

The Life and Work
of
Herbert North
Volume Two

Frontispiece
H.L. North's chapel for St. Winifred's School, Llanfairfechan
(1930), shown as it was when the school was closed in 1968.



**THE LIFE AND WORK OF
• HERBERT LUCK NORTH •
1871 1941**

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Volume Two

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St. Winifred's School

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CHAPTER 10 - ST. WINIFRED'S SCHOOL AND ITS CHAPEL

St. Winifred's School, which moved to Llanfairfechan from Bangor in September 1922, was Herbert North's most congenial client. It was not only that he designed everything for the School (apart from the boarding houses it purchased) giving the chalet-like buildings on their hillside setting, a rather continental character. It was also that he became deeply attached to the School, a close friend of the Headmistress, Miss Norah Doman, and a patron whose gifts to the School included his services as architect of its chapel.

St. Winifred's School had been founded in Bangor in 1887 as a public school for girls by Hon. Eleanor Douglas Pennant (1). By this time the provision of education for middle-class girls at different levels was well under way, Cheltenham Ladies College having been founded as early as 1853. In order to secure the influence of the Church of England St. Winifred's was transferred to the Midland Division of the Woodard Schools, of which it formed a part until it was closed in 1968.

The Rev. Nathaniel Woodard (1811 - 1891) (2) had set out in 1848 to provide a system of boys' public schools for the middle-classes. These were to make good a noticeable lack by offering the teaching of the Church of England and following

the system of the public schools whilst charging much lower fees. Woodard only agreed later and with reluctance to the addition of girls' schools.

North's friend, Frank George, who took Holy Orders in 1899, made his career as a schoolmaster in Woodard Schools. He taught at Hurstpierpoint (1906 - 1913) and was then appointed Headmaster of King's College, Taunton (1913 - 1919), and then Headmaster of Bloxham, retiring in 1925.

Woodard, although Anglo-Catholic himself, recognized that rigorous uniformity in his schools would be impossible. George, whose appointments came well after the founder's death in 1891, was a Low Churchman. He rarely preached in chapel. The usual character of Woodard Schools is exemplified by their strong Anglo-Catholic tone. This character was shared by St. Winifred's.

At first it was a modest foundation aiming to qualify suitable girls as governesses or school mistresses, and seeking to attract the custom of clergy and professional men of limited means.

The name always associated with the School is that of Norah Doman, Headmistress from 1904 to 1938. After her appointment she expanded the roll sufficiently to pay off the debt,

and then brought the School to an open site at Llanfairfechan. There she enlarged it further and developed it as a means of access to higher education and to accomplishment in music. Miss Doman is still remembered by her former pupils with considerable affection for her qualities of humanity and humour, but she had a firmly overbearing manner which could, when necessary, become imperious. Miss M.A. James, later Senior Mistress, joined the staff in 1920 when it was said in the Common Room that Miss Doman had the most beautiful profile in Bangor (3).

When North became the School's architect a few months before it opened in Llanfairfechan on 28 September 1922, a period of happy expansion lay ahead. North's first jobs were to arrange for an extension of the water main, and put up a temporary chapel and a block of temporary classrooms. These two light timber-frame structures were erected in the grounds of Plas Gwyn, off Station Road, which included, as part of the School's first premises, a terrace of plain gabled houses. The houses which formed a pair, and were Plas Gwyn itself, had originally been 1 and 2 Sea View, the first boarding houses in Llanfairfechan to be built for that purpose. They dated from 1859. In the gap between these and Mona View, the terrace reaching Station Road, North built his first chapel for the school. This would seem to have been the prototype for the

prefabricated Merton Abbey Churches that North designed for Morris and Company. The design was not complete, for this chapel had masonry walls.

The west gable stood forward from the houses which flanked it, its big pointed window, which went up to the eaves to the ridge, being crossed by white diagonal lattice-work holding leaded lights. Under the window was the visitors' doorway. This was the ceremonial entrance at the head of the drive. Photographs of the time (4) show the chapel seeming pitched on its narrow site, the tall roof coming low to the eaves, the west window a well-braced structure in itself. On the roof, rows of lighter tiles ran up in diagonal lines among the red ones, making light rhythms against dark as the window-panes made dark rhythms between the white lattice-work. The effect was chaste and cheerful.

Inside, the white delicacy of the timber structure gave a space which felt intimate but not confined. The roof gave lively views of the criss-cross arrangements of slender plank scissor trusses and narrow wind braces.

The richness of the furnishing provided detail and colour. Nesta Roberts remembers: "It was, I suppose, a prefab... but the interior was as carefully - and successfully - realized



Plate 1. Herbert North's first chapel for St. Winifred's School, in which the first service was held on St. Winifred's Eve 1922. The photograph was taken only shortly before, when the book boards had not yet been stained green. They were dry just in time.

as everything else he did. A perfect arrangement of the roof beams so that the eye was led naturally to the Rood, hanging walnut candelabra - the chapel was lit entirely by candles - windows in the roof as well as over the west door so that the place was unusually light for a small building" (5).

The careful arrangement of the fall of light both illuminated and dramatized the interior. Sloping dormer windows on each side gave light in front of the altar, and the west window gave light to the congregation, who sat facing across, as in a choir. After dark there was candlelight, for there was no electricity then in Llanfairfechan. The candles hung in mid-air in the candle-boats, stood on the Rood beam, and rose above the riddel posts.

Seen from the doorway down the length of the chapel above the green-stained book boards in front of the girls' rush seated chairs, the English altar was hung with the same flowery Morris chintz for frontal and dorsal (Plate 1). This was Evenlode, a design of 1883. It is carefully cut to give two contrary motions in the pattern, to left and right. Frontal and dorsal were, as was usual, panelled, as were the screens which were brought forward on each side of the altar to form the clergy vestry on the left and the girls' entrance on the right. The panelling was nicely varied. On the altar there were narrow light strips between the dark pattern. On the screens there

were bold stripes made up of tall dark strips between a light-toned chintz with a strong meander. The setting of curtains is both theatrical and mediaeval, as of a booth. The altar itself could suitably be called pretty.

From above the altar the east wall carried a fabric hanging going up to the ridge, and with a wavy convex bottom edge. Above this were the wavy lines of the waters of life, and then the walls of the Heavenly City, hung with shields and guarded by the towers at their gates. The wood rising to the apex gave a minutely detailed ground for the Agnus Dei with its long spiked rays. This ground was an arrangement of pieces of the chintz used on the screens below. The whole hanging was in applique. The delicate and fastidious walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem (6) were created by North from the school hymn "Jerusalem my happy home". The wood of life spread itself above them, rising from the waters beneath.

"Quite through the streets with silver sound

The flood of life doth flow

Upon whose banks on every side

The wood of life doth grow."

The east end of the chapel is a highly considered integrated pyramidal composition, making an essentially architectural

setting for the altar. The arrangement of altar, screens, and wall hanging occupies the space completely from wall to wall and up to the ridge, and the parts are all related to the altar, and advance and recede. The setting is emboldened by movement. The design is governed not only by judgement but by geometry, as Plate 1 shows. The front edges of the book boards, produced, meet at the altar cross. Lines constructed from the bottom corners of the hanging to the foot of the opposite front riddel posts cross there also. Two rays of the vesica point to the candle sconces on the front riddel posts; and there are other relationships.

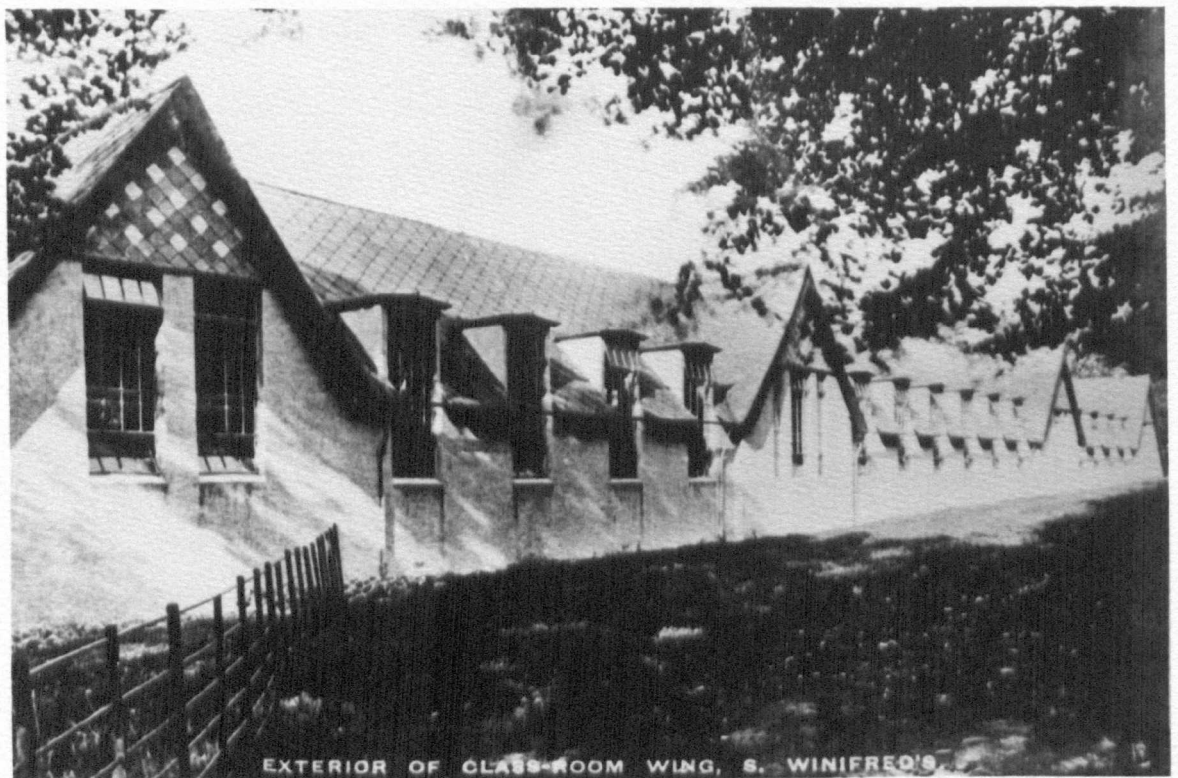
The sanctuary was set apart from the body of the chapel not only by the rise of two steps, but dramatically by lying behind the pools of light in the roof on each side, which seemed to extend the hanging, and reach to each other along the illuminated arms of the truss.

The chapel was held in real affection by the girls, but its greatest admirer may well have been Provost Talbot, the effective head of the Midland Division of the Woodard Schools, and the man who would have been responsible for North's appointment as its architect. He told his Speech Day audience at St. Winifred's in 1926 that:



St. Winifred's Llanfairfechan—Music Wing and St. Winifred's Hall

Plate 2. The temporary classrooms of St. Winifred's School at Plas Gwyn. The corridor with music cells leads off on the left. Station Road is behind, and the trees shelter the Afon Llanfairfechan.



EXTERIOR OF CLASS-ROOM WING, S. WINIFRED'S

Plate 3. The permanent classrooms of St. Winifred's School as they faced Park Road.

"He could not conceive anything more beautiful than the chapel Mr. H.L. North had built. It was a marvellous exhibition of what skill and exquisite taste in colours could achieve out of simple materials." (7)

As late as 5 September 1922, while the chapel was under construction, Llanfairfechan U.D.C. approved North's plans for the temporary classrooms (8). Their life was to be seven years, although the music cells remained after this time. The building was erected along the low stone garden wall down Station Road, and was entered under a covered way from a door in Mona View. A corridor with music cells led to a block of classrooms evidently conceived as a prototype for the permanent ones to be erected later (Plates 2 and 3). There were three classrooms, one under the ridge across at each end, and one under the main ridge between which was also used as a hall. The arrangements of the gables and the use of high windows was to be repeated in the permanent classrooms of three years later. Meanwhile at Plas Gwyn the green bargeboards spread widely across the gables, meeting at a perforation, widening in their lower length with the shallower roof-pitch, and cut off horizontally at the bottom. The roof covering was red asbestos tiles, varied by a pattern as on the chapel. The walls were finished in roughcast.

When the permanent classrooms were being built the walls of the temporary ones were dismantled, and the materials re-used in the new work. For several weeks classes continued to be held in rooms which now consisted only of the shelter of a roof supported by an exposed timber frame. Passers-by in Station Road had no difficulty in looking in. The floors and roofs were removed later, also to become part of the new building.

What were then the grounds of Plas Gwyn are once more private gardens, and looking now over the wall from Station Road there is nothing to show where Herbert North built his chapel, where the classrooms stood without their walls, or where the girls in green gym slips and black stockings played tennis on the lawn.

The site on which the new classrooms were being erected was in the grounds of Y Plas. The property was bought from North by the Midland Division of the Woodard Schools in 1924. The Norths had been living there since the war, and now returned to Wern Isaf (which had been rented to Miss E.M. Eaton and her sister, who now bought 'Crowstones' in The Close).

The grounds of Y Plas above Penmaenmawr Road stretched for about half a mile, and covered sixteen acres. The former

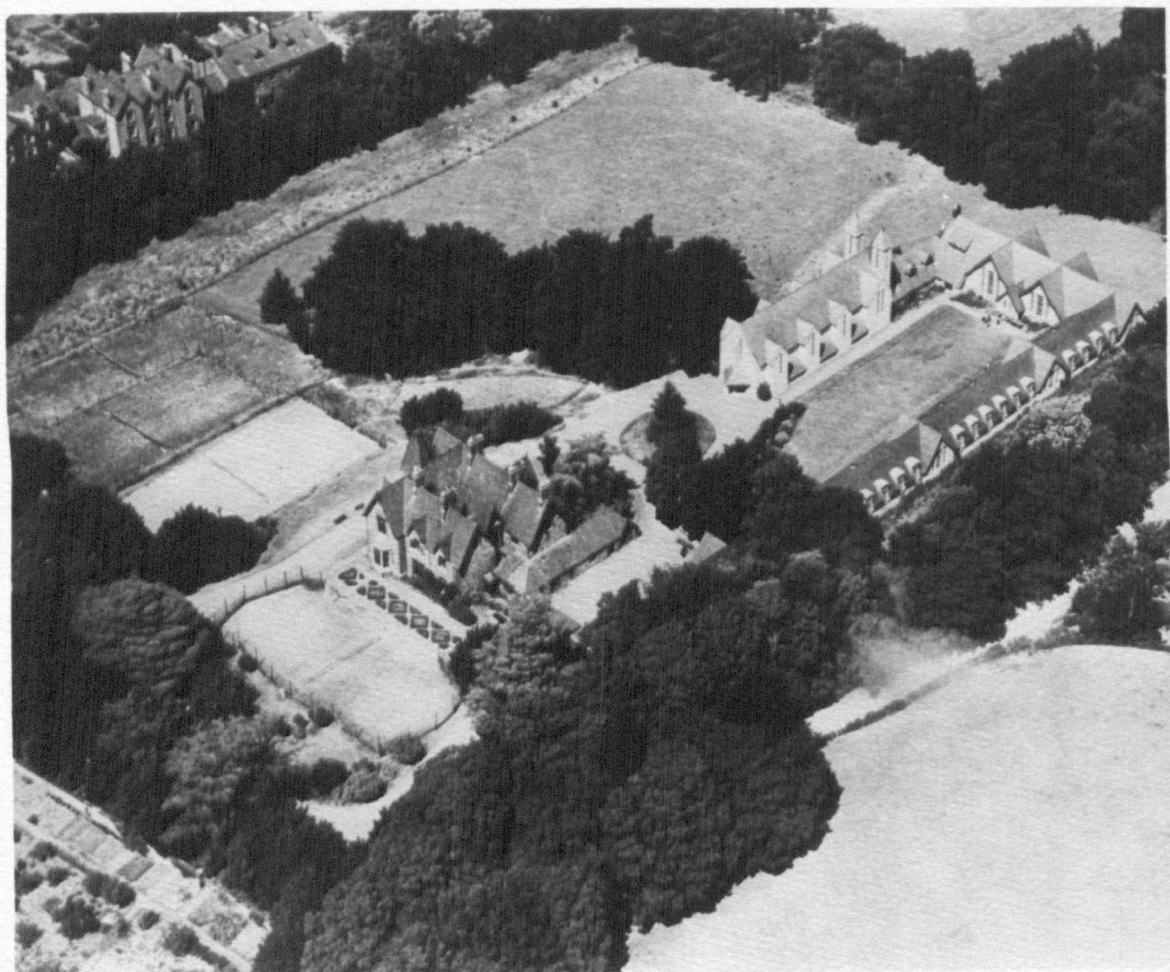


Plate 4. The grounds of St. Winifred's School, probably photographed in the late 1930s. The main road is top left, behind Richard Luck's perimeter planting. Y Plas has North's knot garden, and the tennis courts he helped to construct. The continuity and variation in the quadrangle buildings can be appreciated. They were well glazed, but the chapel was introspective. Its twin towers helped to earn its reputation as the cathedral of Llanfairfechan.

entrance to the carriage drive is now blocked in the embankment opposite the Llanfairfechan Hotel. The original thick perimeter planting still divided the grounds from the road as from the open fields of Penmaen Park further along it. Uphill from the main road Park Road was the opposite boundary, winding along from the entrance to The Close and the Church Institute opposite to the iron field-gate which opened on the track across Penmaen Park to Wern Isaf, hidden amongst its trees. In the opposite direction Park Road ran down past Gadlys and other houses on the right to join Village Road, which went down to the crossroads along the garden of Plas Llanfair Cottage.

Y Plas stood well back from the main road and looked over it to the view of Puffin Island. The grounds were well planted, and offered space for hockey and tennis. Along Park Road, between Y Plas and Penmaen Park, North built his long line of classrooms. On the opposite side of them the hall was added at right angles at the far end, and to that, parallel to the classrooms, the music wing, and finally the chapel (Plate 4). The sanatorium was built later away from the other buildings.

When finished, the long line of single storey classrooms with an uninterrupted ridge stood on an open site under Penmaenmawr. Along the seaward side a cloister gave access to the classrooms,

which had their own doors and doorsteps. From the roof above their was light from dormer windows, whilst on the Park Road side a long row of high metal windows which rose through the eaves was terminated by gables at each end, and interrupted by two more (Plate 3). The rooms were fully and evenly lit. They were divided from each other by partly glazed pairs of large doors. At first lighting was by gas, and there were suspended triple mantles. The girls sat on dark-stained Windsor tub chairs at separate desks. Walls had a painted dado up to the window cills. There were no window curtains, and the hot water central heating pipes passed about 7ft. high along the walls and across the windows and behind the braces of the trusses.

The structure was once again a timber frame, and the walls inside rose to the top of the posts, and the ceiling sloped up with the principal rafters and lay across the rooms on the tops of the collars.

There was a brace between the end of the collar and the post. The structure was exposed, the members light, the principal rafters in pairs for strength and to admit other members between them. It was a simple variant of the structure of the chapel, itself simple, and belonged to a line which extended back in more cumbersome form to many cheap Victorian churches,

halls and local railway stations, making up part of the body of utilitarian rather than vernacular work from which North drew. In the classrooms this resulted in the effect of a well-lit attic, which made them less institutional than their use would have required. In the chapel, which represented a more artistic line of work, it created an elaborate and refined miniature achievement, the origins of which are discussed in Chapter 14.

The seaward length of classroom roof sloped down to the heads of the cloister doors, and was supported there by posts on the cloister wall. The covering of the roof was again red asbestos cement tiles of the type which covered so many sports pavilions and bungalows of the day. Two of the dormers were gabled, and their ridges carried back to the two gables on the other side of the roof. The pallisade of white boarding shown between the posts on photographs was shutters, the diamond panes appearing in pairs.

The economy and simplicity of this building were workmanlike, and the materials commonplace, but its character, airy, light in touch, indefinably continental and mountain country, was original. At Bedales, the library by Ernest Gimson had recently been completed. Its roughly framed interior was strongly antiquarian, and the brick exterior dull. Gimson,

who was an assistant of J.D. Sedding's from 1886 to 1888, had built the Hall at Bedales in 1911 using similar heavy timber construction. The classroom block at St. Winifred's, with its fresh air character of cloister, hutment, and big windows, showed that from the beginning North's buildings were inconsistent in their character with the orthodox and restricted life of the School. The classrooms might well have made a better background for rhythmic than Steepest Garden at Bedales (9). The girls at St. Winifred's did drill.

By the time the classrooms had been in use for a year or more, Miss Doman noted in her Speech Day report in June 1927:-

"The great hall is already needed so that the little hall can form classrooms, and the classroom wing be undisturbed by special events." (10) Intended classrooms had been in temporary use as a hall. The Dean Roberts Hall was now to be built, and with it the Ida North Wing for music, and the Cookery School. These were constructed in sequence with the new chapel, the sods for which were cut on 3 November 1929, St. Winifred's Day. It was built in less than a year, and dedicated on 8 and 9 October 1930.

Towards the end of the summer term of that year the girls watched the temporary chapel, their "little green chapel" (11) as they called it, being demounted. Nesta Roberts has recorded

how they treated the men engaged on the work with "open hostility" (12) so much were they angered at losing the little building they loved. The structure and furnishings were transported to Brentwood Senior School, Southport, an Anglo-Catholic girls' school not in the Woodard system. There it was re-erected (13) with the big west window facing Morley Road in Hesketh Park. The trusses were raised to give height for side-lights. The interior was as before, with the altar being given extra height. The exterior was now of Ravenhead bricks set in grey mortar, and blue honeycomb slates. The building still stands, part of an estate of middle-class flats. It was converted into two maisonnettes and a flat in 1975 after the closure of the school and the sale of its property. North's west window with its diagonal lattice-work survived for some ten further years before being replaced by double glazing.

With the whole of the classroom wing to be given over to teaching, at the far end of it from Y Plas the Dean Roberts Hall was built at right angles, facing the house, and lying down the slope of the hill. At the back, it opened onto the last classroom, from which a flight of broad steps, extending the width of the hall, led down. The floor area was a double square. Each square had a simulated cruck at each corner pointed towards the centre, and a gable opening on each side (Plate 6). The use and arrangement of the crucks was reminis-

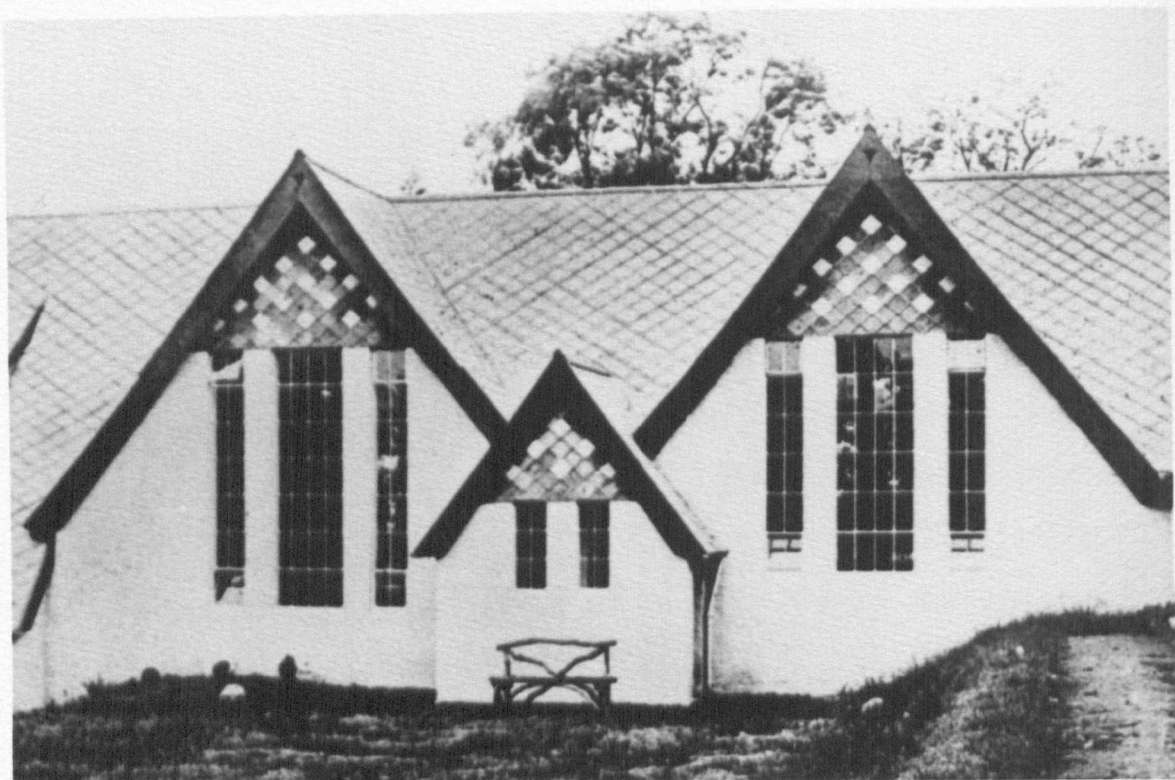


Plate 5. The Dean Roberts Hall as it faced the quadrangle. Red tiles were used for the diaper work.

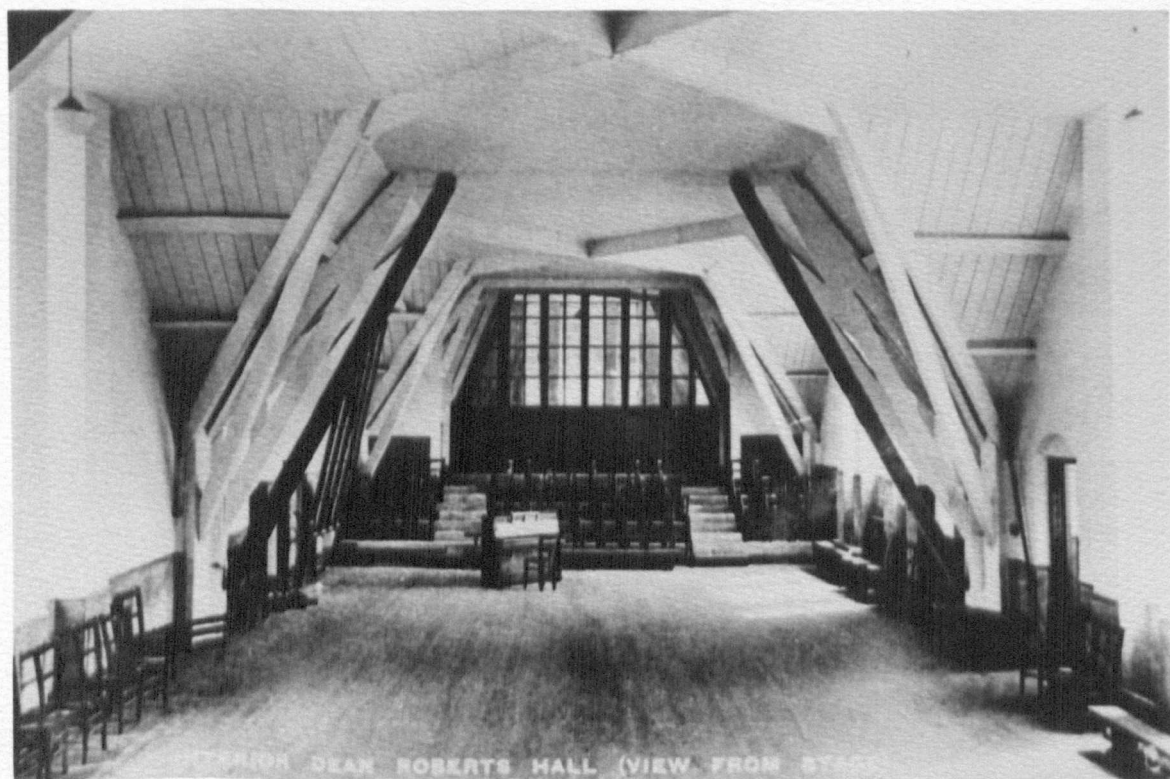


Plate 6. The Dean Roberts Hall looking from the stage. The crucks were built up from light members.

cent of the Church Institute, which had been under construction eighteen years before, in 1911, and where much heavier timbers had been used. The stage stood above the continued fall in ground level, which gave height for a room underneath.

The steps at the back of the hall were used for singing, and also gave a good view of the stage. The room beyond the partition at the top was used for art. There was a door, the usual entrance, from the cloister. Four hundred people could be seated, and the hall could be used additionally as a gymnasium and for dancing.

From the level of the stage the upper floor of the Ida North Wing for music was reached, also at right angles. In front of the stage the orchestra pit led, by a corner passage, to the ground floor of the Ida North Wing and an outside door. The room under the stage was used for cookery, and it was from there that the unexpected chimney stack above the stage ultimately ascended.

Twin gables looked down the raised lawn towards the house, linked by a porch where they joined, giving the triplet North so often enjoyed using (Plate 5). The tapered bargeboards above the gable windows projected beyond the boards below, forming a hood astride the diaper work. This was an arrange-

ment worked out on the temporary classrooms. North's eye for line and embellishment in joinery was exact, and the boards join at the lily-shaped perforations that were a favourite device.

The hall accommodated a number of different uses readily whilst maintaining its basic character. The first occasion there was the 1930 Hallow E'en Party given by the Prefects. Speech Day was held there from 1931.

The Ida North Wing lay along the hillside from under the end of the hall, and led into the chapel, under the twin towers of which the girls entered. On the upper floor, linked to the level of the stage, was a green room and five music cells, and at the end a small room for musicians and a choir opening into the chapel at the level of the triforium behind the altar. The lower floor had ten more music cells and the library, and gave into the chapel on each side of the altar. On the outer corner was the reading room, a little room used by the older girls, with a fine view of the sea.

All these buildings faced in towards each other on three sides of a long narrow grassed slope. (R.H. Carpenter had developed the use of the open quadrangle at Woodard schools.) Within this inward-looking group each building was distinctive, but

all displayed a broad similarity. They were ingeniously linked together, provided for a varied life, were not institutional, showed an orderly informality, and gained additional affection from the girls for being something which not only gave their lives enjoyment, but which was theirs only - and "Mr. North's" (14) as they said.

A drawing of 1925 (15) shows North's idea at that time of what his chapel was to be like. The main form of the building had already been decided: a choir given dignity of height, ambulatories, transept gables above them giving side light, and a triangular sanctuary. The three lancets and doorway in the west gable were eventually replaced by a central tall heavy buttress, with two lancets abutting, rising out of a triangular porch. Likewise, the saddleback bell-tower in the quadrangle, of a type familiar from earlier projects, was left out, and a pair of turrets added flanking the twin oblique gables given by the triangular plan of the sanctuary. These changes made the whole composition axial, and gave a distinctive ceremonial entrance at the west door.

North had an immediate example of the form which he gave his chapel for St. Winifred's: the war memorial chapel of Charterhouse School. A drawing of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's design was shown in the Royal Academy summer exhibition in

1922, the year in which the foundation stone was laid. The consecration was in 1927.

A writer in Country Life saw the most original feature of Scott's design as "apparently reversing the fundamental Gothic principle whereby loads are carried by piers and buttresses, allowing the intervening wall space to be pierced by great windows" (16). This feature ("here Sir Giles was obviously after an "effect"") (17) was to leave the large wall spaces blank, lighting the chapel by "attenuated lancets" (18) between pairs of buttresses in shallow transepts taking the thrust from pairs of transverse arches. The solid walls were loadbearing.

North's chapel was conceived in a very similar way. The thrust from the pairs of transverse brick arches was taken by the walls of the transepts. The walls between the transepts were solid. Seen from the west end, the transept windows were not visible, and the light glowed on the eastward piers marking out each bay.

It was North's habitual working method to develop his solutions from a synthesis of two ideas brought together to give a basis to a design more ingenious than could have been achieved using either alone. Such conflations abound in his work. Scott's conception for his school chapel was integrated by North with

a basilica plan, the altar in the apse flanked by a pair of transepts, and the ambulatories married with the idea of passage aisles, so popular since G.E. Street, and used by Scott. St. Winifred's Chapel exhibited North's ultimate use of the working method which served him so well.

Although the chapel was staked out on St. Winifred's Day, 3 November 1929, little work took place over the winter. It was not until after the ceremony of the laying of the stones on St. David's Day, 1 March 1930, that work proceeded rapidly.

In a Woodard school, the chapel was regarded as the centre of school life. The architects who built chapels for Woodard schools over the years tended to be able established men, reliable rather than original. R.C. Carpenter, who designed Lancing chapel in 1854, was favoured by the Ecclesiological Society. He died young, and the chapel was continued by his son, R.H. Carpenter, who did much other work for Woodard (19).

Lancing chapel was completed by Sir George Oatley.

Sir Aston Webb built the chapels at Worksop and Ellesmere.

His work at Ellesmere was completed by Sir Charles Nicholson, who also built the chapel at St. Margaret's, Scarborough.

