

Listed Buildings: The National Resurvey of England

by

MARTIN ROBERTSON *et. al.*

This paper presents a personal view of the national resurvey of buildings of special architectural and historic interest. I did not see the beginning, and the end I have seen only at second-hand. I was involved continuously from 1968–89, starting as the most junior fieldworker and gradually becoming more and more a part of the management of the survey. I have not been privy to all decisions; much is direct experience and knowledge, but some is inevitably my interpretation of events. This is my tribute to what has been achieved and if I seem to suggest that it has been a worthwhile achievement, I must point out that my contributors do appear to agree with me. Hindsight has aided me, and the passage of time has been my editor.

Although I work for English Heritage and have worked for the Department of the Environment, the views expressed cannot be attributed to either of those bodies. The authors alone are responsible for what they have written. All statements of fact have been verified as far as possible, any inaccuracies can be blamed chiefly on my memory. I selected all the contributors and they have covered the ground that I asked. I have done only the usual editing and changed the odd factual inaccuracy where I have chosen to know better than they.

I must thank all my contributors for giving generously of their time to help me with this. I know they found as I did that the resurvey was a very memorable experience and I am glad that for many it proved a useful stepping stone in their careers. As more is known of the buildings of England we desperately need people who understand them. The built heritage can only get more important with the passage of time and we will depend on these people to carry on with its protection.

I must thank others who have helped me. They are colleagues at English Heritage and the Department of National Heritage, and especially Paul Heron who has researched the Department of the Environment files for me. It is also salutary to report that the City of Westminster Public Libraries does not possess a copy of Diaries of a Cabinet Minister by Richard Crossman.

Finally, I must thank the Ancient Monuments Society for asking me to do this. All the national amenity societies were extremely supportive during the resurvey, but were also well capable of criticizing us when they thought it necessary. I have been very pleased to accept the Society's invitation to make a small record at least of what has been achieved. I can do no better than leave the last word to my fellow Bathonian:

Historians are not happy in their flights of fancy. They display imagination without raising interest. I am fond of history—and am very well contented to take the false with the true. In the principal facts they have sources of intelligence in former histories and records, which may be as much depended on, I conclude, as anything that does not actually pass under one's own observation; and as far as the little embellishments you speak of, they are embellishments, and I like them as such. If a speech be well drawn up, I read it with pleasure, by whomsoever it may be made—and probably with much greater if the production of . . . Mr Robertson. (Chapter 14, *Northanger Abbey*, Jane Austen.)

M.B.R.

Part I: The Background

by

MARTIN ROBERTSON

THE BEGINNINGS OF LISTING AND THE FIRST SURVEY 1947-1970

The listing of buildings of special architectural and historic interest began with the Second World War (see 'The origins of Listed Buildings' by John H. Harvey in this volume of *Transactions*, pp. 1-20). The destruction in historic towns, Coventry, Bath, Bristol, York, Canterbury, but especially London, was the catalyst that alerted the establishment and the public to the need to record and preserve what remained. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments had been recording pre-1714 buildings since 1908 but this was not the kind of response needed following wartime bombing. What was now needed was a massive survey, quickly done, to identify all worthy buildings throughout the country. In 1947 about thirty-five staff were put to work with a survey programme intended to last three years. The fieldworkers had very little background and almost no training. They came from all walks of life to survey what was a completely unknown quantity to an impossible time-scale, a town in a month, a rural district in three months was the expectation, with additional constraints like petrol rationing, which lasted until 26 May 1950 and again post-Suez in 1956. There was also the still very strongly held prejudice against interference with property which almost all landowners held, and which their grandfathers had held when the ancient monuments legislation was debated in the 1870s. The first survey was the responsibility of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, with the minister advised by a group of experts, called the Galbraith Committee after its chairman, the Oxford historian, V.H. Galbraith.

The survey was run by S.J. Garton, an ex-Ministry of Works architect, who saw it as a military operation, but as can be expected with the size of the field and the end-product so completely unknown, it proved impossible to stick to a strict timetable without arbitrary corner-cutting such as 'only look at the village centres and go up no farm tracks' which was an instruction current for several years. The selection criteria and practical guidance for the fieldworkers were drawn up by John Summerson, the leading architectural historian of the time and a member of the Galbraith Committee. The emphasis was on completeness of survival of the originally designed fabric, and was very heavily weighted towards architecture, and especially pre-Victorian architecture, rather than to the vernacular tradition. All this meant that, whereas some of the towns were covered fairly adequately, the rural areas tended to be no more than a gesture and were not even complete according to the criteria of the time.

Martin Robertson was a Principal Inspector involved in running the National Resurvey. He is now Team Leader of the East Midlands Team, English Heritage.

18/1A - Church of St Michael, North Waltham. Rebuilt 1865. The C15 font was brought from Popham Church.

Fig. 1

A 1951 list description which illustrates one of the very frequently found inadequacies of the first lists. Identification of the building was often all that was considered necessary
Department of National Heritage

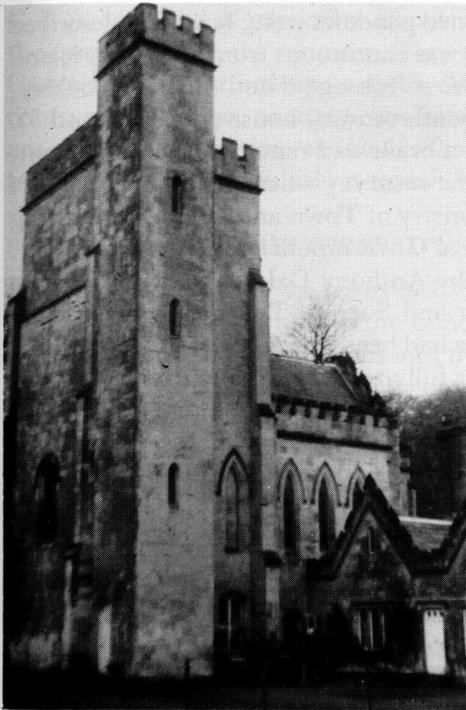


Fig. 2

The surviving section (Lancaster Tower) of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire. Designed by James Wyatt and built for William Beckford, this section survived the collapse of the central tower of the abbey in 1825. It was listed in 1966 and upgraded to Grade II* in 1987

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

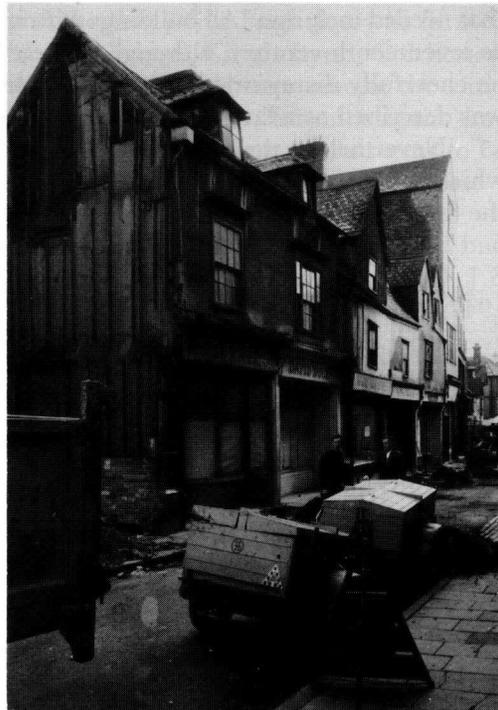


Fig. 3

These houses in St Ebbe's Street, Oxford are characteristic of the timber-framed seventeenth-century houses with later alterations which were placed in Grade III in 1947. The resurvey of 1971 found them almost all gone

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

The City of Oxford is an example. This survey, done in 1947, was the work of Peter Spokes, a prominent local historian. His knowledge of the city was immense and almost all architecture was properly included. At least a hundred mostly timber-framed and gabled seventeenth-century houses in the St Ebbe's area, however, were placed in the non-statutory Grade III, presumably both because they were vernacular and had been altered in the Victorian period. The practical result was that, when the resurvey was carried out in 1971, only four of these houses remained and this whole sector of the city was being redeveloped into a shopping centre, which is unlikely to be a candidate for listing in the future. Another form of inadequacy was reflected in the knowledge of the fieldworkers. The Cotswold lists were done by David Verey who later wrote the two Gloucestershire volumes for the Buildings of England series. Again, his local knowledge was excellent and he included the majority of buildings that needed inclusion. All buildings with mullioned windows were, however, described as seventeenth-century, although the tradition was continuous from 1550–1914, and he cheerfully disregarded dates on buildings, so a frontage dated 1732 in Blockley, was described as a later alteration of a seventeenth century house (Figs 1, 2 and 3).

Nevertheless, the first national survey was a brave and remarkable achievement, which gave us the basis from which to begin the resurvey when the inadequacies of the first round were clearly identified. The Ministry of Town and Country Planning had become the Ministry of Housing and Local Government on 28 October 1951. S.J. Garton retired in 1961 and was replaced by Anthony Dale, a fieldworker since 1947, who had covered most of Sussex, Kent and Surrey. The survey ground on ever more slowly. The first body of fieldworkers had been halved by the Conservative government in 1951 and the momentum never fully recovered. The first round was not finished even when the resurvey was well under way. The final list, that for Northampton and Islandshires, a remote rural district on the Scottish border, was issued in 1970, by which time the first 'greenback' resurvey list had already appeared.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE RESURVEY

It is evident that important initiatives cannot be undertaken within the Civil Service unless the will is there among the key personnel. There are three key people, the Minister or Secretary of State, the Permanent Secretary and the Assistant Secretary in charge of the particular division which will sponsor the work. If things are to move rapidly it is vital that all three are behind it, if only two are, the third is in a position to procrastinate until, if necessary there is a Cabinet re-shuffle and the whole idea moves once again on to the back burner. Even when all three are completely supportive nothing happens quickly and it is very unlikely that the instigators will be around to gain any of the credit.

The national resurvey of buildings of special architectural and historic interest began even before the first survey had been completed. It was approved by Richard Crossman, then Minister of Housing and Local Government in the first Wilson government (1964–6) and supported by the Permanent Secretary, Dame Evelyn Sharp (1955–66), and the Assistant Secretary in charge of heritage matters, Dr Vivian Lipman. These three were to set the wheels in motion in 1966, but only Dr Vivian Lipman—who was himself an historian—survived into the Heath government to see

the production of the first 'greenback' list, that for Buxton, Derbyshire, which he signed on 21 December 1970 (Fig. 4).

Some resurvey lists had been produced already, the City of Westminster was the first in 1968, followed by Kensington and Chelsea, for it was immediately realized on the formation of the G.L.C. in 1965 that the lists for the old L.C.C. boroughs would quickly become impossible to use, and revised, amalgamated, lists were required. This was the first external influence, the other key influences were pressure from the national amenity societies to list more, but particularly from the Victorian Society, which had been founded in 1958; their President, Nikolaus Pevsner, was on the Minister's own advisory committee, the Historic Buildings Council. The third, and perhaps the most important external influence was the 1960s redevelopment boom in the historic city centres. Fifty-one British cities and towns were identified by the C.B.A. as being of particular importance and the thirty-five English towns formed the priority list for the resurvey. Thus Oxford, Cambridge, King's Lynn, Colchester, Canterbury, Stratford-upon-Avon, Chester, Bath and York were among the early resurveys and now, twenty years later, are those under review, for once again they are as much out of date as the first lists then were. A twenty-year cycle seems to be indicated, and particularly a reassessment of poorly-represented building-types.

RESURVEYING THE HISTORIC TOWNS

The first seven years of the resurvey 1968–1975 were chiefly taken up with the C.B.A.'s thirty-five historic towns plus the London boroughs in a steady progression and such special cases as the New Towns and the London 'overspill' towns where the historic centres were directly threatened by enormous new developments. The only rural areas covered were those like Wellingborough which was an 'overspill' town, and others threatened by the expansion of London such as Sevenoaks Rural District where the D.I.Y. revolution was already beginning to make itself felt in the London commuter homes.

Our instructions were designed principally for speed. The Chief Investigator, Anthony Dale, had worked on the survey since 1947 and, indeed, continued to do fieldwork until about 1984. His priority was to get as many buildings protected as quickly as possible, so this meant minimum inspection time, buildings looked at only from the street, almost no interiors inspected and no more background research than could be done during the inevitable rainy days in the field. He spoke of ninety per cent of the right buildings being listed, which of course meant ten per cent missed and ten per cent listed wrongly. This was probably the correct response at the time. The development boom in the historic areas was still continuing and the resurvey really had a very few staff, perhaps fifteen full-time equivalents, to achieve it. Even so, the new staff, some of whom had art-history training, quickly began to want to put more into the work, particularly in the way of background research, than they were being asked to—and than the older investigators, used to the first survey, were actually practising. The opportunity to look carefully at towns like Oxford and Cambridge, Norwich and Salisbury was a great challenge, and also very frustrating, for there was never enough time to delve as far as one would like. The resurvey began to develop into a genteel struggle between fieldworkers and management which was

1.
935

TERRACE ROAD

Grove Hotel

SK 0573 1/38

II

2.
Mid C19, possibly incorporating earlier fabric. Long, plain building of 4 storeys with canted corner. Stuccoed front. Slated roof with eaves. Southern return of 3 storeys. 3 windows. Altered dormers. Later C19 canopy of cast iron and glass over pavement for whole frontage. Grade II on account of this canopy.

Signed by authority of the
Secretary of State

V.D. Lipman

An Assistant Secretary in the
Department of the Environment

Dated the 21 December 1970

Fig. 4

Buxton, Derbyshire. The first 'greenback list' signed by a key figure of the resurvey, the historian Dr Vivian Lipman. The list includes the Grade I Crescent, recently the subject of the Government's first full repairs notice under Section 48

Department of National Heritage



Fig. 5

St Anne's Place, Bath, built in the 1780s. Just the kind of minor tradesmen's houses which were highlighted as unprotected in *The Rape of Bath* in 1973. These were threatened with demolition by the Buchanan 'Tunnel' road scheme for the A4 in 1972, but thankfully still survive and are now listed

Francis Kelly

to continue to the end.

The system worked up to a point and most of the right buildings became protected and, as a result, are with us today. But time has shown how inadequate these lists, dating from the early 1970s, really were. What they did do, however, was to activate interest locally and this increased during the accelerated resurvey when the historic towns began to realize just how poorly they had been served. A flood of spot-listing requests began to be received and this continued until the review, or third look at these towns, was started specifically to meet it. Several very important towns had already been subjected to a third look, and the mid-1970s saw the beginnings of much more thorough work. Bradford, Huddersfield and Bristol were resurveyed to new standards of comprehensiveness. York was redone because it had become obvious that the early resurvey method was quite unsuited to a city where it had come to be expected that any centrally-situated building might incorporate medieval fabric. Bath was redone because of local pressure arising from the publication of Adam Ferguson's *The Rape of Bath* (1973) in which the author argued for the protection of the humbler parts of the city and not just the set-pieces (Fig. 5). The existing Bath list had the highest proportion of Grade Is in the country, precisely because only the set-pieces had been included.

There were some significant changes during this period of the resurvey. The selection criteria were revised in 1970 and the concept of group value was greatly strengthened. It had now become possible to include buildings which were not in themselves listable. The non-statutory Grade III, which had really served only to direct the planners' and developers' attention towards those buildings which they had better demolish before they were listed, was dropped. This was however, somewhat absurdly replaced by a 'local list' which was presented to the local authority to do what it liked with and tended to have the same effect as before. Local lists continued until 1978 when it was finally realized that they were costing effort without result.

Another factor was the re-organization of local government in 1974 which reduced the number of local authorities from 1210 to 440 and invented a number of new counties like Avon, Cumbria and Humberside. This made all the existing lists extremely difficult to use, led to the civil parish becoming the basic resurvey unit, and eventually helped persuade the Government that something must be done to help speed up the completion of the resurvey. Gradually, through this early part of the resurvey, the foundations of the later and far more comprehensive survey were being laid, and once Brian Anthony was in place as Assistant Chief Inspector, Historic Buildings (1 January 1978), there began to be some real hope for the future.

THE REACTION TO LISTING AND THE DECISION TO ACCELERATE THE RESURVEY

It is always difficult to pin-point when a new initiative within the Civil Service actually starts to happen. What came to be called the Accelerated National Resurvey was first agreed by Michael Heseltine in November 1980, but formal approval to proceed with recruitment came only three weeks before Mr Heseltine became Secretary of State for Defence, following John Nott's resignation after the Falklands War in 1982. The magic moment was when Michael Heseltine, accompanied by the Minister of State for Sport and the Heritage, Hector Monro, came to Savile Row to listen to

proposals put forward by the Urban Conservation and Historic Building Division as to what to do to answer the mounting criticism of the Department from outside sources, particularly the national amenity societies, for not giving sufficient priority to the completion of the national resurvey. The situation at that time was that the Inspectorate had had no new members of staff added to the listing section since 1975 and natural wastage, coupled with new areas of work, had meant that the resurvey had declined to the merest trickle. Why had this come about? Principally because the will to continue with the listing programme had failed within the upper reaches of the Department of the Environment, and it is evident that it was considered that too many buildings were being listed. The frustration, in whole or in part, of a number of large developments had brought a reaction against listing in the commercial sector; one notorious case was that of the Johnny Walker whisky warehouse in Tower Hamlets.



Fig. 6

The Johnny Walker warehouse in Commercial Road, London, was listed in 1973 as a part of the resurvey of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. The notice was served on it just days after it had changed hands for a very large sum of money for redevelopment

English Heritage

Bought for millions for redevelopment it was promptly listed (27 September 1973), and the new owners were told through a judgement that it was an accepted commercial risk—in fact ‘a rub of the green’. Now any purchase of an unlisted building was seen to be a gamble on whether it might be listed in the future (Fig. 6).

The strong public reaction against listing in the late 1970s was quickly reflected by a decline in listing capability. There are two ways of listing fewer buildings. The first, to change the selection criteria, was unthinkable. A third of the country had revised lists according to the rules last refined in 1970; it was too late to change them. It would have been both an admission of failure and clearly unfair on those already listed. The only alternative was to reduce the staff. By 1980 the amount of manpower available for listing work had declined from twelve whole people equivalents to four, and the national resurvey had ground to a halt. But as the complaints of the development fraternity declined, so those of the amenity movement began to strengthen, and SAVE in particular, led by Marcus Binney and Sophie Andreae, waxed vociferous as reports indicating the deficiencies of the Department’s lists came in a flood. Buildings too began to disappear, alerting the public in general—among them the Firestone building in West London, hastily demolished on August Bank Holiday 1980; and it does appear to have been this that finally persuaded the government to open the second front. The slow process of setting up the accelerated resurvey began here (Fig. 7).

SETTING UP THE ACCELERATED RESURVEY

The accelerated resurvey presented the Department with many problems it had not faced before. The most significant was its scale; more than 300 man/years of fieldwork remained to be done, with up to 110 fieldworkers employed in twenty-two local authorities and eleven private architectural practices to be managed and supervised by a greatly increased staff within the Department itself. Two new members of the listing staff, David Brock and Julian Orbach, had been taken on in 1980, but 1982 saw the arrival of ten new inspectors, while an additional Principal Inspector post was created to help manage the new workforce. Peter White, now Secretary of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, was chosen for this, joining the resurvey in November 1982 in the same week as the first of the training courses. It was not our first experience of having fieldwork done by people outside the Inspectorate. Anthony Dale had begun the process when he agreed with the G.L.C. Historic Buildings Division that they should revise the twenty remaining London boroughs in the years 1973–8. This service was paid for (£25,000) and many excellent people worked on it, but it was so badly guided by us that a great amount of unnecessary work was done, and the resulting lists had to be pruned severely before they were useable. Some of the counties began to volunteer their services as well. The first was Hampshire, following an initiative by Mike Pearce, who persuaded Sir John Garlick, the Second Permanent Secretary at the D.o.E., that it would be a good idea to let the county conservation team revise the list for Gosport (2 March 1979). Others soon followed: Essex, Somerset, Avon and Dorset among them, and it was these twenty counties and two districts with experience which were to form Phase One of the accelerated resurvey.

