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A BULLETIN OF THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

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# Conservation bulletin

## Modern Times

For many younger people, the buildings and landscapes of the late 20th century are already heritage. So where does the historic environment begin and end?

Built to celebrate the future in a disused china-clay quarry that is a monument to Cornwall's industrial past, the Eden Project has become an icon of the new leisure culture of the early 21st century. Will it in turn become the heritage of tomorrow? © English Heritage.NMR





ENGLISH HERITAGE

# Editorial: Modern Times

**Today's landscapes have the potential to become tomorrow's heritage, but how do we know what matters and what to preserve.**

We all claim to know that the historic environment matters, and we are beginning to understand why and how it contributes to quality of life and social and cultural identity. But how well do we really understand the composition of the historic environment and what it represents for most people? Is there consensus on what we allow into the heritage 'club' and what are the rules of admission? What do we leave at the door because it is thought to be too new or too everyday – and often both? How and when should its definition be extended into modern times, a period for which we have an abundance of site types, perceptions, experience and sources? By recognising the historic environment as an artefact – a construct, the result of the action and interaction of natural and human factors – and by taking a long-term perspective on future views of our own times, we can ensure that recent changes are recognised alongside those of antiquity; and we can begin to recognise their evidential value, their capacity to teach us about ourselves and about contemporary society.

Current definitions of heritage – what matters, what shapes our landscapes and lives – revolve partly around the concept of time. MORI's 2000 report *Attitudes Towards the Heritage* found that most people disagreed with the notion that anything after 1950 does not count as heritage. Instead, they felt it was important to preserve modern buildings for future generations. In each case younger people are most likely to take a broader viewpoint. Age therefore matters – to those aged over 65, 1950 represents young adulthood, while to those under 20 it is effectively ancient history.

Heritage is also a personal thing. In the *Attitudes* survey, for example, conceptions of heritage among non-white participants tended to emphasise non-built, cultural issues such as ways of life and culinary traditions. As their deeper roots lie elsewhere, it is perhaps not surprising that their perceptions of heritage are more focused on things that are transportable, or the buildings and places that they themselves have constructed and used. For some participants, the 'traditional' English concepts of heritage, like country houses and monuments, meant very little. Perhaps it is time to wonder how 'relevant' these canonical things are to any of us, or at least whether that relevance needs to be as exclusive as it was in the past.

The historic environment matters to almost everyone, but not in the same way to each of us, nor in the same way as it did even 10 years ago. And just as our perceptions, experiences and valuations change, so the environment itself is changing, usually in response to broader political, economic and social trends – the farming landscape for example; new landscapes of industry and retail; the motorway network; sustainable communities; and holiday resorts and destinations. We may not always like the new places these changes introduce; we may not agree with them. But by taking an archaeological perspective and recognising the increasing depth of stratigraphy within the English landscape, our 'Modern Times' become legitimised as just one more part of a much longer-term landscape history. Others in the future will rewrite history and reassess our generation's contribution to the historic environment, but that need not inhibit us from forming our own views. And as well as being part of history – even of the most recent part – modern things provide a necessary bridge to the future.

John Schofield
*Characterisation Team, English Heritage*

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# Images of change

**The contemporary world is all around us, but to understand its significance we need to learn new ways of looking and seeing.**

## Change and creation: the new English landscape, 1950–2000

Sefryn Penrose
*Atkins Heritage*
John Schofield
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'. . . since the year 1914, every single change in the English landscape has either uglified it or destroyed its meaning, or both. It is a distasteful subject, but it must be faced for a few moments.'

So begins the final chapter of W G Hoskins's *The Making of the English Landscape*, first published in 1955. The book unravelled the landscape of the English countryside, its features and elements – roads, fields and towns – and tied them into a bigger picture of economic, cultural and social development from prehistoric times. Hoskins inspired the archaeology of landscape and developed a way of looking at the material environment in order to understand its layers, its stratigraphy, origins and foundations.

Hoskins also regarded the landscape changes of his own time with distaste, and those remnants of what had gone before with a reverence divined from keen deductive observation. His way of looking at the landscape fed new disciplines, now well established, such as local history studies and landscape archaeology. Following these earlier traditions, archaeologists have since studied the post-medieval period: the Industrial Revolution, the webs of the Colonial period, war and turmoil in the early half of the 20th century. Now, amidst the enormous change wrought by the technological revolution of the later 20th century, some archaeologists have even begun to study our contemporary lives.

### The familiar past?

English Heritage's Change and Creation programme, and the new book *Images of Change: An Archaeology of England's Contemporary Landscape* (see p 47 for further details), continue the Hoskins tradition by extending the view into landscapes of the later 20th century. These are supposedly familiar places to most of us, but how well do we really understand them? Both the programme and the book mark the beginning of a discussion. They do so by offering a snapshot of the post-war landscape as it stands at the beginning of the 21st century, an exploration of how it has evolved and how it affects its people. It is a way of seeing the monumental change around us 'which it is hoped', to quote Hoskins, 'will appeal to all those who like to travel intelligently, to get away from the guide-book show-pieces now and then, and to unearth the reason behind what they are looking at'.

'By looking at our contemporary surroundings, we can use them to explore our own pasts.'

Archaeology uses an interpretative eye to identify the meanings and histories that still sit in the ground, that tell us about the past in a way no other discipline can. The material remnants of an age can support or refute its official history: deposits of everyday rubbish may tell a different story from that recorded in the diary of an aristocrat. Perhaps our own mythologised memories and the written histories of our period will also tell different stories. By looking at our contemporary surroundings, we can use them to explore our own pasts. Of course, we are never free from

The Ida Darwin Hospital, Fulbourn, Cambridge.

our own biases and beliefs, but *Images of Change* gives us some distance by seeking to defamiliarise the landscapes that we know, and so allow us to look closer into them and to interpret them in our own time.

