

RESEARCH REPORT SERIES no. 37-2014

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME SEVEN: 1953-1970

Nick Chapple



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VOLUME SEVEN: 1953-1970

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SUMMARY

This is Volume Seven in a series of eight reports, which describe the formation of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings from 1882 to 1983 in the context of legislation and other available means of protecting heritage.

The report describes the growth of the collection from the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act, 1953, which gave the government new powers of grant-giving and acquisition, to the formation of the Department of the Environment which brought about the amalgamation of historic buildings and ancient monuments work in one department for the first time. For the national collection this was a period of retrenchment after the rapid expansion of the early post-war years. A conservative collecting policy meant that not only did the collection grow more slowly than before, but the expansion into new types of monument which had begun after 1945 went into abeyance. Although the powers in the 1953 Act increased the government's capacity for saving endangered buildings, they were aimed at keeping the buildings in use and as such represented the start of a movement away from the State taking over historic sites as its principal means of securing their preservation.

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Elizabeth Trout and the Mills Archive Trust for kindly providing the photograph of Rex Wailes (figure 12).

ARCHIVE LOCATION

A digital archive of this report, associated contents and extensive research is held on the English Heritage London Server in the file '1913 CEO Research' and sub-file 'History of the National Heritage Collection Research'.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the seventh in a series of eight reports which describe the formation of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings from 1882 to 1983 in the context of legislation and other available means of protecting heritage. The series was commissioned to inform commemoration of the centenary of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act. This volume covers the history of the National Heritage Collection from the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act, 1953, which gave the government new powers of grant-giving and acquisition, to the formation of the Department of the Environment which brought about the amalgamation of historic buildings and ancient monuments work in one department for the first time.

For the national collection the years 1953 to 1970 formed a period of retrenchment after the rapid expansion of the early post-war years. A conservative collecting policy meant that not only did the collection grow much more slowly than before, but the expansion into new types of monument which had begun tentatively while Bryan O'Neil was Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments went into abeyance. Although the powers in the 1953 Act increased the government's capacity for saving endangered buildings, they were aimed at keeping the buildings in use and as such represented the start of a movement away from the State taking over historic sites as its principal means of securing their preservation.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE MODERN WORLD

In the 1950s the austerity of the immediate post-war years was gradually replaced by prosperity as the British economy boomed. Spending on the national collection increased massively during this period, but never enough to match the ever-growing commitments, and constant fiscal pressure caused the ambition of the early post-war years to wither. Whereas in 1945-53 the collection in England had grown at an average of 10 new monuments a year, the average over the period 1953-70 was just under five. It was not only ancient monuments work that was restricted by the Conservative governments of 1951 to 1964: the number of historic building investigators in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government was reduced from the original complement of over 30 to just nine by the mid 1960s, retarding the progress of listing surveys.¹

During the years 1953-1970 the division in government responsibilities for the built heritage continued, mirroring the separate legislative codes for ancient monuments and listed buildings. Ancient monuments work remained in the Ministry of Works (MoW), which in 1962 was given additional responsibility for addressing problems in the building industry and renamed the Ministry for Public Buildings and Works (MPBW). Historic buildings work was shared until 1966 between the MoW/MPBW, which administered the scheme of grant aid and acquired buildings to secure their future (known in the jargon of the time as 'positive preservation'), and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government

(MHLG), which dealt with listing and statutory planning controls ('negative preservation'); in 1966 the powers which had been given to the MoW under Part I of the 1953 Act, were transferred to MHLG in England and Wales and the Scottish Secretary in Scotland. Since the distinction between ancient monuments and historic buildings was not entirely straightforward there was considerable overlap and occasional conflict between the ministries. Before the end of the decade, however, plans were being made to bring the work of the two ministries together, resulting in the creation of the Department of the Environment in 1970.

Up until the formation of the Department of the Environment the organisation and methods of the Ancient Monuments Department, which was formed shortly before the First World War, remained almost unchanged, reflecting a strong corporate identity and the high esteem in which their work was held, nationally and internationally. The Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953 increased the workload of the Inspectorate, which had to provide expert advice on historic building grant applications in addition to its work on ancient monuments. In January 1954 Bryan O'Neil, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, was anticipating a further expansion as a result of what he still thought was the likely transfer of listing from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to the Ministry of Works.²

O'Neil had been the driving force behind the expansion of the Ancient Monuments Branch after 1945 and its re-organisation in response to the 1953 Act, but he saw little of this new age of heritage protection as he died suddenly in Edinburgh on 24 October 1954. He was succeeded by Paul Baillie Reynolds (1896-1973), who held the post from 1954 until his retirement in 1961. Baillie Reynolds was a classical scholar and archaeologist who joined the Inspectorate in 1934 from a university teaching post at Aberystwyth. He served as a Major in the Royal Artillery in 1939 to 1945 but returned after the war to become Inspector of Ancient Monuments for England (IAME). When he was elevated to the post of Chief Inspector a new Assistant Chief Inspector post was created at the same time which was filled by Arnold Taylor.

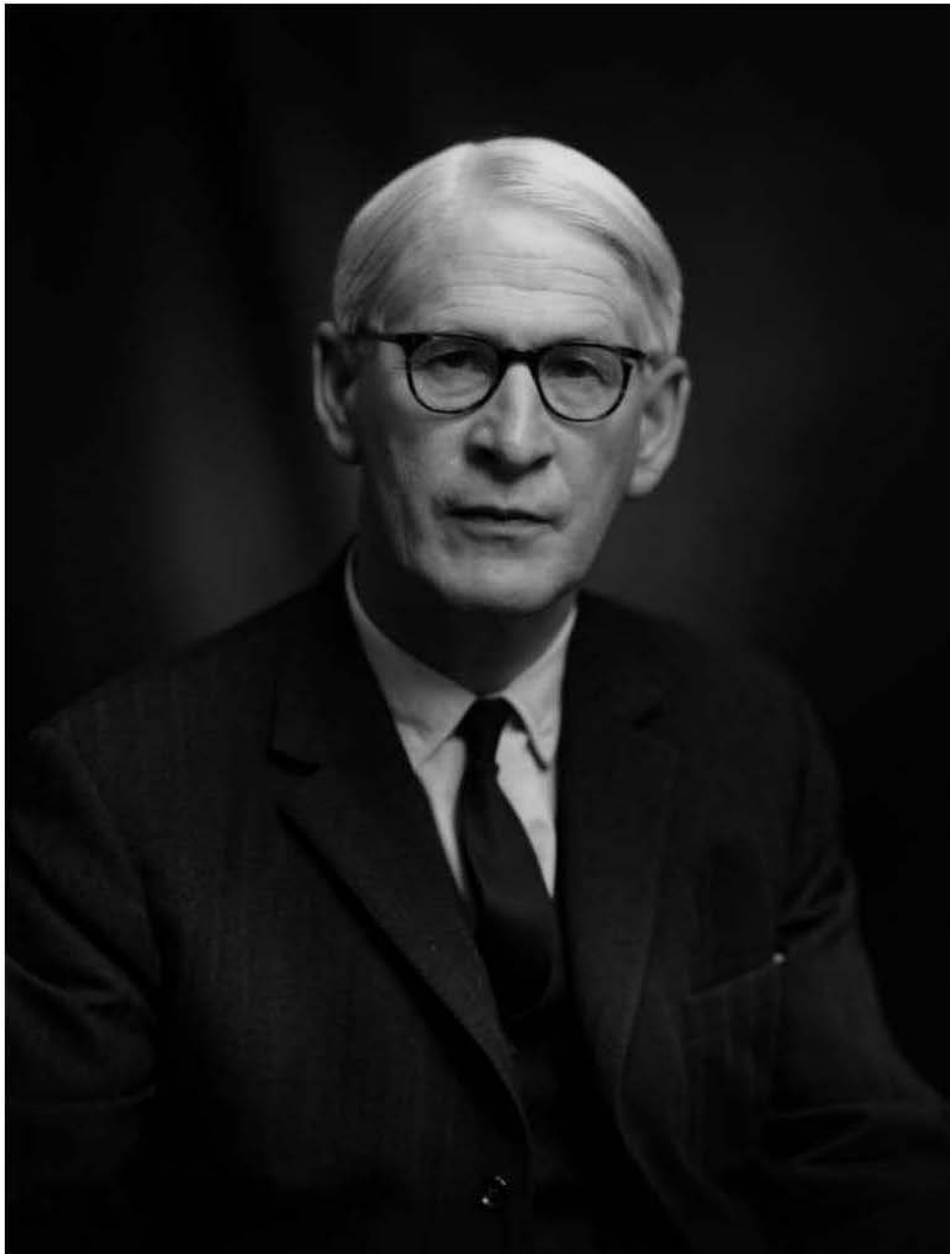


Fig 1: Arnold Taylor in 1971 © National Portrait Gallery London

Arnold Taylor (1911-2002) (fig 1) was a medieval scholar, archaeologist and architectural historian, an international expert on European castle building. He joined the Office of Works in 1935 to fill Bryan O'Neil's Assistant Inspector post when O'Neil was promoted to Inspector. Taylor, then just 24 years old, was approached about the job on the recommendation of his former tutor at St John's College, Oxford, A L Poole, who had also taught O'Neil many years earlier.³ He continued to follow in O'Neil's footsteps by becoming Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales (IAMW) and then, in 1961, Chief Inspector. It was said of Taylor in this role that he 'succeeded in maintaining the traditional identity of the Inspectorate: its professional standards, philosophy and its corporate sense remained unaltered.'⁴ Roger Mercer, who joined as an assistant inspector in 1969, recalled

being told by Taylor to 'treat this office more as a gentleman's club than a work place'.⁵ In Mercer's own words, the atmosphere was 'both constructively busy and spiritually relaxing'.⁶

One thing which did change in this period – to an extraordinary degree – was the number of visitors to the ancient monuments and other historic sites in the care of the Ministry. It was the biggest operator of historic attractions in post-war Britain and the sustained growth in its visitor numbers helped to establish heritage as a major part of the British tourist industry. In 1957 there were 6,157,100 visitors recorded at all of the Ministry's sites; that number more than doubled to reach 12,540,100 in 1970. In England alone in the same period the numbers grew from 4,575,500 to 9,310,200, a 103 per cent increase. (See Appendix 4 for visitor numbers from 1957 to 1970).

Although the National Trust and private owners of stately homes were also flourishing in this period, it was the Ministry that dominated the sector. In 1962 it attracted 5.5 million visitors to historic sites in England (7.55 million in Britain as a whole). In contrast only 1.2 million visited the National Trust's historic houses in the same year.⁷ In 1967, five of the country's top ten attractions were Ministry sites (**Tower of London, Hampton Court Palace, Edinburgh Castle, Stonehenge** and **Caernarfon Castle**), two National Trust (**Chartwell** and **Tatton Park**) and three private (**Beaulieu, Woburn** and **Chatsworth**). In the top 200, 103 were Ministry sites, 61 National Trust or National Trust for Scotland and 36 private.⁸

In the area of ancient monuments alone, the increase of more than 2 million visitors (117 per cent growth) in this period was in part simply a reflection of the greater number of monuments that were open. After years of restoration work, the sites taken into the Ministry's care in the post-war rush (see Volume Six) were gradually being opened to the public during this period and even more monuments were being added to the collection every year. Another factor in the increase was a greater focus within the Ministry on boosting visitor numbers and income. In 1958 the Parliamentary Secretary of the day, Hamar Nicholls MP, wrote to the Minister to urge him to improve presentation and marketing of guardianship sites and thus 'take full advantage of the public appeal of the monuments in as wide a way as possible'.⁹

Nicholls emphasised that 'this ... implies no criticism of the Inspectors and Architects, who are generally recognised to have done a first-class job on the archaeological and architectural side.' Their approach, however, was 'primarily professional and in accordance with the traditions.'¹⁰ Nicholls wanted 'the "business management" aspects of the matter to be looked at more broadly', which in practice meant improving facilities on sites, extending opening times, increasing the number of guidebooks available, improving arrangements for selling guidebooks and postcards and advertising the sites more widely. The extent to which the Ministry succeeded in taking advantage of the public's increased enthusiasm for heritage can be seen in the figures. In 1959, the year after the Parliamentary Secretary's Presentation Committee was established, income other than

admission fees was £65,000 but five years later it had grown to £171,806 ¹¹ (a 164 per cent increase in income derived from a 28 per cent increase in visitor numbers). Receipts from admissions in the same period grew from £227,446 to £426,837.¹²

Although the pace of growth in the national collection slowed significantly after the post-war deluge, 80 monuments were added between 1953 and 1970 and not a single year went by in which there was not at least one addition to the collection. Thus the process continued by which the ownership of England's most archaeologically important heritage was concentrated in the hands of a national, public, expert body. Taxation levels remained high and combined with inflation in building costs to make the task of looking after an ancient monument or historic building onerous for a private owner, as it had been for many years. There were also particular contemporary developments which affected the process. The booming economy created development pressures with a tangible effect on ancient monuments, particularly in urban areas. Meanwhile the Cold War was changing the needs of the military establishment and a large number of its historic sites became surplus to requirements.

Many of the guardianship cases dealt with by the Ministry in this period were long-running ones, some dating back to before the war. **Sherborne Old Castle** was first considered for guardianship in 1931 and again in 1935, but only after a renewed offer in 1954 was it finally accepted. Before the war, guardianship of a small part of the **Silchester Roman Walls** had been given by the 5th Duke of Wellington to the Office of Works. Owing to the peculiarities of the Duke's tenure, however, it was only temporary guardianship and lapsed on his death in 1941. A new guardianship agreement was made with the 7th Duke in 1965. **Lexden Straight Road**, part of a series of late Iron Age defences around Colchester in Essex, was bought by the Office of Works in 1925 after it had threatened the use of a Preservation Order. Management of the site was handed over to Colchester Borough Council in 1928, but their stewardship of the monument was less than satisfactory and in 1968 it was transferred back to central government. **Castle Rising Castle** had been a target for guardianship for at least 20 years when it was added to the national collection in 1958. By that time parts of the castle were in imminent danger of collapse and the owner, Sir Charles Howard, was unable to afford the necessary expenditure.



Fig 2: Bayham Abbey, Kent in 1958. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

One in five of the new additions to the national collection in this period came from private landowners like Sir Charles Howard (compared to about one in three between 1945 and 1953). **Bayham Abbey** (fig 2), for instance, had been well-maintained by the Marquess of Camden and his predecessors before the war. In 1958, however, 'Lord Camden made it clear that he wished to offer the abbey in guardianship because he can no longer afford to maintain it as he would like to see it maintained.'¹³ The Earl of Verulam was in receipt of an historic buildings repair grant from the Ministry for his home, **Gorhambury House**, in 1955, while the nearby ruins of **Old Gorhambury** were decaying. The Historic Buildings Council urged the Ministry to consider guardianship since they feared it would look bad for the government to be spending money on a comparatively unimportant 18th-century house while significant Tudor remains in the grounds were neglected. Even though the late Chief Inspector, Bryan O'Neil, had advised against spending any money on the ruins because their importance was primarily historical, not architectural, in 1956 the Minister agreed to accept guardianship of them.

Even the greatest of noble families could find themselves in financial difficulties due to taxation in the 1950s. The 11th Duke of Devonshire succeeded to the title in 1950 and was faced with a bill for estate duties of £2.4m. Long negotiations about the possible hand over of **Chatsworth** took place, but in 1955 the duke changed tack and offered instead to give **Hardwick Hall** and its estate to the government in lieu of taxes. The Hall was one of the most famous Elizabethan houses in the country and attracted thousands of visitors each year (31,502 in 1955);¹⁴ in the grounds of the Hall was **Hardwick Old Hall**, the

ruined but still substantial remains of a medieval house, birthplace of Bess of Hardwick. The Ministry of Works was asked for its views on the offer and an internal debate took place over whether the house would be better off as a Ministry of Works or National Trust property.

A J Taylor (Assistant Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments) believed that 'both the Hall and the Old Hall in their different states are of alpha quality, and...if the opportunity arises either of them would qualify on merit to become national monuments in the care of the Ministry.'¹⁵ The Treasury decided that the Hall and its estate should be handed over in part payment of death duties and given to the National Trust, but that guardianship of the Old Hall should be offered to the Ministry of Works under the terms of the Ancient Monuments Acts. A transfer on these lines was made in 1959.

Between 1959 and 1969 ten military sites, including major ones such as **Dover Castle** and **Carlisle Castle**, entered the national collection as the needs of the military changed. The mass mobilisation which had started in 1939 came to an end in the early 1960s so there was less need for troop accommodation. The final call-up for National Service was issued in 1960, with the last conscripts ending their service in 1963. **Carlisle Castle** is one of the sites that made a gradual conversion from military asset to ancient monument over several decades, concluding in this period. In 1911, an agreement was made about which parts of the castle were required by the War Department and which were to be the responsibility of the Office of Works. The keep was gradually emptied during the 1920s and was converted to a museum in 1932. When the Border Regiment's depot left the castle in 1959, the Ministry of Works was left in charge of the Inner Ward, while the Outer Ward remained in military occupation. Formal transfer of the whole castle to the Ministry, with areas reserved for use of the War Department and Territorial Army, was made in 1962.

In 1956 the coastal artillery branch of the Army was disbanded as guided rockets replaced guns in the defensive role. Guns were scrapped at places such as **St Mawes**, **Pendennis**, **Tynemouth** and **Landguard Fort**, which all in due course came into the national collection. The obsolescence of so many coastal fortifications also prompted a reassessment by the Ministry of its policy towards 18th and 19th-century fortifications. (See below, Making a Collection: Policy)

As re-development of Britain's historic towns and cities and the building of new suburbs gathered pace through the 1950s and 1960s, ancient monuments were inevitably affected. A proposal to build houses on **Lydford Town Banks** in Devon, was the cause of that monument coming into the Ministry's care. In 1963 the earthwork had been excavated and enough evidence was found to establish its Saxon dating. In November of the following year the owner of the Town Banks gave the statutory three months' notice of his intention to develop the scheduled area for housing. The Ministry considered using compulsory powers to take guardianship, but opted for the cheaper alternative of negotiating purchase of the land. Buying the freehold of the land had the added advantage

over guardianship of giving the Ministry the right to excavate how and when it chose. The threatened northern section of the banks was bought for £700 in 1965 and the southern section added for £310 in 1967.

Two further monuments came into the care of the Ministry in this period in response to re-development of urban sites. The fragmentary remains of **Winchester Palace** in Southwark had been subsumed in two 19th-century warehouses built on the site of the Palace after most of it had been destroyed by a fire in 1814. The remains consisted of three portions of wall including the south and west walls of the Great Hall. The outstanding feature was a rose window in the west wall which was embedded in the third and fourth floors of the warehouses. The *Survey of London* in 1950 stated prophetically that: 'Little of the old work is now visible from the outside of the warehouses; it remains hidden from view until it shall be again revealed by a new catastrophe or by some drastic rebuilding of the area.'¹⁶

Ten years later, in March 1960, the Ministry was informed by the freeholders of the site, the Church Commissioners, that they intended to demolish the warehouses because of their dangerous condition. The Ministry was of the opinion that the monument was sufficiently important to warrant every effort being made to preserve it, but it seems to have been content with the idea that this be achieved by re-incorporating the remains in a new building. The Church Commissioners sold the warehouses to Messrs J O Sims & Co Ltd, fruit importers, which consulted the Ministry over the design of a new warehouse it intended to erect on the western half of the site.

Having finished its new warehouse, Sims & Co offered to sell the eastern half of the site - including the whole thickness of the wall containing the rose window - to the Ministry. When this offer was turned down, because the Ministry was happy that the wall was secure anyway, Sims & Co made a gift of the monument instead. This allowed the inner faces of the two remaining walls of the Great Hall to be exposed for the first time; a viewing platform was built on the empty half of the site so that visitors could see the rose window close to (fig 3).



Fig 3: Remains of Winchester Palace, London, in 1974; the new warehouse can be seen on the right of the picture and on the far left the viewing platform

Whereas Winchester Palace was affected by the development of a single site, **Gloucester Greyfriars** came into guardianship because of a comprehensive scheme for rebuilding the city-centre. The monument was a rare surviving example of a preaching friars' church, rebuilt c1520 and subsequently overwhelmed with accretions and alterations and divided up into several properties (see fig 4). It had been acquired by the Gloucester Co-Operative Society after the war, but they had no interest in maintaining it and in 1955 had applied to redevelop the site. Permission for the redevelopment was denied because of the impact on the ancient monument, but when J R Gilbin of the Ministry visited in 1961 he found it 'frankly daunting; squalor and dilapidation could hardly go further.'



