

# Listing in Scotland: Origins, Survey and Resurvey

by

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*The official listing of historic buildings in Scotland began in 1945 when the Scottish Office adopted the lists of traditional urban dwellings of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prepared for the National Trust for Scotland on the initiative of the 4th Marquess of Bute in 1936-9, resulting in differences of usage between England and Scotland which still exist today. From 1945 listing policy, as in England, was determined by the deliberations of the Maclagan Committee, adapted for Scottish conditions by the first and only Chief Investigator, the scholar-architect I. G. Lindsay, principal author of the National Trust for Scotland's lists. Provisional lists covering the whole of Scotland were produced from 1948, initially mainly by fee-paid staff, but statutory implementation was much delayed by the complications of the Scottish land-registry system, a problem not fully resolved until 1969. By the latter date the Historic Buildings Council for Scotland, set up in 1954, had replaced the Holford Committee—as the Maclagan Committee had become—as Scotland's advisory body with one of its members, Sir Robert H. Matthew, formally appointed as adviser to the Secretary of State on conservation from 1970 to 1975. Resurvey policy was determined by a sub-committee of the (Historic Buildings Council) the Listing Committee from 1972, the 'Thirty Year Rule' being formally substituted in 1975 for the Maclagan Committee requirement that the work of living architects should be excluded. In that same year the longer English standards of description were introduced, but it was not until 1978 that the resurvey programme was fully under way, undertaken entirely by in-house staff.*

The origins of the term 'building of special architectural or historic interest' lie in the Town and Country Planning Acts of 1932. Section 1 of the Scottish Act empowered planning authorities to make a planning scheme, with the object of preserving existing buildings and other objects of architectural and historic or artistic interest and places of natural interest, of beauty, and generally of protecting existing amenities whether in urban or rural portions of the area. This section re-enacted a similar provision in the Act of 1925, which had been invoked by the City of Edinburgh in 1930 in respect of Charlotte Square. Section 17 of the 1932 (Scotland) Act further provided that the planning authority might, subject to the approval of the Secretary

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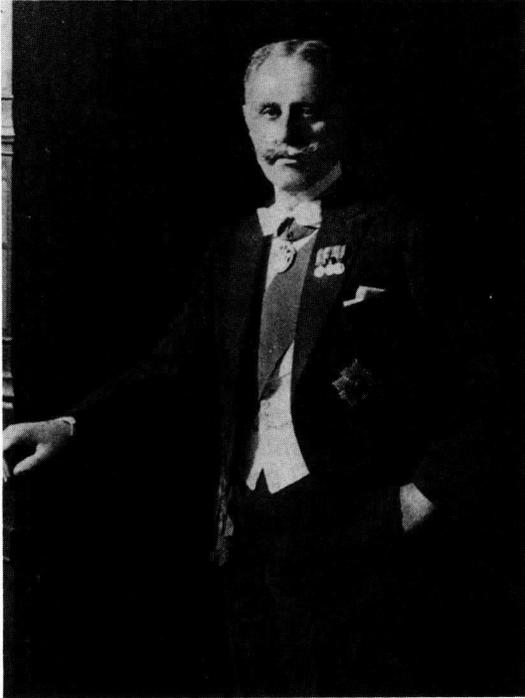


Fig. 1  
John Crichton-Stuart,  
4th Marquess of Bute, c. 1936  
*The Marquess of Bute*



Fig. 2  
Reginald Fairlie, Esq.

of State, make a preservation order with respect to any building of special architectural or historic interest.

The Housing (Scotland) Act of 1930 adopted the wording of the 1925 Act and of section 1 of the 1932 Act in providing that:

A local authority in preparing any proposals for the provision of houses or in taking any action under this or the principal act, shall have regard to artistic quality in the layout, planning and treatment of the houses to be provided, the beauty of the landscape, or countryside and the other amenities of the locality and the desirability of preserving existing works of architectural, historic or artistic interest, and shall comply with such directions, if any, in that behalf as may be given them by the Secretary of State.

The Town and Country Planning Acts of 1944 (England and Wales) and 1945 (Scotland) thus drew on the narrower definition of section 17 of the 1932 Act rather than the broader definition of section 1. As will be seen later, the use of the word 'special' was to give rise to considerable difficulty.

Charlotte Square apart, the provisions of pious hope in the Acts of 1925, 1930 and 1932 were little heeded in Scotland. Neither the English nor the Scottish minister had reserve powers under the 1932 Acts, as the English minister had at least on one occasion to regret, and the power to specify what was of special architectural or historic interest was the prerogative of the planning authority. Although the need for inventories had long been recognized, particularly by the Glasgow Archaeological Society, Scotland had no non-statutory lists—other than the monuments worthy of preservation in the Royal Commission Inventories—as early as London's of 1897 or Manchester's of 1904. In Scotland the key date was 1936. In May of that year John Crichton-Stuart, 4th Marquess of Bute, delivered a speech in Edinburgh entitled 'A Plea for Scotland's Architectural Heritage' which attracted a good deal of attention, somewhat surprisingly, as he had not hitherto been visibly active in public affairs. Born in June 1881, he had inherited his father's great estates in Scotland and Wales in 1900 at the age of nineteen. Like his father, he was an antiquarian with a profound interest in architecture and, until the First World War, had been a patron of major building projects, both for himself and for the Roman Catholic Church, his preferred architects being the arts and craftsmen Robert Weir Schultz and Reginald Fairlie, the younger son of the estate of the Myres at Auchtermuchty in Fife and his brother Lord Ninian's near-neighbour at Falkland. Both architects were committed conservationists. Schultz did not retain Bute's patronage after the First World War but Fairlie was to have a continuing role in guiding his thinking. As new building became more expensive he became increasingly preoccupied with conservation. On his Welsh estate he completed his father's rebuilding of Cardiff Castle and then began straightening and consolidating the ruins of his great castle at Caerphilly and restoring the water defences there. In Edinburgh, partly by purchase and partly by sheer will, he brought about the restoration of the north side of Charlotte Square in Edinburgh in 1924-7, an effort which the City's order of 1930 had been designed to consolidate.

But with his Caerphilly works almost complete he had turned his attention increasingly to Scotland. The impetus was perhaps partly the foundation of the National Trust in 1931 in which Sir Iain Colquhoun of Luss, Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Pollok and the Duke of Atholl—the latter both enthusiasts for little houses—had been the prime movers, Bute, as was then his wont, preferring to assist financially without his name being used. He was in many way a very private man and more often than



Fig. 3

Charlotte Square, Edinburgh (Robert Adam, 1791), before the 4th Marquess of Bute's restoration of cills, glazing and roof-line in 1924-47

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Fig. 4

Airth, Stirlingshire, photographed in 1936

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Fig. 5

Canongate, Edinburgh, in the early years of the century. Huntly House, the gable-fronted house in the middle of the picture, was restored as a city museum by Sir Frank Mears, one of the founders of the National Trust for Scotland, in 1927-32

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Fig. 6

The Bible Land, 187-203 Canongate, Edinburgh. The frontage was demolished and rebuilt on a widened street-line in the 1950s

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Fig. 7

Ian Gordon Lindsay in the 1930s. The garb was characteristic of him, whether in the field or in the office

not did not tell even his own family other than his brother, Lord Colum Crichton-Stuart what he was subsidizing. Section 41, Part 1, 13 of the 1935 Housing (Scotland) Act provoked him into speaking out. It soon became clear that it would bring wholesale destruction to places of great charm (like Airth) and threaten the survival of the old towns of Edinburgh and Stirling. Within a year he was devoting his free income to restoration projects with Robert Hurd as his architect, at Acheson House in Edinburgh, which he had hoped would be the official residence of the Secretary of State, Lamb's House in Leith and Loudon Hall in Ayr. Acquisition and restoration proved less easy than he had hoped and he never achieved his projected three houses a year.

Despite his rather grand detachment from active participation in politics, Bute demonstrated a certain political awareness in observing that advertising Scotland for tourists was useless when everything intrinsically Scottish was to be destroyed. He proposed extending the provisions of the 1932 Act to prevention of demolition by statute as the only effective means of stopping the wholesale demolition then taking place, in order to give time for the preparation of comprehensive plans for the future to be worked out, Section 41 having condemned 'houses unfit for human habitation at a reasonable cost'. The implementation of the Act was in fact already proving worse even than the clause had appeared to intend. There was, and continued to be, an obsession with strict compliance with space standards. More importantly, new build to standard repetitive plans recommended or approved by the Scottish Office was easy, whereas renovation was professionally labour-intensive. Further significant considerations were that not every house in a row would meet the 'reasonable cost' criterion so that it was always an easier option to demolish them all. Treatments for beetle and rot were less effective than now, and there was a general fear of throwing

good money after bad.

The Old Town of Edinburgh was a particular cause for concern. There the Cockburn Association called upon the National Trust for Scotland to form an Edinburgh Committee, the object of which would be to acquire and preserve old buildings, especially in the Old Town. A young architect committee member, Ian Gordon Lindsay, of whom more later, probably had a good deal to do with this, having seen what was being achieved by voluntary societies in Scandinavia, notably the St Erik Society in Stockholm. The Old Edinburgh Committee was duly formed, one of its objects being to make a survey of old properties in Edinburgh and compile an inventory of those worthy of preservation, a task which was eventually undertaken by the City Architect, Ebenezer J. MacRae, in his *The Heritage of Greater Edinburgh*, during the Second World War. Sadly, the City's implementation of the Committee's dream in the 1950s, after Macrae's retirement, fell sadly short of Bute's achievement at Acheson House even though Bute's preferred architect, Robert Hurd, was given the major role. The renovated or reconstructed buildings had to fit the Department of Health's standard local authority housing requirements and the building regulations. Buildings like the Morocco Land were taken down, rebuilt on different building lines, and reduced not only in height but to mere façades without the herringbone of closes and courts which had been the most characteristic feature of the Old Town and Canongate areas.

Initially the Marquess determined to compile the lists himself. With Lord Colum, George Scott-Moncrieff and other friends, he was driven to fifteen towns and villages including Coldstream, Eyemouth, Cockburnspath, Dumfries, Haddington, Prestonpans, Dunbar, Kirkcudbright, Musselburgh, Inveresk, Dalkeith, Tain, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy and Wigtown. But he came to recognize that the task was beyond him. He consulted Reginald Fairlie who recommended to him his former assistant, Ian Gordon Lindsay. Born in 1906 and educated at Marlborough with his life-long friend John Betjeman ('MacB'), Lindsay was the son of a distiller and, as was observed later, enjoyed *entrée* to almost every great house in the land. He had become interested in old buildings at his preparatory school in Crieff, had studied architecture under Theodore Fyfe at Cambridge, where he fell, along with the Irish architect Raymond McGrath, under the spell of Mansfield Forbes. There he met Hurd and Robert Alison Crichton Simpson, who was to figure importantly in the story later. Lindsay became an enthusiast for modern architecture and for the Scottish vernacular tradition and travelled extensively on the continent in the 1930s, particularly in Holland and Scandinavia, one visit being made with Reginald Fairlie. In 1931 he began independent practice in partnership with B.N.H. Orphoot and swiftly became influential as editor of the *Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland Quarterly*. He was early appointed to the Council of the Cockburn Association and, through Fairlie, became a member of the Friends of Falkland, an association formed by Bute and his nephew Michael Crichton-Stuart, later to become influential in the management of the National Trust for Scotland. Bute urged speed on Fairlie, writing that 'it is important because the Health Department has written to the National Trust suggesting that the list the Trust put in (that is my list) is not complete and that the Department would try to protect any other buildings if notified of them'. Such a statement probably emanated from



Fig. 8

St James Place, Kinghorn. Ian Lindsay's record photograph, 1936  
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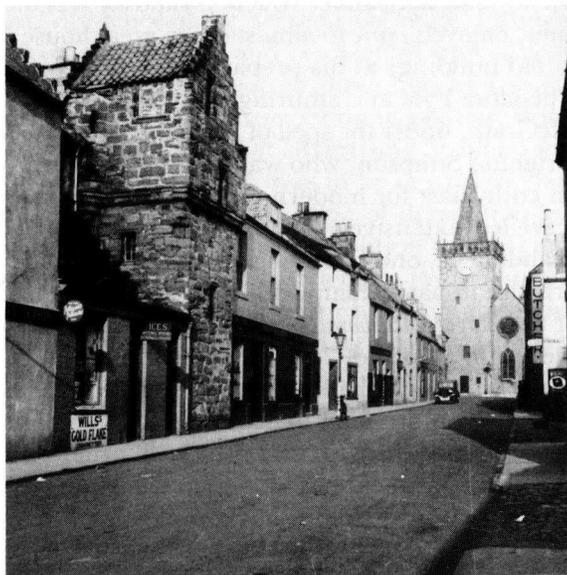


Fig. 9

High Street, Pittenweem, Fife, c.1938.  
 One of the burghs listed by Lindsay. The  
 building on the left is the Kellie Lodgings,  
 since restored and in part rebuilt



Fig. 10

St Morans, Fife, 1937. Ian Lindsay's record photograph

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Fig. 11

Cross Wynd, Falkland, the houses the Friends of Falkland was set up to save, summarily demolished after the Second World War as unfit. Ian Lindsay's record photograph

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Fig. 12

Houston House, West Lothian, Ian Lindsay's own house and the specimen 'special report' which appeared in his 'child's guide' (Fig. 13)

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Specimen form B

Particulars of individual Buildings

			Serial No.
Burgh or Parish	Uphall	County	West Lothian
Address of Building	Houston House, Uphall Broxburn		Category A
Owner and/or Agent			
Description	<p>L plan house of four storeys with courtyard on north and out-building (two storeys). Built 1600. Wing and present scale and platt stair added in re-entrant angle 1737 (date over back door). All gables crowstepped, walls harled. Well in courtyard. Ground floor barrel vaulted throughout and most upper floor rooms panelled in pine in first half 18th century.</p> <p>Coach house and stables built to north 1736 (date over hayloft door). Main roof removed and flat over garage.</p> <p>Dooocot rectangular 17th century now roofless. Sundial erected 1757 (T. Shairp's acc. book), garden wall 1742.</p>		
History	<p>After various owners lands in family of Shairp of Houston 1569 to 1945. Archbishop Shairp of St. Andrews is believed to have been a relation of this family.</p> <p>Thomas Shairp of Houstoun was a member of the last Scottish Parliament and voted against the Union of 1707.</p> <p>Principal Shairp of St. Andrews, author of "The Bush aboon Traquair" etc., was born in the house 1819.</p>		
Records	<p>Inventory No. 398 (Description inaccurate). Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland, Macgibbon &amp; Ross Vol. II p. 512 illustration and plan (their description is not very accurate and the plan is incorrect). <math>\frac{1}{8}</math>" scale plans and elevations I.G. Lindsay 1943. Photographs I.G. Lindsay 1940-43.</p> <p>Account book (in house) kept by Thomas Shairp from 1721 to 1772 gives all details of building during that period. Other family papers fix the date of the house at 1600.</p> <p>Family of Shairp of Houstoun Burke's Landed Gentry.</p> <p>Layout of grounds, etc., estate plans of 1759 and 1815 (in the house).</p>		
Date of visit.			

Fig. 13

Specimen 'special report' for Houston House



Fig. 14

'18th-century parish churches are also apt to be overlooked but should certainly be included'. Cromarty Parish Church, a medieval church recast in 1739, 1756 and 1798, to its present form  
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John Wilson, the Department's chief architect, and it may be doubted if the administrators had any real hope, or even intention, of persuading local authorities to change their ways. Bute and Lindsay pressed on, however, confident that public opinion, particularly south of the Border, was moving in the right direction. By September 1936 Lindsay had produced a list of 103 towns and villages to be visited and listed including the fifteen already listed by Lord Bute. By 1938, 1,168 buildings had been listed, almost exclusively houses of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, statistically tabulated and categorized A, B and C, according to importance on the model of Amsterdam's non-statutory city list of 1930, and the Department of Health was sending the lists to the local authorities under the powers referred to earlier in the 1930 Housing Act. Sadly, the lists had little impact since the housing authorities were enjoined to preserve the buildings at their own expense. Despite the best efforts of John Wilson and his assistant Robert H. Matthew, better known to us as Sir Robert, no grant or housing subsidy was on offer. Nevertheless, what had been achieved put the National Trust on a truly national footing and led to the



Fig. 15

Ian Lindsay attached such importance to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century post-Reformation churches that even the plainest examples were included. Trinity Gask, Perthshire (1770), drawn in 1963

foundation of local preservation societies, of which the earliest was the St Andrews Preservation Trust, founded in 1938.

