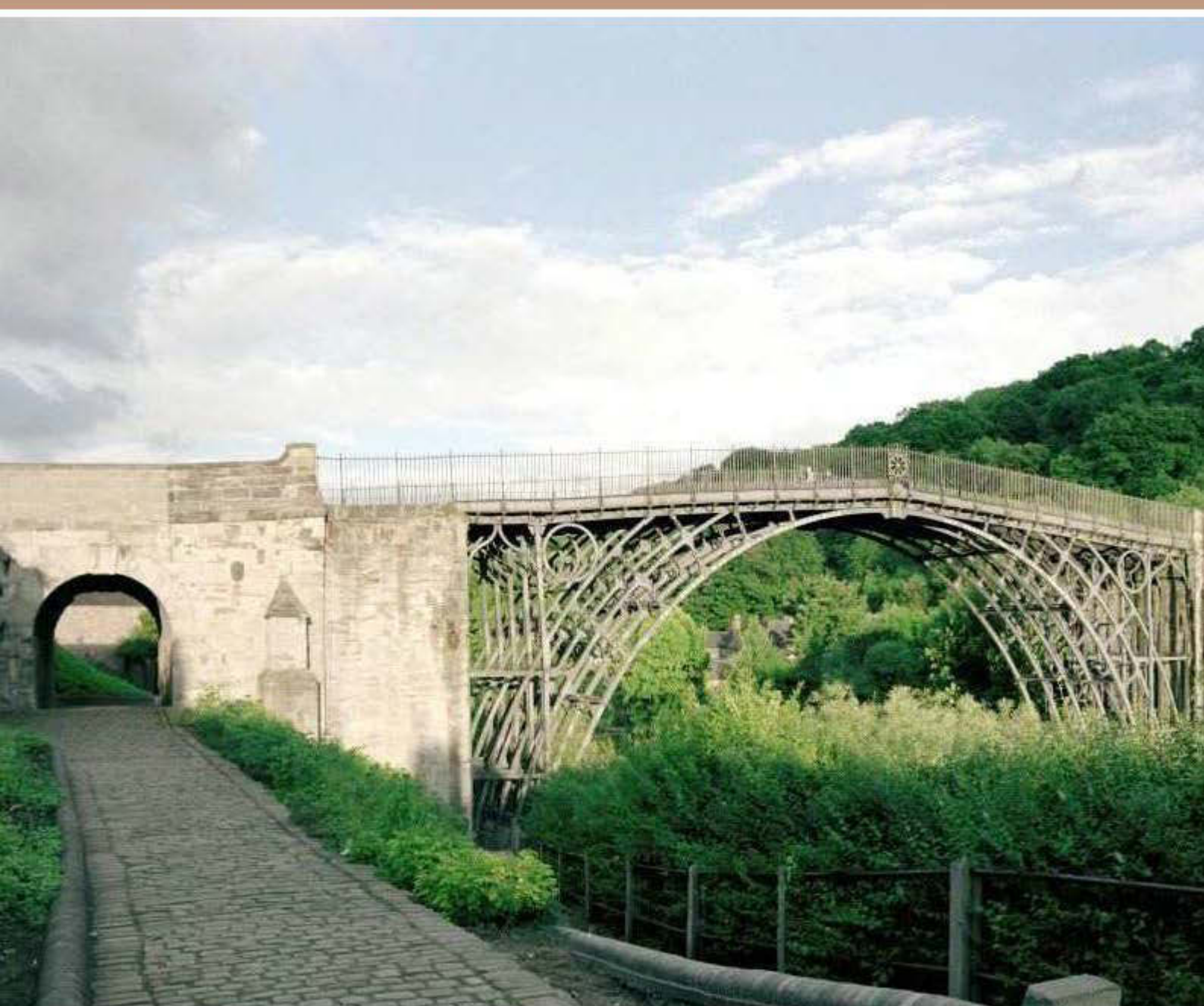


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A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME EIGHT: 1970-1983

Nick Chapple



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SUMMARY

This is Volume Eight 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 covers the history of the collection from the creation of the Department of the Environment to the transfer of responsibility to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, better known as English Heritage. The 1970s was a decade in which heritage assumed greater popularity than ever before and this was reflected in another period of rapid expansion in the national collection. By the early 1980s the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act, 1979, had changed the context in which decisions about the collection were made by offering an increased level of protection for all scheduled sites. This combined with a series of difficult and expensive cases, a shortfall in the Department's resources and a new political climate to bring the expansionary phase of the national collection's history to an end. The new Conservative administration proposed the transfer of the collection to a new agency, with the result that it was put at arm's length from government for the first time.

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Judith Dobie and Carol Ryan for help with the 1972 photograph of DAMHB staff (figure 1).

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 last in of 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 creation of the Department of the Environment to the transfer of responsibility to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, better known as English Heritage.

The 1970s was a decade in which heritage assumed an importance and a prominence in public and political affairs that it had never had before. European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975, the founding of SAVE and the Thirties Society and exhibitions at the Victoria and Albert Museum about the destruction of country houses and historic churches were all manifestations of public interest and concern. Whereas the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Office of Works had been a pioneer of preservation in the early 20th century, their successors in the Department of Environment occupied a niche in a broad and popular movement.

The decade was book-ended by official responses to that public concern: the Town and Country Planning Act 1968, which introduced a system of listed building consent and the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 which established a similar protection mechanism for scheduled monuments. The government's heritage protection activity during this period took place within the new Department of the Environment, which brought together the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works with the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. For the first time listed building and ancient monuments work was dealt with in the same government department.

The slow-down in the growth of the national collection during the 1960s was reversed in the 1970s and a greater variety of monuments than ever was collected. By the early 1980s, however, the new Ancient Monuments Act had changed the context in which decisions about the collection were made, by offering an increased level of protection for all scheduled sites. This combined with a series of difficult and expensive cases, a shortfall in the Department's resources and a new political climate to bring the expansionary phase of the national collection's history to an end. The new Conservative administration proposed the transfer of the collection to a new agency, with the result that it was put at arm's length from government for the first time.

THE NATIONAL COLLECTION IN THE 'HERITAGE DECADE'

In the new 'super-ministry' of the Department of the Environment the national collection was part of a self-contained Directorate, initially (from 1970 to 1972) the Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Special Services (DAMSS) and thereafter the Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (DAMHB, usually spoken as 'Damby'). Whereas mid-ranking civil servants – Under Secretary down to Principal – had previously been involved in ancient monuments or historic buildings as part of a wider range of responsibilities, they were now dedicated solely to those duties. Most decisions, including the acceptance of some offers of guardianship could therefore be taken within the Directorate without having to go up to the Permanent Secretary and Minister, as they had in the 1950s and 1960s.

The powerful new position of Director (equivalent to an Under Secretary in traditional civil service terminology) was held by five people between 1970 and 1983. Herbert Hobbs (1912-2002) was the Director of DAMSS from the formation of the Department of the Environment in 1970 and held the post when DAMHB was first formed. Within months he had retired and was replaced by Dr Vivian Lipman (1921-1990) who had been in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government before merger and was also a leading historian of Anglo-Jewry. He has been credited with devising the grant schemes for conservation areas and churches and also for suggesting the Euston Road site as a new home for the British Library. After retirement he became a member of the Redundant Churches Fund, the Council of the Ancient Monuments Society, and the SPAB Committee.¹

Lipman's successor in 1978 was Maurice Mendoza (1921-2000) who had joined the Office of Works in 1938 as a clerical officer and after the war served in various government departments including, from 1963 to 1970, the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works. The idea of transferring DAMHB's functions to an agency, which led to the creation of English Heritage, has been credited to Mendoza. When he retired in 1981, Peter Rumble (born 1929) took over. He had joined the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in 1963 and risen through the ranks of the Ministry and then the Department of the Environment. In November 1983 he became Chief Executive of English Heritage, with responsibility for getting the new body up-and-running. His post as Director of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings was taken over by Timothy Hornsby (born 1940), a civil service 'high-flyer' with experience in the Department of the Environment and the Treasury. He remained in post until 1988, but probably his most significant action in this period was to sign the designation orders for the five Areas of Archaeological Importance (see below, Making a Collection: Policy).

The post of Chief Inspector, first created for Charles Peers in 1913, survived in the new structure and as a result of the merger gained added responsibility for listed buildings. (The nomenclature changed to reflect this, so that it was now known as the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (CIAMHB).) Arnold Taylor (1911-

2002), Chief Inspector since 1961, guided the Inspectorate through the merger of ministries and the ensuing reorganisation within the Department of the Environment. Having also overseen the relocation of his old department to its new home in Savile Row in the summer of 1972, he retired at the end of that year (fig 1).

Taylor was succeeded by Andrew Saunders (1931-2009), who represented the long continuity of the Inspectorate, having been recruited originally in 1954 by the then Chief Inspector, Bryan O'Neil. Saunders was a protégé of O'Neil, joining him and his wife Helen on digs in Gloucestershire and on the Isles of Scilly.³ O'Neil had pioneered the study of early artillery forts in this country, and he encouraged Saunders to follow in his footsteps. While still an Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments he produced a ground-breaking report on later military fortifications, which led to some important additions to the national collection (see Volume Seven). Saunders was given the task of merging the historic buildings Investigators and the ancient monuments Inspectors into a unified professional body. According to his obituary in the *Independent*, 'he was very successful in this sensitive task, primarily because both sets of professionals soon realised that Saunders had no personal axe to grind and that his sole aim was to make the new Inspectorate an efficient and streamlined unit.'⁴



Fig 1: DAMHB staff on roof of Fortress House, London, December 1972. The newly formed Directorate was gathered together to mark the retirement of the Arnold Taylor, who is standing

*at the front of the picture. His successor, Andrew Saunders, stands in the front row behind Taylor's right shoulder.*² Reproduced by permission of English Heritage/Judith Dobie

While the Director and Chief Inspector had responsibility for both ancient monuments and historic buildings, the traditional divisions were perpetuated at the levels below, on both administrative and professional sides. (It was only in April 1991 that English Heritage created multidisciplinary teams operating in defined geographical areas.) Administration was still divided into Urban Conservation and Historic Buildings (UCHB) which dealt with historic buildings and areas work and the Ancient Monuments Secretariat (AMS). On the professional side, there were still two distinct groups: the Inspectors of ancient monuments (the Inspectorate) and the historic buildings Investigators.

Detailed negotiations were carried out between Arnold Taylor and Anthony Dale (Chief Investigator) to decide where to draw the line between monuments and historic buildings for the purposes of future work. A memorandum of 1 May 1972 records the curious results.⁵ For instance, walls would be listed, unless they were part of any kind of fortification; Martello towers would be scheduled unless they had been converted to domestic use; barns which were deserving of preservation in their own right would be scheduled, but if their interest was based on their scenic or group value they would be listed buildings, other farm buildings would be listed; bridges would be ancient monuments unless they were part of an ornamental landscape design; ornamental garden buildings would be treated in the same way as the house to which they related – if the house was ruined and hence scheduled, the garden buildings would be scheduled; if on the other hand it was complete and occupied, both the house and its ancillary structures would be listed.

When DAMHB was set up there was still a strong belief in the role of the national collection in protecting heritage. Writing in 1974, Andrew Saunders stated that 'the most effective way' of preserving monuments and sites was for the Secretary of State to take direct care of them. Grant aid to the owner of the monument was definitely the second-best option.⁶ A total of 88 monuments were added to the collection from 1970 to 1983 (for a full list see Appendix 1). As in earlier times there were many others that were offered or sought but did not eventually come into the collection (see Appendix 2). During the Seventies monuments were being collected at a rate of nearly 8 per annum, a significant increase on the previous decade. The peak year was 1975 in which 13 monuments were added. The 1980s, however, saw a dramatic change in the approach to guardianship as government spending was cut back and only 10 monuments were taken into the Department's care in four years. Nevertheless it was still the case in 1983 that the collection had grown in every single year since 1945.

A number of long-running cases were brought to a conclusion in this period. **Bramber Castle** had been offered to the Ministry of Works by the National Trust as soon as it

bought the property in 1945. It was rejected on financial grounds at that time and again in 1956. Repairs were carried out with grant-aid in 1965 but in 1971 the question of guardianship was re-opened. Arnold Taylor was 'not prepared to recommend any further grants towards bits and pieces of work' and recommended negotiating for transfer of the whole castle as a matter of urgency.⁷ The monument had by ancient monument standards been neglected in the National Trust's ownership, as reported by Roy Gilyard-Beer: 'if Bramber continues to be treated as a picturesque object it will represent a rapidly depreciating asset as an antiquity.'⁸ The weight of professional advice was in favour of acceptance and in October 1975 the monument came into guardianship. Other monuments to enter the collection in this period, which had first been offered decades earlier, include **Bushmead Priory** (first offered in 1952), **Piel Castle** (1945), **Chisbury Chapel** (1938) and **Edlingham Castle** (1932).

DAMHB inherited a collection of over 300 monuments of various kinds, so it was better placed than its predecessors to spot gaps and to take opportunities to fill them. One such 'opportunity purchase' was that of **Bowhill** in Exeter (fig 2), considered one of the finest examples of a medieval manor house in the West Country. It was engulfed in suburban development in the 20th century and when it came onto the market in 1976 the house had been in use as a restaurant for several years.



Fig 2: Bowhill, Dunsfold Road, Exeter in 1969, when it was in use as a restaurant. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Bowhill had suffered in its recent use and 'the fabric was...in serious decline, the roof structures were in poor condition and the house had no safe, demonstrable future in private hands.'⁹ The Department saw the opportunity to fill a gap in their collection by acquiring a high status medieval house in the West Country. (Consideration had been given to acquiring a yeoman's longhouse called **Sanders** in Lettaford, Devon, but instead it was taken over by the Landmark Trust and repaired 1975-77). There was enough evidence to allow for considerable reconstruction of Bowhill to its earlier state, so the Department bought it and embarked on an exhaustive programme of restoration. Preliminary excavations took place in 1977-78 and the interior was stripped in 1978-79 to allow the fabric to be examined in great detail. Repair work began in 1979, carried out by the Department's directly employed labour force. The intention had been to display the restored house to the public, with a custodian, but in 1987 English Heritage decided instead to complete the repairs and lease out the building.

The power to purchase monuments was rarely used but (in the case of Bowhill, and also at **Stott Park Bobbin Mill** and **Battle Abbey** amongst others) it gave the Secretary of State the ability to take over a monuments for strategic purposes rather than as a response to individual circumstances of a particular site. Nevertheless, offers of guardianship were occasionally made which enabled gaps in the collection to be filled. Such offers were gratefully accepted, as in the case of **Clifton Hall**, which was accepted in 1970 because it was a good example of a later medieval pele tower, or **Halliggye Fougou**, which was accepted for guardianship in 1979 because it was considered a finer example of its type than either of the two already in the collection at **Cam Euny** and **Chysauster**.

The transfer of redundant but historically significant parts of the military estate, which had begun in 1959, continued up to 1983. **Landguard Fort** was one of the fortifications which had been affected by the disbandment of the coastal artillery branch of the Army in 1956. It had continued in use for training into the 1960s but was transferred to the Department in 1975. **Fort Cumberland** had been identified in 1962 as a suitable guardianship monument but at the time it was still in Admiralty ownership and in use for training by the Royal Marines. It took until 1975 for it to come into the freehold ownership of the Department. Perhaps the most important military site to come into the care of the Department in this period was the Berwick Barracks and Main Guard. The barracks have an important place in military architecture in England being the earliest surviving purpose-built barracks, first occupied in 1721. Vanbrugh's name had been associated with the design, but it is now attributed to Hawksmoor. The barracks had long been recognised as being of guardianship quality and in 1969 the Ministry was informed that the Army wished to pull out of administrative control of the premises. The military retained use of parts of the barracks, which was welcomed by the Department as a way of retaining a military atmosphere. The transfer was approved with the intention that part of the barracks should be used as a Borders museum or exhibition gallery.

Field Monuments

The most numerous category of monument taken over in this period was that of field monuments. Barrows, fougous, earthworks and deserted settlements all entered the collection while it was under the stewardship of the Department of the Environment. The acceptance into guardianship of three deserted medieval villages was the culmination of years of work by the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group (DMVRG) and the result of a policy decision taken in 1965.



Fig 3: Gainsthorpe deserted medieval village, Lincolnshire. © English Heritage

By 1969 Inspectors had produced reports on the candidates for guardianship put forward by the DMVRG, after which negotiation with the owners could begin. **Hound Tor** and **Wharham Percy** came into guardianship in 1972 and **Gainsthorpe** in 1974. Of all the attempts to deal with a particular class of monument in a concentrated effort, this was probably the most successful in the history of the national collection.