Fig 4: The remains of Gloucester Greyfriars in 1959, subsumed in later buildings. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Salvation came in the unlikely form of the redevelopment of the city-centre. Under the proposed scheme, Greyfriars was to occupy an important position in an open space at

the southern end of a pedestrian precinct. Gilbin told the City Council that 'any scheme that rescues Greyfriars from its present dejection will have our wholehearted support.' The Council designated the monument for compulsory purchase as part of the re-development area which enabled the developer, Land Improvements Ltd to take it over. They believed it would be an asset to the area if it was restored and displayed like other guardianship sites, so they offered the monument to the Ministry as a gift.

One of the largest redevelopment sites in England was the Barbican area of the City of London and on this ground the Ministry fought a ten-year battle to save the tower of the church of **St Alban, Wood Street** (fig 5). The Diocese of London had decided not to rebuild the bomb-damaged church after the war, as part of its reorganisation of parish churches in the City. While the Ministry was prepared to let the gutted main body of the church be demolished, it hoped to see the tower preserved as a monument and offered to accept guardianship of it (as well as the remains of St Alphege, London Wall and St Swithin, Cannon Street) if necessary. The City Corporation, however, had plans to redevelop the area and in particular to widen Wood Street, which it claimed would require the demolition of the tower as well as the body of the church.

In order to carry out its redevelopment scheme the City Corporation needed to compulsorily purchase the land affected and for this a certificate of authorisation was needed from the Ministry of Works.

On 7 October 1954 the City, fatefully, gave an undertaking to preserve the tower in order to secure the certificate. Only a week later, however, the Chairman of the City's Planning Committee was telling the Minister of Works that he was still keen to get rid of it. The Chief Inspector, Baillie Reynolds, was prepared to accept the removal of the tower to another site, as had been done for instance with Temple Bar and Bristol High Cross, if that was the only way of avoiding total destruction. Such an operation would have been very expensive, however, and since the Ministry refused to offer grant aid for it the City Corporation pressed to be released from its undertaking to preserve the tower.

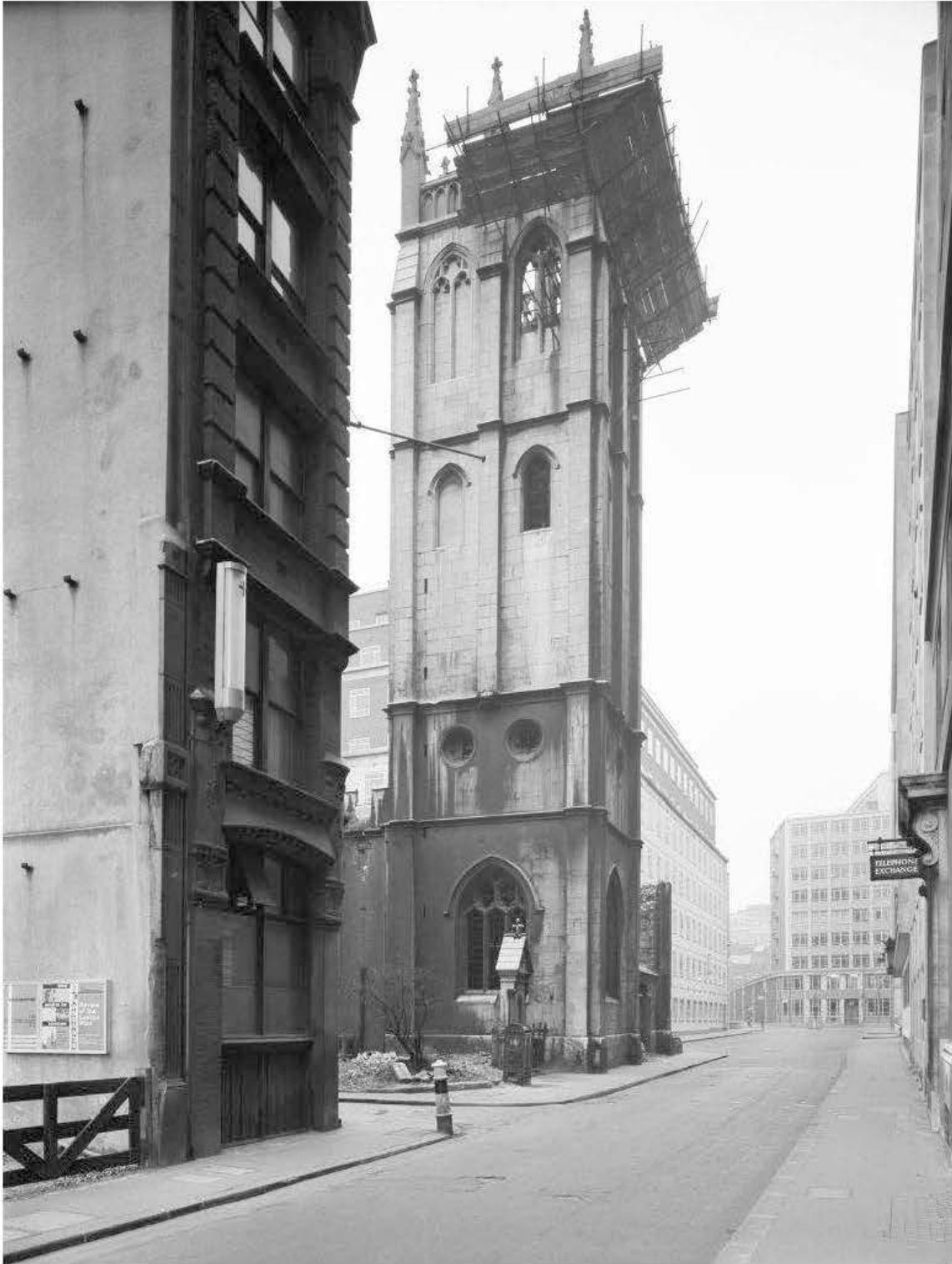


Fig 5: St Alban Wood Street, City of London, in 1960. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

The Ministry refused to give way, so in 1960 the City Corporation declared its intention to promote a special Bill in Parliament empowering it to demolish the tower. Asked if he

wished to fight on, the Minister, Lord John Hope, replied 'Yes, we must fight all the way for this. I do not expect I will ever be asked to another banquet at the Guildhall, but the last one lasted so long that it will do for a long time.' By this time the City's traffic plan for the area had been changed (under pressure from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government) and there was no longer any need for road-widening. The Corporation nevertheless persisted in its attack on the tower, calling into question its architectural and historical importance.¹⁷ When notified of the Minister's intention to fight the Bill on the floor of the House, however, they withdrew the section relating to St Alban's, rather than face a probable and embarrassing defeat on the floor of the House. Sadly this was a rare victory in the year (1961) that the Euston Arch was condemned to demolition and the year before the Coal Exchange was lost, to another road-widening scheme elsewhere in the City.

Although St Albans was saved without being taken into guardianship, the Ministry did take over three ruined former parish churches as well as two non-parochial ecclesiastical buildings in this period. In the early 1950s all ecclesiastical buildings became entangled in the search for an overall policy, even where they clearly had no worship use, and most cases dragged on for years as a result. **Mistley Towers**, Essex, consisted of two towers which were all that remained of a church of 1735, remodelled by Robert Adam in 1776 to serve a planned spa resort (fig 6). They had been left standing when the rest of the church was demolished in 1870, a new Gothic revival parish church having been built to replace it. The Ministry first became aware of the towers in 1951 when an application for faculty to remove the lead from them was made. The first suggestion of guardianship was made in 1952 but the case was caught up with the general question of redundant churches and the Ministry only agreed to take it over in 1955 after being lobbied by the Georgian Group, which repaired the towers. The deed of guardianship was finally made in 1958.



Fig 6: Mistley Towers, Essex, c. 1954, before repairs; note the bands tied round the nearer of the two towers in an attempt to stabilise it. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Like Mistley Towers, **Brinkburn Priory** suffered from the Ministry's nervousness about setting a precedent with regard to redundant churches. The building was a well-preserved Augustinian priory church, which had been re-roofed in the 19th century. Although it had been in parochial use up until the First World War and continued in occasional use into the 1950s, it had always been in private ownership. In 1950 it was offered to the Ministry by the owner Lancelot Fenwick, but 'in view of its slightly equivocal position, as still potentially in ecclesiastical use, some doubt had been held about the advisability of acceptance.'¹⁸ Initially it was seen as another case that could be deferred, because the building was not actually on the point of collapse. In 1954 Bryan O'Neil visited and found the building in a worsening condition: 'the green slime on the walls is spreading and the place will soon smell mouldy.' Yet his colleagues were still not convinced of the urgency of the case and it was only in 1961 when the Bishop of Newcastle intervened that action was taken. On visiting the church Roy Gilyard-Beer (Inspector of Ancient Monuments) commented: 'Our poverty is still with us, but the building is abandoned, the first windows have been broken and the time when it will become derelict is not far away.' This danger finally spurred the Ministry into action and the building was accepted as a gift in April 1962.

Bristol Temple Church came into the national collection as part of a wider scheme for churches in the centre of Bristol. It was damaged by wartime bombing, but retained its

outer walls and distinctive leaning tower (not a result of the bombing, but of settlement which took place in the Middle Ages). After the war the Ministry of Works, the Ministry of Local Government and Planning and the diocese of Bristol engaged in talks about a group of five ruined architecturally or historically important churches in the city, of which the Temple Church was one. The diocese was keen to divest itself of the churches and if possible to realise the value of the city-centre sites. As part of its contribution to solving the general problem, the Ministry of Works offered in 1954 to take over the Temple Church (which had not itself been threatened with demolition). It was considered by the Chief Inspector, O'Neil, to 'rank among the first dozen or so of the redundant or bombed churches which we might be asked to take over in the country as a whole' and so guardianship was accepted.



Fig 7. Knowlton Church, Dorset in 1954. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

When **Knowlton Church** (fig 7) was offered for guardianship in 1954, Kenneth Newis (Assistant Secretary) assured Frederick Root (Under Secretary) that policy on redundant churches would not be affected because it was ruinous. What made the ruined 12th-century church attractive to the Ministry was that it stood in the middle of a Neolithic earthwork, part of a series of Prehistoric ceremonial sites, and therefore illustrated the adoption of pagan sites in the founding of Christian churches. Bryan O'Neil had helped to engineer the offer of guardianship on a visit to the site by the Prehistoric Society. Negotiations with the tenant farmer on whose land the monument stood were lengthy, but were eventually concluded in 1959.

The report of the Archbishops' Commission on redundant churches in 1960 (see below, *Making a Collection: Policy*) led to another period of uncertainty over the Ministry's

proper role with regard to churches. In 1962 A W Cunliffe of the Ministry seems to have been determined not to accept an offer of **Odda's Chapel**, Gloucestershire from the Church Commissioners. He argued that the 11th-century chapel should be left with the Church for the time being 'on the assumption that the report of the Archbishops' Commission will be implemented before long' and the chapel could then be vested in the proposed Redundant Churches Fund. On being told of the proposal to treat the chapel as a redundant church, A J Taylor responded sharply:

'I am sorry, but I think the course proposed is quite wrong. The Chapel has never been in parochial use, and indeed is unlikely to have served religious purposes since at least the 16th century. Odda's Chapel is a pure ancient monument and, with respect, I suggest it is a monstrous red herring to try and link it with the present discussions on the recommendations of the Report of the Archbishops' Commission.'

He continued, 'I do not believe that acceptance of this chapel, with its wholly non-parochial and lay background, would in any sense constitute a precedent which could fairly be invoked in favour of our accepting guardianship of redundant parish churches.' The Deputy Secretary, Frederick Root, supported this line and secured the agreement of the Minister, Lord John Hope. The National Trust had considered taking over ownership and offering guardianship to the Ministry, but to simplify matters the Church Commissioners made a gift of the chapel directly to the Ministry. Another ecclesiastical ruin caused the Ministry a good deal of trouble in the 1960s before finally coming into guardianship in 1971. The ruined chancel and chapter house of **Howden Minster** in East Yorkshire had been considered for guardianship in 1932, 1950 and 1958. When the church architect gave notice in 1959 that he intended to remove dangerous parts of the stonework, the Ministry was forced to look at the case once again. There was no dispute about the architectural quality of the monument. As Charles Peers wrote in 1932, 'Howden is a very fine thing', but it was constructed of soft Tadcaster limestone which was eroding rapidly. The Ministry believed it was 'in the long run doomed by the nature of its material' and was beyond even its powers to arrest the decay.¹⁹ Much of the monument's importance lay in its fine carved detail and once that had eroded away the Ministry would be left with a ruin on its hands which was not worthy of guardianship.

On the one hand, architects Francis Johnson and George Pace were advising the parish and the Ancient Monuments Society that the stonework could be saved; on the other, the Building Research Station told the Ministry that nothing could be done to arrest decay. The matter was discussed again in 1964, without result, and then in 1968 the local MP, Paul Bryan, entered the fray. As a result of his intervention the Ministry carried out another survey of the ruins. This showed, to their surprise, that the stonework was not deteriorating as rapidly as they had expected. This prompted a reassessment and the decision by the Ministry that it could after all preserve enough of the architectural detail to warrant accepting guardianship.

The 1950s and 1960s saw increasing concern over the destruction of field monuments and in 1966 a Committee of Enquiry (known as the Walsh Committee) was instituted to look into arrangements for their protection. The committee's report detailed the destruction that agriculture had wrought: in Wiltshire alone, 250 out of the 640 monuments in the county had been severely damaged or totally destroyed, and another 150 had received some damage.²⁰ Field monuments presented quite a different challenge from masonry ruins since the need for repairs scarcely arose and hence the need for the Ministry to step in and do what a private owner could not manage, technically or financially, was also rare. Such monuments also had limited potential for display to the public. The most that could be done was to prevent them being ploughed and leave them alone. Field monuments generally also represented an asset rather than a liability to their owners since they sat on agricultural land; guardianship would have been of no benefit to the owner because repair and maintenance costs were negligible. Where they could not persuade a farmer to cease ploughing a monument of guardianship class, therefore, the Ministry was forced into purchase.

In 1955 the Council for British Archaeology recommended that the Ministry should take into guardianship six representative groups of barrows. The Ancient Monuments Board supported this idea and the Minister agreed to accept them if they were offered. Professor W F Grimes, a member of the Ancient Monuments Board and Director of the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London undertook to explore the possibility of guardianship with the owners, but in due course reported a complete lack of success. The Ancient Monuments Board then suggested purchase of the monuments. The Ministry was reluctant to proceed in that way unless it could be shown to be more economical than using compulsory powers. **Winterbourne Poor Lot** barrows in Dorset was the most important of those groups of barrows and its owner Sir Philip Williams was determined to keep ploughing the land and would only cease if he was compensated. The barrows were considered too important to dig, record and let go, so the Ministry accepted the owner's offer to sell. The use of a Preservation Order was considered, but it was thought less trouble simply to buy the monument.

Another threatened field monument was **Marden Henge**, also known as **Hatfield Earthworks**. The monument was excavated by Sir Richard Colt Hoare and William Cunnington in 1807 but they were disappointed to find no evidence of a burial and the barrow fell apart as they dug. Further excavations undertaken by Dr Geoffrey Wainwright in the late 1960s showed the outstanding archaeological importance of the site. Since it was thought to be under threat from ploughing, the Ancient Monuments Board recommended protection, by use of compulsory powers if necessary. An Interim Preservation Notice was drafted, ready for the Minister's signature, before it was realised that almost the whole monument had been in use for grazing for many years and was not, therefore, in danger of destruction. Instead the owners were sent reminder notices of the scheduled status of the land in the expectation that this would trigger notice of any intention to plough. The owner of the only part that was under the plough was sceptical

about the archaeological value of the land since he had been cultivating it for at least ten years, but he agreed to sell for £150 and the government became the owner of a small wedge of land on the edge of a field on the north side of the earthworks.



Fig 8: Tregiffian Burial Chamber, Cornwall. © English Heritage

The growth in motor traffic in the 1960s and the consequent building of new roads posed a threat to ancient monuments, particularly field monuments and it was a rural road-widening scheme that led to the **Tregiffian Burial Chamber** in Cornwall being accepted for guardianship in 1969. It was the Cornishman Andrew Saunders who dealt with the case when the Ministry received notice in 1968 of the intended widening of the B3315 from Newlyn to Lands End, which potentially affected the Neolithic or early Bronze Age chambered tomb (fig 8). Although it had been opened up by the 18th-century antiquary Borlase, the monument had remained little known until November of the previous year when it was excavated on behalf of the Ministry by its County Correspondent, Dorothy Dudley. The monument was put forward for scheduling and Saunders pressed the County Surveyor to alter his plans for the road, telling him that it was 'a remarkable monument by any standards and...we believe it to be unique in Cornwall.'²¹ As a result the road scheme was amended to avoid destroying the monument and the Ministry was asked by the County Council to accept guardianship, which it did in 1969.

THE HISTORIC BUILDINGS AND ANCIENT MONUMENTS ACT 1953

Part I of the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953 gave new powers to the Minister of Works for the grant-aiding and acquisition of historic buildings.²² In so doing it ensured that in future there would be less reliance on taking monuments and buildings permanently into the Ministry's care as a means of preservation. Part II of the legislation meanwhile included revised compulsory powers over ancient monuments, providing a simpler process and allowing for fair compensation to be paid to the owner.

The Historic Buildings Council and Country Houses

The principal motivation behind the 1953 Act was the desire to preserve country houses, preferably in use and still occupied by their traditional owners. Legislation was needed because inhabited houses had been excluded from the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Acts relating to grant aid and to guardianship.²³ As in the Ancient Monuments Acts, the definition of eligibility in the 1953 Act was as broad as possible. It covered any buildings which appeared to the Minister of Works to be 'of outstanding historic or architectural interest' and also, with country houses particularly in mind, included 'any land comprising, or contiguous or adjacent to, any such building' or 'any objects ordinarily kept in any such building.'²⁴ Unlike the Ancient Monuments Acts, no exclusions were made in the text of the legislation, although it was made clear in the Parliamentary debate, that, as a matter of policy, a church in use would only be grant-aided in exceptional circumstances. The Ministry of Works had been in favour of including churches in the scheme, but it was overruled by the Treasury.²⁵ The exclusion of churches was justified by the government's wish to focus the very limited funds available on historic houses, the plight of which had been the initial driving force behind the legislation.²⁶

To provide what the Minister called 'a powerful buffer'²⁷ between himself and the queue of owners wanting grants, the Act created advisory councils, known as Historic Buildings Councils, for England, Scotland and Wales. The councils advised on the making of grants, on the acquisition of buildings and on finding new uses for redundant buildings. Their terms of reference also included the role of reporting to the Minister on 'the general state of preservation of buildings of outstanding historic or architectural interest'.²⁸ The membership of the councils came from the ranks of 'the great and the good', including MPs and Peers, landowners, architects and architectural historians. Members of the first Council for England included the Earl of Euston (later Duke of Grafton), architect and town-planner Sir William Holford, and historians Christopher Hussey and John Summerson. The first chairman was Sir Alan Lascelles, former Private Secretary to King George VI and, for the first year of her reign, to Queen Elizabeth II. The councils had no staff of their own and relied on the Ministry to provide administrative support and expert advice on casework. In 1957 the Inspectorate was reorganised to create a team dedicated to advising the Council.

Use of the grant-making powers in ancient monuments legislation had been inhibited by the lack of a budget from which to disburse grants. Any assistance given to an owner was money taken away from the Ministry's own sites. For the purposes of the new grant scheme, however, a ring-fenced budget of £250,000 a year (for the whole of Great Britain) was created. This rose to £350,000 in 1955/56 and to £400,000 in 1959/60. When setting the original allocation, David Eccles had talked of the scheme as a pilot, which would lead to a bigger operation when money allowed. Although the budget continued to rise gently, reaching £700,000 for the year beginning 1 April 1970, successive Annual Reports of the Historic Buildings Council recorded how inadequate the funding was to meet both the level of demand and inflation in building costs.