The advent of the Second World War brought the Marquess of Bute's personal restoration programme, and that of the 'Friends of Falkland', to an abrupt halt. The progress of Bute's National Trust lists was similarly interrupted when Ian Lindsay was called up and enlisted in the Royal Engineers, but their commitment to the cause remained undiminished.

As already set out in Stephen Croad and John Harvey's papers, the Minister of Works, the Scotsman Lord Reith, had set up the London National Buildings Record in February 1941, the original intention being that it would cover Scotland as well as England and Wales. This early proved impractical. At first no salvage or first-aid lists such as John Harvey has described were deemed to be required in Scotland, it being considered that Bute and Lindsay had already undertaken the task even although these were incomplete and without any rural cover. A letter from the Saltire Society in March 1941 raised the issue of a separate Buildings Record, and as the allocated funds were already over-committed south of the Border, Reith decided to

see if Bute would take on the burden without over-much recourse to the public purse. He invited him, as prospective Chairman of the proposed body, to form a National Buildings Record Council for Scotland for the purpose of creating an extended register of buildings of special architectural and historic interest, illustrated by measured drawings and photographs, the surveys being intended to facilitate restoration after the war, in the event of war damage. Lord Bute's resentment at the lack of active Government help before the war showed in his reply: 'in Scotland it is the working classes alone who take any interest in buildings of historic or artistic worth, or of national character. The upper and middle classes, with very few exceptions, are either not interested or else are actively opposed to the existence of any building of the sort'. He expected a quid pro quo. Unless 'the Office of Works'—it was by then a Ministry—was prepared to extend the scope of the Ancient Monuments Act to scheduling occupied property or to exercise some other form of regulation, any action similar to that undertaken in England and Wales would, by identifying the existence of buildings of merit, only accelerate their destruction by the local authorities'. Fairlie was prevailed upon to talk Bute round and by 24 April he was forming his committee with Lindsay a member *in absentia*. An inaugural meeting was held in May 1941 and the Record was duly installed in the attics of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in the care of its keeper, A.E. Haswell Miller, who had trained as an architect with Sir John Burnet and had been secretary to the Royal Fine Art Commission. Measured surveys were obtained from architectural students past and present and the ever-shrewd Fairlie secured the attachment to the Record of some Polish officers who had been architects, one of them, Stanislas Tyrowicz, remaining as its draughtsman after the war. Much work was done, Captain Lindsay, as he then was, advised by correspondence and Bute travelled around Scotland to check on the quality of what had been done until he became too ill to continue as chairman in 1943.

The history of the early years of the National Buildings Record of Scotland has been well told elsewhere and is touched upon here as a change of priorities in what was essentially the same campaign with the same participants. The original programme returned to course when listing in Scotland by central government was first envisaged in the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Bill of 1945, one year after the English Act. There is a hint in the file that the Scottish Office, in the person of H.R. Smith, hoped to acquire such lists by continuing voluntary effort on a no-cost basis. Copies of the Bute lists and a National Buildings Record list of the more important Scottish country houses were promised by Mr F. Gent, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Works, Scotland, and eventually delivered in May. A strategic error had, however, been made in a press statement. In February 1945, Lord Colum Crichton-Stuart, then an M.P. and a guest of Lord Lansdowne at Bowood, was amazed to read in the newspapers that the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of Works was credited with furnishing the Department of Health with the necessary lists to comply with section 41 of the Act. He wrote at once on behalf of his brother setting the record straight, formally offering his brother's collections and urging that Ian Lindsay should be entrusted with the work. He was, as was noted from a minute Reginald Fairlie had written in recommending him *in absentia* to the Amenity Committee of the Hydro-Electric Board in 1943, 'the best of the younger architects. He knows the country

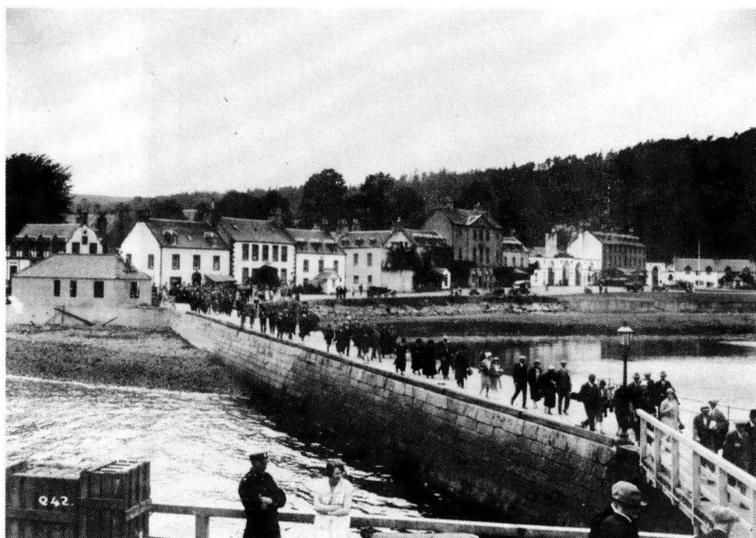


Fig. 16

'The "planned" burgh or village is also a very important item'. The ducal burgh of Inveraray, Argyll, where Ian Lindsay was subsequently to restore almost all the buildings

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Fig. 17

The planned village. The ducal example at Fochabers, Moray, with John Baxter's church of 1798

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Fig. 18  
The western  
extensions of the New  
Town of Edinburgh  
were specified in  
Lindsay's instructions.  
Moray Place (James  
Gillespie Graham,  
1822) in the 1930s

Fig. 19  
'Street planning on 18th-century lines  
carried on till the beginning of this  
century and, though the late detail may  
be poor, the general effect may be  
reasonably good.' Lindsay cited  
Magdala Crescent, the western  
extremity of Edinburgh's New Town,  
where he had been born in 1906.  
Designed by John Chesser in 1869, *The  
Builder* found it 'an utter negation of art'  
in 1876

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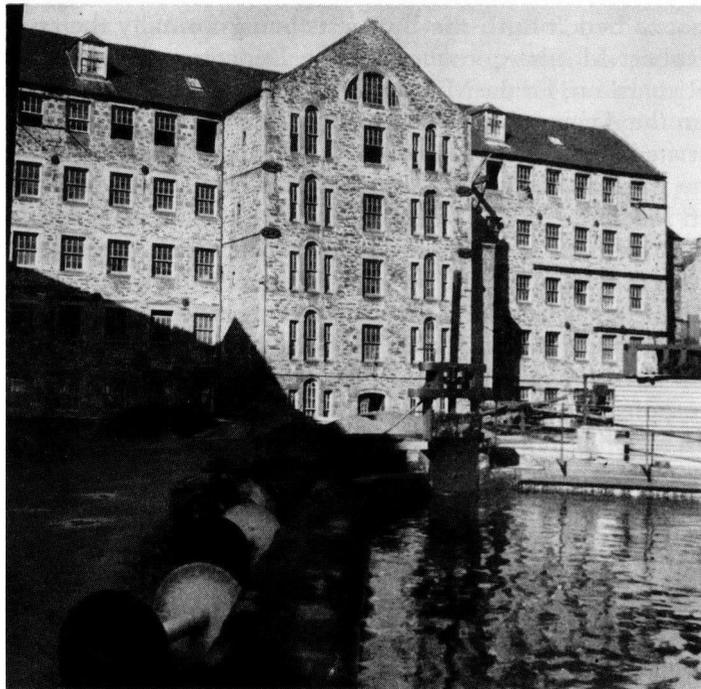


Fig. 20  
Catrine, Ayrshire, Cotton Mill, 1787. Lindsay attached importance to early industrial architecture of which this was perhaps Scotland's best example. It was demolished in 1962, the Scottish Office and the planning authority having bowed to the wishes of those who lived in its shadow



Fig. 21  
New Lanark, 'very important historically', because of its associations with David Dale and Robert Owen, photographed in the late 1930s. It has since been largely restored by an association set up by the local planning authority and the Scottish Office

intimately, indeed he is a living gazetteer of Scotland'. The National Trust, anxious not to be left out—the Bute lists being formally theirs—wrote a very firm letter to Robert Matthew, requesting the Department to adopt the lists under Section 41. Richardson, for the Ministry of Works, and Angus Graham, for the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland, were in due course both to write in support of Major Lindsay's appointment. The immediate problem was that he was a serving officer stationed in Wales and not available for interview. Early in March he hoped to be allowed to visit Scotland for even a day or two to discuss a programme but Gent overruled Richardson and declined to support leave of absence for even a single day, perhaps in the hope that the listing would be entrusted to his Ministry as a natural extension of its scheduling activities. However embarkation leave, prior to being posted to B.A.O.R., enabled Lindsay to discuss the matter with Richardson on 19 March and the practical implementation of the Act with the responsible principal in the Scottish Office's Department of Health, the Gaelic scholar, D.M. McPhail, on 17 April. At that date Lindsay optimistically thought perhaps another six months would enable the remainder of Scotland to be covered. More influential support appeared in the form of Sir Iain Colquhoun who sought Lindsay's early release on 17 May 1945. He was not immediately successful but eight days later McPhail accepted that Lindsay was the best person for the job and Jack Sutherland, the establishment officer who admitted the writer to the Civil Service sixteen years later, obtained consent from the Treasury to employ him as a temporary planning officer on 21 August at £700 per annum. This was subsequently reduced to £500 when it became apparent that Lindsay's commitment to his partnership with Orphoot would allow him to serve part-time only, it being noted that Lindsay was a man of considerable means not primarily interested in salary. On 11 September, however, Lindsay wrote in some despair from Hamburg to say that he had been placed in release group 19 which would be retained in Germany until February 1946 to build temporary accommodation for homeless Germans. On this occasion the Department was finally stirred to action and Lindsay was released on 12 November 1945, being formally appointed a month later on 11 December with the instruction to give first priority to revising the Bute lists for the earliest possible issue.

Although a separate Scottish Act, the 1945 Act was, of course, essentially U.K. legislation, and general policy was determined by events in England. Walter Godfrey, the founding director—and originator—of Reith's National Buildings Record saw that the basic first-aid lists described by John Harvey might form the basis of the national statutory listing of buildings of architectural interest for which he and his allies had long been pressing. In 1942 his position was greatly strengthened by the appointment of a member of parliament who shared his enthusiasm for the architectural heritage, Harry George Strauss, K.C., later Lord Conesford, as one of the joint parliamentary under-secretaries of the Ministry of Works and Buildings, as it had now become. Godfrey had a further stroke of luck when, in 1943, Strauss became joint parliamentary under-secretary at the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Strauss proposed that the system of listing of buildings of architectural interest already in place should be given statutory form in the new Town and Country Planning Bill and, although less of an enthusiast for the architectural heritage than Strauss, the

minister, William Shepherd Morrison, later Lord Dunrossil, accepted that such a measure had now become necessary. The relevant clauses were drafted by Strauss himself in consultation with Angus Ackworth of the Georgian Group and duly passed into law when the Bill became the 1944 Act. After some six months had elapsed Laurence Neal, a deputy secretary in the Ministry, concluded that something more than the basic lists would be required and asked one of his principals, Anthony Wagner, later Sir Anthony, Garter King of Arms and now Clarenceux King of Arms, to set up a system of listing to consistent national standards. Wagner consulted Bryan St John O'Neill, appointed Chief Inspector for England and Wales in 1945. He recommended a scholarly architect on the ancient monuments staff, S.J. Garton, then suffering from a physical disability which made it difficult for him to continue as an architect and he was duly appointed Chief Investigator. By May of that year Wagner was proceeding to the appointment of an advisory committee, referred to by Martin Robertson as the Galbraith committee after one of its members, the Oxford historian V.H. Galbraith, who never actually chaired it but was particularly influential in its thinking. But in June Sir Alfred Clapham, Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, offered to undertake the listing if provided with the staff and facilities. Wagner acknowledged that the Commission had a natural claim to the work, but after discussion of the practical difficulties it was agreed that the Commission would act as agents only in the counties in which they were working. The Commission's list for Huntingdon proved suitable for submission to the planning authority but that for Dorset was thought too archaeological and the idea was not pursued further. The Ministry then proceeded with the appointment of the advisory committee with Sir Eric Maclagan as chairman, better known to the younger of us as the Holford Committee after its second chairman, Professor Sir William (later Lord) Holford, who succeeded Sir Eric on his departure for Africa in July 1950.

The Maclagan Committee was a very high-powered one. It met in St James Square, initially weekly, the first meeting on 6 December 1945 being opened by Lewis Silkin, the Minister of Town and Country Planning. Its membership, in addition to Galbraith and Holford, included a further four doyens of the architectural profession, H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, W.H. Godfrey, S.E. Dykes-Bower, Marshall Sisson, together with John Summerson, Geoffrey Webb and G.H. Chettle. Sir Cyril Fox was also a member for the Welsh interest but could attend only occasionally. Its first secretary was Anthony Wagner, then still a principal in Silkin's ministry, who had selected them personally. The Committee valued Wagner's opinion highly and when Sir Philip Magnus succeeded him as Secretary in May 1946 he became a member. Although chosen as individuals, the members of the committee represented the Royal Academy, The Society of Antiquaries, and The Royal Institute of British Architects; all of them had met under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Keeling, M.P. in December 1944. The Keeling recommendations foreshadowed the three grades by advocating in descending order of importance: all buildings which are themselves of special architectural interest; all groups of buildings (streets, terraces, squares) which are of architectural interest as a whole even though the individual buildings taken singly may be of little architectural interest, but care should be taken to exclude buildings which, though sited within the group, were not essential to it; buildings of historic interest as being significant examples of a type or style.