Other such monuments came into the collection in a more opportunistic way, as a result of rescue excavations. In the late 1960s it was proposed that the Comish valley in which the unscheduled remains of **Penhallam Manor** were located should be afforested. Guy Beresford was commissioned to carry out an excavation and record the remains prior to destruction. The excavation revealed the importance of the site, and by the time it was completed in 1973 the owners had changed their plans and decided not to plant trees on it. Their offer of guardianship was accepted, but work on the deed was suspended in

1979 after the Ancient Monuments Board questioned the decision. The Board visited the monument on their summer tour and were alarmed by the rapid growth of vegetation on it. Members of the Board also doubted that it was of guardianship quality or would attract many visitors given its location. They were subsequently convinced by DAMHB that the site was important and the only surviving example of a complete manorial lay-out of the 13th century unaltered by later development. The Department's Deputy Secretary, Thomas Shearer had also expressed doubts but, although he remained of the opinion that it was a mistake, he accepted that it was too late to reverse the decision.

Another example of rescue excavation leading to guardianship is **Piercebridge Roman Bridge** in North Yorkshire. In July 1972, during excavations by Durham University in advance of gravel extraction in the area, the remains of the bridge were uncovered (fig 4). Arnold Taylor called it 'a discovery of the first importance' and a potential candidate for guardianship. 'If there is any question of the remains being in unsympathetic ownership there is ipso facto a case for immediate scheduling or I.P.N.' Happily the firm undertaking the gravel extraction was amenable to preservation of the remains and the farmer who owned the land, although not prepared to spend any money on the monument, agreed to make the Secretary of State guardian in 1973.



*Fig 4: Piercebridge Roman Bridge, North Yorkshire, during the rescue excavations in 1972.
Reproduced by permission of English Heritage*

An innovation in this period was the arrangement to take a large area of open country into guardianship in order to preserve a group of ancient monuments in their natural setting. The case of the **Upper Plym Valley** on Dartmoor spans the whole of this period. In 1970 the Department proposed to define an extensive area of the Upper Plym Valley for permanent preservation. The area of six square miles, in due course defined, contained 46 known monuments and was thought to contain many more as yet undiscovered.¹⁰ Most of the monuments belonged either to the Bronze Age or the middle ages and included settlements, enclosures, funerary monuments, boundary markers and pillow mounds (rabbit warrens). It was felt in the Inspectorate and the Ancient Monuments Board that these monuments needed to be preserved in their natural setting so that they could be properly understood and appreciated. Upper Plym Valley presented a rare opportunity to do this since it was unaffected by the forestry, ploughing and development of land which affected monuments in most of the country except for a few upland areas in the south west and the north.

Consideration was given to the various possible ways of achieving the aim of preservation. Part I of the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act contained powers for the making of Preservation Schemes in order to preserve the amenities of an ancient monument or monuments. Famously this power was used to protect an area of Hadrian's Wall which was threatened by quarrying, but it had not been used again. A Preservation Scheme was seen as the last resort, however, due to the compensation which it could entail. The powers of the Countryside Commission were also investigated and planning legislation scrutinised to see if they could offer the required protection. The Department's conclusion was that only guardianship could cover all the foreseeable contingencies.

The DoE solicitor was consulted to find out whether the Ancient Monuments Acts permitted them to take such a large area into their care. He was of the opinion that s.15 (1) of the 1931 Act would suffice since in relation to guardianship. It stated that

'...the expression "ancient monument" shall include any land comprising or adjacent to an ancient monument as hereinbefore defined which...is reasonably required for the purpose of maintaining the monument or the amenities thereof, or for providing or facilitating access thereto, or for the exercise of proper control or management with respect thereto.'¹¹

The Department was unable to act until the result of a public inquiry into the working of china clay deposits in the area was known. Once they had seen the Inspector's report (in April 1972) and knew what land was affected, DAMHB was in a position to start negotiations with the three owners concerned: the National Trust, the Maristow Estate and English Clays. Maristow Estate later withdrew from negotiations and the deed with English Clays was never completed, but a deed of guardianship with the National Trust was completed in 1978.

Redundant Churches

The Bridges Report of 1960 (see Volume Seven) had recommended the transfer of redundant churches of exceptional interest to the Ministry of Works, while the Redundant Churches Fund (RCF) looked after churches which were, by implication, of less than exceptional interest but nevertheless worthy of preservation as monuments. Fulfilment of this recommendation was then made legally possible by the Pastoral Measure of 1968. Taking over a limited number of closed churches was seen as part of the government's contribution to a solution for the problem of redundant churches, so there was some pressure on the Department to accept them when they were offered. Several redundant parish churches were put forward for the national collection in the 1970s on the recommendation of the statutory Advisory Board on Redundant Churches (of which the former Chief Inspector A J Taylor was a member from 1973 to 1982 and Chairman 1975-77). Four were accepted and came into the collection before the Department withdrew unilaterally from the arrangement in 1981.

The first church to be taken into the Department's care under the Pastoral Measure was **St Mary, Studley Royal** in Yorkshire. Built for the Marquis of Ripon in 1871-78, it was one of the most lavish examples of High Victorian gothic in England (fig 5). As an estate church St Mary's was dependent on the support of the family so once the estate was sold by Henry Vyner to the West Riding County Council in 1966, it was vulnerable to closure. The Inspectorate had been made aware of the church even before the Pastoral Measure became law. On 23 May 1967 Jane Fawcett, Secretary of the Victorian Society, wrote to Arnold Taylor to express the society's concern over the future of the church. It was, she wrote 'in a state of dilapidation with the gutters blocked, pools of water on the floor of the nave, and an air of decay.'¹² Since it was disused and the diocese was keen to get rid of it, a repair grant from the Historic Churches Preservation Trust (which only grant aided churches in use) would not have been possible and the Victorian Society was suggesting that the Ministry take it over and run it in conjunction with Fountains Abbey which had recently been taken into guardianship. A week later Professor Nikolaus Pevsner wrote to Maurice Craig (Inspector of Ancient Monuments) about the church, not only as Chairman of the Victorian Society but also as 'a worried citizen with architectural interests.' He told Craig that 'of all the Victorian churches I have seen on my journeys for the Buildings of England, Studley Royal by Burges is one of the most worthwhile.' He repeated the suggestion that the Ministry should take it over, noting that 'this is the first time, I think, that I have made such a suggestion, but I do it with great conviction.'¹³ (The following year he would also press the Ministry to take over Sutton Scarsdale.)

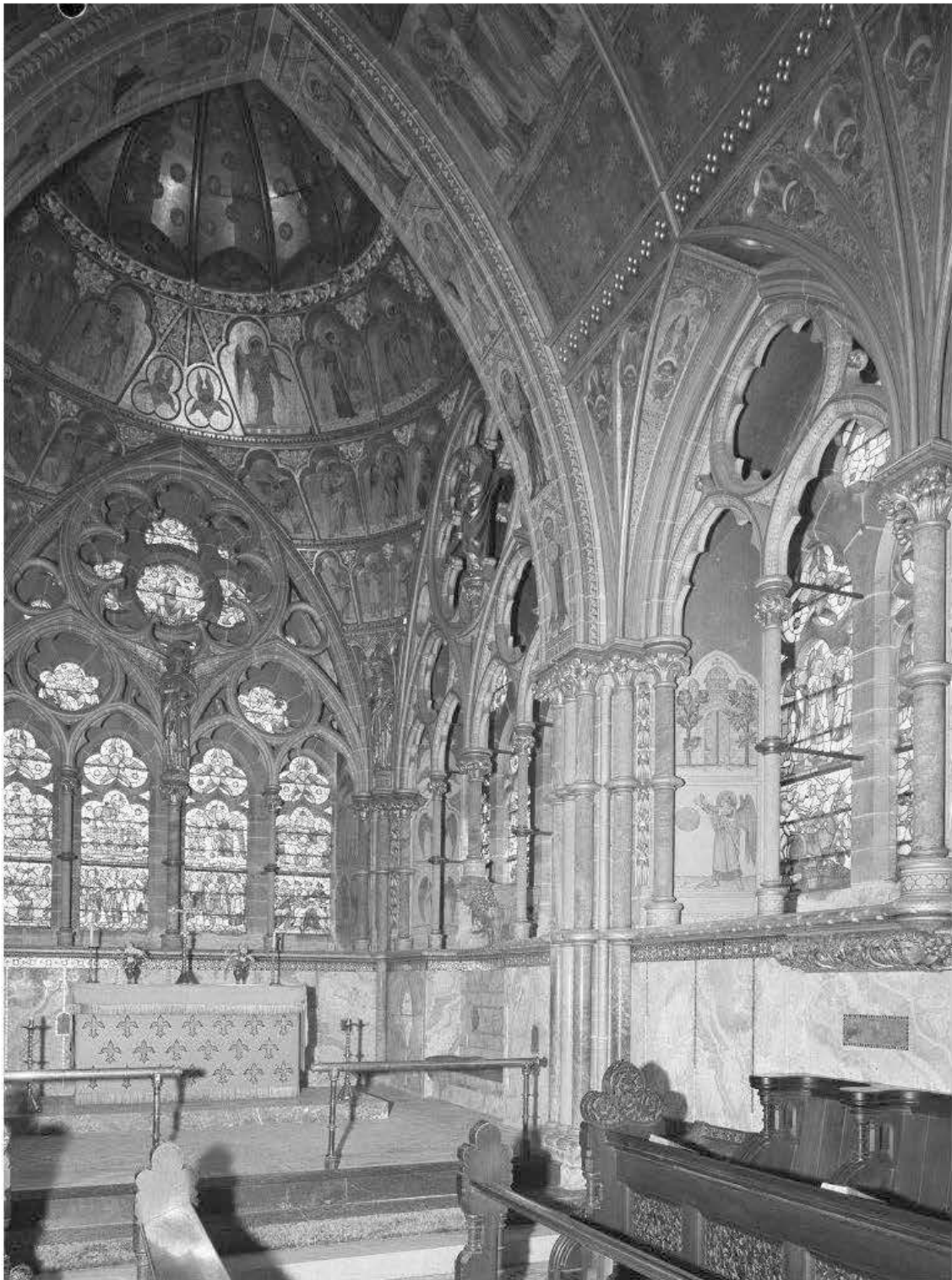


Fig 5: St Mary's Studley Royal, North Yorkshire: 'one of the most worthwhile' Victorian churches according to Pevsner. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

It was hardly surprising that Pevsner, a champion of modernism before the Second World War and later of Victorian architecture, should have had little to do with the ancient monuments side of the Ministry's work (although he was a member of the Historic

Buildings Council 1966-79), but the fact that his suggestion was taken seriously shows how much attitudes had changed to Victorian buildings, even within the Inspectorate. Taylor's reply to Jane Fawcett stated his belief that it was 'a Victorian church of very great interest and that on architectural grounds it would have a strong claim to permanent preservation.'¹⁴

The fact that it was the first time Pevsner had felt moved to recommend it for guardianship was, he told a colleague 'something we should not fail to take note of.'¹⁵

Further support for the building came from another architectural historian, Howard Colvin:

'As you know, I am by no means an indiscriminate enthusiast for the preservation of Victorian buildings, but Studley Royal Church does seem to me to be a building of outstanding merit and of the greatest interest in the history of English architecture... [Fountains Abbey] and the church represent two of the high water-marks of Gothic architecture in England, and would together form a monument of the greatest educational and historical value. Whatever difficulties there may be, I hope that the Ministry will be able to accept responsibility for this very important building.'¹⁶

Nothing more was done while waiting for the Pastoral Measure to come into force (which it did on 1 April 1969) and for any possible redundancy process to be initiated. In 1970 the Ministry heard that the County Council had been offered the church, but were insisting on an endowment. The church was declared redundant on 22 December 1970 and in November 1971, negotiations with the County Council seemingly having broken down, Desmond Ward of the Church Commissioners wrote to Vivian Lipman to ask if the Department would be willing to enter into an agreement under section 66 (1) of the Pastoral Measure. Nearly a year later, after deliberation over the correct legal procedure, the Department accepted the Church Commissioners' offer. There was some nervousness about taking on the building, but its exceptional architectural merit and its connection with the Department's existing holdings at Fountains Abbey were enough to ensure that it could be defended as a special case, in the event of future offers of parish churches being made. The deed of gift for St Mary's was made on 3 January 1975 and conservation work on the interior was completed in 1979.

At the same time that St Mary's Studley Royal was under consideration, the church of **St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber** in Lincolnshire was also on offer to the Department (fig 6). St Peter's was one of two large churches in the Lincolnshire town and the upkeep of both buildings in a relatively small parish had been a problem for many years.¹⁷ The Department was contacted by the Church Commissioners on 28 March 1972 to explain that a proposal for redundancy had been received and that the Advisory Board on Redundant Churches had recommended that the church was more suitable for transfer to the Department than vesting in the RCF. The recommendation was made on the

grounds that the Department would be able to investigate the Saxon foundations of the building as well as ensuring its permanent preservation to the highest standards.

John Bowles, Secretary of the Redundant Churches Fund, wrote to Desmond Ward that the members of the Fund were convinced of the suitability of the church for transfer to the Department. They considered it highly desirable to excavate the Anglo-Saxon foundations of the church and this would be difficult to co-ordinate with the necessary repair work if different bodies were carrying out the two operations. It was also thought that a building of international importance would attract more visitors than an average RCF church and would need a proper custodian rather than the volunteers on whom the Redundant Churches Fund would normally rely for custody of a church.

Arnold Taylor had no hesitation in 'recommending, indeed urging, that Barton-on-Humber St Peter should be taken into the Department's charge.' He described it as having 'outstanding archaeological and architectural importance.' As a matter of policy it should, he felt, 'be axiomatic that the first alternative to existing parochial use should be transfer to the Department for preservation and maintenance as a roofed building on the same principles and under the same Inspectorate/AM controls as apply to ordinary guardianship monuments.'¹⁸



Fig 6: The west end and tower of St Peter's, Barton upon Humber, July 1976. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

He continued: '...pre-Conquest buildings are relatively few in number but are of the highest historic and archaeological interest. They qualify ipso facto as a first obligation on any state involvement in the permanent preservation of redundant churches'¹⁹ and indeed transfer to the Department should be the preferred option ahead of alternative use, such as worship by another denomination. There was a short delay in finalising transfer of the church, while the deed was completed for Studley Royal, which was acting as a pilot for the churches following it, but the deed of gift was eventually completed on the last day of 1976.

The third in the trio of outstanding churches taken into the care of the Department of the Environment in the 1970s was **St Mary, Kempley**. In August 1974 Andrew Saunders received an appeal from the Revd Canon J E Gethyn-Jones to take over the church. St Mary's was one of two churches in the parish – the other being St Edward's, the well-known Arts and Crafts church of 1903-04 by Randall Wells – and the upkeep of both buildings was a strain for a community of about 250 people. The importance of the church was beyond doubt. It was a little altered and typical early 12th-century church with contemporary wall paintings of the highest quality. While repairs were needed (to the nave roof) the essential problem was not of one-off repair but of continued care and maintenance, so taking over the church was a more suitable solution than a grant. Peter White (Inspector of Ancient Monuments) and Andrew Saunders recommended acceptance of any offer and approval was given by Ron Ditchfield (who many years earlier had served as one of two secretaries to the Bridges Commission). The deed of gift was made in February 1979.

Several other churches were offered to the Department under section 66 of the Pastoral Measure but the only one accepted was the ruined **Edvin Loach Old Church** in Herefordshire, in 1980. Meanwhile, one of the rejected churches became a celebrated conservation case of its time. **All Souls, Haley Hill** in Halifax was built in 1859 to the designs of George Gilbert Scott, who described it as 'on the whole, my best church'.²⁰ SAVE Britain's Heritage called it 'perhaps the best Victorian church in the North of England'.²¹

The church was closed on the grounds that it was dangerous and the estimated cost of repair was not far short of half a million pounds. In 1978 the Historic Buildings Council turned down an application for grant because although they thought the church 'outstanding' it did not in their view justify the enormous grant which was needed (somewhere in the region of £250,000 at the standard rate of 50 per cent). The Advisory Board decided that it could not recommend vesting the church in the Redundant Churches Fund because of the very high cost of repairs and therefore advised the Church Commissioners to offer it to the DoE. This decision had the support of the SPAB, the Ancient Monuments Society, SAVE, the Friends of Friendless Churches and the diocese of Wakefield. The Department had already shown its willingness to accept Victorian churches into the national collection by taking on St Mary's Studley Royal and a work by

the most prominent church architect of the 19th century might have been thought essential for the national collection.

Richard Gem (IAMHB) inspected the church for the Department in November 1979 and found a very badly-decayed structure (fig 7). 'The truth of the matter is' he wrote, 'that a large part of the original Scott fabric is past saving. The spire is dangerous and will have to be taken down. Much of the external detail is lying in piles of dust on the ground, and the interior is starting to go the same way.'



Fig 7: The west front of All Souls, Haley Hill showing the decay of the stonework. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

The extent of replacement and restoration that would in Gem's view have been necessary made it incompatible with vesting in the DoE, even assuming the Department could afford to do the work. This argument was very similar to the one deployed earlier in the case of **Howden Minster** (see Volume Seven) and subsequently in the case of **Wroxeter Old Church**. Gem also thought it slightly inferior to Scott's St George's Doncaster (a view shared by John Brandon-Jones, chairman of the Historic Buildings Council's churches committee). Andrew Saunders supported Gem's position and despite his belief that refusal meant the inevitable demolition of the building, and probably a storm of protest, the offer was refused.