Herbert North did not have the professional standing of his contemporaries Oatley, Webb and Nicholson, and his way of building was very much his own.

The inauguration of new buildings was a special occasion in Woodard school, and one which was used to bring out the religious nature of the school's way of life. Such occasions also displayed well the distinctive clerical-cum-collegiate tone of Woodard's whole system. The first chapel had been dedicated in this way on 24 May 1923, and the buildings were blessed at the same time. Much more elaborate ceremonies took place at St. Winifred's on two days in 1930, 8 and 9 October. The blessing of the buildings took place on the first evening.

A procession assembled according to precedence in the cloister, and moved through the hall and the music wing to the chapel, the Bishop of Bangor giving his blessing at four stations. The Dedication Service in the chapel which followed was completed the next morning. There was then a Service of Praise for the Dedication at noon. Clergy moved against the white chapel wall, whilst between those walls the girls all wore white themselves. At the end a Te Deum was sung, and among the clergy standing before the altar on the broad sanctuary step were Herbert North and his builder and Miss Doman (20).

Nathaniel Woodard was noted for his luncheons, by which he raised money and secured the attention of the influential. Luncheon at the Church Institute after the final service was



Plate 7. The altar and its ciborium, with the openings from the music wing behind. The canopy was trellised in red and blue, and encircled by perforations. The finial is out of the picture. The paving was concrete. The stalls were of walnut.

very much a school occasion, when girls joined their parents. Old Girls had returned to help, and were staying with Mrs. Edwards at 'The Haven' in The Close. Present girls acted as waitresses. Major Platt of Gordinnog lent Mr. Shepperd, his butler. Miss Doman, responding to a toast, said that it was an "unutterably happy day" (21) for her.

The apparently simple planning and construction of the chapel resulted in a building of complexity of effect and of consistent refinement. This was the first of North's churches to be built, completed when he was in his fifty-ninth year. Like all his others it was white inside, milk stone paint being applied to the flush-pointed concrete brickwork.

At the east end the colour was in the canopy of the ciborium, the altar hangings, and in the chevrons in the paving of the sanctuary steps (Plate 7). The longitudinal vault of painted boarding carried, from one end of the chapel to the other, surmounting the walls of Herbert North himself, the walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The boarding of the vault read as courses in these walls, which seemed to continue upwards those of the brickwork below. The upper part of the vault was painted cobalt sky.

The pairs of arches seemed to issue from the transepts, rising

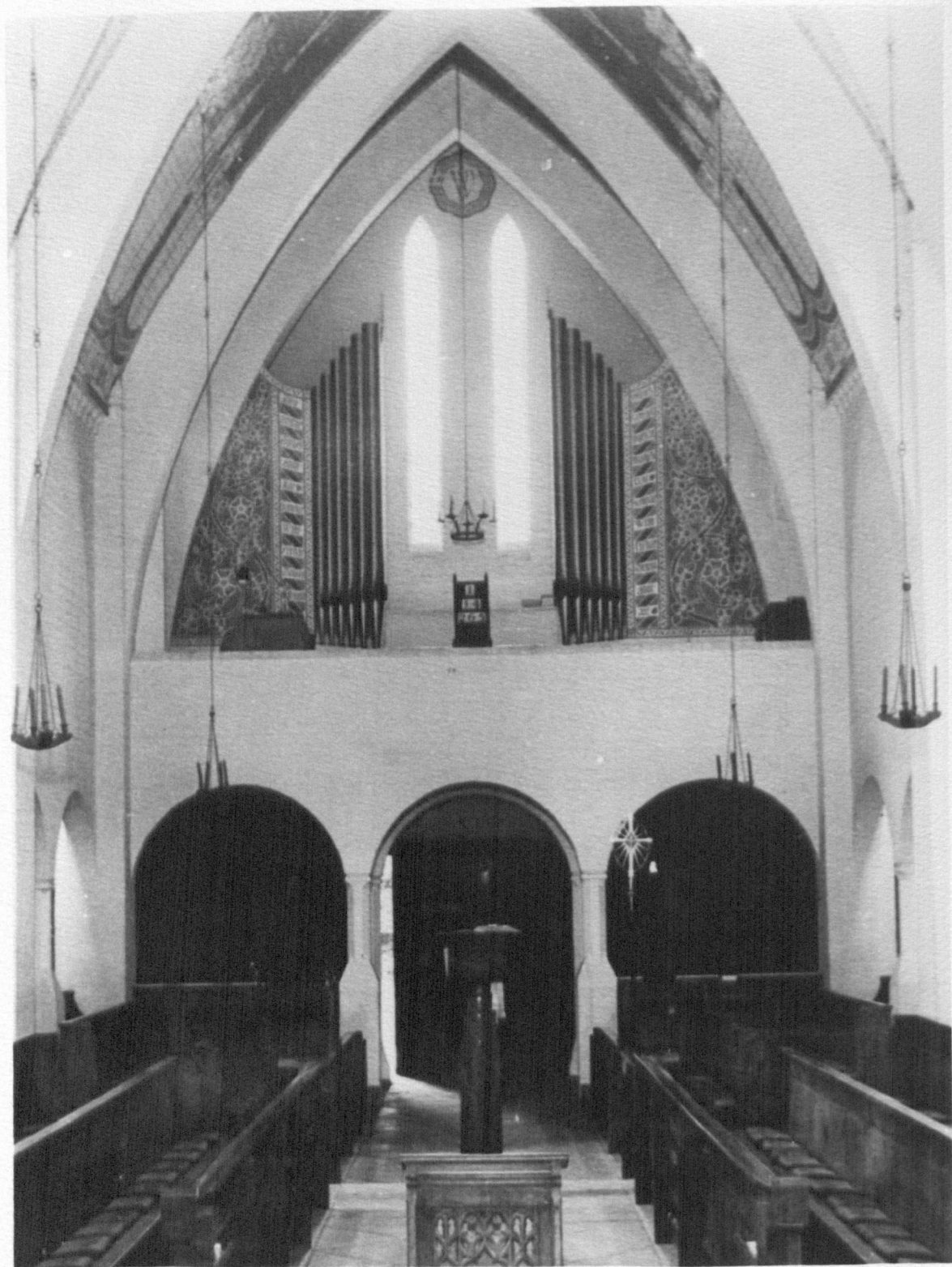


Plate 8. The west end of St. Winifred's Chapel, showing the organ loft and painted vault. North's vesica processional cross is well displayed. It was made by Morris and Company, and the materials included silver and lapis lazuli.

from their abutment at the end of the transept walls to bridge the choir, while the waters of life flowed at its sides above the black-letter scriptural sayings and the brick cornices.

Light fell from a multiplicity of lancets and internal openings. In the choir there was always space beyond, extending to the light. There was no immediate enclosure behind the girls as they moved, stood, and sat. The walls came down to open screens of arcading between the empty intervals of the transepts, with their piers going up sheer. The roof was thus the only continuous part of the structure, lifted from the piers on its arches to be a canopy over the nave as much as the canopy which was held over the altar.

At the west end, little light fell into the choir from the gable. Two narrow lancets gave illumination for the organ loft only (Plate 8). Nor were there lancets in the choir itself. Soft light filtered down the transepts. At the altar the light brightened with the falls from the extended transepts and from the high lancets in the sanctuary.

The long tradition of the west window was abandoned, and the symmetrical lighting of a symmetrical plan produced a complicated romantic illumination, with light seen under archways, along walls, and carried shining up the arches and the high



Plate 9. The subtly lit open structure at the east end of St. Winifred's Chapel. The Agnus Dei is the climax of the composition. The vesica processional cross can be seen in a near view.

square shafts of white brickwork.

At the sanctuary, the clear space of the choir gave place to intricate vertical organization. The pairs of piers flanking the altar rose directly to the vault. The pair of arches which spanned between them surmounted the sanctuary and were an entrance to the high space which rose beyond them which was carried up by pairs of stepped lancets to the Agnus Dei, and which then rose out of sight.

The two pairs of stepped lancets above the altar read as intervals in the structure and as shafts of light rather than actual windows. Those on each side of the sanctuary, above the dark voids of the round-arched entrances, are withdrawn beyond intervening pointed arches, giving yet again the experience of space beyond, and light beyond that. So the east end of the chapel is a highly considered vertical composition which may be read as a deep screen: not a barrier, or even a division, but a lit structural framework in which the altar stands (Plate 9).

It was in the unarticulated sanctuary piers, rising from floor to ceiling without interruption, the narrowness and height of the space they frame round the altar, and the way in which the eye is led by their arches to the Agnus Dei that the sense of



Plate 10. The altar in St. Winifred's Chapel seen with Morris and Company hangings.

scale in this diminutive building was best conveyed. The choir was 80 feet long, 19 feet wide, and 30 feet high.

The vault is North's ultimate statement of the idiom that possessed illustrators for so long. He did indeed intend it "for children" as the phrase of those days had it, but he surpassed the usual quality of expression to invent a panorama in which the long sky glowed cobalt as in a deep twilight, and within their delicate lines the ramparts and towers stood innocent and white. The green and blue waves of the waters of life flowed at their base, the walls were hung with shields of scarlet, and triumphant seraphim rose high above the towers with their many-coloured roofs. This gift of North's to St. Winifred's is intense in its colour (22), much heightened in its emotional tone, and the fantasy had a peculiarly personal quality, at once ethereal and vivid.

The altar had its own richness of colour and pattern, and a stately presence. The canopy of the ciborium, held aloft to the light on high posts banded with gold, glowed like red and blue brocade. Beneath, the altar-cross had to be silhouetted by a bright vesica against the dark rich dorsal (Plate 10).

Down the short length of the narrow choir the high-backed walnut collegiate choir-stalls faced each other, two rows on

each side, the framing of the book-rests at the front, and at the back further stalls under the arches. The walnut candle-boats hung overhead like votive offerings. Their apt suspension from trees rising above the ramparts on the ceiling neatly combined fantasy and reality. The lectern faced the altar from three bays down the nave, its cruciform pedestal holding up its Bible under a richly coloured coverlet.

The Scandinavian tone of the chapel's interior was pronounced, and it has something of the vertical aspiration of one of the most spectacular continental churches of the period, P.V. Jensen Klint's Grundrig Church in Copenhagen, designed in 1913 and completed in 1926. The powerfully modelled west elevation, with three crowstepped brick gables with the steps roofed, and stepped lancets beneath, can be related to much in North's work as well as to the chapel, and especially its sanctuary, but it has a vigour and emphasis of scale which were outside North's scope. He was essentially, and successfully, a miniaturist. Both of the parish churches he was to build were to have exteriors of Scandinavian aspect.

The gaunt exterior of St. Winifred's Chapel, with its featureless walls and narrow lancets under a long uninterrupted ridge, announced the concealment of the hidden space which was the scene of the services of St. Winifred's School for thirty-eight



Plate 11. St. Winifred's Chapel from the south-west. It has roughcast walls and red asbestos cement tiles. Three transept gables have single lancets, the far one a pair. All are coped. The ambulatory roof can just be seen. The turrets are shouldered. The severity of the design gives no anticipation of the rich interior. The photograph was taken after the second world war, when the tree in the turning space, left, had had time to grow. It was planted at the time of the consecration.

years (Plate 11).

In Woodard schools, religion permeated the whole of school life. The sermon in St. Winifred's Chapel at the Service of Praise for its Dedication was given by Canon J.J.G. Stockley, Chancellor of Lichfield Cathedral, and a Fellow of the Society of S.S. Mary and John, the governing body of the Midland Division of the Woodard Schools. These schools said Canon Stockley, "Stand for a religion that is comprehensive... comprehensive because it included all the activities of life: everything they thought and did." (23)

Shortly before his death in the same year, Provost Talbot had addressed Speech Day in June 1927. He was the effective head of the Midland Division, and had enthusiastically organized the transition of St. Winifred's to Llanfairfechan. Provost Talbot told his Speech Day audience: "We try to instill the Christian life into the girls so that they can turn out Christian mothers and Christian women, and, after all, what more can you want than that!" (24)

In the final stage of the school's life, over thirty years later in 1961, Rev. Geoffrey Newman, the School Chaplain, a former Padre and member of the M.C.C., wrote in his letter in the school magazine, "We try at St. Winifred's to teach you



Plate 12. St. Winifred's Chapel as it would have been during a service.
(The scene is most likely posed.)

the Christian way of life, hoping that when you go out into the world you will try to plant Christian roses in God's garden, and also build Christian homes wherever you may go."

(25)

For the girls of St. Winifred's the chief embodiment for thirty-eight years of the constant presence of school religion as a preparation for a Christian life was Herbert North's chapel (Plate 12). Yet it was a building containing chaste character, dignity, and high enrichment which was in itself a statement of feeling far finer than the insensitive tone of the clerical system which it served.

The girls towards whom such aspirations to duty were directed had numbered 33 when Miss Doman was appointed Headmistress in 1904. By 1931, the chapel was built, and the School was well established, though poor. When, on 25 June, staff and pupils assembled on the lawn in front of Y Plas to be photographed, there were 100 boarders and 38 day girls.

The St. Winifred's Guild Leaflet, whose thirteenth number came out in the same month, opened with Miss Doman's letter. "This has been such an exceptionally happy year", she wrote (26).

CHAPTER 11 - THE FLOURISHING AND DEMISE OF ST. WINIFRED'S
SCHOOL

With the school's chapel completed, only one further building remained to be designed by Herbert North for St. Winifred's: the sanatorium. It was a building conceived with characteristic thoroughness, and its interest lies not only in providing a reassuring domesticated character, but in this being combined with close attention to efficiency and working requirements. In this building North is seen decidedly coming to terms with modern life, as he did at 'Keldwith'.

The wards, as Nesta Roberts records, were "built on a slight crescent, facing the sun, with glass walls, terra-dura floors, rounded corners, painted ceilings, vita-glass windows, and, above all, a heating of thermostatic electricity" (1). North submitted his plans to both the Board of Health, and the Board of Education (Health in Residential Schools).

It was decided to build the sanatorium when the nursing wing at Plas Gwyn became too small and inconvenient for the growing school. The first sod on the new site was cut by Miss Doman on Christmas Day 1932, and the sanatorium was completed by 6 October 1933, when it was blessed. Before the blessing a meeting in the hall was addressed by Dr. Catherine Chisholm, an old student friend of Miss Doman's, by now a well-known

paediatrician.

The sanatorium, the school soon claimed in the Girls School Yearbook, was "on full modern lines with ample resources and self-contained. It is separate, but easily accessible from all buildings in the School" (2). It was, in fact, situated on the original drive to Y Plas, and backing onto the perimeter plantation above the main road, and near enough, according to Nesta Roberts "for cheery hand-waving to be exchanged with school-fellows going to and fro, though at a discreet interval of space" (3).

The sanatorium faced south-east towards the field in The Close, uphill from the school's well-wooded grounds. At the top of the field stood 'Greenhills', 'Dwyfor', 'Grey Gables', 'Hillcrest' and 'Ael-y-Gwynt'.

From the centre gabled bay of the sanatorium, high single storey wings spread slightly forward and extended to one large ward set transversely at each end. Seen from the rear, the building was more complex, but clearly articulated. On the inner side of each of the two large wards a lower single ward was brought well forward. The enlarged centre bay at the rear was of three storeys (the third in the roof) taking advantage of the fall in the ground. The central entrance was under a

narrow semi-circular arch, common to many suburban houses, and the hall gave access to the waiting room, and this to the doctor's consulting room and dispensary. Consultation was therefore carried out quite apart from the wards. Above the doctor's accommodation was the kitchen, on the level of the corridor and the wards.

The simple materials of which the sanatorium was constructed had already been used consistently in the rest of the school. Brick walls finished in roughcast carried high roofs of red asbestos cement tiles. The tops of the gables were tile-hung down to the metal windows. There was only one chimney stack, above the kitchen.

From the rear, at least, the medical purpose of the building could scarcely be guessed, and this without any falsity of expression. The character of the building seemed to be that of an unusual, but unassuming country house. This impression was contradicted only by the tall pairs of windows at the end of each of the large wards, evidence of something more institutional. Otherwise North used metal casements from Hope's, ensuring an atmosphere of homeliness. Lines of little windows ran snugly along the corridor under the eaves from the centre bay to the single wards, a lingering example of an arrangement used by Victorian domestic architects for so long.

The whole of the front of the sanatorium could easily be viewed at once. This was not possible at the back due to the closeness of the plantation, the convex form with its receding wings, and the obstruction offered by the projecting bays. The experience of walking round the building at the back was therefore unlike that offered by any other of North's buildings except 'Keldwith'. At the back of the sanatorium alteration of irregular advancement and recession lay on a curved route concealing the further parts of the building. The sanatorium, although free standing, had in this way something of the character of a village, as did 'Keldwith'.

With the sanatorium completed at the end of 1933 the school was as fully built as it would be in North's lifetime (4), and Miss Doman was nearing the end of her remarkable career as Headmistress. Cornelia Williams (5) was a pupil in the mid-1930s, and remembers the school then as still being in the nineteenth century, with far too great an emphasis on good manners, and not enough science. Science was taught at St. Winifred's up to 1926 by a visiting teacher in Holy Orders. Subsequently there was a resident mistress. The first proper laboratory was not built until after the next war. The neglect of science is one index of the school's commitment to religion, and its placing of itself on the periphery of the modern world.

The firm social tone of St. Winifred's marked the insecurity of badly off clerical families who could only afford an inexpensive education for their daughters (6). Mrs. Williams (7) remembers the arrival of a girl whose father was in trade, she thought the first. He was the proprietor of a laundry. He was unwise enough to present every girl in the school with a gift of fruit, a lapse his daughter was not allowed to forget. "Unpretentious" was an important word at St. Winifred's. Miss Doman liked to see "quiet reaching towards right tone" (8).

Other public schools, Mrs. Williams remembers (9), had little regard for St. Winifred's, and Penrhos College in particular looked down on them. Only Howell's School, Denbigh, was friendly.

Academically, St. Winifred's was backward. Pupils were prepared for public examinations, but these did not include Higher School Certificate, or those of Oxford and Cambridge. H.S.C. was added by 1935. The girls with "no particular academic bent" (10) valued by Miss Doman were essential to the school's revenue.

Miss Doman held her appointment for thirty-four years. She retired in December 1938. Meanwhile Nesta Roberts' book about St. Winifred's had been published in 1937 for the Jubilee (11),

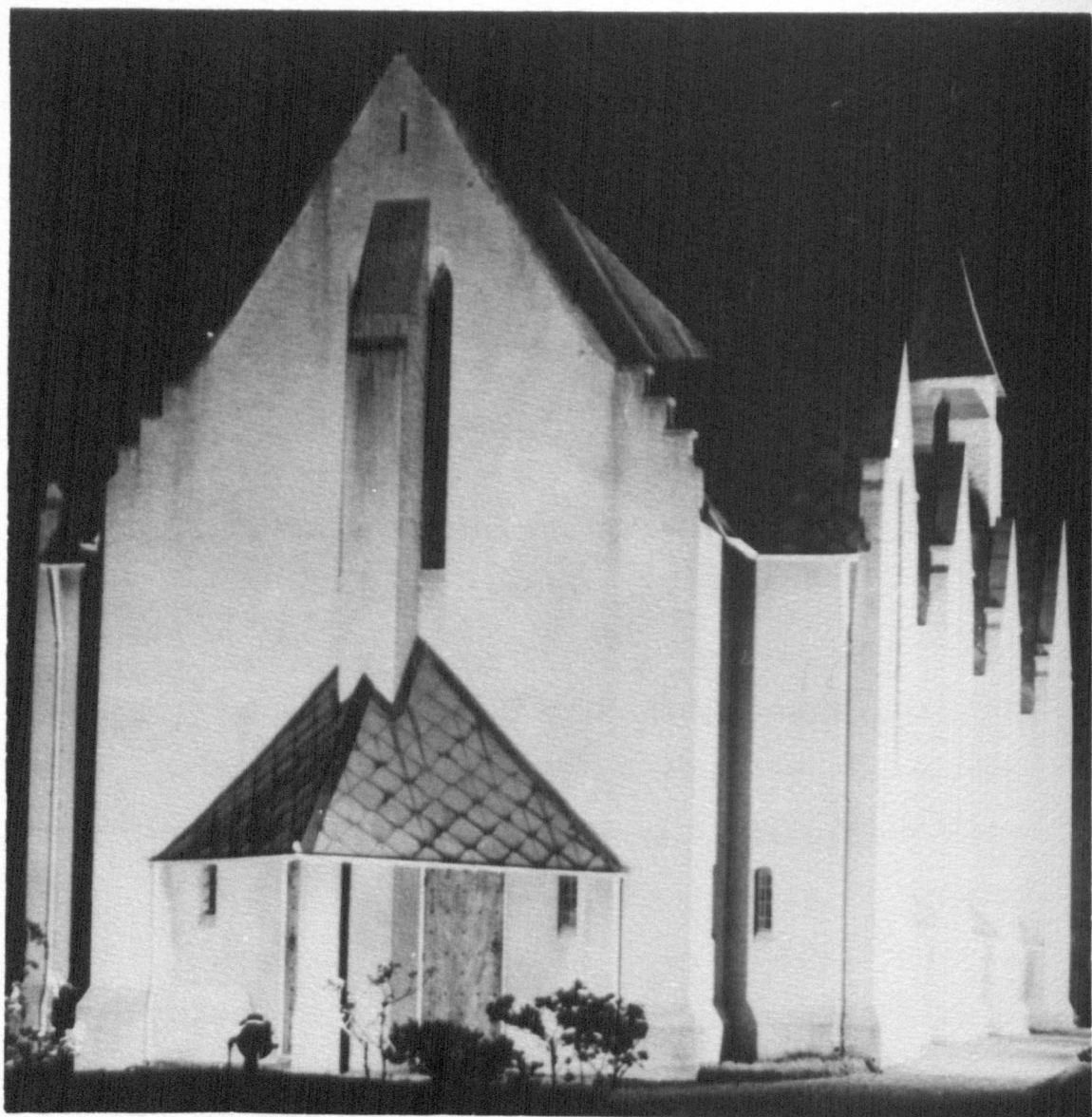


Plate 13. Jubilee Day at St. Winifred's School was 15 June 1937. Dr. A.W.F. Blunt, the Bishop of Bradford, preached at the Festival Service at 11 am. Luncheon was given by the Old Girls at 1.30. In the afternoon there was a garden party. It was decided not to have fireworks. The floodlighting of the chapel (above) and other buildings was arranged by Herbert North, and paid for and superintended by Mr. W.M.C. Preston of Deganwy.

(Plate 13). It is the best immediate source of information about the school, with evocative period photographs. Its enthusiastic chronicle expresses well the absorption in school life which many girls seem to have felt. The lyrical chapter "I remember - do you remember?", is a tour-de-force of intense schoolgirl memories which Miss Roberts collected and arranged. North himself made a contribution, the chapter on "Bangor and Llanfairfechan", which traces the history of the locality from St. Seriol's cell on Puffin Island in the sixth century, and the founding of Bangor Cathedral, to the development of Llanfairfechan as a resort. His writing is a contradictory mixture of banal sentiment and vivid visualisation.

Miss Doman had dominated the school since 1904, when she was thought of by the girls as being very young for her job, being only 26. Her nickname then was Tibi. She was a Headmistress of vitality and sympathy who always knew every girl in the school, and created for them an atmosphere of vigorous family life. She set a tone of keen moral endeavour and strict propriety.

Nesta Roberts saw another side of Miss Doman - "the dishevelled unconcern of the Victorian intellectual woman" (12). Miss Roberts remembered her old Headmistress "magnificently full-sail across rainy courtyard or down windy cloisters, with Burberry over

gown and gown over tweed jacket, and tweed jacket over woollen cardigan, all unbuttoned and fluttering in the breeze" (13).

Stella Christine Archer was Miss Doman's successor. She began at once to discuss extensions and new buildings with North, and he prepared drawings. All intention of carrying out this further work was abandoned after the outbreak of war with Germany in September 1939.

North then had another seventeen months to live. He died at home on 9 February 1941, a Sunday. His funeral was on the Thursday. Margaret Heyworth, an Old Girl helping out at the school, recorded the day in her diary after a night spent awake with girls listening to German bombers flying overhead to Liverpool. "Requiem for Mr. North at 7.15, but I didn't go. At 1.30 the school assembled and lined the road from Preswylfa Lodge to The Close... I went to the service in Christ Church and then down to the beach. It was a glorious sunny day." (14)

North's work for St. Winifred's was completed with unintentional anti-climax after the war. An extension to the classroom block, including the school's first proper laboratory, was added based on his design.

The greatest gift North made to the school was simply that of

his creative skill, used to make an original place. The buildings round the long quadrangle which led to George Benmore's house had a certain kinship with it. They shared long ridges crossed by dormers, and both can be said to have been Gothic, not least if Gothic is the architecture of the gable. North's school was light and well-windowed, the chapel high-walled, and Benmore's house solid and seemly, but all were romantic in their informality under the order of the roof tops, Benmore remembering Picturesque villas and North finishing his light structures with pretty detailing. The domesticated character of the school, low and varied, sat well with the actual house.

The chapel was of their company, but set apart in spirit, a building looking in on itself amongst others turning their faces to the sun and the sea.

St. Winifred's was the other environment created by North. There were two places where it was possible to be surrounded by his work: in The Close, among the hedges and gardens and the houses with cottage windows and low slate roofs; and at St. Winifred's, standing on the plateau of worn grass between the long red roofs, with the parapets and green bargeboards facing into the quadrangle.

North must, for his interest, benevolence, churchmanship, and

the ecclesiastical tone of his work, have seemed the ideal architect to provide the setting for school life at St. Winifred's. Yet there is an inconsistency in this alignment between North and the school, and it lies in the divergence of the relaxed character and arrangement of North's buildings and the severe moral tone of the school and the girls' restricted lives.

The fineness, honesty of expression, and originality of the chapel were in some contrast to the coarseness of sentiment shown by the clergy, the regimentation of the girls, and their reduction during services to uniform anonymous religious appearance by the wearing of white in the white interior. A tempered official view was put by Miss James: "dignity and rightness and reverence in our processions were strictly instilled, by Miss Doman. How impressive was the chapel, full of white veiled, white frocked girls." (15) These were the requirements of impersonality and etiquette rather than piety.

The chapel, to whatever use it was put, represented a high creation of the imagination, a liberation of feeling in a school in which strict conformity was expected. "Some of the girls used to sit and gaze at the ceiling, it was so lovely", Miss James remembered (16).

There is no doubt that North's buildings were well liked by the girls, but it is difficult to know how much was perceived of them beyond their being places which were very friendly to the young people they housed, and made the school distinctive. They may even have been liked because they were his, and he was so liked himself. Few apt comments on the chapels by teachers or pupils have survived, or could be collected. Almost all are superficial, sentimental, or inarticulate. Miss James was persistently observant and appreciative. She wrote of the chapel as it neared completion:-

"How lovely to wander into the unfinished building and watch the bright paint - coloured for two hundred years, we were told! - being laid on walls and "ceiling", to admire the canopy and the vaulting... to explore the ambulatories and the triforium... Here at last was a temple which was really our best, the best St. Winifred's could give to the service of God... its beauty depends much on its lovely lines; its clear unstained windows lighting up the rich colours of the roof; its walls left plain..." (17)

Indeed Miss James, who was at St. Winifred's for forty-six years, was the most articulate observer of the school. She wrote in farewell, "From my first day I felt the friendly atmosphere of staff and girls. An endless kalaidoscope of pictures of you

ever recurs to me - in the classrooms, on half-term walks, Ascension Day picnics, at staff and school matches, rehearsing for plays and special events, at debates, on countless occasions - how can I ever forget any of it" (18).

The cheerful social life Miss James depicts (and which is well reflected in Nesta Roberts' book) was some mitigation of constant restraints, as were other amusements. The girls enjoyed playing Maurice Chevalier records on their wind-up gramophones (19).

In this schoolgirl world of regular chapel and energetic relaxation, Herbert North took his place not so much as an architect, but as patron and friend. Nesta Roberts, who was at St. Winifred's from 1927 to 1930, remembers that in her time "the Norths stood virtually in the position of godparents to us all. I remember splendid parties which they gave for us, with marvellous food, and it was impossible to imagine any school do at which they were not guests of honour. Most of the senior girls, I think, had a sense of a perfectly genuine personal relationship with them" (20).

Little later North was in less genial moods, and was badly troubled by ulcers. Joan Horrocks was Head Girl, and left in 1934. "I left school seven years before his death and yet to

me he seemed an old man! We would often see him wandering around the grounds rather like a benevolent father figure... We all felt he belonged, but he seemed almost unaware of our presence and always seemed deep in thought." (21)

Cornelia Williams was much younger than Joan Horrocks, but remembers her in the sixth form. Of North she says simply, "We were his babies", and recalls that to them he was "Pa. North" (22).

In making a place for themselves in school life, the Norths received an unqualified welcome. They were admired both for themselves and their generosity. Such was their position that they could invite the staff to dinner, or give presents to the girls - Easter cakes in 1931.

But North's position had another aspect, for it was a well-kept secret that he almost owned St. Winifred's School. In the mid-1930s, when the total debt on the buildings was £14,400, as much as £11,600 of this was owed to North (23). He had quite simply paid for most of his own work. The girls who saw him about the school in his shirt sleeves and flannel bags had no notion of this.

Herbert North's legacy to St. Winifred's was the buildings he designed, but they were not to come down to posterity.

At Christmas 1967 the decision to close the school at the end of the next summer term was announced. There were still 135 girls on the roll, but their number had declined, with inevitable financial loss. Some parents proposed to set up a Limited Company to buy St. Winifred's from the Woodard Schools, but nothing came of this, and the school was duly closed at the end of the summer term, and its property put up for auction. The purchasers of Y Plas and its grounds were a firm of speculative builders, Price Brothers (Rode Heath) Ltd., of Congleton, Cheshire.

Outline planning permission for residential development of the site had been granted subject to contract as early as 24 May (24). In fear that the chapel would be demolished to make way for houses, the Welsh Office was asked by P.M. Padmore (now senior partner in North, Padmore and Partners) and some influential supporters, to have it listed. It was spot-listed in September 1968 (25), just after it had been visited by groups from the Victorian Society and the Society of Architectural Historians. Later it was classified Grade II unstarred. Almost immediately after listing Price Bros. gave notice on 15 October of their intention to demolish the chapel (26). No Building Preservation Order was ever applied by the Caernarvonshire County Council (27). The Llanfairfechan U.D.C. had no objection to the abolition of the chapel (28), and its

position was notified to the Welsh Office (29).

Within a matter of weeks after Price Bros. had given notice, the new regulations relating to listed buildings under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 came into force on 1 January 1969. The Caernarvonshire County Council was told by the Welsh Office that the case of the chapel would have to be dealt with under the new law (30). It would seem that the County Council did not communicate with Price Bros. to inform them of the change in the law (31), and consequently of their new responsibility as owners of the chapel, as their notice to demolish was now invalid.

On 3 April 1969 the solicitors for the Woodard Schools submitted an application for the new formula of listed building consent in order to remove the fittings from the chapel (32). The application was properly made out under the 1968 Act. The fittings themselves were still the property of the Midland Division of the Woodard Schools. The reason given for the application was that they were being damaged by vandals. There was no difficulty in gaining access to the chapel, which was left unlocked by Price Bros., a strategy which was passed off as making the chapel available to the public.

As the removal of the fittings was likely to prejudice the

fate of the chapel, the Secretary of State for Wales called in the application for his own decision on 1 August 1969. No listed building consent for the removal of the fittings was ever given. It would seem that no decision was ever made by the Secretary of State (33).

During continued unsuccessful efforts by Padmore and others to find an alternative use for the chapel, the fittings were removed illegally (34) by the Provost of the Midland Division of the Woodard Schools acting in conjunction with the Bishop of Bangor.

By 22 July 1970 the chapel had been stripped to its shell (35). The ciborium remained in position, damaged. An unsuccessful attempt had been made to remove the stone altar.

On Sunday 18 October a demolition crew moved onto the site and started to knock down the sanatorium. On Tuesday 20 October Padmore spoke on the telephone to Mr. Roberts of the Caernarvonshire County Planning Department (36). The County Planning Officer, C.B. Pyne, was not available. Padmore was told that no permission was necessary to demolish the school buildings, and that the Department had heard nothing from the Welsh Office about the future of the chapel. Padmore asked Mr. Roberts to ensure with Price Bros. that the chapel would

not be touched.

Later on the same day Padmore telephone the Welsh Office to inform them that demolition of the chapel had started. A message was passed to W.G.M. Jones, in charge of listed buildings. He told Padmore, who rang him again on 27 October at Lord Anglesey's instigation, that he had telephoned the Caernarvonshire County Council Planning Department "with instructions to stop the demolition" (37).