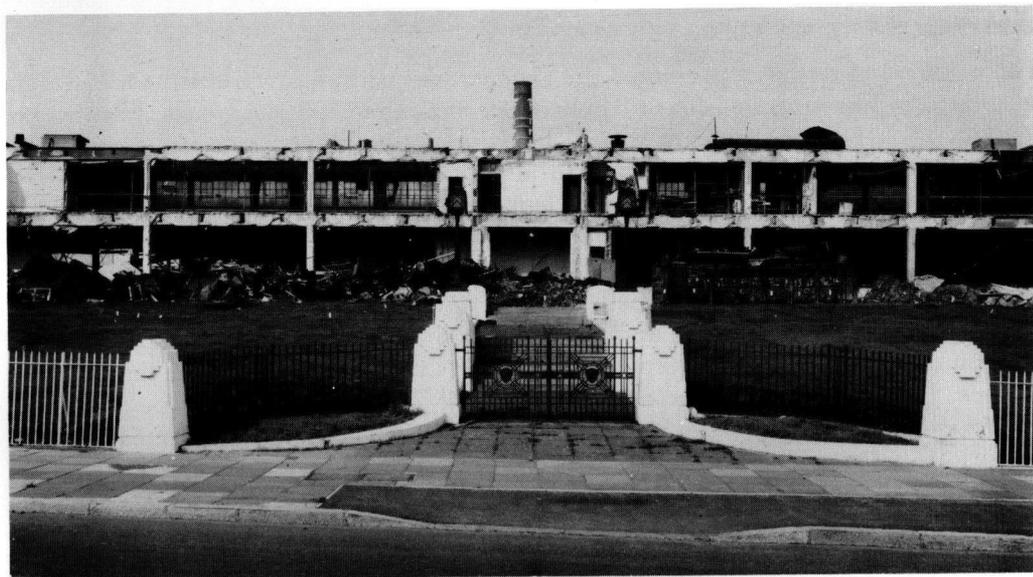
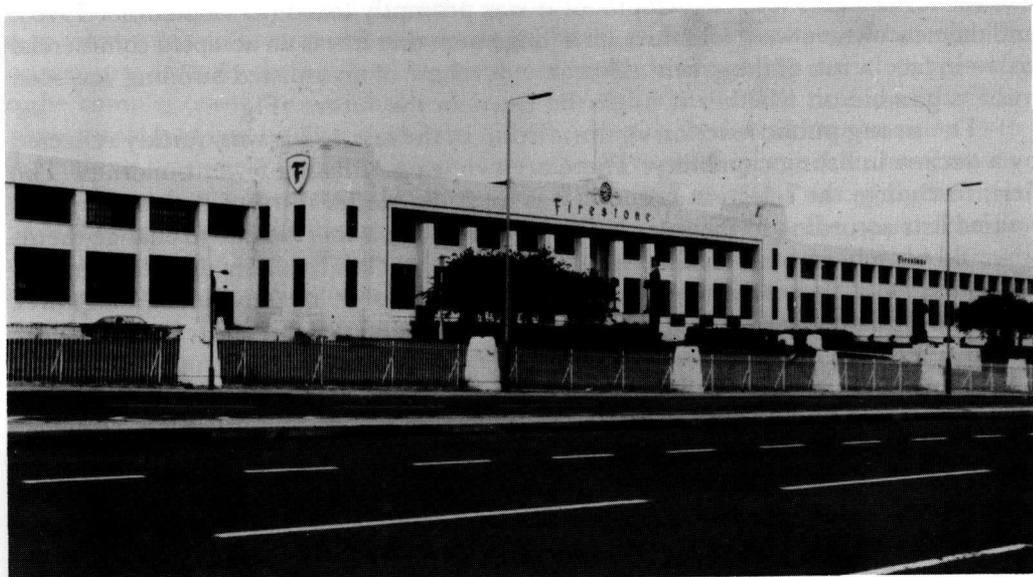


Fig. 7 a and b

The Firestone Factory was a key building for the appreciation of '30s architecture, as well as for signalling the Government's determination to accelerate the national resurvey. It is shown before and after August Bank Holiday 1980

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

The setting-up period during 1982 was an immensely busy time for all internal staff. First came meetings with all the twenty-two invited county and district councils, to agree the basis of the contract and the standards of service expected. These were carried out by Brian Anthony, Angela Thomas, the Department's Principal and myself. The interviews for the fieldworkers followed and these were undertaken by the supervising inspector and myself asking most of the technical questions.

Next came writing the manual of instructions which was to be the basic working tool for every fieldworker. This told you both how to choose the buildings and how to write them up, and included the mnemonic BDAMPFISHES, soon to be engraved on each fieldworker's heart. Finally there was the planning for the training course, and this is described in the next section (Figs 8 and 9).

It was originally decided, admittedly fairly arbitrarily, that a reasonable work programme was nine civil parishes in a three-month period. This had been worked out on the basis of the rural lists already attempted, but proved to be fairly meaningless in practice. In some parts of the country, for instance, Selby District and coastal Lincolnshire, it proved to be rare to have more than ten listable buildings in a parish while the absolute record was more than 200 in Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire. At the other end of the scale, several parishes in Cheshire had no listable buildings, while one near Warrington appeared to have no buildings whatever. This meant that a quarterly schedule could vary between fifteen and more than 600, while 200-250 listable buildings proved to be a fair and achievable task. All this lay in the future of course. At the beginning everything was taken on trust. We thought we knew what we were doing, so did the employers and the fieldworkers. The task each fieldworker was given had a fair element of luck about it and while it was, of course, possible to take work out of a contract, later on it was very, very difficult to put more in. Some people had relatively easy tasks in terms of numbers and were thus able to spend more time on inspecting the buildings more thoroughly, doing more background research and in writing more detailed descriptions. The standard of work was, in general, extremely high and often well beyond what we had expected or contracted for. In areas with large numbers of buildings, for instance Devon, Gloucestershire and West Yorkshire, this was only achieved by working long hours of overtime, and I am very glad that this dedication in the case of many of the fieldworkers has led to careers in the conservation field. The national resurvey has proved to be a very significant training ground for local authority conservation staff, while others have returned to work for English Heritage in the list review.

We then had a breathing space as Phase One got underway and the work began to come in. Methods were refined and it was decided for Phase Two that photographs would be essential, indeed it was madness that they had not been asked for from the start. As 1984 dawned the whole process was gone through again. By now the D.o.E. had decided that half the survey was to be put out to the private sector. This idea originated with John Stanley, the Minister of Housing at the time, and the work was to be tendered for among suitable practices. Following advertisement the interested firms were interviewed by a board chaired by Brian Anthony, assisted by Bernard Feilden and Ronald Brunskill, and a remarkable variety of knowledge and understanding, or lack of it, was demonstrated. One result was that the Phase Two training course was going to have to be partly for the employers as well as the fieldworkers.

The HB 30 Record Form BDAMP FISHES

PART III To be completed for each listing under the eleven headings given below. It will be found that it is not possible to complete every heading on most occasions, but it is most important that the order of the description be strictly adhered to, and that a separate sentence is used for each. It must also be always be kept in mind that the HB 30 form is the basis of the printed list, so a narrative description should be attempted i.e. not 'Brick, Tile, slate'; but 'Brick with tile-hung first floor and slate roof'.

[There are two purposes, of more or less equal importance, served by the 'notes section' of the HB 30 form:-

- i. there is the need to convey a general, but not necessarily detailed impression of the appearance and character of the building;
- ii. there is the need to provide some indication of its worth as a 'building of special architectural or historic interest'

towards the former the notes should provide a concise and systematic description of the main facts of the building - of its history and appearance

towards the latter the notes should stress or emphasise those aspects of the buildings' history or appearance which are of more particular interest. The two purposes are best served by arranging the notes in a systematic and orderly way and by making them precise, extremely concise and objective.]

- B Building type** - the original purpose for which the building was constructed (if known) followed by the present use (if different) e.g. Stableblock, now flats.
- D Date/s** - The different dates of construction as accurately as possible with the necessary explanation e.g. Early C18, west wing 1850; or C13 restored 1875.
- A Architect/Craftsman/Patron** - the name or names will be taken to refer to architects if no profession is specified. The name should be written as fully as necessary. It should be noted if a person is connected with a part of the building only.
- M Materials** - These should be written in the order: structure, cladding, decorative treatment, roof e.g. Timber-framed with brick front, stone quoins, tiled roof.
- P Plan/Style** - Descriptive terms for both of these should be limited to those in common use.
- F Façades** - The building should be described from the ground up, main frontage first in the order storeys, bays/ windows, door, roof shape.
- I Interior** - This should be limited to the briefest note of significant features which the listing would seek to preserve.

[Only features contributing to the special interest of the building should be given (e.g. panelling, plasterwork, turned balusters to stairs, good mantel-pieces, etc of C18 or earlier; ornate or distinguished design of the C19 or C20; important spatial features (e.g. domed stairwell); or valuable pre-C17 elements such as medieval cellar). Location should be given if brevity permits (e.g. '1st floor front room')]

- S Subsidiary features** - These are gates, railings, walls, urns, garden features etc. Any of sufficient importance to merit listing in their own right should be itemised separately.
- H History** - This may be the history of the building, its association with well-known figures, or other relevant historical matter.

[Only information contributing to the special interest of the item should be given e.g. the residence of a famous family or the occurrence of an important event]. [S.2.3.f].

- E Extra information:** this might be any aspect of the building in the land or townscape. This should only be completed if the information is really relevant. If the building is primarily listed for group value this will be noted here.
- S Sources** When relevant, sources should be given as briefly as possible and may refer to primary sources, contemporary secondary sources or reliable modern accounts.

Fig. 8

The mnemonic BDAMPFISHES was to be engraved into every fieldworker's consciousness. It first appeared in the listing *Handbook* of 1979
Department of National Heritage

1.
5117

BROADMEAD

Wesley's Chapel

ST 5973 40/29

8.1.59.

I

2.
(The New Room 1739, enlarged 1748). Possibly designed by George Tully. The interior of the chapel is of 4 'bays' with 6 stone Tuscan columns supporting galleries and flat ceiling; there is an octagonal clerestory light well. Fittings include panelling, some seating, pulpit and reading desk with rails. Over the chapel is the common room with small rooms at sides. Simple exterior has 2 sashes with glazing bars over a round-headed chapel window over a rusticated porch. To right hand is the preacher's stable. The whole is plain and rendered, a pantiled roof. It is of great importance as the 1st Wesleyan Chapel, and largely unaltered from the mid C18. The original living house and apartments are also within the building. Here Wesley spent more time than in any other building and wrote some of his most important sermons, including 'Free Grace' published in 1740, which brought about the split with George Whitefield.

1.
5117

BROADMEAD

Statue of John Wesley

ST 5973 40/29A

II

2.
1932. Bronze equestrian statue on stone plinth. By C A Walker.

1.
5117

BROADMEAD

Statue of Charles Wesley

ST 5973 40/29B

II

2.
In the courtyard fronting the Horsefair. Standing figure on plinth. 1939.
By C F W Denning.

Fig. 9

Wesley's New Room in Bristol, dating mostly from 1748 was the description used as a model for devising the mnemonic and is cited in the Handbook

Department of National Heritage

The year 1984 was a difficult time for many architectural practices and some of them quoted very low prices, obviously seeing it as bread-and-butter work to keep them ticking over, while several firms, like Freddy and Mary Charles, and Architecton were just determined to be involved and would brook no denial. To make it all easier this time we had a practised supervising staff and Peter White to run the Midland area.

This was a most interesting period, for many of us had little experience of the commercial world, and I think we were to learn a lot from each other as the resurvey progressed. Some of the consultants had little idea of what constituted historic architecture, but proved to be extremely capable at running the survey and producing well-finished work on time, while others had a lot to contribute on the historical side and gave their lists an individual character which is clearly recognizable. For eighteen months from May 1984 to November 1986 the accelerated survey was at full pitch, surrounding us with high tides of paper, but with exciting discoveries being made every day. It was a great privilege to be associated with so vital a time.

THE TRAINING COURSES

One new problem which the accelerated resurvey produced was that of training. It was clear that the fieldworkers all had the necessary background knowledge for their survey work, and nearly all of them had detailed knowledge of their immediate areas, but very few had any direct experience of such a pressurized survey or of the methods and machines which would be used. The nearest equivalent at the time was the National Trust's survey of their own vernacular properties, and we were fortunate enough to take on a number of fieldworkers from that. Their sense of urgency proved most useful, but the objectives of and methods used in the N.T. survey were quite different and a certain amount of re-education was necessary. It was remarkable that we managed to find so many people capable of doing the work. Much of the credit for this must go to universities which had set up courses in historic architecture since the resurvey began. Manchester, Reading and the Courtauld Institute provided many good people and this extra academic dimension was something which had simply not been available either in 1947 or 1968.

It was evident from the beginning that the D.o.E. did not have the resources to train, support and monitor over a hundred fieldworkers—the maximum was 110—with a number of them working part-time, so it was decided to divide the work into two phases, the first with the fieldworkers employed by the county or district councils, all of whom already had experience or organizing such work, and the second with private architectural practices. One problem was that the first training course was scheduled for November with short days to restrict field visits, another was that it was to be in Fortress House, the D.o.E. office, now the headquarters of English Heritage; this made it easier to arrange, but again limited field visits because time would be wasted getting out of London. The course concentrated on the current interpretation of the criteria, e.g., how to recognize a listed building and how to translate the knowledge on to the printed page in the standard form. The training course went off pretty well, two particularly noteworthy contributions were from Peter Curnow on 'How to recognize medieval masonry', an art of particular value to the fieldworker, and a double session on how to select Victorian buildings by Julian Orbach

who had himself been a D.o.E. inspector and was about to be one of the fieldworkers. The main field visits were to Edenbridge, Windsor and St Albans with, again, a memorable demonstration from Peter Curnow on how to act on what he had told us the week before, indicating the Roman, medieval, Victorian and twentieth-century fabric evident in the palimpsest that is the walling of St Alban's Cathedral. The first trip, to Edenbridge, had promised to be disastrous as it began with a half-hour traffic block on Waterloo Bridge, but after that all was pretty plain sailing, and, with the completion of the course, the accelerated resurvey was immediately underway. With the experience gained we approached the training courses for Phase 2 with greater confidence.

The February 1984 course was held in the Lord Hill Hotel in Shrewsbury and was for the staff of the practices, Leonard Baart (Shrewsbury), Purcell, Miller, Tritton (Sevenoaks) and F. and M. Charles (Worcester); and was run by Peter White, Principal Inspector in charge of the resurvey in the Midlands. This training course was a refined version of the November 1982 course, but lasted only a week, for the fieldworkers were to have a second week with the rest of Phase 2 in May when a two-week course was held for the other eight practices in the Merrion Hotel, Leeds (Fig. 10).

One important aspect of the Leeds course was the presence, for the first two days, of the private consultants, for we were determined that they should understand fully the scope of the work and the meaning of what they had contracted to do. These two days included lectures on interpreting the criteria, practical training on how to write descriptions and mark the maps, and a walk round Leeds city centre to look at the very varied historic buildings available within a mile of the hotel, ranging from Kirkgate Market to the buildings round the entrance lock of the Leeds and Liverpool canal.

The remainder of the course repeated many of the lectures and training sessions we had used before in London and Shrewsbury, but the field visits in the second week were a particularly successful feature. A day in Wakefield and at Heath Village, led by Dolly Potter, was slightly marred by poor weather, but a second day in Calderdale, with visits to several very fine Pennine yeoman houses, was complete with glorious sunshine. These courses were very highly concentrated, but they did seem to work and the fieldworkers were immediately in action on their own account. Some seemed to pick up the necessary method very easily, while others needed quite a lot of coaching through their first couple of quarters; but the result was an eighteen-month avalanche of paper with buildings of 'special' interest being identified in unprecedented quantities, and yet with a higher than ever quality of description and presentation.

MANAGING THE ACCELERATED RESURVEY

Once Phase I of the accelerated resurvey got properly underway in November 1982, the full extent of the task rapidly became apparent. Many of the fieldworkers and their employers in the local authorities were experienced to some degree, but the scale of endeavour was now quite different, the volume of buildings and the resultant paper rapidly threatened to swamp us. Every quarter a fieldworker received three field visits

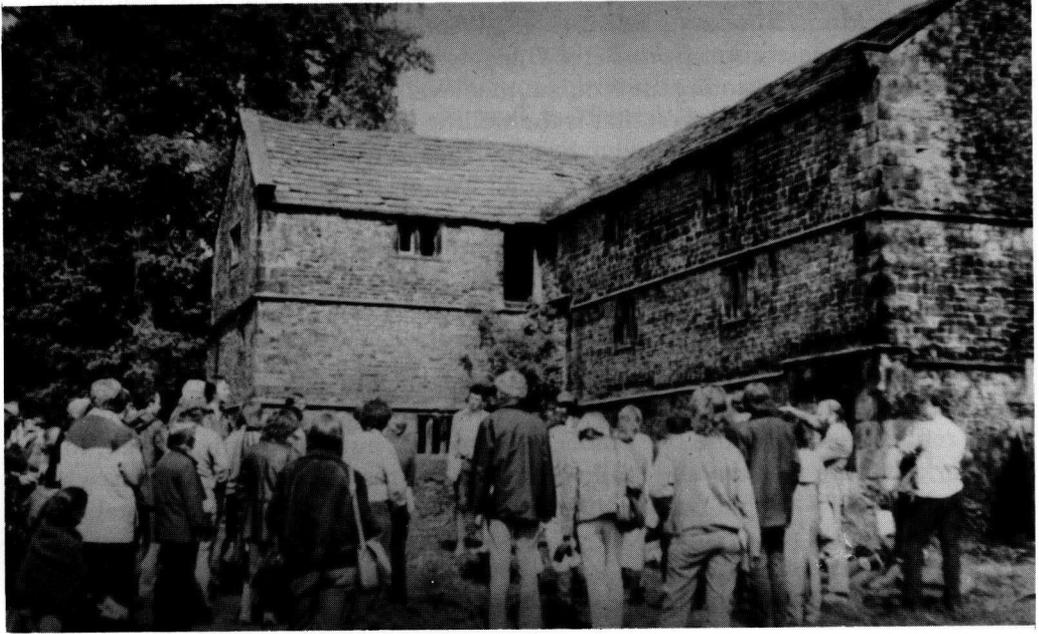


Fig. 10

The Phase 2 fieldworkers admire a late sixteenth-century Grade II* malthouse, one of the home-farm buildings at Kirklees Hall, West Yorkshire, visited on a beautiful day in May 1984

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

SD 38 NE

COLTON

NEWBY BRIDGE

7/54

Water Side House

II

House. Probably 1650-60 with extension of 1675. Roughcast stone with slate roof. 3 storeys, 5 bays, with single-storey single-bay former outbuilding to left. Most windows are sashed with single-glazing bars and horns but 2nd bay of ground floor has vertical glazing bars and 3rd bay has window with small-paned fixed glazing; 2nd floor has 2-light windows; former outbuilding has 3-light wooden mullioned window, chamfered to inside. Entrance to 3rd bay has 2-panel door, that to 4th bay has wide-boarded door with old lock plate. Gable-end stacks to 3-storey part, that to left has truncated projecting part. Rear has gabled wing with lean-to stair wing to left return. 1st bay has C20 casement to ground floor; stair wing has 2 windows with fixed glazing; left return of wing has ground floor 3-light wooden chamfered-mullioned window with slated lintel; floors above have casement windows, that to 2nd floor with iron opening light. Right return of wing has 2 wooden chamfered-mullioned windows of 3 lights, that to right is C20; 1st floor has similar window of 4 lights with 3 remaining intermediate bars, glazing to outside. Gable-end stack. Former outshot has sashed window with glazing bars and horns, with 3-light wooden flat-mullioned window to right. Left return has 3-light wooden mullioned window, chamfered inside, entrance with wide-boarded door to left and 1st floor wide-boarded studded loading door. Right return is blind. Interior: Ovolo moulded beams; fireplace with corbelled lintel and moulded opening with spice cupboard with door frame to left. 2 doors with 2 fielded panels and dado rails in bolection architraves; 2-light wooden chamfered-mullioned window with intermediate bars and wooden shutters in former rear wall, a rare example. Wing has fireplace plaster overmantel with oak trail border and date 1675 with flanking initials: "RI" and "CRA". Robert and Isobel Taylor and Charles and Agnes Robinson (Daughter to the Taylors). Dog-leg stair has turned balusters, square newels and moulded hand rail. 1st floor has fielded panelled partitions with dado rails and doors as above, the end rooms with bolection-moulded panelling.

Fig. 11

A typical list description from the period of the accelerated resurvey which demonstrates the greatly increased value of the descriptions for planning, conservation and academic purposes. It also demonstrates how difficult it could be to persuade 110 people to produce a standard product

Department of National Heritage

from the supervising inspector. Every building proposed for addition to the list was seen by this inspector, who then checked each written description. The completed list and maps were checked by the supervising inspector, then by myself (or by Peter White) and finally by an administrative officer who saw that every building had a map reference and a correct address. Queries were returned to the local authority by which time the fieldworker was well into the next area. Each supervising inspector had to work with eight to ten fieldworkers, needing to visit them each month, and, as the piles of paper grew, it became more and more difficult to keep up with the schedule. The supervising inspectors were also required to do fieldwork themselves, to fill in the odd corners, and this, of course, was seen as their lowest priority; slippage inevitably began to occur.

The onus to produce first-class work was laid on the employers as far as possible, and they responded splendidly, but there were many aspects where D.o.E. experience was essential, so the system was very dependent on the continuing good health and lack of accidents among headquarters staff. That they remained almost one hundred per cent viable over the five years demonstrates the excitement, quality and challenge of the work. It was just as well, the only fall-back was Peter White and myself, and we were having to deal with lists arriving constantly and in large numbers (many quarters delivered more than a hundred), as well as make field visits to monitor quality and coverage throughout the area; I visited all my fieldworkers at least twice during their contracts in addition to visiting my own inspectors. All this was done while our own staff were trying to cope with the problems involved in setting up English Heritage in 1984, being seconded from the D.o.E. until 1986 and trying to decide on matters affecting their careers and families exactly during the period of greatest pressure from the resurvey.