After the church had been rejected by the Department, SAVE rose to the challenge of rescuing it. Ken Powell recalls it as 'a cause we were determined not to lose.'²² A trust was formed to raise funds and undertake the repairs. A repair strategy for the supposedly doomed building was devised by architect Donald Buttress and engineers from Arup, and a substantial grant was offered by the new National Heritage Memorial Fund. All Souls was eventually repaired and then vested in the Redundant Churches Fund in 1989.

The Redundant Churches Fund (renamed the Churches Conservation Trust in 1994) grew over the years into a strong guardian of former parish churches, but for the buildings of denominations and faiths other than the Church of England there was no equivalent body. In December 1970 there were an estimated 700 nonconformist chapels and meeting houses of the 17th and 18th centuries still existing. Some survived in a much altered or damaged state. Of those still in use, a large number had been refitted, particularly in the late 19th century, although in rural areas earlier fittings were more likely to survive. A very large number of chapels were facing closure and demolition. At that time only one was preserved as a monument, the Baptist meeting house at Loughwood in Devon, which had been taken over by the National Trust. The expert on this building type was Christopher Stell of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments, who described his work as 'collecting' meeting houses.

In a note on preservation of chapels and meeting houses written in December 1970, Stell recommended **Goodshaw Chapel** in Lancashire as particularly worthy of guardianship. Although relatively late (1760) it retained a nearly complete set of fittings, box pews, galleries and pulpit with canopy (fig 8). The chapel had survived in this state because another chapel was built in the locality in the mid-19th-century, leaving the old building to be used for occasional services only (the same phenomenon that caused the redundancy of many Anglican churches). Stell considered it one of the best preserved chapels in the country and particularly in the county of Lancashire.



Fig 8: Goodshaw Chapel, Lancashire, showing the unusually complete set of Georgian box pews and galleries. © English Heritage

It was not normal practice to solicit offers of guardianship, so the Department had to wait until 1973 for the Minister, Rev David Woolley to propose that the government take it over. He described it as 'the oldest standing Nonconformist chapel in the North of England' and stated that the small congregation was unable to fund the upkeep of the chapel. O J Weaver of the Inspectorate visited and found an almost untouched building, but one in poor condition. Andrew Saunders was confident in Christopher Stell's assessment of importance and the chapel was put in the Department's care by a deed of gift in 1976. Later in the decade serious consideration was given to taking over **Ringwood Unitarian Chapel** in Hampshire and the **Unitarian Chapel, Bury St Edmunds**, in Suffolk but neither ended up in the national collection.

Ruined Houses

Three major cases at the beginning of the 1970s concerned 'historic buildings' which, through accident or neglect had deteriorated into ruins, that is 'ancient monuments'. The troubles of two – **Sutton Scarsdale Hall** and **Witley Court** – belonged to an earlier age, having been ruined in 1919 and 1937 respectively. The third – **The Grange** – was a victim of more recent neglect.

The early 18th-century mansion at **Sutton Scarsdale** was put up for sale in 1919, but no buyer could be found. The house was stripped of its valuable materials and the interiors were dismantled and sold off (some of them finding their way to the USA). Sacheverell Sitwell, who grew up at nearby Renishaw, bemoaned an 'extraordinary instance of what has been allowed to happen under our eyes, by way of destruction of our national heritage of works of art, with no redress and no means of prevention.'²³ The ruins of the house were abandoned and in 1946 Sitwell's brother Osbert bought them, having heard of a threat to dismantle the walls. (Sir Osbert later quoted his solicitor as saying 'your family has done many mad things, but this is the maddest thing that any of them have done'.²⁴) The ruins had been considered for guardianship in 1956-57, when the Chief Inspector, Baillie Reynolds had decided that they were not quite 'first class' and having been ruined for many years would probably not deteriorate rapidly in the future. The shades of Appuldurcombe (see Volumes Six and Seven) haunted the decision.

Ten years later the case was resurrected by a group of architectural historians, some of whom were members of the Historic Buildings Council. On 9 January 1968 a letter was received at the Ministry, urging the Minister to take over the ruins of this very important building, 'the finest house of its type and date in the Midlands'.²⁵ The letter was signed by Howard Colvin, John Summerson, Nikolaus Pevsner, Christopher Hussey, John Brandon-Jones, James Lees-Milne and the Earl of Euston. Shortly afterwards Pevsner followed this with a letter of his own to Arnold Taylor stressing the architectural and picturesque quality of the building. Later in 1968 the Historic Buildings Council was asked to help with emergency repairs to the south west corner which was in danger of collapse. It decided that the building was outside its remit since it was in ruins, although it was worthy, in the Council's view, of guardianship.

Arnold Taylor decided in November 1968 that 'Sutton Scarsdale is too important to let go, and this being so we shall have to expect to bear the major part in saving it'.²⁶ Discussions were held with the County Council to see if it could provide any assistance. Meanwhile, in June 1969, an exasperated Resesby Sitwell, who had by then inherited the ruins from his uncle Osbert, wrote to Taylor 'For TWELVE YEARS first my late uncle and then I have tried to beg, badger, encourage and cajole first one Ministry or public body after another – to no avail'.²⁷ He was further irritated that large sums were being spent on the keep at nearby Bolsover Castle, when in his view Sutton Scarsdale was 'a far finer building in much greater need.'



*Fig 9: Sutton Scarsdale Hall in May 1972, after the Department had begun its repair programme.
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Derbyshire County Council offered to make a contribution of £1,000 per annum for five years towards the repair of the house, which was enough to tip the balance, and in May 1970 the Ministry decided it was willing to take Sutton Scarsdale into its care.

Unfortunately Sitwell heard about the decision via a press release from the Derbyshire County Council, which triggered off another angry letter. 'I may only be a private individual' he wrote ' - and a class enemy at that - but nevertheless I do object strongly to this cavalier treatment.'²⁸ Such was his annoyance that he threatened to call in the bulldozers. Having been pacified by receiving the letter containing the Ministry's decision, which had crossed with his own, Sitwell decided to make a gift of the ruins rather than offer guardianship. The formalities were swiftly concluded and the deed of gift was completed on 1 April 1971.

On 7 September 1937 fire gutted large parts of **Witley Court**, Worcestershire prompting the owner Sir Herbert Smith to sell up. The house and gardens proved impossible to sell at auction and were acquired subsequently by a demolition contractor, while the estate was sold separately for farming. In 1954 Witley Court was bought by John Wigington, an antique dealer from Stratford-upon-Avon, who used it as a base for selling statuary and stonework, including items stripped from the house and gardens. He also charged a two shilling admission fee for the grounds. The ruins by this time were in very poor condition so it was agreed by Worcestershire County Council and the Ministry that the County

Council would seek to buy the house and gardens and give them to the Ministry by way of gift or guardianship. This plan hinged on the owner being prepared to sell for a reasonable figure. In the meantime the house and grounds were scheduled.

Negotiations proved fruitless and when it became clear that purchase by agreement was not going to be possible, the compulsory powers in the 1953 Act were put into effect by the Ministry, with the aim of safeguarding the main architectural components of the ruins and the garden, and protecting the setting of Great Witley parish church. An Interim Preservation Notice was made on 16 October 1972, followed by the Guardianship Order and, in 18 January 1973, the Preservation Order which was needed to make guardianship permanent. Mr Wigington then attempted to negotiate a 999 year lease to the Department in place of guardianship. The Treasury agreed to this, but when Wigington ran into financial difficulties and needed to raise money quickly he settled for the compensation he was due as a result of the Preservation Order, a sum of £100,000 plus interest of £31,849.33.

In 1970 the cases of Sutton Scarsdale and Witley Court were considered together with a third abandoned house, The Grange, Northington in Hampshire. An aggregate cost of £200,000 was put on their preservation, so some effort at prioritisation was considered necessary. It was decided that the Ministry could just about afford to take over Sutton Scarsdale and Witley Court, but not the Grange. Events intervened to disrupt this plan and in due course the Grange would also be taken into the national collection.

The Grange, also known as Grange Park or Northington Grange, was one of the most important neo-Classical private houses not just in England, but in Europe.²⁹ It was first offered to the government in 1936 by an American industrialist called Lewis Wallach who had bought it two years previously. The offer was brushed off by Dr Raby of the Office of Works: '...since The Grange belongs to a type of building which is hardly within the intentions expressed by Parliament in the Ancient Monuments Acts, the Commissioners regret that they have no alternative but to decline your...generous offer.'³⁰

The Office of Works believed it was a case for the National Trust, but the Trust was unsuccessful in trying to persuade Wallach to join its Country House Scheme and during the war the house was in use by the Army. Wallach retained living quarters in the bachelors' wing of the house for his occasional visits from the USA until his 92nd year, while the house slowly decayed.

When Wallach died the house and estate were bought by the Hon John Baring, whose family had sold it to the American in the 1930s. In 1969 Baring applied to Hampshire County Council for permission to demolish the dilapidated house, under the newly introduced system of listed building consent. Representations were made against the proposal by the Royal Fine Art Commission, the Ancient Monuments Society, the Georgian Group and the Victorian Society. It was at this point that it was considered for

guardianship alongside Sutton Scarsdale and Witley Court and the decision was made that the Ministry could not afford to take it over.

The Ministry of Housing and Local Government had the power to 'call-in' important applications, but chose not to in the case of the Grange, having been advised by the Historic Buildings Council that in view of the size and condition of the house demolition should not be opposed. The County Council granted listed building consent for demolition in June 1970. Two years later a pre-demolition auction was held to dispose of the house's fittings: staircase, doors, fireplaces and marble cladding. When the start of demolition was reported in the press in September 1972, it led to a public outcry and even a telegram of protest to the Prime Minister from the Council of Europe.³¹

John Baring agreed to halt demolition pending further discussions with the Department. He was prepared to see the key elements of the exterior preserved and even to put some money into the initial works, so long as he did not have responsibility for continuing maintenance. Messrs Brett and Pollen, architects were appointed to draw up a scheme for treatment of the house, which was discussed with the Department. In 1973 Lady Young (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State) had a meeting with Baring at which he offered guardianship of the house and a contribution of £5,000 towards the works. The offer was accepted by the Department and formalities of guardianship were completed in 1975. Escalating costs forced a reassessment of the scheme for preserving the house and between 1973 and 1979 only minor and temporary works were carried out. The full scheme of consolidation only started in 1980.



Fig 10: The Grange in July 1975; the gap between the building and the trees on the right was where the demolished part of the house had stood. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

The Grange, like Appuldurcombe before it, became a by-word for a difficult case - a file entitled 'Lessons of the Grange' was apparently in existence in the early 1980s and on discovering that no action whatsoever had been taken on a particular case (Slingsby Castle) for three whole years the Chief Inspector, Andrew Saunders, diagnosed a case of 'Grange disease'. So it is perhaps unsurprising that when the Department first learned in 1975 that **Belsay Hall**, Northumberland, the other outstanding Greek Revival mansion in England, might be offered for guardianship, Ron Ditchfield asked 'I suppose we cannot regard Belsay as an alternative to The Grange?'

Andrew Saunders responded: 'I have been giving some thought to Belsay and it is clear from the views of pundits like J. Mordaunt Crook...that the future preservation of Belsay should be secured.' He continued:

'I do not however, see Belsay as an alternative to The Grange. Everything that has been said about the latter's qualities still holds good. In terms of Neo-Classical architecture they are both landmarks, and at different ends of the Country, one roofed the other ruined, they maybe said to complement each other. We would not be thanked for letting one go as the price for saving the other.'³²

Belsay Hall was built for Sir Charles Monck (né Middleton) to his own designs and completed in 1817. It was occupied by the Middleton family up to the outbreak of the Second World War when it was requisitioned by the Army. Nearby were the medieval castle and Jacobean manor house which the family had previously lived in. The Department were interested in taking over all of these structures, which gained in importance from their survival as a group. It is notable too that the 19th century quarry garden was identified at an early stage as important both in its own right and in relation to the other historic elements of the estate, and therefore worthy of inclusion in any guardianship agreement.

Although Belsay Hall, unlike The Grange, was intact, the owner Sir Stephen Middleton was insistent that it should remain empty and not be used to display pictures and furniture. This appears to have been the reason why a scheme for the National Trust to take over the Hall did not come to fruition. The condition also gave the Department pause for thought but it was decided that the combination of gardens, ruined castle and the Hall would be sufficient to attract large numbers of visitors, even if the latter was unfurnished. It was also assumed that since it was a personal whim of the owner, the condition might be altered after his death. The condition in the guardianship deed of 4 July 1980 stated that the Secretary of State agreed 'not without the consent in writing of the Owner to furnish Belsay Hall'. Once the decision had been taken to proceed with guardianship, Maurice Mendoza commented: 'On the acceptance of Belsay we should consider ourselves no longer in the market for empty or ruined 19th century country mansions. I have spoken briefly to Mr Saunders on this subject and he assured me that there were no other offers of guardianship of monuments which would fall into that category.'

One other large, but uninhabited house came into the care of the Department during this period. Unlike those mentioned above, it was not clear whether Hill Hall in Essex, should be treated as an ancient monument or an historic building. It had been a private home up until the Second World War, but after the war it was sold to the Home Office and in 1952 was converted under the supervision of the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works to a women's open prison. In 1969 the house was gutted by fire (fig 11) and the Home Office decided to seek an alternative use for it.

In early 1975, having found no other economically viable use, they offered the house to other government departments, as a preliminary to putting it up for sale. The Department was aware of the importance of the house, which had some of the earliest classical decoration on any surviving building in Britain. While it was deliberating over whether to take over the house, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner wrote to Vivian Lipman about it: 'People use the word unique much too often but both for plan and decoration Hill Hall is indeed unique.'

There was local support for the idea of restoring the house and putting it to some useful purpose, but neither Epping District Council nor Essex County Council could provide any

funds for such work. There were differing views within DAMHB about the future of the building, some favouring preservation as a ruin (that is, as an ancient monument), others preferring to see it restored to use. In the recent past the Ministry of Works had acquired houses such as Cobham Hall, Kent, and Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, with the intention of repairing them and giving them a new use (in both cases as schools).



Fig 11: Hill Hall, Essex on the morning after the fire which gutted the building in April 1969. © Crown Copyright

In this case, however, the scale of the work needed after the fire was huge and even after restoration there was no guarantee that a user would be found. On the other hand the experience of Appuldurcombe, Witley Court and the Grange had shown the difficulties and expense of dealing with derelict stately homes simply as ruins. The Department chose to secure the transfer of the house from the Home Office and leave a decision about its future till later. The effective date of transfer was agreed with the Home Office as 1 April 1976 and a slow process of consolidation, investigation and restoration began.

By 1982 an archaeological and historical study of the house by Paul Drury had revealed that less 'original work survives and in a less unaltered state than was earlier supposed'.³³ Although visually it remained an exemplar of the Renaissance style in England, archaeologically it was thought to have lost much of its value. These discoveries, combined with the structural condition of the house, which was more perilous than had been thought and would require substantial rebuilding, called into question whether it was

any longer a monument of guardianship quality. A process of reassessment started which would lead ultimately to conversion back to residential use.

Industrial Monuments

Following Rex Wailes's retirement in 1971, the National Survey of Industrial Monuments was put on a fulltime basis, with the appointment of Keith Falconer as CBA Industrial Monument Survey Officer (the post being grant-aided by the Ministry). Henceforth the Advisory Panel on industrial monuments was to consider lists presented quarterly for designation. By 1974 over 300 industrial archaeological sites had been scheduled (and hundreds more considered for listing), but none had been added to the national collection since 1953. Neil Cossons writing in the *Museums Journal* was pessimistic about the future: 'it is inconceivable that the state could take into guardianship more than a handful of industrial sites and even a small scale commitment would require massive finance which does not exist.'³⁴ In fact 1974 saw the first true industrial monument enter the national collection, **Stott Park Bobbin Mill**, Cumbria, followed little more than a year later by the **Iron Bridge**, Shropshire.

Stott Park Bobbin Mill started producing wooden bobbins for the Lancashire weaving and spinning industries in 1835 and only ceased production in October 1971. The trade had once dominated the local area but Stott Park was the last complete example of its type to survive. The mill first came to the attention of the Department in February 1972 when the Lake District Planning Board gave notice of an application to convert it into residential use. To prevent the conversion the Department scheduled the mill (in February 1973) and negotiated purchase with the owners. The mill was of no special architectural quality, but was raised to guardianship standard by the fact that it had remained virtually untouched since production ceased and so enabled the Department to present it 'as the men had left it on their last day of work.'³⁵ (fig 12) The sale was finalised on 11 June 1974 and work began on repairing the buildings and refurbishing the machinery. Some of the former millworkers helped to compile a comprehensive manual for the operation of the mill and local people helped the Department to gather information on the history of the mill and its community.