This account by Jones of his own role is not consistent with that he gave to Douglas Hague of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire in his letter of 31 March 1971 in which he allocated responsibility to the Caernarvonshire County Council.

"It was reported to us at the end of October that the Chapel had been partially demolished, and at that stage the Caernarvonshire County Council were requested to look into the question, and to take whatever action they thought appropriate under the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1968. The Chapel was subsequently completely demolished..."
(38)

Nor is this second account by Jones consistent with the

information given to Padmore by the Secretary of State for Wales in his letter of 5 November 1970. He claimed that as a result of Padmore's call of 20 October a senior official in Cardiff had spoken to the Clerk of the Caernarvonshire County Council to try and get the demolition stopped. This account, and Jones' original one, are partially confirmed by R.S. Nickson, whose information was "that there was a reprieve, but it never got through to the developer" (39). The Secretary of State did not explain why the application to the Clerk was unsuccessful. He did, however, say:-

"Your news that demolition work on the Chapel had started was an unexpected shock to everyone in the Department." (40)

The west porch of the chapel and the music wing at the east end were demolished on Tuesday 20 October (41). A bulldozer was driven through the chapel from end to end. It was at this point that Padmore telephoned the Welsh Office, only to find that W.G.M. Jones was unavailable. He then spoke again to the County Planning Department, and appealed to Mr. Chadwick to save the chapel (42).

When an enquiry was then made to Price Bros. they replied without mention of the 1968 Act, citing their conduct as correct under the 1962 Act (which had been superceded on 1

January 1969). They pointed out that they had given six months notice of intention to demolish, no objections had been received, and that demolition had been commenced within two years of the notice (43). This display of blandness was compounded by demolition actually having started five days after the end of the formerly permitted period.

On Wednesday 21 October Padmore asked the demolition crew not to proceed with knocking down the chapel before the outcome of Mr. Chadwick's negotiations. There was no demolition work at all on that day (44).

The fate of the chapel had by now become national news in Wales. It was reported on television, and the story was taken up by the Western Mail.

"Council planning officials went to the chapel at St. Winifred's School, Llanfairfechan, after a tip-off from a resident that demolition men had started work.

The work caused holes in the walls and the removal of the porch. Demolition has been temporarily halted, and the council's area planning committee discussed the incident at a meeting yesterday... (They) decided... to defer a decision about the legality of the demolition and wait for a report by officials of the

planning and legal departments. The committee is expected to receive recommendations from officials next month." (45)

St. Winifred's Chapel was completely demolished on Friday 23 and Sunday 25 October 1970 (46). The Northern Area Planning Committee of the Caernarvonshire County Council was still awaiting reports from its officials.

By 15 November all North's buildings for St. Winifred's School had been demolished too, as had Benmore's Plas Llanfair (47). The ciborium lay broken among the ruins of the quadrangle. Some of the Villagers came to pick up smashed bits of the chapel to remember it by.

The Welsh Office had proposed a meeting of those concerned to save the chapel, to be organized by the Bishop of Bangor on 20 November (48). A month before this Miss Taylor, the last Headmistress of St. Winifred's, was told by an Old Girl that the chapel was being knocked down. She had just driven through Llanfairfechan, and had seen the demolition taking place. Miss Taylor's reply is said to have been: "Rubbish girl, we are having a committee meeting to decide about it." (49)

The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire did not hear of the demolition of

St. Winifred's Chapel until some two weeks after it had been carried out. The Secretary to the Royal Commission, A.H.A. Hogg, wrote to the Welsh Office on 10 November:-

"According to the Town and Country Planning Act this Commission must be allowed one month to prepare a record of any "listed" building before demolition commences. We relied on this, which was not done, so we have not taken the necessary photographs.

It would seem that the requirements of the Act have been completely disregarded throughout. I gather that the argument has been put forward that it does not matter because as no use could be found for the building it would have been demolished anyway; but even if this were true, which is doubtful, it is not relevant. There is no suggestion that the structure was in any way dangerous, so there was no excuse for the action by the developer.

Admittedly, the penalties which can be imposed are so absurdly light that the inconvenience caused to him by a prosecution would be minimal. All the same, I would urge as strongly as I possibly can that if the facts are as stated action ought to be taken; to pass over such a flagrant defiance of the law will in effect serve as notice that it can be broken with complete impunity." (50)

There was over six months delay before Hogg wrote to the Clerk of the Caernarvonshire County Council, J.E. Owen-Jones, on 3 June 1971.

"You will be aware that this Commission is responsible for recording "listed" buildings before demolition, and that in this particular case we did not receive the required notice in time to take any action. I must therefore report on the situation at the next meeting of my Commissioners.

I have only had verbal information as to the circumstances, and no doubt this is not fully accurate. Indeed the alleged reason for your Council's decision to take no legal action appears so frivolous that I can only suppose it is an embellishment added by someone with a misplaced sense of humour... Your Council, on whom lies responsibility for initiating prosecution, decided to take no action; the reason given is said to have been that they would have had to prosecute the Bishop!" (51)

If a definite alternative use for the chapel had been found, it might well have been saved, but none could be. The Archbishop of Wales, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Glyn Simon, who had in earlier days been North's client for the chapel in Bangor, wrote to Padmore: "The harsh facts are those of finance; we

are after all a Church Disestablished and Disendowed, and only just able to keep going, and much as we would like to keep in being buildings such as are Saint Winifred's, it is just not possible financially" (52).

No application under the new procedure following the 1968 Act was ever made for listed building consent to demolish the chapel.

The Caernarvonshire County Council conducted a confidential investigation as a result of which it was decided not to institute proceedings (53). In a letter to the President of the North Wales Society of Architects the Clerk of the County Council, who had himself failed to act to save the chapel when urged to do so by the Welsh Office, stated that the decision not to prosecute was taken because "Those responsible for the destruction had misunderstood the legal position, and it may well be that they had been inadvertently misled as to the position" (54).

In addition he was able to say that "my Council were satisfied there was no deliberate act of wantonness on the part of anyone concerned" (55).

There is an additional dimension to this confused controversy,

pursued as it was for three years from 1968 to 1971, and only given in outline in this exposition.

The Llanfairfechan U.D.C. favoured the demolition of the chapel. Through its various forms of evasion it can be seen that the Caernarvonshire County Council took a similar view, (although its Planning Officer, C.B. Pyne, dissented up to the end). The inaction of the Welsh Office simply facilitated the inaction of the County Council. It is very likely that the activities of both bodies were more complex than accessible correspondence suggests, and there is no doubt that the roles of crucial individuals have been obscured. It is known that there was a particularly strong feeling of mutual dislike between C.B. Pyne and J.E. Owen-Jones, the Clerk of the County Council.

The additional dimension is that of keen social antipathy. The Llanfairfechan U.D.C. had had to live with St. Winifred's School, and an Old Girl, recalling what she remembered as the U.D.C.'s co-operation with the developer and its readiness to see the school destroyed, saw the matter strictly from the school's point of view:-

"We kept that place going. There was nothing in Llanfairfechan except the school. It was a class thing." (56)

It is a strange irony that a school which was originally for the daughters of impecunious clergy and professional men should be punished after it no longer existed for the impress of its superiority when it did by the destruction of its chapel, which is nonetheless remembered as the Cathedral of Llanfairfechan.

CHAPTER 12 - OLD WELSH : CULTURAL RECOVERY

As a result of his successful collaboration with Harold Hughes in writing about the old churches and cottages of Snowdonia, Herbert North's posthumous reputation may well have been amongst a reading public wider than the limited circle of those who knew of his buildings.

The books, however, have a value other than that of being a record of architectural discovery by the two men with the knowledge and ability to appreciate the old work best. They are an episode in the history of taste, North's own book The Old Churches of Arllechwedd as well as The Old Cottages of Snowdonia forming an initial phase, and The Old Churches of Snowdonia belonging to a later one. The importance of the books is not that they stand as Welsh equivalents to the able English explorations of vernacular architecture published in the same period. It is that they can be seen occupying a unique place in another context - that of the rediscovery of old Welsh culture which had been proceeding since the eighteenth century. The role of North and Hughes was to fit the architectural interest in old Welsh building into place with the distinctive view taken by the Anglo-Welsh aristocracy and gentry in the recovery of the folk culture of their adopted country. North and Hughes were, and remain, the principal spokesmen for an architectural account of the old work.

Welshmen themselves had been active in the rediscovery of their own past for something like a century before the national sentiment they cultivated impinged upon architecture. Then in the 1840s, as a result of the dilapidation of churches through neglect and the revival of churchmanship by the Tractarians, church restoration became an important question. Writers in Archaeologia Cambrensis, which first appeared in 1846 and became the quarterly journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, founded in 1847, showed a tendency to protect the old churches as national monuments, although in doing this they were not immune to architectural fashion, especially the seductive appeal of Sir Gilbert Scott as a restorer.

The Cambrians (as they became known amongst themselves) were an Anglo-Welsh body of the highest social tone. Their object was the study and preservation of the national antiquities of Wales. They were not concerned with architecture as such, and approached mediæval remains from an archaeological point of view, which became increasingly systematic. Nonetheless the architectural considerations which were vital in church restoration were always given some attention in the pages of Arch. Camb., though not to the extent given by the English county archaeological and architectural societies in their Reports and Transactions.

Up to the time that architectural discussion was initiated in

the pages of Arch. Camb., the formation of antiquarian and national sentiment had been proceeding in a largely literary and a much more native Welsh manner among the social and literary clubs of expatriate Welshmen in London. In the eighteenth century the Society of Cymmrodorion (founded 1751) and the Gwyneddigion Society (founded 1771) (1) were conspicuous in this way.

These London Welshmen of the late eighteenth century were distinguished by *Gwladgarwch*, which Englishmen knew as *amor patriae*. Meanwhile, in Wales, those pursuing similar studies in cultural antiquarianism as an expression of patriotic feeling included collectors of bardic manuscripts, antiquarians, and topographers among whom were the clergy leading the national movement for the re-establishment of *Eisteddfodau*. These gatherings for musical and literary competitions were resumed with success in the 1790s, and continued in 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars. By this time the cultural initiative had passed to Cambrian Societies in Wales itself. Others encouraged exotic encrustations of Druidism and legend, and national identity in the present became ever more emphatically seen as the inheritance of a remote romantic past.

While the Welsh were rediscovering their past, the English were discovering Wales. Antiquarians, connoisseurs, artists, tourists,

they came to Wales in the late eighteenth century in search of the Picturesque, the new fashion. Even if well schooled in the theorising of Burke, and familiar with the beautiful and the sublime, they had something unexpectedly vivid to experience at the torrent of the Aberglaslyn Pass, or on the summit of Cader Idris.

The Picturesque, in declaring the beauties of the irregularities of nature, drew on Italian painting of the seventeenth century, and both created and catered for a new romantic sensibility. Wales, like the Lake District, drew visitors as an embodiment of the Picturesque vision.

In time Welsh modishness became risible to English sophisticates, and Squire Headlong's very provincial circumstances and farcical improvements to his grounds, and the antiquity of Cadwalladr's skull, were readily made good fun of by Thomas Love Peacock in Headlong Hall (1816).

In England landowners created the Picturesque for themselves on estates that were a good deal less rugged than Wales. Building produced more immediate results than landscaping, and estate buildings in various visibly inauthentic and prettified vernacular idioms proliferated near big houses. Architecture was coming to terms with the buildings in the landscape, and most

of all with the cottage. Blaise Hamlet by John Nash, built 1810 - 1811, established the fact that it could be done at all, and at a high pitch of architectural ingenuity.

In Wales estate cottages were rarely given a distinctively Welsh character. The village of Marford (mainly 1813 - 1815) between Chester and Wrexham has tiny houses with whitewashed walls and ogee windows; only the slate roofs suggest Wales, and they were originally thatched. But on the Nannau Estate near Dolgellau a remarkable synthesis was achieved between the artificially romantic conception of the cottages, and the massive authenticity of their construction of blocks of granite. Sir Robert Vaughan was his own architect in the 1820s and 1830s. The usual labourer's cottage in Wales at this time was a hovel.

However much estate cottages may have celebrated their humble status, it is not possible to trace a definite architectural interest in the character of old cottage building in the early nineteenth century in Wales. Such an interest grew up through the pursuit of painting in the course of the century, and then had to be rescued from it. The old churches were given much earlier attention, and this coincided with an Anglo-Welsh aristocratic interest in old Welsh life and culture.

Sir Stephen Richard Glynne (1807 - 1874) was an assiduous

"churchcrawler". An official record of his life has it that "Sir Stephen's greatest hobby was the inspection of old churches, and he is reputed to have compiled notes on 5,530 churches in Britain alone" (2). A collection from his contributions to Arch. Camb. covering the years 1824 - 1874 was published separately in 1903 as The Older Welsh Churches.

Glynne was unsympathetic to the primitive character the unrestored old churches displayed, and appreciation of which was essential to their acceptance as architecture. He enjoyed finding a well-carved screen, and work he could describe as neat or refined. The beauty of St. Beuno, Clynnog, he found to be exaggerated (3). Clynnog is a fine and spacious church which made a crucial impression on the very young Clough Williams-Ellis nearly half a century after Glynne's third visit in 1848. The progress of taste was slow.

Sir Stephen Glynne lived in North Wales, at Hawarden Castle in Flintshire. In South Wales two vigorous and determined ladies were meanwhile altering the whole interest and prestige of the Welsh past for the Anglo-Welsh. Lady Charlotte Guest (1812 - 1895) could cut quite a figure. At the Grand Cambrian Fancy Dress Ball held at Almack's in Queen Victoria's Coronation Year, 1838, when many of the gentlemen wore silver leeks, and the ladies wreaths of acorn and ivy leaves, emblematic of the

Druids "Lady Charlotte Guest, in a tall Welsh hat of black velvet and striped silk dress carried off the palm" (4).

Lady Charlotte's main involvement with the Welsh past was her translation and editing of The Mabinogion, a collection of old Welsh tales, in which she was assisted by Welsh poets. The volumes were published at Llandovery between 1838 and 1849. Her contribution to the Welsh present was as virtual works manager to her husband, Sir John Guest, at his ironworks at Merthyr, by 1840 the biggest ironworks in the world. This role not only allowed her scope for her vigour, but led her to an unusually sympathetic understanding of the Welsh people.

Old Welsh literature having been given such significant Anglo-Welsh endorsement, Lady Charlotte Guest's interest in Welsh life was extended dramatically by Augusta, Lady Hall (1802 - 1896), better known to posterity as Lady Llanover, and to the Welsh people of her day as Gwenynen Gwent, her bardic name. Although she spoke little Welsh, she set out to maintain or revive the old Welsh crafts and customs with a demonstrative enthusiasm for old Welsh life. At Llanover she conducted what she considered to be a Welsh household, and had servants with Welsh titles dressed in Welsh woollens. She kept a domestic harper, and encouraged the making of the three string harp, looked on as the national instrument. The estate village at Llanover she

turned into "an idealised Welsh hamlet" (5). The Inn was replaced by a Temperance Hotel, and in the Methodist Chapel all services were in Welsh.

Lady Llanover's publications included a volume on Welsh costume of 1836 illustrated by lithographs from her watercolours, and a book of recipes communicated by the imaginary Hermit of the Cell of St. Gover (1867).

Her personal enthusiasms were interesting, but less so than the renown they established for her and she for them. With Lady Llanover, even though she persistently addressed herself to the Welsh people, the whole matter of reviving the Welsh past was given complete validation for the Anglo-Welsh.

The efforts of Lady Llanover, and those of like-minded people in Wales, were not isolated. As they set themselves to encouraging the use of old costume and collecting folk songs and folk tales they were part of a wider movement of sentiment. Not only did it go back to the collection of ballads in the eighteenth century, and the enthusiasm for popular antiquities in the early part of the nineteenth century, it was British, and even European.

The formative period of the new interest was neatly caught and

defined when on 22 August 1846 William John Thoms, an antiquary, wrote a letter to The Atheneum to suggest 'Folklore' to be adopted in place of 'popular antiquities' (6). The new term became established as meaning the beliefs, legends and customs current among the common people, and the study of them.

By 1846 Lady Llanover was fully embarked on her Welsh pursuits, in 1846 Lady Charlotte Guest was publishing The Mabinogion, and in 1847 the Cambrians were founded. So it would seem that 1846 is as good a date as any on which to focus in locating not only the first phase of Victorian folk interest in England, but also its expression as part of the Welsh national cultural revival.

But there is a more extensive perspective. Lewis Mumford, the historian of industrial civilisation, sees folk recovery as widespread in Western Europe, and as part of the essentially regressive romantic reaction to machine production. Mumford gives three forms of the "movement of escape" of this reaction from the new order: "the cult of history and nationalism, the cult of nature, and the cult of the primitive" (7).

As has already been seen, history, nationalism, and the primitive are all categories that have a direct application to the movement for cultural reclamation in Wales.

"The living tissue of customs and traditions", writes Mumford, "the vernacular architecture, the folkways and the folktales, the vulgar languages and dialects that were spoken outside Paris and London - all these things were looked upon by the eighteenth century gentleman as a mass of follies and barbarisms" (8).

But from the beginnings of the industrial revolution in the late eighteenth century part of the reaction against it was an interest in folk culture, much a novelty.

What was revealed, Mumford continues, and it was revealed many-sidedly by novelists, poets and others as well as folklorists, was the vigour of old local life. "Local folklore and local fairy tales were collected by scholars like the Brothers Grimm and historically minded novelists like Scott." (9)

These cultural interests were taken up by nationalist movements and nationalist states and became a preoccupation in the construction of national identity. Likewise, place and language interests were the key to regionalism and the politics of regional history, and this was as true of Wales as of Scotland and Ireland and regions in Europe.

A new sense of the past, grounded in the new knowledge of the

ways of the people, became the basis of national identification in the present within the romantic reaction.

Mumford thus gives the widest contemporary perspective to the reactionary and romantic tendency of which the interest in folklore in Wales in the middle of the nineteenth century was part. He raises the question of vernacular architecture. This was a matter which was not to be dealt with effectively in Wales until North and Hughes, and with them the primitive character of old Welsh building achieved architectural acceptance. As for the cult of the primitive as Mumford illuminates it, "it expressed itself on the imaginative level as an interest in the folk arts and in the products of primitive people, no longer dismissed as crude and barbarous, but valued precisely for these qualities..." (10).

Matthew Arnold was the English advocate of Celtic tradition. He is usually remembered not as the poet he was, but for Culture and Anarchy (1869), his exploration of the social basis of high culture. Arnold's lectures 'On the Study of Celtic Literature' were delivered from the chair of Poetry at Oxford in 1865 and 1866. One theme followed in the lectures was that the English should respect and sympathize with the Celtic traditions of their neighbours. The lectures were a plea for the acceptance of Celtic literatures and the languages in which

they were written, and helped to give their study academic prestige. Partly as a result, a Chair of Celtic was established at Oxford in 1877. Academic dignity was extended to old Welsh literature, and by 1877 this was the furthest form of development that any aspect of the revival of old Welsh culture had achieved.

Staying in Llandudno in the summer of 1865, Arnold was moved by a passion for the Welsh past, and in his introduction to The Study of Celtic Literature the volume in which his lectures were published in 1867, he described how the dull horizon and the Liverpool steamboats of the eastward bay were barren of the romance of the views of Wales from the westward bay - the mouth of the Conwy, "mystic Anglesey", "precipitous Penmaenmawr", and the peaks of Snowdonia (11). Llanfairfechan was a hidden part of this majestic scene.

"On this side, Wales", wrote Arnold, " - Wales where the past still lives, where every place has its tradition, every name its poetry, and where the people, the genuine people, still knows this past, this tradition, this poetry, and lives with it... while alas... the invader from Liverpool and Birkenhead has long ago forgotten his." (12) The romantic appeal of Wales to the literary intellectual is that of a country aware of its past and with living traditions, unlike his own.

To revert to specifically architectural considerations and the views expressed in Arch. Camb. from its foundation in 1846, it is evident that from the first the journal was alert to the mediaeval churches not only through archaeological interest, but also through the problems of dilapidation and repair, although more attention was necessarily given to the abbeys, priories, and then the cathedrals which offered greater antiquarian rewards.

The qualified approval which the old churches (of Gower in this instance) received from Professor E.A. Freeman, one of the journal's most eminent contributors, was for "an abundant share of picturesque effect" (13). The qualification was that "perhaps none can lay claim to actual beauty" (14). Much of the work he found to be of "excessive rudeness" (15). Primitive character had no appeal for him any more than it had for Sir Stephen Glynne.

Although Arch. Camb. always included the old churches, many of which were small, neglected, and of elementary if robust construction, within its scope, they did not get persistent separate attention until the serialisation of Sir Stephen Glynne's 'Notes on the Older Churches in the Four Welsh Dioceses' from 1884. G.E. Robinson's series on unrestored churches started in 1886. This was perhaps a late date for such a series. A

strong editorial position was being taken up against the "spirit of innovation" as far back as 1864 (16).

H. Longueville Jones, the editor who made such matters particularly his own, presented his views in a major article 'On the destruction and preservation of ancient buildings' (17). This was an elaboration of the position he had taken up from the first in 1846 (18).

Jones had an affectionate and protective attitude to the old churches well seen in his sharp comments in 1864 on the proposed rebuilding of Llandyssul Church, Montgomeryshire, which would leave "the Dissenting Chapel in a neighbouring lane" as "the oldest place of worship in the parish". He valued age for its own sake, but numbered himself among "lovers of old architecture", which was not the same thing, and he had a good eye for the sturdy ingenuities of the old builders, whose use of solid trees and massive scantlings in the Llandyssul belfry he found "highly judicious" (19).

It is not altogether surprising that G.E. Robinson, writing at a later date than Professor Freeman on Gower, should have an appreciation of the characteristically primitive qualities of the old churches. Nevertheless his approbation sounds novel: "The majority of our Welsh rural churches are small, simple in plan, stern, almost rude in outline, and with but little

architectural adornment, still they have a character all their own" (20).

His further remarks were closer to prevailing opinion, and give a view which has not substantially changed since. He noted about the old churches "their perfect adaptability to purpose, and their close assimilation with the prevailing character of the scenery in which they are placed" (21). But Robinson's importance was that he valued the old churches for their essential characteristics even though he was still writing from the point of view of an antiquary.

The occasion for his articles, however, is more important than his antiquarian position. They were written in repudiation of restoration, and the unrestored churches were valued for their unimpaired character. There was more than one destructive way of rebuilding a church; retrospective restoration, because of its pre-eminent ideological position, attracted most attention, but the term 'restoration' became generalised to stand for all re-working. Church restoration was one of the most involved and controversial issues in Victorian architecture. The established method was to return churches to what was supposed, from the evidence of the structure, to be their original state. The most accomplished architect engaged in this very widespread form of restoration was Sir Gilbert Scott, whose work was

admired in Arch. Camb., who was Vice-President of the Cambrians, and who restored three of the four Welsh cathedrals - St. David's, St. Asaph, and Bangor. Scott's obituary notice in Arch. Camb. states plainly enough what his position was, and his approach to restoration.

"Of "restoration", properly so called, he was probably the most accurate and devoted disciple this or any other century has witnessed; and his knowledge of ancient detail was such that from the simplest indications he could reconstruct the original design with wonderful correctness and success." (22)

It was to protect churches from this practice of architectural reconstitution, and maintain the integrity of the fabric, that the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was founded on the initiative of William Morris in 1877, consolidating a change of opinion in the county societies in favour of conservation. Scott died in 1878. These two years were a watershed, and afterwards valuing and maintaining the authenticity of old churches was to become as well established a convention as restoration had been. This change in opinion, architectural and lay, is the context of Robinson's articles, and the basis for the approach to the old churches made by North.

The beginning of the transition to an architectural as opposed

to an archaeological view of old Welsh building seems to have started in the mid 1880s, and to have occupied the twenty or so years until Herbert North made his explorations of the Rural Deanery of Arllechwedd in which he lived. Two men, both architects, were principally concerned: Arthur Baker (1841 - 1897)(23) and Harold Hughes (1864 - 1940) (24). It was with Baker, who was elected to the Cambrians in 1884, that the new architectural approach effectively began, and the major evidence of this is the publication in 1888 by subscription of his measured drawings of Plas Mawr, Conwy, undertaken with his cousin and former pupil Herbert, later Sir Herbert, Baker.

Plas Mawr is a robust Elizabethan mansion, its crow-stepped gables rising high above the narrow streets of the little town. Attention was drawn to it at this time as from 1881 it had become the premises of the Royal Cambrian Academy, who leased it from Lord Mostyn. Arthur Baker and Herbert Baker, it was announced in Arch. Camb. in July 1886, "the Architects of the Academy", with an office in Kensington, had in preparation a monograph on Plas Mawr including a descriptive and historical account, and illustrated by twenty-two photo-lithographic plates "carefully and accurately delineated by the authors from their sketches and measurements" (25). The folio was published in an edition limited to two hundred copies.

It is this book to which North and Hughes are successors - architects measuring and drawing and writing the history and publishing by subscription.

Arthur Baker became an articled pupil of Sir Gilbert Scott in 1864, and was subsequently his assistant. In 1878 he set up on his own, but he had previously undertaken independent commissions and become a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy. He restored many churches in North Wales. He certainly regarded his work as restoration, but "using that word in its best sense if it has one" (26). His restoration of St. Silin, Llansilin, Montgomeryshire, in 1890 caused a row with S.P.A.B. He removed plaster ceilings to reveal fine fifteenth century roofs. His restorations are usually regarded as sympathetic, though not as much so as those of the later W.D. Caroe.

Baker was the architect of the massive Early English Church of St. Padarn, Llanberis, which was built 1884 - 1886. This impressive structure daringly brought down the weight of the tower over the central crossing onto four piers, making good use of Baker's engineering experience, gained before he took up architecture. The site clerk was Herbert Baker, who regarded his experience there as the most valuable part of his time with his cousin. Subsequently he entered the office of Sir Ernest George, where he formed his lifelong friendship

with Edwin Lutyens. The two young men came to North Wales on a walking tour in 1888. Lutyens was so impressed by the Jacobean chapel at Rug, near Corwen, that he never forgot it. There is nothing to suggest that Lutyens shared the Welsh preoccupations of the Bakers.

Harold Hughes certainly did share them and they not only dominated his busy blend of professional lives - working architect and amateur archaeologist - but formed his sensibility. Hughes, two years younger than Herbert Baker, was born in 1864, son of a Welsh Liverpool vicar.

After a spell at Liverpool College, Hughes was articled to Arthur Baker, and was successively pupil, assistant, son-in-law and partner, for he married Baker's daughter Charlotte. Recently in possession of his ARIBA he opened an office in Bangor in 1891 and practised as Baker and Hughes until Arthur Baker's death in 1897. Hughes joined the Cambrians in 1892, and rapidly established himself as an articulate contributor to Arch. Camb.

In an article there in 1898 (27), he described something of the experience of fieldwork with Arthur Baker measuring old houses. The two men had visited five houses (grander than cottages) in the Llansilin area in 1890, and in preparing his article Hughes worked from Baker's sketch-books, drawings and notes. He

considered his article to be archaeology in that he was publishing a record of houses likely to be altered out of recognition. He also, however, emphasized his attention to the architectural features, and to changes over time. For these he relied on Baker's records. The uncertainty with such a subject as between archaeology and architecture was to persist, and the confusion becomes evident again in the reviews of The Old Churches of Arllechwedd.

At a time when Arthur Baker did not have long to live, and when Harold Hughes was a coming figure in the Cambrians, the old churches were being discovered by a small boy. Just how old he was he does not disclose, but possibly at the age of ten or eleven Clough Williams-Ellis discovered Clynnog Fawr. Out bicycling along the coast of Cardigan Bay one day he came to the old church Sir Stephen Glynne had found to be exaggerated in its beauty. The young Clough knew that "this noble, weather-stained old fortress of a church (was) by far the grandest piece of architecture I had ever yet seen" (28).

The boy with no interest in religion knew also that at Clynnog he had been "worshipping ARCHITECTURE" (29). Clynnog had an appeal, and it is interesting to note that some seventeen years later another boy to discover the church was a scout, Nugent Cachemaille Day, who, with friends, made the gift of a

pair of brass altar candlesticks (30).

Clough was born in 1883, and he may have come to Clynnog about 1894. He had been born in England, and brought to Wales at the age of four, as it seemed to him "whisked right away to a strange and desolate country where there was no architecture and scarcely any building" (31).

He was a constructor from the first. At the age of about eight he set himself to build a small Welsh cottage from glacial boulders and thatch. The walls proved to much for him. In spite of his efforts he was not yet an enthusiast for the old cottages. He learned that from his mother, who, he wrote, "revealed to me the almost "natural" beauty of the old Welsh cottages that she was so fond of sketching" (32). At first Clough had doubts.

"How could a mere hovel of only two rooms with no upstairs, no stone-mullioned windows, no arched doorway even, be called beautiful or even interesting?" (33)

But the beauties he saw in his mother's drawings he learned to see in the originals, and he was soon reproving her for wasting her artistic attention on children and animals "when she might be so much more profitably employed in bringing out the faint

yet subtle architectural flavour of the traditional "Folk-building" of our still primitive countryside" (34).

Being drawn in these various ways to old Welsh building, Clough was even at so early an age displaying a sensibility which was not only born of enthusiasm, but included the cottages in the scope of the achievements of folk culture, and found them of architectural interest.

The development of interest in old Welsh building in the latter years of the nineteenth century was pursued not only by the Anglo-Welsh, but by the Welsh themselves, who, critically, were concerned with the restoration of the two parliament houses of the national hero Owain Glyndwr, who held parliaments at Machynlleth in 1402 and Dolgellau in 1404. Restoration was a mark of historical valuation and an expression of national sentiment. The parliament houses were thought to be still standing, and were now promoted as national monuments.

However, at the fourth annual meeting of the Cambrians held at Dolgellau in 1850, W.W.E. Wynne of Peniarth had stated that the parliament house in Dolgellau "was not of a date so ancient as to justify that idea" (35). Nonetheless, the restoration of the house in question was under active consideration in Dolgellau in the 1870s. The building which was restored in

Machynlleth is now held merely to stand on the probable site of the former parliament house. For both projects patriotic Welshmen turned to English architects.

A.B. Phipson of Birmingham was chosen by the building committee at Dolgellau because he was cousin to the wife of one of the committee members (36). The committee of twenty-two was strengthened by local gentry and the Member for the county, and included a physician, the proprietor of the Royal Ship Hotel and the postmaster. The hotelier actually owned the house in question, and offered to sell it to the town. The committee, however, made no move to get up a subscription. The local Member was deeply involved in establishing a guarantee fund for the new Dr. Williams School for girls, and wanted no competition. In view of the committee's inaction the property was sold by the hotelier's widow in 1878. The house only, without the site, was purchased in 1885 by Pryce Jones, the Member for Montgomeryshire Boroughs, who had it demolished, transported to Newtown by railway in thirty-two trucks, and rebuilt in altered form.

The committee had proposed that the house should be restored to become a museum, but Phipson took little account of this, being more concerned with repairs and restitutions to a neglected building. His view of its age led him to conclude that "the

traditional connection with Glyndwr may be correct" (37).

Correct or not, the restoration was a fiasco, and its interest lies in that it was conceived at all, and at such a time.

In Machynlleth the successful restoration was not carried out until the twentieth century, and was being put into effect in the years of North's first two books. The work was completed in 1912, the architect being Richard Evered Haymes, a now forgotten but excellent Shrewsbury man. David Davies MP, (later Lord Davies of Llandinam) was the moving spirit. (His record as a patron of architecture in Wales over many years would bear examination.)

When A.G. Bradley visited Machynlleth preparing Highways and Byways in North Wales, which was published in 1898, he found the parliament house to be a private residence (38). The tradition of its historic past was well known in the second half of the nineteenth century (39). The Cambrians visited it twice, in 1851 and 1866. In 1906 the house was bought by David Davies, recently elected as the Member for Montgomeryshire. In 1909 he bought two adjoining cottages. As a public gesture he presented the whole property to the town and undertook the restoration himself as a memorial to Glyndwr and to provide a centre of social life in the town. The choice of

architect would have been his. R.E. Haymes, in his report, dated the building to 1400-1, a scarcely credible attempt to accommodate the myth of Glyndwr's presence there. Davies paid liberally for the restored parliament house and the accompanying institute, which was in a timberframe Shropshire manner. The old archway stood between them, leading to a yard and green. The opening was on 20 February 1912.

But the Welsh initiative went further than restoration, and before the end of the century one of the foremost advocates of Welsh cultural nationalism had committed himself not only to recognising the value of old Welsh building but also to proposing it as a model. With T.E. Ellis the consciousness of old Welsh building as part of the inheritance of national folk culture is fully developed, and Ellis aligns himself with the movement for folk reclamation, now of over half a century's standing, with a personal contribution.