Grants could only be made to buildings considered 'outstanding', but the term was never defined in writing and it remained 'a matter for collective judgement and case-law' as Howard Colvin later recalled.²⁹ According to Colvin, while the merits of the building were a matter for debate among the members of the Council 'the delicate matter of the owner's financial resources was left to discreet inquiry by the Chairman, with professional assistance from the Ministry's staff' and later from a firm of accountants.³⁰

In the first full year of operation of the Historic Buildings Council for England (1954), 342 applications for grant were received and 287 grants were offered, to a total value of £268,054. They ranged in size from just £100 for the restoration of wall paintings in a medieval house in Hemel Hempstead to £17,000 for repairs at **Gosfield Hall**, Essex. Most of the grants were for one-off repair projects, but in a few cases annual grants for general upkeep were offered. The Historic Buildings Council confined these grants to what they considered the largest and most important houses. Such grants were also a useful tool to enable the National Trust to take over houses where no endowment for upkeep existed (see below). In 1954, annual grants were offered for **Burghley House**, Northamptonshire (£570 per annum for 5 years), **Dodington** in Gloucestershire (£500 per annum for 10 years), **Lyme Park**, Cheshire (£1,000 per annum for 4 years), **Naworth Castle**, Cumbria (£180 per annum for 8 years), **Nether Lypiatt Manor**, Gloucestershire (£750 per annum for 5 years), **Saltram House**, Devon (£520 per annum for 5 years) and **Thornbury Castle**, Gloucestershire (£400 per annum for 5 years).

While many of the early grants went to great country houses, a much wider range of historic buildings also benefited. Offers were made towards, for example, a house in the **Royal Crescent** at Bath, **Prebends' Bridge** in Durham, **St Peter's Vicarage** in Forest Gate, East London and four houses in the **Shambles** at York. By 31 March 1970 the Council had received 6,222 applications for grant. A total of 1,601 grants worth £6,630,009 were made; of these just 32 were for the annual cost of upkeep.

The press reaction to the publication of the first annual reports of the Historic Buildings Councils was mixed. The *Evening Standard* carried a leading article entitled 'Nobles on the Dole' which declared even the modest expenditure involved in the early days of the Councils to be unjustifiable. 'Men of fortune and possessions are to have their fortune

fortified and their possessions preserved at public charge. This dole should be abolished.³¹ Other reactions were more positive. The *Estates Gazette* declared that the first annual reports showed 'both the wisdom and economy with which the three Councils are handling what little money they have been given'³² even though that money was plainly inadequate. On the whole, however, as Peter Mandler has observed, the Historic Building Councils did their work 'with little publicity and little opposition' save the occasional outburst in the Beaverbrook press.³³

Section 5 of the 1953 Act also gave additional powers under which the Minister could acquire an historic building by purchase, by accepting it as a gift (both already possible under the Ancient Monuments Acts, provided the building was not in ecclesiastical use), or by taking a lease (not possible under the Ancient Monuments Acts, although the Ministry could already take a lease for the purpose of providing a 'public building' such as the branch of the Victoria and Albert Museum at Ham House). As with the grant-making powers, the acquisition powers related to land and contents as well as buildings. In exercising these powers the Minister was advised by the Historic Buildings Councils. Funding was already in place in the form of the National Land Fund, which had been created in 1946 by Chancellor Hugh Dalton to buy for the nation areas of unspoilt countryside and coastline. The fund was too large for its original purpose and went largely unused in its first few years so Dalton's successor, Sir Stafford Cripps, decided to use it as a source of funding for country houses.³⁴ A sum of £500,000 was allocated from the Land Fund for acquisitions under the new Act, to cover the first five years from 1953.

Use of these powers was seen as the last resort and the Historic Buildings Council's annual reports repeatedly note its reluctance to recommend such action. The powers were not intended to be used for adding to the national collection. Buildings were acquired so that they could be repaired and passed on to a new user. Although there was a consensus in 1953 about the importance of preserving historic houses, there was no desire to preserve 'white elephants' at the government's expense. In association with these new powers, therefore, the Ministry of Works set up an Historic Buildings Bureau with the role of 'finding new uses for [unoccupied] historic buildings and collecting information about organisations which might be able to use such buildings.'³⁵ The Historic Buildings Council for England formed a Committee on Uses for Historic Buildings to work with the Bureau. Notable successes for the Bureau included **Wardour Castle**, Wiltshire, **Mawley Hall**, Shropshire, **Staunton Harold Hall** in Leicestershire, **Wotton House** in Buckinghamshire and **Cobham Hall** in Kent.

Cobham Hall (fig 9), home of the Earl of Damley, was a case which over the course of several years thoroughly tested the arrangements in Part I of the 1953 Act. The Trustees of the Damley Estate were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain this very large house and in 1954 the Historic Buildings Council was informed by one of its members, Lord Euston, that acquisition of the house and contents might soon be necessary in order to preserve it. Consideration was given to an arrangement whereby the house would be purchased by the Ministry of Works, parts of the house would be converted to flats and

the whole house would be transferred to the National Trust which would display the State rooms to the public. The financial projections, however, showed there would be a £3000 per annum shortfall if the Trust were to run the house and the Historic Buildings Council did not feel able to recommend a scheme which would require a perpetual subsidy. Instead a repair grant of £25,000 was offered to Lord Darnley. He rejected the offer because he was not prepared to commit future generations to maintain the house, as required by grant conditions, and the case went back to 'square one'. The house was put on the market and the Historic Buildings Bureau was asked to look for a purchaser.



Fig 9: Cobham Hall, Kent, in 1954. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

A buyer was found who wished to turn the house into a school and another grant offer, of £15,000 was made to him. The sale fell through, however, and the Historic Buildings Bureau concluded that no one was likely to buy the house. If the Ministry were to buy and repair it, however, there should be little difficulty in finding a tenant. In the light of this the Historic Buildings Council recommended that the Minister should buy the house and historic chattels. Sir Eric de Normann (Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board) agreed that it would be 'very largely a white elephant unless some definite use could be found for it, such as a school.'³⁶ As a museum he thought it would be 'very poor value since most of the contents have been removed' and the expense of buying and repairing the house could only be justified if a use was found for it. In December 1957 the Minister (Hugh Molson) agreed to proceed with the purchase of the house and contents, with a

view to letting it, either for use as a school, or to Mutual Households Ltd as retirement homes.

The house was bought by the government in June 1959 without a tenant in place. Interest was shown by IBM, the Cheshire Foundation, the International Language Club and several schools. Rather than offering the house to the highest bidder, the Ministry sought the most viable and appropriate user. The final choice came down to two schools; the Historic Buildings Council had a slight preference for the proposal from Westwood Educational Trust for a girls school, intended to be comparable to Benenden or Cheltenham, because it had better professional support and because 'girls would be more likely than boys to treat the building and its contents with the care that it deserved'.³⁷ After investigating the financial background of both schools, the offer from Westwood Educational Trust was accepted. The house was initially leased to the Trust, to give it time to raise the money for the purchase and to give the Ministry of Works time to carry out the repairs, paid for out of the National Land Fund, before surrendering control of the building. The sale was completed on 13 November 1963 for £30,000.

Cobham Hall was thought worth saving, yet not quite 'first class', hence the search for a use for the building to justify its continuing existence. **Dyrham Park** in Gloucestershire (fig 10) by contrast was considered one of the great houses of England and therefore worth saving for display as a show-place. (When G H Chettle of the Ministry of Works provided the Treasury with a list of important country houses in 1948, Dyrham was included in a select group of 52 houses in England and Wales.) It was one of many houses offered to the Treasury in the 1950s in settlement of death duties, but its owner fell foul of the rule that the Treasury could not accept property which had a value in excess of the duties payable. A potential solution for this problem might have been for some of the contents to be sold, reducing the value of the estate offered to the government to the level of the tax that was due. Yet it was one of the underlying principles of government policy, enshrined in the 1953 Act, that an historic entity consisting of a house, its contents and the landscape around it ought to be preserved as a whole. The house had remained in the Blathwayt family since it was built at the end of the 17th century, so many of the contents had a long connection with the house and made a significant contribution to its historical value. When a large part of the Blathwayt collection was put up for sale at Sotheby's in 1956, therefore, the Historic Buildings Council recommended to the Minister of Works that he use his powers in section 5 of the Act to purchase the house, land and important chattels, and thus prevent the historical entity being broken up.

Treasury approval was secured on the basis that the Ministry of Works would repair the house, convert parts of it to flats (to provide an income in the absence of an endowment) and then hand it over to the National Trust to be shown to the public. In July 1957 the house and 12 acres of land were bought for just £5,000 and the contents for £42,000. The repair work was begun by the Ministry of Works, but friction between staff of the Ministry and the National Trust led to responsibility for the work being handed over to

the Trust, acting as agents for the Ministry. Ownership of the house was handed over to the Trust in 1961 and it was opened to the public in June of that year.



Fig 10: The east front of Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire in 1957, before repair by the Ministry. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Despite the income the Trust derived from the ten flats created at Dyrham, it was still reliant on an annual maintenance grant from the Ministry of Works. In 1960, Dyrham was one of six Trust houses (the others being **Saltram**, **Beningborough**, **Ashdown House**, **Famborough Hall** and **Antony House**) that were subject to maintenance grant offers and another offer, for **Shugborough**, was awaiting Treasury approval. These grants had been offered in order to enable the Trust to accept properties for which there was an insufficient or non-existent endowment.

The question of endowments had long been a source of dispute between the National Trust and the government. In late 1952, while the Trust and the Ministry were in detailed discussions over the machinery needed to make the Historic Buildings Bill work, the Trust had pressed for a provision for capital endowments to be made out of the National Land Fund. The Ministry was sympathetic, but the proposal was vetoed by the Treasury. Instead Hugh Molson (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Works) gave an undertaking that the government would in certain cases be prepared to enter into agreements to contribute fixed amounts on an annual basis. This was considered preferable to an

endowment in the form of a capital sum since it gave the government greater certainty that the money was still needed and would be used only for the intended purpose.

The Chairman of the National Trust, Lord Crawford, was happy to accept this compromise, but when the Bill was in the Committee stage amendments were introduced by Kenneth Robinson (Labour MP for St Pancras), to give the Minister of Works the power to grant the National Trust endowments from the Land Fund. The amendments were passed, against the Government's wishes, after nearly every speaker in the debate had supported them, but the Minister, David Eccles, declared that even if the power was in the Act, the government would never use it.³⁸

The government did provide what amounted to an endowment by another name in a small number of cases. Principally this was by means of the annual grant referred to above. In the case of Hardwick Hall, the Treasury agreed to transfer to the National Trust a larger amount of land than was needed simply for amenity purposes in order to provide an income that would make the estate self-supporting. The government also gave an endowment unwittingly when it made a grant of £40,000 to the National Trust for the purchase of **Croft Castle** in Herefordshire. The owner of Croft, having sold the property to the Trust, then gave £10,000 of the purchase money back to the Trust as an endowment.

As far back as 1949 Sir Eric de Normann (Deputy Secretary) had told the Gowers Committee (see Volume Six) that 'one day there would be a heavy bill for arrears of maintenance [on National Trust property], which the state would be asked to pay.'³⁹ By the late 1950s the Ministry of Works was seriously concerned about the standard of care the National Trust was giving to its buildings and the heavy burden this might place on the Ministry's resources in the future. The Trust did not have any system of regular inspection of its houses and would only call in an architect when a repair problem arose. This piecemeal approach was in marked contrast to the Ministry's method whereby a comprehensive scheme of repair to address every apparent defect was undertaken (albeit very slowly) when a property first came into its care.

In 1958 the Historic Buildings Council recommended a grant to the Trust for **Rufford Old Hall** in Lancashire, while noting that they had been 'somewhat negligent in their stewardship' of the building. The Minister, Hugh Molson, agreed to make the grant offer, but also asked for a report on how well the Trust, the largest recipient of grants under the 1953 Act, was fulfilling its role as a guardian of built heritage. The Senior Architect, Aubrey Bailey (1912-2001) was asked to give the views of the Ancient Monuments Architects. He reported that: 'It is our general opinion that historic houses in the control of the National Trust have not been too well maintained in the past and that the position today is very little different.'⁴⁰ He noted that the Trust had been obliged to allow a backlog of repairs to build up in the 1940s, as the Ministry itself had in respect of its ancient monuments but, unlike the Ministry, the

Trust had no permanent staff of architects and nobody to carry out regular inspections and get to know the buildings intimately. He did concede, however, that they were 'usually up to our standard in maintaining their lawns and borders.'⁴¹

Sir Edward Muir (Permanent Secretary) reported to the Minister that the Trust's approach was that of the private landowner: the estate came first and the mansion house had to survive on any money that was left over. Moreover it was the estate agent rather than an architect who decided what work was needed. 'The National Trust are clearly now extremely conscious of the trouble they have got into by adopting this approach to the problems of dealing with great houses for which they are responsible.'⁴²

Muir advised that if the National Trust was to avoid getting into serious difficulties which might require the government to take over direct control of its properties, some overall assessment of the condition of the Trust's historic estate was needed which would make clear the scope of the problems. This suggestion was passed on informally to Robin Fedden, the Historic Buildings Secretary of the Trust who then compiled a list of the likely grant applications for all Trust houses in the next three years. The Ministry was unimpressed by this, since it was based on reports from Area Agents rather than up-to-date surveys by architects. After further pressure, Fedden reported in June 1959 that the Trust had decided to institute a system of triennial inspections for its major buildings. Meanwhile several Trust properties continued to receive annual maintenance grants. 'If necessary' wrote T L Jones of the Ministry in 1963 'we accept that these grants may have to be made permanently.'⁴³

In the 1950s and 1960s those country houses which had avoided the bulldozers seemed, in Roy Strong's words, to be enjoying 'a renaissance and not a decline'.⁴⁴ Houses in private hands benefited from Historic Buildings Council grants, income from visitors, improved farm incomes and gains from the buoyant stock market. Others were converted to schools, health farms, hotels, offices or flats for the elderly. With government funding the National Trust was also making an impact. By 1960 a total of £1,990,000 from the National Land Fund had been used to transfer 45 properties to the National Trust⁴⁵ and between 1953 and 1970 it received £1,536,556 in repair grants for properties in England.⁴⁶

The Minister's power to acquire historic buildings went unused for several years during the 1960s (although some contents were purchased for National Trust houses). It was only in 1969 (by which time the powers had transferred to Ministry of Housing and Local Government) that the power of acquisition was exercised again, to save **Heveningham Hall** in Suffolk. Heveningham was begun in 1779 to designs by Sir Robert Taylor and completed by James Wyatt who also designed furniture for the house that was still in situ; Capability Brown laid out the park. Together, the park, house and contents formed an important ensemble of late 18th-century design.

The owners, the Vanneck Trustees, were unable to find a purchaser for the property as a whole, even with the help of the Historic Buildings Bureau, so they decided to sell the contents separately and seek permission to demolish the house. The Georgian Group started a campaign to save Heveningham and the Historic Buildings Council recommended acquisition by the government if all else failed. The National Trust was asked if it would accept the property, but declined, unless it could be guaranteed against financial loss (which was thought inevitable if no tenant could be found). Meanwhile the recent Town and Country Planning Act 1968 gave the owners the right to serve a purchase notice on the county council in the event of an application for consent to demolish being rejected. In such circumstances, assuming the owners had already sold the contents, the local authority or the government could have been left holding a large house with no beneficial use and insufficient historical significance to justify maintaining as a show place.

The government was therefore caught between the public outcry that would have resulted from demolition of the house and the risk of having an expensive 'white elephant' on its hands. The owners gave the government a deadline of 31 December 1969 by which to decide whether to buy the house and contents or not. By this time the size of the National Land Fund had been reduced and the currently available funds were already allocated to repair work on the Castle Howard Mausoleum. Lord Kennet (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government) had strong views on the importance of Heveningham, however, and on 3 November 1969 the Chancellor, Roy Jenkins, gave approval for the Ministry to negotiate for purchase of the house, the Wyatt furniture and 477 acres of land. The sale was completed on 5 August 1970 for a total of £300,000. The National Trust meanwhile had agreed to manage the house and estate in the interim while a long-term future was sought for it.

In addition to the Minister's power of purchase, he was also empowered by Section 5(1) of the 1953 Act to accept as a gift any building of outstanding historic or architectural interest and land around it. It was by this route that **Gainsborough Old Hall**, Lincolnshire, was taken into the national collection. The Office of Works had declined to take guardianship of the Old Hall in 1926 and again in 1931, but after the war it was leased to Gainsborough Town Council by the Bacon family. The Council sub-let to the Friends of the Old Hall in 1949. With grants and advice from the Ministry of Works slow progress was made in restoring the building and it was always the intention of the owners that the freehold would transfer to the Friends when they were ready to accept it. In 1963, however, the Friends declared themselves unable to take on the financial responsibility of owning the building and suggested that Ministry should take over instead.

The Inspectorate was of the view that it was an outstanding building and favoured its acceptance, regardless of the past refusal by the Office of Works to take it over. A debate ensued about whether it should be taken over as an ancient monument or an historic building. On the one hand, the building was not suitable for residence and therefore could be considered more an ancient monument; on the other hand it was a roofed building

capable of (low-key) use and it had been grant aided as an historic building in the past. The Ancient Monuments powers were appropriate for a building that was to be preserved as a showplace, but under the 1953 Act the Ministry's practice had been to accept historic buildings only with a view to their eventual disposal, to the National Trust, a Local Authority or other organisation. As an ancient monument the Old Hall would be a charge on the Ministry's budget and the work would have to be done piecemeal over many years, but as an historic building the cost of repairs could be claimed back from the Land Fund and the work contracted out to complete it more quickly.

There were long delays while the future use of the building and the funding of the repairs were considered, but eventually the Treasury approved acceptance of the gift, on the understanding that the building would be disposed of after it had been repaired. By this time the powers under Part I of the 1953 Act had passed to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and it was their Minister, Anthony Greenwood, who accepted the gift of the house - as an historic building, not an ancient monument - in 1969. Repairs were not completed until the mid 1980s and it was decided at that point to transfer it from the Department of the Environment to English Heritage, to join the rest of the national collection.

Ancient Monument Provisions in the 1953 Act

The first use of the revised compulsory powers over ancient monuments contained in the 1953 Act was in the long-running case of **Wingfield Manor** in Derbyshire (fig 11). The making of a Preservation Order had been considered in 1951 but deferred in anticipation of a simplified process in the 1953 Act. It was not until 1958, however, that compulsory action was considered again and even then the Minister was reluctant to use his powers. Discussions were held with the owners about a possible grant or purchase by the Ministry.



Fig 11: Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire in 1961. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

When, in 1960, it proved impossible to agree on a price – the owner considered the Ministry's offer a calculated insult – an Interim Preservation Notice under section 10 of the 1953 Act was issued, placing the monument under the Minister's protection for up to 21 months. That was followed 15 days later by a Guardianship Order under section 12(5), which gave the Minister the normal powers of guardianship over the monument so long as the Interim Preservation Notice was in force. On the strength of the Guardianship Order, workmen entered the site, in the face of the owners' hostility, to make a start on repair work. The final stage of the process was to publish a Preservation Order to supersede the Interim Preservation Notice and make the protection permanent. The owners chose not to make an objection to the Preservation Order, so the new arrangements in the 1953 Act for a special parliamentary procedure to deal with any objection were not tested.

The second use of the revised powers was in connection with **Waverley Abbey** in Surrey, which like Wingfield Manor was also a long-running case. It was known as the earliest monastery of the Cistercian Order to be established in England and provided 'an example of the type of structures used by this Order which would be difficult to match elsewhere in Europe at so early a date'.⁴⁷ The first reports of dilapidation came in 1927 and it was suggested then that guardianship be sought, without result. In 1942 when the military was

in occupation the monument was in a very dejected state, as depicted by John Piper in a typically dark watercolour (now in the Arts Council Collection). After the war Surrey County Council took an interest in the Abbey's preservation and asked the Ministry if it would accept guardianship in the event of the council being able to acquire the property. When the estate on which Waverley Abbey stood was broken up for sale in 1949 it was done in such a way as to facilitate guardianship arrangements and other potential bidders stood aside when the land containing the abbey ruins came up in the auction. For some unknown reason the County Council failed to enter a bid at the auction and spent the next twelve years fruitlessly negotiating with the new owner to buy the land. Meanwhile first aid repairs were carried out by the Ministry in 1943, 1953, 1958 and 1960. The owner, Mr North, seemed determined not to allow negotiations to reach a conclusion, even after being threatened with compulsory action by the Ministry in May 1961.