### Frameworks

As with any other resource, landscapes are divided into named types and each can be described and examined from different perspectives. *Images of Change* breaks our later 20th-century landscape into four fragments of the period's experience: *people, politics, profit* and *pleasure*. This is a structure reflected also in this issue of *Conservation Bulletin*. Within each section, the landscape is further divided into entries that only sometimes connect. A focused picture of the landscape, as one might experience it in everyday life, zooms out to an aerial view that allows us to look at the 3-D model of these creations. Take, for example, planned estates, prisons and football stadia. The neatness of their edges, the linearity of their connections is clear, whether in the shape of roads, industry or other adjacent interlocking elements. These are not incomprehensible forms, but intricate designs that have been developed to meet specific needs. A few less formal types – protest sites, the places of homelessness – are hidden somehow in wider landscapes, but are nevertheless familiar. Through-out our research for *Images*, each entry was considered in the context of its chronological evolution, but an archaeological uncovering of its form is never without the imprint of our own experiences.

### *Images of Change*

*Images of Change* is intended to be the beginning of a national discussion about history, memory and our experiences of the landscape. It is meant to be a popular book, but will have relevance also among professionals – planners, archaeologists, historians and architects. It is interdisciplinary in scope, content and relevance. It might provoke through both its omissions – where is Sunderland's Stadium of Light? where is the influence of immigration? – and its inclusions – why so much south-east? why *that* golf-course? what makes travel 'social' and hospitals 'political'? A few readers may condemn it to landfill and the archaeological excavation of the future. *Images of Change* is, however, a tool for understanding our own journeys in our own landscape, for understanding the recent past from within. For each of us, the material of our contemporary environment embodies gradations of meanings: monumental, fleeting, solid, or ephemeral. *Images of Change* gives an archaeological eye to this encounter, a tool with which to excavate ourselves.

> '*Images of Change* is a tool for understanding our own journeys in our own landscape, for understanding the recent past from within.'

In the end, the fragments and divisions that *Images of Change* presents are false. Archaeologists break things down to put them together again, to better understand the whole. Landscape is a single, albeit eclectic, thing: there is only one landscape of England. It is layered, peppered and authored,

New build in the M4 corridor near Reading.

RAF Fylingdales – alien objects, now removed from the North Yorkshire Moors.


changed and changing; but we travel easily from one section to another, enjoying 1990s' entertainment centres and the Chinese New Year, as much as we do 18th-century Bath or a ramble in the Lake District.

### Conclusion

Is now the right time to consider our modern heritage? There was a time when redundant quarries gave themselves to conversion to 20th-century sites, their boundaries offering ready-made perimeters to the self-containment required by the landscape features of the period: Thorpe Park in Surrey, the Cambridge Science Park, the Eden Project in Cornwall. Just as neatly, quarry sites lend themselves to disposal. The rubbish and rubble of the later 20th century becomes landfill. Durable forms are dismantled: 1950s' Broadmead, Bristol's post-war shopping centre, is now subject to redevelopment. As always, the English landscape is reused, recycled, resculpted. In our view we should now look at what remains, to review where and how we have lived, before we are left with just footprints, documentary records, and memories.

*In addition to the authors, the Change and Creation team comprises: Andrea Bradley (Atkins Heritage), Victor Buchli (University College London), Graham Fairclough (English Heritage), Dan Hicks (University of Oxford) and Janet Miller (Atkins Heritage)*

## The post-industrial sublime

Antony Gormley
*Sculptor*

I can remember as a schoolboy walking north-east over the North Yorkshire Moors beyond Pickering and first seeing the Fylingdales early warning station – three huge balls, alien objects in an open, windswept, heatherland with few paths and roads. They were blindingly white, interestingly indented and changed the landscape and the way one felt in it completely.

The post-war landscape of Britain has been transformed by three things: the motorway (with the concomitant loss of railways), the high-rise tower and the decline of manufacturing and the arrival of the megashed. You could also argue that the way we perceive and engage with the land has also changed – fewer of us work with and in it, the land becoming something to be passed through, most usually in a car, where we are inoculated from direct contact by speed and steel. In the English picturesque, a landscape worthy of being painted had to have some aspect of the sublime (the untamed meeting the ordered) and an absence of evidence of work. It was considered

'The post-war landscape of Britain has been transformed by three things: the motorway, the high-rise tower and the arrival of the megashed.'

The new landscape of Canary Wharf, emerging in the later 20th century.
© English Heritage

important to have a ruin, castle or monument to help see it in a poetic way. Today we have escaped the 18th century's decorum, but we still look on the land in remarkably historic ways. I would suggest that the network of motorways is our most potent unconscious monument and it, rather than the park, determines the way that we relate to the landscape of this dear overcrowded group of islands that we call home. I would suggest it is the hidden workings of the structures that we see from these motorways that have become at once the Gothic ruins and the elements of Burkian terror in our sublime, and that give our prospects their sense of beauty.

> 'All of these objects puncture and punctuate the land, making it a landscape at work.'