T.E. Ellis (1859 - 1899) was a conspicuous leader in Welsh life, and a strong advocate of the unpopular idea of home rule for Wales, with a Welsh assembly. Ellis was a political nationalist who was elected as the Member for Merioneth in 1886, who obtained rapid advancement in the Liberal Party, and who died young. His cultural interests corresponded to his political ones, and a posthumous volume of speeches and

addresses dealt not only with land laws and education, but with disestablishment, literature, the Celts, decorative art in Wales, and his prescient plea for a Welsh School of Architecture.

In his lecture on 'Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales' (40), delivered in 1897, Ellis turned his attention most significantly to domestic architecture and furnishing, though not without preliminary glances at fine art ("we have neither galleries nor artists of our own") (41), and at the divorce between studio and workshop which created so many problems in design. On the latter theme he showed himself alert to the received wisdom of the arts and crafts movement concerning pleasure in work, but not awareness of the movement's often repeated slogan that they must turn their artists into craftsmen and their craftsmen into artists. This incompletely informed approach was not so apparent in his comments on domestic architecture, where he sustained a simple view: that the old work was best.

"I must admit as I look round parts of Wales and parts of England, that we have very much to learn from the generations that have gone by. In our prosperity, our love of change, our tendency to follow the fashion of the day, we have one and all cleared off from Wales most of the memorials of what native art there was in Wales. The number, for instance, of the

homesteads, whether manor houses or cottages, of Wales, which are old, is already comparatively small." (42)

Church restoration was equally destructive, leaving a "spick and span" church, "some utterly modern and characterless building", in the place of the ancient one (43).

What dwellings remain "show us that there was almost instinctively in the builders of these a natural taste for what was fitting and pleasurable and beautiful" (44).

Ellis carries his admiration over to the furnishings, visualising an old room with a great mantel over the fire, set out with settle, dresser and cupboards, and equipped with fire-irons, which he found with contemporary iconoclasm had "as much real art... as in most of the pictures that are exhibited at the Royal Academy" (45).

In turning his attention to Welsh homesteads in this way Ellis was taking part in a significant change of taste. Such things had often been said in England. In Wales they were new, and the definitive point of change was to be The Old Cottages of Snowdonia, still eleven years in the future.

In a lecture given in 1896, however, Ellis had gone much

further than recognition of the old work. He recommended it as an exemplar. His lecture was called 'A Plea for a Welsh School of Architecture' (46) and he asked for "the establishment in the University of Wales of a School of Architecture which shall slowly and surely guide the Welsh people" (47). The formation of taste was an important matter to Ellis. The school was, of course, to give professional training, and Ellis (who disclaimed expert knowledge) did not hesitate to sketch a curriculum. Such a school would have a high mission: to hold to the example of The Seven Lamps of Architecture, to elevate public taste, and above all to "renew and restore those faculties amongst the Architects and builders and workmen of Wales which produced those abbeys, religious edifices, mansions and homesteads which here and there form a true adornment to the landscape of Wales" (48). The School would have as its aim "to encourage and develop a national and characteristic Welsh style" (49). In proposing old Welsh building as a national style Ellis was demanding something which, it would shortly be shown, could not happen. In taking old Welsh building as a model he was anticipating informed opinion of forty years on, as will be seen below. In bringing the whole matter out into the open in this way at a time when the impetus in ideas made it favourable Ellis helped to give old Welsh building a new status. Only architects sympathetic with the old work could go further.

In view of T.E. Ellis's timely advocacy of what appeared to be a good case, it may well be asked why there was in fact no Welsh national revival in architecture. In Ireland a Hibernian revival was under way in the Church of Ireland from the 1860s. By the turn of the century architects there looked to the Roman Catholic Church for an initiative (50). There was certainly held to be a distinctive Irish church architecture to emulate - Romanesque. In Scotland there was a school under the leadership of Sir Robert Lorimer.

Over the centuries Wales had been persistently subjected to the fashions of her English rulers. There seemed to be no historical basis for an independent Welsh taste in architecture, but nevertheless the efflorescence of chapel building in the nineteenth century did provide a distinctive national mode, until by about 1900 London fashions, sometimes well understood, were adopted, and once more under the influence of a foreign culture, Welshmen began to build their chapels artistically. The outlook of the gentry had remained firmly English. There was no native leadership through patronage. Nor was there any creative leadership. Robert Williams FRIBA, who illustrated his own ideas on T.E. Ellis's paper of 1897 on 'Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales', relied on mannerisms of the day which offered no way forward (51).

Almost the only man who had something to say, and it was little enough, was Clough Williams-Ellis. Neither Harold Hughes nor Herbert North produced a design, or are known to have wanted to, which could be mistaken for a real Welsh cottage.

Williams-Ellis did, and his Pen-y-Graig of about 1905 still sits comfortably on the hillside above the harbour at Abersoch. It is built on solid rock, and is not without artistic touches in the boldly displayed rafter-ends and delicate gutter brackets. By 1914 Williams-Ellis had inherited Plas Brondanw, near Portmadoc, and in that year he built the gatehouse there, probably the most self-consciously Welsh design he attempted - stone walls with a corbelled upper storey, heavy hipped slate roof, and diamond leaded lights and an arch on the left under a gable. The point of self-parody was very nearly reached. R.E. Haymes had been a good deal more convincing at Machynlleth.

Williams-Ellis had a less trivial subject in his extensions to Llangoed Castle in 1912-1914, but he was an extravert who liked to think of architecture as light opera. The constructive use of old Welsh building lay with North and Hughes, who could draw on it for materials, construction and its components such as ingles, ledged doors, lattices, and shutters and for other lessons, and absorb these into their own ways of working without there being any question of a stylistic revival. This was so before the publication of any of their books.

The eventual establishment of a Department of Architecture and Civic Design at Cardiff Technical College in 1920 cannot be regarded as an important matter in the history of interest in old Welsh building as traditional architecture. The new Department was professional rather than national in outlook.

In the years when Clough Williams-Ellis was using old Welsh character as one aspect of his fanciful output, the leading protagonist of Welsh cultural nationalism was unquestionably Owen Morgan Edwards. It is interesting to see how his convictions were expressed in the building of his own home. After Aberystwyth and Bailliol College, Oxford, Edwards became a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1889. He was a historian. He corresponded with Ruskin and revered William Morris. He published extensively in Welsh on national history and literature. In 1907 he expected to retire, and had a house built in his birthplace, Llanuwchllyn, near Bala, in Merioneth. The architect was Samuel Evans FSI of Mold. He designed a white-washed double fronted villa with a tower porch and semi circular arch, and cottage windows, and a large hipped roof. It was not a remarkable building, and would have been considered dowdy in the home counties. Moreover, it was not Welsh. With Owen Morgan Edward's house the possibility of a real Welsh architecture is as far away as it was in the hands of Williams-Ellis.

To any more extensive public which interested itself in old Welsh building, national architecture was not an issue.

Guide books were the repositories of popular taste. Murray's Handbooks and Black's Picturesque Guides were well established in the second half of the century, but the Gossiping Guide was of special value for walkers. In its edition of 1889 it treats the old churches of the Conwy Valley in a conventional antiquarian way, with an emphasis on age, and sometimes, suitably for tourists, on curiosities. Llangelynin Old Church was recommended: "It is worth visiting as one of the rudest churches in the kingdom... there is certainly an air of great antiquity about the place." (52) Acknowledgement was made to Arch. Camb. in the preface. This type of approach, which seemed beyond challenge, was continued by the Gossiping Guide until the publication of The Old Churches of Arllechwedd. Quotations from North's book were then employed, and in such a well used guide they may have done more than the original volume to help to bring the old churches within the sphere of architecture amongst a wider public.

This wider public was one whose imaginative conceptions of Wales had been stimulated after 1890 by a number of excellent travel books. These took more or less account of architecture. S.R. Crockett's good-humoured account of a tour by tricycle

(he did not visit Llanfairfechan) took less (53). A.G. Bradley's celebrated and still valued Highways and Byways in North Wales of 1898 was a bicyclist's view of the country. Bradley did not visit Llanfairfechan either. He had an enthusiastic eye for antiquities, and a highly developed instance of the usual pictorial appreciation of the cottages.

"The stone-work in this soft western climate soon takes on the tones of age. The small, thick, narrow slates, much used of old in Welsh rural buildings, get quickly mellowed by the touch of time and assume artistic curves, or rather the oaken rafters beneath them do, which, even when the mosses have not gathered, make Welsh roofs welcome and pleasing objects in a foreground."
(54)

Similarly, Bradley's interest in the old churches was because he found them historically evocative, not because he saw them as architecture. So his book was a confirmation of existing attitudes, and was being read in subsequent editions while North was publishing his first two books.

Edward Thomas brought a poet's relish for experience and ability to record it to tramping through Wales, and was always ready for the simple luxuries of household life on the old farms. "Having passed the ruined abbey and the orchard", he wrote in Wales

(1905), "I came to a long low farmhouse kitchen, smelling of bacon and herbs, and burning sycamore and ash." (55)

No wider public would have been reached by Lady Clara Paget's pamphlet Some Early British Churches on the North Coast of Caernarvonshire printed for private circulation only in 1897. Lady Paget was a pertinacious investigator, and had previously published a pamphlet on the caves in Allt Gwyn at Dwygyfylchi. She was a relative of the Marquis of Anglesey.

Her pamphlet on the early British churches was rather on the history of the early British church, as she was chiefly interested in the sixth century. She gives an intriguing account of the "discovery" of St. Seriol's cell in 1896, and claimed Helig ap Glannog's chapel of the sixth century to have survived as the cellars of a farmhouse which she had visited. Only with Llangelynin Old Church does she overlap with North and Hughes, and her views by no means coincided with their's. She found that "the foundations of an older church still exist within three minutes walk of the present ancient structure. The first church was of an oval shape, and the foundations can be traced..." (56). North and Hughes in 1924 record the remains of a stable, of "a circle formerly a cockpit", and of a church inn (57).

Lady Paget was no archaeologist, but the interest she showed was unlikely to have been isolated. She had a circle to communicate with. The approach to the mediæval parish churches through early church history was used by North himself.

The state of knowledge before North's first book, however, was very limited, even amongst those interested. A lecture of 1897 by an antiquary of Llanrwst, Thomas Elias, shows well how little was known about the old churches of the Conwy Valley, the little mediæval parish churches long regarded as quaint and rude whose reputation was to be given a new dignity. After mentioning Llanrhychwyn and Trefriw, Elias continues

"Of the other churches which existed before the Reformation not much is known. Caerhun and Llanbedr seem very old...

St. Michael's Church, Eglwysfach, was founded by a son of Carwed.

It was probably originally a small monastic chapel...

Llangelynin old church has only had occasional services held for over forty years. Gyffin Church also shows signs of great antiquity." (58)

In concluding, Elias remarks on "the scantiness of reliable information" (59) which has hampered his researches. This was after fifty years of Arch. Camb. The old churches at the turn of the century were more than ready for North's professional eye and architectural sympathy.

These, of course, he shared with Harold Hughes. How Herbert North first met Harold Hughes is not known, but it is most likely to have been through the Cambrians. Hughes was elected in 1892, and was on the committee by the time North was elected in 1905. By then Hughes was a well-known figure, and was an experienced contributor to Arch. Camb. It was he who reviewed The Old Churches of Arllechwedd there, and his review brings out the historical and professional sympathy between the two men that was to make their collaborations so notable.

CHAPTER 13 - OLD WELSH : THE NEW ORTHODOXY

It had taken some elapse of time for attitudes to the old churches and cottages to change to the point at which they could gain architectural recognition and take their place in the canon of folk recovery. The point was reached with the publication of North's first two books in 1906 and 1908, and the work of the old builders was given the architectural attention of enthusiasts. It is a long way from Sir Stephen Glynne's scribbled notes, hurried but observant, to North's and Hughes' careful measurements, awareness of building history, and understanding of primitive character. It is a long way from the appropriation of the vernacular to architecture by the Picturesque to the acceptance of old Welsh cottages as being themselves of architectural interest.

The first of Herbert North's books, The Old Churches of Arllechwedd, was issued twice: first to subscribers at five shillings and then to the public at six. For subscribers it was "artistically bound", as the prospectus had it (1), that is dark grey paper boards with labels, and top edges only cut and decorated. The title page was in scarlet black letter, and the text had black letter emphasis and headings. Boldly drawn little plans were inset into the text, and there were eighteen photographs and only one perspective drawing. One

church, a primitive 'double naver', Llanrhychwyn, had three photographs, including the frontispiece. This church was to be the subject of an important restoration by Harold Hughes over twenty years later, which focussed the changes in attitudes that had taken place in the intervening years.

The subscribers' list is of great interest, but it is not possible to distinguish from it any specific constituency for the new treatment of old Welsh building. The names are too varied. There were many clergy, headed by the Bishop of Bangor; members of North's family; Welsh academics, including O.M. Edwards; North's friends from Lutyens' office, W.H. Ward and Maxwell Ayrton, and the man who seems to have been North's closest friend from those days, Robert Marchant; intriguingly, there was Dan Gibson, the gifted Lake District architect who died young; there was Evan Humphreys, the Llanfairfechan builder favoured by North; G.A. Humphreys of Llandudno; John Nickson, North's client for 'Cefn Isaf'; Reuben Norton, his client for the gatehouse at Penrhiwardir; Major Samuels, father of his pupil E.P.P. Samuels; Rev. Professor E. Tyrrell Green, of St. David's College, Lampeter, who had much to say on the old churches for himself; Albert Wood, many times Mayor of Conwy, who as an amateur architect emulated North; several ladies; and many more, making a list of two hundred and twenty six subscribers. The other architects to subscribe were Austin Durst, of the Bedford

Square group, and Harold Hughes. Apart from Dan Gibson, there was no architectural interest outside North's immediate circle of friends. The R.I.B.A. Library did not subscribe, and North presented it with a copy.

The reviews showed a degree of uncertainty over the mode of treatment North adopted. His subject matter had hitherto been treated as archaeology, and this was how reviewers continued to treat it, but with architectural comments introduced inconsistently. There was a real problem with vocabulary. The reviewer in the Church Times was the most decisive. "Mr. Herbert North has done archaeologists and architects who practice in Wales, excellent service... (the book) gives a clear idea of the characteristics of Welsh mountain architecture." (2)

Only the reviewer in the North Wales Weekly News appreciated what an innovation The Old Churches of Arllechwedd was both in presentation and approach, but even he could not free himself from his attachment to archaeology.

"The charming book under notice may legitimately claim a large degree of novelty. There is much freshness in the method of investigation, an intelligent and thoroughly independent attitude is maintained throughout, the truthfulness of its observations, its clearness, and the admirable manner in which it is adapted

to attract the attention, all combine to make it a most valuable and welcome addition to the very best works which deal with archaeology and cognate subjects." (3)

Of all the churches in the Rural Deanery of Arllechwedd, only fourteen could have been called old. Others tended to be by men such as T.H. Wyatt (Glanogwen, 1856) and E.B. Ferrey (Dolwyddelan, 1884). North also included old churches no longer standing, such as that at Llanfairfechan, which was demolished by Henry Kennedy in 1848. The Deanery comprised those parishes up the Conwy Valley from Llandudno, and down the coast towards Bangor. This is the landscape still closely associated with North's memory. He looked on his journeys across it to the old churches as a pilgrimage and the purpose of his book was to draw attention to the old Welsh work.

The theme of the introduction was the direct descent of the British church in Apostolic times from the Church at Ephesus without the intervention of Rome. Part of this early tradition was the distinctive national church plan, well shown in his examples, with no apse, and with a screen, and a south door. North's commitments here are all caught up together: national religion and its architecture, the liturgy, and the rejection of the Roman Catholic Church. The old Welsh churches under consideration, none with work earlier than the eleventh century,

were carriers of this tradition. "It is quite possible that the mountain churches of this Deanery may have been the last in which the old British rite was used in Wales." (4)

The religious and architectural appeals which the old churches held out to North resulted in a book of a type which had never been published before. The archaeological and pictorial approaches were still present, in the elucidation of the original plans, and in seeing churches in the landscape, but something new was suggested by the artistic character of the book, and its approach. The chief virtues of the old work were shown as simplicity and strength. It could not rival the work of the Cistercian monks, which North found "by far the finest architecturally in this part of the principality" (5) and unequalled for beauty and delicacy as well as simplicity. North was writing of St. Mary and All Saints, Conwy, which as a Cistercian Abbey founded in 1185 was a special case. Its "spaciousness and fine proportions" (6) were not what was typically found in the Deanery.

What then of the old churches? It is the quality of attention which North gives them that brings out their character in such a way that they can be experienced architecturally. This is not only in the systematic professional consideration, starting with the plan and proceeding with the exterior and interior

with a full understanding of the structure and materials, but also in the play of sensibility. North was a better writer than readers of his Church Pageant script would guess, and had a gift for poetic expression that gets little showing in his poetry. He loved his own part of Wales "that lies between the peacock seas and the salt marshes where the snipe cry high and lonely... and nutty scented gorse everywhere" (7). He wrote best about the landscape, but he could respond to the old churches in the same way.

The paintings on the barrel vault at Gyffin had a blue "beautiful at every stage of decay" (8); altar rails could be "nice" (9); the south transept at Caerhun, although post-Reformation, was "thoroughly Gothic in character", showing Welsh disfavour of "the Renaissance, with its pedantry and coldness" (10); North liked to think of the old churches with their walls "whitewashed right up to the glass of the windows" (11); Llanrhychwyn Church stood on "a rocky eminence, and surrounded by a high stone wall, like some small citadel" (12); the two eastern gables at Llanrhychwyn were seen through "dark bowery yew trees" (13); here too the lych-gate stood close to the church on the north side so that on passing through "the very low proportions of the fabric cannot fail to strike us at once" (14).

North's mixture of imaginative response and professional

thoroughness gave his book a distinctive quality, and dignified his subject matter. Yet however effective his originality of approach, he stood in the line from Sir Stephen Glynne, H.L. Longueville Jones, and, more recently, Harold Hughes, all of whom he cites with respect. How far North was actually conscious that he was helping to direct an innovation in architectural taste is a difficult point. His awareness of the character of the historical succession of commentators is complimentary to his statement of intention: "The writer has endeavoured to collect all that can be gathered from a careful study of the plans and features of the old churches themselves" (15). But his book was not just archaeological, just historical, or just Anglo-Catholic - it was infused with architectural feeling, and after it there was a new awareness of the old churches which culminated in the years of its successor, The Old Churches of Snowdonia of 1924.

Herbert North and Harold Hughes not only wrote about the old churches, and created a whole new ambience round them, they worked on them as architects. North's approach to an old church could vary a good deal. Llangelynin Old Church, which he described as "one of the most interesting in the Conwy Valley" (16), he looked after with great tact in 1907 and subsequent years, re-roofing it unobtrusively, and uncovering the wall paintings at the east end. At Cellan, near Lampeter, in 1908

he was drastic, rebuilding a dilapidated country church as one of his own. Harold Hughes did the same at Bryncroes, in South Caernarvonshire, in 1905-6, taking the structure down to the cills and carrying out a rebuilding full of artistic touches and antique tone, with green-stained pews and round-arched windows. Both North and Hughes were adept at creative rebuilding, but the sort of approach Hughes more usually showed was consistent with his reputation as an authority on the old churches. A typically rebuilt roof would show the carefully kept old trusses, matched if necessary, square section ridge-poles laid on edge, rafters laid flat and purlins lying in the plane of the roof; even in and out boarding instead of rafters. Under the stringent supervision of Harold Hughes, former methods of construction were brought to an excellence of workmanship. At his death it was said of him "In an ancient building... his aim was always to preserve the history of the building as shown in the structure and fittings... This required a sympathetic touch, a quality fortunately possessed by Mr. Harold Hughes in a remarkable degree" (17).

The architectural interest in old Welsh building developed as a whole, but the attention given to cottages was delayed. North and Hughes in 1908 defined their cottages as those of "the little farmsteads, each with its old cottage in the centre of a few small fields carefully walled in" (18).

The old cottages were therefore the dwellings of permanent farms, and not the homes of labourers, as might be carelessly thought.

There was no previous commensurate interest in the old cottages as compared with the churches. Cottages could never be accommodated within the categories of architectural antiquities recognized in the earlier years of the Cambrians - ecclesiastical, castellated, and domestic, and the gentry could not be expected to give historical regard to what were, after all, only the dwellings of their tenants. Before the old cottages could be appropriated to architecture a later generation's interest was needed, and the long-established English concern for cottages had to be put by local advocates.

Arch. Camb. had noticed the old cottages twice by the time they became the subject of explicit interest. J. Romilly Allen in his article in the issue for January 1902 directed his attention to a peculiarity of construction, round chimney stacks in Pembrokeshire. That the editor of Arch. Camb. himself should turn in such a well-researched descriptive article, complete with measurements, and well illustrated by clear line drawings, is an indication of the new awareness. This was the best attention in print that the old cottages had received so far. Allen's observations dated back to 1883, and his approach at times parallels that of North and Hughes. "It is desirable...",

he writes, "that some record should be kept of a style of domestic architecture which is rapidly becoming obsolete" (19). Accordingly he measures plans, describes materials and construction, and long before such an interest was taken up academically he makes full notes of household equipment - part of the material expression of folk life. The round chimney stacks, which Allen failed to explain, served as an introduction to a much fuller account of the old cottages.

Allen refers to a previous article in Arch. Camb. of 1867-8 by Rev. E.L. Barnwell, who was also interested in the round chimney stacks, but had a low opinion of the old cottages of which they were part (20).

The cottage entered English architecture in the early nineteenth century as an estate building, and it was partly the expression of a burgeoning sentiment which held country life as an ideal in a new age of growing industrial cities. By the 1820s the term 'old English' was freely applied to the still novel Picturesque farms, lodges and cottages. The fashion spread through pattern books. But the point at which leading architects came to base their work fluently on the old vernacular came somewhat later, establishing what must at one time have seemed to be a permanency for it. In the 1850s George Devey was designing cottages with tile-hung gables hardly to be distinguished as an architect's

work. C.F.A. Voysey was in his office for a spell, providing a continuity of practice into the twentieth century. Norman Shaw went sketching in Kent and Sussex before trying out his new 'old English' style in the early 1860s with Eden Nesfield. With Shaw, vernacular revival entered the architectural repertoire with the best endorsement - he was the coming domestic architect of the day. The idea of the vernacular model was one which was used through the remaining decades of the century until it encountered on the one hand renewal at the hands of the primitives of the arts and crafts movement, and on the other the opposition of neo-Georgian. Shaw's great country houses had been based on manor houses in the vernacular. Suburban houses in the home countries were more the line by the end of the century. The cottage house of what became known as the English domestic revival was becoming the image of home, and gathering the widespread appeal which made it so apt, in its smaller forms, for the garden suburb. The cottage house was very much the work of local architects, and Sir John Betjeman has listed some of them.

"A school of architects grew up versed in building in the style of the neighbouring country villages - Douglas in Chester, Bidlake and Bateman in Birmingham, Oatley in Bristol, the Tugwells in Bournemouth, Voysey, Lutyens, Baillie Scott, Ernest Newton and Leonard Stokes round London and the South Coast and the West, and North in Bangor." (21)

The cottage walling and graduated slates which North used together with his ledged doors, bobbin latches, lattices, leaded casements, and shutters were part of the building and equipping of the cottage house as a genre, only his were taken from Welsh originals. The vernacular had to be rediscovered generation by generation. Lutyens sketched in Surrey, his own county, and his earlier houses show a robust commitment to the vernacular which his work soon lost.

Rediscovery could also be through books, as through magazines, and in the years after 1900 when North was making his personal discoveries in the Conwy Valley, an outstanding series of illustrated books was published on the vernacular architecture of English counties. This series was of a different format to North's little book on the cottages, which can be read in an evening, and indicated the extent of the interest which was being met, and the high standards of production necessary for such a readership. While the old cottages were being discovered in Wales by readers of North and Hughes, they were being rediscovered in England by readers of the Batsford series which started in 1900 and was illustrated in collotype from photographs taken by W. Galsworthy Davie. The first volume was Old Cottages and Farmhouses in Kent and Sussex by Guy Dawber, and subsequent volumes, including that on the Cotswolds of 1905, extended the coverage as far as Cheshire.

The publication of The Old Cottages of Snowdonia in 1908 was the climax for North of years of interest. It is thus surprising to find that he had actually restored an old cottage almost as early as the beginning of the century, when he was still inexperienced.

If restoration is a mark of valuation, then it does seem, no matter what might have been said as the nineteenth century expired, that the old Welsh cottages did not begin to be really valued until the twentieth.

The first serious restoration of an old Welsh cottage was almost certainly that of 'Derwen-deg' by Herbert North in the very early years of the new century, probably six or seven years before the publication of The Old Cottages of Snowdonia. 'Derwen-deg', a ruin, was owned by James Porter of Berthlwyd Hall. The matter of restoring it would have been settled between client and architect. In the future arrangements were to be more complex.

Before the restoration of this tiny cottage was duly described in The Old Cottages of Snowdonia (22) it appeared in Note H 'The Mediaeval Cottage' in The Old Churches of Arllechwedd (23). By this time North was already taking the leading interest in the old cottages on what was not a very substantial basis of experience. It seems however to have been unique, and it was

practical. Harold Hughes' interest was in church architecture, although as an architect he was beginning to develop an original style for parsonages which had decided Welsh character. 'Derwen-deg' had not been lived in for sixty years when the restoration was carried out. It was a seventeenth century cottage consisting of chamber and cowhouse under the same roof. North approached his work with a due regard for authenticity, but without being consistent. The old window frames were re-used, and the old in-gle beam was kept, though low, but the door posed a problem, being only 5 ft. 4 ins. high. As well as rebuilding the old cottage for modern use, but in such a way as to retain its character, North built an extension at the back, and refurbished the adjoining outhouse. Both of these are omitted from his published drawings.

Further restorations ensued. One, of unknown authorship, was carried out at 'Meddiant Uchaf', a farmhouse near Tal-y-Cafn in the Conwy Valley about 1905. Alterations of some irony were carried out at 'Plas-y-Person', Clyn-nog, after North and Hughes had made their visit. North's perspective in The Old Cottages of Snowdonia shows it with early nineteenth century sashes. The house had been modernised by being given English character. Subsequent to North's visit the house was modernised again by being returned to Welsh character, with casements and diamond leaded lights. In a hundred years fashion had been reversed,

and old Welsh character had become something to be valued.

Quite who were those most interested in the old cottages by 1908 is not completely revealed by the list, inserted loose, of two hundred and fifty-eight subscribers to The Old Cottages of Snowdonia. Most of North's architect friends subscribed again. Rev. Professor Tyrrell Green did not. The widowed Mrs. Brazil subscribed. So did an architect from Merthyr Tydfil, although none from England. O.M. Edwards subscribed again.

W. Goscombe John, who had already made a reputation as a sculptor, subscribed from an address in St. John's Wood. Other names included May and Harold Rathbone, and Clough Williams-Ellis's mother. Institutional subscribers included the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire. There was undoubtedly an interested intelligentsia, but there were also many others.

Cottages in the Conwy Valley had found favour with artists and English families in the significant period of the 1880s. The Royal Cambrian Academy was founded, based on Conwy, in 1881. Angela Brazil's father bought 'Ffynnon Bedr' in the early 1880s. This old farmhouse is described in The Old Cottages of Snowdonia as "the only cottage now in existence which we are assured belongs to a period probably as early as the fourteenth century" (12).

The old cottages were much more of a discovery of North's than were the old churches: he encountered them effectively whilst searching out the churches.

In their introduction North and Hughes sketch the main lines of their enquiry as being artistic and historical. This is entirely consistent with the well established previous approaches to the old churches, their pictorial value in the landscape and place in national history having been consistently emphasised. But North and Hughes associate "native building" (25) with historical importance, and it is their constructors' understanding and designers' appreciation of character which make this book by two architects on the old builders an architectural work. This is confirmed by the careful artistic presentation. The new volume is of the same size as its predecessor, has the same antique uncut paper, and the title page carries its scarlet and black lettering in the same inverted pyramid. There are, however, no photographs, and the many illustrations are plans and line drawings by both authors. The cover is sage green cloth stamped in scarlet.

This was the book that gave the Welsh cottage unprecedented professional attention.

Careful consideration is given throughout to structure, and the

authors' imagination is caught by the crucks of the earliest actual cottages: "roof principals were composed each of two great curved pieces of oak, starting from the floor, against the side walls, and meeting at the ridge" (26). Crucks they regarded as surviving from the previous form of wood and wattle building. Of all the attributes of the old Welsh cottage (there are no churches with crucks) this was the one which most appealed to North, and he used adapted forms of cruck construction throughout his work.

North and Hughes followed the old cottages through from the earliest examples of circa 1400 to the late eighteenth century, when cottage character was anglicised by "flatter roofs and symmetrical fronts" (27). They noted plans, roofs, walls, fireplaces, chimneys, ingles, lattices, partitions, chambers, lofts, staircases, dormers, windows, and did not forget to envisage household life. At the end, practical conclusions were drawn, and they are a good explanation of a part at least of North's method of domestic design.

The term architecture is only used once, and then not of the native building, but of such local houses with a "strong English accent" as Cochwillan of the fifteenth century and Plas Mawr of the sixteenth, which are "infinitely finer architecturally than the local work" (28). This may cast doubt on the writers'

regard for the cottages, but these are given credit, as due, for their structural virtues and architectural effect: for solid principals, great timbers, and such impressions as "a wonderful effect of scale, almost Cyclopean" (29).

The sad moral of the book was that the authors had found the old cottages "in the last stages of decay" (30), and concluded that "in a few years time these valuable pages of national history and native building will be lost for ever" (31). Their hope for the old cottages was that "greater interest may be taken in them before it is too late" (32). Some thirty years of subsequent interest they lived to see. By then The Welsh House by Dr. Iorwerth Peate had been published in 1940. The Folk Museum at St. Fagan's, of which Dr. Peate was Curator, was not established until 1948.

That the folk movement should develop into such an institutionalized form was something not to be discerned when the founding of the Cambrians in 1847 coincided with the first growth of the folk revival both in Wales and England, at the time when the term 'folklore' was coined. In the process of development, the time of publication of North's first two books indicates a significant period, for not only was the work of the old builders the subject of the usual efforts of collection and publication, although there was no aspect of the folk movement

to acknowledge this achievement, but at exactly the same time the interest in folksong was being institutionalized in the formation of the Welsh Folksong Society.

The Folksong Society in England was founded in 1898, and moves to establish a similar society in Wales were on foot soon afterwards. At the Caernarvon Eisteddfod of 1906 the Cymmrodorian Society arranged a meeting which was addressed by Sir Henry Reichel, Principal of the University College of North Wales, Bangor (who had just subscribed to The Old Churches of Arllechwedd). A provisional committee was appointed which reported to the first general meeting of the Welsh Folksong Society at Llangollen in 1908. At a meeting in Bangor in 1909, W. Goscombe John (who had just subscribed to The Old Cottages of Snowdonia) was amongst those deputed to bring out the first number of the journal. The Society had embarked on a programme of collection and publication.

As the North Wales Chronicle, an undoubtedly sympathetic newspaper, put it, "It is generally recognized that folksongs constitute a valuable record of national feeling, character and history, and provide a potent instrument of national culture" (33). This was entirely consistent with what had been said about the importance of old Welsh building. Correspondingly, just as some had looked to the creation of a Welsh architecture

based on the old buildings, others looked to the creation of a Welsh music based on folk music.

"...It is only by an intimate acquaintance with such truly national song that our musicians can ever hope to establish a distinctively Welsh School of musical composition." (34)

This was the advocacy of the Director of Music at U.C.N.W. Bangor. The study of folk music had been rapidly institutionalized, and could now assume official tone. Old Welsh building was more the subject of a change of taste than a change of organization. It was not until half a century after The Old Churches of Arllechwedd that Sir John Betjeman could complain:-

"Looking at buildings has become a professional occupation instead of the polite pleasure it was for all men of taste until as late as 1914." (35)

The polite pleasure taken in the old churches and cottages was enhanced in various ways after the publication of North's two books. The annual Gossiping Guide took to relying on North on the old churches. The spread of readership of such a publication was far beyond the sale of North's book. But the old churches of Arllechwedd were taken up in another way, by the Llandudno and District Field Club. This club is an identifiable

constituency for the architectural interest in the old churches. On occasions, North himself led their visits to them. On 17 August 1907 he took them up to Llangelynin Old Church - just after he had received his commission to repair it from the new vicar. Other visits he led before the war were to Caerhun and Llanbedr in June 1910, and Llanfairfechan the following February. Blocks from The Old Churches of Arllechwedd were used in the Proceedings of the Field Club. On 12 December 1912 North delivered a lecture on 'The Old Churches of Snowdonia' which he had already chosen as the title of his next book, but no record appeared in the Proceedings. Cottages lacked the status of churches, and could not be so easily visited. W. Besant Lowe led a visit which included 'Meddiant Uchaf' on 12 October 1912.