An Interim Preservation Notice was served on 19 October 1961, followed the next day by a Guardianship Order so that the Ministry could make a start on urgent repair work while discussions continued. When the draft Preservation Order was published, Mr North, unlike the Critchlows at Wingfield Manor, chose to make an objection, on the grounds that the proposed means of access to the monument would interfere with the agricultural use of his land. The objection was heard by a Planning Inspector from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, who rejected it entirely and recommended that the Preservation Order be confirmed without modification. Nevertheless the special parliamentary procedure had to be followed and the Preservation Order was laid before Parliament on 15 February 1963. The owner at this stage would have been entitled to petition either House of Parliament, but he chose not to and as a result the Order was confirmed on 1 April 1963.

In 1963, ten years after the compulsory powers came into law, the Ancient Monuments Board noted that they had been 'exercised sparingly, and only when imminent risk of damage to a monument made delay dangerous.'¹⁴⁸ In addition to Wingfield and Waverley, the powers had also been used at Maryport Roman Fort in Cumbria in 1963 to prevent the bulldozing of the remains and subsequent ploughing and at Beckhampton Roman Road in the same year where the monument was threatened by deep ploughing. The Board went on to praise 'the efforts of [the] Ministry which does everything possible to persuade and to enlighten, rather than to compel.'¹⁴⁹ Although the rarity of Preservation Orders was in part a sign of success – the mere threat of a Preservation Order forcing a negotiated settlement – the difficulty of using the earlier powers had become part of the institutional memory of the Ministry. When the Preservation Order for Wingfield Manor was under discussion in 1959 Edward Muir wrote: 'Don't forget the awful history of the house in Dean Street (I think it was) in 1914 or so – which inhibited us from ever again making a Preservation Order under the 1913 Act.'¹⁵⁰

MAKING A COLLECTION: POLICY

In the years 1953-70, the national collection expanded slowly in its established categories of castles, monastic sites, earthworks, medieval houses and redundant military establishments. There was little progress beyond those categories in terms of additions to the national collection, but research into industrial monuments and deserted medieval villages was paving the way for new acquisitions in the 1970s. The Church of England meanwhile was making another attempt to find a better way of protecting redundant parish churches. This resulted in legislation at the end of the 1960s that would make the government a key part of the solution to the problem. The only policy change to bear fruit within this period came from the decision in 1962 that 18th and 19th-century fortifications were henceforth considered worthy of preservation as national monuments.

Two lists drawn up by the Chief Inspector, Paul Baillie Reynolds, in 1956 show the current thinking on what was suitable for the national collection in the mid-1950s. One was of first-class monuments which were so important they would have to be accepted if offered; the other a longer list of monuments whose acceptance was regarded as desirable. In comparison to the list created a few years earlier by Bryan O'Neil (see Volume Six), Baillie Reynolds in these lists attempted to select monuments in a much broader range of categories. The first list comprised just **Fountains Abbey, Corfe Castle, Ludlow Castle, Wingfield Manor, Stokesay Castle** and **Bolton Castle**. The longer list (see Appendix 3) contained 116 monuments, in 16 categories, which were: Long barrows, Round barrows, Henge Monuments, Camps, Settlements, Roman, Linear earthworks, Monasteries, Chapels and churches, Gatehouses, Castles, City Walls, Other secular buildings, Mills, Barns and Bridges. It is still a very conservative selection which contains only a handful of post-medieval structures; despite all the work done since 1913, the two largest categories were still castles (48) and monasteries (20), which together made up more than half of the list. No selection was made of either industrial monuments or redundant churches (the only church on the list was a ruin), but it is not clear whether Baillie Reynolds was recommending that none were accepted or was unwilling to attempt his own selection of the best examples. Either way, the mood of the times did not encourage an expansive or ambitious collecting policy.

Industrial Monuments

The need to consider preserving early industrial monuments under the Ancient Monuments Acts had arisen in the 1940s, but the Ministry had not been able to formulate any clear policy. While the Ancient Monuments Board urged the Minister to do all he could to preserve such sites, the politicians, administrators and even the Chief Inspector (after 1954 when Baillie Reynolds had succeeded O'Neil) were not keen to accept offers of guardianship. This resulted in a gap of more than 20 years between **Mortimers Cross Water Mill** coming into guardianship in 1953 and **Stott Park Bobbin Mill** in 1974.

In the related area of windmills the Ministry was quick to reject the offer of **Woolpit Post Mill**, Suffolk in April 1955. Later that year, when being urged to act to save **Sibsey Trader Mill** in Lincolnshire, the gift of which to the Ministry had fallen through at the last minute when the owner died, Baillie Reynolds wrote that 'in general I do not want to take over any more windmills'.⁵¹ By 1956 he seemed to have had a change of mind since his list of desirable monuments included three mills: **Bourne Mill**, Essex, **Chesterton Mill**, Warwickshire and one unspecified smock mill.

There were several reasons why the Ministry found it difficult to deal with industrial monuments. In 1953 O'Neil identified one problem as the apparent lack of suitable candidates for guardianship:

'...there are few structures left to deserve our attention. I am always on the look out for them, but find them desperately few and rapidly disintegrating...I will not deal...with scraps or with ruins. I want whole buildings with their gear, preferably just out of use for the last time, like Berney Arms Mill near Great Yarmouth.'⁵²

In 10 years time, he predicted, there would be nothing left to save. It is notable that when another industrial monument was eventually taken over, namely **Stott Park Bobbin Mill**, it was exactly the sort of site O'Neil had been seeking, one that had only recently ceased working and in the meantime had hardly been touched.

O'Neil's successor, Baillie Reynolds, made no secret of the fact that he was less enthusiastic about taking industrial monuments into guardianship. In a memorandum on 'Guardianship of Industrial Sites' he wrote:

'I think you know my views, which are not the same as those of the late C.I.A.M. I am in agreement with him in that I think it very desirable that certain early sites, which preserve in fair condition evidence of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, should be preserved. But I do not consider that the A. M. Branch of M.O.W. is the right body to undertake the preservation.'⁵³

If new funds could be allocated in the way they had recently been for historic houses, the situation might be different, but as it was he feared setting a precedent by accepting an industrial monument for three reasons. Firstly, it would encourage more offers, and the Inspectorate would find it very difficult to distinguish between the claims of various industrial processes for preservation. Secondly, the growing interest in industrial archaeology was, he thought, bound to result in some new body being created with a remit specifically to preserve such monuments; if the Ministry started to take over industrial monuments it might well retard the formation of such a group. Finally, he believed that the Ministry did not have the money or the technical expertise to deal with industrial sites.

Whereas the members of the Ancient Monuments Department saw it as the only body competent to preserve certain types of monument, they recognised that they could make no such claim in relation to the industrial sites, where machinery rather than masonry often constituted the most significant element. Industrial monuments were also potentially very expensive, because unlike masonry ruins, which might survive for centuries without much attention, the plant and machinery which are key to the historical significance of industrial sites require constant care if they are to remain in working order. The position was summed up by F C Withey, Secretary of the Ancient Monuments Board, in October 1959:

'The Ministry has been reluctant to use its Ancient Monuments powers to secure protection of early industrial monuments for various reasons. They are outside the experience of the Ministry's staff and appreciation of its importance requires a technical knowledge of the industry to which it belongs; further those monuments, mainly dating from the Industrial Revolution, are basically machines housed in buildings and the AM staff are not qualified to repair them.'⁵⁴

There was also a feeling that they lay beyond not only the competence but also the essential purpose of the Ancient Monuments Department. For example, while Baillie Reynolds found the **Abbeydale Works** in Sheffield to be 'fascinating' and thought it was well worth spending money on, he did not feel that could be justified if the money was 'robbed from the really Ancient Monuments which are our primary concern.'⁵⁵

During the 1950s and early 1960s an informal policy developed under which industrial monuments might be scheduled if threatened, but preservation would be left in the hands of local groups, with grant aid provided where necessary. **Top Forge** at Wortley ironworks, near Sheffield exemplified the government's approach to preservation of industrial monuments in this period. When it was threatened with destruction, the site was scheduled by the Ministry, but it turned down the offer of guardianship for fear of setting a precedent. Instead the Sheffield Trades Historical Society took over the ironworks in 1953 and was given advice on repair. This was not effective and in 1962 Dr Maurice Craig wrote to his fellow Inspector, Dr Michael Thompson, that there was a 'belief in this Ministry that Wortley Top Forge has been "saved" and is now "all right"'. The sooner this belief is dispelled the better.'⁵⁶ This judgement proved to be correct and in 1966 the Sheffield Trades Historical Society made another request to the Ministry to help, by either taking guardianship or making a grant. Guardianship was again rejected, on the grounds that the Ministry did not have sufficient funds to be able to take responsibility in perpetuity. Instead a 50 per cent grant up to £6,250 was offered.

By 1957 only six early industrial monuments had been scheduled and none was in guardianship.⁵⁷ Although the views of the Chief Inspector prevailed for the time being, the Permanent Secretary, Sir Edward Muir, was keen to take some action. As in the discussions about churches in the late 1940s, the Ministry felt nervous about setting any

sort of precedent without knowing the true extent of the problem. So talks were held with the Science Museum and the Newcomen Society which both supplied short lists of monuments which they believed merited consideration for protection (see Appendix 4). The Science Museum's list comprised pumping engines, workers cottages, an 18th-century industrial hamlet, a tide mill and a blast furnace. The Newcomen Society added beam engines, a gasworks and a railway station to the range of monuments under consideration.

In 1959 the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) convened a conference on industrial heritage, at which the government was urged to formulate a national policy on protection and recording. At the end of that year the CBA agreed with Staffordshire County Council to start a pilot survey of industrial monuments in the county. This pilot survey made very slow progress and it was recognised that something faster and more ambitious was needed. The CBA planned to conduct a nationwide survey using the voluntary services of their 300 constituent organisations but was unable to find funding. The Ministry of Works therefore stepped in and employed Rex Wailes (fig 12) to act as co-ordinator of the survey and to help drum up support for it. Wailes (1901-1986) ran his family's engineering business from 1940 until 1960, but was also one of the country's foremost molinologists and a founder member of the SPAB Windmills Section. In the 1950s he had been instrumental in the acceptance of the two mills – **Bemey Arms Windmill** in Norfolk and **Saxtead Post Mill** in Suffolk – into the Ministry's care.



*Fig 12: Rex Wailes (left) at Union Mill, Cranbrook, Kent, in July 1960
© 2005 The Mills Archive Trust*

In 1963 the National Survey of Industrial Monuments (NSIM) got underway. For the purposes of the survey the MPBW and CBA had agreed the following definition of industrial monument:

'...any building or other fixed structure – especially of the period of the Industrial Revolution – which, either alone or in association with plant and equipment, illustrates or is significantly connected with the beginnings and the evolution of industrial and technological process, including means of transportation.'⁵⁸

The start of the survey did not prevent continuing political pressure for practical action. In 1964 the Parliamentary Secretary Richard Sharples met the Hon Nicholas Ridley MP who was concerned about the issue and suggested that the solution might be to form an industrial branch of the National Trust or a separate Industrial Trust. The following year Stan Newens, MP for Epping, asked in the House of Commons, 'what steps are being taken by [the] department to protect buildings and the remains of buildings important during the Industrial Revolution.' The response was that 'we are at present engaged in formulating a definite policy which will be designed to deal with the special problems and difficulties of "industrial monuments".'⁵⁹ By September 1965, officials at the Ministry had lost patience with the slow progress of the NSIM and, feeling they had gained a general idea of the scope of the problem, put forward a policy for consideration by the Ancient Monuments Board.

It was proposed that 'policy for dealing with industrial monuments should be assimilated, within the framework of existing legislation, to the policy for more traditional monuments'. This meant that suitable industrial monuments would be scheduled and in appropriate cases, would be protected by preservation orders, offered grants or taken into the Ministry's care. The statement was qualified by a reminder that resources were still limited and an expression of hope that industry itself could be encouraged to play a part in preserving its own heritage. The Ancient Monuments Board, which had shown great interest in the subject over several years, warmly welcomed the statement of policy. It was announced publicly for the first time on 26 May 1966 in response to an arranged question in the House of Commons.⁶⁰ A sum of £5,000 was earmarked for work on industrial monuments in 1966/67, of which £3,250 was for England, £1,000 for Scotland and £750 for Wales. Dr Maurice Craig became the focal point in the Inspectorate for all industrial casework.

In 1967 a CBA Advisory Panel was created, comprising representatives of the three Royal Commissions and both Ministries as well as expert bodies including the Newcomen Society and Science Museum. It considered lists of sites presented by NSIM, made recommendations for scheduling and listing, recording and preservation by museums, and was effectively the management committee for the survey.

Having resolved to assimilate industrial monuments fully into the activities of the Ancient Monuments Department, it would nevertheless be another eight years before any

industrial building or structure was taken into the Ministry's care. This would have come as no surprise to Rex Wailes, who in a report on his first year in post as co-ordinator of the NSIM concluded: 'It usually takes two generations to get an idea of this sort across, and if we take the foundation of the Newcomen Society in 1920 as the start we can expect that our efforts, at present regarded as mildly curious by the uninitiated, will be enthusiastically accepted by 1970.'⁶¹

Deserted Medieval Villages

Medieval archaeology was a growing area of academic research in the 1950s, a development marked by publications such as *Lost Villages of England* by M W Beresford (1954) and *The Making of the English Landscape* by W G Hoskins (1955) and the formation of the Society for Medieval Archaeology in 1957. Deserted villages were a particularly fertile area for archaeology and in 1953 the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group (DMVRG) was founded, to support the study and protection of such sites. The moving spirits behind the group were Maurice Beresford of Leeds University and John Hurst, an Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the Ministry of Works. Another Inspector, Gerald Dunning, was a member of the first Executive Committee of the Group.

In 1953 there were believed to be about 1,300 deserted villages of all sizes in England, only 30 of which had been excavated, with another nine excavations in progress.⁶² The main threats to sites of this nature were new building, in particular housing, new roads and ploughing of fields. Rescue excavations were carried out at many sites with help from the Ministry, which was also able to protect by scheduling. By the end of 1958, the number of known sites had increased to over 1,600 and 109 had been scheduled.⁶³

The level of knowledge in this area continued to grow so that by 1965 the number of identified sites had risen to 2,000. Yet 500 of these had already been destroyed (237 had been destroyed or threatened with destruction since 1939) and another 1,250 had only poor to medium quality earthworks surviving. This left some 250 sites of the highest quality, on which the DMVRG urged the Ministry to focus its attention. In a memorandum to the Chief Inspector in 1965, the group recommended that the six best sites should be taken into guardianship as soon as possible; a further eight should be considered for eventual guardianship and 40 more should be scheduled and some means of preservation found for them.⁶⁴ The sites identified as targets for guardianship were **Wharram Percy** in Yorkshire, **Gainsthorpe** in Lincolnshire, **Broadstone** in Oxfordshire, **Hound Tor** in Devon, **Ingarsby** in Leicestershire and either **Godwick** or **Pudding Norton** in Norfolk. The memorandum was considered by the Ancient Monuments Board and it concurred with the recommendation that as many of the seven best sites as possible should be taken into guardianship.

This sort of prioritisation of monuments within categories is the sort of work which the Ancient Monuments Department often aspired to do, although they rarely achieved it and

even where they did there was no outcome in terms of guardianship agreements. To actively seek offers of guardianship was almost unheard of (although it had been done in the mid-1950s in relation to six groups of barrows in Wiltshire, with a member of the Ancient Monuments Board acting as an intermediary). Baillie Reynolds had registered the desirability of taking over a deserted medieval village site in 1956 when he included one (unspecified) site in his list of monuments suitable for guardianship, but nothing had been done to follow this up. By presenting a short list of the very best sites the DMVRG made life easier for the Ancient Monuments Department. With typically protracted negotiations, however, it would not be until the 1970s that any deserted medieval villages actually came into guardianship.

Redundant Churches

After the abortive efforts of the late 1940s and early 1950s to deal with the problem of redundant churches, in 1958 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York established a Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Bridges to enquire into it once more. The conclusions of the Commission were published in 1960 in what is generally known as the Bridges Report. It recommended a new statutory system to replace the existing patchwork of procedures which were inadequate for protecting historically and architecturally important churches no longer needed for worship.

The Bridges Report estimated that some 370 Church of England churches were redundant and a further 420 might close in the next 15 to 20 years. Of these it suggested that between 300 and 400 might be taken over by a new body to be called the Redundant Churches Fund (RCF). Redundant churches for which no new use could be found, but which it was desirable to preserve as monuments should be vested in the Fund. Since some measure of state aid was considered appropriate, the recommendation of the Commission was that the Fund should be financed jointly by the Church and the government. While the purpose of the RCF was to be the upkeep of historic churches as monuments, it was recommended that the government should also take over a small number of churches which were of

‘such exceptional architectural quality as to deserve in particular the exquisite care for detail and surroundings which the Ministry of Works knows so well how to give, and in general a higher standard of restoration and maintenance than the trustees of the Fund might be able to afford.’⁶⁵

It was recognised, as it had been in 1949 (see Volume Six) that guardianship was not desirable from the point of view of the church authorities since it was irrevocable and precluded any return to regular ecclesiastical use in the future. The Report noted that under the 1953 Act, however, the Minister would be able to buy, take a lease or accept a church building as a gift and legally there would be nothing to stop him returning the

building to the Church authorities. (It is not clear why this was thought to be impossible under the Ancient Monuments Acts which also enabled the Minister to buy or accept a gift of a monument.)

The recommendations of the Archbishops' Commission took legislative form in 1968. Section 66 of the Pastoral Measure 1968 made provision for Diocesan Boards of Finance, in which closed churches were vested, to 'enter into an agreement with the Minister of Public Buildings and Works for the acquisition and preservation by the Minister' of a church building.⁶⁶ It also allowed the Redundant Churches Fund to enter into such an agreement with the Minister of Works. It would not be until 1975 however that the first transfer of a church under this legislation was completed.

Later Military Fortifications

By the mid-1950s the Ministry had in its care all but one of the forts of the Saxon shore of which there were substantial remains and most of Henry VIII's system of coastal fortifications from Deal to St Mawes, but it did not have any of the forts built against Napoleonic or later invasion. About 130 forts and major batteries were constructed in England and Wales in the late 18th and 19th centuries, to defend the coast and protect naval dockyards. Until recently these had been in use so statutory protection had not been appropriate, but with the defensive role of the armed services changing their future was in doubt. The withdrawal of the military from coastal fortifications in 1956 prompted a number of offers from the Admiralty of redundant sites, including **Fort Clarence** at Rochester, **Fort Amherst**, Chatham and **Blue Town Bastion** at Sheerness. As always, the Ministry was anxious to consider this monument type as a whole rather than making decisions about individual monuments in isolation.

Andrew Saunders (Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments) was asked to carry out a rapid assessment of artillery fortifications built during the period 1789-1871 for consideration by the Ancient Monuments Board.⁶⁷ He described the monuments as distinct from the general run of guardianship sites in the 'scale and durability of their structures' and suggested that they were closest in size and material to prehistoric hill forts. Saunders assessed seven sites as being of guardianship standard, but it was found that four of them were not suitable, for a variety of reasons.⁶⁸ One had been sold to the Post Office, another had reverted to the local authority; **Fort Picklecombe** had been sold to a property company, whose intentions for the monument were not known; **Fort Wallington** had been sold to a scrap merchant who had given notice of his intention to demolish it. (The Ministry decided not to take compulsory action to save the monument in this case because of the high level of compensation that would have been due to the owner). This left three, which could still give a good representation of the main developments in fortifications of the period and fill a gap in the national collection.