The employers in both phases contributed a great deal to the running of the resurvey. The D.o.E. had very little idea of mechanization; they had got no further than automatic typewriters working from a punched tape which had been introduced, with the 'greenbacks' in 1970, but they proved to be unreliable and once the tape became at all worn produced very eccentric results, the Bristol list has twenty-one successive As in one place. The accelerated survey proved the catalyst for the introduction of word-processing, but, disastrously, not for a computerized retrieval system, the single biggest mistake of the resurvey period. One county, Somerset, opted for a computerized system from the start which has proved very successful for their own use and has stood the test of time. During the resurvey, however, I hated their lists because the dot-matrix printer produced a final copy of such poor quality that visually the words ran into each other, making it very slow to check, while photocopies of it were unreadable. It was also printed on a continuous sheet which made it very difficult to deal with on the train, where many of the lists were, of necessity, checked (Fig. 11).

Typing and presentation of the lists proved to be a problem with most local authorities, because the work was given surprisingly low priority and the lists were often delayed for months because of it. There also seemed to be little urgency for payment which was not at all the case with Phase 2. Avon was the county that performed best because Howard Stutchbury, the County Planning Officer, used his own secretary to type the lists and avoided the pool completely. These were, I think,

the only local authority lists to be delivered to time, whereas most of the Phase 2 lists were on time. With the private practices the standard of presentation rose. Most were word-processed, the resurvey was instrumental in introducing several practices to the advantages of this. Then they used quality printers, good mapping skills and also photographs, which made Phase 2 more interesting, more consistent and far more enjoyable to deal with. One of the advantages and pleasures of the resurvey was building closer working relations with local authorities and architectural practices all round the country. I should like to think that this worked both ways.

Part II: Impact of the Resurvey on Different Areas

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT VIEW *by* MICHAEL ROSS

It was a tremendous undertaking. The first national survey of historic buildings took over twenty years and produced 120,000 list entries. To begin the exercise again from scratch in 1968 was an act of courage and commitment. It produced a unique and comprehensive register which has become a cornerstone of conservation in action.

The old lists had become outdated even before the first survey was complete. They were at best patchy in their coverage. Scholarship and public taste had overtaken them. The conservation movement was growing and a fresh look at the heritage was required. The (then) Historic Buildings Council adjusted the standards and the fieldwork again got under way.

But progress was inevitably slow, and nemesis came in the elegant, art-deco shape of the Firestone Factory. What happened next was a unique example of private and public sector co-operation. Twenty-two selected local authorities in Phase 1 of what was now the accelerated resurvey and eleven private architectural practices in Phase 2 worked alongside each other and under the supervision of inspectors first in the Department of the Environment and latterly in English Heritage. The schedules were tight, but the fieldwork was impressive both in quality and quantity. At its height, there were over a hundred people working full-time on the resurvey. What was remarkable—and the credit here lies chiefly with the inspectors—was that the consistency of national standards was maintained. It is fair to say that in only a handful of cases did the Department reject the advice of English Heritage.

For us at the D.o.E., as for local authorities, developers and conservationists, the results of the resurvey have meant a great deal more certainty in the planning process. In 1986, on the 900th anniversary of the real thing, it was fashionable to call the resurvey a modern Domesday. That title is not fanciful. Few nations can claim as comprehensive an inventory as ours. But it is, as we have seen since the conclusion of the fieldwork, not a static entity. Some of the older lists were already in need of revision: new scholarship, fresh discoveries, re-assessments have kept the lists up to scratch.

For the future, the question is what we do with such a tremendous store of information. Making it more accessible is one aim. A heritage as extensive and diverse as ours can only survive if it enjoys public support. Allowing the public greater access to the lists is important; making them understand that these official documents relate to an environment that they cherish. Analyzing the information is another aim. There are dozens of regional and national studies waiting to be written using the data that was collected.

The resurvey was only a start: what we make of the material contained in the lists will determine the real value of the exercise for the future of the heritage.

A COUNTY COUNCIL VIEW by PETER RICHARDS

When the accelerated resurvey of England was announced the Historic Buildings Section of the Essex County Planning Department was in a good position to take on the responsibility for the resurvey work in the county. For four or five years members of the Section had been carrying out surveys on an agency basis and had completed new 'greenbacks' for Halstead, Thurrock and the rural hinterland of Colchester. This work resulted from concern expressed by the County at the quality of these lists. An offer was made to carry out surveys under the supervision of D.o.E. officers. *Ad hoc* arrangements were established and the county was paid nominal sums for the work which initially was carried out by Mike Wadhams and Cecil Hewett, both of whom were acknowledged experts in historic timber-frame buildings which comprise over half the listed structures in the county.

Consequently we were well placed to offer our expertise and administrative support to complete the Essex lists (or at least those which were at that time considered not to be definitive). It was agreed that two contract inspectors would be appointed and that they, together with two further members of staff and the two who had already been producing lists, could attend a training course to be introduced to the system including, at the time, BDAMPFISHES (Fig. 8).

The interviews for the contract inspectors, jointly carried out by D.o.E. and Essex staff, were very illuminating. In the event the two staff employed had widely different backgrounds, qualifications and experience. However, they did have the basic abilities which all successful investigators need; knowledge and interest in architectural history, an ability to carry out careful and systematic research, good self-organization and, most importantly, a patient and friendly attitude to building owners. Nevertheless, individual personalities inevitably show through in the final lists, both in the syntax of the descriptions and also in the types of marginal buildings included. Undoubtedly while one of our listers included more late marginal agricultural buildings the other would include more remnant buildings. These differences are minimal in percentage terms but slowly became apparent to those of us using the lists for day-to-day casework over a period of six or seven years.

In Essex we made an early decision that the listers would, whenever possible, make an internal inspection. Long experience had shown that few vernacular buildings exhibit their full story from the outside. This approach meant that a large proportion of the visits had to be pre-arranged to suit the owners and undoubtedly it is a much slower system than that which had been used for most of the earlier Essex lists, but these latter included dozens of medieval houses described as being of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

The use of contract listers from Essex and county officers meant that we had many contacts; private individuals, amenity societies and district councils, which ensured that doors were perhaps more easily opened than if the listers had just been men or women 'from the Ministry'.



Fig. 12 (above)

Coopers Cottage, Abbess Roding

One of the many Essex timber-framed medieval houses which now had the benefit of a much more thorough survey, this house hiding one of the four timber-frame chimneys still known to be in use in the county

Essex County Council

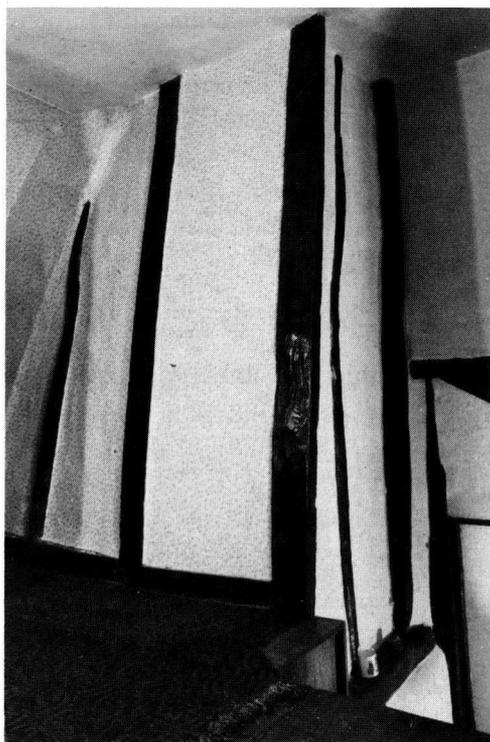


Fig. 13 (right)

Coopers Cottage, Abbess Roding

The chimney is plain enough to see inside and shows how the brick stack, visible on the outside, gives a quite false impression. The chimney is probably a seventeenth-century insertion

Essex County Council

There were many finds and surprises, the majority of which confirmed what had been suspected; that the longevity and number of timber-frame buildings in Essex had been much underestimated. 'Rare' survivals have proved to be not so rare, in particular the evidence for more aisled halls, screens passages, decorative crown-posts, smoke-bays, spere-trusses and high-end canopies than had been previously recorded. One particular feature did turn up in relatively large numbers: prior to the accelerated resurvey we knew of only one existing timber-frame chimney. The survey turned up four more, two of which were in use by owners who were blissfully unaware of the type of structure as such stacks now always emerge from the roof with a brick casing (Figs 12 and 13).

Now the resurvey is complete we can compare the lists with those prepared in the mid to late 70s and it is clear that two large rural areas of Essex and two urban areas not included in the accelerated resurvey are less than adequate. The county still has listers on the staff and continues to prepare lists. In the past two years we have resurveyed (not reviewed) two urban lists under English Heritage supervision.

A DISTRICT COUNCIL VIEW *by* MALCOLM AIRS

South Oxfordshire is a predominantly rural district formed in 1974 from parts of historic Oxfordshire and Berkshire on both sides of the River Thames. It includes the attractive market towns of Henley, Thame and Wallingford as well as the railway town of Didcot.

The resurvey of listed buildings took place between 1984 and 1987 and was carried out by private consultants with three investigators working in different parts of the area. Henley had been covered by a 'greenback' issued in 1974 and was not included in the resurvey. The remainder of the district was covered by provisional lists issued at various dates in the 1950s and 1960s which, by 1974, included approximately 3,000 buildings of all grades (including Grade III). The statutory list comprised 1,200 buildings. A further 142 buildings were added to the statutory list by spot-listing between 1974 and 1984, giving a total of 1,342 listed buildings at the start of the resurvey. The total number of listed buildings in 1987 at the end of the resurvey was 3,175. The crude figure of 1,833 additions to the list does not take account of an untabulated number of buildings removed from the original list as a result of the resurvey.

A subjective impression of the exercise is that it consolidated the original provisional list, bringing it into line with current standards of architectural interest, rather than revealing any startling new discoveries. The major deficiencies of the original list had been in respect of Victorian, agricultural and railway buildings and, unfortunately, the last of these remained a weakness in the resurveyed list. The crude statistics are interesting because the total of statutory listed buildings at the end of the survey was roughly similar to the number of statutory plus Grade III buildings in the district at the beginning of the survey. In effect, with a number of notable

Malcolm Airs was formerly Conservation Officer of South Oxfordshire District Council. He is now Director of Conservation Studies at the Oxford Centre for Continuing Education and a member of the Historic Buildings and Areas Committee of English Heritage.

exceptions, what the resurvey achieved was the granting of statutory protection to a significant number of buildings which had already been identified as of some interest in the original survey. Undoubtedly one of the reasons for this was the unusually high quality of many of the original lists. The proximity of Oxford meant that some of them had been compiled by investigators of considerable academic reputation who were able to call on the fieldwork of their colleagues to achieve a breadth of knowledge which was quite remarkable by the standards that then prevailed. The lists compiled by P.S. Spokes, in particular, stand out for their authoritative descriptions and bibliographic references and it was probably as a result of his many joint expeditions with W.A. Pantin that vernacular buildings were so well represented, albeit mainly at Grade III.

Another possible reason was the fact that the District Council had employed an historian as its Conservation Officer since its formation in 1974 and the 142 spot-listings between that date and the resurvey had already highlighted the major discoveries in the area.

The success of the resurvey can be indicated by the statistic that only a further twenty-five buildings have been added to the statutory list since 1987. There is no doubt that it is an impressive body of knowledge which reflects well on the diligence and skills of its compilers. But it will always be subject to their individual tastes and prejudices and it will always be necessary to refine it as public tastes change and individual buildings are examined in greater detail than the time limits on the resurvey permitted.

A NATIONAL PARK VIEW *by* ANDREW LOWE

Stone walls, buildings and settlements contribute greatly to the character and attractiveness of the Lake District National Park. It was therefore essential that the resurvey identified a full range of historic buildings and structures. Up to the early 1970s the Lake District relied on statutory lists drawn up from surveys in the 1950s and 60s, which understated the great wealth of simple vernacular buildings, built to withstand the harsh climate, rather than designed with flair and elegance. The first resurvey lists were issued for Windermere Urban District in 1973 and Lakes Urban District in 1974, which increased the numbers of Listed Buildings in these areas from eighty-seven to 291.

The accelerated resurvey started in this area in January 1983 and the first list issued in November 1983 for a rural parish increased the number of listed buildings from nil to thirty-three. In 1983 it was decided to take advantage of the systematic resurvey and build up a photographic index of all the listed buildings. As each new list was issued an officer would visit each building, check the description and take colour photographs of each elevation and, if possible, of any internal features of interest. During the later stages of the resurvey the Board arranged for the Inspector to take photographs during site visits.



Fig. 14

Waterside House, Colton

This large and fairly remote seventeenth-century Lakes farmhouse demonstrates the drab appearance that many of these buildings acquired in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a result they tended to be ignored by the first survey, as was this one
Lake District National Park



Fig. 15

Waterside House, Colton

One of the number of fine details discovered inside this house which ensured that it was listed on resurvey (see Fig. 11)
Lake District National Park

This index has proved to be invaluable when monitoring changes and discussing grant aid and it has been used successfully in evidence for enforcement cases. Its constructive use is as a 'design guide', to show architects and applicants the general style and vernacular details when discussing applications for listed building consent and advising on sympathetic design solutions.

At the start of the accelerated resurvey, the National Park had 862 statutorily listed buildings. The 1985 draft National Park Plan anticipated a doubling of the numbers, with an estimate of 1,700. The latest count of listed buildings is 1,717 (June 1992).

In the Lake District National Park there are: 20 Grade I buildings; 9 Grade I or A churches; 83 Grade II* buildings; 18 Grade II* churches; 1537 Grade II buildings; and 49 Grade II or B churches.

As well as identifying the typical Lakeland farmsteads, the resurvey has selected a good range of listed structures including bridges, milestones, guidestones, pounds, pumps and limekilns. These are important to the roadside character and local distinctiveness, as well as being of value to transport history or industrial archaeology. The new lists now give a much more comprehensive basis for the study of traditional buildings and can give an insight into the rarity value when considering grant aid or listed building consent. This large photographic index is an architectural archive in its own right.

The following examples are of buildings which were previously unlisted, but are now Grade II* status: a nineteenth-century iron furnace and mill; a seventeenth-century corn mill; a packhorse bridge; a seventeenth-century farmhouse with rare surviving internal features (Figs 14 and 15); a gatehouse to a medieval abbey; and a late nineteenth-century church designed by the well-known Lancaster architects, Paley and Austin.

Historically, the lists give a fascinating insight into living conditions in the Lake District varying from medieval fortified towers and early cruck-framed buildings to Victorian villas, arts-and-crafts mansions and simple mill-workers, terraces.

In recognition of this increased stock of listed buildings the National Park has increased its budget for grant aid and the extra knowledge has enabled the authority to give a stronger commitment to building conservation.

A CONSULTANT'S VIEW *by* COLIN HARVEY

Architecton Listing was appointed by the D.o.E. to carry out, with ten other consultants, the Historic Buildings Resurvey of England, Phase 2, at the end of 1983. We subsequently commenced operations in May 1984 working in Devon and Cornwall, based on our Bristol office.

It was our stated intention to produce thorough and authoritative lists which would be a national record of a suitable standard for planning-control needs and all other uses alike. This would require a comprehensive and accurate record of listed

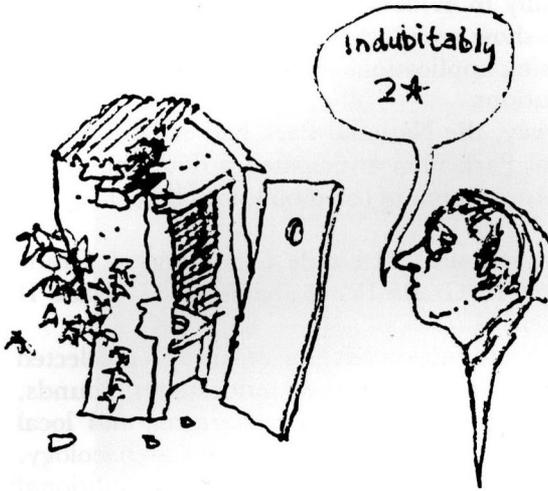


Fig. 16
 John Schofield, a consultant to
 Architecton Listing, was indefatigable at
 seeking out the lesser, but still important,
 buildings in the farm group.
 Occasionally the D.o.E. did
 not want to know
Colin Harvey



Fig. 17

This picture demonstrates what Jo Cox and the other Devon fieldworkers were up against. An altered, and rather dull, early nineteenth-century façade conceals a late medieval three-room cross-passage house with some good internal features

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

buildings and, from our experience using previous lists, we knew that this would be an enormous task.

Vernacular buildings of rural Devon and Cornwall are made from local building materials, traditionally ranging from oak to wheat reed, cob to decorative plasterwork. The use of these materials to create a distinctive regional architecture cannot be defined in strict stylistic terms. This variation in form and character posed serious problems to the accepted inspection techniques previously adopted by the D.o.E. We realized from the start that our fieldworkers would require careful briefings and training in the analysis and selection of appropriate buildings. These variations were intensified by the wet and windy climate of the south-west and by the effects of the late twentieth century, both from changes in people's economic circumstances and village communities.

The buildings, especially in Cornwall, were disguised with disfiguring external treatments but often displayed internal features, which alone could establish their history. A minefield of choices, for the most simple building often relied on an interior which was the only criterion from which the building could be listed. Therefore it was essential that fieldworkers should carry out an internal inspection (Fig. 16).

Other areas in England, although perhaps producing a greater number of listings, nevertheless were more straightforward to list. For instance, the nucleated settlements of the Cotswolds were well ordered and listing was obvious from what was seen externally. Not so with Devon and Cornwall; listing produced surprise, and with it the consequences, by necessity, of more than one visit and more detailed reports.

Our endeavours, in the final analysis, produced remarkable results and a greater understanding of the range and type of listable buildings. Gone were the assumptions of 'restyled' eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, and predictable, exteriors. Time and time again we wrestled with buildings predating 1700. New lists generally were structured with forty to fifty per cent of buildings built before the end of the seventeenth century and many with medieval origins. Overall numbers of buildings on lists also increased by over 300% in Cornwall and by over 200% in Devon. The increases were astounding considering the nature of dispersed settlements, farmsteads and hamlets. This for Architecton listing was a major challenge and together with a need to make internal inspections, the difficulties of programming and achieving consistency in the lists was always a priority.

This we monitored by regular meetings with the fieldworkers at our Launceston office, and through working closely with English Heritage inspectors Martin Robertson and Peter Chapman, who had been seconded to oversee our fieldwork in the South-west. We continually slipped behind schedule and argued with the Head of Listing for a fairer deal in the understanding of our peculiar problems in the South-west, and for the production of workable and worthwhile lists. This was eventually accepted by the D.o.E./English Heritage management but at great risk to our business. Our stance has since been vindicated. Observing the problems at first hand, we saw that by complying rigidly to hypothetical and unworkable programmes, no time would be left for internal inspections, and now one County Council Stage 1 Resurvey is faced with a costly reassessment. The new lists have fallen short of what is required in the dispersed and scattered settlements of rural areas. They will only be of value if the status of each building is analysed accurately and completely. Architecton Listing

was fortunate in being able to recruit a sympathetic, enthusiastic and learned group of fieldworkers; to draw upon the knowledge and support of Peter Chapman and Martin Robertson of English Heritage; to have the input of our administrative staff in Bristol and historic buildings consultant John Schofield; and, at the finish, to have produced thorough lists which should be an advantage physically and economically for any effective planning control. Not least, there is also a record of buildings which helps society better to understand its history and development.

A FIELDWORKER'S VIEW *by* JO COX

The rural resurvey began with a flavour of the military exercise, designed by bureaucrats to conquer historic rural buildings by subjecting them to the Town and Country Planning Act. We foot-soldiers had a week's intensive briefing on what was listable from the *generalissimi* in an overheated hotel in Leeds. Our equipment consisted of identity card, large-scale maps, camera, notebook and the existing lists. Our orders were to identify all historic buildings, one parish at a time, select those worth listing, write them up according to instructions in the manual with which we were supplied and report monthly to our superiors for pep-talks and assistance if needed.

The experience in the field was far closer to a medieval romance than a military operation, full of magic and monsters, with every day an adventure. On the magic side, Devon and Cornwall were packed with previously undiscovered historic buildings, many medieval, invisible from the common highway, located in an ancient landscape. The vast majority were impossible to date or evaluate without looking inside, something which, unlike less fortunate fieldworkers, we were encouraged to do. In practice, this meant arriving on the doorstep unannounced, and using one's wits and experience to talk one's way immediately into a building, effectively demand entry to the whole house, use of a step ladder, access to the roofspace and then disappear, covered in cobwebs to carry out the same exercise at the next farm or cottage.