Besant Lowe was an amateur antiquarian from Llanfairfechan who published The Heart of Northern Wales in two volumes, 1912 and 1927, a work which included much archaeology and genealogy as well as accounts of old manor houses, farms and cottages. The author shows no advance in sensibility as a consequence of reading North's books, both of which he quotes. The untidy pages were the work of a Llanfairfechan printer, and the two thick volumes make no claim to refinement.

It is through the medium of the Llandudno and District Field Club that the small group of collaborators, the local men most

interested in the old churches and cottages, can best be perceived. Besant Lowe was one, and his industry was proven. Most important of all were North, and Hughes (who did not take much part in Llandudno social life as he lived in Bangor). Others were G.A. Humphreys, the architect who was agent to the Mostyn Estate, and A.H. Hughes, a Llandudno draper, whose calm poised photographs of the old churches are still impressive.

Certainly by the time North was planning the second edition of The Old Churches of Arllechwedd there was a good deal of shared interest, and the preparation of the new book was a project in which North looked for collaborators. There was a culture, however small. On 2 January 1913 North wrote to Humphreys:-

"I think I told you that at Foster's advice I am collecting data to bring out a new edition revised and enlarged (to take in Arfon also) of The Old Churches, this time of Snowdonia. As it is the last time I shall be able to appear in print on this subject in any way I am extremely anxious to make it as perfect as possible, and I shall not be able to do that without the assistance and advice of kind friends." (36)

North wanted Humphreys to read the proofs. Besant Lowe was to lend blocks. As for Harold Hughes, his role was outlined in North's next letter to Humphreys:-

"Mr. Harold Hughes is going to write up the Cathedral and I am hoping to get him to co-operate with the whole thing." (37)

By this time Harold Hughes had become a contributor to Memorials of North Wales, a volume in a series otherwise devoted to the counties of England. His four chapters dealt with the cathedrals, the religious houses, the castles, and the parish churches. In this last chapter, his text has a more highly organized and systematic character than North's, and he shows detailed knowledge of churches throughout the diocese of Bangor obtained through his work as diocesan surveyor. He deals only with medieaval work, is fully aware of local historical developments, and quotes North with respect. There is no antiquarian emphasis, and curiosities go unmentioned. What is significant is that the whole chapter has the character of architectural history written on a practical basis by an architect.

The North Wales coast was not the only centre of interest in the old buildings. At St. David's College, Lampeter, the Rev. Professor Edmund Tyrrell Green (1864 - 1937) held the Chairs of Hebrew and Theology, and was also styled Lecturer in Architecture. His 'Architectural Lecture Room' was hung with photographs of St. David's Cathedral. The optional course in architecture was to prepare ordinands for the historical and practical responsibilities of looking after a parish church. In June 1905

Tyrrell Green reported:-

"During the Academical year which has just closed 15 undergraduates attended the course of lectures in Architecture. In the Christmas vacation the members of the class were asked to visit interesting churches at or near their homes and to write descriptions of them... 11 candidates sat for the annual examination held at the close of Lent Term, and all passed..."
(38)

As well as teaching architecture at St. David's College, Tyrrell Green was a moving spirit of the Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society, founded in 1909, and his obituary in the Society's Transactions showed that he was not only remembered as an Englishman who was "a fine fellow" (39) in the pulpit.

"An energetic cyclist, often accompanied by his wife - that Margaret Green particularly known as a writer of verse - he made his way to ancient buildings that he might tell his fellow members and all those eager for such information what he had discovered concerning the medieaval architecture of Sir Aberteifi." (40)

Tyrrell Green never wrote a book on Welsh architecture, although he did deliver an important lecture to the Cymmrodorion Society.

His best known book, Parish Church Architecture (S.P.C.K. 1924), makes few references to Wales. However enthusiastic he may have been about, say, Strata Florida Abbey, it was not an enthusiasm which extended to most of the old churches, which he seems to have regarded as either mean or spoiled. As for the old cottages, so completely did Tyrrell Green reject them as architecture that he does not even consider them in his 1911 article on 'Medieaval Buildings in Cardiganshire'. He paused only to note that the old churches were generally so small and insignificant in scale that they were "only distinguishable from the cottages which are scattered along the hill side by a small bell-gable on the Western wall and perhaps a deeply recessed porch on one side" (41). Thus for Tyrrell Green the old cottages supplied a standard of insignificance for the old churches. He did not subscribe to The Old Cottages of Snowdonia. If this was Tyrrell Green's attitude to the unrestored churches, his feelings for those that had been subject to "the havoc that has been wrought upon them by the so-called restorer" were that such churches were "architecturally... about as interesting as a County Schoolroom" (42).

He made an exception of North's restoration which had just been carried out at Cellan.

Tyrrell Green did not regard the medieaval churches of

Cardiganshire as being such interesting and varied subjects for study as those in other parts of Wales. He held that they were generally small, rude, lacking in detail, and of no significant scale. Such criticism could easily have been applied to Llangelynin Old Church, which was so interesting to North. In Lampeter, Tyrrell Green was making a straightforward denial of the architectural interest of North's subject matter. His concern was for the "magnificent development" (43) of architecture he stated in his lecture to the Cymmrodorian Society in 1917. "In the comparative insignificance of its architectural monuments Wales is not singular, but resembles mountainous districts elsewhere." (44) In the same lecture Tyrrell Green gives a direct response to North.

"How much may be learned from a close study of churches that are small in scale, and that a casual observer would set down as uninteresting has been convincingly shown by Mr. Herbert North in his little book on The Old Churches of Arllechwedd." (45)

If North was commended by Tyrrell Green for his work at Cellan, it was only because he had worked so far south of Snowdonia. Tyrrell Green's views on the restorations of Harold Hughes, restricted to the diocese of Bangor, are not known. But North and Hughes were not the only men to be taken into account. William Douglas Caroe["] (1857 - 1938), architect to the

Ecclesiastical Commissioners since 1895, who was some years older, has a fully established reputation as a Gothic church architect by the time he contributed his first of many articles on Welsh churches to Arch. Camb. in 1915. His subject was Rhoscrowther Church, Pembrokeshire, and he based himself on his report of 1909, made previous to his renovation. Arch. Camb. now preferred the term 'renovation' to 'restoration' for work of the respectful character of which it approved. Carøe's reputation for what was after all the very specialized work of this nature has persisted. "Breconshire was fortunate indeed", writes Mr. Richard Haslam in his volume on Powys, "in finding so sensitive a restorer for its most interesting medieaval churches as W.D. Carøe". We appreciate the self-effacement which has given so much back to Patrishow (1908-) and to Llanfilo (1913-)." (46) Carøe saw his task as a compromise between preserving the old work and adapting it to modern requirements. He deprecated the approach of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. He felt that being "against restoration or adaptation of any kind" had "almost reached the point of fanaticism" (47).

From Westminster, Carøe's scholarly and creative mind took Welsh churches in care with notable tact. Arthur Baker, whatever his successes, at Llansilin and elsewhere, was eclipsed. While North, Hughes, and Carøe were contemporaries, the architectural care of Welsh churches achieved a degree of sympathy not possible

before. Hughes and Caroe["] were, of course, acquainted through their professional roles for the church. Whether North knew Caroe["] personally is uncertain. Caroe["] was the assessor who gave North second place in the church competition for West Shore, Llandudno in 1910.

Just how far architectural care of an old church could be taken was shown by another older man, John Coates Carter (1859 - 1927) in his astonishing restoration of St. Teloi, Llandeloy (near St. David's) from a ruin in 1925 - 1926. The rough atmospheric interior, redolent of antiquity, was the outcome of Coates Carter's intention "to bring back the Church to what it most likely was at the beginning of the sixteenth century" (48). Coates Carter had had an interesting career, having been partner to J.P. Seddon from 1886 to 1904. After Seddon's death in 1906, Coates Carter's work blossomed, and his masterpiece, the monastery on Caldey Island, was mainly built from 1910 - 1912. He continued to build churches in South Wales until his death.

By the time the church at Llandeloy was being rebuilt, North and Hughes had published The Old Churches of Snowdonia in 1924. The book had been in the course of preparation for some twelve years. North wrote to G.A. Humphreys on 15 February 1913:-

"Very many thanks about blocks. I fear it may be years before

we want them. I don't see where I'm to get the time from.

Mr. Harold Hughes has joined me in the work." (49)

In his next letter North made a frank admission. After observing "I do not know if the book will ever really come off" he went on to say:-

"To be candid I far prefer new buildings to old and I am not at all ashamed of it, but old ones are interesting if one is a little slack and so I hope the book may not come out for many years." (50)

North does not do himself justice, as no one reading his books could mistake them for anything other than the work of an enthusiast. But his candid statement emphasizes what was not in doubt - his commitment to his life as an architect involved in original work.

The last of North's books was as artistically produced as the first, and closely resembled it. Its scope was extended to Penmon, Arfon, and Beddgelert, and it ran to two hundred and eighty five pages, concluding with North's miniature view of Bardsey Island from the sea. The anonymous reviewer in Arch. Camb. wrote: "To all who are interested in Welsh ecclesiology this volume will be a joy to possess: the subject treatment,

illustrating, and general get-up are all that one could wish."

(51)

The Old Churches of Snowdonia was published in a different climate of opinion from its predecessor, and the decade after the first world war found an acceptance of old Welsh building which had developed since North had been such an enthusiastic advocate. Necessarily disparate instances can be given of the ways in which old Welsh building was now esteemed, including architecturally. There were various voices. One of them was not that of W.S. Purchon ARIBA, Head of the Department of Architecture and Civic Design at Cardiff Technical College. Purchon's executed works included canteens, offices, and research laboratories in Sheffield, and housing in Scunthorpe. He reported to a meeting at the Pontypool National Eisteddfod in 1924 that "useful work has already been done by students in the School in the study of worthy buildings, in Italy and France, and in Bath, Cambridge and London" (52). This was not unexpected; but no such work was reported from Wales. It was to this that T.E. Ellis's high hopes of a national architecture created through a School of Architecture in Wales had come. Another voice was that of Professor C.H. Reilly of the School of Architecture, Liverpool University. Opening the annual exhibition of the Royal Cambrian Academy at Plas Mawr in Conwy on 4 June 1927 he was not slow to make a scathing attack on modern Welsh building, and recommend

the old.

"You have a new town like Colwyn Bay set between the hills and the sea, which consists of perky little red villas, which will never grow old with any dignity, as this old stone house has done, but will remain impertinent flappers, eyesores to all the surrounding scenery all their lives.

In contrast to these red villas you have fine old houses like this, sanely built in your beautiful native stone, and all the stone cottages and farmhouses of Snowdonia, massive strong, and simple, which seem to belong to the landscape as much as the mountains themselves." (53)

Such a straightforward valuation (and there was more) from the leading architectural educator of his day in the country is some indication of how far opinion had moved since the days of T.E. Ellis's lectures and North's early books.

There is, however, another aspect of the matter. What Reilly said may have been a commonplace. Some aspects of the life of the day help to suggest this. Individuals had their own interests. In the early 1930's it was possible to take up the photographing of Welsh cottages as an interest, as did Miss M. Wight of Hereford, who wrote to Country Life about it

in 1967 (54). Journalism contributed its share of illusion and romance, and half a century after Angela Brazil's father took the very unusual step of buying 'Fynnon Bedr', it was quite in order for Homes and Gardens to print a feature on 'A Cottage in the Welsh Hills', an author's informal home at Llanfrothen, near Portmadoc. "Sturdily built by unsophisticated men of old", the article reads, "its irregularities enhance its air of naturalness" (55).

Such indications of interest, whether academic or personal or journalistic, sketch in some idea of the new degree of acceptance which old Welsh building was now getting. There was no comprehensive effect on public opinion, but many more were now giving their attention, and being asked to.

A more affecting example comes from the restoration of Llanrhychwyn church, for which the appeal was couched in terms which must have been still unusual in Wales, and which were given a decisive endorsement by the Bishop of Bangor.

"The Reparation Committee is desirous to preserve the structure and all its fittings with the utmost care and to avoid doing anything that would detract from the archaeological and artistic interest of this ancient church." (56)

The appeal was endorsed by the Bishop:-

"It appears to me that the intrinsic architectural value of Llanrhychwyn church... renders its preservation a matter of national interest." (57)

To say so much was a novel achievement, unthinkable without the efforts of North and Hughes (the latter being the Renovation Committee's architect) and helping to indicate a changed climate of feeling.

The work was undertaken in association with the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, which had a modest but creditable record in Wales. The Society's most interesting job was at St. Margaret, Eglwys Cymyn, Carmarthenshire, in 1901, possibly the only Scots church in the country, with the walls carried up to a pointed vault. Philip Webb and William Weir left furnishings and fittings combining practical simplicity with the primitive affectation of only partially converted timber.

Instances could be multiplied in the years leading up to the second world war of the new acceptance of old Welsh building.

In 1937 the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire published the eighth of its series of inventories of Welsh counties. The Royal Commission's

purpose, as stated in the Royal Warrant of 1908 which brought it into existence, was "to make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the life of the people in Wales and Monmouthshire from the earliest times, and to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation" (58). The first inventory, that for Montgomery, was published in 1911. There is no reference to medieaval domestic building in the introduction, and the old cottages were not recognized as a subject for attention. The public for the book is easily recognizable after the Cambrians had made archaeology an established pursuit for the leisured classes for over sixty years. But the inventory also had scientific ambitions which were consistent with another aspect of the Cambrians. "We venture to think", the introduction concludes, "that this volume, while it brings into clear perspective the immense field of delightful exercise for both brain and muscle lying at the doors of the leisured folk of Montgomeryshire, provides also the basis for the organization and systematization of the study of Montgomeryshire antiquities" (59). Neither dilettante nor scientific archaeologist were concerned with the old cottages. The tone of the whole volume is distinctly that of an earlier period. Most inspections were carried out by the Commission's Secretary, Edward Owen F.S.A., a barrister formerly of the India Office. The Assistant Secretary, Edward Thomas, author of Wales, resigned his post

as it offered him little opportunity of travel.

The Royal Commission's subsequent inventories showed an irregular development of interest in the old cottages. In Flint (1912) it was the houses of the gentry which received attention. In Radnor (1913) the heading Domestic Structures did not even appear in the introduction but, unexpectedly, several quite small cottages were recorded. In Denbigh (1914) a further step was taken; a pair of cottages was illustrated as a representative example of the humble domestic structures of the county, and the labourer was included with the yeoman and the squire. In Carmarthen (1917) a yet further step was taken, and the introduction assumed a familiar tone. "The domestic architecture of the county would indeed demand small attention were it not for the cottages. They are fast losing their character... with their thatched roofs and whitewashed walls the cottages of Carmarthenshire form pleasant objects, and their often long drawn out frontages give them a sense of proportion and suitability that the cottage of the 19th century fails to suggest." (60) In Merioneth (1921), however, no emphasis was placed on cottages in the text, although three examples were illustrated. In Pembrokeshire (1925) great reliance was placed on J. Romilly Allen's article in Arch. Camb. of 1902. In a significant shift of opinion since 1911, the admission of buildings which "never attained to a higher status

than that of a moderately-sized cottage" (61) had by now been accomplished. The inventory for Anglesey, the eighth, published in 1937, marked a further advance, with the Inspector seeking out cottages, some of them old, in a more enterprising way than his predecessors, and illustrating them more fully. By 1925, and even more by 1937, the series had been recognizably affected by the change in taste which had now been in train for more than thirty years.

Perhaps the most important development in the decade before the second world war was the preparation by Dr. Iorwerth Peate of his book The Welsh House, published in 1940. This was not an architectural book, but a study of folk life and its material remains. If it was indeed true that The Welsh House "opened up the fertile field of vernacular architecture to Welsh students" (62), as an obituarist claimed, it was an innovation which was delayed, for it can be reasonably claimed that the interest and status of cottages were established, in ways that have been seen, by the time of Peate's original appointment to the Department of Archaeology at University College, Cardiff, in 1927. Peate himself, however, was impressed by a precedent not so far mentioned, the appendices to the Report of the Welsh Land Commission compiled by the Secretary, Daniel Lleufer Thomas, whose personal inspiration Peate always acknowledged.

Actual restoration work on an old cottage in this period is seen at its most interesting at 'Ty Hwnt I'r Bont', by the bridge opposite Llanrwst in the Conwy Valley. The growing importance of institutions is evident, and besides the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Society for the Preservation of Rural Wales and the National Trust were involved. A local committee was got up, G.A. Humphreys gave assistance, and the work was carried out by direct labour. Difficulty was found in obtaining both craftsmen and materials, and the Conwy Valley was searched for heavy rustic slates. The cottage was donated to the National Trust, and became a tea shop.

With the new phase of the accepted value of old Welsh building, the involvement of institutions, a role for conservationists, and academic study, this account concludes. The previous chapter pursued the matter of the old cottages from being excluded from interest to being recognized as an expression of national life and an architectural subject for cultured interest. The old churches over the same period, the smaller and more primitive ones being borne in mind, came to the point of being given a seriousness of attention usually reserved for larger and better detailed structures. In the present chapter North's first two books were presented as being poised at the point not only where architectural recognition could be given to his subject matter, but also where the movement for folk reclamation might

have accommodated the old builders, as well as tales, costume, and song. By the time of North's death in 1941 his achievement, and that of his collaborator Harold Hughes, the architectural recognition of old Welsh building, had been consolidated. Now a new phase was being entered in which organized interests mattered much more, and North's days of discovery walking and bicycling in the Conwy Valley were hardly a memory.

CHAPTER 14 - "HE WAS REALLY A GOTH"

Among the various projects Herbert North had to relinquish, including the 1929 extension to St. Winifred's School in the kitchen garden with its angled linear plan, and the 1939 chapel for St. Michael's College, Llandaff, with its apparently expressionist allegiance, the Merton Abbey churches hold their own for interest. They were an effective personal development of a line of arts and crafts practice which forms a useful initial way of placing North in relation to the arts and crafts movement, one of the two perspectives in which he is best seen. During most of North's career the movement was obsolescent or obsolete. The Gothic perspective, which is the complimentary one, and which also applies to the Merton Abbey churches, was one which could be considered virtually defunct outside church architecture in North's day, surviving as a theory of informal design in the strong moral concern of C.F.A. Voysey, and the erudite advocacy of H.S. Goodhart-Rendel.

The Merton Abbey churches are a curious and unrecorded minor episode in the history of architecture in Britain in this century. The matter of cheap churches and modern methods was one which was raised some ten years before North was engaged in designing his prefabricated churches for Morris and Company in 1922 and 1923. At the March 1913 meeting of the general

committee of the Incorporated Church Building Society,
Athelstan Riley proposed this resolution, which was carried:-

"That the Committee of Honorary Consulting Architects be asked to consider the question of cheap mission churches and buildings, in view of modern method and material, with the object of embodying their suggestions in a pamphlet for the use of architects and clergy." (1)

Whether or not it was related to the Incorporated Church Building Society initiative, within a short time a project was going ahead involving the construction of churches prefabricated in wood. The three men involved were A.J. Penty (a socialist Christian), Fred Rowntree (a Quaker), both known for their social idealism, and Charles Spooner, an authority on small churches. Penty and Rowntree had been associated as early as 1905. Spooner and Rowntree subsequently set up workshops in Hammersmith called the Hampshire House Club, and it was there that the churches were prefabricated during the first world war with the help of Belgian refugees. After the armistice the components were shipped across to Belgium (2).

How far North was aware of these antecedents is not known, but he showed considerable awareness of the "economical system of timber construction" devised by Robert Weir Schultz "consisting

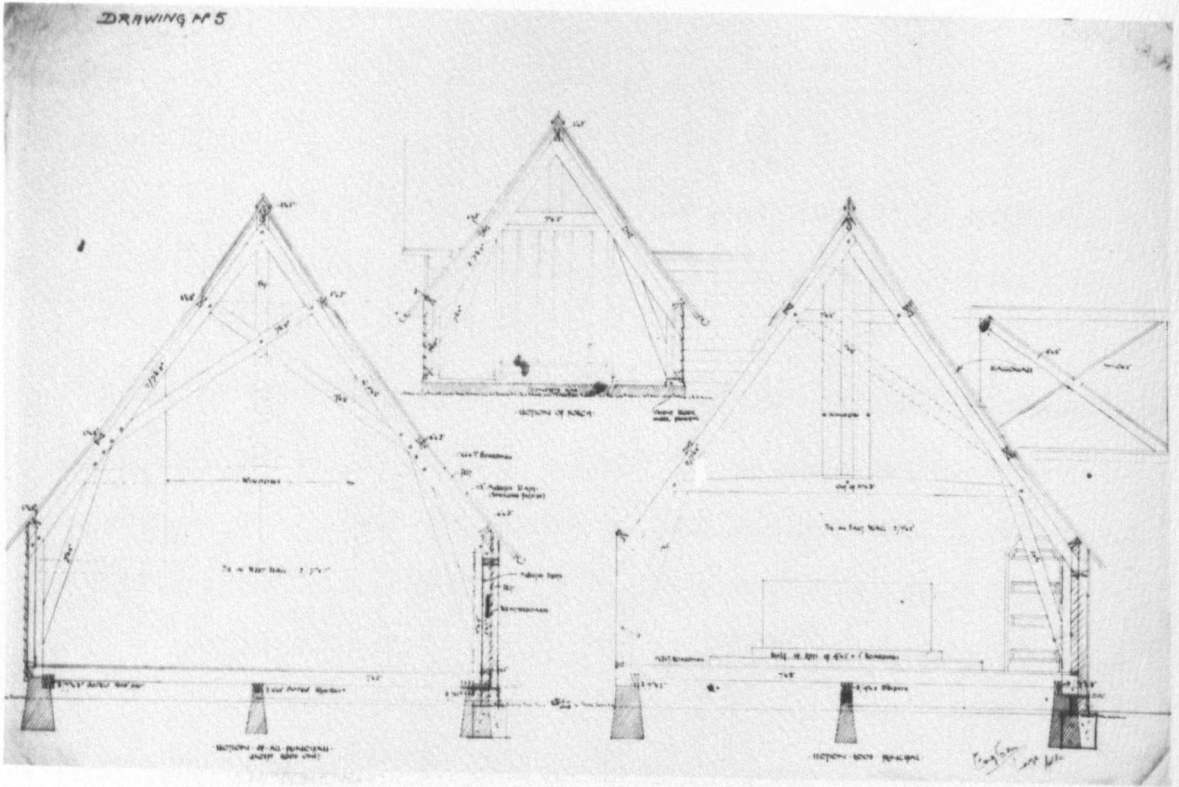


Plate 14. Merton Abbey church Type A: sections of principals, Rood principal, and porch. Original to 1/8" scale.

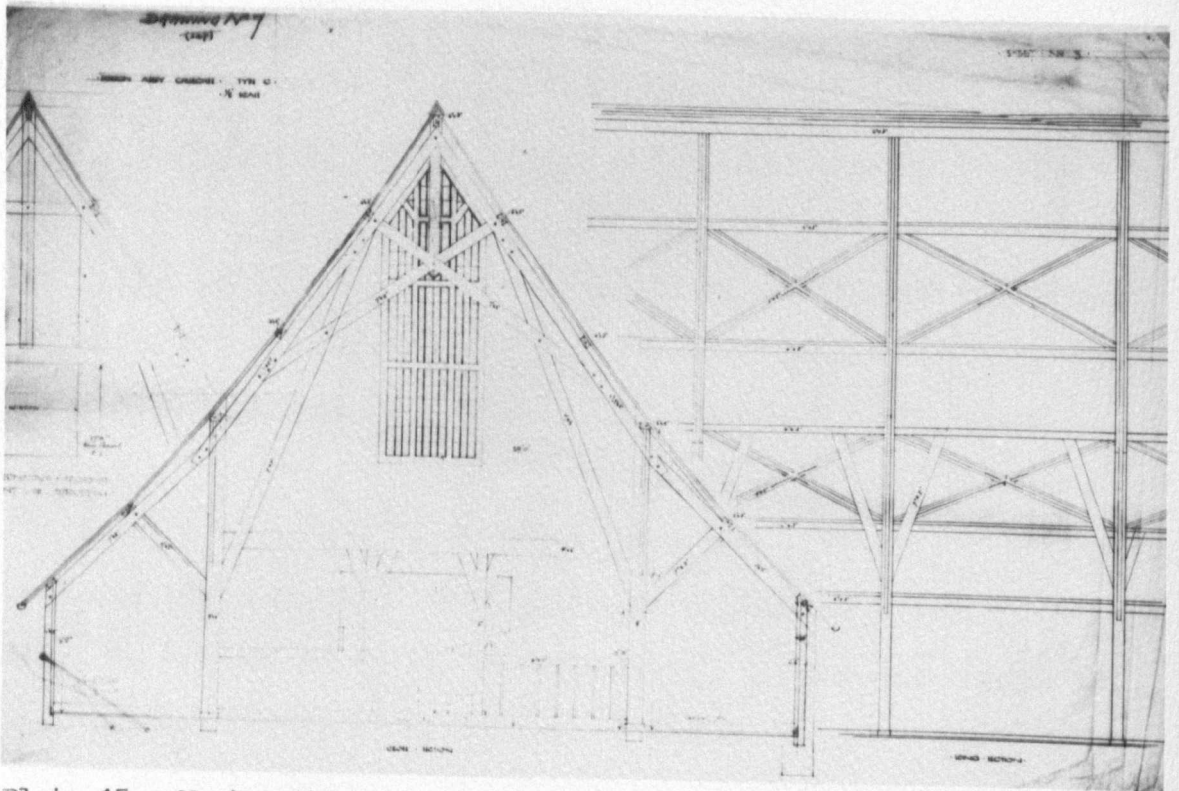


Plate 15. Merton Abbey church Type C, cross and long sections. Original to 1/8" scale.

of scissor-trusses formed out of standard softwood timber scantlings bolted together" (3).

This form of construction was first used at the University Settlement Hall, Cardiff, in 1904. Schultz's built-up braced scissor trusses, standing on posts, spanned 31ft. 6ins. clear and were of considerably more substantial sections than those used by North to span 29ft. in the largest of his three Merton Abbey churches. Here North was not only more economical than the originator of the system, but more elegant as well, his vertical braces rising some 25ft. from their posts obliquely through the trusses to the tops of the high scissors, presenting a 2in. edge.

Schultz's system was taken up before the first world war by Arthur Grove and W. Curtis Green. By the time North made his personal adaptation of it after the war, it looked like a completed episode in the history of arts and crafts architecture.

There were three types of Merton Abbey churches (4). The first chapel for St. Winifred's School (1922) was the prototype for Type A, which had trusses constructed entirely from 7in. x 2in., and a Rood beam (Plate 14). Type B was small, with the eaves coming down to the ground. Type C was the largest, with aisles, a screen, and an east window going up to the ridge. The high

roof swept down to low eaves with four changes of pitch (Plate 15). Throughout, North's roof structures combined lightness with ingenuity.

The Merton Abbey churches were intended to compete with pre-fabricated churches already on the market, but they were not intended to be temporary. They were meant as dignified permanent buildings. However, they were not a commercial success. An illustrated brochure was prepared, and presumably circulated, but no churches were sold. North continued his established connection with Morris and Company in his church furnishing.

North's designs for the Merton Abbey churches were elegant and economical, and there was little about them to invite commercial disaster. The way they place him in an established line of work in arts and crafts architecture invites some consideration of his relationship with the arts and crafts movement altogether. Clearly he was aligned with it, but the question is, how far? And further, it should be asked whether it serves as the most useful way of identifying him historically.

North's pupillage with Henry Wilson gave him experience of arts and crafts virtuosity at the highest level, yet it is not at all easy to see what he took away from it. Reminiscences of his

days in Wilson's office recurred in his work from time to time, but the most important lesson of all, approaching Gothic in a spirit of no copyism as Wilson did, he could have learned from public discussion. He rarely mentioned Wilson in later life.

Lutyens was tangential to the arts and crafts movement, sharing vernacular preoccupations for a time, and having friendships, but with his mind on the possibilities of the High Game. When North was with him there was no one else in the office with an arts and crafts background. North's friends in and out of the office had backgrounds different from his. W.H. Ward, who was with Lutyens, and Gerald Cogswell were both articulated to Sir Arthur Blomfield, and F.C. Eden to Bodley and Garner.

North's experience of Wilson may have had something of the character of a false start. The introduction to Anglo-Catholic church work was no doubt invaluable, but he was serving his articles with a man who excelled at artistic work in metal, and preferred that to building. North was not enrolled as an artist-craftsman and did not take up such a place in the arts and crafts movement. He found his employment and his friends elsewhere. When he espoused an artistic group it was that of Ninian Comper, the English Use movement.

North could not accurately be called a non-joiner but in the

organizations he did belong to he was usually unobtrusive, and it was only in the North Wales Architectural Society that he ever played a leading part. He valued his membership of the R.I.B.A., but had an aversion to the annual conferences, and never attended. He exhibited regularly with the Royal Cambrian Academy, even after his membership had lapsed; his belonging to the Cambrian Archaeological Association can be regarded as inevitable, but was not noteworthy.

As one who had been introduced to the arts and crafts movement by Wilson, North might have considered joining its chief organization, The Art Workers' Guild, which was open to "Handicraftsmen and Designers in the Arts" (5), and to which Wilson himself had been elected in 1892 (he was to become Master in 1917). North might also have considered exhibiting with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (6), of which Wilson became a leading figure, and President from 1915 to 1922. As it was, his gesture of commitment, when it came, was to the Royal Academy, where he showed two drawings in 1898 (7). Most of his friends also exhibited at the R.A. Shortly afterwards he joined the group which was to be of most benefit to him in his working life, and which, though purposefully anti-commercial, did not have specific arts and crafts character. This was the Church Crafts League, formed in 1900 as the result of a schism in the recently formed Clergy and Artists Association. North

still belonged to the Church Crafts League in 1930, when he exhibited at their notable Festival at the Lambeth Conference. In the meantime, it had found him a good deal of work, and provided him with the opportunities to develop his idiom for English Use, although he was not one of Comper's young men.

The elusive nature of the arts and crafts movement cannot be considered solely in relation to a formal organization with acknowledged membership. Nor can this consideration be adequately supplemented by including a group with public character involved with exhibitions. However central the Art Workers' Guild and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, they are far from giving a full account of an amorphous movement which included many who prided themselves on their individualism. At this stage the terms on which North might usefully be included as an arts and crafts man can be envisaged: association and identification. If he had an association, it was not personal, but through the nature of his work, and if he made an identification he declared it with his boots (a certain badge), although it was effectually through his life-long admiration for William Morris at a time when his reputation was in steady decline.

The arts and crafts movement, which gathered men of the 1890s in the anti-industrial tradition of Morris, was characteristic-

ally anti-commercial, anti-professional, idealised handicrafts and the designer-craftsman, looked to the vernacular, and had an artistic tone of its own which is better recognized than categorized. There was a strong tendency to original work, whether through individual expression or through theory which restricted reliance on the past.

North was not a craftsman to speak of, although he learned some joinery and cabinet making. He rarely used trade products in his church furnishing. His designs for craft work were among his best. He used vernacular building methods. His characteristic Gothicized tone was something no one else matched. His work was distinctive from the first, and became more so.

It is, of course, more appropriate to see North alongside architects of the arts and crafts movement rather than craftsmen, although his craft interests were pronounced. It was architects who founded the Art Workers' Guild in 1884. All five promoters were architects, and four of them were pupils of Norman Shaw.

Sir John Betjeman has written, "If one could make a comparison, I would say that North is to Wales what Voysey, the early Lutyens, and Baillie-Scott were to England, and what George Walton and C.R. Mackintosh were to Glasgow and the lowlands of Scotland" (8). Two things are notable about Betjeman's statement. It

relates North to a particular historical moment, around 1900, and it relates him to the highest talent. But North's position in Wales is more easily accounted for. He had no real rival. Clough Williams-Ellis was not doing comparable work.

'Advanced' would have been the word used of all the architects Betjeman names. North transposed his own advanced London experience to Wales, and his early work shows evidence enough of having Voysey, Lutyens and Baillie-Scott happily integrated. He is not an equivalent of them, he derives from them. With North, Wales got the advanced architecture of the day at second hand. But his pre-eminence there seems to give him the right to be named, as Betjeman names him, with the best men in England and Scotland. This would make him an expression of the maturity of the arts and crafts movement more thoroughly than any detailed scrutiny of his credentials relating to its ideas.

