charity.

The Catholic community in Cardiff was maturing and increasingly sought to assume a role in the development of its own institutions - presumably much to Bute's pleasure who supported such events with donations and subscriptions. This was particularly evident at Nazareth House where the clergy and laity running the early Bazaars (which would last across a week or a fortnight) developed into a fund-raising body known as the Assault-at-Arms Committee which for many years run an annual Carnival-cum-Fete-cum-Sports-cum-Open Day of a scale unknown today which was a major landmark in the Catholic year. Nazareth House developed to assume a front-line role in the social service facilities as they existed in Cardiff from the Victorian period to the post-war years and its work continues to this day.

### **The Convent of the Good Shepherd**

Jumping backwards in time to 1870 Lord Bute wrote in his own hand to the Mother Provincial of the Order of the Good Shepherd reviving his earlier invitation to discuss the creation of a convent of the Order at Cardiff. Bute had identified a farm in the then rural and outlying district of Pen-y-Lan which could be converted to the Order's purpose. On 1 September 1870 aided by the local Rosminian superior, Fr. Caccia, the site was inspected by the Mother Superior and a companion. The existing farm

cottage was deemed unsuitable for conversion and the decision was taken to re-build the house from scratch together with a dormitory and a laundry - the Order's speciality was providing a refuge for single girls who were in 'moral danger' and the laundry was a common means of putting the girls to work and securing some finance for the institution (The Convent is listed in the 1881 census as 'Home for Fallen Women RC', with 18 staff and 100 'inmates'.) The Convent diary records.

"The Marquis soon made his appearance; running towards us and leaving no time to take off our black aprons. He expressed great pleasure at seeing 'the pretty white habit.'"

The Marquess took the visitors to Cardiff Castle, acting as their guide:

"He took us all over the Castle; his great taste seemed to be Greek and Russian pictures. In his own room was a Triptych of the Crucifixion. He showed us a full length portrait of his mother with himself as a boy in the Highland dress. He seemed to delight in talking about her and about the possibility of getting Masses said for the souls in Purgatory at the many burial places of his family."

Lord Bute agreed to the proposed buildings but asked that "the chapel will, with permission, be fitted up in a very simple, but somewhat handsomer manner by my architect, Mr. Burges, with whom I have visited ..." (Regrettably no sketches or drawings of this seem to have survived.) Bute's own correspondence speaks of the erection of a 'large Gothic baldequin' [a decorated canopy sheltering the altar] and concentrates on the value of the nuns singing High Mass, Vespers and Benediction rather than their social work. During a visit during the Convent's building the Mother Provincial was just in time to prevent a high wall being placed around the convent precincts as if it was the home of a contemplative order - the Reverend Mother observed "the Penitents being entirely voluntary, and free to leave." In late summer 1872 the house was declared completed by the estate managers. Around this time, the Marquis was thrown from his carriage and broke his arm and additionally his new bride had contracted scarlet fever and was recuperating from the then potentially-serious disease and the two misfortunes may have caused the delay in issuing an invitation to the nuns to take charge of their new home which came only in October. A week after it was made the first four nuns

of the new house arrived.

In fact the convent - especially the chapel - was far from finished - paths and roads were unmade, mud was everywhere and a stable had to be pressed into use as a kitchen. We do not know if the chapel ever received its baldequin; it would seem unlikely. Clearly there had been a failure with the finishing touches. There was no furniture. The nuns had to request straw for bedding from Fr. Caccia.