Fort Cumberland, **Fort Brockhurst**, and **Fort Burgoyne** were the three forts recommended as a group to illustrate the development of fortification over a period of 150 years.⁶⁹ Fort Brockhurst in Gosport (built c1858-62) was under active consideration for guardianship at the time. It had been vacated some 5 years earlier and the local authority was known to want the fort demolished so the site could be redeveloped. The Town Clerk of Gosport was told that 'the Ministry's interest, which has only recently been clarified, arises from the decision to bring later Victorian fortifications within the ambit of Ancient Monuments procedure, and has been confirmed only after a careful study of the various fortifications throughout the country.'⁷⁰ In 1962 the recommendations were presented to the Ancient Monuments Board which agreed that 34 of the most important fortifications should be scheduled and that any opportunity to acquire representative examples of this category of monument should be taken.

The chance arose in this period to deal with a small sub-category of fortifications which had been identified as important before the Second World War. The Ancient Monuments Board had discussed the merits of Martello towers in the 1930s and in February 1939 recommended that all towers in good condition should be scheduled.⁷¹ They were seen as the descendants of the Henry VIII castles such as Deal or Walmer and the ancestors of the first world war pill-boxes (which were not yet historically important), so that their preservation would help to tell the continuing story of coastal defence. In 1956 the Ministry was offered the **Dymchurch Martello Tower** (fig 13) on the Kent coast, which had latterly been used by HM Coastguard but had recently become redundant. When it was offered it was considered to be one of the most complete specimens of this type of monument and had the added advantage of being in the middle of a seaside resort so could be expected to attract visitors. In his 1956 list of monuments suitable for guardianship, however, Baillie Reynolds had selected the group of Martello towers at Folkestone in Kent as the best representatives for this category of monument. It is typical of the Ministry's pragmatic approach that rather than waiting for their preferred examples, they took the one that was on offer and in 1959 the outright transfer from the War Office was completed.



Fig 13: Dymchurch Martello Tower, Kent, in 1955. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

MAKING A COLLECTION: PRACTICE

The work of the Ancient Monuments Department during this period was hampered by the constant demand from the Treasury for cost-cutting. So although the budget grew steadily (see table 1) it was never enough to cover the continuing expansion of the national collection. Repeated attempts were made to cut costs, by minimising the amount spent on restoration, by restricting the numbers of monuments accepted for guardianship, and by grant-aiding specific repairs to a monument rather than accepting responsibility for it in perpetuity. Despite the difficulties faced by the Ministry in fulfilling its responsibilities under the Ancient Monuments Acts during this period, when Sir Edward Muir, Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board reviewed the existing arrangements in December 1969, he concluded that the guardianship system had been 'an outstanding success' and that there was no need for any legislative changes.⁷²

1956 Review of Guardianship

In January 1956 the Minister of Works, Patrick Buchan-Hepburn, received a letter from Lord Cawdor urging him to restrict work on newly-acquired monuments to no more than first-aid repairs, so that more could be accepted for guardianship. This prompted a review of the Ministry's whole approach to guardianship. Lord Cawdor's interest was in

Scottish monuments and David Macintyre of the Ministry's Edinburgh office confirmed that several offers of important sites in Scotland had been refused because there was not sufficient money to pay for them to have the normal full restoration programme. Baillie Reynolds, speaking of his experience in England and Wales, agreed that monuments should not be taken over if the Ministry was not in a position to start work on them straight away, but stated that only one really first-class monument – **Pembroke Castle** - had been refused on financial grounds in recent years. On the other hand they had 'lost a small number of good monuments that we should like to have had, but could not consider outstanding'.⁷³

Out of the review came a list of suitable monuments for guardianship, drawn up by the Chief Inspector (discussed above, Making a collection: policy), and a brief memorandum, entitled 'Guardianship of Ancient Monuments'.⁷⁴ It contained three main points:

- Any monument of 'really first-class importance' should not be refused if offered, but an offer should not be deliberately sought unless the monument is in danger.
- No monument should be accepted unless it is clear that there is money to spend on it in the near future.
- The Department should be 'slightly readier' than in the past to make grants to owners, but should not do so 'very extensively'.

This was clearly not seen as the last word on the subject as a meeting was held on 19 September 1957 to discuss the Ministry's policy regarding acquisitions. The minutes of the meeting record that '...it was clear that it was impossible for the Department to continue to accept everything interesting which was offered.'⁷⁵ The Minister anticipated that current levels of taxation were likely to lead to an increasing number of offers and without satisfactory criteria to guide it, the Ministry was likely to find itself in some difficulties. Frederick Root pointed out that in recent years the standard of acceptance had been raised considerably as compared with the immediate post-war period and only a very small number of monuments were being taken over each year.

It is not possible to establish precisely how many offers of guardianship came to nothing, but it appears that there were at least 77 cases between 1952 and 1970 which failed to result in the monument in question coming into the national collection (see Appendix 2). While cases might come to nothing for a variety of reasons, it seems that the majority were the result of a definite decision by the Ministry to refuse the offer. During the same period 97 monuments entered the collection; given that the list of unsuccessful offers is almost certainly incomplete, it can be concluded that roughly equal numbers of monuments were rejected and accepted. (The two figures do not allow for an exact comparison because several of those taken into guardianship had been accepted in principle some years earlier while a small number of offers were accepted in the late 1960s but the deeds were only completed after 1970.)

A Time of Retrenchment

The Ministry was clearly inhibited from taking on more monuments in this period because of the burden of old commitments. By 1956 the cost of putting all monuments in first-class condition had risen to £4m, having been £2.3m in 1950. Although the Ancient Monuments budget grew every year, the department overspent in all but one year from 1953-54 to 1962-63. (See table 1; equivalent figures for 1963-70 were not readily available.)

The best example of this burden is to be found in **Appuldurcombe House** on the Isle of Wight (fig 14). The ruined mansion had been accepted for guardianship in 1952, despite the misgivings of the Parliamentary Secretary, Lord Morrison, about the cost involved. His successor, Hugh Molson, took a similar view when he was briefed about it in March 1953. Regarding the estimated expenditure of £31,000, he wrote:

'The whole of this must surely now be regarded as visionary, having regard to the financial condition of the country – and how anyone thought of spending £1,000 on keeping up Capability Brown's garden, of which not the slightest vestige as far as I could see remains, I do not understand.' 'I hope', he continued, 'that every effort will be made to reduce expenditure upon this remote ruin to a bare minimum and I regret that guardianship was ever undertaken.'⁷⁶ It was agreed to keep expenditure on the fabric to a limit of £1,500 a year.

Table 1 *Money voted by Parliament for the Ancient Monuments subhead of the Ministry of Works' budget and expenditure, 1953-63*

Year	Vote £	Expenditure £
1953-54	348,250	355,737
1954-55	469,500	483,429
1955-56	522,800	528,782
1956-57	586,000	572,802
1957-58	635,000	645,046
1958-59	664,000	670,015
1959-60	720,000	726,143
1960-61	760,000	773,073
1961-62	840,000	885,546
1962-63	900,000	900,508

Sources: National Archives T165/326 and T165/327

So keen were Ministry officials to relieve themselves of their liability for Appuldurcombe that Edward Muir asked for legal advice from the Treasury Solicitor on the possibility of disclaiming guardianship. (This was not the first time the question had been asked. In 1932

the Office of Works took advice on the possibility of renouncing guardianship of Penrith Castle. See Volume Four). The advice received was that the intention of the 1913 Act was clearly that guardianship should be irrevocable (although it was arguable that it might have to be suspended if the monument was for a time in ecclesiastical use). Moreover, the acceptance of guardianship placed 'an irremovable obligation' to maintain a monument.⁷⁷

Despite this advice, the Deputy Secretary, Sir Eric Seal launched a tirade against Appuldurcombe in which he argued that, 'even if we cannot formally abrogate the guardianship surely there are some practical means open to us of avoiding expenditure on this unwanted object. For example, could we not put a good strong fence round it and leave it to rot?'⁷⁸



Fig 14: Appuldurcombe House, Isle of Wight, in April 1954; two years after the site had come into guardianship it was still in a perilous state. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

He continued:

'I suppose the answer is that if we did such a thing there would be a lot of protests from those rather foolish people who seem to regard themselves as the custodians of almost any old building, however repulsive. But we should get this chorus even if we were able to abandon guardianship... Finally is there any real reason why we should not knock it down?'

Having considered the case further, including the suggestion that only the south and east wings of the house should be kept, the Minister, Hugh Molson, accepted that he 'could not ask the Department to deviate any further from the standards which are widely recognised and generally approved' and agreed to adhere to the compromise position of keeping the monument, but spending minimal amounts on it. 'The lesson', Molson opined 'is to be discriminating in what we take into guardianship.' This was a lesson which the Ministry learnt gradually as the 1950s passed and which governed its thinking throughout the 1960s.

One method of making the Ministry's money go further was to make acceptance of guardianship conditional on contributions from owners or other local sources. In 1953 the Ministry undertook to accept guardianship of **Beeston Castle** from the Peckforton Estate if £15,000, towards work estimated at £35,000, was provided from elsewhere. Cheshire County Council pledged £7,000 and a public appeal was launched to raise the remaining money. It took until 1956, but the money was eventually raised, with contributions from the Pilgrim Trust and the owners. In the case of **Mistley Towers** in Essex, the Ministry of Works would only accept guardianship if the monument had already been repaired. The Georgian Group raised over £4,000 for the work and secured the services of architect Raymond Erith to supervise it.

Trying to obtain local contributions was not always successful. When the Treasury asked, on a point of principle, that Rochester Council should contribute to the repair of **Rochester Castle** when it came into guardianship, the Council replied that they had contributed by maintaining it for the past 80 years and by giving up to the Ministry future gate receipts for the castle keep. The acceptance of **Bristol Temple Church** into guardianship was delayed by the Minister, David Eccles, who felt that Bristol was a city which ought to be capable of looking after its own monuments. There were several charitable bodies in the city that he thought might be willing to put up some money and he offered to appeal to them directly. The Bishop of Bristol replied discouragingly to the Minister's suggestion and when Eccles was replaced by Nigel Birch, the idea of local fundraising for the repairs was dropped.

Even the acceptance of monuments of undoubted guardianship quality might be deferred, if there was any other possible solution or if there was not thought to be an immediate threat to its survival. By the early 1960s it had become standard practice to ask of any guardianship offer: is there any reason why acceptance could not be deferred? In 1962, A K Mason wrote to A W Cunliffe:

'In taking over monuments nowadays, we normally satisfy ourselves not only that the monument is of outstanding importance but also, because money is short, that there are cogent reasons for not deferring assumption of responsibility. Usually these reasons amount to the fact that the monument is falling down or will suffer in some way if left in present hands.'⁷⁹

In that particular case – **Carrawburgh Roman Fort** – it was felt that the monument was safe because it was largely still buried and therefore unlikely to come to any harm, but on the other hand the owner was known to be a volatile character and the offer might disappear if not taken there and then. Hence it was agreed that there was a good reason for not deferring acceptance. Ironically the unusual and unacceptable conditions placed on the offer by the owner (that three archaeologists who had in some unspecified way offended him be permanently excluded from the site and that excavation must commence immediately) meant that it could not be accepted after all. **Brinkburn Priory** had been on offer to the Ministry since 1950 and despite being considered eminently worthy of preservation and a certainty for guardianship one day, acceptance was repeatedly deferred for financial reasons until the point where the state of the monument made it a false economy to delay further. Similarly, when **Ravenglass Roman bath house** was considered for guardianship in 1953, Kenneth Newis (Assistant Secretary) commented 'I can see that this is a monument of great importance, but I am not sure whether it is yet in a desperate state' and it was accordingly rejected.⁸⁰ (O'Neil referred to the rejection of Ravenglass as a symptom of 'our annual fit of nerves'.⁸¹ It was eventually taken over in 1980.) **Aydon Castle** had been included on the list of houses worthy of preservation which was prepared for the Treasury in 1948, but consideration was nevertheless given to deferring acceptance of it in 1955 and the owner was encouraged to seek a grant from Historic Buildings Council in the meantime.

Grant Aid or Guardianship

In contrast to its earlier practice, the Ministry began in this period to make greater use of its powers to grant aid ancient monuments. The Ministry even attempted to solve the long-running case of **Wingfield Manor** by offering a grant of up to 50 per cent, so keen was it in that case to avoid taking compulsory action. The trend would continue into the 1970s and by the early 1980s over a hundred ancient monument grants were being made each year (see Volume Eight).

The 1956 review of guardianship policy resulted in guidance that grants should be offered more readily than before, although not very extensively. While it would reduce the ongoing liabilities of the Ministry, the savings were limited in the short term because the grant-aided work often needed to be supervised or carried out by the ancient monuments workforce (as the only people qualified to do it to the required standard). Moreover, there was still a feeling that if the Ministry was going to spend large amounts of money on a monument, guardianship at the very least would be needed to safeguard the investment for the future. As a result it was generally only first-aid or inexpensive repairs that would be grant-aided.

The following list of grants made in 1957-58 demonstrates the variety of monuments for which assistance was given, but also the small sums involved in most cases.⁸²

	£
Brampton Bryan	125
Ludlow Castle	500
Chapel of St James's Hospital, Dunwich	335
Welsh inscribed stones	168
Grey Mare and Colts Long Barrow	12
Llandovery Castle	276
Charles Church, Plymouth	2,508
Old St Chad's Church, Shrewsbury	100
Shobdon Arches	50
Hopton Castle	300
Queens Sconce, Newark	500
	4,874

Grant offers for industrial monuments were quite common, particularly in the 1960s. As explained above, the repair and maintenance of industrial equipment and structures was outside the experience of the Ministry's own labour force, so the normal means of preservation – accepting guardianship and undertaking a long programme of restoration, or carrying out first-aid repairs for the owner on a recoverable basis – were not appropriate. There were also advantages in that a typical local trust looking after an industrial site would have low overheads and labour costs and almost certainly a pool of volunteers to give assistance, so more efficient use could be made of the Ministry's money.

In May 1970 it was reported to the Ancient Monuments Board that 'in recent years' grants had been made to 19 industrial monuments.⁸³ The monuments grant-aided included windmills – for example **Bourn Windmill**, Cambridgeshire, **Danse Green Windmill**, Worcestershire – and viaducts – **Kielder Viaduct**, Northumberland and **Marple Viaduct** in Cheshire - as well as heavy industrial works at **Abbeydale** and **Wortley Top Forge** in Yorkshire, **Duddon Furnace** in Cumbria, **Finch Iron Foundry** in Devon and **Higher Fulling Mill** in Lancashire. At the time of the report there were open grant offers which had not yet been accepted for some weavers' cottages in Derbyshire, **Catcliffe Glass Cone** in Yorkshire, **Haswell Colliery** and **Causey Railway Arch** in County Durham and the **Harwich Crane** in Essex. (The report omits to mention that the Historic Buildings Council was also playing its part, offering grants in the 1960s to a variety of industrial structures including **Holton Mill** in Suffolk, **Polegate Windmill**, Sussex, the **Dundas Aqueduct** and **Crofton Pumping Station** both on the Kennet and Avon Canal in Wiltshire, a group of four Cornish engine houses and the **Round House** in north London.)

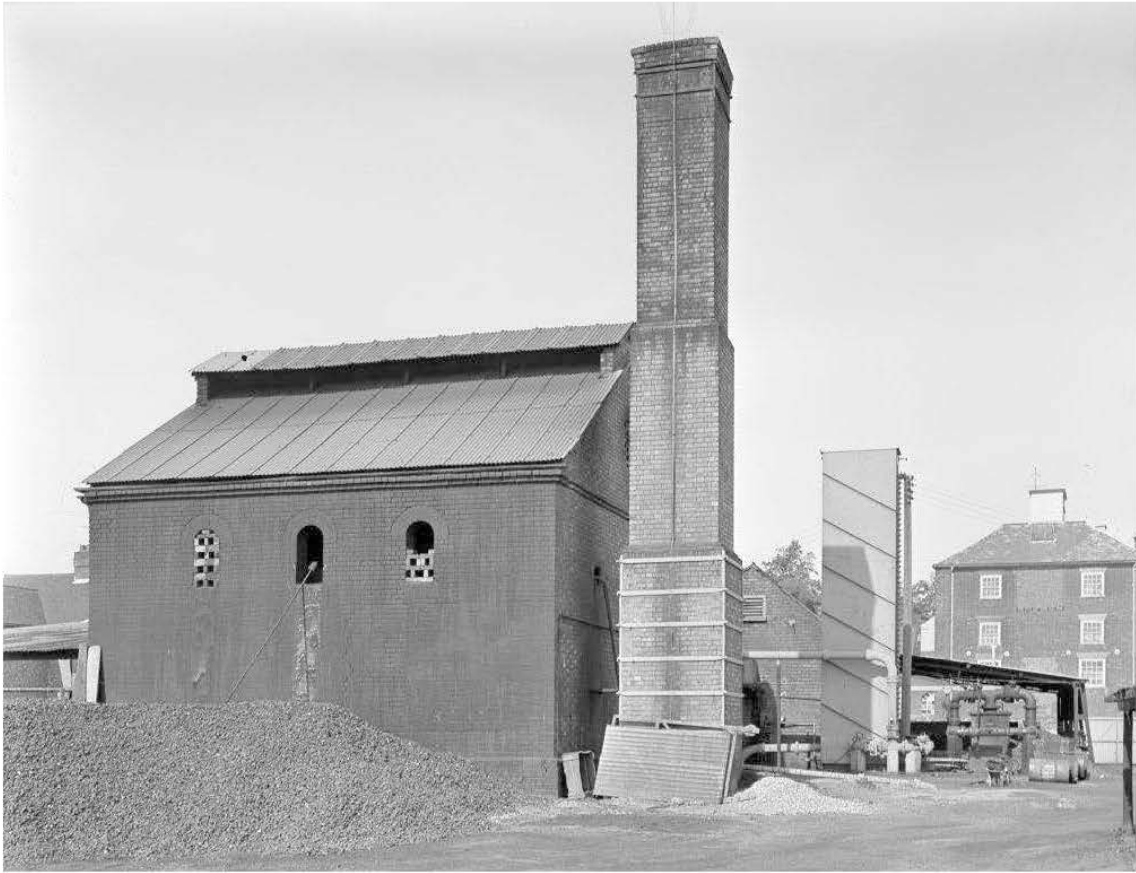


Fig 15: Fakenham Gasworks, Norfolk in 1965. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

One of the grant offers from ancient monument funds was to **Fakenham Gasworks** in Norfolk (fig 15). It was made originally in 1968 and therefore post-dated the decision to treat industrial monuments in line with other categories of monument. The gasworks had ceased production in 1965 and were threatened with destruction. The Chief Inspector was doubtful about the claims of the gasworks to preservation since virtually none of the buildings, plant and machinery was original, but the Ancient Monuments Board was very keen on their preservation. Rather than taking over the monument the Ministry offered to pay the Gas Council the difference between the cost of demolition and the cost of consolidation and tidying up. As with several of the other offers of grant to industrial monuments, it was initially rejected by the owner of the monument, but a revised programme of works was later agreed with the aim of mothballing the site.

Grants were also offered to more traditional monuments, such as for instance, **Tattershall College** in Lincolnshire. The owner served notice of his intention to demolish the monument in 1965 and a substantial offer of grant was made to dissuade him from that course of action. In the case of **Gloucester Greyfriars** in 1959 it was thought that there was no active threat other than the decay to the north east corner, so the Ancient Monuments Board recommended grant aiding first-aid repairs, even though the CIAM had stated that it was of guardianship quality.

Bushmead Priory (fig 16) was turned down for an Historic Buildings Council grant because it was uninhabited, but Baillie Reynolds attached considerable archaeological importance to the priory's (largely intact) refectory because few remains of such small monastic establishments survived and he thought it well worth spending money on. Rather than seeking guardianship, however, he recommended an Ancient Monuments grant of up to 66 per cent for first-aid repairs (which in the event was never taken up). Another application in 1964 led to a 50 per cent grant offer.



Fig 16: Bushmead Priory, Bedfordshire, c 1969, after the demolition of much of the house to reduce it to a more manageable size. © Crown Copyright

Offers of grant often turned out to be merely a prelude to guardianship. The owners of Bushmead Priory decided they were unable to afford their share of the repair costs and in due course a reassessment of the monument's importance by Stuart Rigold (Inspector of Ancient Monuments) prompted acceptance of an offer of guardianship. In 1970 a 50 per cent grant was offered for necessary repairs to the **Whalley Abbey gatehouse**, but the owners were not able to find the match-funding and as a result the Ministry took it into guardianship. **Bramber Castle** had been offered for guardianship and rejected in 1945 and again in 1956. In 1965 repairs were carried out by the Ministry and the costs recovered from the National Trust. In 1970 a grant was offered for repairs, but two years later, A J Taylor wrote 'I am not prepared to recommend any further grants towards bits and pieces of work. We should take up the question of transfer of the whole castle site as a matter of urgency.'⁸⁴ So, after several years of propping up the monument with grant-aid, it became part of the national collection in 1975.