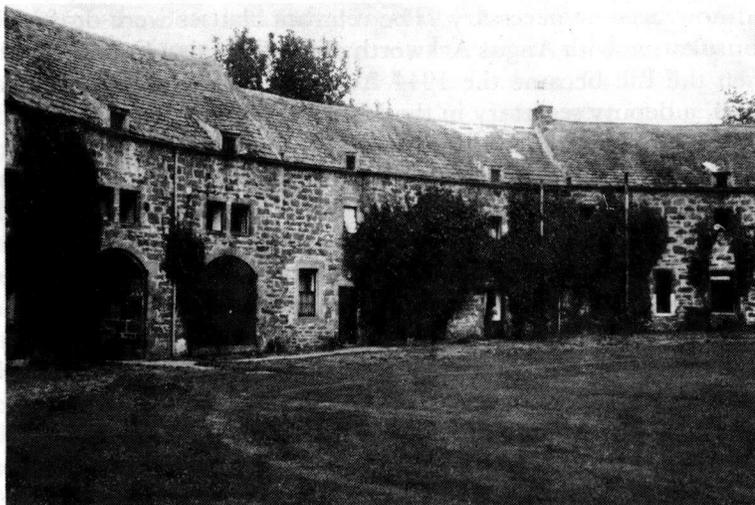


Fig. 22

'The surroundings of laird's houses are productive of much material apart from the mansion itself. The "Square" . . . must be considered very closely for this type of building will not be repeated.' The 'Round Square' at Gordonstoun, Moray

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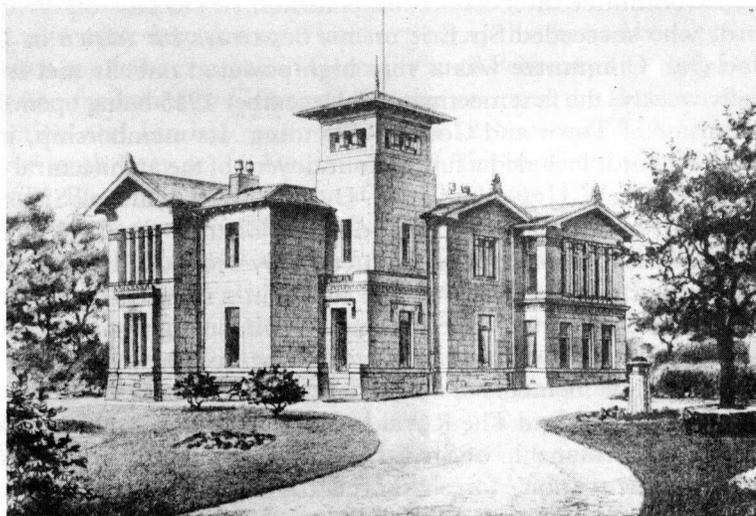


Fig. 23

'Works of the better-known architects must be included'. Arran View, Airdrie, one of the less well-known works of Alexander Thomson. The right-hand gable was a later addition

*From New Monkland Parish, by J. MacArthur (1890)*



Fig. 24

Historic interest: 'Even much later examples would come under the architectural side, for Sir Walter Scott's house in Castle Street, Edinburgh, would be included without the qualification of his residence'. Scott lived at number 39, the right-hand main-door flat in this unusually handsome block of 1793

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Equally influential in the thinking of Wagner and his committee was a chapter by Summerson in James Lees-Milne's *The National Trust* which set out five categories of listability, but these were swiftly overtaken by Summerson's further deliberations and by some papers on particular aspects of listability produced by the other members. Summerson's understanding of grades I and II was not so very different from the present, but grade III he envisaged as consisting of buildings of limited local value, the bulk of Georgian domestic work, most farm buildings, most wind and watermills, and buildings with literary associations not directly relevant to their form. Groups he divided into three categories, the *organic* such as Westminster Abbey and school, the *formal* such as the Circus at Bath, and the *pictorial* such as King's Lynn. Galbraith wrote a long paper on historical associations, making a distinction between those which had merely been lived in by famous persons and those which had been either built or modified by them. Fox's dealt with regional building-types and attached importance to internal examination, an approach which most of the committee were prepared to discount in the interests of quick statutory cover. Clapham raised the issue of structures associated with industrial and economic history and advocated an 1850 cut-off point for the investigating staff. This proposal was accepted and it was decided that post-1850 inclusions should be determined by a sub-committee which in practice consisted of Summerson and Goodhart-Rendel. These were soon the subject of sharp conflict between the traditionalists and those with stronger tastes. Dykes-Bower regretted the ruling out of aesthetic standards and queried the proposal to list horrors, citing the Imperial Hotel, bringing a stinging retort from Goodhart-Rendel that if horrors were to be ruled out, the west front of Salisbury Cathedral would be the first to go. Holford advised omitting buildings of the previous twenty-five years (not so very different from the current thirty year rule) but the other members eventually preferred the exclusion of work of living architects, probably to ensure that Lutyens inter-war buildings could be brought within statutory protection. The earliest recommendations of the sub-committee were quite remarkably ahead of their time, the tentative list of inter-war buildings for London including works by Adams Holden & Pearson, Burnet Tait and Lorne, Oliver Hill and Tecton.

These differences of opinion were, however, a mere side-show compared with the issue of statutory protection for complete street pictures, a debate which was initiated by a characteristically thoughtful paper by Godfrey. He held that if we were to be serious about protecting our historic towns the lists would have to be widely drawn. He recommended that 'practically everything that contributed to the beauty of the street or landscape (the committee had seriously considered whether listings could be extended to urban gardens and avenues) should find a place, a very large number of buildings not of the first rank have definite value in the English scene'. From the first he recognized the dangers in specifying the lower end of the listing scale. It would, he wrote, 'be a profound mistake to differentiate buildings in the published lists. Values are relative and not absolute, they will depend upon siting and relationship to other buildings in the vicinity as much as intrinsic architectural value'. Dykes-Bower concurred with that view, particularly as the merits of the higher grade buildings so often depended upon buildings which were likely to fall into grade III and which the planning authorities would have no compunction in destroying.

So did Godfrey's principal ally, Marshall Sisson, and Clapham who argued that grade III should consist only of buildings for which the minister could make no serious fight. Galbraith was more cautious, arguing that such a course would weaken the standing of grade II by making it over-inclusive.

At first Summerson, who had been charged with producing the draft of the Committee's instructions to investigators (January-February 1946) appeared to share their views observing that 'a group had to be looked at as a building . . . The distinction between the individual building and the group was irrelevant'. In his draft, which set out much of the familiar '3-window' and '5-window' terminology, he accepted the proposition that grade III, rather than the grade IV originally proposed, should be for information only, but he proposed to limit it to 'buildings of doubtful importance whose preservation is an arguable matter, e.g., a much-altered home in a modernised High Street which yet retains fragments of medieval timbering and parts of a Georgian façade'.

Summerson's instructions, in their earliest form (LB1) only two pages and four delightful fictional lists composed by Garton, were tested on his draft list for St Albans, which was visited by the Committee on 7 February. Perhaps because of the wintry conditions it was rather a disaster. There was never any real dissent on the need to preserve historic towns. The difficulty lay more in the interpretation of the word 'special' and apprehension at the Ministry's reaction if it was interpreted too generously. Maclagan was dismayed by the considerable differences within his committee as to the lower limits, some thinking Summerson had put in too much, some too few. Godfrey was deeply perturbed at how willing some members of the committee were to discard buildings which were not in such good repair but which might yet easily be brought to the same standard as their neighbours, particularly as Wagner had accepted from the very beginning (in November 1945) that condition was irrelevant unless the buildings were hopelessly tumbledown.

At the subsequent meeting on 12 February 1946 Summerson confessed himself 'shocked at the ease with which he had changed his mind . . . When he came back to some of the buildings he found he had no strong interest'. He believed that the committee now had to think in terms of an altogether higher standard. Godfrey sympathized with Summerson's confession that his views were subjective and not objective but said the committee's view must be objective. Summerson's draft was finalized within Wagner's *Instructions to Investigators*, an amplified document with the same specimen lists issued in March, but the divergences of view within the committee remained acute, particularly as to whether or not grade III should be statutory if it was in practice to extend to the wider range of merit indicated on 19 February, when the standard for inclusion in grade III had risen to the level of Cheyne Walk. At that meeting Summerson had begun to express serious doubt as to whether the character of the larger groups could be preserved as it depended on the life led within them, while Dykes-Bower was arguing that, on the contrary, their character would benefit the quality of life of those who lived in them.

Maclagan was apprehensive of the Ministry's likely reaction to the wider range of statutory listing preferred by at least a majority of the Committee and feared that the inclusion of grade III might stultify all their efforts. He proposed to accept the

principle of statutory and supplementary lists, the latter to be a matter for the discretion of the planning authorities, but by 19 March had come to recognize the potential danger to groups and had concluded that the difficulties and criticism which would arise from insufficient distinction of principles between a statutory and a supplementary list would be mitigated if notices were served on the grade III buildings.

Goodhart-Rendel queried whether there was any real purpose in listing a grade III building other than for its group value. Maclagan thought there was, quoting a paper submitted by Marshall Sisson which read:

I feel that this definition does not cover a class of buildings which those of us who advocated the compilation of such a list had in mind. I refer to the large number of simple, well-designed buildings in towns and villages which date from the 18th and particularly the early 19th centuries. They can in many cases scarcely be regarded as of *special* architectural and historic interest and no very strong case can be made for their preservation on those grounds. They possess, however, admirable if unobtrusive architectural qualities and provide cases of urban design which contrast instructively with the chaotic development of more recent times . . . it seems to me that one of the intentions of sections 42 and 43 was to indicate to the local authorities that such buildings should not be thoughtlessly swept away.

Maclagan asked each member for his views. It was agreed that grade III should include all buildings of grade III standard, and not just those of group value. Godfrey expressed profound disappointment that the Ministry—represented at the meeting by Wagner's superior, the assistant secretary Blaise Gillie—should restrict its activities under section 42 so seriously and threatened to resign. Although other members of the committee undoubtedly shared his views, they clearly felt coerced by Gillie's presence into settling for what was achievable and talked him round to signing the report to the Minister on the subject in the interests of unanimity. Gillie tried to keep the peace by suggesting that thereby 'much more was to be hoped from efforts to raise the standard of local authority administration than from attempts to do their work for them . . . In effect the more buildings the Ministry had to consult about, the less it would be able to do in any one case' which was, in part, acknowledging that staffing was at least one of the real issues. When the first investigators' conference (London, 11 February 1948) was told that 'the Maclagan Committee has put us in a certain difficulty by saying that all our low-grade material must be relegated to a supplementary list', the depth of feeling on the issue was perhaps rather understated.

These deliberations were paralleled by an equally sharp divergence of views on listing standards generally, whether from Summerson's own second thoughts or pressure from the senior echelons of the Ministry for substantially higher thresholds than those in his original instruction. Garton's list for Cirencester brought matters to a head on 4 March 1947. Summerson contended that the extent of the proposed preservation was unreasonable since the lists had to be fitted into the planning system as a whole, and threatened to resign if the present standards of grading were accepted. Godfrey countered by saying that if any serious criticism of the work of the investigators was offered he would resign, observing that he could not go beyond the concessions he had already made in the interests of unanimity. The Committee voted to confirm the principles of listing as they stood and Summerson was left in a minority of one, asking that his dissent be recorded.

As John Harvey has already observed in a paper given to the Society on 14 October of last year, Maclagan and his colleagues thus laboured under both

governmental and financial constraints. The reason for Summerson's reference to planning and for the Ministry's pressure to limit inclusions generally became clear on 26 March 1947. In a letter to Maclagan, Sir Thomas Sheepshanks, the Ministry's permanent secretary, required the survey period to be reduced from the current estimate of seven years to three to meet the development plan programme, proposing that grade III items should not be included and the descriptive matter in the lists omitted. Summerson thought this might effect a fifty-per-cent saving in time, Garton thought it would only reduce the survey period from seven years to six as the sites had still to be visited, and Wagner reminded the committee that the absence of descriptive matter would prevent Garton from applying national standards. Eventually, on 8 July, the Committee decided unanimously that neither of these economies, which were held to be 'undesirable on other grounds could be justified by their estimated results' and that listing should continue on the lines currently being followed despite a sombre warning from Sir Philip Magnus that the Minister's consent would be required before that could be done. They did, however, agree to concentrate the survey on towns and villages to meet the development plan programme and Sheepshanks allowed their decision to stand. The vexed question of the statutory protection of complete street pictures was eventually partly resolved at the investigators' conference at Oriel College in March 1949. J.T. Wickenden, who had taken over from Gillie in the previous autumn, spoke at length on the importance of setting and acknowledged that 'if you have to destroy those other buildings because they are of no particular value, you may do immeasurable harm to what is left should the new buildings be quite incongruous with them . . . That is where the planner needs guidance . . . I am anxious to say that not because it is a matter of policy, but a matter of common sense which all those of us who have any feeling of what remains to us of the past would wish to say'. One month later Garton was able to issue Instruction XIII which set out the need to distinguish between a group of grade III items which was worthy of upgrading for group value to II, and thus to the statutory list, and a group which fell short of that standard. There is no record of the Maclagan Committee having discussed the matter at its meeting in the preceding February which was, as will be seen later, more concerned with the committee's very existence. Wickenden, Garton and another assistant secretary, E. Wiltshire, appear to have made the decision themselves, but there can be little doubt that it had the tacit approval of Maclagan and at least a majority of his Committee.

The Committee's difficulties with Sheepshanks came to a head in 1950. In the early autumn of 1949, with its main policy work done, Maclagan had a discussion with him about the Committee's Memorandum which had been drafted by Godfrey, and the future role of the Committee generally at a time when the great country houses were falling like ninepins. In particular he sought consultation on important cases. On 28 September 1949 Maclagan read a letter from Sheepshanks which, as he observed, gave no definite answer on any point he had raised. In particular Sheepshanks had indicated that if the Committee were called upon to give opinions on difficult cases, the Committee might as such be liable to be called upon to appear in court and give evidence which might conflict with the views of the Ministry. The Committee found this unintelligible as their advice was confidential to the Minister

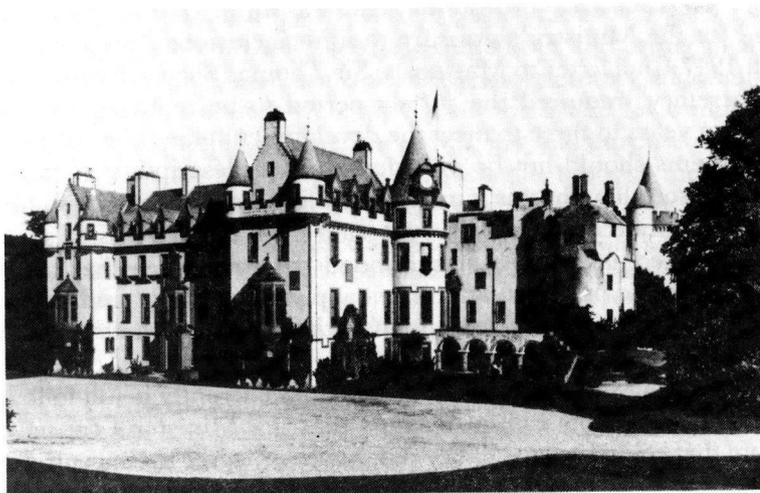


Fig. 25

'We may not like revival "baronial" but future generations may.' Cortachy Castle, Angus, when, against Ian Lindsay's advice, the Earl of Airlie demolished David Bryce's addition of 1870-2 (left) and reconstructed that end of the reduced house to designs by Philip Tilder as a stylistic as well as a practical improvement

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Fig. 26

'We may not like revival "baronial" but future generations may.' Fotheringham, Angus (David Bryce, 1859), where Ian Lindsay had often been a guest in the 1930s. It was demolished in 1955 as a result of war-time requisitioning and the building of a second house on the estate in 1939

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Fig. 27

‘To be of local, or for that matter of national importance does not mean that the building is of necessity a large one, or a very famous one—it may be a cottage’. Neil Gow’s cottage at Inver, Perthshire, where the owners sought de-listing on the ground that they had been told that the name had been transferred to their cottage as a better-looking one only in recent years. This postcard, dated 1907, helped demonstrate that the tradition of Gow’s occupancy was not all that recent



Fig. 28

Muthill, Perthshire, c. 1960, where Ian Lindsay pondered the question of whether ‘special’ could be stretched to informal street pictures as well as formal ones

and he could either take it or not as pleased him best. The Members of the Committee began to conclude that the Minister wished to disassociate himself from them, and Wiltshire and Wickenden were sent to mollify them on 13 February 1949. The Committee was told the Minister wished to modify Godfrey's draft but it was assured that the Ministry had not intended to convey the impression that it did not want the Committee. The Committee eventually secured the powers it had sought in July 1950. Advance listing of outstanding buildings was accepted and arrangements made for the Committee to consider the most important cases. If some of their decisions, such as the demolition of the main block at Bowood, remain matters for profound regret, a perusal of the minutes will show that we have much to be grateful for.

Early in 1950 the Prime Minister required all departments to make savings and Sheepshanks proposed the entire historic buildings staff as his contribution, a fact not recorded in the minutes but vividly recalled by the late Antony Dale. The Minister, still Lewis Silkin, did not consider the work essential. Maclagan secured a reduction of the cut to fifty-per-cent before reporting to the Committee. Wagner considered that there was now a case for resignation *en bloc*. Webb made a formal proposal subject to the formation of a panel as suggested by Sheepshanks, but Maclagan demurred, doubting whether the panel would ever come into being. As on other occasions he questioned each member individually, and eventually persuaded them to express regret and reserve the right to publish Godfrey's memorandum in full at their own hand. Hugh Dalton, who had succeeded Silkin on 28 February 1950, was sympathetic and assured the Committee that he had no wish to dispense with their services but could not change his predecessor's decision. Although the Treasury would probably have eventually forced his hand, Dalton was in no hurry to proceed to its implementation. It was left to the succeeding Conservative administration to implement Silkin's decision as part of their programme of public expenditure savings and for Harold Macmillan to report final casualty statistics to the House of Commons on 11 July 1952: eight full-time and seven part-time investigators dismissed.