Betjeman also was of the view that "H.L. North of Bangor was a Welsh Edgar Wood" (9). It was a compliment to be compared with the architect of the First Church of Christ Scientist built in Victoria Park, Manchester, in 1903, with its dramatically high gables, except that Goodhart-Rendel found Wood "arty and tea-shopy" (10). He must have been thinking of other work.

Given the position attributed to him by Betjeman as the man who

brought the arts and crafts cottage house to Wales, North had no movement to lead there. True, there was R. Ll. B. Rathbone's metalwork workshop near Menai Bridge in the 1890s, and improbable practitioners such as J.H.M. Bonner of Llangedwyn, and the occasional work of visiting designers from England, such as Arthur Grove in South Wales, but these sporadic efforts only served to emphasize that there was no arts and crafts movement in Wales. There was even the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland, but in Wales nothing equivalent. In Scotland, in contradistinction to the Glasgow School, Sir Robert Lorimer, a member of the Art Workers' Guild and an admirer of Morris, had established himself as a leading architect by 1900, and attracted followers.

In view of his unusual position in Wales part of North's approach to domestic architecture was more important for him than for many other cottage house men - the best use of surviving traditional skills in circumstances where he could belong to no school and where craftsmen were better accustomed to their own methods than his architectural idiom brought up from London. It has been shown previously how North relished the use of local materials, the slate inevitably giving Welsh character to his roofs. He valued the contribution of local men in his work and this was a matter of conviction as well as convenience. Evan Humphries, the Llanfairfechan builder with whom North was associated for thirty years before he met Frank Tyldesley, was the most

conspicuous of these.

This aspect of North's work is appreciated in Wales. "The historical significance of the North firm", wrote the late Professor Dewi-Prys Thomas, "was that they consciously arrived at translating the English Arts and Crafts Movement into Welsh, but speaking that language (if I may say so) with greater validity in the context of Gwynedd for the simple reason that, in the fifteen years before the First World War, in that area building craft vernacular traditions were still genuine..." (11)

In Wales North was witnessing the end of traditional life as much as George Sturt in his wheelwright's shop in Surrey (12). He started practice poised at the very last point, historically, at which he would have been able to come to still-existing vernacular traditions in an out-of-the-way part of the country where they were not yet superceded, and make use of them in his own way for an effective period. This is consistent with a further observation of Sir John Betjeman's. "North", he wrote, "belongs to the same tradition of local craftsmen of the Lethaby and William Morris kind." (13)

Nevertheless, if North was giving the arts and crafts cottage house a Welsh inflexion, it did not limit his awareness. He accepted one of the major changes in national fashion, described

by Goodhart-Rendel as "the importation of bilateral symmetry into simple rustic constructions" (14). Thus he found his way from the romantic 'Woodcot' (later II The Close) to the symmetry of 'Whylome' (later III The Close) of 1906, which, with its pair of pointed gables (borrowed from Lutyens) and Gothic porch between, became the basis of what was probably his favourite domestic image, which was more tightly integrated at 'Northfield' (later IV The Close) six years later. By then 'Beamsmoor' had shown that a larger symmetrical house could achieve a degree of formality previously absent from his work. But symmetry was never essential to North any more than was his Welsh characterization, which he effortlessly forgot at Lake Windermere and Torquay.

The spread of the arts and crafts movement in England had been in part an understandable expansion to the principal cities: to Birmingham, the main provincial centre, with its Guild of Handicraft; to Manchester, where Walter Crane was Art Director at the Art School, and the Northern Art Workers' Guild was based; to Liverpool, where Herbert MacNair taught in the Department of Applied Art at the University; to Leeds, where the Arts Club was one of the liveliest centres outside London; and to so unlikely a city as York, where good work was done by A.J. Penty and George Walton.

This new wave of fashionable enthusiasm made little impression in Wales, and although the full extent of arts and crafts work and interest there remains to be investigated, there is no doubt that North's historical prominence in his adopted country is due to his isolation as well as his success in re-characterizing Welsh building.

If North can be accepted as an arts and crafts man by association identifying his interest by his regard for William Morris, who he perversely looked on as one of the greatest of Welshmen, there is a further way of understanding him which may do better service. This is through his church work rather than his house work.

North preferred church work to all else, but his first parish church was not completed until he was sixty-five, and he only built one more. Even taking into account his three private chapels, his career as a church architect was mainly spent in furnishing and decoration, and renovation. In this work he had a distinct religious commitment as an Anglo-Catholic who nevertheless had no sympathy with the Roman Catholic Church. His position was that which was regarded as English national religion, and he himself regarded the appropriate architectural expression of it as national Gothic principles. Such a phrase recalls at once the early years of Tractarianism and the Gothic

revival, and places North in yet another isolated historical position. There was almost no one else in 1913, amongst ragtime and the Vorticists, who would have claimed to be building according to English national Gothic principles, as North did in his first entry in Who's Who. But North's Gothic was not out of date. His progressive simplifications in design and his lengthy part in the English Use movement were thoroughly contemporary involvements.

Furthermore, his basic theory of design, best expressed in his religious buildings, stands in the line from Pugin and was promulgated in the arts and crafts movement, creating a unity in his work between the arts and crafts and Gothic and between the Gothic revival and his own day. What for lack of a better term may be called the theory of practical building effectively originated with Pugin in The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture published in 1841, and was handed down through decades of the Gothic Revival and the subsequent arts and crafts movement until in the early years of the twentieth century W.R. Lethaby helped to translate what had been a prescription for expression through essentials into a plea for an architecture so based on essentials that it was without style, the furthest pitch of arts and crafts theorising, which went beyond the established cry of 'no copyism' which dated back to G.E. Street and earlier. The theory of practical

building in its final form was anticipated in those days, however, by men such as J.P. Seddon, who in 1850 believed that "progress is not to be looked for in the adoption... of any new or universal style, or in the revival of any system of past ages, but by a straightforward attention to the necessities of construction..." (15).

There was no canonical statement of the theory of practical building, but it received its fullest expression within the arts and crafts movement.

E.S. Prior was another advocate of the theory in its most developed form. He rejected the whole extraordinary stylistic revivalism of the nineteenth century, including the Gothic revival, as a long series of archaeological fashions, "the superfluity of nineteenth century make-believe" (16).

But he took an idea from the Gothic revivalists that they themselves had taken from the middle ages - that religious and secular architecture should have the same basis. "In times of great art, the love of beautiful creation and the truth of its manifestation have found the same expression in house and church... there have been the same art, the same ideas, the same details of style in all." (17)

Here, recapitulated for the twentieth century, is the Gothic revival attitude North took to his work, maintaining (with inconsistencies of some interest) his personal style with its Gothic tone throughout.

In spite of his view of the unity of the religious and the secular, in spite also of his distinctive romanticising of the craftsmanship of the middle ages, in spite even of the success of his modern interpretation of Gothic in his noble church at Roker, Prior can hardly be said to have left the nineteenth century he abandoned so gladly as an unqualified Goth.

His effective ideas are best seen as an idiosyncratic version of the theory of practical building in its current form, principally promoted by Lethaby, through his conception of experimental building without style. What Prior stood for was "a progressive experimental use of what science and commerce bring to (architects') hands, a controlling group of the new practices of construction, for the purposes not of cheap construction, but of good building. Thus alone may we cease to be purveyors of style" (18).

This was the most advanced form of architectural theory while North was a young man. He himself was committed to tradition and development, an idea which illuminates the church at Roker,

but does not align North with Prior, who had a far more radical approach. Nevertheless North's interest in and sympathy for Prior remained.

North's own basic theory of design he never fully disclosed, though he left on record his statement of belief in tradition and development in his Epilogue to The Old Churches of Arllechwedd (19). He compared the arts with the Church, whose "continuity with the past is her greatest strength in the present". As applied to the arts this meant that "Gradual development along the lines laid down in the past is the only way by which perfection is reached". In architecture "A little is added by one, and a little by another, and so the perfect work is reared, the perfect temple built". But what had happened to the place of tradition in contemporary work? "In architecture, alas, we have to a great extent lost tradition, hence the terrible spoliation of this glorious country by many modern buildings... Undoubtedly the wise course is, while gratefully accepting the advantages of modern science, to acquaint ourselves thoroughly with the ancient traditions also, for in the old work, when unpolluted by what Ruskin rightly called "the foul stream of the Renaissance" we shall find everything practical and straightforward, and the local materials however simple they may be, most beautifully used; for then the master builder knew his work, just as the loco-

tive engineer does now, and the result, in either case, it must be confessed is both practical and beautiful."

North was in search of the practice of the simplicity, practicality, and beauty he rarely found in modern life. His Epilogue was to a book on old Welsh churches, and his tribute was necessarily to the old builders. But as an architect his historical interests were of much greater scope, and he found his chief inspiration in the Early English period of Gothic, known colloquially in the nineteenth century as the Mountain Style, with its high roofs, lancets, long lines of vault and shaft, and character of delicacy and restraint. Building, however, was only part of his medieaval culture, which is there also in his pageants and the churches he furnished in a pre-Reformation manner.

The conception of tradition and development, consistent in its conservatism with other known aspects of his outlook, was one part of North's approach in his work. Closer to the question of what to do at the drawing board was his personal approximation to the theory of practical building held by him up to a century after Pugin had made Truth the fundamental idea for the Gothic architects who followed him, an idea which included honesty of construction and its expression.

P.M. Padmore recalled North's views.

"He was essentially a Goth, I think... But his Gothic wasn't, how shall I explain it, unnecessarily Gothic. Although it had a Gothic leaning, tendency, everything was practical about it. It had a use. Nothing was extraneous... Although there was the design touch to it, it wasn't planted on. It was there for a purpose... Simplicity... Never unnecessary ornament. If there was ornament at all it had a use, it had a value, it was necessary structurally." (20)

In this perspective of the Gothic revival North is more comprehensible as an architect than when seen, in spite of his important position in Wales, as a relatively marginal arts and crafts figure. The perspective is reinforced by his belonging to the English Use movement, an innovation which carried a new feeling for Gothic, based on scholarship and rich in expression, into the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, two qualifications must be entered. Firstly, North said of himself, according to R.S. Nickson, "I don't feel that I'm a Gothic revivalist, I feel that I'm a reincarnation of the thirteenth century" (21). There is no question of North's complete identification with the medieaval past, but while his rejection of the Gothic revival is understandable

(it was one form of emphasis in architectural life at the turn of the century) he is located fairly and squarely in the inheritance of it by his age and religious convictions, by his link with Sedding's office, and by his appreciation of the work itself: he knew of Butterfield, Street, and Burges.

Secondly, the Gothic Revival and the arts and crafts movement cannot be considered separately. It was at one time said, to summarize the matter conveniently, that the arts and crafts originated in G.E. Street's office, where William Morris and Philip Webb were to be found at the same time.

This is to extend the period of the actual arts and crafts movement further back than examination will bear. The term 'arts and crafts' did not come into use until 1888, and the origin of the movement belongs to that decade. The earlier Morris movement, consisting of himself and his friends and his Firm, established a programme of work, and were an inspiration, but they did not recruit significant practical support in the form of a school until the arts and crafts movement began to be organized, when they came to be regarded as part of what they had inspired. Within the practice they passed on was the conception of architecture as being Gothic.

In fact arts and crafts architecture was a good deal more varied

and inventive than any straightforward inheritance from the earlier Morris movement would have suggested. To locate North's involvement it is best to consider arts and crafts Gothic as having church architecture as its province, for although Gothic awareness was present in secular work it did not usually result in clear stylistic consequences.

At the centre of arts and crafts Gothic were E.S. Prior and W.R. Lethaby. Prior's church at Bothenhampton in Dorset of 1888 established the most characteristic of all forms for the arts and crafts church, the tunnel church with the nave bridged by transverse diaphragm arches with low springing lines. This idea he developed on a much greater scale in the church he built with Randall Wells at Roker, Sunderland, in 1907, which rivals J.D. Sedding's Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, for the popular accolade of 'cathedral of the arts and crafts movement'. Lethaby's little hillside church at Brockhampton in Herefordshire of 1901 picked up the idiom, using the arches to create repeated dignity in a small building.

There were other excellent arts and crafts church architects such as Charles Spooner and Harrison Townsend, and the artistic manner shaded off to the point at which Sir Charles Nicholson was relevant without belonging, and then to the point at which W.D. Caroe["] was in a more conservative position altogether.

Prior and Lethaby simplified their Gothic down to essentials, and their work is the starting point for North, not in his more fully detailed pre-war competition designs, but in the churches and chapels he actually built. Twenty five years and more after Prior and Lethaby, after it should all have been over, North was building arts and crafts tunnel churches for the Bangor chaplaincy and at Harlescott. In his chapel for St. Winifred's School the pairs of transverse arches were given the dignity of height, and the subtlety in the use of side light gave North the advantage over Lethaby's straightforward illumination. North's work, plainly Gothic in character with its bold pointed arches, was almost without Gothic detail, for it was constructed in brick. This Gothic, devoid of copyism and related to the innovations of leading men places him in a central arts and crafts tradition, and it is there that he is best located in relation to the movements of his day, as a belated practitioner of the inner mode of arts and crafts Gothic church architecture. Even his English altars usually had Morris hangings.

But to categorize North in this way is far from giving a full account of his output. It is to provide a focus of attention which makes sense of a central part of his achievement in the most important aspect of his work. What is just as interesting is that his commitment to Gothic found its place in his domestic

architecture as well, as had already been discussed, predominantly in Chapter 6, and he began his career in the golden age of the cottage house, celebrated in the pages of Hermann Muthesius (who traced it from the 1860s) (22) with houses of his own of definite Gothic tone such that it is not easy to see how they can be matched in the profession. "Mr. North clings closely to Gothic traditions" wrote Sir Lawrence Weaver of 'Whylome' (23). After remembering Weaver's later astonishment at the Gothic character of 'Keldwith' ("the sight of a pointed arch rather makes one gasp") (24) it can be considered how astonished he would have been to encounter some of North's other buildings such as Gyffin School, surely the only National School true to decades of Gothic lineage to be built in the twentieth century. North's was a Gothic tendency, which he rarely abdicated, and his work bears out the view established throughout the Gothic revival which proposed Gothic as a universal style suited to all purposes. Its application to domestic architecture, though, was not a success.

The serious Gothic house in the nineteenth century began with Pugin, although the second of the two he built for himself, The Grange, Ramsgate (1843-4) showed he was by no means averse to the appeal of the Picturesque. The general interest in ecclesiology extended to parsonages, and after Pugin's example men such as William Butterfield and G.E. Street built under the

injunction of The Ecclesiologist that a parsonage "ought to be distinctly religious in character" (25). Their parsonages, and those of others, were informal, robustly built of local materials, had pointed arches and Gothic details, and perhaps the newly fashionable polychromy. They were a new distinctive house-type carrying an air of institutionalized domesticity. The first suburban house of this genre was Philip Webb's house for William Morris of 1860, where the ecclesiastical tone was dropped but the Gothic character kept, and in the ensuing decade the Gothic house was popularized, often in debased forms. By 1871 parsonages were being freed from their earnestness, and J.D. Sedding's vicarage at Boscombe of that year, in Norman Shaw's new manner, cheerfully exhibited the parsonage once more as a gentleman's residence. Gothic details continued for long to be found in artisans' terraces.

When it was possible to be retrospective about the Gothic Revival, that is when Truro Cathedral had been started in 1880 and the Royal Courts of Justice had been finished in 1882, the Gothic house came in for harsh criticism. At the Liverpool Art Congress in 1888, Basil Champneys, a pupil of John Pritchard, whose work on Llandaff Cathedral had extended for four decades, found that "the experiments which were made some years ago to establish Gothic in the domain of domestic architecture have on the whole come to little or nothing... By the correct and accurate student

convenience was sacrificed to precedent; by the more ignorant and careless practitioner the style was made to go through contortions which violated its essential character, and both defects of treatment alike made it unpalatable to the artist and to the public" (26). This was only one voice in the ever-increasing rejection of the nineteenth century's Gothic past.

In these circumstances William Morris appears as an ever more lonely advocate of the Gothic architecture of which in its original form he had such a rich appreciation. In the face of the classical revival which was gathering impetus he told the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1889 that he had no time for the Renaissance, which had propagated an art "that had been dead a thousand years before" (27). The future lay with social change, and as for architecture "the spirit of it will be in sympathy with the needs and aspirations of its own time... As to the form of it, I see nothing for it but that the form, as well as the spirit, must be Gothic; an organic style cannot spring out of an eclectic one, but only from an organic one. In the future, therefore, our style of architecture must be Gothic Architecture" (28).

Not very long after this pronouncement Herbert North in his London days in the 1890s was making use of the Royal Architectural Museum at 18 Tufton Street, with its collection of Gothic

casts. This was a very unfashionable thing to do, and the museum was by then hardly used. It had been founded "in connection with the everyday office work of the revival period" (29), but by the end of the century its chairman, Aston (later Sir Aston) Webb, observed that "...young men were not to be found studying Gothic as they used to" (30). Herbert North was an exception. He was already beginning to find himself out of step with much that his profession was doing. What he found congenial in contemporary work he used distinctively for his own purposes. This individuality of approach took him into the twentieth century building cottage houses at the time of their great renown with a Gothic tone rather more evident than in the work of C.F.A. Voysey, of all the new leaders of taste (31) the one with the greatest enthusiasm for Gothic.

This enthusiasm, expressing his strong moral sense, was for principles. He was intemperate with the Gothic house of the nineteenth century, and as Sir John Summerson has asked "what influences can you discern in him except the Tudor vernacular and his own conscience?" (32) Nevertheless Summerson sees him as being "Gothic at the roots" and recalls "I once heard him ask rather querulously (this was in 1939) why young architects never used the pointed arch" (33). There is no evidence that Voysey was aware of North, who does not appear to have been greatly interested in mixing in the profession, but the two

men kept company as proponents of Gothic in the twentieth century at a time when their ideas continued to become increasingly marginal. Voysey's practice went into decline, and his last house was built in 1914. To clients and to public opinion Gothic was for churches, but not for a personal philosophy serving as a basis for design. As Goths, North and Voysey echoed each other in the language of the earliest days of the Gothic revival. Just as North had announced in Who's Who from 1913 that he was "strongly in favour of national Gothic principles in Architecture as against Italian", Voysey asked "Why... should England turn her back on her own country and pretend that she is such a born mongrel she can have no truly national architecture?" (34)

"The Gothic Revival was almost dead...", wrote John Brandon-Jones of these early years of the twentieth century, stressing Voysey's isolated theoretical position in the profession to which he belonged. "The younger architects turned to look for another set of crutches and found the neo-Georgian style... it was perhaps partly as a gesture of defiance that he flouted the coming fashion by once more introducing recognizably Gothic elements in his work. Pointed arches made a tentative appearance in his drawings during 1907..." (35)

For Voysey Gothic, which came to him from Pugin via his master

J.P. Seddon, who was twenty five when Pugin died in 1852, represented the humane principle of informal functional design. "The Gothic process... outside appearances are evolved from internal fundamental conditions; staircases and windows come where most convenient for use. All openings are proportioned to the various parts to which they apply, and the creation of a beautiful Gothic building, instead of being a conception based on a temple made with hands, is based on the temple of the human soul..." (36)

Within their complimentary frameworks of ideas North and Voysey may be aptly compared by adapting Professor Pevsner's well-known passage (37) on the hall of 'The Orchard', Chorley Wood, of 1900, Voysey's home, to apply to the dining room of 'Rosebriars' of the same date. There is the lightness; the woodwork painted white; the rust, white and sage green for the tiles; the precise placing of decoration; and furniture of delicate but direct, and possibly a little outre forms (the dining table had five legs).

Here monochrome gives place to pattern and colours and the rigidities of horizontal and vertical to a decorative sense. Voysey had the greater dignity at the expense of seeming static. North had a lighter touch than almost anyone, and there is a sense of movement in his work.

The humane principle of informal functional design had another advocate in H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, who saw the opportunities offered for expression and imagination. "The building must be allowed to design itself", was the view he put when addressing the Architectural Association in March 1922 (38). "To allow one's fancy to play over a design and trust one's self to prevent a falling into wild extravagances seemed a most hopeless way of building", but this imaginative scope was what he preferred to "the rigid classic system". By Gothic Goodhart-Rendel did not mean a building with Gothic arches (though Herbert North very often did), he meant "a great deal of work which was arbitrary and impulsive and designed from the small up to the great".

The Gothic commitments of Voysey and Goodhart-Rendel, resolved practically into an informal approach to design, represent an established line of thought, and one which illuminates North's position, but does not explain him. He was given to symmetry as one useful procedure, and came out of an office (Sedding's in effect) that would proportion a church completely according to the golden section. His sense of order was too pronounced to be satisfied with the inevitable vagaries of a consistently informal manner. His real informality comes out in his restless accumulation of sources, Gothic, Gothic revival, continental, Scandinavian, eminent colleagues. Among these Gothic was his principal commitment in terms of religious belief, practical

building, and (a word not to be underestimated with North) romance. Here is the basis of the original personal style which is so readily recognizable, which was called 'Northesque' by G.W. Nickson, who lived at 'Cefn Isaf', and which materialized as steep spreading roofs, an impression of ascent as well as descent, angularities, and pervasive ecclesiastical tone which reminded everyone that he was a church architect. All these were constant characteristics. To his profession he was Long Roof North.

He began to mature early. His Royal Academy exhibit of 1898 of a Welsh church, shown when he was twenty seven is sometimes considered to be among his best work. Characteristically, it was small. His best house, however, was not designed until he was thirty nine. If his finest work was delayed until he was nearly sixty, it was from lack of opportunity, but the delay allowed his style to achieve its developed simplicity and refinement. Again characteristically, the St. Winifred's Chapel was small.

The real tragedy of North's working life was that so many of his ideas were frustrated. The unbuilt St. Winifred's extension of 1929 would have been a remarkable sight, with the biggest roof he ever designed following a long, angled linear plan. The chapel for St. Michael's College, Llandaff, of 1939, had a

pro, and a roof that could equally have been of thatch, and the design is comparable with the boat-like houses of Park Meerwijk by members of the Amsterdam School (1918), which were in turn influenced by arts and crafts use of materials and vernacular motifs, but used with Expressionist exaggeration.

If North had built work of this character he would have revealed a more adventurous side of his imagination, and any assessment of him as being of a predominantly Gothic tendency would have become debatable.

As it is, North is not to be precisely placed in the mode of Gothic thinking as it developed in early twentieth century British architecture. He is rather to one side of it, not only on account of his originality, which gave him such a personal manner, but on account of his more definite use of form and tone which set him apart from "the Tudor Yeoman's house and his own conscience" (39) of Voysey, and the eclecticism practised by Goodhart-Rendel. It is this "Gothic tendency" as P.M. Padmore called it (40), which distinguishes his work.

As for the lines of development with which North was not associated, the increasing predominance of neo-Georgian for houses (Sir Giles Gilbert Scott used it for his own), successive forms of classical revival from Cardiff Civic Centre to the

stripped classic town halls of the nineteen thirties, and the growth of the limited but influential modern movement after 1930, all these simply set him off, not as a man out of his time, but as an intriguing anomaly.

It would be satisfying, therefore, on this basis, to place him as one of Goodhart-Rendel's rogue architects, an entertaining part of such placing being the knowledge that Goodhart-Rendel was actually aware of North's achievement.

North worked in some isolation, but was not a rebel, rather a non-conformist who dissociated himself from most of the developments in architecture of his own day. All the same he knew where to turn for ideas. His approach would be difficult to parallel among his contemporaries.

But these divergences do not make him a rogue. He lacked the savage artistic temper of E.B. Lamb or Joseph Peacock. He did not even share the egregiousness of E.S. Prior; he could be demonstrative, but was not usually flagrant. But originality, "the rogue's easiest qualification" (41), he had. His buildings are not mistaken for those of any other man; and the matter of finding his own way cannot be called easy. He was a private perfectionist.

So it is not wholly-satisfactory to find a place for North as a rogue architect on such a slender basis, just as it was hard to find his proper place among the arts and crafts men, and difficult to see how his role could be replicated in the Gothic survival of the twentieth century.

The use of a further category may by deflection alleviate the need to discover more definitive terms for one who pursued such an individual career. He was engrossed in his enthusiasm for building. W.R. Lethaby wrote of the Gothic revivalists of the High Victorian period "One group turns to imitation, style, 'effects', paper designs and exhibition; the other founds on building, on materials and ways of workmanship, and proceeds by experiment. One group I would call the Softs, the other the Hards..." (42)

The Hards were "thinkers and constructors" (43). To be called a Hard is no bad tribute to a man with a passion for Gothic, which he reworked in his own way for his own time. He was a man whose individuality of approach was a challenge to his contemporaries. It was a challenge sustained through the Gothic identity of his oeuvre, which was in turn based not only on his admiration for the thirteenth century, but also on the turning of materials to his purpose, the searching out of the economical solution, and a love of building and its crafts.

NOTESCHAPTER 10

1. The history of the school was written for the Jubilee in 1937 by Nesta Roberts, an Old Girl (1927 - 1930).
N. Roberts, ed., S. Winifred's Llanfairfechan: The Story of Fifty Years 1887 - 1937, Shrewsbury, 1937.
See also K.E. Kirk, The Story of the Woodard Schools, 1937. St. Winifred's pp. 152-4. It's chapel pp. 182-3.
2. DNB Vol. LXII.
3. Miss M.A. James interview 10 February 1981.
4. In the author's possession.
5. Nesta Roberts to Ian Allan, 5 December 1980.
6. North's favourite decorative theme proved particularly apt in this instance. He had already made successful use of it over many years, and there is little doubt that he got the theme of the walls of the Heavenly City from Henry Wilson, who used it in his silverwork. M.H. Baillie Scott made even more original use of a similar idea at The Gate House, Limpsfield, Surrey, "... over the (billiard) table is an amusing conceit of Mr. Baillie Scott's - in the form of a lighting fitting which represents, in miniature, a walled Eastern city with large and small domes, the former, six in number, containing the electric lamps that light the table. The city's walls are white, with black and red patterning on the parapet, and the domes are gilded". Country Life Vol. LX, 2 October 1926, p.518.
7. NWC 4 June 1926.

8. NWC 8 September 1922.
9. 'Rhythmics in Steepest Garden', photographic plate opposite p.206 in J.H. Badley, Bedales, a pioneer school, 1923.
10. NWC 10 June 1927.
11. Roberts S. Winifred's p.29.
12. Ibid. p.30.
13. Southport Visiter 22 July 1930.
14. Nesta Roberts to Ian Allan, 5 December 1980.
15. NMRW 1170.
16. Country Life Vol. LXXX, 25 July 1936, pp. 92-6 (96).
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. For R.C. and R.H. Carpenter see R. Dixon and S. Muthesius, Victorian Architecture, 1978, pp. 241-2, 255.
R.C. Carpenter is in DNB Vol. IX.
20. NWC 10 October 1930.
21. Ibid.
22. "The colours were absolutely stunning when everything religious was dim." Kathleen Humphreys interview 27 July 1982. Miss Humphreys was at St. Winifred's in the 1930s.

23. NWC 10 October 1930.
24. NWC 10 June 1927.
25. S. Winifred's School Magazine, June 1961, p.3.
26. S. Winifred's Guild Leaflet No.13, 1931, p.1.
The Guild united Old Girls and staff, past and present.

CHAPTER 11

Of those taking part in the correspondence about St. Winifred's Chapel:-

FRANK DANN was P.M. Padmore's partner, and Honorary Secretary of the North Wales Society of Architects,

EDNYFED HUDSON DAVIES was Member of Parliament (Labour) for Conwy,

MRS. E.M. FOULKES was President of the North Wales Society of Architects,

DOUGLAS HAGUE was Senior Architect at the RCAHMWM. In his private capacity he took a leading part in the effort to save the chapel,

A.H.A. HOGG was Secretary to the RCAHMWM,

J.E. OWEN-JONES was Clerk of the Caernarvonshire County Council,

P.M. PADMORE was now senior partner of North, Padmore and Partners,

C.B. PYNE was the Caernarvonshire County Planning Officer,

WYN ROBERTS was Member of Parliament (Conservative) for Conwy after June 1970,

TED ROWLANDS was Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Wales in the Labour administration,

THE RT. REV. GLYN SIMON, Archbishop of Wales, had been Custos of St. Winifred's School, and North's client for the chapel in Bangor,

PETER THOMAS was Secretary of State for Wales in the Conservative administration following the general election of June 1970.

1. N. Roberts, ed., S. Winifred's, Llanfairfechan: The Story of Fifty Years 1887 - 1937, Shrewsbury, 1937, p.54.
2. Girls' School Year Book 1935-6, p.230.
3. Roberts, *ibid.*
4. Some alterations were carried out at Y Plas in 1939 with Frank Tyldesley as contractor.
5. Cornelia Williams interview 3 July 1980.
6. "The poor girls were the clergymen's girls, and the rich girls were the others." Kathleen Humphreys interview 27 July 1982.
7. Williams, *ibid.*
8. Speech Day. NWC 10 June 1927.

9. Williams, *ibid.*
10. Miss M.A. James, obit. of Miss Doman, S. Winifred's School Magazine, July 1956, p.7.
11. See note 1.
12. Nesta Roberts, obit. of Miss Doman, S. Winifred's School Magazine, July 1956, p.4.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Margaret Heyworth interview 21 September 1981.
15. James, *ibid.*
16. Miss M.A. James interview 10 February 1981.
17. James, Doman obit., *ibid.*
18. Miss M.A. James, letter in S. Winifred's School Magazine, August 1966, p.2.
19. "Every spare minute." Humphreys *ibid.*
20. Nesta Roberts to Ian Allan 5 December 1980.
21. Mrs. Joan Crofts (nee Horrocks) to Ian Allan 6 August 1980.
22. Williams, *ibid.*
23. Undated private note in the hand of Miss Gordon, Assistant Bursar. Bangor MSS 28564.
24. Application No. 1/4/129, Caernarvonshire County Council.

25. Miss K.C.M. Brown, Welsh Office, to Frank Dann, Hon. Sec. North Wales Society of Architects, 30 September 1968. Padmore's chapel file.
26. J.E. Owen-Jones to A.H.A. Hogg, 7 July 1971. NMRW M/Des.
27. Ibid. Hogg to Owen-Jones, 3 June 1971, assumed that a Building Preservation Order had been applied.
28. Typed copy of news item ("School Chapel Will Go") marked "week ending Nov. 8th 1968" in Padmore's chapel file.
29. Frank Dann to E. Langford Davies, 13 November 1968. Padmore's chapel file.
30. Owen-Jones, *ibid.*
The County Planning Officer's firm letter to Price Bros. of 24 September 1968 (referred to in Padmore to Wyn Roberts, 14 December 1970, Padmore's chapel file) was written before the Welsh Office advised that the case of the chapel must be dealt with under the new Act.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. W.G.M. Jones, Welsh Office, to Douglas Hague, 31 March 1971. NMRW M/Des.

After nine and a half months the Secretary of State was still considering "all the relevant issues": Ted Rowlands to Ednyfed Hudson Davies, 15 May 1970, Padmore's chapel file.
34. Owen-Jones, *ibid.*
35. P.M. Padmore to Peter Thomas, 22 July 1970, Padmore's chapel file.

36. Undated note by Padmore in his chapel file.
37. Padmore's telephone notes, 27 October 1970, in his chapel file.
38. Jones, *ibid.*
39. R.S. Nickson interview, 12 February 1983.
40. Peter Thomas to P.M. Padmore, 5 November 1970. Padmore's chapel file.
41. Padmore's demolition notes in his chapel file.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Owen-Jones, *ibid.*
44. Padmore, *ibid.*
45. Western Mail, probably Thursday 22 October 1970 (undated cutting), NMRW M/Des/CA/68/1.
There is no mention of the chapel in the published minutes of the Northern Area Planning Sub Committee, meeting of 21 October 1970. Appendix A to minutes of the Caernarvonshire County Council Planning Committee, 1 January 1971.
46. Padmore, *ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Circular letter, the Bishop of Bangor to P.M. Padmore et. al., 8 October 1970.
49. Margaret Heyworth interview 21 September 1981.

50. A.H.A. Hogg to Miss E.M. Jones, Welsh Office, 10 November 1970. NMRW M/Des. Copyright Reserved.
51. A.H.A. Hogg to J.E. Owen-Jones 3 June 1971. NMRW M/Des. Copyright Reserved.
52. The Rt. Rev. Glyn Simon to P.M. Padmore 6 December 1968. Padmore's chapel file.
53. Owen-Jones, *ibid.*
54. J.E. Owen-Jones to Mrs. E.M. Foulkes 9 February 1971. Padmore's chapel file.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Humphreys *ibid.*

CHAPTER 12

1. The first chairman of the Gwyneddigion Society was Owen Jones, father of the Owen Jones who decorated the Crystal Palace (1851) and who was the author of The Grammar of Ornament (1856).
2. Dictionary of Welsh Biography. One hundred and three of Sir Stephen Glynne's notebooks are in St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden.
3. Sir S.R. Glynne, Bt. The Older Welsh Churches, reprinted from Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1903, p.248.
4. Margaret Lambert, When Victoria Began to Reign, 1937, p.70.