Yet grants in this period were still seen as unsuitable for major repairs on the most important monuments. When the Treasury was asked for approval of the acceptance of **Rochester Castle** in 1963 (because the cost of initial repairs was over the limit of £30,000), it urged instead an offer of grant to the owners, the local council. A W Cunliffe replied for the Ministry that while a grant would reduce the burden on the taxpayer this was outweighed by certain disadvantages. These included divided control, potential conflicts of interest and the danger that the owner might well be less assiduous than the Ministry of Works in carrying out regular maintenance after the repairs had been completed. In such a large and important monument, it was considered 'bad economics and very risky archaeology to leave it to the unpredictable mercies of finite doses of State aid.'

Gift or Guardianship

In 1959 it became the Department's policy that the gift of a monument was, as a rule, to be preferred to guardianship. A memorandum was circulated which stated:

'In future, a definite attempt should be made in every case to guide an owner to think in terms of transferring the freehold to the Department and the possibility of guardianship should be mentioned by the Department's representatives only if it has become clear that an owner is not willing to relinquish the freehold.'¹⁸⁵

This apparently arose from cases where owners of guardianship monuments had sought to exercise their right to use the monument, rather than leaving it entirely to the occupation of the Ministry. The monuments in question are not specified in the memorandum, but shortly afterwards a case of just this kind arose when the owner of **Lyddington Bedehouse**, the Marquess of Exeter suggested the building should be returned to use now that it had been repaired by the Ministry. After this ruling had been made there was an increase in gifts, although the majority of monuments still entered the national collection by way of guardianship. In the 1950s only six out of 80 were given as a gift, that is 7.5 per cent; in the 1960s, this rose to 20 per cent, but of a much smaller total number of new monuments - nine out of 44.

TREATMENT OF MONUMENTS

'If ancient fabrics nod, and threat to fall,
To patch their flaws, and buttress up the wall,
Thus far 'tis duty: but here fix the mark;
For all beyond it is to touch the ark.
To change foundations, cast the frame anew,
Is work for rebels, who base ends pursue.'

John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 1681

This quotation opens the catalogue of a 1955 exhibition staged at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) to demonstrate 'the special techniques developed by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works over the past 40 years in preserving the ancient buildings in its care'.⁸⁶



Fig 17: General view of the exhibition at RIBA Headquarters, London, in 1955. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

The exhibition was aimed explicitly at the architects who were carrying out work grant-aided by the Ministry and it covered a wide range of repair and preservation methods, from masonry consolidation to restoration of painted plaster. Some of the techniques were unchanged since the directly employed labour force had been assembled by Frank

Baines in 1912. The panel showing the grouting of masonry at Kenilworth Castle shows that the 'gravity grouting' machine employed at sites such as Furness Abbey and Rievaulx Abbey in the 1920s was still in use (fig 18).

The approach of the Ministry set out in the exhibition is notable for its combination of respect for original fabric and willingness to use non-traditional methods and materials. The original fabric was considered so important that it was retained wherever it was still sound and new work was entirely at the service of the old. Modern materials such as reinforced concrete and steel were used to provide structural stability, but the guiding principle was: 'it is important... that none of these remedies should be apparent.'

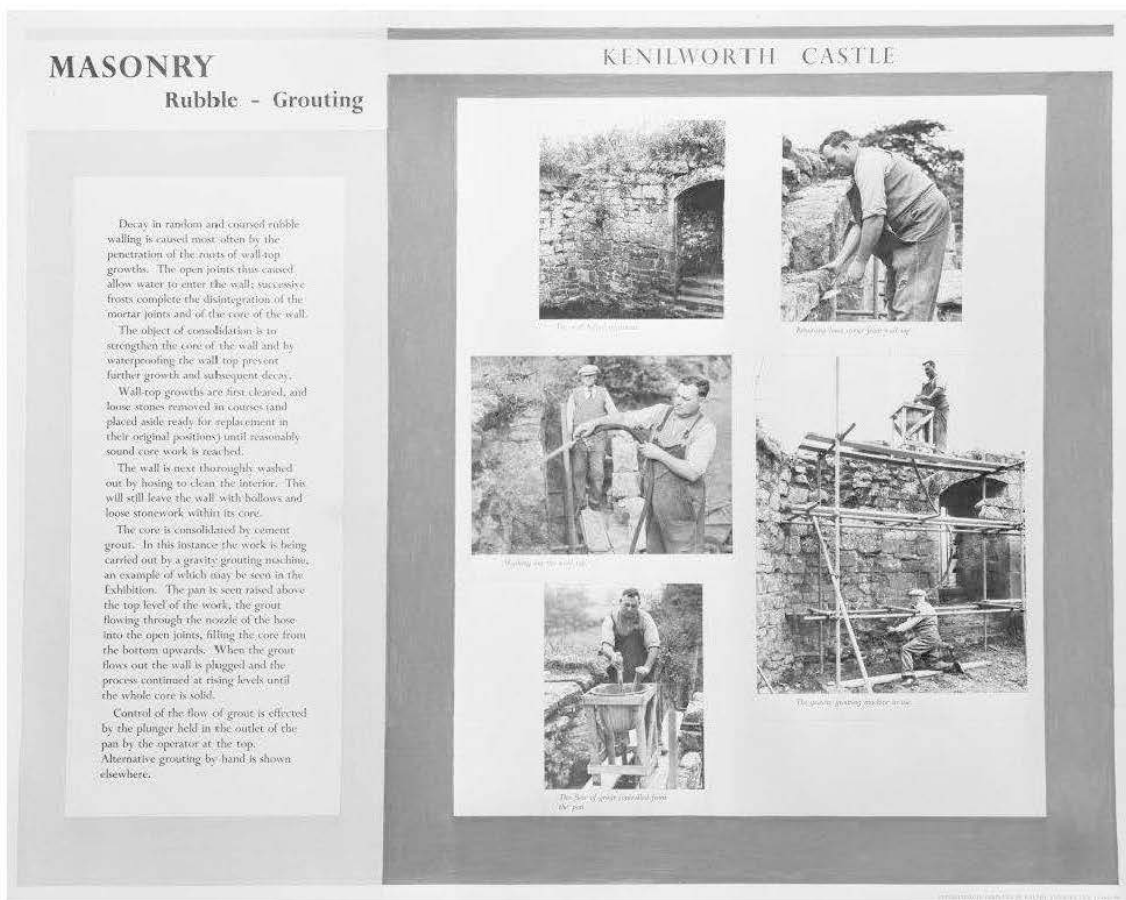


Fig 18: Exhibition panel: grouting of masonry at Kenilworth Castle. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

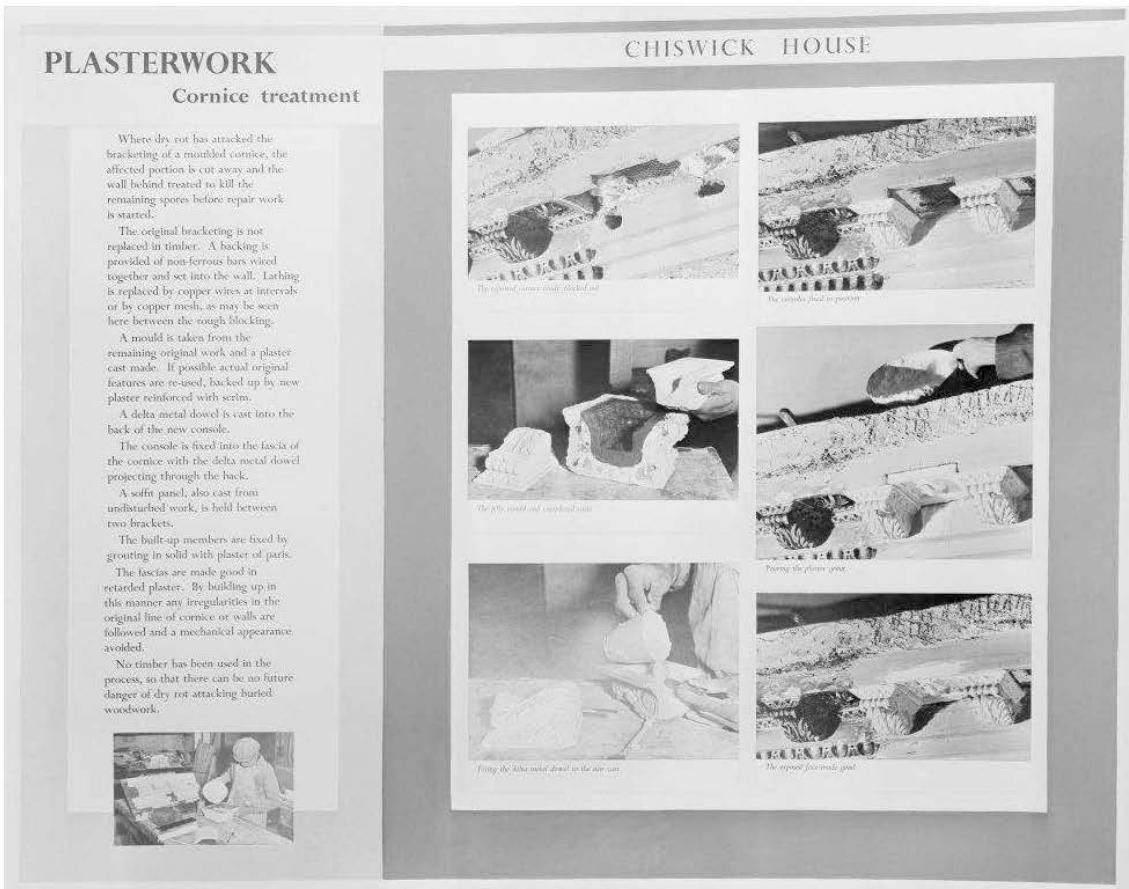


Fig 19: Exhibition panel: repairing cornice plasterwork at Chiswick House. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

While all sorts of changes might be made behind the surface of a monument, on the surface great care would be taken to match new work to old. In one example in the exhibition, the treatment of a moulded plaster cornice at **Chiswick House**, timber bracketing infected with dry rot was replaced with non-ferrous bars and wooden lathes replaced by copper wires and copper mesh (fig 19). On the surface, however, new plaster was carefully built up to follow the irregularities of the original in order to avoid 'a mechanical appearance'. At another featured site, **Eynsford Castle**, care was taken to ensure that the grit in the new mortar matched with the old, to ensure a harmonious appearance.

A good case study of the Ministry's treatment of monuments in this period is **Old Gorhambury** in Hertfordshire.⁸⁷ Built by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1563-68, it was a typical Tudor courtier's house of the period, but by the mid-20th century it was almost entirely lost except for some short stretches of wall and the fine entrance porch. This had been the subject of some Victorian conservation work, which was still evident when the house came into guardianship in October 1959 (fig 20). The leaning structure had been propped by a massive brick buttress and the ground floor arches lined with an inner brick arch for

support. Iron cramps and ties had also been added to hold the structure together. Little if any repair was made to the exterior stonework. It looks more like the work of an engineer than an architect, but it fulfils William Morris's injunction to be honest when intervening in historic fabric and not to tamper with the original.



Fig 20: Old Gorhambury, Hertfordshire, c1956, before treatment by the Ministry. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

When the Ministry of Works took over the monument, it was first cleared of vegetation before work began to redress the Victorian work. Despite the obvious fragility of the structure, the brick buttress and supporting arches were completely removed, along with the iron straps and tie rods. To keep it standing, the porch was partially underpinned and reinforced concrete ringbeams were inserted in the inner faces of the walls, covered over in brickwork. Almost no trace of this intervention is obvious to today's visitors (fig 21).

The original fabric was left almost untouched, even the iron cramps being left, presumably because work to remove them would have damaged the fragile stonework. The fragments of a statue in one of the niches were, however, removed to storage to avoid their complete loss to decay.



Fig 21: Old Gorhambury after treatment, photographed in 2009. © English Heritage

For all its confidence in its own methods, the Ministry was sometimes challenged over its treatment of monuments, and nowhere more so in this period than at **Hadrian's Wall**. The compromise which had allowed **Housesteads Fort** to come into guardianship (see Volume Six) held for a few years, but in the late 1950s the argument flared up again. In 1956 Nigel Nicolson MP, a member of the Ancient Monuments Board presented a paper to the Board on the treatment of the Wall. Nicolson said that he had been familiar with the Wall for 20 years and had seen serious deterioration over that time. He stated baldly that he found the Ministry's way of treating and presenting the remains of the wall aesthetically deplorable, because in places it resulted in the display of large and shapeless masses of wall core. He argued for replacement of facing stones and reduction of the core to the level at which it could be covered by face work, to restore the appearance of a wall.

The varying responses of members of the Ancient Monuments Board to Nicolson's paper show how difficult it was to find consensus on the matter, even among a well-informed and predominantly expert body.⁸⁸ Baillie Reynolds explained that in fact facing stones found close to the wall were being replaced, but core work was always left intact. Sir

Mortimer Wheeler welcomed this approach and said he was against having rigid rules. Professor Gordon Childe was strongly against the flattening of the core, but Professor Christopher Hawkes thought it 'archaeologically defensible to modify the outline of the core to produce a pleasing effect'. Michael Briggs (who represented the RIBA on the Board) felt that leaving too much core work showing destroyed the majesty of the Wall and that as much re-facing as possible should be done. The minutes of the Board record agreement that 'all facing stones found on the site should be replaced on the Wall, and that the repair of each section should be settled in the light of local conditions. The majority of members were opposed to any destruction of the core.'

A meeting with the National Trust on 10 October 1957 aimed to reach agreement on the best way of consolidating the Wall. The conclusion of the meeting was that the Ministry would use the methods it considered most effective on the sections in guardianship, but in National Trust areas a compromise would have to be arrived at. Sir Edward Muir, who was chairing the meeting, suggested that where repair was needed any original fabric should be consolidated by the Ministry in the normal way before being re-faced and turf-capped in the National Trust manner. It was agreed that the Trust and the Ministry would choose a section of the Wall on which to test this method.

On 9 February 1958 an article was published in *The Observer* by archaeologist Jacquetta Hawkes in which she criticised the methods used by the Ministry in exposing and consolidating the wall. The article did not criticise the general policy so much as the implementation of it. As a result of the article, the problem of how to treat the wall was even raised in the House of Commons. On 2 April 1958, Francis Noel-Baker MP related one of the allegations from Hawkes' article.⁸⁹

'It is reliably reported that on the section near Birdoswald four workmen are employed with only occasional supervision. They dismantle the Wall, nine feet at a time, stacking the square masonry and rubble filling and consolidating the foundations. The Roman mortar, which varied in colour from one age to the next and therefore shows repairs and alterations is destroyed without record. Far worse, the work emerging from the hands of these excellent workmen is not Hadrian's Wall at all. It is a copy – and one which has lost all the gifts of time.'

Other MPs were supportive of the Ministry and the Ancient Monuments Board. Nigel Nicolson defended the Board's pragmatic approach, saying that the treatment had to be varied to suit different sections of the Wall. He did, however, declare that 'if one had to choose between the National Trust method of preservation and the Ministry of Works method, the Ministry's method is certainly sounder from the purely archaeological point of view.'⁹⁰ The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Works, Harmar Nicholls MP answered the charges in the *Observer* article in detail. While he conceded there were two views 'the correct one and the incorrect' he felt sure that 'what is being done by my archaeological department...is the correct line.'⁹¹

The Ministry and the National Trust also came into conflict over the treatment of **Mount Grace Priory**, which had been placed in guardianship by the Trust, but at the instigation of the Treasury, in 1955. The property consisted of a house, still occupied, its gardens and the extensive remains of a Carthusian priory. The Ministry was offered guardianship of the latter, on the understanding that the existing 'romantic atmosphere' of the monument would not be changed (fig 22). This was a curious request to make of the Ministry, whose normal treatment of monuments was scarcely compatible with romantic atmosphere, and it may have been made in the hope of keeping the Trust's tenant, Miss Cooper-Abbs, happy. Further pressure was put on the Ministry to change its normal policy when a letter arrived from Clarence House to say that HM The Queen Mother earnestly hoped that the character of the grounds would be preserved.

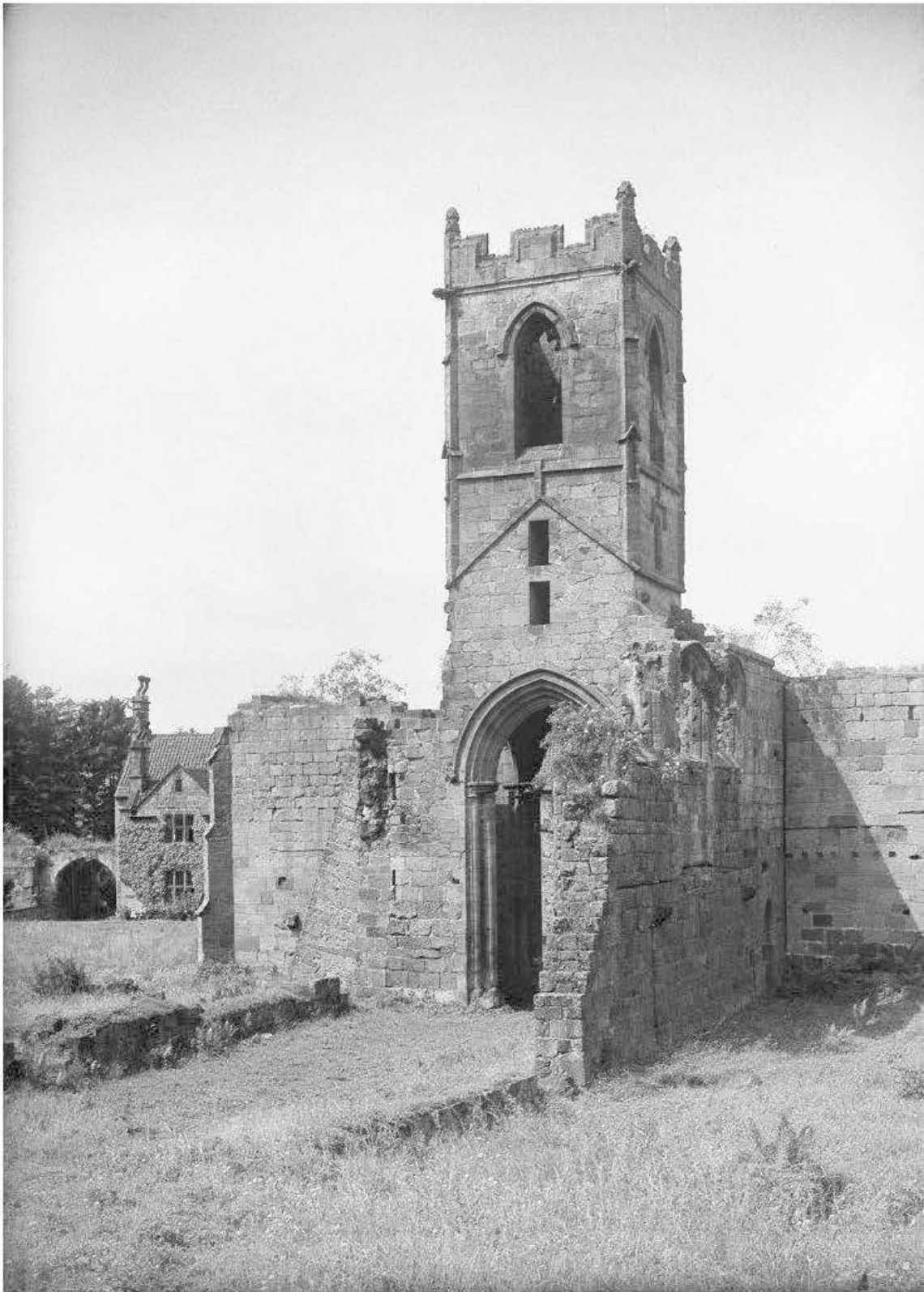


Fig 22: Mount Grace Priory, North Yorkshire in 1951, showing the 'romantic' flowering shrubs growing in the masonry which later caused problems for the Ministry. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Andrew Saunders later explained how, from the Ministry's point of view, those who valued monuments for their atmosphere and aesthetic appeal of pleasing decay were 'selfish' because they were prepared to see the rapid destruction of the thing they admired. Preservation, he continued, was about selecting archaeologically valuable buildings or objects and maintaining them 'unhampered as far as possible from compromise with the present.'⁹² At Mount Grace an unsuccessful attempt at compromise was made in order to placate those 'selfish' people.