It still astonishes me that this was possible, largely due to the interest, hospitality, and lack of fear on the part of country property owners in Devon and Cornwall. The medieval houses were, of course, the real gems. Plain exteriors with plate-glass windows often disguised complete sixteenth- or seventeenth-century interiors with flagged passages lined with oak screens (Fig. 17). There can be no delight comparable to finding a cobwebby, sooted roof-space, complete with medieval smoke-blackened thatch and being able to show the occupant—and perhaps the whole family—crawling through the roofspace with you, the evidence for the open-hall house they had not realized they lived in. You could wave your magic wand and hey presto, away went the first-floor bedrooms and the chimney-stack and we were all in another time. The later houses, if less dramatic discoveries, were often astonishingly unaltered; the farm table in its original position with benches fixed to the wall, a superficial lick of jolly orange or turquoise 1950s paint over eighteenth-century chimney-pieces, Victorian graining



Fig. 18

The fieldworker was not welcome inside every house. This one was listed already but the revised description had to be written from the few published sources

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

still intact on doors and skirtings, a fabulous decorated plaster ceiling mended with plasterboard where the cat fell through when it was mousing in the attic. We were lucky enough to see these buildings unselfconsciously used and lived in without so much as a thought of *Traditional Homes*, heritage or presentation.

No briefing, of course, military or romantic, could prepare us for the extraordinary variety of owners and occupants we encountered. The difficult ones did stand out as monsters, though these were few and far between and could often be transformed into the most helpful of people with a little persistence (Fig. 18). Back at base, it was difficult to explain to the organization that the price for getting a glimpse of an old building was a relationship of some kind with the occupant, and that in practice, more of an old building was likely to be retained if you could take the time to explain its interest to the person maintaining it, than by stuffing it into the bureaucratic procedure of L.B.C., often happily ignored by owners.

At the monthly management meetings, where it slowly emerged that the real monsters were in fact those—not all—bureaucrats who would have been satisfied with a less thorough job, we were chivvied about the length of time we were taking to achieve victory in individual parishes. 'Do not accept cups of tea', we were told, the week after I had found myself driving a tearful house-owner and her cat to the vet to have its teeth extracted as a condition of inspecting the roof, helped an old man in a completely unlistable cottage on with his trousers (I believed his story about arthritis) and then phoned a divorce solicitor at the request of a lady—unaccountably

wearing polythene bags instead of shoes—hoovering the roses outside a Georgian rectory.

In retrospect, in spite of all that we misunderstood about many of the buildings (and some buildings we missed altogether) it seems to me that the project in Devon and Cornwall was as successful as it was because of good management on the part of Architecton and a spirit of constant encouragement from them, from Peter Beacham, the Devon County Conservation Officer and especially from Peter Chapman, the English Heritage supervising inspector, who lobbied successfully for extra time and support amongst some of the *generalissimi* back at Fortress House.

The crucial factor, and one I would recommend to any management, was inviting all concerned for shared days out in the field with the footsoldiers. It meant that the top brass had some idea of why we were proving so expensive and remaining so enthusiastic. It also gave us all the pleasure of hearing a farmer's wife, pre-occupied with getting her daughter to do some homework, asking Andrew Saunders, then Chief Inspector at English Heritage, if he needed 'A' levels for his job and how many did he have.

PUBLIC REACTION TO THE RESURVEY *by* MARTIN ROBERTSON

Throughout my association with listed buildings, there has been a fairly consistent reaction to them from the general public—fine in theory, not so good if it is their own property which is threatened by controls. There remains a general misunderstanding of what listing actually means, 'I am not allowed to do anything with it' is still commonly heard and owners are fearful, both of the bureaucratic controls and of the perceived threat to the value of their property. These fears, genuine or otherwise, occur when the fieldworker appears on the horizon. Once the building is listed, they generally fade quite quickly, and of course if the building is already listed when you purchase it then it is a part of your decision to purchase, and is not sprung upon you.

Conservation, as a publicly-approved idea, has grown slowly over the last forty years with the spread of listing, the setting up of national and local amenity societies, and some small encouragement to listed-building owners in the way of grants and V.A.T. exemption, particularly within the concept of the Conservation Area, set up following the Civic Amenities Act 1967, which brought the ordinary houses of ordinary people much more to the forefront of the movement. There have, however, been reactions against this steady advance and the government had recognized these by the speeding up and slowing down of listing as public enthusiasm has waxed and waned. The resurvey followed Harold Macmillan's 'you never had it so good', the great increase in home ownership and the commercial development boom of the 1960s. This direct threat to the public's surroundings only mirrored what had been perceived during the War and had led to the first national survey in 1947. During the 1970s public interest waned and developer-led opposition grew, and listing went into a noticeable decline. Some influential books like *The Rape of Britain* and *The Sack of Bath* were published, and the amenity movement, particularly SAVE, began to react strongly. Eventually a supporter was found in Michael Heseltine and an uncovenanted catalyst in the Firestone building demolished by Trafalgar House in 1980. A new

wave of listing, the accelerated resurvey, now swept the country giving it the close attention that it had never experienced before. How would the public react to this mass-invasion of their privacy, property and personal individuality?

On the whole, they responded as we had grown to expect in earlier years; sometimes with interest, sometimes with indifference, usually friendly, occasionally with aggression and exceptionally with downright unpleasantness. Two significant events during this period were the withdrawal of the 'right-of-entry' and the setting up of a code of practice for fieldworkers leading also to the informal appeal system against listing. The first of these arose from the setting up of English Heritage in 1984. As a semi-autonomous agency or 'quango' its employees did not have the same powers vested in them as they had had while Civil Servants within the D.o.E.

The Secretary of State retained his right of entry but now only granted it to English Heritage fieldworkers in individual cases. In fact this was never used and to this day there is a small patch of North Yorkshire where the fieldworker has not yet set foot, the unknown non-completion of the resurvey. There are many houses, of course, where the owner refused access to the interior, but it is only in Yorkshire where we believe there to be buildings which were not seen at all. The code of practice was designed following a well-orchestrated attack on the resurvey by the National Farmers Union and the Country Landowners Association in 1985, but after preliminary rumblings these really came to very little because the people on the ground simply did not support them. Most people were so pleased to discover you were neither a council snoop nor the taxman that they would forgive you anything. Many house owners were delighted to learn about their own property; some had cherished ideas of 'mentioned in the Domesday Book' and 'built of ships' timbers' blown away by the visitor, but others were fascinated by the discovery of a medieval roof of which they had no inkling. I well remember sitting in a roof-space in Devon with the owner and Martin Cherry, the present Head of Listing, and listening to the shouts of her husband from below, enraged to discover that she would rather spend the afternoon getting filthy with two strange men than watching the Test Match on the television with him!

All in all, the survey was achieved with extraordinarily little trouble, a couple of broken ankles and a few bent ears. We must have visited the murderers' hideout and where the Brink's-Mat gold was stashed, but all escaped serious scathe. We're not very fond of dogs, though, particularly those kept by Essex villains in some of the very good timber-frame houses in the environs of London. Most people were cooperative, while in the Yorkshire Dales and the Welsh Borders you sometimes felt that you were the first visitor for ten years. The national resurvey was a very rewarding exercise in public participation and certainly led to an enormous increase in awareness of what listing is and of the work of English Heritage in general.

Part III: Impact on the Understanding of Different Building Types

CHURCHES IN THE ACCELERATED RESURVEY *by* JUDY CLIGMAN

Before the resurvey, nearly every statutory list, like Pevsner's *Buildings of England*, included the parish church in pride of place. This was natural enough, for the church is frequently the most ancient building in the parish and the repository of its community's history. So when it came to churches, what did the resurvey set out to achieve and what were its successes and limitations?

First and most obvious was the change in classification to bring the A, B and C grades, which had been used for churches until 1978, into line with the I, II* and II grading of secular buildings. The old grades had been intended to apply different standards, for it was felt that otherwise 'too many churches' would have been Grade I. Only the most exceptional churches had qualified as Grade A, most medieval churches being Grade B. But during the accelerated resurvey the new criteria meant that any medieval church which had not been significantly altered or restored to its detriment would be listed Grade I. Restorations of quality could in their own right add interest, meriting a high grade. Post-Reformation churches might well also be Grade I, depending on their quality and completeness (Figs 19 and 20).

One implication of this change was subtly to highlight the claims of age, historical and archaeological importance as against purely architectural merit. Even the humblest medieval parish church could now be the same grade as a cathedral or the finest country house. This new equality, adding large numbers of Grade I and II* buildings to the lists, surely added fuel to the fire of controversy over ecclesiastical exemption, which had been stirred up by the introduction of state aid for church repairs in 1977. After all, listing was designed first and foremost to protect historic buildings within the planning system. But the growing ranks of Conservation Officers now find themselves impotent in the face of threats to some of the most important buildings in their care.

Assessment and grading were a challenge for fieldworkers, often requiring detailed analysis of fabric and such research as could be managed in the very limited time available. Victorian and later churches brought their own problems. The guidance manual offered the advice that between 1819 and 1914 only churches of 'definite quality and character' should be listed, including major works of the principal architects, and for the later period the selection became even tighter. In practice the resurvey was probably more inclusive than this would imply, the nineteenth-century buildings



Fig. 19 (above)

Wesley's New Room in Bristol dates from 1739 and 1748 and is the earliest Methodist Chapel. It is almost unaltered from the mid eighteenth century and this, together with its close relationship to Wesley and the beginnings of Methodism, ensured its Grade I status, as well as making it the model for BDAMPFISHES Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England



Fig. 20 (right)

Following the Catholic Emancipation Act, a number of families built impressive private chapels on their country estates. This is the chapel of the Virgin and St Everilda at Everingham, Humberside. It dates from 1836-9 and was designed by Agostino Giorgioli. It was listed in 1967 and upgraded to Grade I in 1986 Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

accounting for a large proportion of new listings. The great variety of nonconformist chapels, too, was something of a headache. Christopher Stell wrote in 1990 that although 'innumerable' examples had been added to the lists 'urgent attention should be given to a more accurate assessment of their historical and architectural quality and to distinguishing more clearly those of prime importance'. A start has been made with the foundation of the Chapels Society.

Descriptions were greatly expanded and improved, giving far more weight than before to interiors, fittings and monuments. This process forcefully brought home the value of church contents, many of which are of museum quality, and the frequent lack of adequate security and conservation. In this respect, as for other historic buildings, have the lists provided a valuable *vade mecum* for would-be architectural thieves? Perhaps so, but it is to be hoped that they have also reminded parishes of the value, or even existence, of their treasures, both inside and in churchyards, which are a rich part of our heritage in sore need of loving care.

The accelerated resurvey cannot claim to have been totally definitive in any field. With churches, grading is likely to remain a contentious area, as grant-aid now depends upon it.

THE WEALDEN HOUSE *by* CAROLE A. RYAN

The Wealden house is distinguished from other types of medieval house by a single-hip roof covering both open hall and jettied and storeyed end-bays, giving the characteristic recessing of the hall between the jettied upper chambers. In common with many other building types, it is tragic that computerization did not precede the accelerated resurvey. Certainly during the resurvey the type was discovered in more counties than hitherto—including a rogue example in Cornwall which had been transplanted—but until computerization of the lists is implemented there is no way of analysing the data about a category with several hundreds, if not thousands of examples. Consequently, I have taken the example of one district, Maidstone, near the epicentre of Wealden houses and compared the old lists of 1960 with the accelerated resurvey lists of 1984 and 1987 (Figs 21 and 22).

Reading the old list one might suppose there were no Wealdens in the area at all, as they are never described as such and the most approximate phrase 'Kentish yeoman's hall-house' is only used once! In practice, one can recognize the Wealden type from the description of the recessed centre. In the old list there are no Grade I Wealdens, eight Grade II* Wealdens which can be recognized from the description, and no Grade II Wealdens.

The reason for this appears to be that some were altered externally and therefore not recognized as Wealdens, even though many were listed. Following the accelerated resurvey, there were three Grade I, eight Grade II* and seventeen Grade II Wealdens in Maidstone District. It appears that the accelerated resurvey has not increased the number of listed Wealdens here very substantially but it has identified the plan forms,



Fig. 21

Synyards at Otham, Kent. This particularly fine Wealden House dates from the fifteenth century with the large dormer added in 1667. An example of a building upgraded from Grade II* to Grade I on resurvey

Carole Ryan



Fig. 22

This unprepossessing nineteenth-century exterior in Lenham market-place hides another fifteenth-century Wealden house. This was not previously listed and was discovered during the resurvey.

Carole Ryan

provided a careful record of the interior features, upgraded three particularly fine examples to Grade I, and identified well-concealed examples.

Plans fall into the following categories:

four bays with two open hall-bays and storeyed end-bays; four bays with two unequal hall-bays and storeyed end-bays; four bays with two open hall-bays with one bay subdivided to indicate cross passage and storeyed end-bays; three bays with one long open hall-bay and storeyed end-bays; three bays with two unequal bays to open hall and one storeyed end bay; three bays with one bay open-hall, broad storeyed-bay to one side and storeyed-bay to other; three bays with two unequal bays to hall with two-thirds of one bay floored, and storeyed bay to one end.

I conclude with three particular examples of Wealden houses. Synyards at Otham was Grade II* in the old list but upgraded to Grade I on resurvey, with a comprehensive inventory of interior features. Corner House, The Square, Lenham, was Grade II on the old list, but on resurvey has been upgraded to Grade II* with carefully itemized interior features. However, the prize for the best-disguised Wealden house would undoubtedly be awarded to 1A and 3 High Street, Lenham (not listed originally), comprising two former open hall-bays, with a possible further bay to the right concealed behind an early nineteenth-century brick façade with sash windows.

DEVON: THE EFFECT OF THE RESURVEY ON THE UNDERSTANDING OF LOCAL BUILDING TRADITIONS *by* PETER BEACHAM

When the resurvey team began work in Devon in 1984 they faced not only a large and diverse county but one where some of the best early research on English building traditions had been undertaken and published. Earlier in the century R.N. Worth had produced his studies of long-houses on Dartmoor, including an early typology, but the subject was given even greater stimulus and popular appreciation through the work of W.G. Hoskins whose native county was Devon and who had a particular interest in the history of the farmstead. Consequently, pioneering works on English vernacular building traditions, such as Maurice Barley's *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (1961), drew heavily on Devon examples.

These studies provided the foundation for a new wave of research in the 1960s and 1970s, much of it initiated by N.W. Alcock and mostly focussed on rural buildings, important because the resurvey was primarily dealing with the rural county. As a result, considerable progress had been made in understanding the Devon tradition, especially the remarkable continuity of fifteenth- to seventeenth-century farmhouses. Hoskins had been careful in his 'Great Rebuilding' thesis to enter a caveat about Devon because he had observed that wholesale reconstruction in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was less common than the adaptation of older houses. This was now confirmed by selective but detailed analysis of many individual houses, revealing how late-medieval houses were converted to two-storied houses by the gradual flooring in of the originally open hall and the construction of staircases and chimney-stacks. This research culminated in a paper by N.W. Alcock and M.J.W. Laithwaite 'Medieval houses in Devon and their modernisation', *Medieval Archaeology* (1973).

The resurvey team's situation was, therefore, intriguing and exciting. They had the opportunity to undertake the first full-scale investigation of what had already been proved to be, by necessarily highly-selective studies, an exceptionally rich county for the survival of early vernacular buildings and for the diversity of its building traditions. Would the pictures which had been tentatively sketched on the basis of this early research be turned into a full portrait of Devon's building personality, or would a radically different picture need to be drawn?

As I have recorded in *Devon Building: an Introduction to Local Traditions* (1990), the resurvey of Devon was an exceptionally distinguished achievement, though undoubtedly hard-won. It is possible with hindsight to criticize the length of some of the descriptions or the occasionally speculative nature of a fieldworker's ideas about the development of a house, but these are minor imperfections born of enthusiasm and dedication. On balance, the wealth of material is a great asset to local authority caseworkers, who inevitably find their committee's decisions influenced by the official list description.

Whatever the law says, the fact is that an intelligent, well-observed list description is more useful than a bare external identification. And the resurvey can already be seen to be an important resource for future research: proper systematic analysis of the material revealed by the resurvey lists has not even begun yet.

What can already be said is that the picture is much richer and more colourful as a result of the resurvey. What were educated guesses or impressions based on extensive but relatively superficial observation have been confirmed, enlarged, and in some important respects, changed by the systematic investigation of so many rural buildings: clearly, this had to involve interior inspection because few rural houses in Devon of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries give more than a hint of their history from outside. There were pleasing confirmations of the sheer density of the survival of medieval houses all over the county but with particular concentrations in mid and east Devon. Confirmation came, too, of the predominance of the two- or three-room cross-passage house over most of the county with the corollary that the long-house was essentially an upland house-type confined to Dartmoor and Exmoor fringes. The great diversity of farmstead buildings on the historically-mixed Devon farm was recorded for the first time, although listing criteria for farm buildings were still in their infancy and the resurvey listings are somewhat sporadic. Above all, the resurvey was able to demonstrate the fundamental characteristic of vernacular building, the endless local interpretation of a limited number of basic themes constantly defying neat classification. So the surprises were noted as well: a thin scatter of long-houses away from the uplands, accomplished medieval carpentry in the open-hall roofs of remote north and south Devon, rich plasterwork in small rural houses, and the appearance of different house plan-types in some areas.

We shall be grateful for the fullness of the Devon rural resurvey for a long time to come. Future historians will recognize that this was a critical moment for local building traditions in Devon, a survey which recorded the building traditions of a rural society which was fast disappearing after six hundred years essential continuity. The results have immeasurably increased our understanding of the pattern of Devon building traditions; and have done what they were primarily intended to do, i.e., helped to preserve Devon buildings for future generations to enjoy. The assault on

the smaller rural house which reached a new intensity with the easy money of the 1980s and which shows little sign of diminishing even in the straitened circumstances of the 1990s can now be more effectively resisted.

MINE BUILDINGS IN CORNWALL *by* ERIC BERRY

The beam-engine house is the most recognizable and memorable of all building-types in Cornwall. Appropriately its design owes much to Cornish or Cornwall-based engineers such as Richard Trevithick and James Watt, and its form was taken by Cornish engineers to other mineral-rich regions of the world. Many engine houses survive as impressive ruins, tall, usually with integral stacks and round-arched openings, substantially constructed of local stone rubble but often with granite ashlar for the thick beam-bearing bob wall and with brick used for arches and for the upper stages of stacks (Figs 23 and 24).

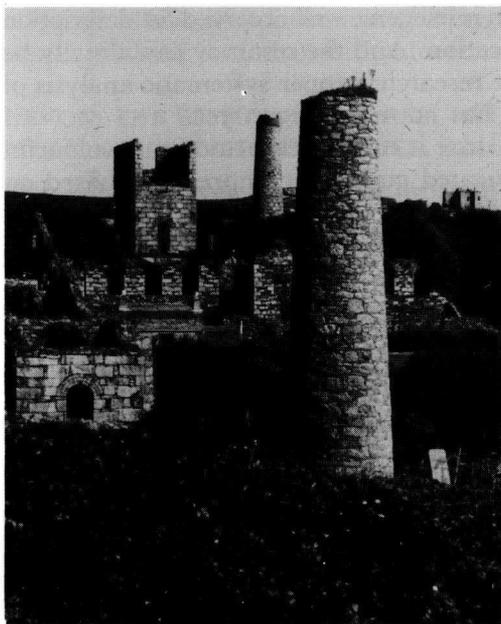


Fig. 23

Basset Mines, Carnkie near Redruth

In the foreground the smallest known engine-house and detached stack; beyond is Basset Cottage and the rare complex of dressing-floors, a vanner house and the stamps engine-house of West Basset with detached stack. On the skyline is Carn Brae Castle, a former hunting lodge of the

Basset family of Tehidy

Eric Berry

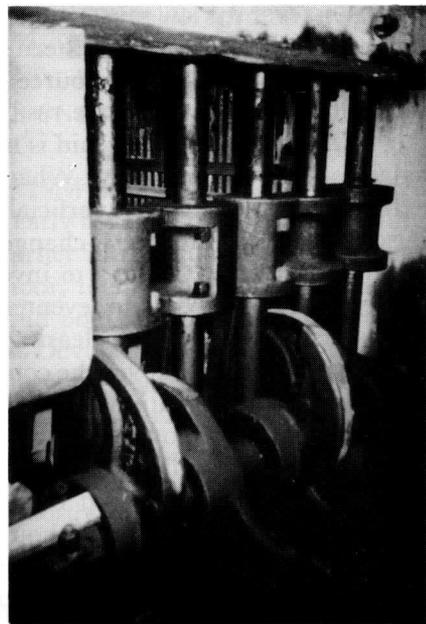


Fig. 24

'Californian' stamps at

King Edward Mine near Redruth

This ore-crushing machine survives in working order under the auspices of the Camborne School of Mines where you can still see a complete late nineteenth-century Cornish tin mine. The stamps were purchased from the Paris Exhibition in 1900 and are listed Grade II*

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

To understand the story of mining in Cornwall, the engine house is but the introduction; other related buildings are also important. An efficient tin-mining complex had three engine houses: a pumphouse to keep the mine dry; a winding engine (whim) to haul ore to the surface; and an engine to drive the stamps (ore-crushing hammers). Each engine-house needed a boiler-house; each complex needed a miner's dry, a heated changing-house often doubling up as a smithy or as a general workshop. Around the engine-house were other buildings of less permanent construction, often clad in weatherboard or corrugated iron; there were also launders on trestles and other essential equipment. An associated tin-pressing works had dressing floors or buddle pits and a blowing-house to smelt the tin prior to running into moulds. The more abundant copper ore was shipped to South Wales for processing and there was a reciprocal trade in coal to fuel the great engines. This trade was only made possible by the construction of a network of mineral tramways or plateways to carry horse-drawn ore wagons to the ports.