If we take the M1, our first motorway, and think of what we see from it, we will get a sense of the way in which this works. First the 'Amazon' sheds just north of Watford that lie like great white mattresses in the verdant countryside, then, further on, also to the west, the forest of verticals that make up the Rugby radio-mast field, fine engineered towers that rise more than 245 metres with taut guy ropes angled among the grazing sheep. Next, a hundred or so miles further up, the two elegant Meadowfield cooling towers that stand thrillingly close to the raised motorway as it cuts through Sheffield. Later to the west near Huddersfield the exhilarating Emsley Moor transmitter, a 330-metre-high round concrete tower like an endless Oldenburg baseball bat. Further on after crossing the River Ouse, steamclouds rise from the three groups of cooling towers of the Drax power station. All of this before the M1 turns into the A1 and the *Angel of the North* comes into view. All of these objects puncture and punctuate the land, making it a landscape at work – even while we have ceased to work within it and most bodily signs of work have been erased.

Returning to London down the M1, it is the tower of Canary Wharf, with its super-white blinking light, that marks the Thames Valley and the capital's place within it.

I agree with Bill Bryson that the British countryside is an artefact and that it should be appreciated as such. However I also believe that its continual evolution and its transformation, not least by the pylon (another silent neural net in the land), is what gives it the potential of being read.

These markers – the road, the tower, the pylon and the megastore – tell us a great deal. They are all structures of transformation. We still hang on to a romantic view of the past, and the past is all we have to deal with – but it could be argued that the most recent past has as much to tell us as the deep past. ■

Anthony Gormley, *Event Horizon 2007*. Twenty-seven fibreglass and four cast-iron figures, 189 × 53 × 29 cm.
© Courtesy of the artist and Jay Jopling/White Cube. Photo: Richard Bryant

# Social Landscapes – People and their Lives

**Post-war housing and communication have transformed our towns and countryside, but within them older patterns and habits still survive.**

England is a landscape of housing estates peppered with tower blocks and mock vernacular gables, of Victorian sprawl alongside private closes, and of new towns budding out of the old. These places of habitation are joined by motorways and driveways, and overlooked by angular-steepled churches with abstract stained glass, domed mosques and Thai-style temples. Aeroplanes stack above, waiting to descend. The post-war social landscape of England represents at every turn a distinct departure from historical form, and yet at the same time, as many continuities in old forms, old concerns and old habits. The level of change impressed on England's landscape in the post-war period is evident in the generations of residential building or expansion and the increasing physical mobility of its citizens. Cities and towns have morphed into shapes inconceivable in pre-war years and the separation of rural and urban has become blurred and muddled as commuters flit between them. Few spaces in the country are unaffected by the sound of the internal combustion engine, and automobile touring has given way to the steady acceptance of the car as personal space, an extension of home and one of life's necessities.

The M1: a changing landscape.


## Post-war suburbs and the new urbanism: Lincoln's Ermine estates

David Walsh
*Townscape Heritage Manager, City of Lincoln Council*

Lincoln's post-war suburbs are often overlooked. However, these areas are important for residents and worthy of attention as part of people's heritage and as illustrative of life lived towards the end of the 20th century. Given Lincoln's limited size, there should be scope for residents and visitors alike to appreciate all 2,000 years of the city's history, including its more recent developments.

### Lincoln Townscape Assessment

The Lincoln Townscape Assessment (LTA) is a three-year characterisation project funded by English Heritage and the City of Lincoln Council. The LTA will assess the 'inherited' townscape of the whole city (not just the earlier, 'historic' areas). It will look at the development of its current character, its urban form (including aspects considered in current urban design) and local people's views. The council will use the resulting characterisation to provide a context for new developments and to help foster a sense of place, identity and community.

Current urban-design thinking is concerned with creating lively places with distinctive character which are economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. The principles for achieving this include (after CABE 2000): character (including local identity); continuity and enclosure (defining the enclosure of spaces, and public/private spaces); quality of the public realm (attractive, safe, effective public spaces and routes); ease of movement (good permeability and connectivity); legibility (recognisable routes and landmarks); and adaptability and diversity (mix of uses and developments, including building types).

Lincoln has recently undergone an Enquiry by Design exercise facilitated by the Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment to produce a city-centre masterplan. To understand the context of the city centre the surrounding urban and suburban areas were also addressed. The LTA will now characterise each of these areas in more detail, providing an opportunity for specific and accessible information to help understand the current townscape, and inform any future interventions. It also provides an opportunity to analyse what existing townscapes have to offer as sustainable neighbourhoods. It should be noted that in Lincoln the post-war suburbs are not covered by any heritage designations.

## The Ermine estates

The Ermine East and Ermine West estates are situated between radial roads heading north from the city centre. They were built by the council, mainly in the 1950s, as part of the city's post-war development, by an engineer-led team. The estates constitute 9 per cent of the built-up area of Lincoln and span wards that are identified as containing areas of multiple deprivation.

The Ermine estates display many of the characteristics of immediate post-war design and development. The majority of housing is of traditional height and has a broad uniformity of form and style, mostly plain two-storey semi-detached houses and rows of houses in red/brown brick with shallow pitched roofs of concrete tiles. The houses have limited decorative detailing and shallow curved, or flat, hoods over doorways. This housing, with private front and back gardens, is on a more domestic scale than the post-war high-rise housing that often attracts more attention. It continues the tradition of inter-war semi-detached houses, although in a much plainer style.

However, there is a surprising variety of building types. There are bungalows, three-storey apartment blocks with concrete balconies, sometimes in long rows marking the edges of the estates, pre-fabricated 'Cornish' houses and 'Hawksley' bungalows; and one high-rise apartment block, Trent View. At the time of building this variety of housing types provided an appropriate balance between cost and housing density, as well as meeting wider 'market' demands. Nearly all the residential streets are overlooked by doors and windows, which provides an aspect of safety that is welcomed by residents.