These events were to a considerable degree mirrored north of the Border even if the methodology was different. McPhail's superior, Hawley, visited Gillie in London on 1 June 1945 to discuss the implications of the proposed Maclagan Committee. It was agreed that such an advisory committee would not do away with the requirement that the Minister should consult the individual statutory bodies even although they were represented on it. Hawley questioned whether an advisory committee need be appointed in Scotland. Gillie made it clear that his Ministry would not feel in any way embarrassed if the Secretary of State for Scotland decided not to appoint one. Nevertheless by November one was being considered with Provost Harrison of Elgin and Sir James Irvine, the Principal of the University of St Andrews, as possible chairmen. The subject was still under discussion a year later with Lord President Cooper as the likely chairman and Galbraith as the link between the English and Scottish committees. Informal nominations were received from the Royal Scottish Academy, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, the Town Planning Institute and other bodies which included the predictable names of Fairlie, Mears, Richardson, Hurd, Irvine and Clapham's counterpart in Scotland, Angus Graham. Among the other names canvassed were

Dr W. Douglas Simpson and Ronald Cant, later to play an important part in the story as a member of the Historic Buildings Council's listing committee. But in the end no committee was appointed. McPhail had agreed with Dykes-Bower as early as 22 December 1945 that listing policy should be the same on both sides of the Border, and as the minutes of the Maclagan Committee continued to roll in refining and developing the report on the principles of listing forwarded to McPhail on 30 July 1946, it began to seem doubtful if a Scottish Committee would produce anything significantly different in principle rather than detail. In that respect the decision was a sensible one, but with hindsight it proved unfortunate. The long-term value of the Maclagan Committee under its second chairman, Lord Holford, proved to be in respect of the more important cases during a period when many planning authorities lacked commitment. There were to be occasions on which Ian Lindsay found himself under quite unjustified attack and would have benefited from such influential support, and in its absence it became unwritten policy during the long secretaryship of Sir Douglas Haddow, first of the Department of Health in 1959-4, never to call in a case for the Secretary of State's own consideration, a situation which ended only in 1972.

Once the decision not to have an advisory committee had been taken, Lindsay began compiling his *Notes for Guidance of Investigators*—'The Child's Guide' as he always referred to it—rather more deferentially titled than Wagner's *Instructions to Investigators* on which it was based. Issued in June 1948, it was similar in layout, having the same introduction to the legislative background followed by sections on the geographical and administrative divisions which were to be adopted, field survey, format and the marking of maps. The format in Scotland was landscape, rather than portrait as in England, as a result of the adoption of the Bute lists with vertical columns for burgh or parish and map reference, name of building, description ('type, date, architect, etc.') references and category. The earliest departmental lists were typed on very large sheets of paper with consecutive numbers for each planning authority area. These soon proved to have practical disadvantages. The folds in the sheets tore, and the consecutive numbers made omissions and revisions unnecessarily troublesome. Within a few years landscape fooscap was substituted with the items boxed and each burgh or parish with its own number series, an arrangement which, with refinements, lasted until the decision to combine the descriptive and statutory lists into a single document, together with the advent of word processors, made it impractical. In addition to the main listing forms, smaller forms were issued. These were intended to create an index of more detailed information on the individual buildings, and in practice were completed for the more important items only. Lindsay provided a specimen for his own house, Houston in West Lothian, but the practice of completing the 'special reports' as they were called, fell into disuse in the mid 1950s and only a few have survived, some with useful sketch plans.

In the section on 'Scope of the Lists' corresponding to 'The Varieties of Special Interest' in the English instructions, Lindsay set out the respects in which the Department's criteria differed from the original Bute survey of 1935-9:

... the terms of reference were not the same as those applying to the present survey and the National Trust lists merely noted domestic buildings of traditional character. Secondly, there was no stopping date but automatically they did in fact cease around 1750 or slightly later. It is therefore essential that not only should the information on these lists be checked, but that to them should be added churches,

public buildings and all domestic buildings worthy of note after, approximately, the middle of the 18th century.

If less imaginative in its writing than Wagner and Garton's, Lindsay's guidance was nevertheless far in advance of the English version in content, partly because its later date of issue enabled Lindsay to take the further deliberations of the Maclagan Committee into account although we may be fairly sure that he would have reached much the same conclusions, independently. He began by observing that the Act did not require 'that the buildings should be old nor that they should be beautiful . . . The field is thus open to a very wide survey indeed'. As in England, all buildings up to the early nineteenth century were to be included, and particular attention was to be given to smaller structures such as dovecots. Emphasis was laid on including post-Reformation churches, including those of the Secession movement, despite their plainness, and early Roman Catholic chapels were to be included for historic if not for architectural reasons. The 'planned' burgh or village was also regarded as a particularly important item even although the individual houses might be plain or even dull, as were planned urban streets and estates even if late in date, the western New Town of Edinburgh being cited as far as Magdala Crescent, where Lindsay had been born. Surprisingly no reference was made to 'pictorial groups' although the point was in some degree picked up in the later section on categories.

Lindsay's own personal views became more apparent in the subsequent sections. Picking up exchanges between Dykes-Bower and Goodhart-Rendel on 'horrors' and indeed one of the latter's 'rogues' he wrote:

The curious must not be neglected—it is nearly always of architectural interest. St Conan's Church, Loch Awe, the works of Pilkington, the amazing bungalow on the north side of the Forres road going out of Elgin, the Arbroath Water Tower and so forth all add variety to life and are further of value historically as experiments. Many landmarks such as towers on hill tops, the Duke of Sutherland's Statue above Golspie, war memorials and so forth are probably in this half-and-half category—many of the latter tending towards purely historic rather than architectural interest.

Then, picking up the point made early on by Clapham, he extended to what we now know as industrial archaeology:

Engineering works must be considered carefully, in particular the achievements of the early railway builders, and to this may be coupled factories and mills such as New Lanark (very important historically), Kirkcaldy, Alva and the warehouses near the older harbours. The harbour works themselves incidentally must not be neglected nor the structures connected therewith such as lighthouses and signal towers. Good examples of old water mills and the like must also be included especially those still working or still containing their original machinery.

Communications have led to much building in the shape of bridges, remote inns, toll houses and so forth. A fair number of toll houses should be included for they are in danger of extinction owing to their proximity to roads. They are of some historic importance in connection with the Turnpike Acts. Canals are also productive of buildings worthy of listing as the locksmen's and bridgemen's houses on the Caledonian and Forth and Clyde Canals, aqueducts, the hotel at Port Downie etc.

Lindsay then extended the industrial revolution to the agricultural revolution, and to estate improvement generally:

Estate improvements must be carefully studied for the farm houses and steadings in some areas are of great interest. A whole book complete with plans and elevations was published in 1820 on the Marquess of Stafford's improvements in Sutherland, and evidence of other such activity of this sort should be looked for. The surroundings of laird's houses are productive of much material apart from the mansion

itself. The 'square' (i.e. Aden, Gordonstoun, Rosebery, etc.), entrance lodges, gatepiers, park walls, summer houses, mausoleums, ornamental bridges etc., must all be considered very closely for this type of building will not be repeated.

As so often in Lindsay's examplars there was a personal dimension. The author of the volume on the Sutherland improvements was James Loch, from whom his wife, The Hon. Maysie Loch, was descended.

As in England the listing of the later buildings was to be selective, but the task was delegated to the field investigators and not retained centrally. Following the lines of Goodhart-Rendel's select list of architects whose work should be included (February 1947, with all the predictable names and a leavening of rogues) he wrote:

After about 1850 the choice of examples must be selective rather than wholesale. Works of the better known architects must be included (i.e., 'Greek' Thomson, Thomas [Mackenzie, David] Bryce, Rowand Anderson, John Kinross, Robert Lorimer, etc.) and also as already mentioned examples of decent street planning, which will include the better villa developments as well as the terrace house. Personal taste must be subordinated but selection must be strict. We may not like revival 'baronial' but future generations may. Even if they don't, it plays its part in the history of architecture.

The surname and forename in brackets do not appear in the published text as a result of a slip in the typing, which in the days of stencils was not easily corrected. As decided by the Maclagan Committee in England, works by living architects were excluded.

On the historic side Lindsay preferred not to make such sharp distinctions as Galbraith, and a few featureless houses such as that in which Ramsay MacDonald was born were listed from the beginning. He wrote:

The historic side of the question is not quite so simple as the architectural. On the whole it is not quite so important perhaps, for those places connected with, say, Mary Queen of Scots like Holyroodhouse, or Loch Leven Castle would be included in any case. Even much later examples would come under the architectural side, for Sir Walter Scott's house in Castle Street, Edinburgh, would be included without the qualification of his residence. Abbotsford on the other hand might not be from an architectural point of view but would be listed, on a high priority, from the historic. Considerable care must therefore be taken to find out what houses have been built, or lived in, by well known people. Many have plaques set up on their walls to record the residence of such men, and this fact should be noted on the list.

The observation on Abbotsford, the pioneer house of the Scottish baronial revival, reveals a blind spot in Lindsay at 1948 which would not have been apparent later. He liked the baronial houses of the David Bryce-Maitland Wardrop school, often recalling the charm and efficiency of Bryce's Cortachy and Fotheringham, at both of which he had been a frequent guest—sadly and against his advice, both the Earl of Airlie and the Steuart-Fotheringhams demolished Bryce's work before it became necessary to seek consent—but like others of his generation he had difficulty with anything which did not adopt historically convincing forms.

Like Sir Cyril Fox, Lindsay attached great importance to regional types observing:

There is a very definite style in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire around 1800 which is quite different from that around Aberdeen at the same date. The cottages of the Highlands and Islands present a much more primitive style but many should be included.

and finally, adopting the conclusion reached early on by Wagner:

It is not the job of the investigator to decide whether or not any building is in proper repair or suitably sanitary according to present day standards and a Highland croft becomes of greater historic interest daily.

In Scotland, because of the hurried adoption of the Bute lists, the assessment of the merits of the building remained in letter categories rather than the English numerical grades. His definition of the categories gave further insight into his thinking:

- A. Buildings of national importance (such as Hopetoun House from the architectural point of view or Abbotsford from the historic) or fine, little altered examples of some particular date or style (say Craigievar Castle or the whole town of Inveraray). In this category should be placed buildings of such importance that their destruction should in no case be allowed.
- B. Buildings of national or local importance or good examples of some period or style which may have been somewhat altered. To be of local, or for that matter of national, importance does not mean that the building is of necessity a large one, or a very famous one—it might be a cottage, a small bridge or even a gatepost. While the preservation of such buildings is also a matter of national interest this may sometimes have to give way before some even more important public interest.
- C. Good buildings which may be considerably altered and other buildings which are fair examples of their period, or in some cases buildings of no particular merit which happen to group well with others in categories A or B. In this connection it must be stressed that grouping is of the greatest importance. For instance villages such as Eaglesham or Bowmore were planned as a whole. Most of the houses in them couldn't be listed higher than C, with perhaps an odd B here and there, but the whole place may well have to be bracketed together as an important A. Thus certain buildings, which if standing alone or in altered surroundings would not be listed at all, should be included in C category if they are part of a layout. Such a layout need not be a town or village: it might well be the relationship of a farm house to its steading or a toll house to a bridge.

and, he added:

Assessment of category may also vary slightly according to district for the investigator might place an 18th-century house in the Shetlands, where they are rare, in a higher category than a similar structure in Fife where they are comparatively common.



Fig. 29

Listing 'has to be directed not towards protecting individual buildings but rather towards securing through the protection of the town's particular and characteristic flavour'. Sketch made *c.* 1963 to illustrate the contribution to the street picture made by a plain vernacular building in Forfar. Cameras and film were not provided until a decade later

It should be noted that Lindsay was then in the same difficulty with category C buildings within category A and B groups as the English were with grade III buildings within grade I and II groups, but at that date Lindsay still hoped to avoid category C being non-statutory, a hope that eventually proved misplaced.

While the file relating to the compilation of 'the Child's Guide' appears to have been lost, the Department of Health had taken the views of the Maclagan Committee on Lindsay's first lists as early as February 1946. There is no record in the minutes of the lists being considered by the Committee but Wagner was able to report on 21 February:

Generally the descriptions are a little briefer than we would contemplate but that is purely a matter of choice. More important it does seem just possible that his standard is a trifle more exacting than ours.

As a result the architect and town planner Dr F.R. (Eric) Stevenson, then a professional civil servant, was despatched south to report. He was not allowed to attend the Maclagan Committee but through The Association of Regional Planners was able to assess the relative situations in England and Scotland, writing a minute in which he gently criticised Lindsay's lists as being too much an extension of the Ancient Monuments Act in their emphasis on special intrinsic worth, commenting that:

The members of the English Committee on the other hand appear unanimously and without effort to have adopted the Town Planners' point of view in the matter. This has caused them to recommend as most unconventional (and to the Town planner entirely right) treatment of listing. It has to be directed not towards protecting individual buildings but rather towards securing through the protection the town's

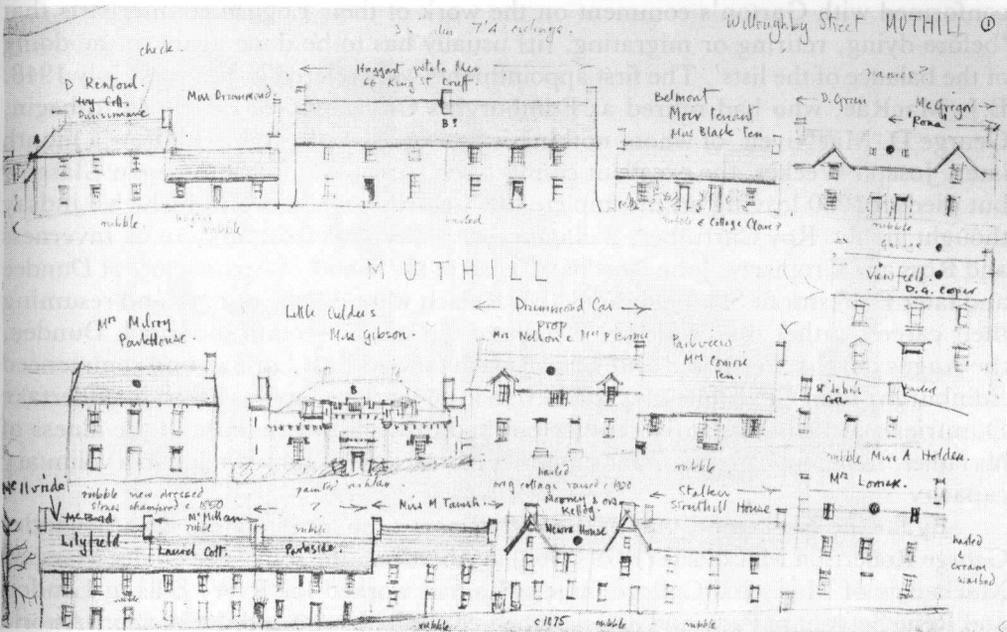


Fig. 30

Muthill, Perthshire: Sketch elevations of Willoughby Street produced for Ian Lindsay to review

particular and characteristic flavour—where this is worth continuing.

I feel the question is one of technique and that the suggestion correctly comes from me.

The point was duly taken in the definition of category C quoted above, but at times, as with the writer's list for Muthill (1962) Lindsay did wonder if the word 'special' had been stretched beyond what it could possibly mean in relation to group value. Almost invariably after either a site visit or a study of the investigator's sketches, he would allow the list to stand in the interest of complete street pictures.

If the Scottish instructions and grading were rather different from those in England, the implementation was even more so. It was initially in the sympathetic hands of Sir Robert E. Russell, a distinguished Indian civil servant who had joined the Department as an assistant secretary in 1947. Like his friend and colleague in India, Sir Francis Mudie in Dundee, he was later to become a considerable force in the Scottish conservation world. He decided not to have full time staff but to employ distinguished retired architects at £400 per annum. This was subsequently amended to a fee-paid basis, initially proposed at three guineas a day (reduced by the Treasury to two). He obtained Treasury consent to employ six. Nominations were sought from the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland and brought a surprising response from practising rather than retired architects, partly because most practices were so quiet because of building licensing, and partly because of the attraction of petrol coupons. Lindsay did not accept all the nominations and the possession of a serviceable motor-car was to be a not unimportant criterion for employment.