5. Jan Morris, The Matter of Wales, 1984, p.186.
6. R.M. Dorson, Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, Chicago, 1972, p.1.
7. Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilisation, 1934, p.287.
8. Ibid. p.289.
9. Ibid. p.290.
10. Ibid. p.299.
11. Matthew Arnold, The Study of Celtic Literature abridged in J. Bryson, ed., Matthew Arnold: Poetry and Prose, 1967, p.469.
12. Loc. cit.
13. Arch. Camb. 1850, p.43.
14. Loc. cit.
15. Loc. cit.
16. Arch. Camb. 1864, pp. 137-8.
17. Ibid., pp. 134-145, 356-359.
18. Arch. Camb. 1846, pp. 364-368.
19. Arch. Camb. 1864, p.126.
20. Arch. Camb. 1886, pp. 121-2.

21. Ibid., p.122.
22. Arch. Camb. 1878, pp. 156-7.
23. Arthur Baker obit. by Harold Hughes, JRIBA Vol. IV Third series, 20 May 1897, p.360.
24. Dictionary of Welsh Biography.
25. Arch. Camb. 1886, p.238.
Arthur and Herbert Baker, Plas Mawr, Conway, North Wales,
folio, 23 plates, pp. 62, 1888.
26. Arch. Camb. 1894, p.238.
27. Harold Hughes, 'Notes on the architecture of some old houses in the neighbourhood of Llansilin, Denbighshire, Arch. Camb. 1898, pp. 154-179.
28. C. Williams Ellis, The Architect, 1929, p.47.
29. Ibid. p.48.
30. Bangor Diocesan Calendar 1912, p.299.
31. Williams Ellis *ibid.* p.15.
32. Ibid. p.45.
33. Ibid. p.19.
34. Ibid.
35. Arch. Camb. 1850, p.317.

36. The account of the Dolgellau parliament house is taken from Hugh J. Owen, 'Owen Glyn Dwr's Old Parliament House at Dolgellau', Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society, Vol. II No.2 1954, pp. 81-88.
37. Ibid. p.88.
38. A.G. Bradley, Highways and Byways in North Wales, 1909 (first pub. 1898), p.425.
39. History of Owain Glyndwr and his associations with Machynlleth, Machynlleth Urban District Council. No date. (Booklet)
40. T.E. Ellis, 'Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales', a lecture delivered to the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 10 March 1897, pp. 29-63 in Speeches and Addresses, Wrexham, 1912.
41. Ibid. p.34.
42. Ibid. pp. 40-1.
43. Ibid. p.41.
44. Ibid. p.41-2.
45. Ibid. p.46.
46. T.E. Ellis, 'A Plea for a Welsh School of Architecture', a lecture delivered at University College, Bangor, 30 January 1896, pp. 67-82 in Speeches and Addresses, Wrexham, 1912.
47. Ibid. p.78.
48. Ibid. p.82.

49. Ibid. pp. 79-80.
50. C.J. MacCarthy, President of the Architectural Association of Ireland, 'Is a school of national architecture possible in Ireland', Builder Vol. LXXXI, 19 October 1901, p.337.
51. Robert Williams F.R.I.B.A., 'Illustrations and Notes to Mr. T.E. Ellis's paper on 'Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales'', Cymmrodorion Trans. 1896-7, pp. 81-88. Ellis's paper is at pp. 14-33.
52. Gossiping Guide to Wales (North Wales and Aberystwyth), Oswestry and Wrexham, 1889, p.240.
53. S.R. Crockett, Sweetheart Travellers, 1895.
54. Bradley *ibid.* p.109.
55. Edward Thomas, Wales, 1983 (first pub. 1905), p.41.
56. Lady Clara Paget, Some Early British Churches on the North Coast of Carnarvonshire, printed for private circulation, 1897, p.34. (Pamphlet)
57. OChS p.86.
58. W. Bezant Lowe, ed. Thomas Elias, The History and Associations of the Abbeys and Convents of the Vale of Conway and District, For the Editor, Llanfairfechan, 1912, p.37. (Pamphlet) Originally published in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association after being read to the Conwy Congress of the Association in 1897.
59. *Loc. cit.*

CHAPTER 13

1. Prospectus for the subscribers' issue OChA Bangor MSS. 8267.
2. Reprinted in Prospectus for the second issue OChA Bangor MSS. 8267.
3. Reprinted *ibid.*
4. OChA p.xxii.
5. *Ibid.* p.15.
6. *Ibid.* p.21.
7. N. Roberts, ed. S. Winifred's Llanfairfechan: the Story of Fifty Years 1887 - 1937, Shrewsbury, 1937, p.75. From the chapter North contributed.
8. OChA p.48.
9. *Ibid.* p.63.
10. *Ibid.* p.75.
11. *Ibid.* p.83.
12. *Ibid.* p.102.
13. *Loc. cit.*
14. *Loc. cit.*

15. Prospectus for subscribers' issue OChA.
Bangor MSS. 8267.
16. OChA p.54.
17. Harold Hughes obit., Arch. Camb. 1940, pp. 85-7 (85-6).
18. OCS p.2.
19. Arch. Camb. 1902, pp. 1-2.
20. Rev. E.L. Barnwell, 'Domestic Architecture of South
Pembrokeshire', Arch. Camb. 1867 pp. 193-204, 363-374;
1868, 70-84.
21. J. Betjeman, A Pictorial History of English Architecture,
Harmondsworth, 1974, p.89.
22. OCS pp. 30, 35-7.
23. OChA Note H pp. 97-101.
24. OCS p.12.
25. Ibid. p.3.
26. Ibid. pp. 5-6.
27. Ibid. p.59.
28. Ibid. pp. 15-16.
29. Ibid. p.29.
30. Ibid. p.3.

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. NWC 18 September 1908. The report was most likely written by Llew Tegid, the secretary of the Welsh Folk Song Society.
34. J. Lloyd-Williams, Cymmrodorion Trans. 1907-8, p.2.
35. J. Betjeman, The English Town in the last Hundred Years, The Rede Lecture, 1956, p.3.
36. H.L. North to G.A. Humphreys, 2 January 1913. Bangor MSS. 8267.
Poster of Jarvis and Foster, Bangor, was North's publisher.
37. H.L. North to G.A. Humphreys, 6 January 1913. Bangor MSS. 8267.
38. St. David's College and School Magazine
New series Vol. IX No.2, Lampeter, June 1905, p.95.
39. E. Tyrrell Green obit., by Evelyn Lewes, Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society Transactions Vol. XII, 1937, pp. 14-15 (14).
40. Loc. cit.
41. E. Tyrrell Green, 'Medieaval Buildings in Cardiganshire', pp. 111-133 (111) in J. Ballinger, ed., Aberystwyth and District, a guide prepared for the conference of the National Union of Teachers, Aberystwyth, 1911.
42. Ibid. p.112.
43. E. Tyrrell Green, 'The Church Architecture of Wales', Cymmrodorion Trans. 1916-17 pp. 52-118 (55).

44. Ibid.
45. Ibid. p.116.
46. R. Haslam, The Buildings of Wales: Powys, Harmondsworth, 1979, p.67.
47. W.D. Caroe, "A Manual of First Aid for Promoters of Church Building, Part II: Ancient Buildings' pp. 127-132 (128) in Church Builder Vol. XXXII October 1911.
48. J. Coates Carter quoted in Rebuilding Llandeloy, no date (? 1924). Leaflet. HPR/82/15 Pembrokeshire County Record Office, Haverfordwest.
49. H.L. North to G.A. Humphreys 15 February 1913 Bangor MSS. 8267.
50. H.L. North to G.A. Humphreys 22 February 1913 Bangor MSS. 8267.
51. Arch. Camb. 1924, p.225.
52. Cymmrodorion Trans. 1923-4, p.81.
53. NWC 10 June 1927.
54. Country Life Vol. CXLI 12 January 1967, p.79.
55. Homes and Gardens Vol. 12, July 1931, p.78.
56. NWC 8 October 1926.
57. Loc. cit.
58. RCAHMCWM, An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales

and Monmouthshire. I - County of Montgomery, 1911, p.iv.

59. Ibid. p.xxi.
60. RCAHMCWM, An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire. V - County of Carmarthen, 1917, p.23.
61. RCAHMCWM, An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire. VII - County of Pembroke, 1925, p.338.
62. Iorwerth Peate obit., by T.M. Owen, Welsh History Review, Vol. 11, December 1983, pp. 549-551 (549).

CHAPTER 14

1. Church Builder No. CXXXIV New Issue April 1913, p.49.
2. A.S. Gray, Edwardian Architecture: A Biographical Dictionary, 1985, pp. 283-4 (Penty), 314 (Rowntree), 335 (Spooner).
3. D. Ottewill, 'Robert Weir Schultz (1860 - 1951): An Arts and Crafts Architect' pp. 88-109 (93) in Architectural History Vol. 22 1979.
4. Type A, NMRW 1284.
Type C, NMRW 1285.
An illustrated advertising brochure is in the possession of P.M. Padmore, who executed these drawings in 1923.
5. H.J.L. Masse, The Art Workers Guild 1884 - 1934, Oxford, 1935. p.11.
Some of North's friends did join the AWG, but later: W.H. Ward in 1910, F.C. Eden in 1915, and Robert Marchant

in 1916.

6. The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society held its first exhibition in 1888. Walter Crane was the first President. William Morris joined (see note 27).
7. Royal Academy 1898/1601 and 1635.
8. Sir John Betjeman to Frank Dann, Hon. Sec. North Wales Society of Architects and partner in North, Padmore and Partners, 5 September 1968. Padmore's chapel file.
9. Sir John Betjeman, First and Last Loves, 1969 (first pub. 1952), p.166. Betjeman makes his usual error about Bangor.
10. N. Pevsner, 'Goodhart-Rendel's Roll Call', Architectural Review Vol. 138, October 1965, pp. 259-264 (263).
11. Dewi-Prys Thomas to Ian Allan, 3 October 1979.
12. G. Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop, 1923. After reading Ruskin, Sturt "felt that man's only decent occupation was in handicraft" (1963 edn., p.12). His wheelwright's shop was converted to a garage during the first world war.
13. Sir John Betjeman to Ian Allan, 24 April 1980.
14. H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, English Architecture since the Regency, 1953, p.230.
15. J.P. Seddon quoted in A. Johnson, 'Voysey Exhibited', Architectural Review Vol. CLXIV, July 1978, pp. 2-3 (2).
16. E.S. Prior, 'Upon House-Building in the Twentieth Century', pp. 9-14 (13) in Studio, Special Summer Number 1901 on Modern British Domestic Architecture and Decoration.
17. E.S. Prior cited in Architects' Journal Vol. 181,

30 January 1985, p.23.

18. Prior Studio *ibid.* p.14.
19. OChA. The Epilogue occupies an unnumbered page at the end of the subscribers' issue. All quotations in this paragraph are from this source.
20. P.M. Padmore interview 24 April 1980.
21. R.S. Nickson interview 12 February 1983.
22. H. Muthesius, The English House, ed. D. Sharp, 1979. Das Englische Haus was originally published in Berlin 1904-5.
23. Country Life Vol. XXIX, 18 February 1911, p.8*.
24. L. Weaver, Small Country Houses of Today Vol. 2, 1922, p.46, reprinted from L. Weaver 'Keldwith', Windermere, designed by Mr. H.L. North Country Life Vol. XXXI, 23 March 1912, pp. 7* - 11* (7*).
25. Ecclesiologist June 1843 quoted in A. Savidge The Parsonage in England 1964, p.134.
26. Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Liverpool Meeting 1888, 1889, pp. 168-9.
27. W. Morris, 'Gothic Architecture' A lecture given to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1889, pp. 475-493 (488-9) in G.D.H. Cole ed., William Morris Lectures and Essays etc., Centenary Edition, 1934.
28. *Ibid.* p.492.
29. Builder Vol. LXXIX, 28 July 1900, p.71.

30. Ibid. p.78.
31. Voysey's taste, however acceptable to Country Life and the home counties, was too much for Mrs. G.A. Humphreys, who took exception to his invitation card for the opening of the Design Club reproduced in The Builder. "My first glance at it moved me to laughter" she wrote to the Editor. "It is an easy thing to strike surprise and astonishment." She recommended "more single-hearted observance and appreciation of the rules that govern design in art". Builder Vol. XCVI, 6 March 1909, pp. 285-6.
32. J. Summerson, The Turn of the Century: Architecture in Britain around 1900, W.A. Cargill Memorial Lecture 1975, Glasgow, 1976, p.21.
33. Loc. cit.
34. C.F.A. Voysey, 'The English House', British Architect Vol. LXXV, 1911, p.60 quoted in P. Davey, Arts and Crafts Architecture, 1980, p.95.
35. J. Brandon-Jones, 'C.F.A. Voysey', pp. 269-286 (283) in P. Ferriday ed., Victorian Architecture, 1963.
36. C.F.A. Voysey, 1911, quoted in G. Stamp, The English House 1860 - 1914 (exhibition catalogue) 1980, p.36.
37. N. Pevsner, Pioneers of Modern Design, 1960, p.152.
38. H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'The Gothic Survival', lecture reported in Builder Vol. CXXVI, 14 March 1924, p.411, from which all quotations in this paragraph are taken.
 On Goodhart-Rendel's election as President of the R.I.B.A. in 1937, Country Life noted that no-one previously had attained this distinction "at the youthful age of fifty". The anonymous commentator also remembered that "as Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford Goodhart-Rendel set a standard of wit and brilliant criticism that in our generation has only been equalled by Roger Fry". Not least, the new President had made a special study

of nineteenth century architecture, Country Life Vol. LXXXII, 3 July 1937, p.4.

39. Summerson *ibid.*
40. Padmore *ibid.*
41. H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects of the Victorian Era', RIBA J Third series, Vol. 56, April 1949, pp. 251-258 (258).
42. W.R. Lethaby quoted in J. Betjeman First and Last Loves 1969, p.152.
43. *Loc. cit.*

APPENDICESAPPENDIX 1

THE BEDFORD SQUARE GROUP

Four young men set up at 2 Bedford Square in 1898 after walking out of Lutyens' office together. They were Herbert North and his friends Robert Marchant, William Henry Ward, and Ormrod Maxwell Ayrton. They formed the basis of the Bedford Square group, though they are not known to have adopted this name themselves. They shared the premises and assistants, but were not engaged in co-operative practice. They were joined, at 2 Bedford Square or through association, by others, including Frederic Charles Eden, William Gerald St. John Cogswell, Austin Durst, and John Stevens Lee. A network of friendships was formed which was maintained throughout their lives, and which often led to work being undertaken jointly. F.C. Eden designed the east lancet for North's chapel in Bangor as late as 1933. Their habits and friendships stood the test of time.

Robert Marchant, North's closest friend in the group, was at his funeral in 1941. For many years before his death in 1944 F.C. Eden lived at 2 Bedford Square, dining by candlelight until he became bedridden. Marchant and Eden were two of the

collaborators. They maintained contact for over forty years. The longest lived was Ayrton, who did not die until 1960 at the age of 85.

Robert Marchant (1871 - 1945) became an Associate of the R.I.B.A. in 1896, and he was thus a newly qualified assistant when North met him in Lutyens' office shortly afterwards. North had completed his articles less than a year previously. The friendship between the two men continued when North returned to Wales, and Marchant went to stay with him, and joined him in visiting churches in preparation for his first book. Marchant's home in Kent was called 'Northcot', the name of what was very likely North's first house in Llanfairfechan.

W.H. Ward (1865 - 1924) was the most scholarly member of the group, and probably the most effective writer, although his two volumes on The Architecture of the Renaissance in France of 1911 are now almost forgotten, as in his French Chateaux and Gardens of the XVI Century. He became an Associate of the R.I.B.A. in 1893 (later a Fellow) by which time he had been to Cambridge and tried schoolmastering. He was articled to Sir Arthur Blomfield, worked for a spell with the very able Dan Gibson of Windermere, and joined Lutyens in 1894. After setting up in 1898 he came to regret the sparsity of his commissions in spite of the interest of his writing. He felt

his abilities were not taxed as he would have wished. His position as Chairman of the Church Crafts League after the first world war underlines the importance of the League to the Bedford Square group. Ward's houses remain largely to be discovered. Among those at Portinscale, near Keswick, are some making imaginative individual use of Lutyens and Voysey. Ward was still associated with Lutyens after the first world war, and went to India with him in 1921. As a scholar Ward was in demand in person as well as in print, and he lectured on Renaissance architecture at the Architectural Association and at the universities of Manchester and London. In 1923 Ward was the first secretary of the Wren Society. His chambers at 2 Bedford Square were said to be as if those of a scholar in a university. He collaborated with both Cogswell and Lee. His death in 1924 was due largely to war wounds.

Maxwell Ayrton (1874 - 1960) achieved greater professional eminence than any of the others, becoming in 1905 (only two years after becoming an Associate of the R.I.B.A.) partner to John Simpson (later knighted), who was later President of the R.I.B.A. 1919 - 1921. Ayrton was recognized as a leading designer in his own right, a specialist in concrete construction. He was responsible for much work of this nature at the Wembley Exhibition of 1924, and of the many buildings which he undertook with his partner the Exhibition buildings and

Wembley Stadium are the best remembered. Ayrton's interest in concrete led to an extensive practice in roads and bridges, but not to sympathy with international modernism. As a resident of Hampstead he was, together with Sir Reginald Blomfield and others, one of the leading opponents of the proposal to build a flat-roofed concrete house by Colin Lucas at 66 Frognal in 1936. The opposition was voluble but unsuccessful. Simpson had died in 1933, and in partnership with Courteney Theobald Ayrton turned to the highly specialized work of designing medical research laboratories. Many of his holidays were spent sketching abroad, and he was skilled in pencil, charcoal, and water colour. He gave sketches to his friends, and North kept some.

These three young men, Marchant, Ward, and Ayrton, were joined in the Bedford Square group by several others, not now all readily identifiable, of whom F.C. Eden (1864 - 1944) became the most prominent. North looked to Ninian Comper (later knighted) as the originator of the new manner of artistic Anglo-Catholic church furnishing which he practised himself. There is no evidence that North and Comper met, but Eden was close to Comper. Before being articled to Bodley and Garner (as Comper was) Eden was at Oxford (where his father had been a Fellow of All Souls). He rapidly achieved something of a cult reputation as an authority on church decoration and

furnishing, and much of his work was of that character, the number of his executed buildings being comparatively small. His real celebrity came as a designer of stained glass. He adopted a number of styles. One of his finest achievements was the series of windows, one placed annually from 1906, in St. Margaret Eglws Cymyn, Carmarthenshire. Here his isolation of colour and control of white are masterly. Such skills were very unusual at a time of debilitated preraphaelitism. His way with a church was not always so telling. In 1930 he white-washed the interior of Sedding's Holy Trinity, Sloane Square, providing the type of liturgical background proposed by Comper and popularized by Dearmer. In the 1920s and 1930s Eden continued to work with North, and provided windows for both of the churches in Llanfairfechan, and the east window for St. Paul's, Porth, part of which had to be destroyed and remade as a result of the intervention of the Bishop of Llandaff. Eden resigned his Fellowship of the R.I.B.A. in 1938. In his final years his health was poor, and he retired from 2 Bedford Square, where he had maintained a bachelor's existence, to live in the country. He died in 1944.

Gerald Cogswell's father, like W.H. Ward's and Austin Durst's, was a parson. Durst's father was Vicar of St. Margaret's, Kings Lynn; Ward's was Vicar of Iver, Buckinghamshire; and Cogswell's was Rector of Wallasey, Cheshire. Cogswell (1870 -

1939), like Ward, was articled to Sir Arthur Blomfield, and he became an Associate of the R.I.B.A. in 1901. Cogswell and Ward could collaborate to good effect, as their Emmanuel Church, Fazakerley, Liverpool, shows (1907). Their design won a competition. Cogswell had a more extensive practice than Ward, who cultivated his interest in history with contributions to Country Life and The Architectural Review. Cogswell was a member of the Committee of the Church Crafts League, and then Chairman after Ward's death in 1924, and he had a steady flow of restoration and refitting jobs. Some of his work is quite close to North's in its delicacy and use of bright colour. In the early years of the century Cogswell lived in Worthing, where he built a preparatory school and various houses. By 1911 he had moved to a cottage near Worcester. In the 1920s he worked from 2 Bedford Square, as did Eden and Marchant, and at the end of his life he was, like Marchant, using 84 Charlotte Street, the address from which Herbert North had sent in his entry to the Builders Journal competition in 1899.

Austin Durst (1875 - 1937) and North were in W.A. Pite's office together. Durst went to him as an articled pupil in 1898, and North as an assistant in 1899. Durst had previously been at Cambridge. He eventually set up at Bushey, Hertfordshire, becoming a Licentiate of the R.I.B.A. in 1911, and later a Fellow. By then he had opened a London office. He subsequently

moved to Wendover, Buckinghamshire. His best work probably consisted of small houses in country settings. He was a keen churchman, and strongly interested in church architecture. Like North, Durst exhibited at the Festival of Church Art organized by the Church Crafts League at the Lambeth Conference of 1930. His elder brother John was also an architect.

J.S. Lee (1876 - 1939) was the nephew of T. Stirling Lee, the sculptor, who was Chairman of the Church Crafts League in its early years. When Clough Williams-Ellis resigned in disappointment from his position at the Ministry of Agriculture after his return from the first world war, Lee was appointed in his place. Most of his work was necessarily undertaken as an official architect, although he spent twelve years in private practice before the war. He had become an Associate of the R.I.B.A. in 1904, having previously been with W.D. Caroe and Lutyens, and in the Artists' Rifles in the Boer War.

On his arrival at Country Life as architectural editor in 1909, Lawrence Weaver (later knighted) soon started the Lesser Country Houses of Today series. He proved to be a good friend to the Bedford Square group, and not only did he publish houses by North, whose unorthodoxy he relished, but also others by Ward and Ayrton.

BEDFORD SQUARE GROUP OBITUARIES

O.M. Ayrton	<u>RIBAJ</u>	Vol. LXVII 3rd series, May 1960, p.247.
	<u>Builder</u>	Vol. CXCVIII, 26 February, 1960, p.402.
W.G. StJ. Cogswell	<u>JRIBA</u>	No entry.
	<u>Builder</u>	No entry.
A. Durst	<u>JRIBA</u>	Vol. XLIV 3rd series, 20 March, 1937, p.518.
	<u>Builder</u>	Vol. CLII, 29 January 1937, p.273.
F.C. Eden	<u>JRIBA</u>	Vol. LII 3rd series, November 1944, p.25.
	<u>Builder</u>	Vol. CLXVII, 11 August 1944, p.114.
J.S. Lee	<u>JRIBA</u>	Vol. XLVII 3rd series, 17 July 1939, p.905.
	<u>Builder</u>	No entry.
R. Marchant	<u>JRIBA</u>	No entry.
	<u>Builder</u>	Vol. CLXIX, 19 October 1945, p.315.
W.H. Ward	<u>JRIBA</u>	No entry.
	<u>Builder</u>	Vol. CXXVI, 14 March 1924, p.414, 28 March, p.488.

APPENDIX 2

ALEC REA AND 'KELDWITH'

The text below is that of a letter from Lord Rea of Eskdale to Ian Allan. Lord Rea was the son of Alec Rea's brother Walter. He died on 22 April 1981, only a few months after writing this letter, and his obituary appeared in The Times the following day.

5th December 1980.

30 Smith Square,
Westminster. S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Allan,

I have come back from France to receive your interesting queries about my uncle, Alec Rea, and 'Keldwith'.

I am irritated that only a few weeks ago I came across the 'Keldwith' Sale particulars, and confined it to "Things past" - i.e. the dustbin!

Alec and I had a close companionship, and I think I ought to be able to tell you a little of what I know about him. He was the younger of the two sons of Russell Rea, was born in

1878 - on Merseyside - and when his father moved to London about 1880 - 1890 was educated at University College School in Gower Street, London.

The family business ("R. and J.H. Rea Ltd." Coal/Shipping etc.) flourished and branched out in the U.K. The two main offices were (a) in London, run by Russell Rea (founder) and his elder son Walter, my father (b) The Liverpool office, run by J.H. Rea, brother and partner of Russell Rea, and Alec Lionel Rea, the younger son of R.R.

As things prospered, J.H. Rea built himself a house, 'Highground', in Birkenhead. I do not know the name of the architect. In the 1890s J.H. Rea bought from his family the Eskdale estate, and built for himself the fine house 'Gatehouse' in Eskdale, Cumberland, where all Rea hearts lay, and lie! Alec Rea then took over 'Highground' in Birkenhead, and about 1900 (approx.) started to consider for himself a house in our loved Lakeland. He nearly bought Wasdale Hall, a rather big house at the S.W. end of Wastwater, but it was overshadowed by the screes and got little sun.

After further searchings, he decided to build a house ('Keldwith'), and here enters Mr. North, whom I never met, but about whom Alec often talked warmly (it was an unusual case of

an architect not falling out with his client!). 'Keldwith' was built, if my memory is correct, on the plan of half-a-hexagon, so that the main rooms on both floors got the maximum of sun all day. It was a delightful house, and Marguerite - Alec's charming American wife - became (with Alec) a very expert and loved part of 'Keldwith', bringing to it a very American touch, but all in very good taste and giving an air of gaiety and light. Alec, like his father and his brother, made a full length 9-hole golf-course which was enjoyable, and well-kept by Hardman, the head gardener. I do not remember a flower garden, but there was a "super" boat-house on the lake (down the drive and across the main road) on two floors, the upper one having a balcony (about 14 ft. above the water level) and two good rooms in country-style for deckchairs, settees and cushions etc., plus a "toilet" and cooking facilities. 'Keldwith' itself was constructed of Westmorland slate tile facades with large slate paving outside the Reception rooms, with a particularly good view across Windermere (lake not visible) to the Landale Pikes and other Fells.

Alec was still in the Liverpool business at this time, going to 'Keldwith' for weekends and holidays. He left 'Highground' in Birkenhead and bought a commodious house in Ullet Road, Liverpool. By that time he was able to show his aptitude for the Stage - which aptitude he followed whole-

heartedly until his death. He was an original Director of the Liverpool Repertory Theatre, and the Board of the Theatre secured, first, Bridges Adams, and secondly Basil Dean from Miss Horniman's Manchester Rep. A good bit later on Reandean in London put on some good plays at the St. Martin's Theatre.

Meanwhile Alec had become High Sheriff of Westmorland, and was duly installed with pomp and ceremony at Appleby, the County Town. It was a disappointment that Peace did not come during his year of office (1917). In the War (1914 - 1918) Alec was requested to stay in his job, which became a vital organization for refuelling warships and other war essentials.

During the War, he and his wife took a leading part in Liverpool in caring for wounded soldiers - mostly Canadian and French - and Marguerite took out (as a V.A.D.) her own little Ambulance Unit for some months to France.

Soon 'Keldwith' became a convalescent home for wounded Canadian officers and a very good job was done. For this and for his work for the French in Liverpool Alec was made a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur.

After the war he retired (exact date not known), sold 'Keldwith' (details unknown to me) and went to live in

Stratton Street (off Piccadilly). The family business (R. and J.H. Rea) was sold very satisfactorily, and Alec and his elder brother Walter were now equipped each to strike out on his pet "Hobby". Walter successfully pursued a political life, and Alec concentrated on the Theatre in partnership with Basil Dean. This partnership did brilliantly for some years, but Basil Dean got a little out-of-hand about expenses (which Alec financed) and the partnership dissolved. Alec, continuing with another partner, went on with his theatrical interests.

He bought a large Edwardian house called 'Colesdane' in Kent, where he entertained many friends. The house had no architectural character. He sold it after a few years and in its place bought 'Gore Court' near Maidstone (Kent). This was a most pleasant Cromwellian house where he happily pursued his hospitable pleasure.

In the last war (1939 - 1945) Basil Dean was appointed Head of E.N.S.A. with Alec Rea as his Deputy. E.N.S.A. did good work all over the world, though I should say, personally, that the E.N.S.A. people sometimes seemed to patronize their audiences as "just soldiers", while the "just soldiers" could not be blamed for resenting sometimes the comfort and privileges of E.N.S.A., including evasion of military service and hardship. But I feel sure that E.N.S.A. did a hard and fairly

competent job; and Alec and Basil Dean were each awarded a C.B.E.

Marguerite Rea died riddled with cancer in 1943 having well earned her war "gongs". A year or so later Alec came to my wife and myself, as we were really an intimate foursome (with Marguerite), and told us that he was going to marry again. He did so, and the family's arms were thrown open to receive, to like, to help or do anything to welcome her. Neither we nor Alec himself could find out her background (and I do not mean a "snob" background). The marriage seemed to "creak" a bit (poor Alec!), and Alec's "joie-de-vivre" went sadly into the downgrade. He was losing money in the theatre, and could not "strike lucky" there. His new wife was intensely jealous of her predecessor, and made Alec sell "Gore Court" and (by then) his Bryanston Square house, and insisted on getting rid of any things (as far as possible) that related to Marguerite - linen, silver, furniture, jewels, car, treasures etc. And when my father died she asked for many of his things!

Alec died in his Cambridgeshire small house in 1953 of a heart attack. Where his 2nd wife is, or what she is doing, is unknown to any of us.

I think I should break off here, with great apologies for having unloaded on to you a very domestic tale. I ask you to forgive me.

Yours sincerely,

Rea of Eskdale.

P.S. I think I should have told you that as a keen traveller Alec was involved in an Egyptian discovery syndicate which had some good "finds" before foreigners were barred from exporting their loot! They consisted of:-

Dr. (name omitted in original), Head of
Egyptology, British Museum.

Dr. Harry Hall of ditto (a delightful man).

Rt. Hon. Russell Rea, P.C., M.P.

J.H. Rea J.P. of Eskdale.

Alec L. Rea ?

Walter (later Lord) Rea ?

J.H. Rea (Eskdale) formed a valuable collection which he bequeathed to Alec L. Rea. ALR handed it over to the Liverpool School of Egyptology after the death of J.H. Rea in February 1918.

R.

APPENDIX 3

HERBERT NORTH'S 'EPILOGUE' TO
THE OLD CHURCHES OF ARLECHWEDD (1906).

May the writer, without presumption, express a personal opinion? The study of the past is of little use to mankind, unless the knowledge gained is adapted to present uses. The traditions of the past, which are after all but the sum of human experience, then become of the greatest value when they are used, not as examples for slavish imitation, but as a starting point for fresh developments. It is superfluous to point out, for instance, how the roots of our ancient Faith are deep in the past, and how the Church's continuity with the past is her greatest strength in the present. So it is with the Arts. Gradual development along the lines laid down in the past, is the only way by which perfection is reached. A little is added by one, and a little by another, and so the perfect work is reared, the perfect temple built. In Architecture, alas, we have to a great extent lost tradition, hence the terrible spoliation of this glorious country by many modern buildings, whereby man idly destroys the perfect harmony of the work of the Great Architect. Undoubtedly the wise course is, while gratefully accepting the advantages of modern science, to acquaint ourselves thoroughly with the ancient traditions

also; for in the old work, when unpolluted by what Ruskin rightly called "the foul stream of the Renaissance," we shall find everything practical and straightforward, and the local materials, however simple they may be, most beautifully used; for then the master builder knew his work, just as the locomotive engineer does now, and the result, in either case, it must be confessed is, both practical and beautiful. Is it too much to hope that by following these lines, our buildings may become more in harmony with the exquisite setting in which we, in this district, are privileged to place them? As in Religion, so in Architecture, we should "seek for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein."

APPENDIX 4

VISUAL CONTROL IN LLANFAIRFECHAN, 1905.

Excerpts from the minutes of the Llanfairfechan U.D.C.

(Minute Book 1904 - 1908, LXJ2/112/3, Caernarvon Record Office, Gwynedd Archives Service.)

Monthly meeting, 4 April 1905.

"Mr. H.L. North proposed and it was resolved that a Committee be appointed to draw up a few suggestions as to the materials used in the Buildings erected in the Parish. Resolved that such Committee consist of Messrs. H.L. North, T.J. Owen, and E. Humphreys."

Monthly meeting, 1 August 1905.

"Report of Sub Committee consisting of Messrs. H.L. North, T.J. Owen, and E. Humphreys, appointed to draw up suggestions with reference to New Buildings, was read as follows:-

This Committee knowing that the material beauties of the place are the principal source of its prosperity, wish in the interests of the Public to do their best to preserve them. They therefore beg to place before you the following suggestions with reference to new buildings.