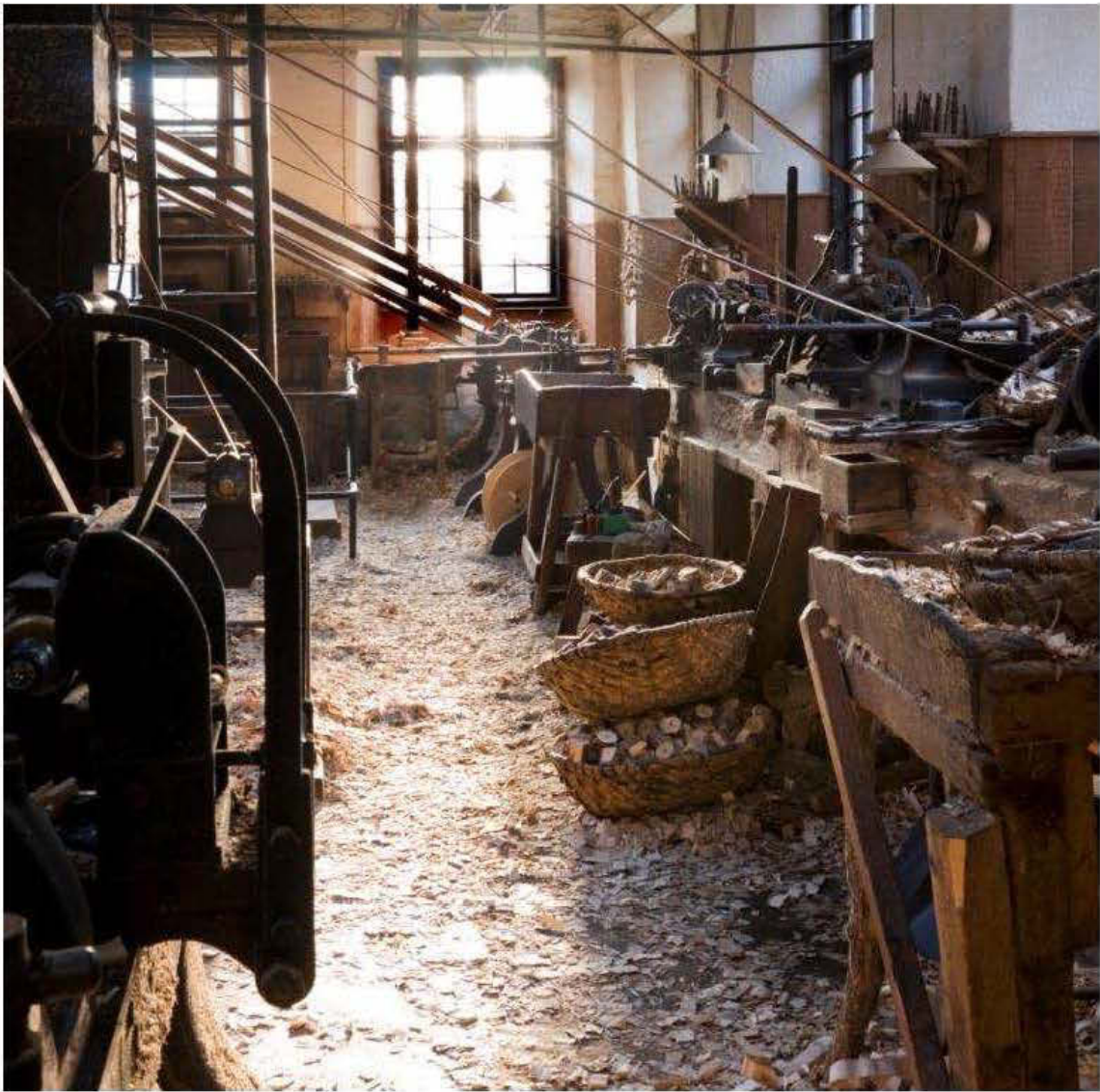


Fig 12: Stott Park Bobbin Mill, Cumbria; presented 'as the men had left it on their last day of work'.

The **Iron Bridge** in Coalbrookdale, erected in 1779, was Britain's most famous industrial monument (see cover image). It was scheduled in 1934, the year in which it was closed to vehicular traffic. The bridge remained in private hands (and a toll was levied) until 1950 when it was acquired by Shropshire County Council. It was badly in need of repair, but the County Council does not seem to have been effective in looking after the monument.

As reported in the Architects' Journal in 1958:

'The Iron Bridge at Coalbrookdale, deprived of the loving care of the toll-collector now it is nationalised, gets tattier every year. More and more litter accumulates, and more and more of its iron work is broken off by small boys and souvenir

hunters. The contrast with the neat upkeep of, say, Buildwas Abbey – to pick a more obvious ancient monument in the same part of the world – is depressing.¹³⁶

In 1972 a determined effort was made by the County Council, the DoE and the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust to deal with the problems of the bridge, which stemmed not just from a lack of maintenance, but were the result of the abutments at either end of the bridge being pushed inwards by the weight of the river banks. As part of the project to save the bridge the Department agreed in principle to take it into guardianship so that it would continue to receive the specialist conservation treatment it needed. After a major programme of repairs the guardianship deed was made in 1975.

The 'Isabella' Winding Engine at **Elemore Colliery** (fig 13), north-east of Durham City, was scheduled in 1969 and in 1975 a larger area of the pit complex was scheduled. It stood in the mid-Durham coalfield which was largely developed during the first quarter of the 19th century. The shaft at Elemore had been sunk in 1825 and the 'Isabella' winder was almost certainly the original winder for the shaft. It was believed to be the only machinery of its type left in the North East. When the pit became redundant the National Coal Board (NCB) discussed preservation of the winder and surrounding parts of the colliery site with the Department. The Coal Board offered to sell the freehold of three acres with buildings, structures, machinery, fixtures and fittings for a nominal sum of £5, an offer which the Department was happy to accept. It was explained to the Ancient Monuments Board that 'as part of the Department's highly selective strategy for preserving key examples of industrial archaeology Elemore would be the sole representative in England to be taken into care of the coal industry on which the rest of the Industrial Revolution was based.'³⁷

By 1980 the estimated cost of the conservation work, originally £50,000 had risen to £330,000. In addition restrictions on public sector staffing made it uncertain that the Department would be able to provide custodians for the site, in order to open it to the public. As a result the Department informed the NCB in March 1980 that it no longer wished to acquire the monument. The Ancient Monuments Board urged the Department to offer grant-aid to enable an alternative guardian to take over the monument, but the NCB chose to demolish the 'Isabella' winder rather than seek any alternative means of preservation.



Fig 13: Elemore Colliery, County Durham in April 1977

Bridges

Bridges had long been considered a type of monument that would qualify for guardianship (**Gallox Bridge** at Dunster and **Bow Bridge**, Furness Abbey, both medieval packhorse bridges, came into the collection in the early 1950s and in the 1970s four more bridges became monuments because they were unable to cope with modern traffic loads. Moulton Packhorse Bridge in Suffolk had been rejected for guardianship in 1962 because the Ministry felt that it was of local rather than national interest. The County Council maintained it for many years until 1973, when, because they were finding it difficult to afford suitably skilled craftsmen to carry out repairs, they asked the Department to take it over. The Inspectorate were not minded to change their opinion of the value of the bridge but were prepared to offer technical guidance and even labour if necessary. An offer of a 50 per cent grant was made, but the Council would only accept on the condition that the Department took the bridge over once the repairs had been completed. After Andrew Saunders had seen the bridge for himself in January 1975 he softened and agreed to the Council's proposal, reasoning that it had at least made a financial contribution to the preservation of the bridge.

Like other categories of monument in this period, the scope of the Department's involvement in bridges, which had been restricted to a small number of medieval examples, grew to take in more modern structures. The **Iron Bridge** of 1779 (which came into guardianship in 1975) was followed by the **Cantlop Bridge**, Shropshire, of 1813 and the **Over Bridge**, Gloucestershire of 1830. The fact that the responsibilities of the Department of the Environment included transport from 1970 to 1976 (when a new Department of Transport was created) played a part in both of those bridges coming into guardianship.

The design of **Cantlop Bridge** made innovative use of cast-iron and was thought to have been designed by Thomas Telford (although it seems that he probably only approved the designs). Shropshire County Council, which was responsible for the bridge, was concerned about the loads it was carrying and proposed to build a new bridge on the existing abutments and move the iron superstructure to a park in the new town of Telford. The Council was told that its proposal amounted to 'unacceptable mutilation' and to enable them to build a brand new bridge the Department on a different site offered an ex-gratia payment of up to £20,000 (presumably out of transport funds). The offer came with the condition that the Department should also be offered the chance to consider becoming guardian of the old bridge. The council accepted this deal and the bridge came into guardianship in February 1977.

The **Over Bridge** spanned the River Severn just outside Gloucester and was built in 1830 to designs by Thomas Telford. Plans were made in the 1960s to divert the road carried by the bridge onto a new steel bridge upstream and Telford's elegant stone arch was seen by the transport side of the Department as a problem. Its engineers estimated that between £150,000 and £200,000 was needed for repairs, without which they did not think it would last more than 20 or 30 years. Demolition by contrast was estimated to cost less than £8,000 and was thought to be beneficial as part of a flood prevention strategy for the River Severn. In 1971 the Ancient Monuments Board (in particular Bernard Feilden) took up the cause of Telford's bridge and challenged the structural argument for demolition, using expert advice given by Jacques Heyman, Professor of Engineering at Cambridge. In 1972 the Department agreed that once the new bridge came into use for traffic, DAMHB would take over responsibility for the old bridge. Although the traffic was diverted in April 1974, it was not until March 1978 that the transfer of responsibility occurred, by which time the transport functions of the Department of the Environment had been moved into a new Department of Transport.

One other monument was affected by the brief amalgamation of ancient monuments and transport in the one Department. **The Countess Pillar**, at Brougham in Cumbria was erected in 1656 by Lady Anne Clifford, half a mile from Brougham Castle. When the castle came into guardianship in 1928 the Pillar was not included, but the Appleby Castle Estate voluntarily maintained the monument up until 1960. After the estate changed hands maintenance apparently ceased and in 1972 reports of the monument's poor condition were received from the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and

Archaeological Society. Since the pillar was right next to the A66 and in the absence of any known owner, the responsibility for its upkeep was seen to lie with the highway authority, which at the time was the Department of the Environment. It was agreed in 1975 that DAMHB would assume responsibility but nothing was done to formalise the arrangement before the split and a departmental transfer was therefore needed in 1977.

MAKING A COLLECTION: POLICY

'Ancient monuments range from pre-historic settlements and burial mounds, through the survivals of Roman military occupation to Norman castles and medieval abbeys. It may not be so well known that ancient monuments in State care also include a number of unoccupied and mostly ruinous country houses of the 16th and 19th centuries, as well as several industrial monuments and fortifications of the 18th to 19th centuries. This illustrates our policy of attempting to preserve a representative sample of our heritage.'

Baroness Stedman, House of Lords, 1979 ³⁸

The 1970s saw policies which had been developed in the previous decades finally bearing fruit and the national collection became notably more diverse, both in the type and age of monuments, as Baroness Stedman told the House of Lords in 1979.

The decision in 1965 to pursue guardianship of a representative group of deserted medieval villages resulted in three additions to the national collection: **Wharram Percy** and **Hound Tor** in 1972 and **Gainsthorpe** in 1974. In 1966 the Ministry had announced that henceforth it would treat industrial monuments in the same way as other categories of monument. The first to be taken into the care of the Department as a result was **Stott Park Bobbin Mill** in 1974. The **Iron Bridge** followed in 1975 and negotiations were pursued for other monuments including **Fakenham Gasworks**, **Elemore Colliery** and **Derwentcote Steel Furnace**.

Legislation for dealing with redundant Church of England churches was passed in 1968 and the new system started to operate in 1969. Four churches came into the national collection under the legislation between 1975 and 1980, namely **St Mary, Studley Royal**, **St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber**, **St Mary Kempley** and **Edvin Loach Old Church**. The Department remained uncertain in its handling of church cases, however, and it was acknowledged in 1980 that 'we have not evolved a policy or procedure over the years under which to operate.'³⁹ The Church Commissioners meanwhile admitted that 'they had been pleasantly surprised at some of the things [DAMHB] had taken on'.⁴⁰

Even more significant for the future of historic churches was the government's agreement to make grants available for the repair of churches in use. Grants gave the Department an alternative to guardianship as a way of securing the future of churches of outstanding importance, which had not been envisaged when the 1968 legislation was passed. Churches had been excluded from the grant scheme established by the 1953 Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act because the government wished to focus the very limited funds devoted to the scheme on historic houses, the plight of which had been the initial stimulus for the legislation (see Volume Seven). In January 1975 Baroness Birk (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State) announced that the case for state aid for churches had been accepted in principle, subject to agreement on the conditions for aid,

but no start date for the scheme was given. The grants were to be disbursed in the same way as secular grants, through the Historic Buildings Council, which set up a committee chaired by John Brandon-Jones and including representatives of the churches, to deal with applications for grant from places of worship of all denominations.

On 4 August 1977, Peter Shore announced the immediate start of the scheme on a five year trial; it is said that on 5 August someone from Long Melford in Suffolk arrived at the office in Savile Row asking for an application form and as a result **Holy Trinity, Long Melford** received the first grant.⁴¹ Initially grants were offered at a rate of 50 per cent, or 'pound-for-pound' but the demand was such that this had to be reduced in 1980 to 40 per cent. By 1981, 1,400 grants had been offered with a total value of £8 million.⁴²

One of the parish churches taken into care in this period was **St Mary's Studley Royal**, an outstanding example of the Victorian gothic revival, which demonstrates the change in the Inspectorate's attitude to the selection of monuments for guardianship. Not only was the church an original work of the 19th century, but its interest was historical and architectural more than archaeological. The first monument of the Victorian era to be acquired was **Fort Brockhurst** (c.1858-62) in 1963, as a result of a change on the policy on fortifications, to bring more recent examples into the definition of ancient monuments. The first non-military Victorian monument in the collection was **Witley Court** in 1972. Although later investigation showed evidence of work from the middle ages to the Edwardian era, at the time that the decision was made to take it over, it was treated as a 'grandiose Victorian palace'.⁴³ When the case of Witley Court was put up to the Minister for a decision, it was stated that it would be useful as a way of demonstrating that the Ministry was 'prepared to undertake the preservation of Victorian domestic architecture as well as that of older buildings'.⁴⁴ Later in the same year the Ministry felt obliged to refute a suggestion in an article by John Cornforth in *Country Life* that there was a '1700 barrier' which prevented more recent buildings and structures coming into guardianship.⁴⁵ Cornforth was told that 'merit, and of course, money are the only criteria we take into account'.⁴⁶ Fourteen post-1700 monuments were taken into the care of the Department in this period, of which nine dated from after 1800 and of those three were post-1837 (**Witley Court**, **Sibsey Trader windmill** and **St Mary's Studley Royal**). Although some 19th century monuments were rejected, for example **Elemore Colliery** and **All Souls Haley Hill**, their relative modernity was not a factor in the decision.

Gardens as Ancient Monuments

An emerging area of interest in the historic environment in the 1970s was that of landscapes and gardens. From time to time consideration was given to the question of whether a garden could be an ancient monument and hence scheduled or taken into guardianship. In 1961 the Institute of Landscape Gardeners had asked whether the Ministry could use its powers to acquire or accept guardianship of gardens or make grants under section 3(3) of the 1931 AM Act. It was clear that guardianship of an ancient

monument could include land around it, and therefore a garden which adjoined or surrounded an ancient monument, but could a garden alone be treated as an ancient monument? The Ancient Monuments department did have elements of the gardens of **Wrest Park**, Bedfordshire, in its care at the time and maintained them as if they were an ancient monument, and it also maintained the Royal Oak at **Boscobel** in guardianship. The need for rehabilitation of the garden layout at **Witley Court** was one of the reasons for issuing a Preservation Order. The Treasury Solicitor advised, however, that there could be no general answer to the question and it would depend on the details of any particular case.

The question was raised again in 1970, but again little progress was made. It was established that not all gardens were ancient monuments, for instance beer gardens and tea gardens, but some gardens could in theory come within the meaning of the 1931 AM Act, provided they comprised man-made structures, such as terraces and other forms of landscaping; planting of flower beds and laying down of lawns would not constitute a 'work' as intended by the legislation. In 1975 it was established that gardens could not be listed because they were not buildings and neither could a garden canal. On the other hand canals, being man-made could qualify as ancient monuments as could landscaped gardens, but 'flower beds in themselves which are merely soil turned over and planted would not come within the definition of "monument"'.⁴⁷ It was still the case, however, that no gardens had been scheduled in their own right.