William Murray Jack produced exceptionally good work and returned to become a full-time member of staff, but the work of the majority of the part-timers in Scotland conformed with Garton's comment on the work of their English counterparts that 'before dying, retiring or migrating, [it] usually has to be done again in the doing of the balance of the lists'. The first appointments were offered in June and July 1948. E.J. MacRae, who had retired as Edinburgh's City Architect, declined to begin, George D. MacNiven, of whom nothing is known, accepted but withdrew a month later. Joseph Weekes, the excellent county architect of Dumbarton, began Glasgow but died in 1950 leaving an incomplete but well-researched draft of which Lindsay thought highly. Roy Carruthers Ballantyne, a 1930s modernist, undertook Inverness and Ross and Cromarty. John Needham, head of the School of Architecture at Dundee and later Professor at Sheffield, and Alan Reiach were much younger and resuming their careers rather than retiring. Needham did not drive but undertook Dundee, the Angus burghs, Perth and Dunkeld, Reiach tackled East Lothian and commenced Edinburgh. John Gladstone of Capenoch, a local landowner, was asked to undertake Dumfries and Galloway in December but had to withdraw because of the illness of his father, remaining an important supporter of the cause of conservation in a voluntary capacity.

By far the most important of the earlier part-time investigators was Alexander George Robertson Mackenzie (1879-1963) in Aberdeen, the son of Alexander Marshall Mackenzie of Marischal College fame, who had worked for R.W. Edis in London and René Sergent in Paris and had designed Australia House and the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in London. Although hampered by an artificial leg, the result of a First World War wound (Carruthers Ballantyne was also handicapped, lacking a foot), Mackenzie



Fig. 31

Dunkell, Perthshire. Although Brae Street was lost, the National Trust for Scotland managed to restore most of Cathedral Street and The Square, seen at the far end of this view, the work being supervised by Ian Lindsay's partner George Hay, later one of the Scottish Office's ancient monuments architects, and finally an influential member of the Historic Buildings Council  
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Fig. 32

George Square, Edinburgh, numbers 47-60 on the east side. Although the houses on the right of this photograph have gone, the University's proposals for the Square have never been fully implemented  
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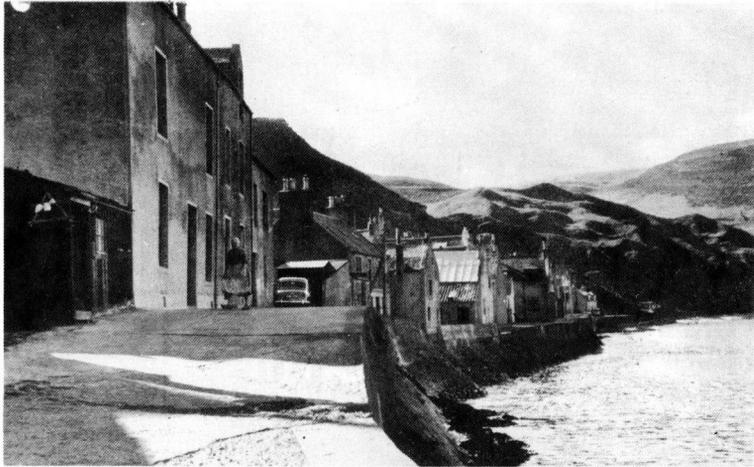


Fig. 33

Pre-Conservation area listings. Gardenstown, Banffshire, ring-fenced by A.G.R. Mackenzie as a category C item

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undertook Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Kincardine. He and his wife practised what they preached in their mid-Georgian mansion house at Bourtie, near Inverurie. When the writer saw it in 1963, it was a miraculous vision of Scots living in times long past with Mrs Mackenzie still cooking on an open fire in a quite unaltered kitchen with the aid of a couple of houseboys. Mackenzie himself combined old world courtesy and charm with an indomitable will. He was proudly territorial and dealt with much casework—then non-statutory—through sheer force of personality. His lists, although brief, were well-selected, free from period prejudice, and well-informed albeit from personal knowledge as a third-generation architect rather than from research. His list descriptions, often no more than two or three words, were brief but vivid and full of regional terminology such as ‘T-caddy roof’ (i.e., hipped roof) and ‘chaumers’ (i.e., dormer windows). And, perhaps most importantly of all, he was an enthusiast for complete street pictures and traditional fishing villages which he ring-fenced on the maps as category C groups, the task of itemizing the buildings within them falling to the writer many years later. Lindsay had a warm regard for him and, alone among the early investigators, he had a considerable influence on his thinking, particularly in respect of groups. Mackenzie embraced the conservation area concept long before it was on the statute book.

As in England the survey was nearly closed down as an economy measure in 1950, but the savings were deemed insignificant and it survived. The planned programme was, however, subject to constant diversionary pressures. The Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland pressed for immediate action in respect of Airth, Dunkeld and Cromarty in November 1949, which was willingly provided. As McPhail observed in 1952:

We have in mind the importance of making lists available for areas of particular importance as soon as these are agreed. The position is made extremely difficult, however, by the fact that . . . attention has also to be paid to requests by some local authorities for compilation of their own area for development plan purposes even when that area is not of special interest from a national point of view.

Maintaining the number of active investigators at the Treasury's limit of six, and ensuring that they actually produced work, proved a constant battle. The architect Isobel Beattie, who replaced Gladstone in the south west in May 1949, never really began work and was replaced by another architect, Anthony Curtis Wolffe, who remained in charge of that area until 1980. To help matters along Wolffe discreetly employed an assistant, Miss June Gibbons, on the work; Mackenzie did the same in the north-east, employing Robert J. Troup, Frank's brother, in the Huntly area. In June 1949 Ralph Cowan, deputy head of the School of Architecture at Edinburgh College of Art, undertook Stirling and Ayr but did not do anything further; in June 1950 W. Murray Jack, happily still a part-time consultant, was appointed to undertake Fife but left for Lagos in May 1951. By December 1950 Carruthers Ballantyne was too busy with his practice in Inverness to carry on in the Highland area and R.W. Johnstone took his place until 1954 when he left for England and Carruthers Ballantyne was briefly reinstated. Alan Reiach similarly had become too busy by May 1952, having completed East Lothian and part of Edinburgh and handed over the Borders area to an old friend of Lindsay's referred to earlier, R.A.C. Simpson of Duns, who did good work in the area until a thrombosis in 1955 slowed him down also. The completion of Edinburgh and the survey of the landward areas of Perth and Kinross fell to June Gibbons, who was appointed in her own right in June 1954.

Lindsay's efforts to keep the survey literally on the road were made against a highly critical background. Many town and county clerks simply did not want the legislation to be implemented and even some of the more sympathetic ones constantly questioned the appropriateness of including unfit houses. Although some planning officers were equally unenthusiastic, the Town Planning Institute recognized that the legislation had to be implemented more quickly if development plans were to take account of listing and it made formal representations on the lack of progress in October 1949 as did The Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland in December. In June 1952 The National Trust for Scotland obtained a meeting with the Minister of State on their Little Houses scheme and made further representations on the speed of the survey and the lack of statutory lists. Matters came to something of a head in 1954, a development which was in some degree connected with the long and bitter controversy over Edinburgh's George Square, of which only a summary can be given here. The square consisted of large individual houses, mainly of three storeys and basement, built between 1766 and 1779, and was not dissimilar in character to the older London squares, except that it was built of stone. The University had begun buying it up and had proposed to redevelop it for its expansion programme, obtaining a scheme from Charles Holden in 1947. A few years later A.G.R. Mackenzie agreed to assess a competition for the north side, which had been largely redeveloped in Victorian and Edwardian times, but the proposal to demolish the whole of it was revived, a further scheme being obtained from Basil Spence in 1955. The Scottish Office, influenced in any event by the fact that the proposal ante-dated listing, was persuaded that demolition was unavoidable. The square had been provisionally listed

by Alan Reiach and, as it consisted of individual houses rather than palace blocks like Charlotte Square and a very few houses had suffered some alteration, he categorized the houses C throughout. Lindsay upgraded them to A, a perfectly correct move on both architectural and historic grounds, but one which brought consternation and loss of confidence in Lindsay's judgement within the Scottish Office, McPhail minuting in despair that he had altered Reiach's categories for 'entirely non-technical reasons'.

It was probably because of the categorization of George Square that McPhail felt it necessary to seek the agreement of the newly-appointed Historic Buildings Council to category C being non-statutory in line with Grade III in England early in 1954, as it was a decision the Secretary of State could easily have made for himself. Although at that date attached to the Ministry of Works, rather than to the Department of Health, the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act of 1953 had given it an advisory role which marked the end of the Holford Committee's guiding role on listing policy in Scotland. There was little the Council could do but agree, but it exacted a price; it sought a speeding up of the survey, which McPhail then reckoned was one-third complete, and pressed for full-time staff. McPhail had an approach made to the Treasury in November, pleading that there was 'no economy in dragging it (the survey) out as a second survey would be required to see that the buildings were still there'. This was backed up by timely pressure from the Saltire Society in December and parliamentary questions from Jo Grimond in January and February, although a Mr Ashford replied:

in the present financial circumstances it is not desirable to permit any activity in the field which is after all not one that can be regarded as essential, however desirable it may be.

Thanks to Grimond and those who prompted him, consent was eventually given for the three posts sought, but Lindsay was regarded as blocking the third and the number of part-time posts had to be reduced to four, which was less of a hardship than it had been as only Mackenzie and Miss Gibbons were active. Full-time posts were advertised and recommendations made: the former part-timer Murray Jack was appointed in May 1956, but of the two other very suitable recommendations one withdrew and sadly Colin McWilliam failed his medical completely because of a long-standing heart problem. Had he been appointed his scholarship would have transformed the situation. In the event one of the original temporary English investigators, Michael C. Gibb (1916-90) applied the following month with a recommendation from Garton as 'a good sound man'. As another former student of Theodore Fyfe's with occasional flashes of insight so he must have seemed, but in the event he found the lack of statutory lists and reluctance to call-in discouraging, and he remained diffident about significantly updating the lists he inherited, initially, perhaps, because of unfamiliarity with the Scottish vernacular building traditions, so very different from those of his native Kent. Jack fulfilled all the promise of his earlier years, resuming the survey of Fife, taking over the completion of Kincardineshire from Mackenzie, surveying Angus, and significantly up-dating Needham's burgh lists.

The problems Lindsay and his new full-time staff faced were considerable. At that date (1956) only Mackenzie and Jack had fully implemented his instructions

on Victorian, Edwardian and industrial building. Even in the rural areas where the pattern of building was almost wholly traditional, most of what had been done had been made obsolete by the decision to make category C non-statutory, and, as the papers had not been forwarded, Lindsay did not become fully aware of the decisions taken at the Oxford conference and Instruction XIII until Garton visited him at Houston in May 1955. Thereafter he ruled that everything that mattered at all must be either category B or B for group, but the Department was not keen on altering lists already issued and his only option was to revise them, an activity which the Department was equally minded to discourage so long as substantial areas of the country had no provisional lists at all. As late as November 1957 C was still by far the largest category, more than fifty per cent (5717 out of 9607 items), and of the two main cities, Edinburgh had lists for only a few wards (i.e., electoral divisions) while Glasgow had no list, Weekes's draft being too unfinished to issue.

To help speed things up Lindsay and McPhail were lent one of the Department of Health architects, Frank Wood, who had had a good practice as architect to Moray House Teachers' Training College in Edinburgh between the wars. He was an old-fashioned professional gentleman of pronounced views which had, it was said, made him unpopular at times in his own area of work. Like Needham, he did not deign to drive a motor car and was largely confined to the burghs where his arrival was something of an event. It was his practice to invite the local notables to dinner (for which he paid personally) at his hotel to take soundings as to what should be included, and while he rarely left anything really important out some of the listings could be debatable. Nevertheless he worked very quickly: lists for the Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, North Angus and Moray burghs shoaled in, but he overstepped the Moray boundary in listing Turriff, bringing an awesome single-line letter from Mackenzie: 'Who is Wood'? Mackenzie did not suffer Wood's list to stand, even although some of it had already been published in the local newspaper.

The era of the part-timers closed with two outstanding appointments to deal with the largest and most embarrassing problems, the two major cities. These were Alfred George Lochhead in Glasgow and Catherine Holway Cruft in Edinburgh appointed in April 1955 and September 1956. Neither worked for the Department for very long but they brought new standards of research to the work and in some degree made up for the failure to appoint Colin McWilliam. Lochhead (1888-1972) was a man of great refinement, a gifted artist, decorator and musician as well as an architect whose Glasgow Arts Club nickname of 'Delius' sufficiently conveys his appearance. A pupil of T. Graham Abercrombie's in Paisley, and an ex-assistant of Sir John Burnet, the Canadian firm of Ross and Macdonald and of Sir Robert Lorimer, he had immense personal knowledge of late Victorian and Edwardian Glasgow, Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire, and a wide circle of friends from whom he seemed to be able to discover almost anything he did not know. He was a fastidious scholar and a most diligent researcher into both published and original sources for the earlier periods. The writer was, and remains, deeply indebted to him. He took over Weekes's drafts for Glasgow and by 1958 had listed the whole of the city on foot, thereafter undertaking Renfrewshire where he was driven by his distinguished surgeon wife, Helen Wingate. All his lists were marked by great elegance of description.









for providing the required information and that the Keeper of the Registers was unable to help. The Keeper had had to provide such assistance in respect of new bridges and road improvements but the scale of the problem—over 4000 items at the time—was beyond his resources without additional staff which the Scottish Office was not prepared to provide. The failure to make the lists statutory had appalling consequences. Many country houses disappeared without even the chance to record and a sample check sought from Jack on the survival of listed buildings within his area in 1958 brought the following chilling statistics of buildings demolished or altered beyond recall since the preparation of the first provisional lists: fifteen out of forty-four in Burntisland, sixteen out of ninety-one in Kirkcaldy and twelve out of fifty-three in Dunfermline.

R.P. Fraser who had taken over from H.F.G. Kelly as assistant secretary was no more successful in cracking the problem of statutory listing than his predecessor, and from November 1961 he published more official-looking lists for East Lothian and some of the Fife burghs, properly printed with blue covers and maps, as an exercise in giving the lists greater credibility. But he did use his Department's poor statutory listing record to advantage. In seeking, ultimately successfully, authority from the Treasury to fill the third investigator post in October 1960 he backed up his case by stating that in Scotland not only had twenty-nine burghs and 444 parishes no lists of any kind but only 193 buildings had been made statutory as against 59,000 in England.

The years 1960-1 saw considerable changes. D.M. McPhail retired in September 1960 and was somewhat confusingly replaced by J.G.S. Macphail, an ex Sudan civil servant known to some as 'Bashi' (Sudanese for major). If rather slow and dignified in manner he had a profound interest in the work and a wide network of social and family connections among the landed and old colonial gentry which at times could defuse awkward situations. In the following year he lost the support of Fraser who was replaced by A.C. Sheldrake, then nearing the end of his career, but gained the close interest of the new Minister of State, the Hon. T.G.D. Galbraith, later President of the Scottish Georgian Society. Murray Jack reverted to part-time at the end of 1961 when he went into private practice which, with the additional post secured by Fraser, resulted in two new senior investigator appointments, Gavin L.M. Goodfellow and the writer. Training was now a more serious matter than it had been. The writer received thorough field training from Jack on Arbroath and Montrose with further guidance from Lochhead: Jack's a decade earlier had been a short drive down Kirkcaldy High Street in Lindsay's Rolls-Royce Doctor's Coupé.

Goodfellow was allocated Argyll (1961-3), Midlothian and West Lothian (1963-4), Moray (1964-5), Orkney and Shetland (1965-9) and Kinross (1967), the writer Perthshire (1961-4), Aberdeenshire (1965-9) and the revision of Clackmannan (1965) and north-east Fife (1966-9), together with the completion of Lochhead's lists for Renfrew, the replacement of Wood's lists for Greenock, Gourock, Port Glasgow and Paisley in the same county and a number of other burghs. Wolffe updated his Dumfries and Galloway lists as and when his business allowed while Gibb continued with his programme of tidying up or surveying the remainder of the country.