Subsidiary industries grew up alongside: arsenic calciners with their power-driven furnace gratings and their mazes of vaulted condensing-chambers known as labreths (labyrinths) with terminal stacks; brickworks to supply bricks for stacks, dressings and vaults; iron foundries which manufactured the enormous beams; powder-mills for making explosives and fuse works for making these safer to use. Count (account) houses, mine captains' houses, mining exchanges and the rows of mine-workers' cottages are some of the other characteristic building-types in the mining districts.

These remains are found on the mineral-rich land surrounding the rugged granite outcrops, the engine houses often standing on high ground or sometimes set precariously on cliff tops, as at Botallack, Wheal Coates and Trewavas. Their dramatic siting, their sheer height, and the fact that they can be seen from great distances gives us the impression that they are abundant. This is not so: of all the engine-houses built, only about five per cent survive and many of these are mere stumps. Of the remaining examples, barely more than a handful have roofs and still fewer have engines. The survival rate of associated building types is much lower: being of less durable construction they have usually become more ruinous or have been successfully robbed of their materials. This process continues and mine buildings, including engine-houses, are still being demolished.

Against this background, at the beginning of the Resurvey of Listed Buildings, it was decided to re-assess the criteria for the selection of mine buildings. As the result of a field visit with two English Heritage inspectors (Martin Robertson and Peter Chapman) the criteria were amended to permit their selection on grounds of completeness, grouping, landscape value, history and date. Expert advice was also sought from groups like the Trevithick Society, particularly to assess the technological interest and other historical considerations. However, despite this more informed approach, some rare structures were not listed, such as the ivy-clad remains of the earliest-known house, Wheal Henry near St Day. Nevertheless, despite some embarrassing omissions, the new lists stand as a useful framework against which

decisions concerning their future can be made. Another result of the survey is the realization that few of the mine buildings other than engine-houses survive in complete enough form to be listed. Particularly rare building types include blowing-houses, powder-houses, arsenic calciners, tramway bridges and brick kilns. Also rare are complete groupings of engine-houses as at Wheal Peevor and groups with many associated structures like those found as Wheal Basset and South Wheal Francis, near Redruth. Beyond the scope of the resurvey were increasingly rare structures such as the round rubble walls surrounding shafts, and landscape features such as the spoil heaps, known locally as burrows.

Even before the resurvey the plight of our industrial heritage was of great concern to many and some useful initiatives had been made. The National Trust have preserved two roofed engine-houses and their engines at Pool, near Redruth, and have consolidated spectacular coastal ruins at Wheal Coates, St Agnes, and Rinsey in Breage parish. Another trust has repaired two engine-houses on cliffs at Botallack and more recently in Carrick District some other ruins have been conserved.

For many years the Cornwall Archaeological Unit has been active in recording mining remains and it is to their Director, Nick Johnson, that we owe thanks for inspiring a major initiative. His recognition that the principal mining remains in the Camborne-Redruth-Hayle district are an inter-dependent group linked by an almost forgotten mineral tramways system has spawned a re-appraisal of their importance.

In Kerrier district we now have a very active Groundwork Trust whose principal scheme is the Mineral Tramways Projects. Under this scheme it is planned to consolidate as many mine buildings as possible and to use the old tramways as community link routes for walkers, cyclists and pony-trekkers. It is also envisaged that there will be a multi-site museum to provide much-needed information and to display artefacts from Cornwall's remarkable industrial past. Because of the international importance of the mining remains in this part of Cornwall, an application has been made for designation as a World Heritage Site.

In an effort to encourage better handling of domestic industrial buildings, the Cornwall Buildings Preservation Trust has recently repaired two pairs of one-up and one-down miners' cottages in Falmouth Road, Redruth, for which they have won the Cornish Buildings Group Award. These and other recent developments give rise to considerable optimism for the future. Let us hope that much of the remaining fabric of our great industrial heritage will be preserved for future generations to enjoy, appreciate and interpret.

CHESHIRE TIMBER-FRAME BUILDINGS *by* LAURIE MCKENNA

Black-and-white timber-frame buildings are as much a part of the Cheshire landscape as the black-and-white cows for which the county is famous. Most of these buildings have agricultural origins, indeed many of the remaining one thousand timber frames must owe their existence to the stability of the long-established dairy industry in the county.

There are five hundred and thirty vernacular buildings of small-frame construction spread across the Cheshire Plain and its uplands, ranging from the mid sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century and consequently showing a wide variety of panel shapes and braces. It is these buildings which the visitor to Cheshire considers to be typical of the county but they are really only a logical progression from the medieval timber-frame forms which are more common in the south-east of England.

Examples of medieval large-framing and close-studding accompanied by arch-braces or curved tension-braces, number less than a dozen but their distribution across the county suggests that they were once part of the national heritage of timber frames. Ancient crown-post and arch-braced trusses are to be found in a further half dozen larger buildings which have altered framing or framing replaced by brickwork.

An early development from medieval close-studding was chevron infilling often accompanied by quatrefoils. This arrangement is present in early reframing of such large medieval houses as Gawsorth Hall and Haslington Hall and continued, after the introduction of the middle rail, in buildings like Little Moreton Hall and Adlington Hall.

Continuous middle-rails between posts, with studs cut above and below, are a feature of Elizabethan buildings; they were used, in conjunction with close-studding, in larger building main elevations and small framing elsewhere. There are over eighty examples of mansions and farmhouses of close-studding and middle-rail construction, most of these in south Cheshire and many with upper-story decorative panel treatment.

During the early seventeenth century, storey-height studs were reintroduced and middle rails in close-studding became straight lines of nogging pieces. From this time intermediate horizontal members in small framing became noggings, a development which led to lack of symmetry when tree shortage dictated the use of second-hand timbers.

Eighteenth-century frames number less than a dozen, they are in symmetrical small framing of very light timbers, normally 150mm (6in) wide, and are mainly in the southern part of the county.

The southern part of the county has much in common with north Shropshire and weather-boarded barns and large straight passing tension-braces, uncommon elsewhere in the county, are found here in appreciable numbers. Conversely, cruck-trusses, which have a reasonable distribution across the county, are almost unknown in this area.

Twenty-five per cent of the Cheshire timber frames were either completely reconstructed during the nineteenth century or built of softwood, in salt extraction areas, to resist settlement. These copy existing sixteenth- and seventeenth-century forms rather than extend the development of these structures. Such wholesale replacement motivated the use of tar as an external protection against the damp climate. In Cheshire, we think that the number of frames which remain vindicate this Victorian practice, but we now recommend black bitumuous paint in lieu of tar.

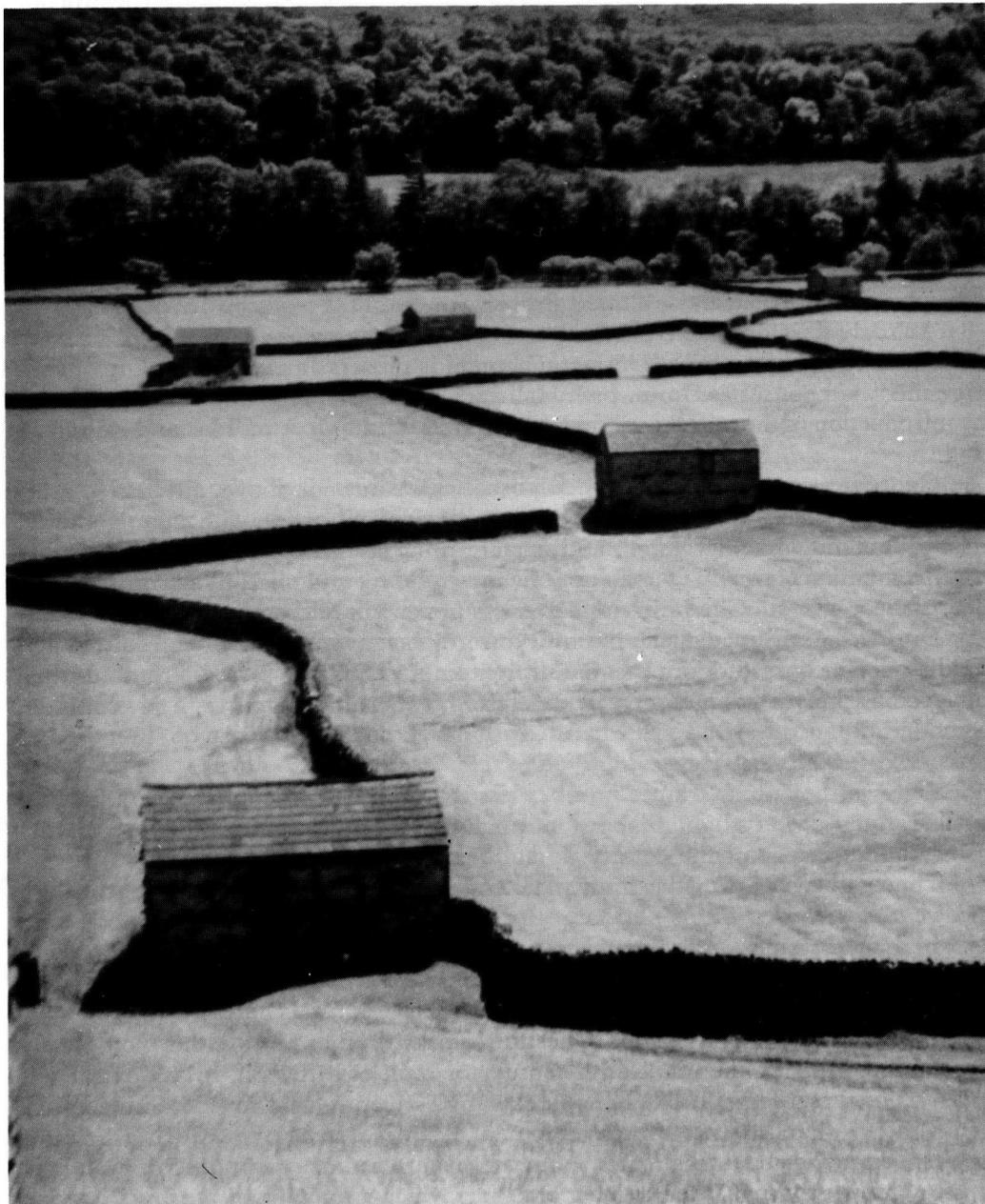


Fig. 25

A scene near Gunnerside in Swaledale, North Yorkshire. The field barns served the meadows along the valley bottom and represent a now redundant method of animal husbandry. They form a very important feature of the characteristic Dales landscape

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

FIELD BARNS IN THE RICHMONDSHIRE DISTRICT OF NORTH YORKSHIRE

by JANE HATCHER

A marked characteristic of the landscape of the Yorkshire Dales is the proliferation of small barns in the fields of the valley bottoms. Most of the field barns date from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and reflect the agricultural history of the area from that time until the recent past. Although the land must in the more distant past have been used for arable farming, it has more recently generally been used for cattle, both for beef and milk production. In addition to grazing, the making of hay for winter fodder was of the utmost importance to the rural economy (Fig. 25).

The field barns were used for the storage of the hay, and for the winter housing of the cattle. The hilly land makes transportation difficult (sleds having been as common as wheeled carts), and the Dales tradition is for farmers to have dispersed holdings of land, rather than unified farms. So a system evolved whereby, instead of the beasts and the fodder being brought in to the farmstead for the winter, the cattle and hay were kept in the barns, and the farmer travelled to tend the stock and, if appropriate, milk the cows and bring the milk back to the farmstead. This also meant that the manure produced by the cows was easily returned to the land, either directly or by spreading it from the midden accumulated outside the barn.

The pattern was to have a barn for every two or three fields, hence the astonishing number in the landscape. Each barn generally housed three or four beasts tied up in stalls. The barns rarely have large cart entrances, but usually have at least two doorways, one at the 'clean' end for feeding the cattle, and the other for mucking-out. The hay was stored above in a loft, into which it was forked through a small first-floor door, and dropped down through a trap-door for placing in the mangers.

The farming system has now changed. Instead of farmers on foot wearing a back-can, they drive or ride motor-cycles. Fewer farmers make hay, as silage techniques have improved. The hill-farming subsidies encourage higher stocking-levels, and instead of animal numbers being limited by the fodder the land can produce, fodder is bought in. Above all, the pitchfork and wheelbarrow have been replaced by machines for both feeding and cleaning out the animals wherever possible. The field barns are thus no longer an essential part of the agricultural system. Although some use will usually be found for a weather-proof building on a farm, perhaps for sheltering a few calves, there is little incentive to maintain such buildings. Lack of available labour has also caused a lack of maintenance of many of the equally characteristic stone walls surrounding the fields.

The field barns clearly did not fall within the criteria laid down for 'listing'. In the areas where they are found they are not of architectural or historic interest, being both commonplace and intrinsically utilitarian. If any were 'special', this could only be determined by close and/or internal inspection, which was impracticable. They are in fields, in isolation, so they have no 'group value' in the sense that this applies to listing. Therefore they were not listable, and had to be ignored in the context of a punishing schedule of a time-limited resurvey of an area with large numbers



Fig. 26

A typical early nineteenth-century woollen-weaver's house in eastern Lancashire with its range of large windows on the upper floor lighting the loom shop. Such windows have often been partially blocked but are easily recognizable

Nigel Morgan



Fig. 27

An early nineteenth-century Lancashire cotton-weaver's house showing the large windows of the cellar loom-shop. The damp cellar air was necessary to prevent the cotton thread from snapping. Preston once had a thousand houses like this;

not one survives

Nigel Morgan

of remote listable buildings. Not only were field barns left unlisted, but hardly any agricultural buildings of any kind were listed in Richmondshire.

The hierarchy of the resurvey of listed buildings recognized the problem, and made strenuous efforts to devise a tailor-made solution. The result was the designation of the first 'rural Conservation Area', covering a large area of Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, where the classic stone walls and field barns landscape is heavily concentrated. The settlements were excluded, largely due to hostility to the idea from local residents, who have a tradition of deeply resenting outside bureaucratic interference.

The rural Conservation Area is thought to contain about 1,200 barns, as well as many miles of stone walls. The designation allowed the inauguration in 1989 of a grant-giving Barns and Walls Conservation Scheme, the equivalent of a Town Scheme, funded mainly by English Heritage and the Yorkshire Dales National Park, with support from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Countryside Commission and Richmondshire District Council. Grants are made of up to eighty per cent of the cost of the works, and the current annual budget is for over £100,000. In the 1991-2 financial year the European Commission gave an extra £50,000. Grants vary from relatively small sums aimed at 'stitch in time' work, to more than £6,000.

WORKERS' HOUSING IN LANCASHIRE *by* NIGEL MORGAN

The workers' housing characteristic of industrial Lancashire is that of the textile industries; principally cotton, but with significant areas in the north-east of the county still based on wool until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when cotton gained the ascendancy there also.

In the Industrial Revolution the two main branches of these industries—spinning the yarn, and weaving and finishing the cloth—were mechanized out of phase with one another: spinning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, weaving from the second quarter of the nineteenth century (at the earliest). This technological lag gave a great boost to the domestic industrial system in what was inevitably its dying phase, causing it to bequeath to posterity a peculiar form of industrial housing—the handloom-weaver's cottage.

The spinning branch, which separated work from home from its earliest phase, together with the weaving branch when this was generally mechanized from about 1840, stimulated an ever-expanding need for basic housing in and around all Lancashire towns from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Regimented rows of 'two-up-and-two-down', intermingled with slightly superior but scarcely distinguishable three-room houses, created the Lowry-esque townscapes wherein were contained the social histories of the overwhelming mass of Lancashire people. But 'terraced housing' was 'terraced housing' wherever it was built, and for whatever workers; and, on the whole, did not attract the attention of the listed buildings resurvey.

Of the handloom-weavers' housing, on the other hand, which had been technologically redundant for a century and a half, the number of survivors is now so few that well-preserved examples were listed at the resurvey.

There are two radically different classes: those for woollen weaving, which have integral loomshops at top-floor level for the sake of light (Fig. 26); and those for cotton weaving which have loomshops at ground-floor level or below it for the sake of humidity (Fig. 27). Both were usually furnished with multiple-light windows which give them a characteristic, and sometimes picturesque, appearance.

Woollen-weavers' cottages, having top-floor loomshops, were relatively safe from later alteration, and are therefore proportionately over-represented in the lists. In Lancashire they are found almost exclusively in Rossendale, where their distinctive features are stone-mullioned windows with stepped multiple lights. The finest example by far (and therefore untypical) is 1 and 3 Fallbarn Fold, Rawtenstall; but there are more humble survivors on Rochdale Road and Todmorden Road in Bacup, and a fascinating block of three-storey back-to-backs at Coal Hey, Haslingden, with a communal loomshop on the top floor.

Cotton weavers' cottages, by contrast, were of more varied forms, falling into two broadly different types: those with the loomshop beside the dwelling at ground-floor level (the only arrangement possible when, as frequently happened, a loomshop was added to an existing farmhouse or cottage); and those with the loomshop beneath the dwelling, in a cellar or basement, with steps up to a raised ground floor, which was the type most commonly built in towns. Both have been vulnerable to later alteration and demolition, overwhelmingly so in towns. (Of over a thousand built in Preston between 1790 and 1825, for example, nothing remains but a handful of photographs.)

The resurvey listed good examples of the cellar-loomshop type at Chorley (2 to 8 Parker Street), Leyland (10 to 60 Fox Lane), in the village of Wheelton (12 and 14 Albert Street), and in the township of Clayton-le-Woods (586 and 588 Preston Road) but there remain significant numbers which are still clearly recognizable but were judged not good enough, or too altered, for listing.

Weavers' housing of the ground-floor loomshop type, although built in some towns (e.g., Blackburn) lent itself to subdivision in such contexts, leaving only a few rural examples: e.g., Miry Fold Cottages in Wheelton, and Lilac Cottage in Clayton-le-Woods, both of these being pairs where the distinctive features are the multiple-light windows to one side or the other.

BASTLES IN NORTHUMBERLAND *by* PETER RYDER

Bastles, or bastle houses, are a distinctive building-type found throughout the Border counties, although by far the greatest concentration is in central and south-western Northumberland. Bastles are the earliest vernacular building-type to survive in the area, and are essentially defensible farmhouses, with thick walls, and living accommodation above a non-domestic ground floor that generally seems to have been

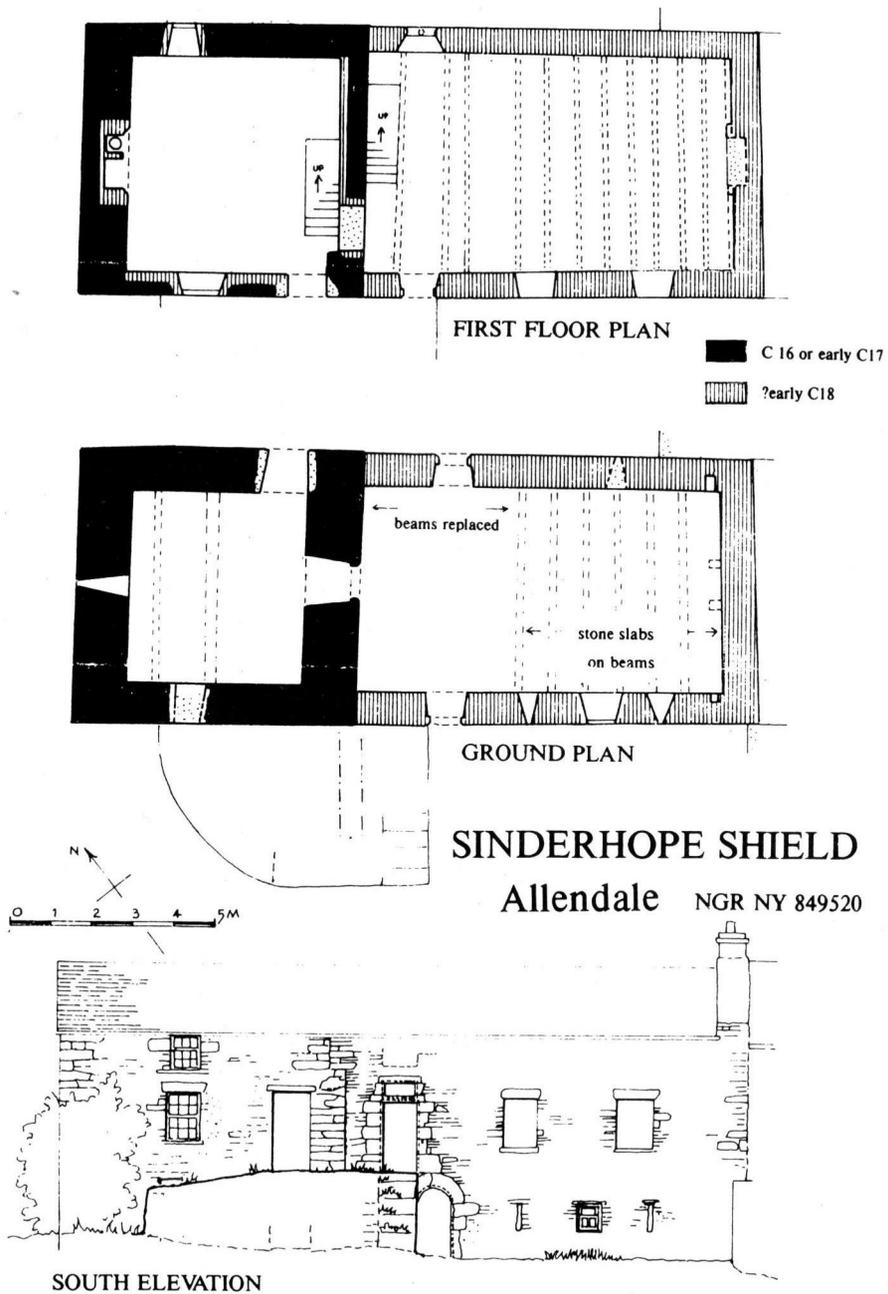


Fig. 28

The bastle house at Sinderhope Shield demonstrates most of the characteristics identified for this, the earliest vernacular building-type in the Border country. The resurvey has shown that these buildings are not nearly so rare as was previously thought

Peter Ryder

used as a byre (Fig. 28). In most instances the doorway to the living accommodation was at first-floor level, reached by a removable ladder. One relatively small group of bastles has stone barrel-vaults to their basements; even more secure against fire was a type (of which only one example seems to survive, at Snabdaugh near Bellingham) which had an additional stone vault at roof-level.