The streets are sinuous, with a loose geometric pattern. There are many cul-de-sacs in Ermine West, and more curved and looping streets in Ermine East. Both estates have some large awkwardly shaped urban blocks, especially around their edges, which together with the sinuous street pattern inhibit permeability and movement across the area. The townscape can be quite disorientating for visitors. Through-traffic has also been segregated from the housing, as was the intention at the time, and access to the estates is very limited from nearby main roads.

A design feature of the post-war period, and today, is that civic buildings/amenities are at road junctions and so mainly on the periphery of estates. However, the civic buildings of the Ermine estates almost invariably sit in the middle of large individual plots, mostly behind car parking. This results, in part, in the absence of a 'town square' in either estate. Although there are some shops there is little commercial activity.

The public spaces include many 'greens' with houses facing on to them, a characteristic of some post-war estate designs. Today the greens have often been reduced by parking spaces and very few incorporate a shop or civic building. In some

The Ermine East Estate, Lincoln: public buildings in discrete plots with a variety of types of housing around them. Note, the unusual St John the Baptist church.

areas long stretches of security fencing divide the houses from areas of open ground (now in poor condition). The main private spaces within the estates are front and back gardens.

There are many wide verges, often in odd curved shapes to accommodate the street pattern. These may have been designed by the engineers to produce good sight-lines for traffic. There are areas of garaging, now often unkempt and in awkward locations, which also reflect the response of the period to increased car use.

The Ermine estates are of their time, though with earlier landscape elements that have survived and contribute to their current character. For example, the estates are named after the Roman Ermine Street. Their northern boundary is defined by the city boundary, in some places marked by traces of a medieval ditch and bank. The street pattern is not influenced by post-enclosure field boundaries, probably because the area was developed as one unit by the council. However, former field boundaries mark some of the edges of the housing developments.

### Character and community

The characterisation of the Ermine estates shows the importance of fully understanding local character and providing detailed information in the context of current urban design approaches. It shows, for example, that the lack of a 'town square' detracts from neighbourhood centres, even where civic buildings are near junctions. It is not possible to dismiss existing post-war suburbs as offering little for sustainable towns, and in some areas the similarity in design approaches from the two periods is illuminating. As current design guidelines suggest, there is no blueprint: each area requires its own solution.

The LTA has completed a draft characterisation of the Ermine estates. The next, and most important, step is to see what local residents think. This may be done as part of the Local Strategic Partnership's Neighbourhood Management Approach. Consultation already carried out for the LTA in other areas has shown that local people are enthused by focusing on the character of their area, however modern, and understand its contribution to defining future changes and taking locally held views into account.

REFERENCE
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## New townscapes of South Yorkshire: housing from the 1960s to the 21st century

Dan Ratcliffe
*Historic Environment Characterisation Project Officer, South Yorkshire Archaeology Service*

The ongoing South Yorkshire Historic Environment Characterisation (HEC) Project was initiated to provide decision-makers with a comprehensive account of a complex and highly urbanised environment. The urban area of this former metropolitan county has expanded hugely since the early 19th century with many earlier villages and market centres, as well as much former countryside, engulfed by the rapidly growing centres of Barnsley, Doncaster, Rotherham and Sheffield. Perhaps as a consequence of this rapid expansion, the area has not generally been treated as one with historic interest, being understood rather as a self-consciously modern environment. The emerging findings of this project are helping to challenge this simplification.

### South Yorkshire HEC

The HEC project records areas of common historic form and date within the present landscape, as well as the legibility of earlier landscape characteristics. The resulting database is being used to define and describe particular landscape trends, such as the development of suburban areas or the late 20th-century regeneration of post-industrial land. The following case studies describe two characteristic types of high-density housing built in Sheffield since the mid-20th century. They show how the project can assess time depth in the modern landscape and highlight the historical processes operating on landscapes of late 20th-century origin, as well as legitimising these recent buildings as objects of study and with evidential significance in their own right. This will provide closer understanding of the way changes in the physical environment reflect underlying social trends – such as the increased enclosure and surveillance of modern developments which may in part reflect the shift towards privatised rather than public housing provision.

### Municipal housing 1955–70

Analysis of HEC data for areas developed or redeveloped between 1955 and 1970 shows a clear trend towards municipal rather than private building. This period is characterised by very large areas (50–200 hectares) of system-built housing, mostly blocks of flats (both high and low rise) around which large communal spaces were

provided (rather than the private enclosed gardens provided at earlier municipal estates of the 1930s).

HEC data record the relationship between these housing landscapes and the earlier landscapes they replaced. A clear typological difference can be shown between those built on the sites of earlier terraced and back-to-back housing and those built over rural land, providing a glimpse of values ascribed to those landscapes at the time of their development. The inner-city estates tended to remove all physical traces of the earlier streets, leaving very little within the developments to give historic legibility, while in areas of countryside more use was made of existing landscape features. For example, within the Gleadless Estate, on the south side of Sheffield, trees, hedgerows, ancient woodlands and even a cruck-built vernacular farm building were incorporated into the new design, giving the estate a general grade of 'fragmentary to partial' legibility of earlier landscape character.

In the long term, the characterisation project provides a baseline for more detailed study of these estates and for deeper analysis of the radical new ways of living that these new physical environments provided for their residents. In the short term, the project provides an accessible evidence base for forward-planning exercises concerning their future. One unit of this type is already designated as a heritage asset (the Grade II*-listed Park Hill Flats); current and recent drives to demolish or renovate and re-launch many of these estates may require us to look in further detail at their preservation or recording.