The sixties were marked by a far greater emphasis on research and presentation. Lindsay had acquired a taste for original research not only from Lochhead and Miss

Cruft's lists but from his own researches in the muniments at Inveraray, eventually published after his death, with his researcher Mary Cosh as co-author, as *Inveraray and The Dukes of Argyll* in 1973. In February 1962 Lindsay decided to introduce city lists on the so-called Dutch system to make reference easier, the original lists having been divided up into electoral wards with the order of the items determined by the map sheet. In the new lists the buildings were grouped alphabetically under the headings ecclesiastical, public, monuments and wells, park and cemetery buildings, harbour, road, railway and engineering, educational, castles, country houses and ancillaries, dovecots, rural and commercial industrial and domestic by streets. Although the descriptions were—except for buildings with a complex building history—still relatively short, reference to books, learned journals, contemporary architectural periodicals, newspaper reports and contract advertising, approved plans, architects' archives and minute books were given. General indexes, indexes of architects' engineers, master masons and sculptors and bibliographies were provided. Although it had been partly resurveyed only three years earlier, Dundee had been selected as the first as research already carried out by the writer made it quick and easy. Perth and Stirling were then tackled in quick succession, followed by the more substantial tasks of Glasgow (1963–5), Aberdeen (1965) and finally Edinburgh 1969–70), all undertaken by the writer, mainly as winter work. Researching the newspapers was a race with the microfilm contractors as their layout was less easy to follow on screen: in Perth, where the results proved at least partly unreadable, the race was lost.

Nation-wide cover was achieved for the first time by the end of 1967. By that date winter-work resurvey had become a major activity even beyond the cities and large burghs. In the interests of consistency Miss Gibbons' Perthshire lists and Wood's east of Scotland burgh lists were completely replaced although then only a few years old. But even although Lindsay spent half a day each month with each investigator on reviewing the draft lists the results were still of variable quality. The level of information provided depended upon the willingness of the individual investigator to consult burgh, church and estate records; and as a mistaken economy no cameras or film had ever been provided. Every investigator had a different field technique, Jack and the writer worked by small-scale drawings, Goodfellow took some photographs, the others took notes only; and although by the 1960s Lindsay's instructions on Victorian, Edwardian industrial and vernacular architecture were taken more seriously, the consistency of the inclusions depended very much on the knowledge and sympathies of the individual investigator. In the industrial field the writer benefited particularly from contact with Rex Wailes between 1962 and 1970, and later with the present Chief Inspector of Historic Buildings, Mr John R. Hume. The city lists were perhaps above-average for their time but they tended to be constrained by the number of items the planning authority was thought likely to accept, that for Glasgow being a round figure evolved in discussion between Macphail's successor, Tom Rarity, and the Chief Planning Officer, Robert Mansley.

Statutory listing made some, though not sufficient, headway. A scattering of places which were regarded either as particularly sensitive or at particular risk were listed in the early 1960s. The re-employment of J.G.S. Macphail after his retirement in 1964 and the appointment of another retired person, Miss Lorrain-Smith, expedited



Fig. 38

The Tron Kirk, Edinburgh (John Mylne, 1637-47, reduced in size 1788 by John Baxter; spire R. and R. Dickson, 1828). A former burgh church where the city failed to exercise its right of pre-emption and had to pay for loss of development rights when consent to demolish was refused. The city eventually had to buy it back.

Photograph before restoration

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Fig. 39 (below)

The New Club, Edinburgh (William Burn, 1834, the two left-hand bays by David Bryce, 1859). Demolished in 1966 after the Secretary of State decided the case personally

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Fig. 40

The Phoenix Building, St Andrew Square, Edinburgh. The application was for the two left-hand houses and the adjoining tenement on North St David Street. The Scottish Office was prepared to concede the tenement but the compromise was declined. The city later changed its mind and obliged the applicants to retain all the buildings

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it and with considerable difficulty all but one of the new indexed lists were made statutory in 1965-7: Edinburgh, by far the largest list with a great deal of flatted property, was begun piecemeal but was still unfinished when the programme was overtaken by the passing of the 1968 act. The practical effect of the statutory listings was to oblige the planning authorities for those areas to consult the Department (Scottish Development Department from 1962): most had in fact done so informally. Unfortunately, like the old non-statutory gentleman's agreement casework, it was effective for alterations only. The Tron Church, Edinburgh, which had been closed in 1959 and was the subject of a lawsuit by its new owners, Tronsite Ltd, for loss of development rights, revealed a significant difference between the English and Scottish provisions on compensation. As Edinburgh's Town Clerk observed, it had cost them £35,000 plus legal expenses and the city still did not own the building. Except for a couple made much earlier in Old Aberdeen, it was the only Building Preservation Order served and confirmed in Scotland and it was the last. But the most devastating difficulties experienced by the Historic Buildings Branch were in respect of the comprehensive development areas, particularly in Glasgow. Although the investigators carefully set out the merits and relative priorities of the individual buildings, these

were never conveyed to the planning authorities. The decision letters always abridged the reference to listed buildings, to an unspecific hope that they would be respected wherever possible. They scarcely ever were. Thus did A.W.N. Pugin's last building, The Catholic Apostolic Church in Glasgow, and much else of real quality disappear. To some extent it was policy. The Department's planners urged the investigators to think only of listing in areas which were to remain relatively undisturbed and to discard everything, regardless of quality, within the comprehensive development areas. In many cases the difficulties were genuine as the replanning of the areas ignored the original street patterns or frontage lines and many of the buildings were not free-standing. But some, like the Catholic Apostolic Church, were and a few words in the decision letter might have saved them. And at a more political level, the personal decision of Michael Noble, Secretary of State for Scotland in 1962-4, to give consent for the demolition of the great palazzo of The New Club on Edinburgh's Princes Street gave a clear indication of the level of loss the Scottish Office was prepared to contemplate.

Considerable organisational changes took place in 1965-6. In the former year, Sheldrake's successor, T.L. Lister, later to return as under-secretary, was replaced by R.F. Butler, who tried hard to put the work of the Historic Buildings Branch on a better footing. By that date Lindsay was very ill indeed with Hodgkin's disease, the final outcome of a bad attack of glandular fever contracted on his U.N.E.S.C.O. advisory trip to Australia in 1962-3, and was dealing with the Branch's business from bed at Houston and finally at Bangour Hospital where he died on 28 August 1966. Two months earlier, on 1 July, responsibility for the Historic Buildings Council and the Ancient Monuments Board and estate, was transferred to the Secretary of State for Scotland. The latter made little practical difference as all the work continued to be done wholly on an agency basis at Argyle House by the Ministry of Public Building and Works, whose ancient monuments inspectors and architects continued to provide all professional services for the grant work on which the Historic Buildings Council advised. But the secretariat of the Council was transferred: Tom Rarity now became wholly concerned with historic buildings work as Secretary to the Council and the existing listing and listed building consent staff were augmented by inexperienced staff to assist him with the grant work. Within a year the Old St Andrew's House accommodation which had consisted of a single room with a very messy stencil printing machine for the lists, was found inadequate and the branch moved to a handsome Georgian house of its own at 2 Hill Street, which, appropriately enough had belonged to Sir Robert Lorimer's parents. There Rarity found separation from the Ancient Monuments inspectors and architects just as difficult as at Old St Andrew's House and two years later the staff were squeezed into Argyle House alongside them.

Professor James Dunbar-Nasmith succeeded to Lindsay's place as architect-member of the Historic Buildings Council. The writer was instructed to ask him if he would take Lindsay's place as Chief Investigator but sadly he declined. Unapproved lists piled up as the resurvey progressed and were eventually issued unchecked in February 1967. A Treasury staff inspector then considered a Scottish Office proposal to have a principal investigator drawn from the existing staff, but recommended an allowance holder only. Rather than accept such an unsatisfactory arrangement the

Department preferred to make no appointment, a development which resulted in the chairman of the Historic Buildings Council, Lord Cawdor, discreetly taking an interest in listed building-consent matters, particularly where these had come to his notice as potential grant cases. It also resulted in the restoration of closer links with London as Rarity, Butler and the writer all tended to look there for advice, the writer chiefly consulting Antony Dale and Derek Sherborn. The situation there had been transformed by the appointment of Richard Crossman as Minister of Housing and Local Government in 1964, aided by Lord Kennet, Parliamentary Secretary 1966-70, the formidable Jacqueline Hope-Wallace, under-secretary in charge of Historic Buildings from 1965-9 and Vivian Lipman, her assistant secretary who succeeded as under-secretary in 1972. From 1967-8 Butler, with the support of the new Minister of State, J. Dickson Mabon, tried hard to effect similar changes in Scotland, subsequently with some encouragement from Crossman's successor, Anthony Greenwood. The New Club was past saving but Mabon tried hard to retrieve the adjoining Life Association for which James Dunbar-Nasmith had a scheme. The City's planning department and a majority of the planning committee were against the retention of its façade as they disliked it and they still adhered to the implementation of the Princes Street Panel's decision that all of Princes Street should be demolished and rebuilt to create a first floor walkway. Several acrimonious confrontations with 'Concrete' Millar, the convener of the planner committee, took place at Ministerial level, but Sir Douglas Haddow, by then Permanent Under-Secretary, was not in favour of any listed building standing in the way of redevelopment and the Department's own under-secretary, A.A. Hughes, sat on the fence. Eventually the matter was decided by the Secretary of State, William Ross. He stopped his car to look at it. Its opulent Venetianism and the nakedness of its sculpture offended his Calvinist soul. Butler did however, have one notable success which marked something of a turning point, at least in Edinburgh. In 1970 he forced the city to a deemed refusal on the Phoenix building in St Andrew Square, which was then appealed. It was Georgian and not Victorian and appealed more to Tom Hewitson, the City's very conservative chief planner. At the inquiry, which was taken by Archibald Elliot, Q.C., now Lord Elliot, Hewitson gave his honest opinion which did not support the City's case. The case for demolition was presented by a councillor 'who had experience in the building trade', the City's Town Clerk, Edward Glendinning, having decided that this was an occasion on which the City should lose.

If there were some successes in Edinburgh the situation in Glasgow remained as bad as ever. Of the *causes célèbres*, on all of which Mabon's successor Lord Hughes declined to offer support, the first was the former Tilly & Henderson building, a magnificent Venetian warehouse of 1855 in Miller Street, which Harold Dykes, the chairman of Charles Rattray & Co, found aesthetically inappropriate for his van drivers and desired to redevelop. The City's Planning Committee at first supported its preservation but subsequently changed its mind on the grounds that even if grant-aid were given the grant-eligible cost was not high enough to make the scheme as viable as new build. Charles Murdoch of the Town Clerk's department confidentially advised the Historic Buildings Branch that much harm had been done to the conservation cause by challenging his committee's line. Equally disappointing was

the great Randolph & Elder engineering shop in Tradeston (1858) which, it was hoped, might be the City's large-exhibit industrial museum, but was rejected as unsuitable and sacrificed to a never-built office tower. And most demoralising of all, the Scottish Office's own chartered surveyors supported the applicants' case for the demolition of Sir John Burnet's McGeoch warehouse at 28 West Campbell Street (1905), a building of European importance, although it was a steel framed building with a high plot ratio on the grounds that if converted to offices its red sandstone façades would make it much less lettable than new build. Since it was the most modern building of its date in the city centre, the outlook for the others seemed bleak indeed. In Aberdeen the situation was no better: Archibald Simpson's magnificent New Market and old Aberdeen Town and County Bank on Union Street disappeared by private legislation, despite a courageous challenge by a member of the Historic Buildings Council, John Smith, later Lord Kirkhill, and the veteran Aberdeen architect Leo Durnin. At the parliamentary hearing the applicants were all-too-skilfully represented by the present Lord Chancellor.

Although it took time for the benefits to work through, the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act, 1968, was a masterpiece of deft parliamentary draughtsmanship—at least insofar as the listing provisions were concerned. Not only did it remove the need to register listing in the Sasines, it transferred the burden of serving the notices to the planning authorities, a change which went unnoticed until it was too late to protest. As in England, it changed the system by making statutory listing the equivalent of a building preservation order from which the planning authority had to be prepared to release the applicant by giving consent. It also resolved the problems of the Tronsite case by limiting compensation to existing use value. Students were given discarded Department of Agriculture and Fisheries cars to check the provisional lists on site in 1968–9 and the statutory lists were issued in 1969–71. Cameras and film were, unfortunately, still not provided. Introduction of the new listed building consent procedures was slow as the Scottish Office solicitors were unable to give time to drafting the regulations.

These legislative changes were backed up by the conservation pressures which had begun to build up throughout the later 1960s. The publication of *Glasgow at a Glance* (1965) aroused public opinion in Glasgow. The New Glasgow Society was founded and grew in strength so rapidly that the Lord Provost became alarmed and tried to dampen enthusiasm for it in public statements. The proposed demolition of Mackintosh's Martyrs' school for the Eastern Flank of the Glasgow motorway, and a thought that his Scotland Street School might also be demolished to facilitate the Kingston Bridge road works and the expansion of Howdens' engineering works mobilised international opinion. Much of the correspondence confused these buildings with Glasgow School of Art but since there were more representations than anyone could read it hardly mattered. In Edinburgh public opinion was no less dramatically mobilized by the proposed demolition of one of the City's favourite eating places, the Café Royal, to enlarge Woolworths. The City was at first generally in favour of eliminating the Register Street area and the indications were that consent would be granted even although the café was on the margin of the site. A media campaign was skilfully orchestrated by Professor Alastair Rowan and Colin McWilliam, and

both the Historic Buildings Branch and the City Planning Department were flooded out by a torrent of influential paper. Both Martyrs' and Scotland Street Schools and the Café Royal survived, but otherwise the situation in both Glasgow and Edinburgh seemed as bad as ever. Tilly and Henderson's, McGeoch's and John Burnet's Elgin Place Church, a magnificent Greek temple, were all still standing when the 1968 Act was finally implemented. It was in fact particularly galling that but for the delay the first two would have been dealt with under the new Act rather than the old. With the changed provisions in the new Act the consents had become invalid, but in the interests of fairness it was concluded that applicants should not have to make their case twice. Only the Elgin Place Church survived what Frank Wordsdall correctly described as 'The Black Year of Destruction', 1971.

In 1970, just as the 1968 act was coming into force, there were a number of significant changes. Although it took time for their interest to work through, the new Secretary of State, Gordon Campbell, and first Lady Tweedsmuir and then George Younger as the responsible ministers, were all much more sympathetic to the cause of conservation than the previous administrations. Sir Alan Hume, Secretary of Scottish Development Department 1965-73, had been more helpful than Sir Douglas had been, but felt that in relation to the rising tide for conservation, the planning authorities should answer for their mistakes to the electorate rather than have their hands forced by central government. Significant changes also took place in relation to the Historic Buildings Council. Lord Cawdor retired with a moving address on the Department's statutory failures and his hopes for the future—which he did not live to see realized—and was succeeded by Lord Stratheden and Campbell. More importantly Sir Robert Matthew and Lindsay's old ally and co-author Ronald Cant were appointed to the Historic Buildings Council in November, and together with Professor James Dunbar-Nasmith provided a stronger lead on policy, Sir Robert being appointed the Secretary of State's adviser on conservation in Lindsay's stead after a vacancy of four years. He made it clear that he was not to be concerned with day-to-day business and reviewing lists as Ian Lindsay had been, only significant policy issues, the final outcome being the setting up in April 1972 of a Scottish equivalent of the Holford Committee, the Listing Committee of the Historic Buildings Council.

As first constituted the Listing Committee comprised the Chairman of the Council Lord Stratheden, Sir Robert Matthew, Dr Ronald Cant, W.A.P. Jack, architect, and J.F.A. Gibson who was a chartered accountant. As its first meeting it considered the issue of modern buildings in the wake of Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's Holford Committee initiative in 1969 when fifty key inter-war buildings had been proposed for listing. The writer suggested substituting a closing date of 1939 for the requirement that the architect should not be living, but Cant, supported by Matthew, proposed a twenty-five year rolling date as being more flexible. This was not formalised until the revised instructions for investigators were considered in June 1975 when the committee finally decided on a thirty-year rolling date, but it was agreed that post-1939 works by outstanding practices such as Jack Coia's could be included. A report on modern buildings was requested from Goodfellow, which resulted in the sporadic listing of a number of inter-war buildings, mostly much more conventional than those proposed by Pevsner.