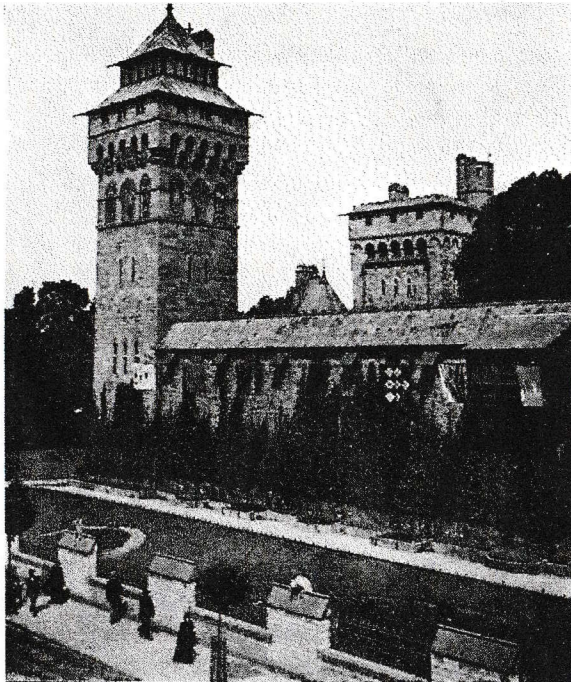
Was the 'empty convent' an oversight on Bute's part - a man whose letters on matter's liturgical could be so detailed as to the exact length and diameter of candles to be used, even the number of grains of incense to be used at given points of the ceremony? Had he lost interest when it became clear that the nun's energies were in a social rather than exclusively liturgical field? In truth we do not know. It was a repeat of the Tyndall Street arrival just months earlier and even the brand-new 'successor' Nazareth House in Cathays was not provided with furniture despite Bute's generosity in many other respects. A likely explanation lies in that Bute saw it as important that his contribution to a worthy cause - while often dominant - be not the only one. Like his father before him the third Marquess had firm ideas on the role of charity. While he would reach readily for his cheque book it was often with the provision that the sum he would donate would be matched by the donations of others or supplemented 'in kind'. Whatever the explanation, the Rosminians and their parishioners rallied around the nuns of the Good Shepherd even if the rural setting of the new convent denied an influx of neighbourly generosity; furniture was begged and borrowed and a temporary chapel was made in a converted classroom and the first Mass celebrated on 1 November 1872 by Father Signini. The Convent of the Good Shepherd continued at Pen-y-Lan until its closure in 1962; the site became the home of Heathfield House School and now hosts St. David's Sixth Form College.

### Corpus Christi

Within living memory the Bute Catholic heritage is mostly closely associated in Cardiff minds with the once-annual Corpus Christi procession hosted for so long within the Castle grounds. In this 'event' Bute's love for ceremony chimed with an evolving Catholic devotion for the Blessed Sacrament and a secular growth in confidence of the local Catholic community. Bute made the initial overture with the invitation for

a procession to be held within the castle in 1874. The first celebration was 'private' insofar as attendance was by invitation only. The priest's from St. David's and St. Peter's were present, including, besides Fr. Clark - Castle chaplain and behind-the-scenes organiser - Fathers Bruno, Hayde and Maguire. In glorious sunshine the Blessed Sacrament was taken from the Castle chapel (then in an upper chamber, larger than the chapel which may be seen today). The procession was headed by the choir and altar servers, and then came the clergy with the Blessed Sacrament in their midst. Four men carried the embroidered canopy providing shelter to the Real Presence, one of whom was the Marquess. The laity - admitted by family ticket - followed, led by the Marchioness of Bute. There were no spectators - 'all present joining in the great act of solemn homage.' There were no organised bodies of school children present. The procession was led to a flower and ivy-covered altar of repose close to the Castle keep which resounded to the strains of the "*Lauda Sion*" and "*Pange Lingua*".

The success of the first ceremony prompted its repetition the following year, this time with the children of Nazareth House and from the schools being present. In short order, under the impetus of a Fr. Bailey, the procession moved first to include the Castle lawns outside of the walls and gradually to the Cardiff streets. The event grew in size and scope - reflecting the fortunes of Cardiff's Catholic population. The Marquess provided a tea for the participating schoolchildren upon their return to their own schools after the procession. In time the celebrations spilled over to a second day with a funfair being hosted at the Castle with pony and donkey rides, stalls, sports and refreshments. Interrupted by the Second World War, the procession was revived in the late 1950's and until 1975 a temporary altar for the celebration continued to be set up in the Castle Grounds (now a public park). The event was then moved to the National Stadium and Cardiff Arms Park but was discontinued in the 1990's - a victim of social changes, Sunday shopping and massive growth in the flow of traffic. The procession was a prime event in Cardiff's 'social calendar' for more than a hundred years. Distinct from the Corpus Christi celebrations in Victorian times was a further treat upon the Marquess's birthday - children would leave in procession from their schools at around 11-30 a.m. and leave the Castle grounds eight hours later after a programme of games and a tea. 'Buns and milk' were distributed to those unable to walk in the procession - presumably children too sick to attend school.