The Historic Buildings Council had the power to recommend grant aid for gardens (under the Town and Country Amenities Act 1974) but the funds were not there to enable them to do so. The council did, however, grant aid garden buildings and features, such as the water gardens and cascades at **Bramham Park** in Yorkshire or the Swiss Garden at **Old Warden** in Bedfordshire. The council was sufficiently concerned about damage to historic gardens that it set up an informal subcommittee to compile a preliminary list of historic gardens of national importance and to consider what means of statutory protection might be appropriate.

In December 1978 the Inspectorate's winter seminar took as its subject 'The preservation and restoration of historic gardens and landscapes'. The conclusion was reached that preservation of historic gardens and landscapes was a legitimate interest of the Department but had received too little attention. Recommendations included more effective legislative protection for gardens and landscapes and more research into the gardens at guardianship sites, including archaeological excavation. When the 1979 Ancient Monuments Act was going through Parliament, Lord Craigton tabled an amendment to Clause 61, the definitions clause, to include historic gardens in the definition of a monument, but it was never debated. The Department was discouraging of the idea of extending the concept of ancient monuments to include gardens, but there was momentum behind the idea of greater protection and when the duties of English Heritage were defined in the National Heritage Act, gardens were included alongside monuments, buildings and areas. One of the duties of the new agency was to compile a register of

gardens of special interest, showing that they were now accorded importance within the conservation movement.⁴⁸

Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979

The national collection was cast in a new light by the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979. The Ancient Monuments Acts were under almost constant review from 1882 onwards and had been amended and augmented several times over the years. In 1969 the Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board, Sir Edward Muir (a former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Works), presented a paper in which he discussed the current state of the legislation, last amended in 1953, and considered the question of whether the whole system needed to be overhauled.⁴⁹ He concluded that the basic structure was sound but there was scope for improvement in details. Guardianship he described as 'an outstanding success.' What was really needed, Muir recommended, was a consolidating Act to bring together the provisions from the three extant pieces of legislation (1913, 1931 and 1953). It was to be another ten years before the next revision of ancient monuments legislation and it turned out to be much more than simply a consolidating act.

A consultative document was published in March 1977 setting out the Government's proposals for new legislation. The bill followed those proposals very closely, with some procedural changes. It enjoyed cross-party support in Parliament and its uncontroversial nature allowed it to be passed in the last, fractious days of James Callaghan's government. 'Since opportunities for major legislation in this field occur very rarely', Baroness Stedman told the House of Lords on 5 February 1979, the government had 'provided for needs which are already on the horizon and...not dealt only with matters that are already pressing.'⁵⁰ The intention of the bill was to modernise a fragmented body of legislation, but also to extend its scope to take account of 'the increased pace and scale of modern development and the destructive capacity of modern agricultural methods, which together have resulted in the loss of a large proportion of our archaeological inheritance.'⁵¹

The Act contained three new means of preserving archaeological remains. The first new protection mechanism was a consent procedure analogous to listed building consent for the notification of proposed works to scheduled monuments (sections 2-4 of the Act). It would replace the 'rather cumbersome and unsatisfactory arrangements of interim preservation notices and preservation orders'.⁵² Scheduled monument consent differed from listed building consent, however, in being operated at a national rather a local level. This way of protecting a monument had the great advantage over preservation orders that it did not require the Secretary of State to be prepared as a last resort to take over a monument to defend it. In 1982, the first full year of the operation of the Act, there were 319 applications for scheduled monument consent, mostly relating to works of maintenance or minor alteration. Of those applications 127 (40 per cent) were given unconditional consent, 190 consent subject to conditions and just 2 were refused.⁵³

The powers for the government and local authorities to accept voluntary guardianship (section 12) and make acquisitions by agreement (section 11) were retained, but the power of compulsory guardianship was withdrawn, having proved unsatisfactory (for instance at **Wingfield Manor**, see Volume Seven). Instead the Secretary of State was given powers of compulsory acquisition over any ancient monument for the purpose of securing its preservation (section 10). The powers in sections 10 to 12 applied not only to the monument itself, but also land adjoining or in the vicinity which was required for maintenance, access, proper management and provision of facilities for visitors. Inhabited houses continued to be excluded from guardianship (section 12(10)).

The 1979 Act also included the long-desired power to terminate guardianship (section 14), by agreement with the owner, but only in situations where the guardian is satisfied that adequate arrangements have been made for the preservation of the monument or it is no longer practicable to preserve it (including because of the cost of doing so). It was envisaged that this provision might be used for instance where a monument was on an estate and although one generation had been unable to maintain it properly, a subsequent one was both willing and able to do so. The clause covering practicability of preservation was intended to allow for termination of guardianship in the case of less traditional monuments that were not principally composed of masonry, for example industrial monuments where it might be impractical to preserve wood or iron indefinitely.

The third new protection mechanism was contained in Part II of the Act. The power to designate an 'area of archaeological importance' was intended to deal with the problem of the historic towns, where the archaeologically significant layers could be very extensive and the severe restrictions imposed by scheduling would be incompatible with the need for urban renewal. The threat to archaeological deposits under historic towns had been highlighted in the Council for British Archaeology's 1972 report *The Erosion of History*. The legislation allowed for development in a designated area to be delayed for six months so that excavation could take place. Compensation was not available for such delays, although the developer was not expected to pay for the excavation.

Although there was external pressure, principally from the Council for British Archaeology, for widespread designation of Areas of Archaeological Importance the Department aimed to designate just ten towns initially as a trial to see how the regulations worked. The selection of the ten towns was based on their archaeological importance, the level of development and re-development activity, past experience of difficulties in getting access for archaeological investigation and the existence of a suitable body, usually a local archaeological trust, to act as 'Investigating Authority'.

The towns selected were Berwick upon Tweed, Canterbury, Chester, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln, Oxford and York. The local authorities at Gloucester and Lincoln did not welcome designation and made a case for their ability to provide adequate protection through their own planning policies. In Lincoln the local authority was

concerned that developers might be deterred from investing in the city if this extra designation was imposed.

On 30 March 1984 just five of the original group of ten towns were designated: Canterbury, Chester, Exeter, Hereford and York. The designation of Berwick was delayed due to a dispute over the precise boundary of the area to be protected, while in both Colchester and Oxford the question of who should be appointed Investigating Authority was unresolved. English Heritage made renewed attempts to get the agreement of the local authorities involved but negotiations ran out of steam in the late 1980s and the designations were never completed (even though agreement was finally reached in the case of Oxford). In November 1988 English Heritage's Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee approved the recommendation that no further designations should be made for the time being, pending the publication by the Department of the Environment of a planning circular on archaeology.

National Heritage Act 1980

The National Heritage Act, 1980 was described by Patrick Cormack MP in the debate on its Second Reading, as 'the most significant piece of heritage legislation in more than 25 years.'⁵⁴ It was introduced to Parliament by the recently formed Conservative government, but the groundwork had been done in the previous Parliament and the legislation had, like most heritage legislation, cross-party support. At the second reading of the bill in the House of Commons, Andrew Faulds speaking for the Opposition quipped: 'Why should we not welcome the Bill? Recognition of one's offspring is an ordinary and expected paternal reaction. We, of course, can make a claim of paternity of the welcome little bundle.'⁵⁵

The principal measure in the Act was to establish a National Heritage Memorial Fund to provide financial assistance for the acquisition or maintenance of land, buildings and objects of outstanding interest. As such it was the successor to the National Land Fund (created in 1946), but with the crucial difference that it was administered not by the government, but by an independent group of Trustees. The need for the legislation derived from problems in the use of the National Land Fund and one controversial case in particular.

After an initial burst of activity after 1953 the use of the National Land Fund for acquisitions became rare. In 1957 it was reduced from £50 million to £10 million after a critical report from the Public Accounts Committee. The purchase of **Heveningham** and its contents in 1970 (see Volume Seven) had been paid for out of the Fund but that was an isolated case and by the mid 1970s it was dormant.

The trigger for the new legislation was the case of **Mentmore Towers** in 1977. Mentmore was a mid 19th-century mansion designed by Sir Joseph Paxton which had changed little

since the 1870s. Following the death of the 6th Earl of Rosebery in 1973 the government refused to accept the contents in lieu of tax. The executors instead offered to sell Mentmore to the nation for £2million. The Historic Buildings Council recommended to the Secretary of State that he acquire the house and its contents. There was enough money in the Land Fund to be able to do this, but the government was only prepared to put in £1million.

Lady Birk explained the government's thinking to the House of Lords:

'So far as the National Land Fund is concerned, the noble Lord is right. Funds are available to enable purchase of property from estates which might otherwise be sold separately; but the problem is that other great country houses—even more significant than Mentmore—may in the future be offered to the nation in the same way. It is very difficult. This is also a question of priorities as well as finance.'⁵⁶

Peter Shore, the Secretary of State for the Environment later told the House of Commons:

'Of course we are anxious as a country—and on both sides of the House—to protect the national heritage. But the truth is that we have an enormous national heritage to protect, and it is the job of successive Secretaries of State to come to a view of what really are the most important items to preserve. Against a background of severe public expenditure restraint, I believe that we have done the right thing in showing considerable willingness—we are prepared to find £1million—but private sources must come forward with the additional resources required.'⁵⁷

Attempts to find private contributions to bridge the gap failed, despite campaigning by SAVE (fig 14). Eventually the government acquired some of the contents for £1.4m, but not the house itself. The break-up of the contents of the house and the missed opportunity to acquire it for the nation were considered a scandal at the time and led to an enquiry by a House of Commons committee. The establishment of an independent National Heritage Fund to replace present Land Fund arrangements was recommended by the committee and in February 1979 was embodied in a White Paper. After the 1979 election Norman St John-Stevs (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) piloted the legislation through Parliament and Royal Assent was received on 31 March 1980.

SAVE

MENTMORE FOR THE NATION



A great house and collection for the first time in print

Fig 14: The SAVE publication on Mentmore which raised the profile of the house and created support for its preservation. © SAVE Britain's Heritage

The National Land Fund was wound up as part of the legislation, but not before its remaining assets had been used to save two important houses. **18 Stafford Terrace**, Kensington, the home of the artist Linley Sambourne from 1874 to 1910 and the birthplace of the Victorian Society, was purchased by the Greater London Council in February 1980 assisted by a 100% grant of £150,000 from the Fund. This was made on condition that the original contents were purchased by the GLC (at a cost of £75,000) and remained in the house. The final beneficiary of the Fund was the medieval moated manor house of **Baddesley Clinton**, Warwickshire which was purchased, together with its contents and surrounding parkland, for £327,000 and transferred to the National Trust in March 1980.

MAKING A COLLECTION: PRACTICE

The use of grants instead of guardianship to preserve ancient monuments continued to increase during this period and by the end of the 1970s in the region of a hundred ancient monuments grants a year were being offered.⁵⁸ In his report on DAMHB's work in 1982, Andrew Saunders described advice and grants to owners as 'an extremely important part of the Department's work.'⁵⁹ As noted earlier, the use of grant-aid had been at one time been seen as second best when it came to preserving monuments, but in the last years of the DAMHB grant aid was preferred wherever possible.

Since the Field Monuments Act 1972 came into force, it had been possible for the Department to defray an owner's costs not only for fabric repairs, but also for maintenance of field monuments through a system of 'acknowledgment payments'. The amounts involved were little more than tokens, but they acknowledged that the landowner was inconvenienced by scheduling of otherwise productive agricultural land. When the Department was considering how best to preserve the **Rodmarton Long Barrow** also known as Windmill Tump in 1974, three possible solutions were looked at: acknowledgement payment, grant aid for clearance of the barrow, or guardianship. The owner thought the acknowledgment payment of just £10 per annum was nowhere near sufficient to cover the actual cost of tree clearance. While he was prepared to offer guardianship of the monument within the existing field enclosure, the Department wanted a larger area because they suspected the barrow extended into the surrounding land. The owner would not give up that land without compensation so the simplest solution turned out to be for the Department to buy all of the land they wanted outright.

Acknowledgment payments were replaced by 'management agreements' in the 1979 AM Act (s.17). Under the Act, the Secretary of State was given the power to enter into an agreement in which an owner or occupier would maintain a monument on their land, or refrain from damaging it, for example by ploughing, in return for a suitable payment. Management agreements were more flexible than acknowledgment payments in terms of

relating the level of payment to what was being asked of the owner. They had the added advantage that they could cover land beyond the scheduled area and so protect the setting and amenity of a monument.

The Ancient Monuments Act 1979 generally put guardianship into a new context. The case of **Bardney Abbey** illustrates the change of thinking that took place as a result. The monument had been rejected when guardianship was offered in 1928, but in 1974 the newly-formed Bardney Abbey Friends Group renewed the offer. The Department were minded to accept, although it had misgivings about the lack of any high-standing remains and the fragility of the stone which could be expected to decay rapidly if exposed. In January 1975 the offer of guardianship was accepted in principle, but on the basis that nothing would be done with the monument until stone treatment techniques had advanced sufficiently to ensure preservation. More than usually protracted negotiation over access and boundaries meant that the case was still 'live' in 1979. The case for taking over Bardney was reassessed and it was agreed that there was no threat to the site, which was scheduled. In the light of the 1979 Act it would be possible to protect the monument without guardianship. Christopher Young (Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments) advised the Chief Inspector that 'this site can...be dealt with adequately by the route of management agreement under the 1979 Act and by grant-to-owner as necessary.' He also advised looking at the wider picture:

'We should not, I think, look at this case in isolation but use it as a starting point for a general review of our attitude towards means of preservation of field monuments, when our intention is to preserve a site as earthworks, not to excavate and display masonry. It seems to me that the new Act gives us a number of more flexible options for achieving preservation, including management agreements or grant to other bodies (e.g. local authorities, National Trust) for the purchase by them of ancient monuments (Section 24(1)). I think that we should think seriously and soon about how these powers might best be used for the preservation of field monuments.'⁶⁰

A Crisis of Confidence

In the last years of DAMHB's existence many of the Department's earlier decisions on guardianship cases were questioned. In these cases it was not so much the rising cost of preservation which alarmed the Department (as at, for example, **Elemore Colliery**) as the poor decision-making which had created some difficult situations. The glacial speed at which cases were dealt with by the Department allowed for this sort of reassessment and the deliberations show how the approach to guardianship was changing during this period.

Chisbury Chapel in Wiltshire had been accepted as a transfer from the Crown Estate Commissioners (CEC) in 1979 after two years of trying to persuade the Commissioners to pay for repair of the roof (at the end of which they contributed £5,000 on the

condition that the Department accepted guardianship). Three years later nothing had been done to formalise the transfer and a group of locals, frustrated by the lack of action to repair the chapel, were planning to form a preservation trust to look after it. The possibility arose therefore of the Department reneging on its agreement to accept responsibility for the chapel and instead offering grant aid to the trust. In January 1982, Christopher Young weighed up the arguments:

'I do not think that I would regard this as a case for guardianship if it was now proposed *de novo*, and I get the impression from the file that we were pushed into this by the CEC's reluctance to show a proper responsibility to monuments in their care. On the other hand negotiations have been taken a very long way already and it may be difficult to withdraw at this stage.'

The suggestion that the DoE might go back on its earlier commitment provoked an angry response from the Crown Estate, but in spite of this the option of grant-aiding the trust was favoured by the Department when it first arose. Eventually it was decided that a trust would be less secure in the long term than the Department and the monument became part of the national collection on 1 July 1982.

Archcliffe Fort was part of the chain of fortifications protecting Dover and when the Army announced their intention to dispose of it in 1977 the Department decided to step in and take it over. 'In isolation' wrote Andrew Saunders 'I would not regard the fort as suitable for guardianship but I think it important to see the fort in the context of the long pattern of fortification at Dover.'⁶¹ He recommended acceptance, apparently oblivious to the vast cost of conserving such a large structure and the almost total unsuitability of the monument as a visitor attraction. The fort was located in an industrial area, had no off-street parking and most of the historic portions could be seen best from outside the fort itself (fig 15).