Before work started on site the Ministry was forced to defend its normal practice of removing vegetation from walls, pointing out to the National Trust and Miss Cooper-Abbs places where the vegetation was causing visible damage. The Trust queried the uncovering of a buried wall because of the scar it would leave in the hillside which formed an important part of the setting of the priory. Work started in May 1956 and as early as September a letter was received from Romilly Fedden of the National Trust complaining at the 'lavish use' of weed-killer on paved areas and the mowing of the rough grass. Despite concerns that it would make it harder to keep to their normal standard of maintenance, the Ministry agreed not to use weed-killer and to have the rough grass scythed after the bulbs had died back rather than mown. The inevitable result was that when the Permanent Secretary Edward Muir visited a year later he found the monument unkempt and reported that visitors were making unfavourable comparisons with the treatment of Rievaulx Abbey and other similar sites.⁹³

Two cases in this period show how architectural and archaeological interest, conservation and preservation, could come into conflict when deciding how to treat monuments. **Rufford Abbey** was a large country house in the Nottinghamshire coalfields, which incorporated surviving fragments of a Cistercian abbey. The house grew from the 16th through to the 19th century and was altered extensively in the Victorian period by the architect Anthony Salvin. The house and 18,000 acres of the estate were sold to a developer in 1938 and the contents auctioned. Requisitioned during the war, by 1949 the house was a wreck and the owner had started dismantling it. When Roy Gilyard-Beer (Inspector of Ancient Monuments) visited in January 1949 he reported that 'although the present buildings are attractive and extensive, the history of the Abbey is more distinguished than its architecture.'⁹⁴ Bryan O'Neil agreed and recommended that 'we make no attempt to save the mansion, but concern ourselves only with the preservation of the remains of the medieval monastery.' The Ministry of Town and Country Planning, however, took a different view. While having the same interest in the medieval remains it attached more importance 'to their preservation in the framework of the building, which from an architectural point of view is not without merit.' Nottinghamshire County Council was prevailed upon by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to issue a Preservation Order and as a result was obliged to purchase the property. Attempts to find a use for the building were made in vain and when the Historic Buildings Council decided that the house was not of outstanding interest, any hopes of preserving it were lost. The Ministry of Works proceeded to agree plans for demolition with the County Council on the basis that the medieval remains would come into guardianship.

Displaying the monument would involve demolition of the entire north wing of the house, the controlled demolition of the central portion of the house to reveal the medieval fabric and the partial preservation of the Jacobean south wing which contained some monastic remains and which could provide custodian's accommodation. The entrance porch, though largely 19th-century was retained at the special request of the County Council. The chance to display the monument for its historical and archaeological interest was more important to the Ministry than the preservation of the hall for its architectural interest and since it had not been able to find a user for the house, the County Council was content to go along with the Ministry. The plans were opposed by the SPAB and others, but their views were dismissed and demolition began in 1956. It may have been that there was no practical alternative to demolition, which was the fate of so many large country houses in the 1950s, but in this case the Ministry pursued demolition aggressively in pursuit of the monument that lay within the house. In so doing they deliberately created an ancient monument out of an historic building (see fig 23).

Another case of conflicting values concerned the west front of **Bury St Edmunds Abbey**, where the dispute was between the Ancient Monuments Board and the Historic Buildings Council. The west front stood higher than most of the remains of the abbey, but a row of houses had been built into it from the 17th century onwards (see fig. 24).



Fig 23: Rufford Abbey after treatment, photographed in 2009. © English Heritage

They were excluded from the original guardianship agreement for the Abbey because they were still inhabited, but in the late 1960s the Borough Council offered to extend the guardianship area to include the whole of the west front, on the understanding that the Ministry would remove the later accretions. The Ministry of Public Buildings and Works consulted the Ancient Monuments Board for advice on the treatment of the buildings if they were to come into guardianship; then, because they were also listed buildings threatened with demolition, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government consulted the Historic Buildings Council.

The Ancient Monuments Board agreed with the Inspectorate, and the Borough Council, that the display of the surviving ruins should be the priority because of their greater archaeological importance. Having visited the site the Board formed the opinion that: 'the overriding aim should be to display the ruins of this great abbey as a unity and free from encumbrance'. It believed that the stripped back remains would be 'both impressive in form and scale and illustrative of the spatial arrangement of a great 12th-century work'⁹⁵ while 'no valid claim can be made for the architectural distinction of the "incrustation"'.⁹⁶ The Historic Buildings Council, on the other hand, believed that the houses ought not to be demolished. 'The ruins and houses together form a unique complex of outstanding interest and considerable aesthetic value. They give the medieval fragment a living purpose and are a splendid illustration of social and architectural history.'⁹⁷



Fig 24: Bury St Edmunds Abbey west front, Suffolk, in 1948. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Michael Thompson later summed up the case thus: 'the vista of the great abbey that would have been opened up and the dramatic silhouettes, worthy of modern sculpture, that it would have created were not sufficient to outweigh support for retention of the houses.'⁹⁸ A compromise position was eventually agreed by A J Taylor and Anthony Dale, the Chief Investigator at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government which would have preserved some, but not all, of the later features. That scheme was never carried out and the houses survive to this day.

CREATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

In October 1969 the Labour government commissioned a study of the case for closer integration of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works (which was by far the largest of the three). Little more than a year later, under the new Conservative administration, the Department of the Environment (DoE) came into being. This was part of a wider trend in government to combine ministries into giant new departments.

The intention behind the creation of the DoE was to bring together responsibility for all environmental matters into one organisation. Thus everything from transport and land-use planning to control of pollution, protection of coastline and countryside and preservation of historic towns, buildings and monuments was brought together under one Secretary of State. In a message to all staff, the new Secretary of State, Peter Walker announced that 'our new Department is the Department most concerned with improving the quality of living in our country. The happiness of each individual family will be very much affected by our decisions and our actions.'⁹⁹

The amalgamation of the government's work with historic buildings on the one hand and ancient monuments on the other, had been discussed at the time of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act and became, briefly, government policy in 1951 (see Volume Six). Looking back, Sir Edward Muir described how this 'necessary development' had been 'always frustrated by the curious doctrine that Historic Buildings belonged in essence to planning.'¹⁰⁰ He confessed that he as Permanent Secretary (1956-62) had never made any headway in breaking down the division.

Initially the work of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works relating to ancient monuments, royal palaces and parks and other Crown buildings was done by the Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Special Services (DAMSS), while Ministry of Housing and Local Government work on historic buildings and areas remained in the planning division of the new Department, known as the Urban Conservation and Historic Buildings Division (UCHB). After a process of 'rationalisation' this arrangement was superseded, on 1 April 1972, by the Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (DAMHB) which combined DAMSS with UCHB. The Historic Buildings Council and Ancient Monuments Board remained in existence and their roles became advisory to the Secretary of State for the Environment.

ENDNOTES

Where quotations in the text refer to an individual monument and are not referenced, the source is the site file listed in the bibliography below.

- 1 Wagner, 21
- 2 Bryan O'Neil to Director of Establishments 9 January 1954, National Archives file WORK 22/481
- 3 Daily Telegraph obituary of Arnold Taylor 2 December 2002
- 4 Saunders, xv
- 5 Mercer, 990
- 6 Ibid
- 7 As reported in the Daily Telegraph 25 October 1962, page 17. A copy of the article is on National Archives file WORK 60/8
- 8 British Travel Association figures. A copy of the figures is on National Archives file WORK 60/8
- 9 Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister 1 April 1958, National Archives file WORK14/2271
- 10 Ibid
- 11 Press notice, March 1965, National Archives file WORK 60/4
- 12 See the annual summaries of visitor numbers and receipts in National Archives file WORK 60/8
- 13 Note of a site visit by Roy Gilyard-Beer 22 May 1958, English Heritage file AA50610/3
- 14 File note dated 12 March 1956, National Archives file HLG126/71
- 15 Arnold Taylor to Patrick Faulkner 6 February 1956 on National Archives file HLG 126/71
- 16 Survey of London vol 22: Bankside (the parishes of St Saviour and Christchurch Southwark), 45-56
- 17 They were supported by architect Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, at that time involved in the post-war rebuilding of the Corporation's Guildhall, who reportedly stated that the tower was a Victorian reconstruction by his father, not an original work by Wren
- 18 Minutes of the Ancient Monuments Board for England 25 May 1951 on National Archives file WORK 47/1
- 19 Lord John Hope to Ivor Bulmer-Thomas 18 July 1960 on English Heritage file AA20298/3
- 20 See Timothy Champion, 'Protecting the monuments' in Hunter, 52
- 21 Andrew Saunders to Mr Fry, County Surveyor for Cornwall 22 April 1968, English Heritage file AA74404/3
- 22 In 1966 the functions of the Minister of Works under Part I of the Act were transferred to the Minister of Housing and Local Government
- 23 Section 3(3) of 1931 Act and section 3(2) of the 1913 Act respectively

- 24 Section 4(1) of the 1953 Act
- 25 In a memorandum to F J Root 24 May 1954, Kenneth Newis recorded that the Treasury wanted churches excluded specifically and referred to a letter from Mrs Johnstone dated 2 January 1953. See National Archives file WORK 14/2351
- 26 House of Commons 3 July 1953 Hansard vol 517 c802 and 815
- 27 House of Commons 3 July 1953 Hansard vol 517 c758
- 28 1953 Annual Report of the Historic Buildings Council for England, 2
- 29 Howard Colvin 'The Historic Buildings Council and the Country House' in *Airs* (ed), 104. Colvin was a member of the Council for England from 1970 to 1984, but was familiar with workings of the Council and with many of its members from the beginning
- 30 *Ibid*, 106
- 31 *Evening Standard* 29 March 1954, 4
- 32 *Estates Gazette* 29 May 1954
- 33 Peter Mandler, 'Nationalising the Country House' in *Hunter*, 106
- 34 See Dorothy Johnstone to Kenneth Newis 4 December 1951 on National Archives file T218/11
- 35 1953 Annual Report of the Historic Buildings Council for England, 6
- 36 Sir Eric de Normann to Sir Edward Muir 25 September 1957, National Archives file HLG126/75
- 37 Minutes of the Historic Buildings Council for England 8 December 1960 on National Archives HLG126/1590
- 38 **Section 4(2) empowered the Minister to make a grant to the National Trust or the National Trust for Scotland in the form of an endowment.**
- 39 Minutes of the Committee on Houses of National Importance 10 March 1949, see National Archives file WORK14/3059
- 40 Aubrey Bailey to F J Root 15 July 1958 on National Archives file HLG126/324
- 41 *Ibid*
- 42 Sir Edward Muir to Hugh Molson 17 July 1958 on National Archives file HLG126/324
- 43 T L Jones to F J Root 28 June 1963 on National Archives file HLG126/1739
- 44 Strong, Binney, Harris, 8
- 45 Lord John Hope speaking at the National Trust AGM on 11 November 1960. See National Archives file HLG126/1739
- 46 These figures were given in answer to a Parliamentary question from Robert Cooke MP. House of Commons 20 May 1971, Hansard vol 817 c349W. Papers relating to the answer given are in National Archives file HLG126/1739
- 47 1961 Annual Report of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 7
- 48 1963 Annual Report of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 5
- 49 *Ibid*
- 50 Sir Edward Muir to Kenneth Newis 24 April 1959, English Heritage file AA30935/3 part 2
- 51 P K Baillie Reynolds to Stuart Rigold 25 October 1955, English Heritage file AA30920/3 part 1

- 52 Bryan O'Neil to Kenneth Newis 31 August 1953, National Archives file WORK14/2924
- 53 Memorandum dated 6 April 1955, National Archives file WORK14/2924
- 54 File note by F C Withey 30 October 1959 on National Archives file WORK14/2490
- 55 P K Baillie Reynolds to N Digney 3 November 1959 on National Archives file WORK14/2490
- 56 Maurice Craig to Michael Thompson 7 August 1962, English Heritage file AA20049/2
- 57 The six scheduled sites were the Harwich Crane, Essex, the Old Malt House and Kiln, Stevenage, earthworks of the Surrey Iron Railway, Wortley Top Forge, South Yorkshire, the pottery at Longton Hall, Stoke-on-Trent and the Iron Bridge, Shropshire
- 58 Richard Sharples to the Hon Nicholas Ridley MP 30 December 1963 on National Archives file WORK14/2926. The definition appears elsewhere with the word 'communication' instead of 'transportation' at the end
- 59 House of Commons debate 5 July 1965 Hansard vol 715 cc1090-1091
- 60 Written answers (House of Commons) 26 May 1966 Hansard vol 729 c160W
- 61 Undated report by Rex Wailes c 1964, National Archives file WORK14/2926
- 62 Lecture to the Royal Archaeological Institute 4 March 1953 by J G Hurst and J Golson. A copy of the text is on National Archives file WORK14/2476
- 63 1958 Annual Report of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group. A copy is on National Archives file WORK14/2476
- 64 The text of the memorandum is incorporated in the 1965 Annual Report of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group. A copy of the report is on National Archives file WORK14/2476
- 65 Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Redundant Churches 1958-60 paras 163, 164
- 66 Since the intention was for acquisitions to occur under Part I of the 1953 Act, the powers in which had been transferred to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in 1966, the wording had to be amended later
- 67 Obituary of Andrew Saunders by Jonathan Coad on the Society of Antiquaries website: www.sal.org.uk
- 68 A copy of the report forms part of the minutes for the Ancient Monuments Board for England meeting 27 April 1962 which are on National Archives file WORK47/5
- 69 Ibid
- 70 Letter dated 8 October 1962 on English Heritage file AA62118/3 part 1
- 71 Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes 15 February 1939 on National Archives file WORK47/1
- 72 Ancient Monuments Board for England paper AME/P 304, 19 December 1969, on National Archives file WORK47/7
- 73 Mr Travis to Kenneth Newis 5 June 1966 on National Archives file WORK14/2919

- 74 A copy of the list is on National Archives file WORK 14/2919
- 75 A copy of the minutes is on National Archives file WORK 14/2919
- 76 Hugh Molson to F J Root 25 March 1953, English Heritage file AA66349/3 part 1
- 77 E A K Ridley to M E I Waterman 23 August 1955 on English Heritage file AA66349/3 part 1
- 78 Sir Eric Seal to F J Root 3 April 1958 on English Heritage file AA66349/3 part 1
- 79 A K Mason to Alan Cunliffe 28 February 1962 on National Archives file WORK14/2100
- 80 Kenneth Newis to M E I Waterman 14 September 1953 on English Heritage file AAI1025/3 part 1
- 81 Memorandum by Bryan O'Neil 24 August 1953 on English Heritage file AAI1025/3 part 1
- 82 File note dated 7 July 1958 on National Archives file WORK 14/3066
- 83 Paper AME/P 320 presented to the Ancient Monuments Board for England meeting 29 May 1970. See National Archives file WORK47/7
- 84 Arnold Taylor to Miss Bell 15 April 1972, English Heritage file AA50588/3 part 2
- 85 Memorandum by F C Withey 20 April 1959 on National Archives file WORK14/2919
- 86 Foreword to the exhibition catalogue by Nigel Birch, Minister of Works
- 87 See the account by Nick Hill in ASCHB Transactions 21 (1996), 36-48
- 88 See the minutes of the Ancient Monuments Board for England 8 June 1956 on National Archives file WORK47/2
- 89 House of Commons debate 2 April 1958 Hansard vol 585 cc1319-1324
- 90 Quoted in Leach and Whitworth, 132
- 91 House of Commons debate 2 April 1958 Hansard vol 585 c1327
- 92 Saunders, xvii
- 93 The admittance of visitors while work was in progress was in itself a compromise since generally the Ministry worker would take over a monument completely and only admit the public once excavation and consolidation had been carried out
- 94 Roy Gilyard-Beer to George Chettle 17 January 1949, National Archives file WORK14/2107
- 95 1967 Annual Report of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 5-6
- 96 Minutes of the Ancient Monuments Board for England 13 October 1967, see National Archives file WORK47/6
- 97 1968 Annual Report of the Historic Buildings Council for England, 11
- 98 Thompson, 27
- 99 Quoted in Draper, 120
- 100 Foreword to Apted, Gilyard-Beer and Saunders, no page number

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Aydon Castle, Northumberland	AA 10516/3 part 1	
Bayham Abbey, Kent	AA 50610/3 part 1	
Beeston Castle, Cheshire	AA 106229/3 part 1	
Birkenhead Priory, Cheshire	AA106149/3	
Brinkburn Priory, Northumberland	AA 10591/3 part 1	
Temple Church, Bristol	AA 70912/3 part 1	
Bury St Edmunds Abbey, Suffolk	AA 46625/3 part 2	
Bushmead Priory, Bedfordshire	AA 41199/3	WORK 14/1905
Carlisle Castle, Cumbria	AA 10712/3 part 1	
Carrawburgh Roman Fort, Northumberland		WORK 14/2100
Castle Howard Mausoleum, North Yorkshire	AR 011819/3	
Castle Rising Castle, Norfolk	AA 40523/2 part 2 AA 40523/3 part 1	
Cobham Hall, Kent		HLG 126/75 HLG 126/1588 HLG 126/1590 HLG 126/1591 HLG 126/1821
Crowland Abbey ruins, Lincolnshire	AA 30350/3 part 1	
Deanery Tower, Hadleigh, Suffolk	AA 40030/3	
Dymchurch Martello Tower, Kent	AA 50440/3	
Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire		T218/417
Fakenham Gasworks, Norfolk	IP 00014	
Fifield Long Barrow, Oxfordshire	AA 66010/3	

Fort Brockhurst, Hampshire	AA 62118/3 part 1	
Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincolnshire	AA 30778/3	HLG 126/1083
Gloucester Greyfriars, Gloucestershire	AA 71191/3 part 1	
Grace Dieu Priory, Leicestershire		WORK 14/1685
Hardwick Old Hall, Derbyshire	AA 30231/2 part 1	HLG 126/71
Hatfield Earthworks, Wiltshire	AA 70635/3 part 1	
Heveningham Hall, Suffolk		AT 75/8 HLG 126/1362
Holy Ghost Chapel, Basingstoke, Hampshire	AA 60609/3	
Howden Minster, East Yorkshire	AA 20298/3 AA 20298/1	
Iford Mill, Somerset	AA 71164/3	
Kinwarton Dovecot, Warwickshire	AA96078/3	
Knowlton Church and Earthworks, Dorset	AA 60255/3 part 1	
Leiston Abbey, Suffolk		WORK 14/2582
Lexden Straight Road, Essex	AA 40546/3 part 2	
Lydford Town Banks, Devon	Unregistered file	
Martello Tower at Grain, Kent	AA 50446/3	
Mistley Towers, Essex	AA 40098/3 part 1	
Mount Grace Priory, North Yorkshire	AA 16233/3 part 1 AA 16233/2 part 1	
Nettleton Roman Site, Wiltshire	AA 72727/3	
Nunney Blind House, Somerset	AA 73638/3	
Odda's Chapel, Gloucestershire	AA 70972/3	
Old Church near Ashley Hall	AA 40060/3	
Old Gorbambury House, Hertfordshire	AA 40998/3	
Orford Castle, Suffolk	AA 46258/3 parts 1, 2	
Pound near Quarry Farm, Felliscliffe	AA 20456/2	
Ribchester Roman Fort, Lancashire	AA 100572/3	
Rochester Castle, Kent	AA 50986/3	

Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire		WORK 14/2107
Sherborne Old Castle, Dorset	AA 60951/3	
Sibsey Trader Mill, Lincolnshire	AA 30920/3 part 1	
Silchester Roman City Walls, Hampshire	AA 60118/3 part 2	
St Alban, Wood Street, London		WORK 14/2035
St Mawes Castle, Cornwall	AA 76252/3 part 2	
St Pirans Oratory, Cornwall	AA 71672/3	
Southgate, Launceston, Cornwall	AA 71276/3	
Tregiffian Burial Chamber, Cornwall	AA 74404/3	
Upnor Castle, Kent	AA 51529/3 part 2	
Vesey Stone House, Warwickshire	AA 90060/3	
Walden Castle, Essex	AA 41065/3	
Waverley Abbey, Surrey	AA 56326/3 parts 1, 2	
Whalley Abbey Gatehouse, Lancashire	AA 100438/3	
Whittington Castle, Shropshire	AA90783/3 part 2	
Winchester Palace, London	AA51049/3 part 1	
Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire	AA 30935/3 parts 1, 2	
Winterborne Poor Lot Barrows, Dorset	AA 60051/3 part 1	
Wolvesey Old Bishops Palace, Hampshire	AA 61103/2A	
Woolpit Post Mill, Suffolk		WORK 14/2675
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Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1962-1965)	WORK 47/5
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Early industrial monuments: guardianship policy (1963-1966)	WORK 14/2926
Later Military Fortifications Preservation (1956-1962)	WORK 14/2298
Repayment services on works carried out on ancient monuments (1957-1973)	WORK 14/3066
Future of redundant churches (1954-1964)	WORK 14/2351

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Monuments added to the National Heritage Collection 1953-1970

Monument	County	Year	Type of acquisition
Mortimers Cross Water Mill	Herefordshire	1953	Guardianship
HW: Carrawburgh Temple of Mithras	Northumberland	1953	Guardianship
Stanwick Camp	North Yorkshire	1953	Guardianship
Sir Bevil Granville's Monument	Avon	1953	Guardianship
Boscobel House	Shropshire	1954	Guardianship
Ballowall Barrow	Cornwall	1954	Purchase
HW: Chesters Fort	Northumberland	1954	Guardianship
Caister Roman Site	Norfolk	1954	Purchase
Lincoln Medieval Bishops Palace	Lincolnshire	1954	Guardianship
Dartmouth Bayards Cove	Devon	1954	Guardianship
Christchurch Castle	Hampshire	1954	Guardianship
Mount Grace Priory	North Yorkshire	1955	Guardianship
Bury St Edmunds Abbey	Suffolk	1955	Guardianship
Gloucester Blackfriars	Gloucestershire	1955	Purchase
Farleigh Hungerford Priest House	Somerset	1956	Purchase
Chiswick House	London	1956	Gift
St Pauls Monastery, Jarrow	Tyne & Wear	1956	Guardianship
Blakeney Guildhall	Norfolk	1956	Gift
Sherborne Old Castle	Dorset	1956	Guardianship
Cam Euny Ancient Village	Cornwall	1957	Purchase
Minster Lovell Dovecote	Oxfordshire	1958	Guardianship
Lullingstone Roman Villa	Kent	1958	Guardianship
Mistley Towers	Essex	1958	Guardianship
Bristol Temple Church	Avon	1958	Guardianship
Castle Rising Castle	Norfolk	1958	Guardianship
Beeston Castle	Cumbria	1959	Guardianship
Rufford Abbey	Nottinghamshire	1959	Guardianship
Dymchurch Martello Tower	Kent	1959	Transfer
Knowlton Church & Earthworks	Dorset	1959	Guardianship
Old Gornambury House	Hertfordshire	1959	Guardianship
Hardwick Old Hall	Derbyshire	1959	Guardianship

Wingfield Manor	Derbyshire	1960	Compulsory guardianship
St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury	Kent	1960	Guardianship
HW: Cawfields	Northumberland	1960	Guardianship
Waverley Abbey	Surrey	1961	Compulsory guardianship
Bayham Abbey	East Sussex	1961	Guardianship
Upnor Castle	Kent	1961	Transfer
St Mawes Castle	Cornwall	1961	Transfer
Fiddleford Mill	Dorset	1961	Guardianship
Winterborne Poor Lot Barrows	Dorset	1961	Purchase
Wolvesey Old Bishops Palace	Hampshire	1962	Guardianship
Orford Castle	Suffolk	1962	Gift
Odda's Chapel	Gloucestershire	1962	Gift
Pendennis Castle	Cornwall	1962	Transfer
Amesbury Ratfyn Barrows	Wiltshire	1962	Guardianship
Carlisle Castle	Cumbria	1963	Transfer
Walton Dovecote Bridge	Cumbria	1963	Gift
Fort Brockhurst	Hampshire	1963	Transfer
Chester Roman Amphitheatre	Cheshire	1964	Gift
Leiston Abbey	Suffolk	1964	Guardianship
Calshot Castle	Hampshire	1964	Transfer
Wenlock Priory	Shropshire	1964	Guardianship
Rochester Castle	Kent	1965	Guardianship
St Breock Down Monolith	Cornwall	1965	Guardianship
Silchester Roman City	Hampshire	1965	Guardianship
Brinkburn Priory	Northumberland	1965	Gift
Lydford Town Banks	Devon	1965	Purchase
Dover Castle	Kent	1965	Transfer
Aydon Castle	Northumberland	1966	Purchase
Prudhoe Castle	Northumberland	1966	Guardianship
Reculver Towers and Roman Fort	Kent	1966	Guardianship
Fountains Abbey	North Yorkshire	1966	Guardianship
Camber Castle	East Sussex	1967	Guardianship
Bluebottle Grove	Essex	1967	Purchase
Winchester Palace	London	1967	Gift
Okehampton Castle	Devon	1967	Purchase
Lexden Straight Road	Essex	1968	Transfer
Lydford Town Banks	Devon	1968	Purchase
Silchester Roman City	Hampshire	1968	Guardianship
Dover Western Heights	Kent	1968	Transfer

Gloucester Greyfriars	Gloucestershire	1969	Gift
Gainsborough Old Hall	Lincolnshire	1969	Gift
Tynemouth Castle & Priory	Tyne & Wear	1969	Transfer
Baguley Hall	DCMS	1969	Gift
Warton Old Rectory	Lancashire	1969	Guardianship
Southwick Priory	Hampshire	1970	Transfer
HW: Black Carts Turret	Northumberland	1970	Guardianship
Portsmouth, Royal Garrison Church	Hampshire	1970	Transfer
Dartmouth Castle	Devon	1970	Guardianship
Castle Acre Castle	Norfolk	1970	Guardianship

APPENDIX 2: Monuments not added to the collection c.1952-1970

This list is likely to be incomplete, but gives some idea of the number of cases that were being rejected or deferred, or where negotiations were abandoned without a definite conclusion. The starting point for the list is a document in National Archives file WORK 14/2919 entitled 'Offers of Guardianship refused since September 1952' and other known cases have been added. Out of the 77 items in this list, 33 come from that document, which appears to date from c.1955. Monuments with an asterisk beside their names were later accepted. The main reason for rejection is given where it is clear, but often an offer was turned down for a number or combination of reasons. Where a grant was given instead, that is indicated in the final column of the table.

Monument	County	Year of rejection	Reason for rejection	AM Grant offer?
Adam Bridge, Osterley Park	Middlesex	1955	No public access	
Ash Mill	Kent			
Ash Tree Mill, Acle	Norfolk			
Birkenhead Priory	Cheshire	1954		
Bishop's Palace (part) Wells	Somerset			
Black Mill, Barham Downs	Kent			
Boundary wall, Bishop's House, Farnham	Surrey			
Boundary wall, Bishop's House, Lincoln	Lincolnshire			
Bramber Castle	Sussex	1956	Financial	Y
Bridgnorth Castle	Shropshire	1959	Not guardianship class	
Bushmead Priory *	Bedfordshire	1952 1958	Not guardianship class	Y
Carrawburgh Roman Fort	Northumberland	1965	Owner's conditions	
Castle Hill, Welbourn	Lincolnshire			
Castle Howard Mausoleum	Yorkshire	1968	Financial	
Chantry Chapel, Wakefield	Yorkshire			
Charter Tower, Hemel Hempstead	Hertfordshire			
Clare Castle	Suffolk	1955		
Coalbrookdale Blast Furnace	Shropshire		Policy - industrial	
Crowland Abbey ruins	Lincolnshire	1963		
Deanery Tower, Hadleigh	Suffolk	1955	Ineligible - inhabited	
Dodington Park Chapel	Gloucestershire	1953	Beyond repair	
Drapers Mill, Silverhill, St Leonards	Sussex			
Eardisland Dovecote	Herefordshire	1953	Not guardianship class	
Fakenham Gasworks	Norfolk	1968	Not guardianship class	Y
Fifield Long Barrow	Oxfordshire	1958	Public access	

Fort Clarence	Kent			
Grace Dieu Priory	Leicestershire	1947 1959	Not guardianship class	
Great Witley parish church	Worcestershire	1954	Policy church in use	
Holy Ghost Chapel, Basingstoke	Hampshire	1949	Policy local authority responsibility	
Howden Minster *	Yorkshire	1958	Beyond repair	
Iford Mill	Somerset	1950 1952	Ineligible inhabited Not guardianship class	
Jervaulx Abbey	Yorkshire	1955 1958		
Kinwarton Dovecote	Warwickshire	1954	Financial	
Kit Hill Chimney Stack	Cornwall			
Longtown Castle*	Herefordshire	1962	Financial	
Martello Tower at Grain	Kent	1957	Not guardianship class	
Maryport Blast Furnace				
Melkridge Castle	Northumberland			
Mitford Castle	Northumberland			
Moor Hall Chapel			Beyond repair	
Moulton Packhorse Bridge*	Suffolk	1962	Not guardianship class	
Nettleton Roman Site	Wiltshire	1957		
Newminster Abbey	Northumberland			
Nunney Blind House	Somerset	1961	Not guardianship class	
Old Church near Ashley Hall	Cambridgeshire	1955	Not guardianship class	
Palladian Bridge, Prior Park	Somerset	1949	Offer withdrawn	
Pentney Priory Gateway	Norfolk			
Pound near Quarry Farm, Felliscliffe	Yorkshire	1951	Not guardianship class	
Prebends' Bridge Durham	Co Durham			
Prudhoe Castle*	Northumberland			
Ravenglass Roman Bath House	Cumbria	1953	Financial	
Redruth Pumping-engine	Cornwall		Policy industrial	
Ribchester Roman Fort	Lancashire	1951 1955	Not guardianship class	
Rose Castle (part), Carlisle	Cumbria			
Rye House, Hoddesdon	Hertfordshire			
St Benedicts church tower, Norwich	Norfolk			
St Benets, Horning	Norfolk	1955		
St Piran's Oratory	Cornwall	1960		
Sibsey Trader Mill *	Lincolnshire	1955	Policy no more mills	
Slingsby Castle	Yorkshire	1964	Financial	
Southgate, Launceston	Cornwall	1953	Policy local	

		1957 1960 1972	authority responsibility	
Stretham Pumping-engine	Cambridgeshire		Policy industrial	
Sutton Scarsdale *	Derbyshire	1957	Not guardianship class	
Tower at Branthwaite Hall	Cumbria			
Tutbury Castle	Staffordshire	1952		
Vesey Stone House	Warwickshire	1956	Ineligible - inhabited	
Walden Castle	Essex	1953 1965	Not guardianship class "	
Wall at Bishops Palace, Chichester	West Sussex			
Wall at Bishops Palace, Exeter	Devon			
Walls and old castle, The Palace, Norwich	Norfolk			
Westenhanger Castle	Kent	1955 1966	Problems of public access	
Westenhanger Great Barn	Kent	1966	Problems of public access	
Whittington Castle	Shropshire	1946 1955 1959	Negotiations lapsed Financial Financial	Y
Woodeaton Village Cross	Oxfordshire			
Woolpit Post Mill	Suffolk	1955	Policy no more mills	
Worksop Priory gatehouse	Nottinghamshire	1959	Financial	
Wortley Top Forge	South Yorkshire	1966	Policy industrial	Y

APPENDIX 3: 'List of Ancient Monuments Suitable for Guardianship'

This list was compiled by the Chief Inspector, P K Baillie Reynolds, in response to the review of guardianship that was initiated in 1956. The document is undated, but must come from c 1956-57. A copy can be found on National Archives file WORK 14/2919.

The list was annotated by Baillie Reynolds as follows:

- ** negotiations proceeding, or accepted in principle
- LA maintained by local authority
- NT maintained by National Trust

Long Barrows

Hoe Hill, Swinhope, Lincolnshire

Round Barrows

Group of barrows north of Normanton Gorse, Amesbury, Wiltshire

Seven Barrows and adjacent round barrows, Lambourn, Berkshire

Group of barrows, Oakley Down, Pentridge, Dorset

Group of barrows, Winterbourne Stoke, Wiltshire

Willy Howe, Thwing, Yorkshire

Bartlow Hills, Ashdon, Essex

Henge Monuments

Thornborough Rings, East and West Tanfield, Nosterfield & Thornborough, Yorkshire

Camps

Castle-an-Dinas, Ludgvan, Cornwall

Bewick Hill Camp, Old Bewick, Northumberland

The Trundle, Singleton, Sussex

Hod Hill, Stourpaine, Dorset

Cadbury Castle, South Cadbury, Somerset

Settlements

Ewe Close and Ewe Locks settlements, Crosby Ravensworth, Westmorland

** Mawgan Porth, Cornwall

Old medieval deserted village site (not yet selected)

Roman

Stanage Edge Roman Road, Outseats, Derbyshire

Bradwell Roman For, Essex

Roman temple etc in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire

** Silchester Roman town and walls, Hampshire

** The Roman Wall and its ancillary defences, Cumberland and Northumberland

Linear earthworks

Representative sections of Offa's Dyke and Wat's Dyke

Monasteries

LA Reading Abbey, Berkshire

Calder Abbey, Cumberland

Coggeshall Abbey, Essex

Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire

LA Lesnes Abbey, Kent

St Radegund's Abbey, Kent

Whalley Abbey, Lancashire

Little Walsingham Greyfriars, Norfolk

Hulne Priory, Northumberland

Brinkburn Priory, Northumberland

** Newminster Abbey, Northumberland

Much Wenlock Priory, Shropshire

Glastonbury Abbey, Somerset

** Leiston Abbey, Suffolk

** Waverley Abbey, Surrey

Jervaulx Abbey, Yorkshire

Bolton Priory, Yorkshire

Craswall Priory, Herefordshire

Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire

LA Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire

Chapels and churches

Godsfield Chapel, Old Alresford, Hampshire

Kirkstead Abbey Gate chapel, Lincolnshire

Knowlton Church and earthworks

Gatehouses

** Worksop Priory Gatehouse, Nottinghamshire

Wetheral Priory Gatehouse, Cumberland

Castles

- Castle Hill, Bishopton, Durham
- Pleshey Castle, Essex
- Ewyas Harold Castle, Herefordshire
- Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk
- William's Hill, Middleham, Yorkshire
- ** Beeston Castle, Cheshire
- ?LA Egremont Castle, Cumberland
- Berry Pomeroy Castle, Devon
- Corfe Castle, Dorset
- ** Sherborne Castle, Dorset
- Cooling Castle, Kent
- Camber Castle, Kent
- Saltwood Castle, Kent
- ** Mitford Castle, Northumberland
- Prudhoe Castle, Northumberland
- LA Newark Castle, Nottinghamshire
- Bridgnorth Castle, Shropshire
- Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire
- NT Bodiam Castle, Sussex
- Skipton Castle, Yorkshire
- Trematon Castle, Cornwall
- Branthwaite Hall Tower, Cumberland
- South Kyme Tower, Lincolnshire
- NT Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire
- Corbridge Vicar's Peel, Northumberland
- Thirlwall Castle, Northumberland
- Pendragon Castle, Westmorland
- Barden Tower, Yorkshire
- Harewood Castle, Yorkshire
- ** Dacre Castle, Cumberland
- Etal Castle, Northumberland
- Castle Hedingham, Essex
- LA Colchester Castle, Essex
- LA Rochester Castle, Kent
- ** Castle Rising Castle, Norfolk
- Ludlow Castle, Shropshire
- ** Orford Castle, Suffolk
- Bolton Castle, Yorkshire
- Wressell Castle, Yorkshire
- Sheriff Hutton Castle, Yorkshire
- Caister Castle, Norfolk
- Winchester Castle, Hampshire
- Oakham Castle, Rutland

- ** The Garrison, Isles of Scilly
Dover Castle, the outer fortifications and ring-forts, Kent
- LA The Queen's Sconce, Newark, Nottinghamshire
Group of Martello Towers, Folkestone, Kent
- ** Fort Clarence, Rochester, Kent

City Walls

- LA York
Great Yarmouth, Norfolk

Other secular buildings

- LA Baguley Hall, Cheshire
South Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire
- ** Leigh Barton Farm, Devon
Warton Old Rectory, Lancashire
- ** Hardwick Old Hall, Derbyshire
Stokesay Castle, Shropshire
Slingsby Castle, Yorkshire
- ** Aydon Castle, Northumberland
Boothby Pagnell Manor House, Lincolnshire

Mills

- NT Bourne Mill, Colchester, Essex
Chesterton Mill, Warwickshire
One smock mill (not selected)

Barns

- Enstone Barn, Oxfordshire
Glastonbury Barn, Somerset
Abbotsbury Barn, Dorset

Bridges

- LA Warkworth Bridge and gatehouse, Northumberland
- LA Twizel Bridge, Northumberland
- LA The Devil's Bridge, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland

APPENDIX 4: Summary of visitor numbers at sites in the care of the Ministry of Public Works and Buildings 1957-1970

	England				Great Britain
Year	Ancient Monuments	Historic Buildings	Royal Palaces	Total	Grand total
1957	1,719,800	2,072,800	782,900	4,575,500	6,157,100
1958	1,714,500	2,103,700	698,100	4,516,300	6,128,200
1959	1,877,800	2,031,900	768,300	4,678,000	6,516,100
1960	1,994,700	2,244,500	708,100	4,947,300	6,843,300
1961	2,123,200	2,303,300	736,200	5,162,700	7,228,000
1962	2,312,300	2,658,700	534,400	5,505,400	7,554,900
1963	2,366,100	2,656,200	479,700	5,502,000	7,626,200
1964	2,652,300	2,878,300	505,700	6,036,300	8,329,800
1965	2,812,500	3,220,600	544,500	6,577,600	8,907,000
1966	2,839,000	3,217,000	536,500	6,592,500	8,962,400
1967	3,220,800	3,500,700	607,200	7,328,700	10,019,400
1968	3,507,400	3,965,200	564,000	8,036,600	10,809,100
1969	3,698,400	4,454,000	629,500	8,781,900	12,117,600
1970	3,732,500	4,936,800	640,900	9,310,200	12,540,100

Note:

Historic Buildings comprises sites such as Dover Castle where some limited military use continued, Wrest Park which was occupied by the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering, and other buildings such as Lancaster House, Osborne House and the Tower of London. The majority of the visitors in this category were at the Tower of London, for example 2,025,700 out of 3,500,700 visitors in 1967.

Royal Palaces comprised Hampton Court Palace, Kew Palace and the Queen's Cottage, Kew

Sources: National Archives files WORK 60/4, WORK 60/8, WORK 14/2896.

APPENDIX 5: Science Museum and Newcomen lists of industrial monuments suitable for protection

In 1957 the Science Museum and the Newcomen Society were both asked to provide the Ministry of Works with suggestions of industrial monuments which needed and merited protection.

Science Museum

1. Stretham Engine and Scoopwheel, near Ely, Cambridgeshire
2. Cottages at Wortley Forge, near Sheffield, South Yorkshire
3. Abbeydale Works, Sheffield, South Yorkshire
4. Woodbridge Tidemill, Suffolk
5. Cornish pumping engines
6. Abraham Darby Blast Furnace, Coalbrookdale, Shropshire

Newcomen Society

1. Two Beam winding engines at Monkwearmouth Colliery nr Sunderland
2. Pumping engines at the Severn Tunnel
3. Crofton Beam Engines, Kennet and Avon Canal
4. A small gasworks, Petworth, Sussex, 1832
5. Charcoal Blast Furnace at Duddon Bridge near Barrow-in-Furness
6. Liverpool Road Station, Mancheste



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