### City-living apartments since 1990

The most recent residential type identifiable from HEC data within Sheffield comprises high-density 'gated communities'. This type represents the vast majority of both high- and low-rise apartment buildings developed in the city since the 1990s. The type initially appears diverse in character, including both new-build apartments and the reuse of existing buildings, giving a range of legibility of former environments. This variety derives from the fact that these developments are often sited on land formerly occupied by obsolete industrial or institutional buildings. However, the developments share characteristics in the ways in which private, public and communal space are laid out. Access to most of these developments is generally separated from the public street-network by a communal area to which access is secured (normally by a physical boundary such as a gate), with activity within the area kept under surveillance by private security firms via CCTV.

Analysis of the small but growing number of these developments shows that a significant proportion retain architectural features from earlier environments (for example, fragments of historic breweries and cutlery workshops, and the frontage of an early 20th-century cinema). In addition, some developments reuse large parts of earlier historic environments. In Sheffield, examples include a listed former workhouse and later hospital complex where the boundary wall forms the basis of the gated complex and the former cell blocks have been redeveloped as luxury apartment buildings!

Gleadless Rollestone: Gleadless Estate (built from 1955) retains medieval woodlands and fragments of earlier strip-field boundaries. Building types were designed according to their locations on the steep valley sides.

'Anchor Point', Bramall Lane, Sheffield, a privately built apartment development (built 2007). Access to the development and its communal gardens and car parking is controlled by remotely operated security gates.


These are privately funded developments and it is interesting to speculate how much of the retention and reuse seen within them is the result of a perceived heritage dividend and how much is the result of dialogue with the local council and national heritage agencies. Some of the retained elements are listed or lie within Conservation Areas; others are simply local landmark buildings.

By looking holistically at the historic environment as a phenomenon that exists throughout the landscape rather than in pockets of special interest or 'heritage ghettos', and by including the contemporary, we hope to deliver a more inclusive and responsive account of its character – one which takes account of the heritage of all periods.

For more information on the project please visit: http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/?pgid=32282&fs=s

## The car: an agent of transformation

John Minnis
*Research and Standards, English Heritage*

The car is responsible for some of the greatest transformations in the modern landscape. This article looks at the changes in the West Midlands brought about by the contraction in car-making capacity and the visual impact of the conflicting demands of speeding up and slowing down traffic flow.

### Car-making

The decline of the British motor industry is well documented. Although the numbers of cars manufactured or assembled in England today are not much lower than those produced by the industry in what is perceived to be its heyday, the number of plants in the traditional home of car-making, the West Midlands, has declined. Instead, the greenfield sites established by Honda in Swindon, Nissan in Sunderland and Toyota in Derby account for much current production.

The collapse of MG Rover in 2005 and the subsequent closure of the vast Longbridge plant attracted much publicity. Although Nanjing Automotive have announced the resumption of car production on part of the site, the physical impact of the closure is enormous. The proposals for the Area Action Plan prepared by Birmingham City Council and Bromsgrove District Council envisage the replacement of 30 hectares of factory buildings by housing, mixed-use development and a technology park. Nanjing will retain only 42 hectares in the centre of the former Austin site; the North, New West, East and Lower South Works are all in the process of demolition. The Lower South Works includes the site of the original factory established by Herbert Austin in 1906 although no fabric from that period remains. The loss of so much of the plant has great significance for many Birmingham residents, for whom 'the Austin' has been a familiar landmark.

The closures of the Peugeot plant at Ryton and the Jaguar plant at Browns Lane represent the end of large-scale car production in Coventry, the centre of the industry since its inception in the 1890s. Less publicised is the closure of many smaller plants producing components, which has also impacted on the landscape. For example, the Peugeot plant at Stoke on the south-east side of Coventry, home to the former Humber and Hillman factories, parts of which dated back to the 1900s, has been greatly reduced in size and much of the site freed up for redevelopment as an office park and for housing.

Another factor dramatically changing Coventry's landscape is the new fashion for apartment blocks close to city centres. This, combined

with a seemingly insatiable demand for offices, has led to the demolition in the last 10 years of many of the earlier factories located in an inner belt of less than a mile's radius of Coventry city centre, where site values are greater than rent yields from industrial usage. In a number of cases, front office blocks of some architectural distinction, such as the former Swift works (now an Ibis hotel) or the Singer works (now Coventry University housing), have been retained and integrated into the new development, but the distinctive factory buildings with their north-light roofs have almost invariably been demolished. A definitive study of Britain's car factories was published in 1993 (Collins and Stratton 1993): since then nearly half of the significant plants in Coventry have been demolished, including some of the largest such as Daimler at Radford and most of the Standard/Triumph Canley works.

## Roads

New roads form a substantial component of the West Midlands landscape. The days are now gone when a tightly drawn and visually intrusive ring road such as Coventry's, constructed in the 1960s and 1970s, with its disregard for historic street patterns and archaeology, could be built. Opposition to road building remains intense and the M6 toll road, intended to relieve congestion on the crowded stretch of the M6 through Birmingham and the Black Country, was attacked for the amount of land it would take up. The junctions between the new road and the M42 south of Birmingham certainly bear this out with substantial areas of land rendered unusable, locked within the swirling curvature of the intersections. But these sinuous curves have an appeal, making an impact on the countryside even greater than that of 19th-century railway builders.