Fig15: Archcliffe Fort, Kent in 1979; thanks partly to its situation it was thought unlikely to attract visitors. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Nevertheless the transfer took place in August 1979 and temporary use was made of some of the buildings to store material from Dover Castle. In October 1981 Maurice Mendoza visited Dover and saw the fort. 'This is one of the monuments it would have been better not to have taken on. We are now bound to spend a substantial amount of money on consolidating the remains of the fort but I doubt whether anybody will ever pay money to see them.'⁶²

Mendoza suggested working with the local authority to find a use for the buildings inside the fort, while the Department confined its attention to the remains of the fortifications. So tenants were sought for the two houses and storage sheds on site. Finding a business to use the sheds for storage or as workshops was made difficult by the fact that the entrance arch was low and suitable for entry only by small cars while the main access was by a structurally weak bridge. By the time the case was handed over to English Heritage in 1984 total paralysis had set in, none of the buildings had been let and the member of staff charged with sorting it out declared that she would waste no more time on it, nor would she ask her staff to do so.⁶³

Another case in which the decisions taken some years earlier seemed in hindsight to be utterly wrong was the **Upper Plym Valley**. The aim had been to take a large area of Dartmoor into guardianship so that the monuments scattered across it could be preserved in their natural setting. The Secretary of State had been made guardian of one parcel of land belonging to the National Trust in 1978, but further land in the ownership of a china clay company was sought. The owner, English Clays, had been told that the Secretary of State was willing to accept guardianship in August 1974, but delays over the legal formalities meant that the deed had not been completed by the time of the general guardianship review in 1980-81. The whole scheme for Upper Plym Valley was attacked by Harry Gordon Slade (Inspector of Ancient Monuments) in January 1981. He argued that the Department did not have the ability to deal with what was essentially a land management rather than a conservation job. To even have an understanding of the extent of the historic features the Department had accepted in guardianship would take 'two weeks on foot or four days from a horse. I have no objection to either in the summer, but it seems rather mis-directed energy.'⁶⁴ Gordon Slade recommended that management of the site be handed back to the National Trust. Andrew Saunders, however, pressed strongly for the outstanding deed with English Clays to be completed. When the case was put to Maurice Mendoza he agreed in principle with Gordon Slade:

'...to take an area of some four square miles into guardianship is an absurd misuse of that method of maintaining a monument. Whoever decided on that course of action must have done so without any thought for the consequences or our ability to manage an area of that size. There is no one in the Directorate trained in estate management. To rely on PSA's estate surveyors is to rest on a broken reed.'

In practice, however, 'The trouble is of course that once a wrong decision has been taken it is difficult – and in this case impossible – to correct it. I am, very reluctantly, prepared to agree the small extension of the guardianship area but only because we have proceeded so far that to cease now would be to make the earlier absurdity even more crazy.'

On condition that it would not entail any extra work and that the area would not be extended again he approved the completion of the deed with English Clays. Despite repeated requests from the Treasury Solicitor for instruction to complete the deed of guardianship, nothing was done to move the case forward within DAMHB. In October 1985, by which time the case had been inherited by English Heritage, it was reviewed by S. Andrews of Ancient Monuments Administration. His conclusion was that the basis of the whole scheme was 'unsound', but when the file was passed to Christopher Young in October 1985, he recommended that DAMHB should accept guardianship of the English Clays land and take a more constructive approach to the land already in guardianship. A year later the Treasury Solicitor informed English Heritage that if no instructions were received within one month the case would be closed. Even this produced no response and the case died quietly in January 1987.⁶⁵

‘GUARDIANSHIP UNDER FIRE’

In the early 1980s the Department of the Environment's stewardship of the national collection came under fire from all quarters. The criticism was broad, but contained four main points:

- the termination of a large number of guardianship negotiations,
- the reduction in numbers of custodians and closure of sites,
- the reduction in the size of the directly employed labour force
- the possible transfer of two major sites to local authorities

The first broadside came from the former Chief Inspector, A J Taylor, who on 25 January 1981 wrote a letter to *The Times* in which he attacked the Secretary of State for the Environment (Michael Heseltine) for failing in his duties as guardian of the nation's ancient monuments.⁶⁶ There were three main accusations in Taylor's letter. Firstly that important monuments such as **Furness Abbey**, **St Augustine's Canterbury** and **Castle Rising** had been closed or left unguarded; secondly that the specialist labour force was being deliberately run down; and thirdly that the Department was seeking to divest itself of **Battle Abbey** and **Fountains Abbey**.

The letter was published on 31 January 1981 and during February *The Times* published several responses, all adding to the criticism of the Department and most of them pessimistic in tone. Andrew Selkirk, the editor of *Current Archaeology* believed he could discern the end of an era:

'In the longer term we must all realize that a fundamental shift in economics is taking place. Since the first Ancient Monuments Act in 1882, the list of ancient monuments has grown larger and larger, with new ones added every year. This cannot go on *ad infinitum*. The party's over, and we must face a future in which government spending will at most remain stable, but is rather more likely to decline steadily for the rest of our lifetimes. This means that those of us who wish to conserve the past must do something about it ourselves, and local archaeological societies up and down the country must be prepared to take over ancient monuments, as they so often did in the 1930s.'⁶⁷

A letter from London County Hall, signed by William Bell (Chairman of the GLC Historic Buildings Committee), John Betjeman, John Summerson and others, stated: 'We have been concerned for some time at the way in which the Department of the Environment seems to be neglecting some of its responsibilities in relation to architectural conservation, but Dr Arnold Taylor's letter reveals a state of affairs even more dire than we had supposed.'⁶⁸

The fact that there were now fewer than five historic buildings Investigators was evidence in their view that the DoE was 'a department which seems intent on its own destruction.' In another letter, Henry Vyner, the last private owner of **Fountains Abbey**, speculated that the neglect of monuments might be because Mr Heseltine had 'a romantic vision of our ancient monuments returning to their eighteenth-century condition as crumbling, ivy-clad, picturesque eye-catchers.'⁶⁹

The most critical letter came from Andrew Lloyd Webber who agreed with Taylor that lack of access to monuments was 'deplorable', but disputed that private ownership would necessarily be worse than public and cited a number of cases of, in his view, mistreatment by the Department and its predecessors.⁷⁰ At **Fountains Abbey** a large hut had been positioned in the very centre of the vista from the hill above the ruins, while at **Hailes Abbey** the National Trust's 'beautifully planted arrangement marking out the plan of the Church' had been destroyed.

'Then one observes that ancient monuments in the DoE's care tend to have notices firmly fixed to their walls telling us not to deface these walls, and the horrid-looking wooden staircases are installed so that people can climb up towers whose staircase have fallen down.'

By way of contrast, Lloyd Webber found the overgrown state of **Bayham Abbey**, which Taylor described as a wilderness due to its neglect by the Department, 'a refreshing change from the municipal appearance of some of our finest ruins.' He concluded by wondering whether: 'the sort of private person or body who would want to own Fountains Abbey would look after it with a love no government department could, and probably be able to keep it open for longer, I doubt whether they would build an imposing hut in the garden.'

Taylor's criticisms were picked up by Marcus Binney, Architectural Editor of *Country Life*, and reappeared in an article in the magazine entitled 'Guardianship Under Fire' on 30 April 1981. Much of the article was taken up with the problem of closed or unguarded sites which had been caused by a policy of replacing permanent custodians with casual custodians on 6-month contracts; in the winter of 1980-81 the decision had been taken not to replace custodians when they retired or moved to another job. The result was that some 20 monuments and the museums at **Richborough** and **Housesteads** were closed to the public. Binney reported that the Department undertook to re-open by Easter the twenty principal monuments which had been closed. Two weeks before Easter, however, 'there was such a shortage of staff at Stonehenge that both the ticket office and the bookshop had to be repeatedly closed on these days to allow all staff to ward the stones themselves – a chaotic and undignified way to look after Europe's most majestic prehistoric remains.'⁷¹ In May the Ancient Monuments Board was told that the contracts of the casual custodians would be renewed and additional seasonal staff would be employed, but that there were likely still to be operational difficulties in some cases.⁷² Binney's argument, however, was that there was a structural problem which went deeper than the details of manpower at particular sites. There was no incentive for ancient

monuments to make money because if they did it just went straight to the Treasury; if they had more independence like the national museums there would be a reason to devote more attention to the presentation and display of monuments to the public. This was exactly the sort of idea that was under consideration at the time by the Department of the Environment and would soon lead to the creation of English Heritage.

The article also raised the concern that the Department was becoming more reluctant to take major monuments into guardianship than in the past. This was an accurate statement of the Department's position, for on 25 July 1979 the Director, Maurice Mendoza had instructed that no further negotiations should be conducted on any case for which approval had not already been given, or where negotiations on an approved acquisition had reached a standstill. The review was provoked in part by the case of **Penhallam Manor**, which the Department's Deputy Secretary, Thomas Shearer (1924-95) doubted was really suitable for guardianship, a view shared at the time by the Ancient Monuments Board. The article quoted the rejection of **Jervaulx Abbey** and **Whalley Abbey** in 1979 and **Elemore Colliery** in 1980, amongst others, and noted the consequent destruction of the latter.

In April 1980 a process began of reassessing all guardianship cases 'in the pipeline' to decide if they should continue. In a memorandum to the Chief Inspector, Maurice Mendoza explained the reasons for the review.⁷³ The human resources of the Directorate were, he stated 'seriously overstretched.' Indeed the resources were so scarce that 'we have to defer any conservation work on some monuments...even though we know that deferment will inevitably entail further deterioration and higher costs in the future.' In these circumstances 'for us to take on more liabilities would, to say the least, be imprudent.' Mendoza conceded that it was possible for a case to arise in which an outstanding monument was falling into ruin and guardianship was the only way to save it, but in such a case he expected his approval to be sought before the owner was given any indication that the Department was open to negotiation.

In May 1981 the results of the review were reported to the Ancient Monuments Board.⁷⁴ A total of 22 cases were to be terminated, 12 were to be continued (of which four were additional areas for existing monuments in care) and four required further consideration (see Appendix 3 for details). Some of the terminated cases would probably never have ended in the monument coming into the Department's care anyway: the offer of **Gasholder No. 2** in Fulham by the North Thames Gas Board came with conditions which were unacceptable; the owners of **Bewcastle Cross** in Cumbria could not be traced, while the death of the owner of **All Saints Sockburn** during negotiations threw the matter of guardianship into doubt. Alternative arrangements were sought for the preservation of the other monuments concerned, in most cases an offer of grant aid. In the case of **Beauport Park Iron Workings** and **Chibburn Preceptory** the local authorities were prevailed upon to take up the guardianship negotiations and in one case - the precinct wall at **Fountains Abbey** - the National Trust took ownership. The remains of **Sulgrave Castle**, Northamptonshire were back-filled to protect them.

Four churches on the list of terminated cases were accepted by the Redundant Churches Fund, with offers of 100 per cent repair grants. The Department had found it difficult to get to grips with the Pastoral Measure and their role in it and had 'not evolved a policy or procedure over the years under which to operate.'⁷⁵ When the guardianship review started it was decided to bring all the outstanding church cases together and take a composite decision, rather than dealing with them case by case. In response to a letter from the Church Commissioners dated 15 August 1980, Peter Smith of the Department wrote on 27 May 1981:

'We have been obliged to decide that in present economic circumstances, and with a reduced and over-stretched professional and technical staff, we must decline virtually every monument on offer. Although the five buildings to which you refer have their merits there would frankly be no hope of our being able to take them into care in the foreseeable future and to fulfil the statutory responsibilities of consolidation, maintenance and preservation that transfer would imply.'⁷⁶

As for the future, the Department was still hopeful of securing the preservation of the buildings:

'We now hope that you will consider the possibility of transfer to the Redundant Churches Fund. The only other possibility from the Department's side, is grant-aid of one kind or another. But Ancient Monument funds are not really appropriate until a church has completed the redundancy process and those allocated for the preservation of eligible Historic Buildings would, under the 'Places of Worship in Use' scheme, be restricted to a 'living' church; or, if the redundancy procedure went ahead, under the provisions for 'secular' grant to a building which has a suitable (alternative) use. I must tell you that the Historic Buildings Council sources of funds are under great pressure.'

This letter brought to an end the arrangements put in place by the Pastoral Measure and the national commitment to preservation of redundant churches of exceptional interest under threat was thereafter expressed through the government's financial support of the Redundant Churches Fund.

In the aftermath of the review, in November 1981, Andrew Saunders presented a paper on the future of guardianship to the Ancient Monuments Board. He told it that until the 1979 Act guardianship was the only secure means of preservation outside the use of compulsory powers. In the light of the new legislation, he said that the Department must look at the protection of antiquities in a new light. Since scheduled monument consent and management agreements had been introduced as means of preservation 'it could be said that to a degree all scheduled sites were now in care.' Saunders proposed that in future monuments should only be considered if a monument was deteriorating and the

Department's expertise was essential to ensure its preservation. Having made the case for practically abandoning guardianship altogether, Saunders appended to his paper a long list of monuments which were 'outstanding in their class and which qualify for consideration for guardianship should they become available.'⁷⁷

The list was composed under headings for all the major categories of monument, some but not all populated with the names of individual monuments. Longstanding targets such as **Ludlow Castle** and **Jervaulx Abbey** feature alongside monuments which had only recently become acceptable, such as **Hamsterley steel cementation furnace**. The domestic architecture category includes **Boothby Pagnell Manor House**, **Stokesay Castle** and **Clifton House**, Kings Lynn. In the church category it was stated that Church of England churches would only be considered if they were beyond the resources of the Redundant Churches Fund, but nonconformist places of worship could be considered.

The decision to withdraw from further guardianship negotiations was linked to the declining capacity of the directly employed labour force (DEL) to carry out the customary work of excavation and consolidation at monuments in the Department's care. Restrictions in public sector manpower instituted in 1976 were having a progressive effect on the DEL, bemoaned by Taylor in his letter to *The Times*. A workforce which had numbered about 1,000 in 1970 had shrunk to 711 by April 1979 and to 593 by December 1980.⁷⁸ At the same time the size of the collection had grown by 80 monuments. In 1980 it was reported to the Ancient Monuments Board that the policy of the Department was to reduce the directly employed labour force by natural wastage to an 'essential minimum'. It was intended that they should withdraw from all new-build construction, all maintenance to non-historic structures and maintenance to historic structures which did not require specialist skills, or where the monument was of the 17th century or later.⁷⁹

In his end-of-year report for 1980, Andrew Saunders stated that 'in several cases the Department is no longer able to keep up with maintenance and consolidation with the result that the condition of some monuments is now deteriorating.'⁸⁰ Reduction also meant that they could not monitor grant cases adequately so that a number of cases had resulted in badly carried out repairs. Carrying out work on behalf of other owners had virtually ceased. The effect was even worse on the initial preservation and consolidation of newly-acquired monuments. Normal building contractors rarely had the skills and experience necessary for work on ancient structures. Nor could they, in the words of the Ancient Monuments Board 'provide the consistent and unbroken care of single monuments which depends on the memory of the man on the job of what work has been done over several – often many – years on that particular monument.'⁸¹ Arnold Taylor described the unique combination of skill and 'feel' possessed by both 'industrial' and professional staff, which was at risk of loss if Heseltine continued to reduce numbers.

The directly employed labour force was not entirely a good thing, however. The East Anglia works office of the DAMHB was the subject of a long-running fraud investigation

from 1976.⁸² It was that same office that was responsible for the work at Priors Hall Barn, in Essex, where the owner accused the DoE of leaving his property looking 'like a rotting dinosaur' (fig 16).



Fig 16: Slow progress with repairs at Priors Hall Barn, Essex, attracted press attention on 16 March 1978 (*Saffron Walden Weekly News*)

The first use of contract labour at a medieval monument occurred at **Bushmead Priory** in 1981, although it was already commonly used in the Royal Palaces and 'historic buildings' in the Department's care. In 1981 contract labour was used for consolidation work at ten monuments in total including **St Peter's Barton on Humber**, where the roof of the north aisle was replaced and at **Old Wardour Castle** to insert new concrete floors into one of the towers, as well as **Berwick Barracks**, **Goodshaw Chapel** and **The Grange**. In the latter case the design and specification of the consolidation works had been commissioned from a private firm of architects, the Gilmore Hankey Kirke Partnership. The use of contract labour had a knock-on effect for the work of the Inspectorate since it was estimated that in complex cases an Inspector might have to be on site for one day a week during the contract, sometimes with other staff and would be heavily involved in the preparation of contract documentation.

The final accusation in Taylor's letter was that the Secretary of State was seeking to divest himself of two of the most important monuments in the national collection, namely **Battle Abbey** in Sussex and **Fountains Abbey** in Yorkshire. As Taylor must have known, as member of the Ancient Monuments Board, it was the County Council in each case that had proposed the transfer of management, not DAMHB. Nevertheless, he suggested in his letter that 'there is something less than respectable in proposing or even considering the transfer of such exceptionally noteworthy monuments to other, and less experienced hands.'

Battle Abbey and the site of the Battle of Hastings lay 'as near to the heart of English national history as any monument well could' wrote Taylor and it was this importance that led to its acquisition for the national collection in 1976. The estate on which these sites lay had been in the ownership of the Webster family, with one interruption, since 1721, but in 1975 the Trustees of the Battle Abbey Estate announced that it was to be put up for sale at auction. A few weeks before the sale the Department learned that a group of Americans wanted to buy the Abbey and battlefield (lots 1 and 2 in the auction) as a gift to the British people, to mark the USA's bicentennial year. The vendors, however, preferred to sell the estate as a whole rather than in separate lots, which put the value beyond the means of the Americans. As a result the Department had to buy the whole estate of 573 acres at a cost of £690,000, with a contribution of £220,000 from the American Philosophical Society.

In 1978 East Sussex County Council proposed taking over the abbey and battlefield, in order to develop their tourism and educational potential, neither of which were high priorities for the Department. The monument was offered to the County Council for free, on the condition that it carried out a programme of repairs, subsidised with 25 per cent grants.