1. That second or third quality slates should be used in preference to first quality, or red tiles.
2. That brindled or red bricks should be used in preference to yellow.
3. That walling should either show the local stone, with rubble joint on the face, or if cemented or dashed should be coloured any tone from ochre to white.
4. That windows should be divided into medium or small panes and none but plain glass used.
5. That creepers are an improvement to any building.

Mr. H.L. North proposed and Mr. T.J. Owen seconded that the Report be referred to the Sanitary Committee. Carried."

Excerpt from the minutes of the Sanitary Committee of the Llanfairfechan U.D.C. (Minute Book 1903 - 1918, J2/112/26, Caernarvon Record Office, Gwynedd Archives Service.)

Meeting 26 September 1905.

"Report of Sub Committee appointed to draw out suggestions as to New Buildings was considered, and Mr. North proposed that same - with the exception of paragraph 4 - be printed, and handed to persons submitting plans for approval. Carried."

Both T.J. Owen and E. Humphreys were builders who worked with North for many years.

J. Punter ('A history of aesthetic control': Part I, 1909 - 1953, Town Planning Review Vol. 57, October 1986, pp. 351-376) does not consider attempts to give advice before the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 made legal enforcement possible for the first time.

APPENDIX 5

SYDNEY COLWYN FOULKES (1884 - 1971).

A tribute in The Times, 8 April 1971.

"Mr. Colwyn Foulkes.

Mr. Clough Williams-Ellis writes:-

By the death of Colwyn Foulkes the causes of architecture, civic and landscape design and conservation have lost a most gallant champion whose wisdom and rare talents can ill be spared. Most especially at this time of changing values and (line omitted in the original) in his native and beloved North Wales whose ethos he understood so well, and where happily he has left us a legacy of characteristic work, finely done.

Whether he was concerned with large-scale educational or industrial buildings, private residences, or council housing estates, his sense of background and meticulous care for apt materials and appropriate detailing set a standard that has not been without its effect in raising those of others less sensitive than himself. Whenever I could I would take distinguished visiting architects and critics (Frank Lloyd Wright and Lewis Mumford amongst them) to see both him and examples of his work - sure of their warm approval and admiration of both

in support of my own. Very much in the line of Philip Webb and Lethaby, he had an intense feeling for craftsmanship, and was proud of the fact that his grandfather had worked on the great piers of the Menai Suspension Bridge alongside Stephenson.

When, after the patient and intensive study of a problem he had made up his mind as to what was the right solution, nothing whatsoever could deflect him from his view as to what ought to be done, no matter if his firmness lost him the commission - as it sometimes did. That was one of the endearing things about this modest, rather shy but dedicated artist. He would fight like a lion for what he believed was most fitting, come what might."

The Britannia Tubular Bridge is obviously intended.

SELECT CATALOGUE OF EXECUTED WORK

This listing includes no unexecuted projects, and not all executed work. Presentation is chronological, but work for estates (except Plas Estate) and churches, and on some other occasions, is grouped. Buildings have been given their original names where these are known but these are not always distinguished. Dates are of completion, or are the best date available. Almost all buildings are in roughcast and slate. Departures only are noticed, or matters of special interest.

The National Monuments Record for Wales at Aberystwyth holds the only collection of H.L. North's drawings, deposited by P.M. Padmore. Some in the collection are by North's office. A few drawings are elsewhere. North exhibited drawings, and sometimes models, at the annual summer exhibitions of the Royal Cambrian Academy (RCA) at Conwy for over thirty years.

Acknowledgements are made for catalogue information or other help.

Much of North's early work was in Llanfairfechan and near Conwy. Tal-y-Cafn, Berthlwyd Hall, Llangelynin, Gyffin, Tyn-y-Groes, and Caerhun are all in the lower Conwy valley, and most of his work at these places was undertaken from his Conwy office up to 1906.

Books and articles: abbreviated titles.

Elder Duncan.

J.H. Elder-Duncan, Country Cottages and Weekend Houses ?1906.

Weaver Book of Cottages.

L. Weaver, The Country Life Book of Cottages, 2nd edn., 1919.

Weaver Cottages.

L. Weaver, Cottages: their planning design and materials 1926.

Weaver 'Little Houses'.

L. Weaver, 'Four Little Houses at Llanfairfechan by Mr. Herbert L. North', Country Life 18 February 1911, Vol. XXIX, pp. 7-11.

Weaver 'Keldwith'.

L. Weaver, 'Keldwith, Windermere, designed by Mr. H.L. North' Country Life 23 March 1912, Vol. XXXI, pp. 7* - 11*

reprinted as

L. Weaver, Small Country Houses of Today Vol. II, 1922, pp. 46-51 (Chapter 8).

THE CATALOGUE

1 ST. MARY'S Llanfairfechan.

The parish church.

- 1885 Purchase of memorial stained glass window by Ward and Hughes.
- 1901 Memorial tablet, north aisle. Copper.
- 1925 War memorial chancel screen.
- 1925 Rearrangement of sanctuary and decoration of chancel.

2 PENRHIWARDIR, Tal-y-Cafn.

Now Penrhyd.

For Reuben Norton.

1899 New lodge. Stone and slate.

Builders Journal 27 December 1899, Vol. 10 supplement.

1908 Cottage and stables.

Drawings NMRW. RCA 1908/135.

New client.

1928 Remodelling of lodge. Roughcast and slate.

Drawings NMRW.

3 ASHLEWORTH church.

SS. Andrew and Bartholomew.

1899 New reredos and altar furniture.

Drawings NMRW.

4. NORTHCOT, Park Road, Llanfairfechan.

For Plas Estate.

1899 New house. Stone and slate.

5 BOLNHURST, Llanfairfechan.

For Plas Estate.

Later I The Close.

1900 New house.

Elder-Duncan, pp.47, 63.

Weaver 'Little Houses', p.8*.

Weaver Book of Cottages, pp. 45-46.

Weaver Cottages, pp. 50-3.

6 PLAS LLANFAIR COTTAGE, Llanfairfechan.

For Plas Estate.

1900 Alterations and additions to house of 1857.

Plates 2 and 3.

7 ROSEBRIARS, Llanfairfechan.

Later 'Wern Isaf'.

For himself.

1900 New house. Walls of glacial boulders, roughcast.

Cost £1000.

Drawings NMRW. RCA 1902/126.

Elder-Duncan pp. 95-6, 119-120.

Weaver 'Little Houses', p.11*.

1925 'Wern Isaf Bach'. Bungalow and garage. Timber frame,

weather boarding, asbestos cement tiles.

8 PLAS NEWYDD, Llanfairfechan.

1901 Additions to existing house.

9 DERWEN-DEG, near Berthlwyd Hall, Conwy.

For James Porter of Berthlwyd Hall.

- 1901 Date uncertain. Restoration of ruined cottage.
- 10 NORTH LODGE, Berthlwyd Hall, Conwy.
For James Porter.
- 1902 Date uncertain. New lodge. Stone and red tiles.
- 11 WOODCOT, Llanfairfechan.
For Plas Estate.
Later II The Close.
- 1903 Date uncertain. New house.
- 12 LLANGELYNNIN NEW CHURCH
St. Celynin.
- 1903 Refurnishing and redecoration of church. Alterations,
including new west door and terrace.
Drawings NLW B/F/347/PL 1 and 2.
- 13 ST. GABRIEL'S, Willesden Green, N.W.
- 1903 Decoration.
- 14 LLANWDDYN church, Lake Vernwy.
St. Wddyn.
- 1903 Decoration of chancel ceiling.
Drawing NMRW.

15 GORDINNOG, near Llanfairfechan.

For Colonel Henry Platt.

- 1903 Probable date. Alterations to dining room.
Drawing Caernarvon Record Office, Gwynedd Archives
Service X/G/Maps/15.
- 1904 Probable date. Additions.
- 1906 Probable date. Additions.
- 1907 Probable date. Stable.
- 1908 Cottage at Rhiwiau Isaf. RCA 1908/376 (model).
- 1910 Loggia. A classical design. Drawing NMRW.
- ? Adam decoration.
- 1911 Remodelling of pair of cottages, Glan-y-Mor Elias.

16 MADRYN, Aber.

- 190? Additions to house.

17 NEWRY, Llanfairfechan.

For C.W. May-Massey.

- 190? Additions.
- 190? Further additions.
- 1904 Further additions.
- 1906 Lodge. Stone and slate.
Builder, T.J. Owen.
Drawings NMRW. RCA 1906/135.
Plate 36.

190? Sundial. Drawing NMRW.

1908 Motor house.

1910 Stable and coach house.

18 RHYLLON, St. Asaph.

For Rev. D. Watkin Davies.

190? Alterations to 18C former farmhouse.

19 GYFFIN NATIONAL SCHOOL, Conwy.

1904 New school. RCA 1905/121.

Cost about £1000.

Plate 37.

20 CEFN ISAF, Tyn-y-Groes.

For John Nickson.

1904 New house, first stage, and gardens.

RCA 1905/121.

Plate 6.

1908 Second stage of house.

1904 Coachman's cottage.

1904 Stables.

Ack. G.W. Nickson, R.S. Nickson.

21 CEFN UCHAF, Tyn-y-Groes.

For J. and R.W. Nickson.

1904 Probable date. Alterations and additions to existing house.

For R.W. Nickson.

1919 Probable date. Further alterations and additions.

Ack. G.W. Nickson, R.S. Nickson.

22 CHURCH ROOMS, Caerhun.

1904 New hall and social rooms.

Cost £728/17/5.

23 HAULFRE, Park Crescent, Llanfairfechan.

Now 'Llys Owain'.

For Llewelyn Jones.

1905 Alterations to existing semi-detached house.

24 TALFER

GORSEFIELD, Station Field, Llanfairfechan.

For R. Arthur Jones.

1905 New pair of semi-detached houses.

Cost £910, incl. fencing and paths.

Plate 8.

Elder Duncan, pp. 87, 107.

Weaver 'Little Houses', p.8*.

Weaver Book of Cottages, pp. 135-138.

'Gorsefield' only:-

Homes and Gardens May 1920, Vol. 1, p.365; Jan. 1924,
Vol. 5, p.274.

- 25 DOWNPATRICK CATHEDRAL, N. Ireland.
1905 Decoration of vaulting.
RCA 1905/112.
- 26 PENMACHNO church, above Betws-y-Coed.
St. Llechid.
1907 Reinstitution of old font, and other furnishing.
Church Crafts League.
- 27 KIRKBY IRELETH church, Lancashire.
St. Cuthbert.
190? Processional cross and alms dish, both in walnut and
mother-of-pearl. Church Crafts League.
- 28 WHYLOME, Llanfairfechan.
For Plas Estate.
Later III The Close.
1907 New house. Walls of glacial boulders, roughcast.
Builder, Evan Humphreys, Llanfairfechan.
Cost £475.
Drawings NMRW. RCA 1908/135.
Plates 10 and 11.

Weaver 'Little Houses', pp. 7* - 8*.

Weaver Book of Cottages, pp. 134-5.

Weaver Cottages, pp. 192-3.

Ack. Mr. and Mrs. P.M. Padmore.

29 LLANGELYNNIN OLD CHURCH, above Henryd.

St. Celynin.

1907 Repairs to roof etc. Drawing NMRW.

1910 Further repairs. Uncovering of wall paintings.

RCA 1910/94.

30 CHRIST CHURCH, Llanfairfechan.

1907 New altar frontal etc. Morris and Co., £10/13/10.

1911 Corona for sanctuary. Iron. Removed 1925.

192? War memorial Lady Chapel. Drawing P.M. Padmore.

Before 1924. Decoration of chancel. Harry Melville,
decorative artist.

Date uncertain. Roof decoration.

Date uncertain. Font cover.

31 CELLAN church, Cardiganshire.

All Saints.

1908 Rebuilding, furnishing and decoration. Decorative
artist, Mrs. Ida M. North.

Church Crafts League.

RCA 1910/96.

Plate 40.

32 ST. ALBAN'S, Leamington Spa.

1908 Decoration of vaulting etc. Decorative artist

probably Mrs. Ida M. North.

Church Crafts League.

Cartoons NMRW.

Ack. Jane Scheuer.

33 BRANDLESHOLME HALL, nr. Bury, Lancashire.

1908 Repairs and alterations to 16C. house rebuilt 1852.

34 COTTAGE, Farnham Royal, Slough.

1908 New cottage. Cost £300.

RCA 1908/135.

35 COTTAGES, Brynhyfryd Park, Conwy.

1908 New Semi-detached pair of cottages for R. Arthur Jones.

RCA 1908/135.

Plate 7.

36 BAVENO, Llanfairfechan.

For M.Ll. Edwards.

1909 Alterations to shop front at Baveno, formerly

Bradford House.

37 COTTAGE, Llyn Fraffwll, Anglesey.

For Holyhead Waterworks Co.

1909 New cottage.

Drawing NMRW.

38 GOLF CLUB, Llanfairfechan.

1909 New Club House.

39 CHRIST CHURCH, Stafford.

1909 Rearrangement of sanctuary, new chancel screen, nine stained glass windows, and complete redecoration.

Church Crafts League.

RCA 1910/95.

Plates 41 and 42.

192? War Memorial Lady Altar, south transept.

Church awaiting demolition.

40 CONWY church.

St. Mary and All Angels.

1909 Redecoration and repairs.

1909 Probable date. New tapestry parapet to Rood screen.

1911 Possible date. 'We Are Seven' tomb in churchyard (probable authorship).

41 HOUSE, nr. Shenstone, Staffordshire.

For R. Jackson.

- 1911 New house.
Drawing NMRW.

42 KELDWITH, Windermere, Westmorland.

Now 'Keldwyth'.

For Alec Rea.

- 1911 New week-end and holiday house. Stone and Westmorland slate.
Builder, Arthur Jackson, Kendal.
Drawings NMRW.
RCA 1910/93, 1912/101.
Plates 15-21, 23.
Weaver 'Keldwith'.
- 1911 Cottage for head gardener. Stone and Westmorland slate.
Builder, Arthur Jackson.
Plate 24.
- 1913 Addition of gazebo attached to house. Limestone columns and Westmorland slate.
Plates 17 and 18.
- 1913 New Boathouse. Timber frame, weatherboarding and Westmorland slate.
Plate 22.

'Keldwith' ack. the late Lord Rea of Eskdale,
Jean Bucknell, Cecily Thornton.

43 BEAMSMOOR, Park Road, Llanfairfechan.
For Plas Estate.

1911 Probable date.
Plates 13 and 14.

44 CHURCH INSTITUTE, Llanfairfechan.

1911 Hall and social rooms.
RCA 1912/99.
Plates 34 and 35.
Site given by Mrs. Fanny North.
Cost £1284/16/6.
Donations: Colonel Platt £500; Mrs. Fanny North
£445/10/6; Mrs. Platt £200; Rev. F.P. Watkin-Davies
£100; C.W. May Massey £100; Governors of St. Andrew's
Hospital £100. Balance contributed by churchpeople.

45 BURN CROFT, Sutton Coldfield.

1911 Probable date. New house.

46 NORTHFIELD, Llanfairfechan.

For Plas Estate.
Later IV The Close.

1912 New house.

Drawing NMRW.

Plate 25.

47 VICARAGE, Llanybyther, Cardiganshire.

1913 New vicarage.

Drawing NMRW.

48 ST. GEORGE'S, Barrow-in-Furness, Lancs.

1913 By this date. Rearrangement of sanctuary.

49 PLAS FARM, Llanfairfechan.

For Plas Estate.

Later Hen Blas Farm.

Various dates. Alterations and additions.

50 LLANGEDWYN church, Denbighshire.

St. Cedwyn.

Early 20C. New pair of dormers in chancel roof.

51 PLAS LLANFAIR, Llanfairfechan.

1917 Conversion to Voluntary Aid Detachment Hospital.

52 BRYNHYFRYD, Conwy.

For R. Arthur Jones.

1919 Remodelling of Victorian villa, addition and alteration
of ancillary buildings, and laying out of grounds.

Plate 9.

1982 Demolished except for outbuildings.

53 MISSION CHURCH, Cwm Penmachno.

St. Enclydwyn.

1921 Conversion of disused National School to church and
hall, parish of Penmachno.

Drawings NMRW.

Plate 45.

1981 Reconverted to secular use.

54 ST. TUDFIL'S church, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.

1921 War memorial screen in church built 1895.

Iron, decorated.

Willis Sterrett, smith; Melville Jones, decorative
artist.

Drawings NMRW.

55 BROOKLANDS, Llanfairfechan.

Later V The Close.

For Plas Estate.

1922 New house.

56 COEDFA, Llanfairfechan.

Later VI The Close.

For Plas Estate.

1922 New house.

57 THE HAVEN, Llanfairfechan.

Later VII The Close.

For Plas Estate.

1922 New house.

58 ST. WINIFRED'S SCHOOL, Llanfairfechan.

For Midland Division, Woodard Schools.

Plate 4, Vol. 2.

'Plas Gwyn'

1922 Alteration of existing houses to boarding houses.

1922 New freestanding temporary chapel. Timber frame.

Drawings NMRW.

Plate 1, Vol. 2.

1930 Temporary chapel demounted and sold.

1922 New temporary music block. Timber frame.

Drawings NMRW.

193? Temporary music block demolished.

1922 New temporary classroom block. Timber frame.

Drawings NMRW.

Plate 2, Vol. 2.

- 1925 Temporary classroom block demounted and re-used.
 1926 Sight screen to tennis courts.

Plas Llanfair

- 1925 Alterations to existing house.
 1926 Alteration to annexe.
 1930 Conversion of form room to temporary chapel.
 1939 Alterations and additions.

Contractor, F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.

Tender £392.

Drawing, I. Allan.

Plas Llanfair site

- 1925 Classroom block. Timber frame.
 Plate 3, Vol. 2.
 1930 Extension to classroom block. Timber frame.
 1930 Dean Roberts Hall. Crucks.

Plates 5 and 6, Vol. 2.

- 1930 Ida North Music Wing.

- 1930 Chapel.

Contractors: E. Humphreys, Llanfairfechan, followed
 by J.T. Jones, Ruabon.

Cost £4000.

Paid for by donations.

Drawings and cartoons NMRW.

RCA 1933/68, 69.

Plates 7 - 13 and frontispiece, all Vol. 2.

A+BN Vol. CXXXIX, 28 Sept. 1934, pp. 380-1.

1933 Sanatorium.

RCA 1934/85.

194? Science laboratories.

'Preswylfa'

1927 Alteration of existing house to boarding house.

1970 Demolition of Plas Llanfair, and all buildings by
H.L. North on the site.

For accounts of the buildings of St. Winifred's School,
and period photographs, see:-

Nesta Roberts, ed., S. Winifred's Llanfairfechan, The Story
of Fifty Years 1887-1937, Wilding and Son, Shrewsbury 1937.

K.E. Kirk, The Story of the Woodard Schools, Hodder and
Stoughton 1937.

59 S. CHAD'S SCHOOL.

Denstone, Staffordshire.

For Midland Division, Woodard Schools.

192? New classroom block.

60 S. CUTHBERT'S SCHOOL.

Worksop, Nottingham.

For Midland Division, Woodard Schools.

192? New library.

61 BRYN HAUL, Bryn Road, Llanfairfechan.

For Plas Estate.

1923 Two pairs of semi-detached houses.

Plate 32.

62 THE COTTAGE, Treborth, Bangor.

For Sir Hugh Vincent of Bronwydd.

1923 New estate cottage.

Demolished 1973.

Ack. David Price.

63 TY'N EITHIN, Treborth, Bangor.

192? New house.

Ack. David Price.

64 MONKSWELL PARK, Bishops Walk,

Ilsham Marine Drive, Torquay.

1924 Two new houses, abutting: now one house.

Cornish slate roofs.

N. Pevsner and B. Cherry The Buildings of England: South Devon (forthcoming) will include these houses, the first buildings by H.L. North to be mentioned in the series.

65 WHITE GABLES, London Road, Oxford.

For Mrs. Stubbs.

1924 New house.

Drawings NMRW.

66 ROSE LEA, Llanfairfechan.

VIII The Close.

For G.W. Stone.

1924 New house.

Cost £950.

Plates 27-29, 33.

Photo. on first publicity leaflet for The Close
Homes and Gardens Vol. 8, Sept. 1926, pp. 135-6.
R. Phillips The £1000 House 1928, pp. 54-5.

67 TY HWNT Y'R AFON, Llanfairfechan.

IX The Close.

For Hubert E. Ellis.

1924 New house.

68 LLYS HYWEL, Llanfairfechan.

X The Close.

For J.D. Lloyd.

1924 New house.

69 CLOUD END, Llanfairfechan.

Later 'Cloudlands'.

XI The Close.

For Marion Haughton.

1924 New house.

192? Bay window added.

Plate 30.

Homes and Gardens Vol. 10, June 1928, p.24.

R. Phillips The £1000 House 1928, pp. 53-4.

70 WESTERNIE, Llanfairfechan.

XII The Close.

For J.E. Pugh.

1924 New house.

71 ARAULFAN, Llanfairfechan.

XIII The Close.

For the Misses Roberts.

1924 New house.

Contractor, T.J. Owen, Llanfairfechan.

Plate 32.

72 CROWSTONES, Llanfairfechan.

XIV The Close.

For Elizabeth M. Eaton.

1924 New house.

73 MUNCASTER church, Lancashire.

St. Michael.

1924 Repairs to roof of 12C church extended late 15C
and 1874.

192? Rearrangement of sanctuary.

1929 Furnishing of Lady Chapel, N. transept.

74 PORTH parish church, Rhondda.

St. Paul.

1925 Rearrangement of church built 1886. Raising of
chancel roof, alterations to chancel steps, new
chancel screen (est. £200), new tester, new
English altar, alterations to vestry.

Drawings NLW LL/F/683/PL, NMRW.

Plate 46.

75 NEUADD WEN, Llanfairfechan.

XXV The Close.

For T.J. Owen.

1926 New house.

The client was his own contractor.

Cost about £1000.

F. Chatterton, ed., Houses Cottages and Bungalows

1926, p.65.

76 GREENHILLS, Llanfairfechan.

XXIV The Close.

For F.E. Smith.

1926 Probable date. New house.

77 LLYS-Y-GWYNT, Dolwyddelan.

For Rev. W.H. Flecker.

1927 Probable date. New holiday house.

78 CHURCHMEN'S SOCIAL CLUB, Llanfairfechan.

1927 New club room.

Direct labour.

North donated site and made loan.

1935 Addition of lavatories.

79 C.O.P.E.C. HOUSING, Seriol Road, Bangor.

For Bangor C.O.P.E.C. Housing Group.

- 1927 Twenty new houses in two terraces facing.
Contractor, Richard Owen.
Total cost £8000. Cost per house c. £364.
Paid for by subsidies (£100 per house), an anonymous donation, subscriptions, and loans.
C.O.P.E.C. = Conference on Christian Politics,
Economics and Citizenship.
Rev. G.A. Edwards 'A North Wales Housing Experiment'
The Welsh Outlook Feb. 1928, pp. 36-7.

80 BRYNCOEDIFOR SCHOOL, near Dolgellau, Merioneth.

- 1928 Alterations to elementary school.
Drawings NMRW.
Previously altered by Harold Hughes 1915.
- 1928 Probable date. School house.

81 BRYN FFAWYDD, Llanfairfechan.

XVI The Close.

- 1928 New house.
Plate 32.

82 GREY GABLES, Llanfairfechan.

XXII The Close.

For R.A. Evans.

1929 Probable date. New house.

Plate 31.

83 DOLGELLEY AND BARMOUTH DISTRICT COTTAGE
HOSPITAL, Hospital Drive, Dolgellley (now
Dolgellan).

For the Building Committee.

1929 New cottage hospital.

Contractor, J.T. Jones, Ruabon.

Cost £5000 without equipment.

Paid for by donations and subscriptions.

RCA 1934/86.

Plates 38, 39, and 57.

193? Mortuary demolished and rebuilt on new site with
screen planting.

193? New outpatients wing.

Plate 39.

1938 New operating theatre, and alterations.

84 SWANSTON COTTAGE, Mount Road, Higher Bebington.

For Dr. T.M. Guthrie.

1931 New house.

Homes and Gardens Vol. 13, Sept. 1931, pp. 161-2.

Ack. Mr. and Mrs. P.J. Anderson.

85 TREWEN, Llanfairfechan.

XVII The Close.

1931 New house.

Homes and Gardens Vol. 14, Aug. 1932, p.118.

86 HOUSE, 30 Ffriddoedd Road, Bangor.

Probably for Dr. Alice Patterson.

193? New house, including separate garage with chauffeur's flat over.

87 HOUSE, Merion Road, Bangor.

193? New house.

88 BODALWEN, Merton Road, Bangor.

193? New house.

89 GLYN ISAF, Rowen.

For Sir William Clare Lees.

193? Early in decade. Alterations to existing country house.

Addition of classical porch.

193? Same occasion. Restoration of barn.

193? Same occasion. 'Glyn Isa Cottage': new estate cottage.

Plate 44.

Ack. G.W. Nickson, R.S. Nickson.

- 90 BUS SHELTER, Rowen.
- 193? Probable authorship. New double apsidal bus shelter
in stone and slate on main road.
- 91 ERRYDFA, Llanfairfechan.
- XV The Close.
- For E. Jones.
- 1932 Probable date. New house.
- Contractor, F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.
- 92 VADRE PARK, Deganwy.
- For R. Arthur Jones.
- 1933 Five new houses. Multi-coloured slate roofs.
- RCA 1933/86 (model).
- 93 WHITEFRIARS, Station Field, Llanfairfechan.
- For B. Mc P. Bibby.
- 1933 New house.
- Later additions.
- 94 CHAPEL and student accommodation.
- For Anglican Chaplaincy, U.C.N.W.,
Princes Road, Bangor.
- 1933 New private chapel.
- Contractors, Owen and Hughes, Deganwy.

Cost £3000.

Paid for by donations and subscriptions.

RCA 1933/67.

Plate 48.

A+BN Vol. CXLIII, 16 Aug. 1935, p.198.

1933 New student bedrooms etc., alterations to existing
chaplaincy building, separate library to rear.

Ack. The Ven. B. Morgan, Rev. R.S. Thomas.

95 TY GWYN, Minffordd Road, Llanddulas.

193? New house.

Contractor, F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.

96 HAFRYN, Minffordd Road, Llanddulas.

193? New house.

97 PENWARTHA, Hafodty Lane, Colwyn Bay.

For the Misses H.B. and M.D. Baines.

1934 New house.

Contractor probably F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.

RCA 1934/84.

98 MISKIN, 4 Ael-y-Bryn Road, Colwyn Bay.

For K.E. Neill.

1935 Probable date. New house.

Red brick and red tiles.

99 BRYN, 6 Ael-y-Bryn Road, Colwyn Bay.

For W.J. Bowen.

1935 Probable date. New house.

100 SWN-Y-GWYNT, 42 King's Road, Colwyn Bay.

1935 Probable date. New house.

101 HILLCREST, Llanfairfechan.

XXI The Close.

For Lloyd Jones.

1935 New house.

Contractor, F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.

Plate 31.

102 HARLESCOTT church, Shrewsbury.

The Holy Spirit.

1936 New church dio. Litchfield, 240 seats.

Green pantiles.

Cost £2,500 plus fittings and fees £300.

Drawings NMRW.

Plates 49-53.

A+BN Vol. CXLIX, 8 Jan. 1937, pp. 42-3.

AD+C Vol. VII, Feb. 1937, p.153.

New Churches Illustrated ICBS 1936, pp. 120-1.

Deconsecrated and sold c.1962. Now a club.

Ack. Salop Local Studies Library.

103 AEL-Y-GWYNT, Llanfairfechan.

XVIII The Close.

For Mrs. Gwendolen Duff.

1936 New house.

Contractor F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.

Cost, about £1000.

Drawings I. Allan.

A+BN Vol. CXLVII, 14 Aug. 1936, p.199.

104 HOUSE, Llanfairtalhaiarn, nr. Abergele.

For J.W. Reece.

1936 Probable date. New house.

Contractor F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.

Drawings I. Allan.

105 HOUSE, Llanddulas, nr. Abergele.

For Mrs. Darling.

1937 New house.

Contractor F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.

Drawings I. Allan.

- 106 DWYFOR, Llanfairfechan.
XXIII The Close.
For R.S. Williams.
- 1937 New house.
Contractor F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.
- 107 PATRISHOW church, Brecknock.
St. Ishow.
- 1938 Probable date. Restoration of Rood screen of c.1500,
etc. in church of Norman and later dates.
Contractor F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.
Ack. P.M. Padmore.
- 108 LLANANNO church, Radnorshire.
St. Anno.
- 1938 Probable date. Restoration of screen of c.1500
re-installed after rebuilding of 1877.
Contractor F. Tyldesley, Llandudno.
- 109 NEWTOWN parish church.
St. David.
- 1938 New parclose screen N. aisle of church built 1847,
including re-erection of parts of screen c.1500
from St. Mary's, Newtown.
- 1938 Furnishing of chapel.

Contractor F. Tyldesley, Llandudno, screen and
furnishing.

Drawings NMRW.

110 BRYN-Y-MOR, Llys Helig Drive, Llandudno.

For F. Tyldesley.

1939 New house.

The client was his own contractor.

Ack. F. Tyldesley.

111 ACORN COTTAGE, Llanfairfechan.

XIX The Close.

For Miss M.O. Davis.

1940 New house.

Cost £700.

Drawings NMRW.

Plate 26.

A+BN Vol. CLXIV, 8 Nov. 1940, p.90.

112 BLACKWELL church, near Bromsgrove.

St. Catherine's.

1941 New church dio. Birmingham, 250 seats.

Reddish brown pantiles.

General contractors J. & A. Brazier Ltd.

Total cost £4,719/12/2.

Drawings NMRW.

Plates 54-6.

A+BN Vol. CLXV, 14 Mar. 1941, pp. 177-8.

A note on authorship

From 1899, when his first buildings were erected, until 1926, when he took P.M. Padmore into partnership, work credited to H.L. North may be taken to have been designed by him. There were very occasional exceptions, such as the detached house in Brynhyfryd Park, Conway, c.1908, which seems to be by R.J. Hughes (who did most of the working drawings for 'Keldwith' in 1910).

After 1926 North still designed most of the work coming out of his office, but also practised a form of cannibalisation with Padmore. The two would prepare separate designs, and collaborate on a synthesis. Padmore had separate jobs of his own, such as the house he built for an artist in Llys Helig Drive, Llandudno, in 1940, which had a butterfly plan.

North's assistants were allowed some design latitude, but were familiar with the limits of his thoroughly worked out style. Contrary to what is sometimes still believed, sheets

of standard details were never issued. John Davies, the site clerk at 'Keldwith', was allowed considerable freedom of decision between North's visits.

A note on listing

A holding letter from CADW (Welsh Historic Monuments) expressed "great interest in North's works for listing protection" and the intention "to systematically check through your handlist". It was stated that the Anglican chaplaincy and the C.O.P.E.C. housing in Bangor are both now listed. The Close, Llanfairfechan was not mentioned (David McLees to Ian Allan, 16 March 1988).

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1935, pp. 14, wrappers, large folding plate (probably drawn
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- B. THESES
- C. OFFICIAL PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS
- D. PERIODICALS, PAMPHLETS, REPORTS, CATALOGUES
- E. WORKS OF REFERENCE
- F. GENERAL

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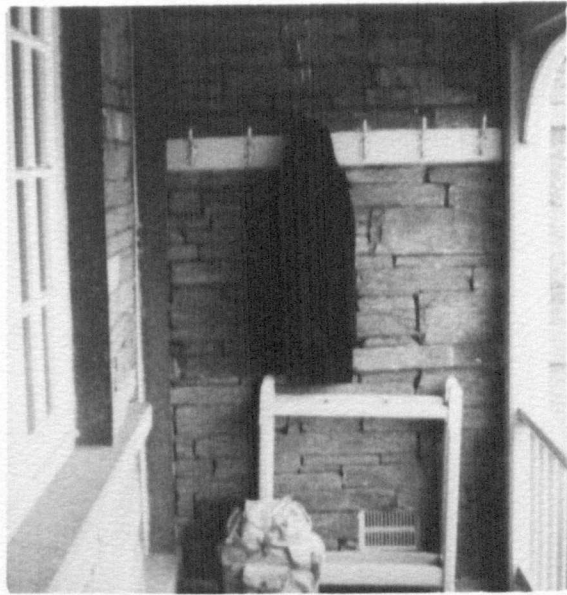
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ENVOI



The author's coat and rucksack at the former Keswick School of Industrial Arts: a visit on the road to Portinscale, summer vacation 1982.