While many Victorians, following the example of Ruskin, deplored the impact of the railways, others were transfixed by their sublimity; it is hard today, outside the ranks of highway engineers, to detect such reactions to roads – we confine our adulation to the cars in which we travel not the infrastructure that enables us to do so. Things may change. 'Spaghetti Junction', the complex interchange on the M6 at Gravelly Hill, already provokes an enthusiastic reaction from some Birmingham residents – it is seen as one of the things that makes the city distinctive; will it one day inspire the affection that led to the inclusion of the Rotunda as an integral part of the new Birmingham city centre?

## Speed

The M6 toll road is intended to speed up traffic flow but more effort today goes into ways of slowing drivers down. The whole litany of traffic-calming measures – the speed hump and the chicane with its attendant clutter of signage being the most common – has become familiar to all motorists. So too has the separation of drivers and pedestrians – one of the central tenets of town planning since the Second World War. But changes are on the way. The government is actively promoting Home Zones, where road users and pedestrians share space. An innovative housing scheme at Newhall, Harlow (Essex) has turned many traditional traffic-planning measures on their heads.

Conventional wisdom dictated wide sight-lines on corners, something that in the past led to the destruction of many historic buildings in the name of safety. At Newhall, trees are introduced at junctions as view-blockers so that motorists have to slow down. Roads traditionally had to be covered with prominent white markings to indicate who had priority at junctions: a message reinforced by yet more signage. There are no road markings at Newhall so drivers again have to slow down because they are not sure who has priority. As there are no pavements on the narrow roads, there is no demarcation between pedestrian and driver, with the result that drivers proceed

A Midland landmark: Spaghetti Junction on the M6 motorway. It is only from the air that its impact on the landscape can be fully appreciated.

A road junction at Newhall, Harlow, marked by a raised platform with decorative insets in the paving. The adjacent tree is intended to obscure the motorists' view and make them slow down – the exact opposite to the traditional notion of providing clear sightlines at junctions. The side road has a continuous surface with no distinction between pedestrian and car space.


extremely slowly without the need for speed humps. Safer streets without clutter may be a significant step in reducing the visual dominance of the car as we move into the second century of mass motoring.

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## People we knew – blue plaques and the later 20th century

Susan Skedd
*Blue Plaques Historian, English Heritage*

In 1867 the (Royal) Society of Arts erected the first blue plaques in London and today there are just over 800 in the capital. Right from the start, the purpose of a blue plaque was to celebrate the connection between an illustrious individual and a building in which he or she lived or worked. English Heritage – which took charge of the scheme in 1986 – adheres strictly to the long-established principle that plaques can only be placed on the actual house inhabited by the nominated figure, and not on the site where it once stood. At present, the vast majority of the plaques in London commemorate 18th- or 19th-century dwellings rather than post-war structures. One notable exception is 19 North End, Hampstead, London NW3, where Michael Ventris (1922–56), the architect and decipherer of Linear B script, lived from 1953 to 1956. Designed by Ventris and his wife Lois, this simple brick-built house was built in 1952–3 and fitted out with furniture by Marcel Breuer.

Candidates for blue plaques cannot be considered until 20 years after their death or until the centenary of their birth, so most of the people commemorated are figures who predate the post-war era. However, an increasing number of candidates are individuals who were active in the second half of the 20th century. While this trend is to be welcomed, it raises some interesting dilem-

## The M1

Although not the first UK motorway, the M1 is arguably the defining icon of the motorway age, and is already nearing its 50th birthday. The M1 and its structures have become historic monuments in their own right. Artist Matthew Walter's photographic study of the changing M1 landscape during current widening between junctions 6a and 10 (commissioned from the Highways Agency through Balfour Beatty – Skanska – Atkins) throws the familiar road into unfamiliar relief (see photo on p 7). His photographs illustrate the interaction between road and landscape – two halves of a landscape, in fact, divided since construction. In his work, which documents the process of change, the landscape appears fluid, altering continuously. Temporary landscapes and spaces spring up – lunar craters and peaks evolve from miniature mountain ranges of gravel and displaced earth; irregular organic mounds and scars contrast with the nuts and bolts of road construction, the disciplined rows of concrete tubing, traffic cones and steel girders. And in his night shots, the road provides the definitive illustration of the 24-hour culture of motorways. There is never true darkness, and highway illumination colludes with moonlight for the road to take on an entirely new character. Striking images in multi-colours, light and dark, still and active, show what distinguishes the road, makes it unique, and reveals its true character: dramatic, sometimes foreboding, the embodiment of tensions between historic optimism and present-day frustration.

Andrea Bradley and Matthew Walter
*Atkins Heritage*


The plaque to Dennis Gabor at 79 Queen's Gate, South Kensington, London SW7, which was installed by Ernie Butler, an English Heritage contractor.
© Susan Skedd, English Heritage

mas as it is often difficult to evaluate the lasting contribution of historical figures from the recent past. This is especially true in fields such as television and radio, film, and popular music, which are teeming with familiar household names. These issues are thoroughly debated by the Blue Plaques Panel, which advises English Heritage on which people – nearly all of whom are proposed by the public – should be honoured with a blue plaque.