It appears to have been entirely coincidental that at the same time a proposal had been made by another County Council to take over what Taylor called 'the matchless ruin of Fountains Abbey'. The ruined Cistercian abbey stood on the Studley Estate which was owned by the Vyner family and from the 1920s the Office Works and the family had co-operated in conserving the ruins. In 1966, however, the estate was bought by the West Riding County Council and the Ministry accepted guardianship of western part of it including the abbey. In 1975 the Department also accepted, as a gift, the estate church of St Mary, Studley Royal. The County Council managed the remainder of the estate but by the mid-1970s it was running an annual deficit and sought ways of saving money. Unifying the management of the whole estate was suggested and an arrangement was proposed similar to that at Battle by which the council would assume management and carry out repairs with 25 per cent grants from the Department.

The Ancient Monuments Board was opposed on principle to the plans, believing that both monuments were of national importance and should therefore be the government's

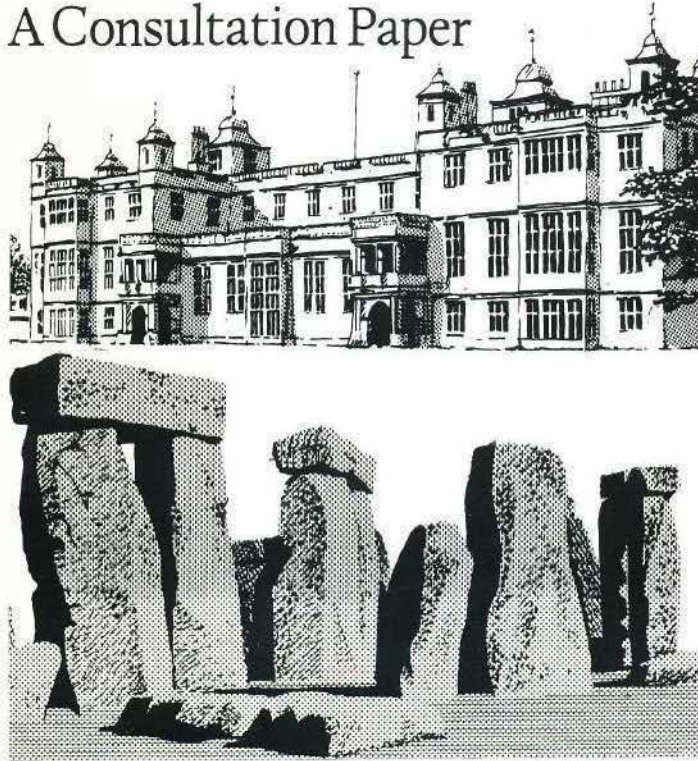
responsibility. At the time of Taylor's letter East Sussex County Council was still considering its position, but in November it was reported to the Board that it had decided not to accept the transfer of Battle Abbey under the terms of the Secretary of State's offer. In 1982 an alternative solution was found for Fountains Abbey, by which the estate was sold to the National Trust, with the care of the abbey and St Mary Studley Royal retained by the Department.

'THE WAY FORWARD' – THE CREATION OF ENGLISH HERITAGE

Maurice Mendoza, director of Ancient Monument and Historic Buildings at the Department of the Environment 1978-81 has been called the 'true progenitor' of English Heritage.⁸³ It is said to be Mendoza who first suggested to the Secretary of State Michael Heseltine in 1979 that the work of DAMHB could be done better by an agency. The idea was not brand new by any means, having been mooted by the Treasury's Machinery of Government Branch as far back as 1949 (but vigorously opposed and ultimately defeated by the Ministry of Works on that occasion).⁸⁴

Organisation of Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings in England

A Consultation Paper



Department of the Environment

Fig 17: The government's consultation paper which led to the creation of English Heritage

Given the public attacks on the Directorate in the early part of 1981 the publication of a consultation paper on reorganisation of ancient monuments and historic buildings work in October of that year was timely (fig 17). Yet the paper made no direct criticism of the Department.

The proposed transfer of functions from the Department of the Environment to a new agency was presented as part of the government's wider programme to reduce its responsibility for functions that could be more effectively carried out by non-

governmental bodies. There is a hint of criticism in the suggestion that 'an organisation devoted entirely to the heritage would...be better able to focus single-mindedly on the functions currently being carried out by the Department' and would 'command a greater respect in the heritage field.'⁸⁵ The emphasis in the proposals, however, was for a more engaging and imaginative presentation of monuments in care, to maximise their educational and commercial potential. This would require 'commercial and entrepreneurial flair', best located outside government.⁸⁶ A parallel was drawn with museums and the arts and the way in which they related to government. Privately, officials in DoE said that the key to success would be 'to get a board which will allow a chief executive to operate without either his head in the heritage clouds...or his feet in the Butlins mire.'⁸⁷

Over 300 responses to the consultation were received and the government's conclusions were published the following year in *Organisation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings in England: The Way Forward*. This document stated that the present system worked well and reported that many respondents had praised the skill and dedication of the staff of the Department. Yet the government was convinced that the expert nature of much ancient monuments and historic buildings work made it suitable for transfer to an agency. It was also thought that an agency would have the advantage of being able to tap into private funding and voluntary help. A new agency could also, the government believed, bring innovation and imagination to the way monuments were used in education. It responded to concerns about overt commercialism by pointing out that the National Trust and various bodies in other countries had shown that revenue and public enjoyment can be increased in sympathetic and sensible ways which did not harm the monuments. It also stated that the government's first priority was to preserve and protect monuments for future generations and therefore there was no question of neglecting sites simply because they were not profitable, or of allowing erosion of sites through over-use.

The new agency was created by the National Heritage Act 1983, which received Royal Assent on 13 May.⁸⁸ It was given the statutory title of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England but adopted the name 'English Heritage' at the suggestion of its first Chairman, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, who wanted a more vibrant image for the new organisation. The creation of the new agency entailed the dissolution of two established institutions, the Historic Buildings Council (created in 1953) and the Ancient Monuments Board (created in 1913), but the Commission retained the directly employed labour force first formed in 1912. In order to ensure a smooth transition, the staff of DAMHB were asked to work in the Commission on a two-year secondment, after which time they could choose to commit to it or return to the Department. Continuity was also aided by the appointment of Peter Rumble, the Director of DAMHB from 1981, to the post of Chief Executive of the Commission. Lord Montagu, echoing Harold Emmerson's remarks on becoming Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Works in 1946 (see Volume Six), later recalled that he 'inherited a considerable esprit de corps, expertise and enthusiasm, which could, I believe, be traced all the way back to the great General Pitt-Rivers, who had become the very first inspector of Ancient Monuments in 1882.'⁸⁹

Early Acquisitions Policy in English Heritage

The acquisitive urge had not died with DAMHB and as early in the life of English Heritage as July 1984 a paper was presented to Commission by Peter Rumble dealing with 'Policy on acquisition and acceptance of ancient monuments and historic buildings'.⁹⁰ The Commission decided that they should be prepared to take a more positive line on the national collection, for instance by trying to fill gaps in its existing stock of monuments. Concern should not be limited to the acquisition of individual monuments; regard should be had to their setting in the historical landscape. Historic buildings should normally be considered only for 'temporary rescues' for later resale, buildings for which no alternative use can be found without unacceptable changes to fabric or a very few major country houses with their contents (and then only with an endowment or an increase in grant-in-aid). **Kedleston Hall**, Derbyshire, was being offered in lieu of tax at the time and it may be that Commission had this particular house in mind.⁹¹

The 21 July edition of the *Economist* carried an article entitled 'The stately homes of England, How wobbly they stand', in which it was stated, in relation to the preservation of historic houses, that 'Lord Montagu's new quango, English Heritage, is unable to take on more work.' Peter Rumble wrote to the editor to correct this statement. While acknowledging that there were financial and manpower limits to what the Commission could achieve, 'in theory and in practice we would be able to take on more responsibility for more ancient monuments or historic houses if the occasion arose.'⁹² To prove his point he was able to refer to the recent decision to take over **Kenwood**, **Marble Hill House** and **Rangers House** in the event of the anticipated abolition of the GLC.

At its July meeting Commission asked for a future paper reviewing existing stock and making recommendations on priorities for future acquisitions. Andrew Saunders drafted a paper in which he set out his own views on how he saw the national collection developing.⁹³ Undaunted by the difficulties experienced in the last years of the DAMHB, Saunders put forward an expansionist policy:

'It can be said that a body such as the Commission which has concern for the man made heritage as a whole, should take a more representative view both in terms of types of monuments and buildings desiring long term preservation and for 'promoting the public's enjoyment of and advance their knowledge of ancient monuments and historic buildings in England'. It should therefore develop a strategy alongside its 'last resort' role to maintain a better balanced and representative estate'... provided there are sufficient resources available for a pro-active policy.'⁹⁴

Andrew Saunders took the view that now was the time, after 70 years of growth in the national collection, to correct what he called 'areas of imbalance'. He identified historic landscapes, traditional farm buildings, medieval military architecture - in particular in the Marches and the Scottish Borders - ruined and pre-Norman churches and nonconformist

chapels as categories of monument which were under-represented or at risk, where it might be appropriate to consider acquisition. In general he felt that 'if the Commission is to have a better balanced estate it should take greater responsibility for roofed and furnished buildings and historic gardens.'⁹⁵

At the May 1985 meeting of the Commission a paper was presented by Jane Sharman, head of Ancient Monuments Administration (later Chief Executive), in which Saunders' views were put in the context of the very substantial resources needed to manage the existing stock of monuments.⁹⁶ Sharman's conclusion was that 'the scope for a positive acquisition policy is limited both by the monuments which become available and by resources.'⁹⁷ Contrary to their earlier position, the Commissioners decided that their policy would have to be reactive rather than pro-active 'and the aim of attempting to alter the balance of the stock of monuments in care as between different categories could therefore only be a general aim.' The important thing, the Commissioners felt, was that they should not fail to act in cases of last resort. So any hopes there may have been of reviving guardianship after its crisis in 1980-1981 were dashed early on in the life of English Heritage.

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.

- 1 Ancient Monuments Society Transactions 35 (1991), 190-192
- 2 Others mentioned in this report and shown here are Anthony Dale (front row, second from left) and Roy Gilyard-Beer (front row, third from right).
- 3 Obituary of Andrew Saunders by Henrietta Quinnell on www.comisharchaeology.org.uk
- 4 Obituary of Andrew Saunders by Ronald Porter, *The Independent* 13 June 2009
- 5 Anthony Dale to Arnold Taylor 1 May 1972, English Heritage file IP000038
- 6 Saunders, 205
- 7 Arnold Taylor to Miss Bell 15 April 1972, English Heritage file AA50588/3 part 2
- 8 Roy Gilyard Beer to Andrew Saunders 30 November 1973, English Heritage file AA50588/3 part 2
- 9 Blaylock, 283
- 10 An archaeological field survey in 2001-02 recorded more than 300 monuments of the Bronze Age and Middle Ages in the Upper Plym Valley. See www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/upper-plym-valley/listing-and-research
- 11 In Scotland solicitors advised in similar cases that the powers in the Ancient Monuments Acts were not suitable and the Scottish Office took the view that protection of the wider environment of field monuments was a matter for planning legislation. See A M Thomson to J S M Vinter 15 July 1974, English Heritage file AA5019/1 part 3
- 12 Jane Fawcett to Arnold Taylor 23 May 1967, English Heritage file AA21005/3 part 1
- 13 Nikolaus Pevsner to Maurice Craig, English Heritage file AA21005/3 part 1
- 14 Arnold Taylor to Jane Fawcett 5 June 1967 English Heritage file AA21005/3 part 1
- 15 Arnold Taylor to R Tatton-Brown 7 June 1967, English Heritage file AA21005/3 part 1
- 16 Howard Colvin to Arnold Taylor 20 June 1967, English Heritage file AA21005/3 part 1
- 17 The Ministry of Works was asked in 1950 if it had any scheme for assisting with the cost of fire insurance premiums for the two churches. The churchwarden wrote that 'in so small a parish we find it extremely difficult to meet all our obligations.' Letter from G H Varah dated 18 November 1950, English Heritage file AA30613/2 part 1
- 18 Arnold Taylor to Mr Myers, 10 July 1972, English Heritage file AA 30613/3 pt 1
- 19 Ibid
- 20 Quoted in Richard Gem's report 1 November 1979, English Heritage file AA20000/2 part 2
- 21 SAVE press release 157, 29 December 1977

- 22 Powell, 153-4
- 23 Sitwell, 188
- 24 Sir Osbert Sitwell to Sir Alan Lascelles, Chairman of the Historic Buildings Council for England 31 July 1959, English Heritage file AA30226/3 part 1
- 25 Undated letter received at the Ministry 9 January 1968, English Heritage file AA30226/3 part 1
- 26 Arnold Taylor to G M Newton 18 November 1968, English Heritage file AA30226/3 part 1
- 27 Reresby Sitwell to Arnold Taylor 9 June 1969, English Heritage file AA30226/3 part 1
- 28 Reresby Sitwell to Arnold Taylor 24 May 1970, English Heritage file AA30226/3 part 1
- 29 Mordaunt Crook, 205
- 30 Frederick Raby to Messrs Bradshaw and Waterson 28 February 1936, National Archives file WORK14/700
- 31 John Harris relates how Joe Mordaunt Crook was responsible for 'spilling the beans to the President of the Council of Europe at the opening of the Neo-classic exhibition [in September 1972], when it was announced that The Grange was about to be blown up.' 'With Ordnance Survey in Hand and Dictionary in Knapsack', *Airs and Whyte* (eds), 23
- 32 Andrew Saunders to Ron Ditchfield 26 February 1975, English Heritage file AA12351/3 part 1
- 33 Juliet Allan to Andrew Saunders 7 June 1982, English Heritage file IP00011
- 34 Cossons, 62
- 35 White, 346
- 36 *Architects' Journal* vol 128, 3 July 1958, 5
- 37 Ancient Monuments Board for England paper AME/P (77)42 September 1977, see National Archives file WORK47/12
- 38 House of Lords debate 5 February 1979 Hansard vol 398 c453
- 39 Brian Wells to Peter Smith 23 June 1980, English Heritage file AA90778/25 part 1
- 40 Ibid
- 41 Halsey, 36
- 42 Ibid, 37
- 43 Minutes of the Ancient Monuments Board for England 21 May 1971, see National Archives file WORK47/7
- 44 Alan Cunliffe to Herbert Hobbs 6 January 1970, English Heritage file AA30226/3 part 1
- 45 *Country Life* vol 147, 16 April 1970, 850-1
- 46 Letter dated 5 May 1970, English Heritage file AA30226/3 part 1. Its message was reported to readers of *Country Life* by John Comforth in July. See *Country Life* vol 148, 2 July 1970, 29
- 47 G M Newton to Brian Blackwood 13 August 1975, National Archives file WORK14/3206

- 48 Schedule 4 section 10 of the National Heritage Act 1983. A consequential amendment was made to the 1953 Act (section 8c)
- 49 Ancient Monuments Board for England paper AME/P 304, December 1969
- 50 House of Lords debate 5 February 1979 Hansard vol 398 c453
- 51 Ibid
- 52 House of Commons debate 4 April 1979 Hansard vol 965 c1360
- 53 1982 Annual Report of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 57
- 54 House of Commons debate 3 December 1979 Hansard vol 975 c92
- 55 House of Commons debate 3 December 1979 Hansard vol 975 c70
- 56 House of Lords debate 9 February 1977 Hansard vol 379 c1145
- 57 House of Commons debate 4 April 1977 Hansard vol 929 c869
- 58 The following numbers for grant offers made come from the respective Annual Reports of the Ancient Monuments Board for England: 1979 - 125 offers; 1980 - 120 offers; 1981 - 140 offers; 1982 - 90 offers
- 59 1982 Annual Report of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 60
- 60 Christopher Young to Andrew Saunders 17 April 1980, English Heritage file AA30602/3 part 1
- 61 Andrew Saunders to Mrs Hewer 6 April 1977, English Heritage AA51560/3 part 1
- 62 Maurice Mendoza to A R Head 5 October 1981, English Heritage file AA51560/3 part 2
- 63 A R Head to John Kaye 4 June 1984, English Heritage file AA51560/3 part 2
- 64 Harry Gordon Slade to G M Newton 16 January 1981, English Heritage file AA5019/1 part 4
- 65 R C Stewart for the Treasury Solicitor to S Andrews, Ancient Monuments Administration 15 January 1987, English Heritage file AA5019/1 part 4
- 66 *The Times* Saturday 31 January 1981 Issue 60840 p13 col F
- 67 *The Times* Saturday 14 February 1981 Issue 60852 p15 col H
- 68 *The Times* Friday 20 February 1981 Issue 60857 p15 col H
- 69 *The Times* Thursday 26 February 1981 Issue 60862 p15 col D
- 70 *The Times* Monday 16 February 1981 Issue 60853 p13 col H
- 71 Binney, 1166
- 72 Ancient Monuments Board for England paper AME/P (81)5
- 73 Maurice Mendoza to Andrew Saunders 8 May 1980, English Heritage file AA5158/1 part 3
- 74 Ancient Monuments Board for England paper AME/P (81)9 presented at the 29 May 1981 meeting
- 75 Brian Wells to Peter Smith 23 June 1980 on English Heritage file AA90778/25 part 1
- 76 Peter Smith to Kenneth Lamb of the Church Commissioners, 27 May 1981, English Heritage file AA90788/25 part 1
- 77 Ancient Monuments Board paper AME/P (81)23, 27 November 1981, National Archives file WORK 47/16
- 78 Written answer to a Parliamentary Question from Secretary of State for the Environment 17 February 1981 Hansard vol999 c110