**The Castle in 1896 - the Cardiff residence of the Third Marquess. The famous animal wall was then in front of the Castle.**



**An early Corpus Christi Procession, a celebration which started in 1874 and continued to be held in the Castle over a period of a hundred years.**

### **Work behind the scenes**

At least two dangers exist in attempting to make a list of the Catholic causes in Cardiff and vicinity which benefited from the Bute generosity. Firstly, that his gifts and donations were so varied and extensive that omissions are inevitable; secondly, that the linking of the name of Bute to a particular project implies exclusive Bute sponsorship which was often not the case.

A common expression of the third Marquess's support was the grant of a 99-year lease of land - the legislation of the day made the outright donation of land extremely difficult but it was the understanding that the land was a gift in perpetuity - made for the churches of St. Paul's Newtown, St. Cuthbert's in the Docks, St. Mary's Canton, - and of further land nearby for school buildings and for a school in Grangetown. Outside of Cardiff, the Marquess made a gift of land for parish churches at Hirwaun, at Treorchy, at Caerphilly; three parcels of land within Penarth; various packets of land for use as 'Catholic' burial plots. Unmentioned so far is Bute's loan of a house and chapel to Bishop Hedley upon the Bishop's relocation to Cardiff in 1881 (the fourth Marquess was to make a similar loan then outright gift of a house in Newport Road to Bishop Hedley's successors), the building of a tower for St. Peter's; the fitting out of St. Peter's sacristy, the payment for the 'Iron Church' - St. Alban's first prefabricated incarnation - in Cardiff's Splott and - beyond the possibility of recounting - many, many gifts of church fittings, support to a huge number of local fund-raising efforts (often towards church building) and gifts to the individual needy.

The material/organisational benefits of Bute's generosity to the Catholic Church in south Wales were immense - the timing of the Bute intervention was also most significant. Even in the last quarter of the 19thC. the expansion of towns and industrial villages was continuing apace. The local Catholic Church still relied upon the offerings of congregations drawn overwhelmingly from the working classes and individual parish commitment to the provision of a church and/or school was nearly always something of a gamble. A 'Catch-22' situation along the lines of - 'we can't afford to build a church, but we can't afford not to'. Often land prices and rents were fast increasing and inaction would lead to the church being 'crowded out' of the land race by commercial and industrial concerns. Without Bute intervention, doubtless, the work would have been tackled but more slowly and with much greater effort required

by priest and congregation. The partnership of 'peer, priest and people' allowed for the provision of Catholic places of worship and education *where they were needed, when they were needed* - in the middle of developing Catholic populations. Bute generosity did not mean that the parishes were absolved from the need to raise large sums of money for building and educational purposes but the intervention was critical in reducing the sums to a proportion which was realistic and gave confidence that the still considerable task could be accomplished. Inevitably, the Bute contributions were largely focused upon the area where the Estate held land and interests but the wider Catholic community within south Wales benefitted by the 'knock-on effect' of slender diocesan resources being freed for employment elsewhere. At a time when Cardiff and its neighbouring Catholic parishes were struggling to provide an infrastructure of worship and church administration from meagre resources Bute patronage was a most significant factor.

In an age when sectarianism was still a marked social influence the Catholic Church benefited hugely from Bute's conversion in ways other than the solely material. Catholicism was elevated from its poor-relation status amongst the other churches not merely in purely financial terms (this would have happened through a developing Catholic middle class in time) but in terms of regard and respectability. The Bute influence helped to bring Catholics into the mainstream of local government and commerce more quickly than otherwise might have happened. Bute's intervention - or more significantly the prospect of his intervention - was a potent influence upon the action of local government officials, agents of the Bute estate and even the actions of other religious denominations in helping to direct their actions with regard to the Catholic Church. When St. Peter's was built it was agreed with the Mayor and Corporation Architect that it would stand in an open location upon its own cross-roads. During its building the agreement was reneged upon and the street plans altered to 'bottle up' St. Peter's away from the eyes of the neighbouring Cardiff Protestant rich. Bute intervened with the Homfray/Tredegar Estate (the landowners of the surrounding area) to prevent this plan coming fully to fruition - although the results of its partial completion can be seen today in the 'staggered' approach to St Peter's main entrance. Where appropriate Bute sought to 'horsetrade' a solution to individual problems where he could. Again relative to St. Peter's, the Homfray estate was reluctant to make land available for the building of a school close to the Church so Bute lubricated the process by offering land 'in exchange' in

Roath. Similar deals were brokered in the coal valleys when local Councils prevaricated over the provision of land for 'Catholic' graves. Every landowner and entrepreneur in south Wales was conscious of the power and vast commercial patronage of the Bute estate and its potential as an enemy and this - while impossible to express in quantitative terms - must have a significant factor in advancing the local Catholic cause.