What kind of snapshot of 'modern times' does the blue plaques scheme offer us? Among those honoured for achievements that typify the modern world are the sculptor Henry Moore (1898–1986), the composer Benjamin Britten (1913–76), the first President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah (1909–72), and the pioneer of DNA, Rosalind Franklin (1920–58). A lighter note is provided by the film producer Sir Michael Balcon (1896–1977), who masterminded the Ealing comedies in the 1940s and 1950s, and Alfred Bestall (1892–1986), illustrator of the Rupert Bear cartoon strip in the *Daily Express*. Proof of the eclecticism that lies at the heart of the scheme is provided by two plaques that were unveiled within days of each other in 2006: the founder of the Royal Ballet, Dame Ninette de Valois (1898–2001) and the physicist and inventor of holography, Dennis Gabor (1900–79). Over the next few years, we can look forward to adding to the list of post-war luminaries, with the enticing prospect of commemorating figures such as the architect Basil Spence (1907–76) and the creator of the Welfare State, Lord Beveridge (1879–1963). ■

## OPINION

When is the right time to do the archaeology of something? At the beginning of the 21st century our circumstances are different from other periods, in terms of the sheer over-abundance of information and things in which we are immersed. Many aspects of human experience are literally buried – silent and invisible. Material changes happen so quickly that it is rather difficult to make sense of them. These conditions are not unlike the more traditional settings of archaeological work, where lack of information has similarly rendered whole realms of human activity mute and invisible. Archaeology as a consequence has developed sophisticated tools with which to make sense of such circumstances. But archaeological interventions are overtly political, often engaging directly with life's raw and painful nerves, such as homelessness, social exclusion, war crimes, and reconciliation. We have the technologies to access almost everything if we want to – and the freedom to be deliberate and strategic. But more importantly we have responsibilities towards the communities, individuals, and institutions directly implicated by archaeological work into the recent past in helping them come to terms with the obscured and often painful circumstances of contemporary life. Under these circumstances, archaeology should be socially relevant. It must earn its keep.

Victor Buchli

Archaeological interventions in the modern world can engage directly with life's raw and painful nerves, such as various forms of social exclusion.
© John Schofield

# Profitable Landscapes – Industry, Business and Agriculture

**From inner city to remote rural countryside, a new post-war industrial revolution has transformed the landscapes of work.**

The England of smog-ridden factory streets, grim mining towns and rustic agricultural landscape – the England of Dickens, Gaskell, Lawrence and Hardy – had gone by the end of the 20th century. Its remains had been transformed – city warehouses into bijou flats, mining towns into declining wastelands, the rustic south into the commuter belt. We farm in new ways – bigger fields, new crops. New 'soft' industry now slots into the crooks of land between major transport infrastructure and over former sites of heavy industry. City centres are no longer dominated by a skyline of choking chimneys and hydraulic lifts but by high-tech and high-finance office blocks. Industry has left the city, in many ways outgrown it, and inhabits out-of-town nests – hubs in a global network – delivering its eggs on to the anywhere-anytime motorway system. The advent of the computer changed the way that business, industry, agriculture and infrastructure were run. Human involvement became less and less necessary as mechanisation gave way to automation. Miniaturisation was furthered by the invention of the computer chip. The digital age had begun.

Landscapes of retail, storage and redistribution, near Wembley in north London.


## Prairies and sheds? The farming landscape since 1950

Jeremy Lake
*Characterisation Team, English Heritage*
Andy Wigley
*Shropshire County Council*

Since the 19th century, the farming landscape has been subject to the often conflicting and paradoxical demands of urban values and global markets. Today, 80 per cent of England is farmland, yet less than 2 per cent of the population is employed in agriculture. The development from 1986 of environmentally friendly farming (including agri-environment schemes) has reflected increasing concerns about the impact of production-based subsidies and the requirement for more integrated and sustainable approaches to land management. During the same period, the size of individual agricultural holdings has continued to increase from already high levels, while new lifestyle buyers have made further inroads into the land market, just as middle-sized family farms have come under particular pressure.

### Landscape change

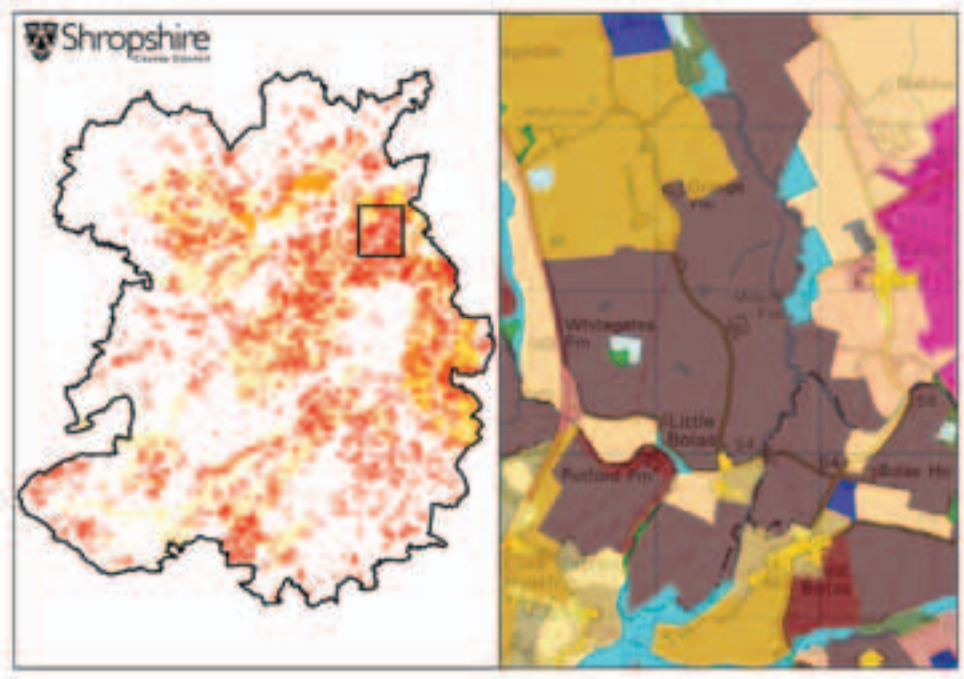
Much of the language used to describe the changes wrought on the farming landscape since 1950 has been in terms of loss – the uprooting of hedgerows to create 'prairie fields', the replacement of traditional barns with factory-style sheds and the impact of intensive farming techniques on fauna, flora and archaeological sites. Since the Scott report of 1942 and subsequent planning acts, planning policy has been based on a definition of the 'intrinsic character and beauty' of the countryside – a term which lends weight to the perception of the countryside as unchanging and as an anchor of tranquillity and beauty in a rapidly changing world, but which obscures the role of past creation and change in shaping this character.