The only major publication to deal with these buildings has been the RCHM volume *Shielings and Bastles* (1970), which catalogues sixty-one bastles, or possible bastles, within Northumberland; in the light of the Survey, and subsequent fieldwork, this total can currently be extended to 228; an increase of 374 per cent.

In addition to this considerable increase in numbers, the survey has shown that, whilst bastles conform to a surprisingly uniform type, there also exists a range of variant types, distinguished by size, the positioning of the byre doorway, and degree of architectural refinement. These include more sophisticated examples ('yuppie bastles') sporting features such as mullioned windows, moulded doorcases and even, occasionally, internal stairs; in the valleys south of the Tyne (the area in which most 'new' bastles have been recorded) is a group of small, but strong bastle-like, buildings which were more square than rectangular in plan, and may have been carried up to three storeys—possibly a vernacular aspiration after the rich man's tower.

In addition to the variety of bastle types, previously-unrecorded features of individual bastles have been recognized, such as the 'quenching hole' set above the byre doorway, through which water could be poured on to any fire kindled below. Groupings of bastles have also proved of interest; examples both of 'extended' bastles (in which one bastle is built on to the end of another, but both share a common byre door) and 'terraced bastles' (in which bastles are set end to end, sometimes surrounding a yard or green, but with both upper and lower doorways in their side walls) have been recognized.

Unfortunately, a high percentage of the bastles recorded are either ruinous or greatly altered; a relatively small proportion conform to the guidelines which allow them the protection of listed-building status. The deficiency has been underlined in the period since the resurvey, when at least two bastles in Allendale, which through their condition remained unlisted, have been completely destroyed without any detailed record being made. Situations such as this could be averted if a subsidiary listing grade, requiring statutory recording of the fabric in the event of alteration/demolition, could be incorporated into planning structures.

COTSWOLD CLASSICISM *by* MARTIN ROBERTSON

Although the Cotswold area had been adequately covered by the first survey, with a high proportion of the worthwhile buildings listed, there has been very little attempt to do more than identify the buildings, with no categorization and very thin descriptions. The lists had all been compiled by David Verey of Barnsley House, who was extremely knowledgeable on all Gloucestershire matters and, as a local squire had the entrée to many houses; so a look at these lists says quite a lot about the differing objectives of the first survey and of the accelerated resurvey: the first survey looked for protection, the second much more for information which could be used as part of a long-term strategy for the management of this heritage.



Fig. 29 (above)

The Market Place at Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, is lined with fine houses, demonstrating the change in design from the late medieval gabled house on the right through three different examples of the classical tradition

Martin Robertson; English Heritage



Fig. 30 (left)

A house in the High Street in Blockley, Gloucestershire, demonstrates the gradual change from the vernacular mullion-window appearance so common in the area towards the standard classical façade. It is dated 1732

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

This is as it should be. The first survey was thought to be a three-year once-for-all project, so it was vital for as many buildings as possible to be protected in the time available. The Cotswold lists achieved this and, as a result, this architecturally very important area has survived the last forty years rather better than some parts of England where the first listers, for whatever reason, were not really as thorough.

One curious aberration very evident in the old lists is that it was assumed that all mullioned windows indicated seventeenth century buildings, while in truth the mullion and gable tradition runs through unbroken from the mid-sixteenth century to the council houses of the 1920s and '30s. This might be called the vernacular tradition but it is more than that for it was used throughout the eighteenth century with a few or even no gestures towards classicism. In the wool towns, however the classical tradition did appear at the end of the seventeenth century and it is this which is catalogued here. There are a number of interesting houses of the lesser gentry and successful merchants where classical features appear and some are dated, thus giving us a skeleton to hang others on. All these houses were re-assessed recently, they were listed already.

The three strands which developed in the early eighteenth century stand conveniently in a row on the west side of Stow-on-the-Wold's market place (Fig. 29). On the left is St Edward's House, one of the 'Cotswold Baroque' houses, of which there are other examples in Burford, Chipping Camden and Chipping Norton. Its narrow site indicates a fronting of an ancient plot, forming a show of verticality to make a powerful impact on its surroundings. It is supposed to date from about 1730 and to have been built by a pargetter named Shepherd, and remains to this day the building with the strongest architectural individualism around the Square.

The second house, two doors along, is the Cotswold Bookshop, here conveniently dated 1697 over the right-hand first floor window. This house has been much altered, especially on the ground floor, but if we take the left-hand window, the kneelers and the quoins to all be of 1697 then this is a remarkably early example of a move away from a vernacular appearance towards a Georgian classical one, a move probably begun by Medford House at Mickleton dating from about 1694, which has mullioned windows going right under the eaves as at Stow and the same flat-fronted dual casement dormer.

This type of house, turning from a vernacular to a steady Georgian is well represented at Blockley by Tudor House and Halfway House opposite each other in the High Street. I do not know if Halfway means halfway to classical, but it certainly is that. Again, like Medford House, it has a symmetrical front with central entrance, three-light mullion-and-transom windows right under the eaves, a first-floor string course, flat-fronted dormers and a segmental pediment, this time over the door. But this house is dated 1732 and there seems no reason to disbelieve it (Fig. 30). Tudor House opposite is extremely similar and may well have been built by the same person. Medford House has the vestigial remnant of the early seventeenth-century half-H plan, with recessed hall and two crosswings, while the three later buildings are flat-fronted. A further development of this into a standard, parallel-with-the-road, Georgian Cotswold house is the Little Manor at Bledington, a formal five-window central entrance front, but still with two-light mullioned windows demonstrating how this tradition could continue even after sashes were almost universally accepted.

Two along from the Cotswold Bookshop there is a Queen Anne 'dolls house' a formal early eighteenth-century design with replacement windows and ground-floor alterations but still unmistakably from the same family as the Caroline houses like Colehill and Thorpe and more locally the small but perfectly formed Manor House at Poulton near Cirencester, which may be the work of Peter Mills and dates probably from the 1680s.

And finally next along in Stow stands what came before all these, a narrow, one window, gable-end-to-street house demonstrating the shape of the long narrow burgage plot with the late medieval house form of shop or office below, principal chamber above, hall behind and kitchen behind again, which can be observed in other parts of the country. And despite the efforts of the three other architectural strands that we have explored it is of course this tradition which makes up the architectural character of the Cotswold villages in the eyes of the tourist. This tradition co-existed quietly with the Georgian throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and then re-surfaced with a vengeance through the work of the Arts and Crafts architects, especially Dawber and Lutyens, Lethaby at Chipping Camden and the artists' colonies at Rodmarton and Sapperton, and thus we return to the beginning, for it was here that the whole of the Cotswolds became mullioned, gabled and definitively seventeenth century.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY BUILDINGS *by* MARTIN ROBERTSON

The demolition of the Firestone factory did more than bring the D.o.E. to the sticking point as far as the accelerated resurvey was concerned, it also gave an entirely new impetus to the listing of buildings from after 1914. Before 1980 buildings of 1914–39 were included only with great reluctance, and those from after 1939 only by mistake. The thirty-year rule had not yet been thought of, but there were curious aberrations, even from the first survey, for instance Guy Dawber's Foord Almshouses at Rochester were listed in 1950 having been completed only in 1926! Surely the fieldworker cannot have thought they were older? The listing which really tells the story is the Hoover Factory in Perivale built in 1931–5 and designed by Wallis, Gilbert and Partners, also the architects for Firestone. This was first recommended for listing in 1974; it was actually listed on 10 October 1980 and upgraded to II* in 1983 (Fig. 31).

The first survey included no buildings after 1914 other than those few examples of the continuing Arts and Crafts tradition, plus the neo-Georgian work of Sir Reginald Blomfield, Sir Herbert Baker and Sir Edwin Lutyens, surely a recognition of the continuing strength of the architectural establishment. Modern Movement buildings were not considered at all until 1969 when, under pressure from Nikolaus Pevsner, a leading light of the Holford Committee—the then listing committee of the Historic Buildings Council—it was decided to recommend fifty examples of buildings from between the wars. This was an arbitrarily chosen figure, but yet one which was to reappear, though with far less success, when post-1939 (i.e., thirty-year rule) buildings were first considered in 1987. The first fifty included all those modernist buildings now seen to be important milestones towards not much more than a dead end, the white-walled, flat-roofed, projecting stair-towered and Crittall-windowed style of Wells Coates; Connell, Ward and Lucas; and Berthold Lubetkin. The other favoured manner



Fig. 31 (above)

The Hoover Factory is perhaps the most dramatic and attractive of the buildings lining the newly-widened London radial roads of the 1930s. The decision to list this was a key one following the demolition of the similar Firestone Factory in 1980
Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

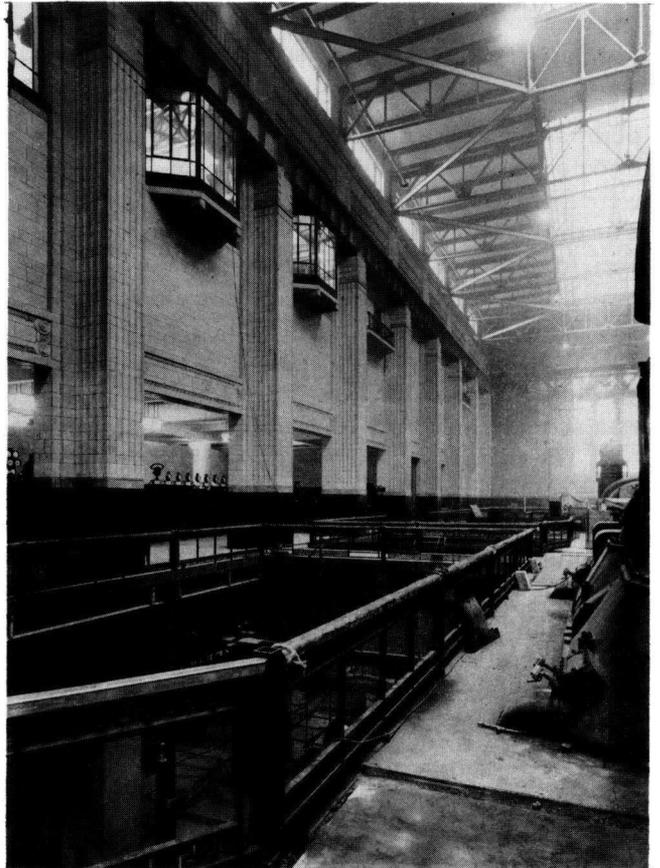


Fig. 32 (right)

A reminder of the monumental interiors which were such a feature of the pre-War section of Battersea Power Station. All are now destroyed and this key listed building stands a travesty of its former self. It was built 1929-35 and designed by S.L. Pearce and Sir G.G. Scott
Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England



Fig. 33

Shoreham Airport in Sussex built in 1936 is an example of the new building-types which were first listed during the resurvey. Designed by Tiltman and Bowdell, it is an International Modern version of the control-tower/terminal type which first appeared at Croydon Airport in 1927

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

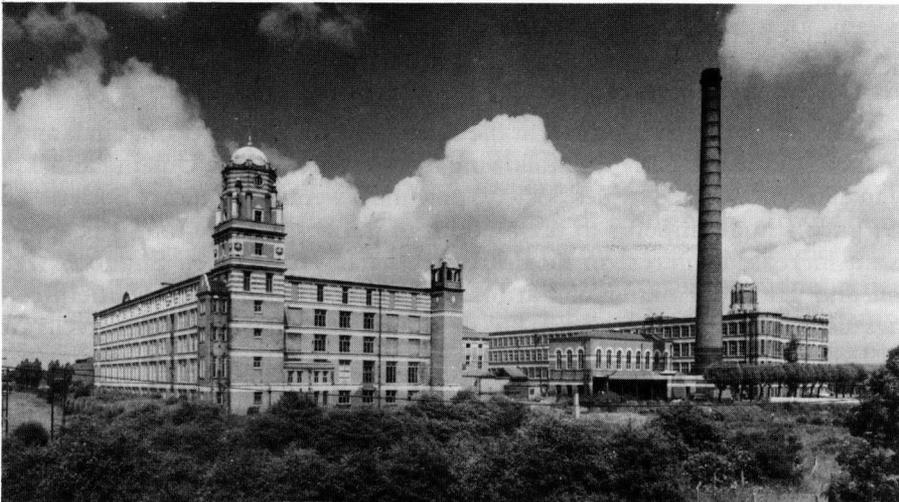


Fig. 34

These two Lancashire cotton mills Ring and Mavis at Coppull are sadly no more. The resurvey did not address the problem of these huge steel-framed early twentieth-century buildings but the list review of such areas as Oldham is attempting to come to terms with them. These have the towers characteristic of the Stotts of Oldham, prolific mill architects.

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

was the more traditionalist brick school bred from the town halls at Hilversum and Stockholm, for example, the Philharmonic Hall in Liverpool and Norwich City Hall, the first still very pleasing, while the second is really a very feeble imitation of the original. Curiously, there was quite an emphasis on buildings of entertainment. It is difficult to associate Pevsner with fantasy but the Granada Cinema, Tooting, was also on this first list, as was Bexhill Pavilion by Mendelson and Chermayeff and Joseph Emberton's sailing club at Burnham-on-Crouch. Examples of the Charles Holden underground stations of the 1930s, as well as his London Transport headquarters building at 55 Broadway, were more understandable.

Another fifty buildings were added in 1976 but otherwise almost nothing before Firestone, and especially not the Hoover factory. One remarkable decision however, was the listing of Battersea Power Station, partly a post-war building, in 1980, shortly after Firestone (Fig. 32). This decision took a long time in coming, but there was considerable public pressure behind it. This was probably approved by Michael Heseltine himself, and the building still mostly stands, though it seems an age since that wonderful white vapour drifted from those chimneys. Listing has not been successful with power stations. The first generation ones have gone; the Giles Gilbert Scott-type still survives at Bankside—the finest—but it remains unlisted, probably because of the failure to achieve anything meaningful with Battersea. Dunston B in Gateshead with a splendid glass curtain-wall generating-hall was turned down for listing and has been demolished.

There was a much more structured look at buildings between the wars following Firestone, with the best examples being listed in nine categories: housing, commercial, entertainment and so on, with a set of exemplars being built up against which to measure all new decisions (Fig. 33). It was a slightly panicky reaction, however, with several examples of the second-rate being listed because the first-rate had already been demolished. This was to be the result following the thirty-year rule listings in 1988 as well. The D.o.E. declined to list what were considered to be the best of their type and have stuck to that decision, at the same time adding lesser ones in later years.

Cinemas did particularly well following the formation of the Cinema and Theatre Society in 1967, while the Thirties Society, now the Twentieth-Century Society, started in 1979, gave a huge impetus to the amount of public pressure that was applied as well as an increased interest in local architects like E. Blunden Shadbolt, Arnold Mitchell and Harold Falkner of Farnham. Higher grading for twentieth-century buildings also became possible; it was Grade II only following a proposed Wells Coates II* in 1978 and this was not changed until Hoover in 1983. Nowhere has it been more clearly demonstrated how listing has almost always followed public opinion. This is why it has been so difficult to get a proper representation of the 'dark satanic mills' listed; by the time the public is ready they have been demolished (Fig. 34).

Part IV: Conclusions

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ACCELERATED RESURVEY OF 1982-7

by R.W. BRUNSKILL

The main rural resurvey of buildings potentially of special architectural or historic interest in England was begun in 1982 and effectively completed in 1987, five years later. After another five years it is possible to look back and consider the achievements of the resurvey programme, and list the benefits which have followed in terms of statutory protection and academic understanding of buildings and their history. At the same time some of the limitations of the resurvey exercise are worth noting.

The accelerated resurvey entailed a fresh look at selected—mainly rural—areas in England, a look which was a comprehensive view, checking on every building in the existing lists as well as checking on every potential addition to the buildings and structures to be included in the revised lists. This meant that as a start the existing lists were brought up-to-date, demolished buildings were eliminated from the lists, and buildings which had been so altered as to lose their special architectural or historic interest were considered for exclusion by the 'delisting' process.

The resurvey also provided the opportunity to extend the range of structures and building-types to be recommended for listing. Thus many of the minor structures such as milestones, bridges, monuments in gardens or tombstones in churchyards which were individually of special interest were added to the lists whatever their collective importance as a part of the built environment. At the same time many engineering structures and items of industrial archaeology such as railway signal-boxes, factory chimneys, etc., were added in acknowledgement of the greater appreciation in recent years of their special interest. The buildings of the farmstead began to receive recognition: the importance of barns and granaries, stables and pigsties was recognized by listing them in their own right rather than being at best included within the curtilage of a listed farmhouse or at worst specifically excluded from consideration. As the date-range of listing was extended so more building-types, as well as actual buildings or structures, were included. Thus early airport buildings, municipal lidos, bus stations, cinemas, even early petrol stations were among building types now worthy of consideration. At the same time the corpus of buildings in earlier lists, but within the range of already acceptable building-types, has been amplified. This is especially true of Victorian and Edwardian buildings; with more churches and chapels, villas and terraces of houses being added to the lists as their significance was better appreciated.

Dr R.W. Brunskill was formerly Reader in Architecture in the University of Manchester. He is Chairman of the Historic Buildings and Areas Advisory Committee; the Churches and Cathedrals Advisory Committee; and a Commissioner, English Heritage. He is also Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Society.

At the same time the resurvey added to the value of each parish-list-entry by the greater thoroughness of survey, in many cases, and the reasoned form of the entry, so that items were better catalogued and the justification for each list-entry fully established.

The entries tended to be longer than before. Unfortunately the format was not changed so that the 'greenbacks' are full of closely-typed text demonstrating only a very limited range of the wealth of the English language, but with perseverance and generous use of the red pencil the entries can usually be made to sing about the buildings or structures in a way not often possible before. The building owner can now understand why the listing has taken place; while the conservation officer can justify his concern when a listed-building consent application arrives on his desk.

The inspection of the exterior of many buildings was much more thorough than before. In spite of the limitations of time and budget many listing inspectors requested, and were granted, permission to check all elevations of a building, not just the one visible from the road, and so the history of the building was correspondingly better understood and the importance of phases in its construction better appreciated.

Early lists had been based almost entirely on external observation and the origin of listing as part of Town and Country Planning in its heroic post-war phase makes this understandable, buildings being listed as picturesque items in a countryside which 'planning' sought to preserve. During the accelerated resurvey interiors were often inspected: not just the interiors of public buildings and parish churches but farmhouses and modest-looking chapels too. This has meant that many buildings which were not at first sight obviously picturesque or historical have proved to be significant because of their interiors. Sometimes this has been by way of plans in which cross-passages or chimney arrangements proved of interest; sometimes by way of construction in which timber-framed walls emerged from inside later cladding, or magnificent roof-trusses were discovered above later ceilings; sometimes by way of decoration as elaborate staircases or panelling were revealed behind the most unpromising of exteriors, or extensive wall-paintings emerged from behind generations of wallpaper. Internal inspection, even at the limited level which was feasible during the fieldwork, gave an archaeological dimension to the listing process which had only existed before to a very limited extent.