Religion remained a fertile source of disputes in 19thC. south Wales. Church - Anglican or Catholic - too often confronted Chapel. Even with Bute's conversion the Cardiff newspapers of the closing decades of the 19thC. sometimes exploded with anti-Catholic sentiment, often centred on local government expenditure being put to Catholic purposes - 'Rome on the Rates'. Causes of such wrath included aid to schools, Catholic Chaplains in hospitals and prisons, plots in graveyards and payment to institutions like Nazareth House for assuming what was previously a 'Poor Law'-funded function. It takes little thought to imagine how much worst it would have been if it were not for the influence of the third Marquess. The same bound copies of *The Tablet* which contain the account of Bute's funeral tell of a Baths Superintendent *designate* at Cardiff who unwisely declared his intention of ridding the establishment of its Catholic employees upon appointment - this individual did not receive his expected job after a full meeting of the Corporation to discuss the issue. The likelihood is that such a case would never have been taken to the full Council if it were not for Bute's looming shadow - even where Bute played no active part in the resolution of such prejudice his presence must have influenced considerably the thoughts of those involved and constituted a powerful underwriting of Catholic rights.

### A Maturing Community

For all of Bute's munificence, and the central and critical role of his docks to Cardiff's prosperity, he enjoyed a much less powerful role in the town than did his father before him. Bute was elected mayor of the town in 1890/91 by the Corporation and characteristically tackled his duties in a serious and conscientious manner, declining Cardiff's offer of a public statue in his honour. But in many ways his mayoralty was Cardiff's way of saying both thank you and goodbye to the Bute dynasty. In his later years Bute's personal interests were increasingly focused away from south Wales on matters relating to St. Andrew's university, the *Scottish Review* and upon the growing appeal of spiritualism and astrology - his notions of high romance had no difficulties in reconciling this with his Catholicism.

He was happy at Mountstuart and declared his intention to shift from it as little as possible; while still a relatively young man in the last decade of the 19thC. he increasingly cited ill-health as a reason to be spared public duties and the travel involved with them.

Few people enjoy a subordinate relationship with a landlord or dominant economic partner - in a competitive commercial age actions with a legality and total propriety can stimulate resentment. The level of royalties upon 'Bute coal' mined by others in south Wales was said to be a percentage higher than the norm within the wider industry. Strict enforcement of the conditions of a lease with a view to Bute profit could cripple a struggling concern - the very 'universality' of the Bute empire was a source of frustration. The Bute estate's sale of much of Cathays to the Cardiff Corporation at market price, while presented as a civic service, made many question the moral right of one man to hold so much land and wealth - particularly when the proceeds of the sale seemed to go directly to restoring numerous medieval ruins in Scotland. The Corporation of Cardiff increasingly sought to flex its muscles against Bute restraints. A dispute in the 1890s over the extent of Bute's manorial rights - not unrelated to the Cathays sale - prompted the Corporation to query the terms of Edward VI's 16thC. grant to William Herbert in the hope of finding them invalid. The results of the investigation into this and of the other ancient papers within the Cardiff vaults proved futile from the municipality's legal standpoint but resulted in the six volume *Cardiff Records* of Catholic local historian John Hobson Matthews - his work encouraged and unselfishly aided by the personal research of the third Marquess.

Emancipation from Bute social and political hegemony was secured not through antiquarian legalities but through economic and social forces. Commercially, Bute dominance was challenged by the mine and foundry proprietors - Barry Docks was built in the 1880s to expressly challenge the Bute 'stranglehold' on shipping. The seeds of the end of the Bute empire were, of course, sown by the second Marquess in the very foundation of the docks. Their wealth generated a growing middle class which found a political and social voice which did not chime with one of absolute deference to a noble proprietor. While the Bute estate still sought to exercise a continuing political influence at local and parliamentary elections the third Marquess, although a firm Conservative, did not seek to manipulate the electorate in his own interest to the extent of his father - it