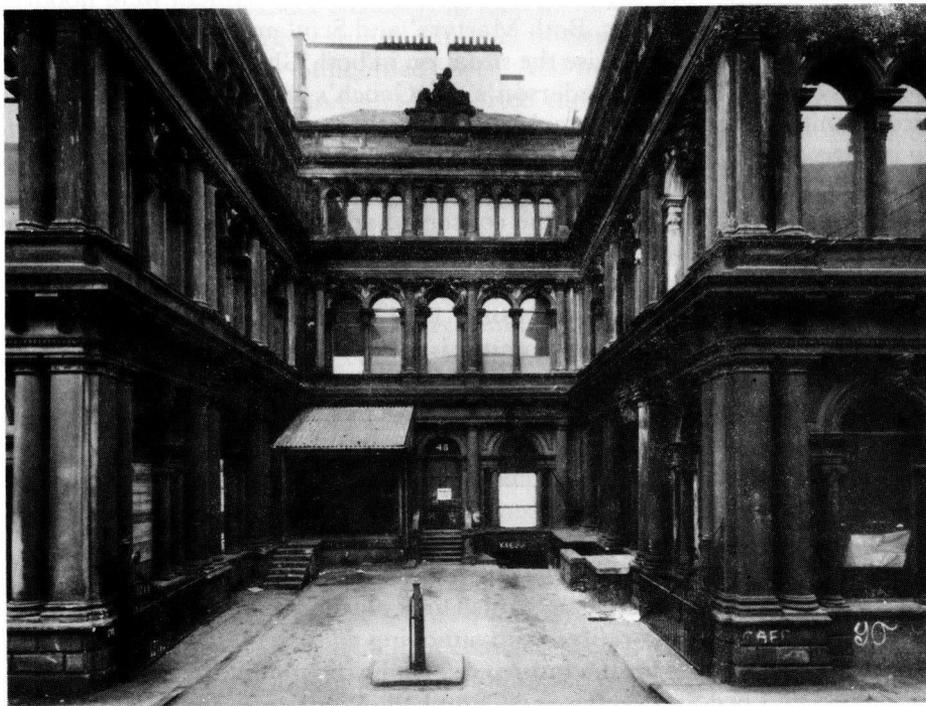


Fig. 41 (*above*)

Former Tilly & Henderson textile workhouse, 37-51 Miller Street, Glasgow (Alexander Kirkland, 1855). Although grant-aid was offered, the grant-eligible costs were not high enough to satisfy the applicants and it was demolished in 1969

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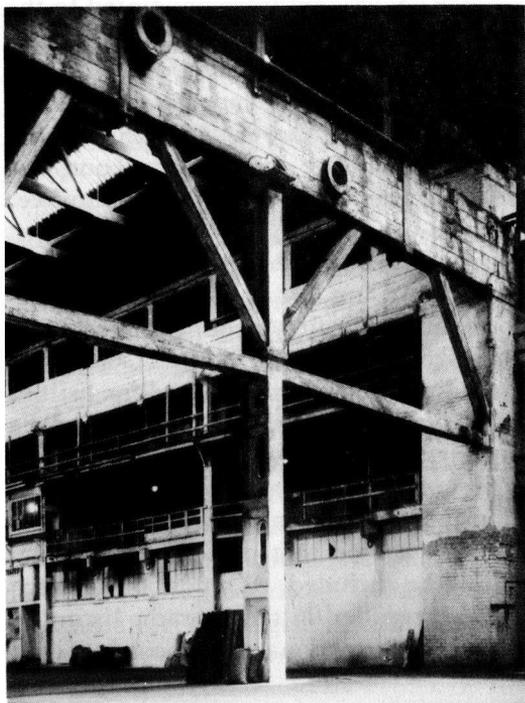


Fig. 42

Former Randolph & Elder engine shop, Tradeston, Glasgow (William Spence, 1858). Demolished in 1970 to facilitate a still unbuilt office development

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Fig. 43

William McGeoch's Ironmongery warehouse and offices, 28 West Campbell Street, Glasgow (Sir John Burnet, 1905). Demolished 1971 after the Scottish Office's own chartered surveyors supported the applicant's case for demolition  
*Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland*



Fig. 44

Martyrs's School, Barony Street, Glasgow, drawn by its architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh, 1895. Threatened by the eastern flank of the inner ring-road. When the writer ventured to suggest a fractional shift in alignment he was told 'You simply don't understand. These curves are precious!' It survived with a slight clipping of its boundary wall

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At the same meeting, and again the following July, the Committee considered categorization, it being noted that for many years past category A had tended to be the equivalent of the major part of Grade II\* as well as grade I ever since it had been discovered that prior to 1966, when the secretariat of the Historic Buildings Council had still been with the Ministry of Public Building and Works, applications for grant in respect of category B buildings had been discouraged without further appraisal. A decision on whether to introduce a B\*, or in the circumstances perhaps an A\* category was deferred and, although considered several times in later years, has not been pursued further. The committee also considered the old issue of whether category C fell within the definition of 'special' and whether the category should be made statutory, a subject on which it did not reach a conclusion for another two years. Other subjects of particular concern in the earliest years of the Committee were theatres as a result of the demolition of Sir John Burnet's Alhambra Theatre in Glasgow in 1971, Goodfellow formalizing and extending a report on the surviving theatres which the investigators had undertaken on their own initiative in 1969; bridges, a subject triggered by the demolition of Telford's bridge at Conon, on which the writer produced a report listing the major surviving examples; and roofless country houses, it being decided, with particular reference to Burn's Buchanan, that ruined country houses should not be treated differently from ruined castles.

In the early-1970s the business of the branch was transformed by the combination of Murray Bell as under-secretary, R.D.Cramond as assistant secretary (and from 1973 Bell's successor as under-secretary, H.F.G. Kelly returning as assistant secretary), Harry Graham as principal and finally Ken Newis as secretary of the Department in succession to Sir Alan Hume. With the support of the Listing Committee cases were called in and long-standing problems vigorously tackled. But it was a period in which only limited progress could be made on listing. Resurvey work came almost to a stand because of the sudden influx of statutory casework which grew at an alarming rate. Public interest in conservation increased dramatically. After the cheap building of the 1960s there was a reaction in favour of good traditional materials as much as anything else and a sudden pressure for new listings, often on very marginal items. In the initial rush of enthusiasm problems did develop. Glasgow introduced an automatic grant scheme based on categories which resulted in sporadic listing and upgradings at the request of its planning department which eventually its committee reacted against.

With the changed attitude to conservation it was recognised that nearly all the city and burgh lists were now inadequate, Glasgow particularly so as attitudes to the *fin-de-siecle* freestyle architecture which so enriched the character of the city centre had changed, and in November 1972 a major amendment to the Edinburgh list was initiated to meet an assurance given by George Younger and the complete revision of Glasgow instructed. Unfortunately the financial pressures of the time were such that the staff could not be augmented. In 1973 a graduate clerical officer, Lesley Pettigrew (Mrs Lesley Anderson), was allocated to the work, field supervision and editing being provided by the writer. She revised the lists for Haddington, Perth, Stirling, Bridge of Allan and Dunblane, and began the resurvey of Ayr and Dundee. The writer began the revision of Glasgow's central area but the growth in other work,

particularly capital transfer tax after 1975, made progress difficult.

In June 1975 Sir Robert Matthew died, having resigned as the Secretary of State's consultant some months earlier, and the writer became first allowance holder and then in September 1976 principal inspector. But prior to that, in June, 1974, Harry Graham had secured the listing committee's final agreement to the review of category C for statutory listing following the similar decision in respect of Grade III in England, a subject foreshadowed in discussions between Antony Dale and Butler as early as 1970. But in Scotland it was firmly believed that it was important not to devalue category B, and C became a statutory category as C(S). It was also thought important that C(S) should be established as a real category and the threshold for category B was correspondingly raised. A second student review was organized but on this occasion they were provided with cameras and film. Predictably, the review revealed that many of the category C items were deserving of a higher category and that many more had been demolished or altered beyond recall. Initially several planning authorities sought to put even spoiled category C items on the statutory list, but as the staff implications of the exercise were recognised, particularly by planning authorities with very large numbers of listed buildings such as Perth and Kinross, enthusiasm waned, resulting in a reaction against listing which will be discussed later. It eventually proved difficult to keep the threshold for inclusion at category C(S) in the statutory list at a consistent level.

By 1974 the listing programme was suffering so much from the growth in casework that the appointment of a fourth investigator was recommended after a staff inspection, and David McLees (now of CADW) was recruited from Antony Dale's staff in London in 1975. He took over the revision of Glasgow from the writer and from 1978 continued his resurvey of North East Fife, abandoned in 1969. Prior to his arrival list descriptions, except for the items with complex building histories, had remained relatively brief. McLees introduced the much longer English standards of description, a change which was time-consuming but overdue as some planning officers had begun to put more emphasis on what the list entry did not describe than what it did. In April 1976 Michael Gibb retired and was replaced by John Gifford, previously in charge of the Buildings of Scotland's research unit. At that date the most pressing listing priority was the list for Inverness where Carruthers Ballantyne's list had been replaced in 1970 by one of the review students with insufficient supervision from Gibb, who was then preoccupied with other revision work in the Borders. Gifford took a cottage near Inverness, and researched the *Inverness Courier* and much else for information on the architecture of the entire Highland area. He completed the revision of the list for Inverness to the very highest standards, but he too became solely concerned with casework, and the revision of the landward areas of Highland Region had to be deferred. With the growth in business the Historic Buildings Branch outgrew its rooms in Argyll House and moved to a fine mid-Victorian terrace house at 25 Drumsheugh Gardens which offered some room for the expansion which had still to come.

In 1978 the staff was further augmented following a further staff inspection of the workload, together with a Treasury inspection of the principal investigator and senior investigator grades which had been hastened by the forceful advocacy of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who had succeeded Lord Stratheden as chairman

of the Historic Buildings Council in 1976, and that of a member of the Council, Betty Harvie Anderson, M.P. The listing database had now become seriously obsolete with many lists basically up to twenty-five years old despite constant amendment. One new senior investigator post was created, together with two assistant investigators for casework and two contract assistant inspectors for resurvey work. In the event two new seniors were appointed, one being in place of Gavin Goodfellow who had resigned, Anne Riches from the Greater London Council and Richard Emerson from the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. All the seniors duly became inspectors when the old investigator grade was abolished as a result of the Treasury staff inspection. The two casework assistant inspectors, Rebecca Barker (now of English Heritage) and Bridget Blackmore (who resigned in 1980), had in fact been engaged as temporary staff on resurvey work for the previous year. The new resurvey inspectors were Aonghus McKechnie, who has since become permanent, and Mrs Elizabeth Beaton who was based near Elgin. At first Anne Riches and Richard Emerson divided the country between them with one assistant inspector each. Richard Emerson did good work in some of the Borders burghs before transferring to casework in 1979 in an exchange with John Gifford who resigned to progress *The Buildings of Scotland* in 1980, leaving Anne Riches in sole charge of the resurvey. Their work was supplemented by Bridget Blackmore's successor Dr Ian Campbell, who carried out the large resurvey of Paisley before transferring to casework, and by an architect planner, J. Bryan Wade, who had transferred to historic buildings work to complete his service with the department, working chiefly in East Lothian.

Anne Riches tackled the problems vigorously and made some radical changes, implementing recommendations made by the Listing Committee in September 1976. By that date it had already become apparent that as a result of unions and readjustments in the Church of Scotland with frequent changes of name and large numbers of redundant churches and with the reorganisation of local government in Scotland in 1975, too many of the buildings were changing their names for Lindsay's Dutch-style lists to remain practicable. The Committee recommended a simple alphabetical arrangement which was subsequently extended to parishes once the longer descriptions made searching the lists more time consuming. But by the early 1980s it had also become apparent that it was no longer practicable, initially at least, for the city lists to be tackled as single publications and as in the 1950s, they were broken down into electoral wards.

By 1981 the resurvey had made considerable progress with Mrs Beaton extending the resurvey of Highland Region into the landward areas and McKechnie undertaking that of Dumfries and Galloway. But in October of that year the resurvey ran into some difficulty, just as it had south of the Borders in the wake of the listing of the Johnny Walker Whisky Bond in 1973. The catalyst was a substantial arts-and-crafts lodge house in the Secretary of State's constituency in Ayr where the owners of the upper flat had demolished a tall Norman Shaw-like chimney shaft against the wishes of the owners of the lower flat, and without listed building consent. With the threat of having to rebuild it hanging over them, the owners of the upper flat wrote to the Secretary of State expressing their concern at the burdens imposed by listing. The circumstances were perhaps not fully explained but the Secretary of State asked the

Under-Secretary in charge of listing, T.L. Lister, who had replaced R.D. Cramond in 1977, to consider the matter further and, more seriously, the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities and The Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors had become concerned at the rapid rise in the number of items listed, 8,116 since November 1979 bringing the total to 32,145. Highland Region had become particularly concerned at the progress of the resurvey as for the first time it had detailed, well-researched listings which included vernacular buildings some of which were occupied by persons of limited means. Although it was explained that the increase was in large part due to the implementation of the C review of six years earlier and that much of the increase was apparent rather than real as a result of the itemisation of rows of houses and cottages previously listed as a single item, a moratorium was placed on the issue of further lists for consultation while the situation was re-examined and options considered.

A paper on the subject was put to the Listing Committee in November 1982 and the subsequent consideration of future policy was a preoccupation of Lister's successor W.W. Scott, and of the successive assistant secretaries F. Hadden Orr and Mrs Gillian Stewart, for the next three years. The moratorium on the issue of lists was eventually lifted to avoid the survey work going out of date, but three main options were considered. The first was to eliminate category C(S) altogether as the main cause of the difficulty but that was quickly discarded, partly because so many owners of category C(S) buildings had already been subjected to listed building consent requirements and still more because so many of the planning authorities and building owners were unlikely to accept such a course without protest. It was also thought that it might ultimately result in extensive lack of consistency and deprive householders of useful waivers from building control requirements and, ultimately, V.A.T. exemption. The second was to divide the lists into national lists (categories A and B) and supplementary lists (category C(S)) for which the planning authorities would be wholly responsible, a proposal reminiscent of the early deliberations of the Maclagan Committee. That, too, was discarded as the legal obligation to maintain the list rested with the Secretary of State and amending legislation would have been required. The third and preferred option was delegation of the entire responsibility for consent work in respect of category C and B for group items to the planning authorities, which was eventually agreed at a meeting between the then Minister of State, Michael Ancram, and representatives of the Convention and finally implemented on 1 January 1988. As part of the agreement the Convention agreed that the planning authorities would provide six-monthly returns of consents which might affect listability so that the Secretary of State could meet his statutory obligation to maintain the lists but these have never in fact been received, only correspondence on a few individual items.

Delegation had a certain impact on listing and listing policy. Since so many of the 'B for group' listings were quite old it became necessary to undertake a mini-review of that category and differentiate them into B and C(S) items. It also forced the investigators to think much harder about the threshold between the categories and details such as good original woodwork became more of a criterion than they had been. Moreover the increased control over conservation areas under the Town and Country Amenities Act of 1974 had already raised the question of whether the



Fig. 45

The Café Royal, West Register Street, Edinburgh (Robert Paterson, 1861). The proposal to demolish it to enlarge Woolworth's store in Princes Street mobilized public opinion on a scale unseen in Edinburgh since the George Square controversy. On this occasion there were no local vested interests in favour of demolition and it survived

*Tom Scott*

listing of 'group value only' items was still necessary to the preservation of complete street pictures, a serious consideration in areas with very large numbers of listed buildings where advertisement and the posting of site notices was a serious burden. Moray District raised the issue in respect of the Victorian fisher villages listed by Mackenzie in the former Banffshire section of the District and a review resulted in a substantial reduction in the number of houses listed in 1988.

Despite the concern to contain the number of listed buildings at manageable levels in the early to mid 1980s, there was never any doubt on the part of Scottish Development Department—now The Scottish Office Environment Department—or the great majority of the planning authorities that the resurvey had to proceed, or that the separation of the descriptive and statutory lists was confusing and inefficient.