Nowhere has the benefit of the resurvey process been felt more than in the field of vernacular architecture. Remembering the attitudes of architectural historians and the preoccupations of archaeologists in the 1950s and 1960s, and bearing in mind the very limited resources devoted to listing at that time, it is hardly surprising that the lists were full of the works of 'polite' architecture and sadly empty of the vernacular: every parish list had its medieval parish church but might well omit the village Bethel tucked away in some unobtrusive corner, or isolated at some distant crossroads; for every manor-house or Georgian rectory included in the early lists a dozen humbler dwellings still important in the history of the parish were omitted. It is one of the major achievements of the resurvey that the balance has been redressed and the evidence of all aspects of rural life has been given appropriate recognition.

Often overall internal inspection has corrected the poor impression given by the exteriors of many buildings. Whereas the medieval manor-house or the Georgian rectory might survive relatively intact the farmhouses and other dwellings are more

likely to have suffered recent alterations such as replacement of roof-covering, alterations to cladding (render and over brick also) replacement of windows, or removal of chimney-stacks.

The comprehensive coverage of each parish has brought to attention some of the more remotely sited of the vernacular buildings: water-mills of various sorts, out-farms, field-barns, limekilns, and saltpans (Fig. 35).

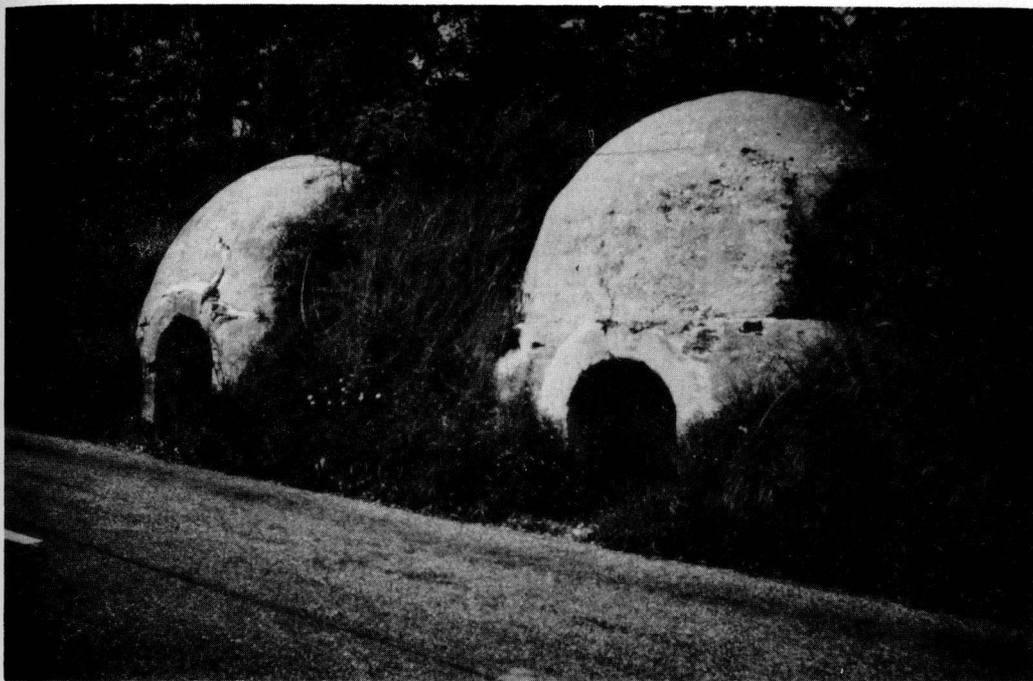


Fig.35

Occasionally, a building-type was discovered which remains something of a mystery. These are at Freshwater, Isle of Wight, and look like icehouses without the earth mound, but no light has been shed on them

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

Again, the comprehensive coverage and the great increase in the numbers listed has meant that an overview of the vernacular architecture of rural England can be based more soundly than before. This applies both to exteriors, where the distribution of building materials, for instance, can be more satisfactorily demonstrated and also to structures both visible and hidden to outside view, as well as to the distribution of internal features such as dog-leg staircases or internal jetties. The task of making use of all the information now available is a massive one but at least the opportunity is now there.

One further achievement of the resurvey is worth mentioning. It is the double benefit of more information available in the archive and more people equipped to use it. Unfortunately there is only one spot where the national list is publicly accessible, but luckily that spot is the National Buildings Record of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England with its search-room still located in central London. As the 'greenbacks' were issued they were added to the most readily accessible of architectural records. To them will be added, it is hoped, as accessioning permits, the photographs taken by fieldworkers during the second, private-contractor, phase of the resurvey (and in some cases the earlier, local-authority phase). Interpretation at a central and local level is helped by the existence of a body of experienced fieldworkers. These came from local authorities, from architectural practices, from the pool of professionally-active amateurs on which so much effort in archaeology and architectural history depends in England, and from recent graduates of the universities. They are now active as historic buildings consultants, as English Heritage inspectors, as local-authority conservation officers or have again become amateurs working at a professional level. Their experience is invaluable, and the creation of this body of experts is one of the achievements of the resurvey.

However, not all the potential benefits of the resurvey exercise have been achieved. Limitations lie mainly in the origins of the resurvey as a statutory rather than an academic exercise. The resurvey had to be done suddenly, swiftly, and economically while the opportunity was there; academic benefits were to be considered an extra and could not influence, except to a very limited extent, the operation itself.

Integration of the resurvey and the continuing recording work of the R.C.H.M.E. was hardly possible at all. The Royal Commission had its established programme, the resurvey had its impetus and urgency. Nevertheless in an ideal world these two fieldwork-based enterprises would have been more closely co-ordinated to the benefit of both statutory and academic needs.

The 'greenbacks' could have been properly illustrated. Masses of words could have been reduced by an essentially visual matter being given a mainly visual rather than a literary record. A few local authorities have produced illustrated versions of the parish lists but a fully-illustrated national archive of our architectural wealth remains to be completed.

Computerization of the listing procedure could have been more extensive and more rewarding if circumstances had allowed. Some limited computerization is under way within English Heritage and there was an official study by one of the private contractors during the progress of the resurvey, but one wonders what could have been achieved in the fieldwork itself, in the production and editing of the 'greenbacks' and in the analysis for both statutory and academic purposes of the results, if a greater degree of computerization had been feasible from the beginning.

The decision to complete the definitive list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest in England in only a few years from 1982 was very courageous and the conservation movement owes a great debt of gratitude to Michael Heseltine, the Minister responsible, to the members of staff of what is now English Heritage for the way they responded to the challenge, and to the fieldworkers in local authorities and in the offices of private contractors who met their targets and produced their lists. It has still proved necessary to work on reviews of the mainly urban lists of the

1970s, the task of listing post-1945 buildings remains to be completed, 'spot-listing' and consideration of 'certificates of immunity' stay with us, but all these are backed by the magnificent achievement of the resurvey, which surely must be the envy of other countries faced with the protection of a comparable heritage.

WHAT THE RESURVEY DID NOT ACHIEVE *by* MARTIN ROBERTSON

The national resurvey did fail in several ways but these serve to put the scale of the achievement into perspective. National consistency of selection proved not possible, there were too many people involved, too many disparate areas, too many types of buildings. The fieldworkers had different ranges of knowledge and different prejudices and the supervisors were hampered through only being shown those buildings the fieldworkers wished to include, not those to be left out. Variations are not large, but they are perceptible, and continued spot-listing produces buildings which were clearly not missed but deliberately disregarded by fieldworkers who had failed to recognize the quality that may be self-evident to everybody else. We all had these blind spots, we all continually surprise ourselves by the things we left out, and rather less often by the things we included (Figs 36 and 37).

Coverage of the country, and of different building-types, was also inconsistent. East and West Sussex were resurveyed to a lower standard than any of the other counties. Since the work was done voluntarily and was well under way before the accelerated resurvey began, we felt it was an offer we could not refuse. The descriptions are short and often historically inaccurate, the grading variable and the coverage of the ground suspect. The lists are better than the previous ones, but these are two extremely important areas in terms of historic architecture and should certainly be a high priority for bringing up to standard.

We knew very little about some building types until the resurvey was well advanced, and some of these suffered badly. Agricultural buildings have been covered inconsistently because the predominantly architectural criteria made it easy to include individual good buildings, for instance barns and granaries, less easy to include ranges of cowhouses and implement sheds which were parts of complete sets of farm buildings but lacked individual architectural character and quality.

Some industries came out of the resurvey very poorly indeed. Coal-mining has only a couple of pithead baths and a winding-house, all other proposals for inclusion having been rejected by the Department. All good surviving pot banks in Stoke-on-Trent are now listed, but they are only a tiny proportion of the 2,000 and more that survived at the end of the war. At the same time, almost every granary in Hampshire is included and this picturesque type survives in great numbers. All 200 K2 red telephone-boxes are included, but only a representative number of the K6s; another example of how the resurvey will help to create a false illusion of history in some areas. Gasholders are not properly represented, neither are the giant Lancashire cottonmills; the public was not yet ready for them.

In some areas the selection rules were changed in the course of the resurvey, sometimes because their importance became more apparent, sometimes because a different understanding of the legal position arose. Milestones, bollards and graveyard memorials, including headstones were now included, whereas previously they were

Fig. 36 (right)

The dramatic St Pinnock viaduct in Cornwall is, at 151 feet, the highest of the many on the Cornish railway. Brunel built the slate piers in 1854, the timber spans were replaced by Peter Margary in 1882. This viaduct was upgraded to Grade II* on resurvey

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

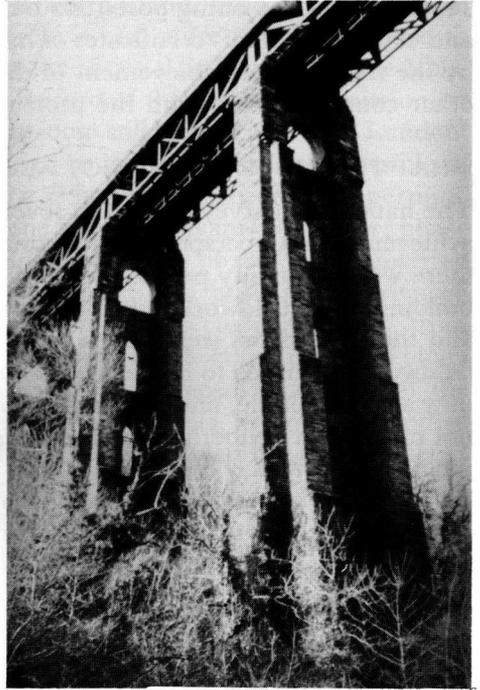


Fig. 37 (below)

This bridge is an example of a structure missed at resurvey which has since been listed at Grade I. Brunel's Avon Bridge for the G.W.R. in Bristol dates from 1839 and survives intact but surrounded by later steelwork which hid its importance from the author, the fieldworker in 1975

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

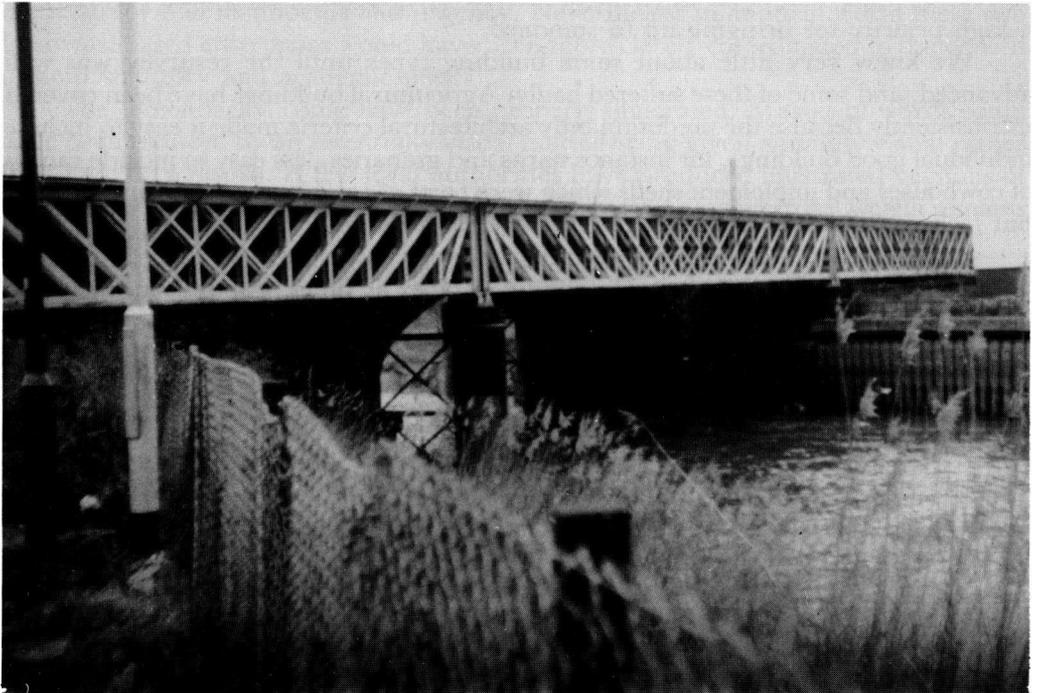




Fig. 38

Churchyard monuments were a building-type which were only decreed to be acceptable as buildings during the course of the resurvey. These eighteenth-century table-tombs at Iron Acton in Avon seem not to have claimed the full attention of the fieldworker

Martin Robertson; English Heritage

thought not be structures (Fig. 38). Prisons, slum housing, public conveniences were all thought to have worrying social implications if they were listed and could not be modernized, but the resurvey adjusted accordingly. There had been a special agreement with the British Waterways Board about listing only representative examples of bridges, locks, etc. This was a clear inconsistency and benefited nobody else. Consistency of grading was difficult to achieve with churches. Many Anglican parish churches are partially medieval and therefore Grade I. No Nonconformist or Roman Catholic places of worship are older than the seventeenth century and often have to be highly graded for historic rather than architectural reasons, and these criteria have been more subjectively applied.

Some aspects of resurvey organization proved to be a mistake. We began this major exercise in consistent standards without taking photographs of the buildings so that discussions and comparison in the office were impossible. English Heritage listing staff were not all issued with cameras until 1988, but by then Phase 2 had been undertaken with photographs, all of which were placed in the National Buildings Record as a permanent archive. Photographs are so obvious an asset it is difficult to believe they were not used from the beginning, especially as the cost factor was

so small in comparison to the other great, missed, opportunity, a computerized retrieval system for all the collected data. Peter White describes the value of this so I shall only say that the alternative is no more than folk memory and how fast that fades.

Computerization was debated at the start of the accelerated resurvey but it was decided to be too expensive and would take too long to set up. The result is an enormous body of indigestible data from which we can draw conclusions only after great effort. The full value and achievement of the resurvey will never be appreciated until the information is fully retrievable.

LIST COMPUTERIZATION—A MISSED OPPORTUNITY? *by* PETER WHITE

From the perspective of 1992, it is easy to assume that the draft statutory lists compiled during the accelerated resurvey should have been computerized. It all looked rather different in 1981, however, when the work was being planned. Personal computers were by no means commonplace then, nor were the friendly database programmes we now take for granted. Indeed, our ancient monuments colleagues were struggling to develop what became the 'Superfile' software for Sites and Monuments Records, to combine an effective searching facility with sufficient free text. Only one county, Somerset, had ventured into a software application for historic buildings.

Because of this relative lack of capability, computerization seemed desirable rather than essential. Planning the field and back-up operations were massive tasks in their own right, and inevitably had first call on the human resources available. In the event, the list descriptions were the only element of the 'new' lists which showed symptoms of the experimental work which had indeed taken place; the free text was written to the BDAMPFISHES formula.

The next move came in 1984-5, from the private sector. Clews' Architects Partnership, of Great Bourton, Oxfordshire had been appointed to carry out the resurvey in their area, and decided to key their draft lists into an IBM-compatible system, developed in-house. They then successfully approached the newly-created English Heritage for further development funds, and produced a series of fully-indexed draft lists for their area, together with a methodological study of part of Stratford-upon-Avon D.C., as a pilot for further work.

By today's standards, both the programme and the machines on which it ran were extremely primitive. However, the project demonstrated that fully-indexed, searchable lists could run on personal computers, but that the information would have to be gathered and structured rather differently. In parallel to the familiar list-entry material, the same information, including the elements of the address, had to be broken down into a parallel series of fields, and conform to certain rules to achieve consistency. The lists currently being compiled still follow exactly this pattern, although the index fields relating to the list description are now far fewer than in the rather costly but pioneering Clews' system. Only one authority, Cambridgeshire, has

attempted to search and retrieve from the structured free-text list description itself, an option soon abandoned elsewhere because no rigour was applied to the terminology used in the descriptions.

There is little doubt that the development of a system to computerize at the outset of the resurvey would have delayed the start of fieldwork by many, unacceptable, months. Equally, however, we should accept that an opportunity was missed, by failing to compile an index, on site, to grade, and building type, date, etc. Had this happened, the current task of computerizing the 'backlog' of some hundreds of thousands of entries would avoid the dubious business of abstracting this information at the desk, or making yet another visit to the building in question. Arguably, indeed, this process should have started in the late 1960s, when the first of the 1900 or so 'greenback' volumes were compiled, in the manner adopted by the Pevsner authors. Until such an index is available, the statutory lists will remain a paradox: probably the most comprehensive, yet the most frustratingly impenetrable, record of historic buildings anywhere.

LIST REVIEW AND AFTER *by* MARTIN CHERRY

As the predominantly rural accelerated resurvey entered its final stages at the end of the 1980s, it became increasingly clear that the older urban lists, many dating from the early 1970s and even before, would not remain useful in their present state for much longer without being thoroughly overhauled. Our knowledge and appreciation of many building types were growing so fast, and public appreciation of certain periods changing so rapidly, that the older 'greenbacks' were failing to reflect either current learning or taste. Some major towns whose character derived principally from their Victorian and Edwardian legacy possessed hardly any listed buildings post-dating 1840. Moreover, the format and organization of the listed building information contained in these old volumes were inconsistent and difficult to use.

However, the list review did not begin without a struggle, and what emerged was a compromise. The early planning and development stages were carried out against a background of scepticism about the value of fuller listing including, in particular, buildings of the post-war period where most of the initial recommendations for listing were rejected by the Department.

The sudden and unexpected decision to go ahead, fuelled to an extent by the pressure of demand for ad hoc listings, meant that there had been little time for adequate preparation. And, from the start, the project suffered from under-funding. The list review budget was finally set at less than half the figure English Heritage estimated it would cost to revise the most defective urban lists adequately. Consequently, corners had to be cut. Unlike the rural resurvey, where the contracted fieldworkers were required to inspect every standing structure marked on a large-scale map, the review fieldworkers' duties involved checking only those buildings already listed and any other buildings of interest that were recommended to them by people with local

Martin Cherry was a fieldworker for Architecton Listing. He is now Head of Listing Branch at English Heritage.

knowledge—the Local Authority Conservation Officer, for example, or an amenity or historical society. Comprehensive coverage was not written into the programme.

In fact, the quality of the review lists is far higher than might be expected from the scenario painted here. Public opinion and public servants together made it difficult to get away with a second-rate job. Committed staff and fieldworkers worked hard under considerable pressure. In many cases, Local Authorities contributed generously to the costs of the reviews. Large numbers of buildings—in some review areas literally hundreds—were drawn to the fieldworkers' attention and duly assessed. By about half way through the three-year programme it became evident that the original targets would not be met.

It was also becoming clear that the reviews were not meeting some of the most pressing conservation needs to best effect. The number of spot-listing referrals passed to English Heritage by the Department of the Environment (later the Department of National Heritage) showed little sign of abating. This in itself had been one major reason why the review programme had fallen behind. But—more significantly—list review was not always targeting those building types that were most at risk by virtue of being unlisted.

The rural resurvey, although generally recognized as a remarkable achievement, was nevertheless very uneven in its coverage, especially of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century buildings. These were often excluded as a result of a cautious interpretation of the 'post-1840' rule enshrined in the Department of the Environment's selection criteria which insisted that only 'buildings of definite quality and character' and the 'principal works of the principal architects' should be listed. Also, there were many building types which were still inadequately researched in the early and mid 80s such as textile-mills, and these tended to be severely under-represented on the new lists. Clearly, as the resurvey lists were not being revised, many good and important buildings remained unprotected.

And there were problems of coverage even within the urban review areas themselves. Most of the major Victorian and industrial cities (such as Manchester, Leeds and Hull) were registering large increases of listable buildings. At the other extreme, relatively few additions were being recommended for many of the more ancient towns (such as King's Lynn, Lincoln and Crewkerne). Limited resources and conservation priorities pointed to the need to concentrate on the former category if the urban list review was to be effective.