would have been a hopeless task in the face of an expanding and increasingly pluralist constituency. Growing prosperity amongst Catholics had gradually brought more onto an electoral role requiring a property qualification and further numbers were added by the electoral reforms of the later 19thC. - but there was no automatic acquiescence to the Bute/Conservative cause. Cardiff Catholics were overwhelmingly Liberal in sentiment - not least influenced by the Gladstonian policy upon Irish home-rule. Most Cardiff Catholics were grateful for Bute's assistance to the Church but did not perceive any obligation to support 'his' candidate; some within the Catholic community resented the status which Bute's wealth brought with it - some declared that much as Bute had done with his massive wealth, he should have done more. A section of Cardiff Catholics were fiercely radical and Fenian in outlook and would have positively despised the establishment values which the Bute estate represented. For a time the issue of state support for denominational schools provided the Conservatives with a degree of local Catholic support to an extent unique within a British 'migrant' community. However, the allegiance was temporary and tactical and in this 'dalliance' with the Conservative Party the issue of Bute patronage was largely irrelevant.

### Farewell

In August 1899 Bute was taken ill at Mountstuart - most probably with a stroke. He grew prone to increasing tiredness and depression across the following months. He recovered a little in the spring and summer of 1900 but remained largely bed-bound. In the hopes of promoting a return to health the household transferred to Dumfries House. There on 9 October 1900 the third Marquess experienced a further stroke and died aged 53 years.

For the richest man in the world his funeral was a muted affair. The coffin was made by his own estate workers and it was transported by sea to Bute where in a failing light, followed by the one carriage of his widow, the coffin led a procession of noblemen, bishops, academics, tenants and estate workers for five miles to the chapel where Bute had worshipped while at Mountstuart. The following morning Requiem Mass was celebrated and Bute laid to rest. A few days later his wife and four children embarked upon a journey in compliance with Bute's long expressed wish. His heart was taken to the Mount of Olives where with the help of the Mount's Franciscan guardians it was buried in a secret location. It was the final both reverential and romantic act to underline a life of in which the 'high Gothic' came closest to total realisation.

## Postscript

The fourth Marquess, John (1881-1947), inherited his father's Catholicism, love for the Welsh language, civic mindedness and charitable bent. But huge in scale as the south Wales coal industry was to remain for some time by the end of the second decade of the new century it was to commence its slow, terminal decline and to take with it the Docks of Cardiff. The Butes gradually divested themselves of most of their property holdings and mineral involvements within South Wales. A particular act of charity on the part of the fourth Marquess was to pass the freehold of his father's Catholic foundations to the Archdiocese in the 1920s - for the notional sum of a £1. Upon the death of the fourth Marquess in 1947 Cardiff Castle was passed to the City Council.

The legacy of the Butes to Cardiff is evident still in the place names of so many of the Capital's features - Bute Street, Butetown, Sophia Gardens, Dumfries Place, Windsor Place, Mountstuart Square, Gwendolen Street, Colum Road, Ninian Park and so many more even extending to the names of their agents. Nowadays the once Bute docks are thought the key to Cardiff's entry to yet a new age again. Many a Catholic in Cardiff to this day worships in a church or sends their children to a school where the beneficence of the third Marquess once played a part. From our modern perspective many might express reservations about the very notions of patronage and associated deference, to consider Bute wealth and his indulgence in the romantic a sinful contrast with the squalor and exploitation which was the lot of most who lived upon his lands. But by the social mores of his own day and by his own, highly personal, lights the third Marquess sought hard to 'do the right thing'. A private, intense and deeply thoughtful individual he would have contemplated at length his position within an ordered society and universe - perhaps, he was seeking assistance with an inner torment when he so frequently appended his donations with the sincere request 'Pray for me'. At the remove of a century his request - perhaps coupled with prayers for the many colliers, ironworkers, dockers, housewives and others who made his fortune what it was - might still be honoured.

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*Praise and glory to you, O Christ  
today and forever.*

With the shepherds from Bethlehem  
and the wise men from the east,  
we kneel before your manger, Lord Jesus.  
We commit ourselves once again  
to the great missionary work of bringing you  
to those who have never heard your name.  
And we reach out the hand of friendship  
to those who are worshipping you in different  
churches and searching for Christian unity.

*Praise and glory to you, O Christ  
today and forever.*

Lord, your mother Mary kept all these things  
and treasured them in her heart.  
Open our hearts to the richness of  
our faith.  
Open our minds to its meaning.  
We adore you and bless you as our Lord  
and Saviour,  
Son of God and son of woman,  
the way, the truth and the life,  
the one mediator between us and God.

*Praise and glory to you, O Christ  
today and forever.*