Fig. 46

The Café Royal, West Register Street, Edinburgh. Interior by J. McIntyre Henry, 1900  
*Tom Scott*

The database was too old, names and numbers had changed and buildings had been burnt down, fallen into ruin or had been denatured without consent. There were no photographs for the older listings which made for higher costs and longer time scales in consent work and constant requests for spotlisting particularly after the introduction of V.A.T. exemption. In 1985, in the wake of the Hendry Report which had reconstituted the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Divisions into a single Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate under Tom Band in 1984 and with a new headquarters at 20 Brandon Street from 1985, a further three assistant inspectors were appointed, Ranald McInnes and Mark Watson (both now principal inspectors) and Judith Anderson (who resigned in 1989) followed by Dr Deborah Mays in 1986 on McInnes's transfer to casework. Since that date the number of assistant inspectors engaged on the resurvey has fluctuated according to the demands of casework and the further details of the resurvey are too complex to be itemised here. Broken down into wards, Glasgow became the work of several hands before

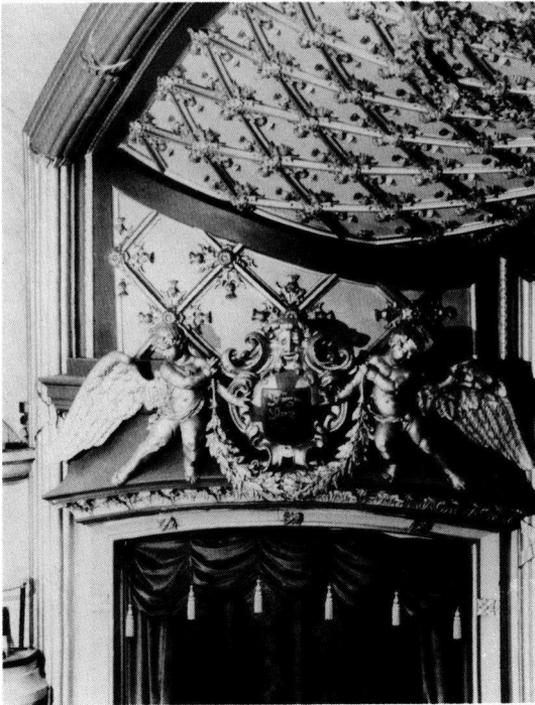


Fig. 47

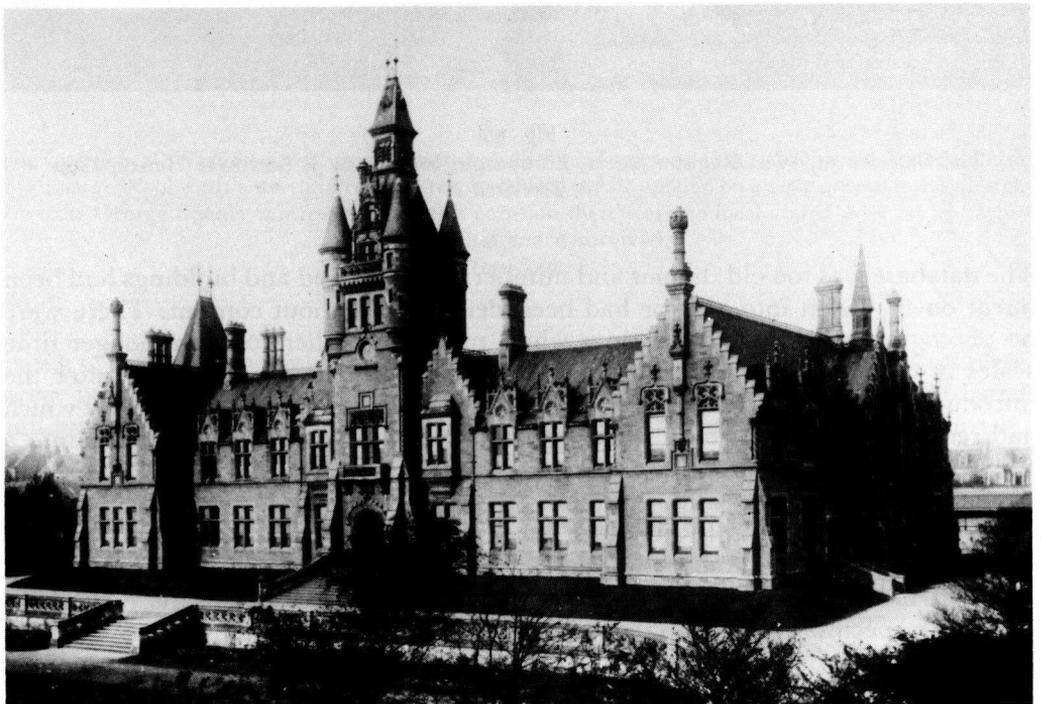
Alhambra Theatre, Glasgow (Sir John Burnet, 1910). Detail of the proscenium arch. Its demolition in 1971 caused the Listing Committee to order a report on surviving Scottish Theatres in 1972. By that date few remained

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Fig. 48 (below)

Morgan Academy Dundee (Peddie & Kinnear, 1863-6). Not thought listable by Needham, included as a category C item in the first review (1959) and upgraded to category A in the major revision of 1962

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being finally completed by Aonghus McKechnie who had worked on it earlier. The resurvey of Dundee was undertaken by Mark Watson, who had made a particularly detailed study of its mills and factories, and completed by Dr Robin Evetts. The resurvey of Edinburgh has progressed on a ward by ward basis but the 1970 Dutch list remains its core, as does that for Aberdeen which has had several large amendments to bring the inclusions up to current standards. Elsewhere priority has been given to the burghs with the greatest concentrations of architectural merit and at the time of writing Greenock is now the only one with an inadequate list.

Outwith the cities and larger burghs the resurvey programme concentrated on the areas with the oldest and most inadequate lists. Elizabeth Beaton completely resurveyed Highland Region and Moray District and began the Banffshire section of Banff and Buchan District before her retirement in September 1988. Aonghus McKechnie resurveyed much of Dumfries and Galloway Region, now being completed by Margo Johnston, and the whole of the Western Isles. East Lothian, now completely resurveyed, was the work of several hands, and work has now begun on Borders Region. Once it has been completed the most compelling priorities will be Strathclyde and Central Regions, and the Orkney and Shetland Islands areas. The projected date for the completion of the resurvey is 2005, and at the time of writing the total number of listed buildings stands at 39,997, comprised of 2,915 category A items, 24,715 B and 12,286 C. While the eventual total will rise over the 40,000 mark, recent experience in the rural areas has been that change tends to be more in the inclusions than in the number of items listed.

Anne Riches resigned on marriage in June 1989, having managed the resurvey with outstanding efficiency and scholarship for a decade, and was succeeded by Dr Deborah Mays who brought the same qualities to the post. At that time Frank Lawrie, who had succeeded Mrs Stewart as Deputy Director, made some additional provision. Mrs Stewart had discouraged *ad hoc* listing in advance of the resurvey in order to concentrate resources on progressing it. By 1989 the backlog of requests had reached damburst proportions and a small section headed by Aonghus McKechnie was set up to deal with it without any consequential effect on the pace of the resurvey, its role eventually being taken over by the casework teams. John Hume who had joined the Directorate on secondment from the University of Strathclyde in 1984, having previously been a consultant from 1977, transferred from the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate to undertake thematic work on particularly difficult building types, one of these being hospitals of which Anne Riches and Harriet Richardson had already undertaken a detailed study.

On 1 April 1991 the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate became an executive agency with the title Historic Scotland. Graeme Munro, who had succeeded David Connelly as its third director, became Director and Chief Executive and Frank Lawrie Director of Heritage Policy; and on 1 October 1993 the writer withdrew from statutory work prior to his retirement, having reviewed nearly all the inclusions in the resurveyed lists for the previous seventeen years. Looking back over the past forty-five years a few observations may be made. Resurvey as such has been a continuing process since the 1950s as perceptions of what was important and of what the local authorities and public opinion would accept gradually changed, Dundee

being the extreme instance having been resurveyed no fewer than three times. But resurvey to current criteria may be said to have been initiated in 1972 when the Listing Committee first began to amend Lindsay's instructions and when the major reviews of Edinburgh and Glasgow were instructed. Within a few years it had become acceptable to list late Victorian and Edwardian freestyle and the better villa developments a quarter of a century after Lindsay had specified them, King's Park at Stirling and Bridge of Allan (1976-8) being the earliest major instances. Since 1976 the standards of inclusion and categorisation have been reasonably consistent, thanks to the avoidance of the contracting-out methods adopted in the English accelerated resurvey. Throughout the emphasis has been not only on careful selection but on the quality of information provided so that the listings commanded respect. As observed earlier, thanks to the longer list entries introduced by McLees from 1975, the most obvious change in the resurveyed lists has been the detailed information about character and building history which is now made available to owners, agents and planning authorities in the list entries. It provides them with a valuable guide, often to further sources of information when proposals are being formulated and considered and thus enables listed building consent applications to be more quickly and efficiently processed. But resurvey has also unearthed a great many buildings of listable character in both town and countryside which had previously been either overlooked or had not attracted the interest of the early investigators. Not all of these have been industrial, vernacular or later buildings: late Georgian Picturesque and Italianate were equally liable to escape their attention. Inevitably the progress of the resurvey has been slower as a result of the studied in-house approach. But urban resurvey is not within sight of completion without serious avoidable loss during the resurvey period even if much still remains to be done in reconstituting the numerous supplements and amendments to Edinburgh and Aberdeen into a more orderly form. The position is, however, less adequate in many of the landward areas where there are still lists of up to forty years old. Even with the *ad hoc* listing of the last few years there still remains the possibility that major Victorian and Edwardian houses will be found to be without statutory protection, Sir John Burnet's Baronald at Lanark—the largest and arguably the most original house he ever built—being just such an instance. Inevitably over a twenty year period there have been areas in which our knowledge and understanding of particular building types and even periods has moved on and there have been completely new types of inclusion such as telephone boxes, Edinburgh's neo-Greek police boxes, and street furniture such as provosts' lamps. The activities of the Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group, founded in 1972, and the researches of several members of Historic Scotland own staff have greatly extended our knowledge of vernacular and agricultural architecture to methods of construction and building types scarcely known when the resurvey began; the continuing researches of Messrs Hume and Watson have brought a much greater understanding of industrial and transportation structures; and the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland's Thirties research programme, culminating in Charles McKean's *The Scottish Thirties*, together with more recent studies of the post-war era by Ranald McInnes and others have taken our understanding of those periods far beyond Gavin Goodfellow's *Modern Buildings Report of the 1980s*, and much closer to what Nikolaus Pevsner had in mind in 1969.



Fig. 49

Baronald, Lanark, now the Cartland Bridge Hotel. Sir John Burnet's largest country house, 1890-1. A recent listing, its omission revealed by a study of Burnet's houses

While the general parameters for the national programme of listing remain generally as originally drawn up, our knowledge, appreciation and understanding of the buildings themselves can be seen to be constantly developing. By the time the current resurvey programme is furnished, it will have been in place for over thirty years, a not insignificant period in the terms of listing policy, longer in fact than the original survey period of 1948-69. It is a period which has considerable implications in terms of list maintenance, since by the end of the resurvey the earliest lists will be more out-of-date than the original lists were when the resurvey was first initiated, a problem compounded by the lack of information from the planning authorities on delegated consents.

But, as one of the writer's former colleagues has observed, even those buildings which are not the subject of delegated consent are no different from other buildings in one important respect: they exist for people to use and, as such, arguably constitute an organic stock. A certain amount of change will always have to be accommodated while respecting the design intentions of the original architect or builder and any modifications of a later time which contribute to the quality of the building. It is thus hardly surprising that the listing of this organic stock will always be an ongoing process. While the current programme of resurvey will come to a specific end as

planned, it will have to be succeeded by some other form of programme which will continue to keep the content and coverage of the statutory lists up to the mark.

## NOTE

The information in this paper has been drawn principally from the files of the predecessor Scottish Office divisions now represented by Historic Scotland, to whom I am grateful for authority to compile this paper. These comprised mainly the general files from 1945; the correspondence with investigators files; the appointment of investigation file; the advisory committee and associated circulated papers files; and the writer's own minute and correspondence files, 1961-93.

The writer is also particularly indebted to Miss Catherine Cruft for the loan of her unpublished paper on the Bute lists; to Dr John Harvey for the loan of his paper 'Listing as I knew it in 1949' given to the Society on 14 October 1993 (and published in these *Transactions*, pp 97-104); to Brian Anthony; to Dr Ranald G. Cant; to Mr W. Murray Jack; to Dr F.R. Stevenson; to Sir Anthony Wagner for his personal recollections of the pre-history of the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act and of the Maclagan Committee; and to Mr Frank Lawrie and Dr Deborah Mays of Historic Scotland for much helpful comment. The writer has also drawn heavily on recollections of the early days provided in much earlier years by the late Ian G. Lindsay; the late J.G.S. Macphail; the late Alfred G. Lochhead; the late Antony Dale; the late Michael C. Gibb; the late Colin E. McWilliam and Miss Catherine Rennex.

The paragraphs relating to the National Buildings Record have been drawn from the excellent *National Monuments Record of Scotland Jubilee 1941-1991, A Guide to the Collections*.

## Appendix

### COMPUTERIZATION OF THE HISTORIC BUILDINGS LISTS: PRESENT BENEFITS AND FUTURE POTENTIAL *by* DEBORAH C. MAYS

The existing benefits of the Historic Buildings database are considerable but knowledge of the full potential yet to be realized breeds frustration: it is so near and yet so far.

The evolution of the database was long in gestation, first mooted late in 1983: it was developed by Historic Scotland and the Scottish Office Computer Service (now the Information Systems Division), in conjunction with the R.C.A.H.M.S.'s database of the N.M.R. Archaeological Record and that of the Schedule of Ancient Monuments. The databases were devised for an Oracle mainframe, with a view to harmonization. Determining priority fields and screen compositions, tackling the problem of address numbering and report facilities, required unhurried time. The lists were meticulously prepared for data-scanning by Optiram and were eventually uploaded in 1990. The subsequent data check has been an on-going exercise. Loading new data and amending existing records are essential if the system is to be reliable: it will never be able to replace the paper lists.

The benefits of the list computerization are significant, though the database has the potential to offer much more comprehensive information than we cannot at present obtain. A listing enquiry can be answered rapidly with the minimum of information (even when the parish in which the subject lies is not known, as the information can be traced through a wildcard search): the description can be printed on the spot, avoiding a time-consuming visit to a central photocopying machine with a heavy volume.

The full potential of the database will only be realized when the remaining data fields have been filled. At present the data comprises only that of the descriptive lists. One of the most desirable tasks requiring attention is the application of building classifications. The manual and index to the classifications are drafted but the professional time and staff to carry out the work are not available. Nonetheless, it is possible already to search in the address field and useful, time-saving print-outs on a variety of subjects, from hearse houses and steadings to cinemas and ferrieries, have been made, facilitating and informing decisions on grant, recording, further listing and consent work. In conjunction with the classification work the extraction of architects (and other authors) and dates to the fields allocated is to be achieved: this will enhance the existing provision considerably, for example, the question 'how many lodges did David Bryce build in the Lothian region?' could be answered in minutes.

Provision has been made on the database for reference data on Listed Building Consent cases, Grant information and subjects of Inheritance Tax exemption. This information will be confidential, and only accessible by chosen staff. Further fields requiring data entry are the Threatened Building and N.M.R.S. numbers (both R.C.A.H.M.S. systems), and the S.A.M. (Scheduled Ancient Monument) number, each to indicate that information exists on the property in a linked database. The fields for Conservation Area and Area status similarly require to be filled.

Several Local Authority planning departments have been provided with the lists for their area downloaded on computer tape for inclusion in their nascent databases: it is hoped this service will be continued and extended to a wider audience.

Together with listing information, the Historic Buildings database also includes a photograph labelling system, providing a further invaluable service and search facility, with the ability to identify a negative number for a further copy and to reprint labels with no effort.

Preparations for Historic Scotland's move to Longmore House in 1994 include a development strategy for the information systems of the agency, focusing on the downsizing of the database from the Scottish Office mainframe to a Unix system. The advances proposed include the arrival of a local area network, electronic mail, and wider access to the various databases.