All this has major and positive implications for the future of listing. The urban list review will continue, but will concentrate on those towns or localities where there is a large but unprotected concentration of good nineteenth- and twentieth-century buildings and/or a rich industrial heritage. This is not to downgrade the significance of the older towns: where there are compelling conservation needs attempts will be made to meet them, perhaps in partnership with Local Authorities. But priority must be given to areas which are under-listed. And to under-listed building types, too. Over the next few years emphasis will increasingly be placed on a research-based listing programme that targets vulnerable and significant building types. English Heritage has already identified the industrial and agricultural sectors as being particularly urgent areas for attention and work here is already well advanced. A thematic approach has the virtue of being a more responsive system than the large-

scale geographically-based programmes. As threats to certain building types are identified—whether they be Board or early Local Authority schools, banks, pubs or libraries—a coordinated and well-researched selection programme can be set in place. This is already well advanced in the area of post-war architecture. Here, a three-year project, beginning with educational institutions and moving on to commercial and industrial buildings will lead to a thorough appraisal of the best of the period, and provide a securely based set of recommendations for ministers to consider. The listing work of English Heritage will only be effective if we can move forward with others working in these fields, and close cooperation and liaison is central to the projects. Carrying public opinion with us is perhaps the most critical ingredient of success, and the exhibition on post-war architecture and its protection—*A Change of Heart*—held at the Royal College of Art in the summer of 1992 before travelling throughout the country, was the first major step in publicly debating the shape of listing policy in the 1990s and beyond.

POSTSCRIPT *by* MATTHEW SAUNDERS

The great 'Domesday Resurvey' is unique in the world; England alone now has a total of listed buildings approaching 500,000 and, when combined with Wales and Scotland and Northern Ireland, the tally is nearer 550,000. This is only about one building out of every sixty, but still no country in the world begins to compare. The nearest rival is Bavaria where there are 110,000 protected structures in an area with a population of 11 million, but in France the total is a meagre 36,000, increasing only at the rate of 1,000 a year. The Netherlands has 43,000, but in Belgium the whole of Brussels has only 350–400. There are 9,000 listings in Denmark, a country where the ministry responsible has identified 300,000 as being potentially listable (even given the self-denying ordinance which states that structures less than a hundred years old can only be protected if they are outstanding). So hats must be doffed to the hundred or so managers, inspectors and fieldworkers who showed continental Europe the way.

What comes home to me, using the lists each day, is the legitimate audacity with which the resurvey interpreted the listability of the range of historic structures. The spectrum within Grade II is quite extraordinary. If stone has been placed purposely on stone, or brick on brick, the structure is listable. The protection of granite setts and headstones has been criticized, the first because it was argued that they are not above ground, the second because they are monolithic and therefore not strictly speaking 'constructed'. However, the lawyers do now seem satisfied. In fact one of the most delightful of the 'very few' corrections needed after the resurvey was issued on 26 May 1992, provided that the 'group of the hundred headstones to the south-west of St Mary's Church' at Radcliffe-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire, should be amended to read 'A group of ninety-nine headstones to the south-west of St Mary's Church'. I wonder how many times the poor Inspector had to order himself into a recount! Forty-seven lamp-posts in Beverley are protected, as are their equivalents in Taunton, held to be the earliest examples of public electric lighting. The most photographed

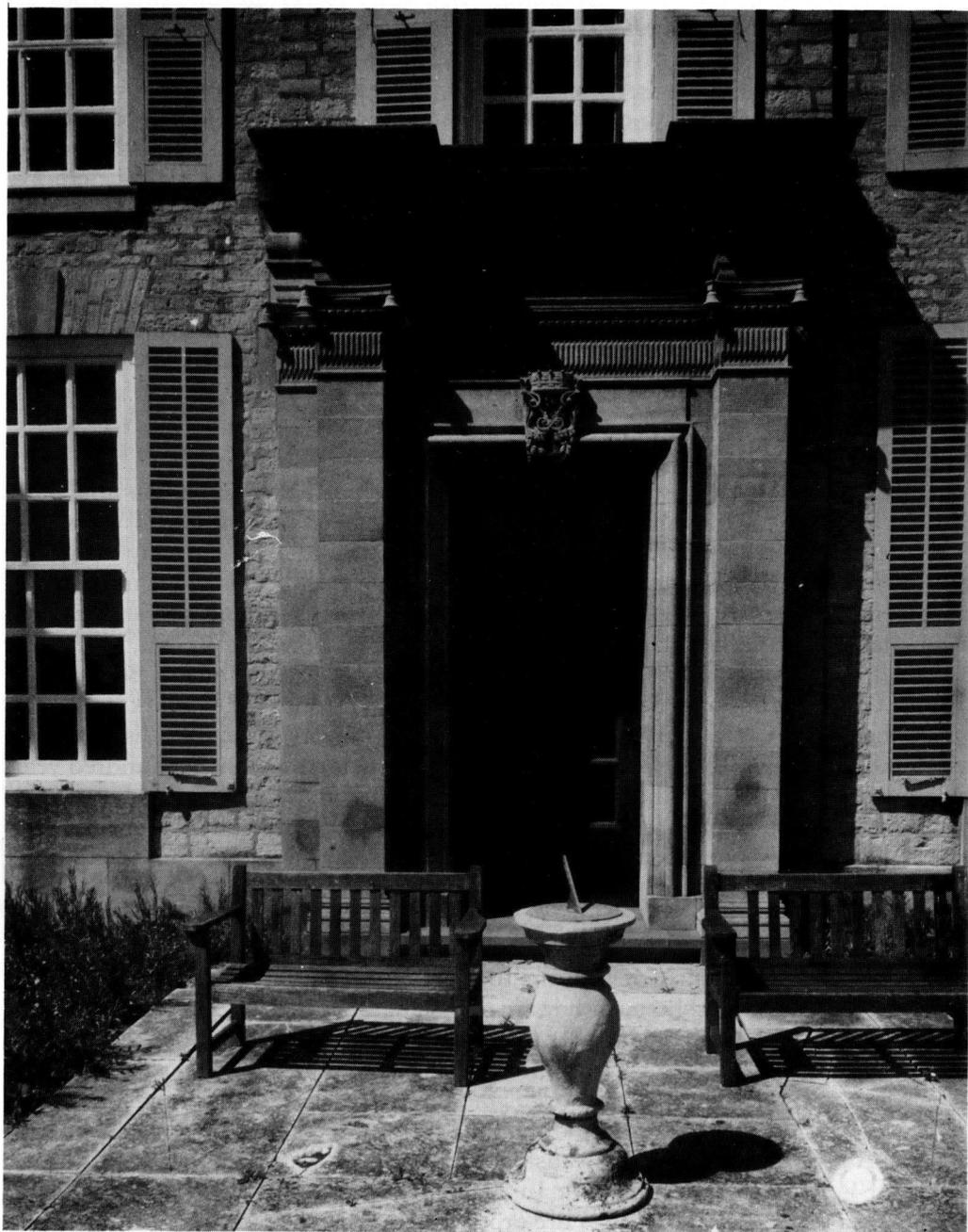


Fig. 39

Middleton Park at Middleton Stoney in Oxfordshire holds the record for the shortest length of time between construction and listing. Built in 1938 to Lutyens' design it was listed in 1951! It is now Grade I
Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

lamp-posts in London, those outside 10 Downing Street, are listed Grade II. Elsewhere the lists include garden walls (boundary walls are now frequently listed in their own right), sundials, ice-houses, bridges, canal locks, statues, war memorials, horse-troughs, bandstands, pillar-boxes, stocks, turnstiles, lime-kilns, milestones and ha-has; the whole world must know of the 2,000 Gilbert Scott K6-type telephone kiosks listed out of the former total of 78,000. Sometimes there have been what the authorities consider a listing too far. I can recall at least two railway carriages converted into houses which were added to the lists—at Osmington in Dorset and Hayle in Cornwall. The latter, dated 1864, seems to have travelled the length of the country to perform its new role having been built for the Cumbrian Railway Company. Despite the fact that even the original internal partitions survive, it was later the subject of a successful application for delisting. It was marvelling at the comprehensiveness of the lists that persuaded me to include a mention of the more exotic examples in the 'Gleanings' section of the Ancient Monuments Society's *Newsletter*. Some are worth quoting again: the anti-aircraft gun site of 1935–9 in Whalebone Lane, Havering; the water-driven scythe forge of c. 1840, north-west of Springbrook House, Blakedown, Churchill in Worcestershire; the former navy living-quarters a hundred yards from Dent railway station in Cumbria; the eighteenth-century or earlier rabbit-warren walls south of Court Barton at Lanreath in Cornwall; the seventeenth-century Pound Farmhouse, Westbury-on-Severn in Gloucestershire, with a fine panelled room of c. 1700 with an overmantel-painting depicting a landscape with figures and churches, including those at Newnham, Westbury and Arlingham on the banks of the Severn; the ice-house of c. 1758 at Poynton-with-Worth near Macclesfield; Birch Grove at Horsted Keynes, Sussex, home of Harold Macmillan, built by his father in 1926 and incorporating eighteenth-century door-cases and chimney-pieces from the demolished Devonshire House in Piccadilly; the 'well-preserved and relatively early cricket pavilion' of 1902 in Dean Park Sports Ground, Cavendish Road, Bournemouth; the early nineteenth-century custom-built wool drying-house at Bourne Mill, London Road, Thrupp. Gloucestershire; the three hangars of c. 1917 built for the Royal Flying Corps at Hooton Park, Bebington in the Wirral; a row of five tenter-posts in Longwood Gate, Huddersfield (monolithic posts with sockets for an iron hook used as part of the cloth-manufacturing process, a length of cloth being stretched out to dry between them); the Elephant House at Whipsnade Zoo, Bedfordshire of 1935 by Lubetkin and Tecton; and council houses in Ernest Road, Dudley of c. 1924, built as experimental housing using cast iron as an alternative building material.

Reassessments can also trigger upgrading of buildings already on the statutory lists. Numbers 29 and 30 West Street, Buckingham were recently upgraded from Grade II to Grade II* following the discovery of the remains of a late medieval town-house inside, with plaster barrel-vaulted ceilings in the rooms at the top of the main range which appear to have belonged to an Elizabethan long gallery. The former Norwood Free School in Tentelow Lane in the London Borough of Ealing, founded in 1767, is now Grade II* following the recent discovery of a ground-floor fireplace with a painted, plastered, upper section depicting the Three Ages of Man, with representations of a boy holding the hand of a young man in clerical-type dress and an old man seated between Gothic piers. I must say I personally relished the II* grading recently awarded to the church of St Erkenwald in South Church Avenue, Southend,

in Essex. I vividly recall the time when the Department steadfastly refused to list this austere masterpiece by Sir Walter Tapper in any grade at all. Then they relented at Grade II. Now, its merits apparently running in inverse proportion to its condition, it is elevated yet again in a desperate attempt to save it from the vandals. In 1983 the resurvey of Blackpool took the Blackpool Tower into the revered Grade I.

Thirdly, I am struck by the relative elasticity of the cut-off date. At the time of the resurvey, before the introduction of the thirty-year rule (following the Scottish example), the inspectors and field-workers could not in theory go beyond the Second World War. And yet there had been already some delicate trespassing beyond that date. Middleton Park in Oxfordshire, by Lutyens, built in 1938 was listed in 1951, surely the shortest gap between construction and protection ever seen and the accolade was redoubled in 1987 when the grade was changed to Grade I (Fig. 39). The resurvey of Norwich confirmed the Moot Hall on the lists in the Grade II* category despite its having been rebuilt in facsimile in 1967. Most of the Wren churches in the City of London rebuilt after the War are Grade I—indeed, the Society's offices were based for fifteen years in the church of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, where the internal fabric is wholly of 1961 and by Marshall Sisson. As listing is all about protecting buildings 'of interest' it is just as well that that 'interest' is not tied exclusively to age. After all, we are now sufficiently distant from earlier decades of the twentieth century to accord the ultimate accolade, Grade I listing, to Lutyens' Midland Bank in Poultry and Princes Street in the City of London, to Eric Mendelson's De La Warr Pavilion at Bexhill, Sir Owen Williams's Boots Factory at Beeston, Nottingham, and now to Sir Norman Foster's Willis Faber offices at Ipswich.

Fourthly, broadly speaking, the scholarly authority of the resurvey lists is much more marked than in those issued in the rushed and pioneering post-war days. And yet those engaged in the resurvey very often themselves pushed back frontiers of scholarly knowledge; they led rather than followed. As Jo Cox and Peter Beacham have rightly said, the understanding of the vernacular tradition of Devon and Cornwall has been immeasurably deepened as a result of the listing campaign. The fieldworkers have proved in aggregate as effective as a mini-Royal Commission, dedicated, as the English Royal Commission is no longer wholly, to the virtues of inventories. The resurvey has also provided the occasion for making more public the findings of locally-based vernacular study groups, as in Surrey and Somerset, where more commercial publications on such a comprehensive basis would probably have proved impracticable. And now the review is to concentrate, as Dr Martin Cherry writes, on building-types rather than on geographical areas. Then the in-depth studies by the Royal Commission, for example on textile mills and chapels, should prove to be invaluable *vade mecums*. Now for the first time ever the listing team itself has set up a research programme tied with a conference for interested parties to lay down criteria for listing in one particular area, that of post-war listing. It is however very important that eyes focussed on such a relatively brief period should not neglect threatened buildings of other ages. It is essential that money found for the research-base for the post-war listing is not provided at the expense of the broader review.

This assessment of the resurvey has not been uncritical: Martin Robertson and Peter White, the two men in charge of the whole effort, along with Brian Anthony, justifiably bemoan the lack of computerization. At times this writer hankers after

a more commercial approach to the 'greenbacks' which can make very dry reading. The Welsh Office now publish theirs in a glossy cover and with well-selected illustrations which make them easier on the eye and more instructive to the layman.

To my mind the greatest mistake by the Department of the Environment, was its refusal—a refusal still persisted in—to send the schedule, together with the notice of listing, to the owners of those structures newly added to the lists as a result of the resurvey. Such a schedule is supplied in the case of spot-listings. Now there are possible dangers. The schedule, which is the verbal analysis of the building prepared by the inspector and fieldworker is meant for identification rather than for description. It is in architecturally-literate language which may be lost on the layman and, most dangerously of all, it is not meant to be comprehensive. Omission of a feature from it does not mean that that feature can be removed with impunity—indeed some schedules make no mention of the interior at all. And yet the vast majority of people living in listed buildings are proud of that fact and want to know more about them. The schedule is the obvious way to begin. The Department says that it will be sent on request but we are told that less than one per cent are sent out as a result of that. The average owner has little idea what a 'schedule' is and is unlikely to feel the need to search it out. And yet its value for those purposes is clearly appreciated by some; the Knaresborough Civic Society is among several which have distributed the schedules to all owners in their particular area. The situation could only get worse should the central record of schedules deposited in the National Buildings Record in Savile Row ever cease to be available in Central London.

And where are the fieldworkers now? The vast majority seem to have stayed within the historic buildings field, some struggling to make a living, others with their talents more amply rewarded by the surer base of employment with English Heritage or as Conservation Officers with local planning authorities. As if to confirm the scholarly authority they brought to bear, three fieldworkers who carried out the resurvey of Northumberland have been asked to revise the Pevsner volume for that county. In their way they were all Sir Nikolauses and everybody concerned with the better protection and understanding of Britain's extraordinary wealth of historic architecture is in their debt.

Appendix I

TIMETABLE FOR THE NATIONAL RESURVEY

1966	Government recognizes the necessity for resurvey. City of Westminster commenced. Two fieldworkers appointed.
1968	Six more fieldworkers appointed. Survey of the thirty-five historic towns begins (CBA List.)
1969/70	First national survey completed.
1970	Listing of fifty buildings 1919-39.
1970	Listing criteria redefined. Group value and technological interest defined. Listing of Victorian and industrial buildings encouraged. End of Grade III. Invention of Local List.
1970	First 'greenback' (Buxton) signed, 21.12.70.
1975	Eighteen fieldworkers on resurvey.
1976	Second fifty buildings 1919-39 listed.
1977	Local List ended.
1978	Instruction that no building post-1914 should merit more than Grade II.
1978	Church grades equated to secular grades; end of A, B and C grades.
1980	Twelve fieldworkers, four people equivalent. One-third of the resurvey lists complete.
1980	August Bank Holiday demolition of Firestone Building in West London.
1980	Listing of Hoover Factory and Battersea Power Station.
1980	Accelerated resurvey agreed by Michael Heseltine and Hector Monro.
1982 Feb	Go-ahead for recruitment given.
1982 Nov	Training Course for Phase 1.
1983	Hoover Factory upgraded to Grade II*.
1984 Feb	First training course for Phase 2.
1984 May	Main training course Phase 2.
1985 Nov	First three-year contracts completed.
1987 May	Majority of three-year contracts completed.
1987 August	Thirty-year rule announced. D.o.E. requests seventy recommendations for the period 1939-57. Bracken House listed Grade II*, first post-war building.
1988 March	Eighteen post-war buildings are listed, with the Royal Festival Hall in Grade I.
1989	List review (bluebacks) announced.
1991 April	Listing of Willis Faber Building Grade I. (First building between ten and thirty years old.)

PHASE 2: CONSULTANTS

1. The Alex Gordon Partnership, York
Counties surveyed: Humberside, North Yorkshire
2. Architecton, Bristol
Counties surveyed: Devon, Cornwall
3. The Astam Design Partnership
Counties surveyed, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire
4. The Cassidy and Ashton Partnership, Preston
Counties surveyed: Greater Manchester, Merseyside
5. F.W.B. and Mary Charles, Worcester
Counties surveyed: Hereford and Worcester, West Midlands
6. Guy St John, Taylor; Newark
Counties surveyed: Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire
7. Ferrey and Mennim, York
Counties surveyed: South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire (part)
8. Leonard Baart Associates, Shrewsbury
Counties surveyed: Shropshire, Staffordshire
9. Michael Clews Associates, Great Bourton
Counties surveyed: Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire
10. The Napper Collerton Partnership, Newcastle
Counties surveyed: Durham, Northumberland, Tyne and Wear (part)
11. Purcell, Miller, Tritton; Sevenoaks
Counties surveyed: Kent

Appendix 3

STATISTICS

The latest available statistics for the complete number of listed buildings in England is the quarterly statement number 175 (30.9.92.) from the Department of National Heritage.

Grade 1	Grade II/II*	Total
6,068	434,196	440,264

It must be remembered that this is a count of list items which may range from the Royal Crescent at Bath to a single milestone. If a count is taken of separate addresses i.e. each house in Royal Crescent, then the total would be in excess of 500,000 and this is the meaning of the 'more than half a million listed buildings' which has been a published statement.

County and regional totals are most recently available for the end of June 1988 when the period of the accelerated resurvey was just ended. At that time the listed item total was 420,299 so roughly 4½–5% less than it is today. The increase in any particular county, however, might vary quite widely from just a few items in North Yorkshire to perhaps 20% in the Isle of Wight where the majority of the resurvey has only just been completed. The 1988 figures include no listings from the List Review which really began in 1989.

LISTED BUILDING STATISTICS BY COUNTY AND REGION

	I	II/II*	Total
ANGLIA			
Bedfordshire	71	4316	4387
Buckinghamshire	127	8090	8217
Cambridgeshire	157	9444	9601
Essex	121	16316	16437
Hertfordshire	51	9156	9207
Norfolk	173	12446	12619
Suffolk	144	13888	14032
Total	844	73656	74500
EAST MIDLANDS			
Derbyshire	45	6783	6828
Leicestershire	36	6164	6200
Lincolnshire	102	7055	7157
Northamptonshire	95	5782	5877
Nottinghamshire	27	4370	4397
Total	305	30154	30459
NORTH			
Cleveland	11	1275	1286
Cumbria	148	8386	8534
Durham	60	3929	3989
Northumberland	140	5022	5162
Tyne and Wear	56	3202	3258
Total	415	21814	22229
NORTH WEST			
Cheshire	148	6886	7034
Gtr Manchester/Lancashire	68	11067	11135
Merseyside	73	5478	5551
Total	289	23431	23720

YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDE

Humberside	37	4060	4097
North Yorkshire	220	13887	14107
South Yorkshire	11	3227	3238
West Yorkshire	93	15019	15112
Total	361	36193	36554

SOUTH EAST

Berkshire	38	4906	4944
East Sussex	274	9823	10097
Hampshire	146	12378	12524
Hertfordshire	51	9156	9207
Isle of Wight	11	1758	1769
Kent	153	21160	21313
Oxfordshire	258	11693	11951
Surrey	50	7088	7138
West Sussex	69	9198	9267
Total	1050	87160	88210

SOUTH WEST

Avon	679	16029	16708
Cornwall	60	9852	9912
Devon	135	20465	20600
Dorset	157	11827	11984
Gloucestershire	187	14746	14933
Somerset	172	9848	10020
Wiltshire	193	15951	16144
Total	1583	98718	100301

WEST MIDLANDS

Hereford and Worcester	93	13964	14057
Shropshire	87	8131	8218
Staffordshire	48	5308	5356
Warwickshire	93	6688	6781
West Midlands	26	3851	3877
Total	347	37942	38289

Greater London	917	14327	15244
----------------	-----	-------	-------

GRAND TOTAL (as at 30.6.88.)	6060	414239	420299
------------------------------	------	--------	--------