- 79 Ancient Monuments Board for England paper AME/P (80)16
- 80 1980 Annual Report of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 51, Appendix 3
- 81 1980 Annual Report of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 5
- 82 *The Times* Thursday 9 July 1981 Issue 60975 p3 col H
- 83 Obituary of Maurice Mendoza by Jennie Page, Conservation Bulletin 39 (December 2000)
- 84 See National Archives file WORK 14/3059
- 85 *Organisation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings in England: a Consultation Paper* 1981, 3
- 86 Ibid
- 87 Note of a meeting, taken by 'SDD', 20 July 1981, English Heritage file IP000022
- 88 Parliamentary consideration of the Bill is summarised in Delafons, 138-141. The legislation also gave new independent status to the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Science Museum and the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew
- 89 Montagu of Beaulieu
- 90 Commission Paper 84/61 'Policy on acquisition and acceptance of ancient monuments and historic buildings' July 1984
- 91 Minutes of Commission 18 July 1984
- 92 Peter Rumble to the editor of *The Economist* 6 August 1984, English Heritage file HB/4517/1
- 93 Andrew Saunders to Peter Rumble 12 April 1985, English Heritage file HB/4517/1
- 94 Ibid, para A5
- 95 Ibid, para C6
- 96 Commission Paper 85/50 'Acquisition of Monuments and Historic Buildings', English Heritage file HB/4517/1
- 97 Minutes of the Commission meeting 18 May 1985

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The primary source material for this period is limited because of the unauthorised destruction in 1989 of some 12,000 ancient monuments files dating from 1963 to 1979. A retired officer of the Ancient Monuments Division of the Department of the Environment, Joyce Melhuish, who had worked on many of the cases herself, was employed to reconstruct the guardianship files from other sources, for example the records of the owner of the monument. The reconstructed files in the list below can be recognised by the prefix 'AR'. Although Miss Melhuish was able to provide useful summaries of some cases, the files are largely limited to the bare legal details of the acquisition. The minutes of the Ancient Monuments Board (in the WORK 47 series in the National Archives) supplied some of the missing information.

Monument	English Heritage (EH)	The National Archives (TNA)
All Souls, Haley Hill, Yorkshire	AA 20000/2 part 2	
Area of Archaeological Importance: Canterbury	AA 8369/21	
Area of Archaeological Importance: Exeter	AA 8369/24	
Archcliffe Fort, Dover, Kent	AA 51560/3 parts 1, 2	
Bardney Abbey, Lincolnshire	AA 30602/3 parts 1, 2	
Belsay Hall and Castle, Northumberland	AA 12351/3 part 1	
Berwick Barracks, Northumberland	AA 11550/3A parts 1, 2	
Bowhill, Exeter, Devon	AA75549/3	
Bramber Castle, Sussex	AA 50588/3 part 2	
Bushmead Priory, Bedfordshire	AA 411199/3	WORK 14/1905
Cantlop Bridge, Shropshire	AR 91851/3	
Castle Howard Mausoleum, North Yorkshire	AR 11819/3	
Chartley Castle, Staffordshire	AA 40213/3 parts 1, 2	
Chisbury Chapel, Dorset	AA 70712/3 part 1	
Clifton Hall, Cumbria	AA 100564/3 part 1	

Coombe Conduit, London	AA 56350/3	
Countess Pillar, Brougham	AA 11428/3 part 2	
De Grey Mausoleum, Flitton, Bedfordshire	AA 43749/3 AR 43749/3	
Edvin Loach Old Church, Herefordshire	AR 90712/3	
Elmore Colliery, Co Durham	AA 11922/3A	
Etal Castle, Northumberland	AA 10761/3	
Gainsthorpe DMV, Lincolnshire	AR 30770/3	
Goodshaw Chapel, Rawtenstall, Lancashire	AA 100433/3 part 1	
The Grange, Northington, Hampshire		WORK 14/700
Halliggye Fougou, Cornwall	AA 70139/3	
Hill Hall, Essex	AA 40460/3 part 1 IP 00011	
Hound Tor DMV, Devon	TRS WKS/14230	
Howden Minster, East Yorkshire	AA 20298/3	
Iron Bridge, Ironbridge, Shropshire	AA 90655/3	
Marmion Tower, North Yorkshire	AA10070/3	
Merrivale Hut Circles, Devon	AA 71934/3/DUP	
Milton Chantry, Gravesend, Kent	AR 50522/3	
Moulton Packhorse Bridge, Suffolk	AA 40916/3 parts 1, 2	
North Hinksey Conduit House, Oxfordshire	AA 62183/3	
Over Bridge, Gloucestershire	AA 74558/3 part 2	
Penhallam, Cornwall	AA 74537/3 part 2	
Piel Castle, Cumbria	AA 100564/3 part 1	
Piercebridge Roman Bridge, North Yorkshire	AA 12145/3	
Priors Hall Barn and Moat, Essex	AA 41579/3	
Ravenglass Roman Bath House, Cumbria	AR 11025/3	

Rodmarton Long Barrow, Gloucestershire	AA 71999/3	
St John's Commandery, Swingfield, Kent	AR 51488/3	
St Mary, Kempley, Gloucestershire	AA 75396/3 parts 1, 2	
St Mary, Studley Royal, North Yorkshire	AA 21005/3 parts 1, 2	
St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire	AA 30613/2 part 1 AA 30613/3 part 1	
Slingsby Castle, Yorkshire	AA010168/3	
Southwick Priory, Hampshire	AA 60987/3 part 1	
Stott Park Bobbin Mill, Cumbria	AA 100457/3	
Sutton Scarsdale, Derbyshire	AA 30226/3 parts 1, 2	
Sutton Valence, Kent	AR 50357/3	
Upper Plym Valley, Devon	AA 5019/1 part 3	
Waltham Abbey Chapter House, Essex	AR 41097/3	
Wetheral Priory Gatehouse, Cumbria	AR 10809/3	
Wharham Percy DMV, Yorkshire	AA 20904/3 part 1	
Witley Court, Worcestershire	AA 91745/1 AR 91745/3 part 1	
Wroxeter Church, Shropshire	AA90788/25 part 1	

General administrative and policy files

Policy on HBMCA Acquisition of Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments: UCHB input (1984-1985)	HB/4517/1	
Acceptance of Monuments into Guardianship – Policy (1979-1985)	AA 5158/1 part 3	
Gardens as ancient monuments (1975-1980)		WORK 14/3206
Gardens as ancient monuments (1979-1985)		WORK 14/3207
Treasury proposals for future Ancient Monuments organisation (1948-1955)		WORK 14/3059
Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1969-1971)		WORK 47/7
Ancient Monuments Board minutes		WORK 47/8

(1972-1973)		
Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1974-1975)		WORK 47/9
Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1975-1976)		WORK 47/10
Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1976-1977)		WORK 47/11
Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1977-1978)		WORK 47/12
Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1980-1981)		WORK 47/15
Ancient Monuments Board minutes (1981-1982)		WORK 47/16

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Monuments added to the National Heritage Collection 1970-1983

Property	County	Year	Type of acquisition
Southwick Priory	Hampshire	1970	Transfer
Hadrian's Wall: Black Carts Turret	Northumberland	1970	Guardianship
Castle Acre Castle	Norfolk	1970	Guardianship
Portsmouth, Royal Garrison Church	Hampshire	1970	Transfer
Dartmouth Castle	Devon	1970	Guardianship
Sutton Scarsdale	Derbyshire	1971	Gift
Howden Minster	East Yorkshire	1971	Guardianship
Hadrian's Wall: Pike Hill Signal Tower	Cumbria	1971	Guardianship
Durrington Walls	Wiltshire	1971	Transfer
Whalley Abbey Gatehouse	Lancashire	1971	Guardianship
Tregiffian Burial Chamber	Cornwall	1971	Guardianship
Hound Tor Deserted Medieval Village	Devon	1972	Guardianship
Faversham Stone Chapel	Kent	1972	Guardianship
Lydford Norman Fort	Devon	1972	Guardianship
Hatfield Earthworks	Wiltshire	1972	Purchase
Milton Chantry, Gravesend	Kent	1972	Guardianship
Hadrian's Wall: Hare Hill	Cumbria	1972	Guardianship
Tattershall College	Lincolnshire	1972	Guardianship
Flowerdown Barrows	Hampshire	1972	Guardianship
Beadlam Roman Villa	North Yorkshire	1972	Purchase
Wharfedale Percy Deserted Medieval Village	North Yorkshire	1972	Guardianship
Isles of Scilly – Garrison Walls	Cornwall	1973	Transfer
Witley Court	Worcestershire	1973	Compulsory guardianship
North Hinksey Conduit House	Oxfordshire	1973	Guardianship
Piel Castle	Cumbria	1973	Guardianship
Merrivale Hut Circles	Devon	1973	Guardianship
Clifton Hall	Cumbria	1973	Guardianship
Medieval Merchant's House, Southampton	Hampshire	1973	Guardianship

Waverley Abbey	Surrey	1973	
Cirencester Roman Amphitheatre	Gloucestershire	1973	Purchase
Offa's Dyke	Gloucestershire	1973	Guardianship
Gainsthorpe Deserted Medieval Village	Lincolnshire	1974	Guardianship
Bushmead Priory	Bedfordshire	1974	Guardianship
Stott Park Bobbin Mill	Cumbria	1974	Purchase
St Mary's Church, Studley Royal	North Yorkshire	1975	Gift
Etal Castle	Northumberland	1975	Guardianship
Nymphsfield Long Barrow	Gloucestershire	1975	Guardianship
Bramber Castle	West Sussex	1975	Guardianship
Iron Bridge	Shropshire	1975	Guardianship
Edlingham Castle	Northumberland	1975	Guardianship
Sibsey Trader Mill	Lincolnshire	1975	Guardianship
Landguard Fort	Suffolk	1975	Transfer
Fort Cumberland	Hampshire	1975	Transfer
The Grange, Northington	Hampshire	1975	Guardianship
St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury	Kent	1975	Guardianship
Leigh Barton Farm	Devon	1975	Purchase
Piercebridge Roman Bridge	North Yorkshire	1975	Guardianship
Hill Hall	Essex	1976	Transfer
Marmion Tower	North Yorkshire	1976	Guardianship
Goodshaw Chapel	Lancashire	1976	Gift
Sutton Valence Castle	Kent	1976	Guardianship
Bowhill, Exeter	Devon	1976	Purchase
Priors Hall Barn	Essex	1976	Guardianship
St Peter's Church, Barton-on-Humber	Lincolnshire	1976	Gift
Waltham Abbey Gatehouse	Essex	1976	Guardianship
Battle Abbey	East Sussex	1976	Purchase
Cantlop Bridge	Shropshire	1977	Guardianship
Moulton Packhorse Bridge	Suffolk	1977	Guardianship
Gallows Conduit, Kingston	London	1977	Guardianship
Brougham Countess Pillar	Cumbria	1977	Transfer
Canterbury Conduit House	Kent	1977	Guardianship
Boxgrove Priory	West Sussex	1977	Guardianship
Berry Pomeroy Castle	Devon	1977	Guardianship
Grimspound, Dartmoor	Devon	1977	Guardianship
Thetford Holy Sepulchre	Norfolk	1977	Gift
Wetherall Priory Gatehouse	Cumbria	1978	Guardianship
St John's Commandery Chapel, Swingfield	Kent	1978	Guardianship

Coombe Conduit, Kingston	London	1978	Guardianship
Upper Plym Valley	Devon	1978	Guardianship
Black Middens Bastle House	Northumberland	1978	Guardianship
Over Bridge	Gloucestershire	1978	Transfer
Ambleside Roman Fort	Cumbria	1978	Guardianship
Rodmarton Long Barrow	Gloucestershire	1979	Purchase
St Mary's Church, Kempley	Gloucestershire	1979	Gift
De Grey Mausoleum	Bedfordshire	1979	Guardianship
Dover Archcliffe Fort	Kent	1979	Transfer
Halliggye Fogou	Cornwall	1979	Guardianship
Silchester Roman Amphitheatre	Hampshire	1979	Guardianship
Edvin Loach Old Church	Herefordshire	1980	Gift
Belsay Hall, Castle & Gardens	Northumberland	1980	Guardianship
Ravenglass Roman Bath House	Cumbria	1980	Guardianship
Berwick Barracks	Northumberland	1981	Transfer
Penhallam	Cornwall	1981	Guardianship
Chisbury Chapel	Wiltshire	1982	Transfer
St Briavel's Castle	Gloucestershire	1982	Transfer
St Johns Abbey Gate	Essex	1983	Transfer
Lulworth Castle	Dorset	1983	Guardianship
Daws Castle	Somerset	1983	Purchase

APPENDIX 2: List of rejected offers and abandoned negotiations 1970-1983

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 an ancient monument 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?
All Saints, Sockburn	Co Durham	1981		
All Souls, Haley Hill	Yorkshire	1980	Beyond repair	
Bardney Abbey	Lincolnshire	1980		
Beauport Park Iron Workings	Sussex	1981		
Bewcastle Cross, Roman Fort and Castle	Cumbria	1981		
Brampton Old Church	Cumbria	1981		Y
Bishops Manor House	Humberside	1981		Y
Castle Howard Mausoleum	Yorkshire	1972 1978		
Chandos Mausoleum, Stanmore	London			
Chartley Castle	Staffordshire	1977	Change of owner	
Chibbum Preceptory	Northumberland	1981		Y
Cockersand Abbey		1981		Y
Craswall Priory	Herefordshire	post-1981		
Elemore Colliery	Co Durham	1979	Financial	
Fountains Abbey precinct wall	Yorkshire	1981		
Gasholder No. 2, Fulham	London	1981	Owner's conditions	
Ince Manor	Cheshire	1981		
Jervaulx Abbey	Yorkshire	1979		
Martello Tower, Clacton	Essex	1981		Y
Maxstoke Priory	Warwickshire	1981		Y
Mitford Castle	Northumberland	1981		
Pembridge bell tower	Herefordshire	1981		Y
Portsmouth Block Mills	Hampshire	1981		
St Johns Church Stanmore	London	1981		Y
St Bartholomew, Richards Castle	Herefordshire	1981		
Slingsby Castle	Yorkshire	1981		
Sulgrave Castle	Northants	1981		
Tickhill Castle	South Yorkshire	1979	Financial	
Unitarian Chapel, Bury St Edmunds	Suffolk	post-1981		
West Walton bell tower	Norfolk	1981		Y
Whalley Abbey	Lancashire	1979		
Woodchester Roman Villa	Gloucestershire	1981		
Wroxeter Old Church	Shropshire	1981		Y

APPENDIX 3: Results of the Guardianship Review 1980-81

A – Negotiations terminated

All Saints Sockburn	Co. Durham
Brancaster Roman Fort	Norfolk
Cockersand Abbey	Lancashire
Gasholder No. 2, Fulham	London
Beauport Park Iron Workings	East Sussex
Brampton Old Church	Cumbria
Bell tower, Pembridge church	Herefordshire
Bell tower, West Walton church	Norfolk
Wroxeter Old Church	Shropshire
Bewcastle Cross, Roman Fort and Castle	Cumbria
Bishops Manor House	Humberside
Chibbum Preceptory	Northumberland
Fountains Abbey Precinct Wall	North Yorkshire
Ince Manor	Cheshire
Martello Tower, Clacton	Essex
Maxstoke Priory	Warwickshire
Mitford Castle	Northumberland
Portsmouth Blockmills	Hampshire
Slingsby Castle	Yorkshire
St John's Church, Stanmore	London
Sulgrave Castle	Northamptonshire
Woodchester Roman Villa	Gloucestershire

B – Negotiations continued

Boxgrove Priory	West Sussex
Chisbury Chapel	Wiltshire
Derwentcote Steel Furnace	Co. Durham
Fakenham Gasworks	Norfolk
Farnhill Hall	North Yorkshire
Hadrian's Wall: Winshields	Northumberland
15 Ladybellgate [Gloucester Blackfriars]	Gloucestershire
Lulworth Castle	Dorset

C – Further consideration needed

Blackstone Edge Roman Road	Yorkshire
Craswall Priory	Herefordshire
Unitarian Chapel, Bury St Edmunds	Suffolk
Upper Plym Valley additional area	Devon



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