Measuring the impact of this change – such as the loss of more than 400,000 km of hedgerows since 1950 – depends on a broader understanding of the inherited character of these landscapes and of the new drivers for change. Some landscapes have been shaped by a long history of arable cultivation and much of the loss of 112,000 km of field

boundaries occurred during the capital-intensive 'High Farming' period between1850 and 1880. Arable intensification in other areas, such as the claylands of Suffolk where dairying had been steadily eclipsed by arable farming since the Napoleonic Wars, has commonly involved the removal of hedgerows that have played a key role in supporting biodiversity within anciently enclosed landscapes. The response should not simply be to 'restore' such hedgerows to where they were in the late 19th century, but to accept that new boundaries, banks and buffer strips, aimed at restoring biodiversity and mitigating soil loss, will have to be functionally consistent with the requirements of modern agriculture. In places this has restored the pattern of pre-18th-century boundaries such as the large demesne farms of the medieval period.

The northern edge of the Lambourn Downs, showing Grim's Ditch on East Ginge Down. In the chalk downlands of southern England, post-1950 landscape management and rural sports have reinforced the inherited pattern of very large farms and large-scale enclosure landscapes, and the pattern of copses and blocks of woodland. © English Heritage.NMR

It is now widely predicted that the future development of farming landscapes will reflect not only the move to align UK agriculture with world markets and to reduce carbon emissions through biomass and energy crops but also the desire to conserve and enhance those of the most highly valued landscapes that are more suited to smaller-scale, diverse and high-value production. New landscapes will be created on larger farms, while smaller family and hobby farms are more likely to retain and utilise their inherited landscapes to the full. Understanding the spatial patterning of these changes, and how they are consistent with or diverge from the patterns inherited after the Second World War, is of fundamental importance. This is why English Heritage's contribution to the project Countryside Quality Counts (CQC, www.cqc.org.uk), which has sought to establish where and what kinds of changes are occurring in the countryside, has focused on the provision of historical profiles that




The distribution of post-1950 large-scale fields, from the Shropshire Historic Landscape Characterisation (left), shows that they are concentrated on the estate and sandstone farmlands of the county, where larger farms had developed by the 18th century on the more easily worked soils. The inset (right) shows how very large post-1950 fields (shown in dark brown) smoothed over a mosaic of inherited character that stretched from the 18th- and 19th-century enclosures of heathland and piecemeal enclosure of medieval fields, to water meadows on the floodplain.

extend beyond a single 'historic features' topic heading. In so doing, we recognise that landscape features such as woodland, moorland, even settlements, have both historical and ecological interest.

### Farmsteads and settlements

The future adaptation and management of the older building stock, in itself the result of change and in particular the need to house livestock in the 19th century, cannot be considered in isolation from post-1950 change. The integration of all the stages of food production and processing that have marked the post-1950 farming industry also found visible expression in the introduction of wide-span multi-purpose sheds in concrete, steel and asbestos. Based on American models and driven by the need to compete in a global market, these needed to provide for new machinery, environmental control, livestock welfare and labour efficiency.

Older buildings are often the focus of diversification schemes, but they also now command high property values, as they are in demand from lifestyle buyers for homes and for 'hobby farms'. The sensitive conversion of this building stock provides opportunities to enhance and reinforce local distinctiveness, build sustainable rural communities and contribute to the economies of rural areas. Work by the University of Sheffield for CQC and Communities and Local Government is showing that isolated farmsteads and hamlets are now absorbing as much housing growth as city areas, in proportion to their size, but involve quite different values (the desire to live in an iconic rural building, not simply the countryside) and actors (local builders and owners, rather than large-volume housebuilders).

The impact of large sheds, particularly for loose-housing and managing cattle, is seen on this Cotswold farmstead.


There is also increasing evidence that locally distinctive landscapes attract businesses, particularly home-based micro-businesses that are linked to broadband and are less reliant on car use, and which collaborate and contract work from within their own areas. However, although nearly 12 per cent of the economically active work from home in rural districts (census 2001) their contribution to the rural economy has remained hidden and largely unsupported.

### Conclusion

Positive solutions for managing change do not lie in turning back the clock – for example, restoring boundaries whatever their age or historical context – but in understanding the vital role of rural communities in shaping landscapes and the interaction between patterns of settlement, fields, woodland and architecture. The role of the historic environment sector is fundamental to informing an open debate about the type of rural landscapes that we can envisage in the centuries to come.

## Cars and chips: the diet that transformed Swindon's industrial landscapes

Keith Falconer
*Head of Industrial Archaeology, English Heritage*

Swindon, the archetypal 19th-century railway town, has witnessed a phenomenal transformation in post-war years. Now home to English Heritage's Swindon office in the largest heritage campus in Europe, and a commercial and industrial boomtown, it exemplifies the profound landscape changes that have occurred almost unheralded over the last half-century.

### Steam

On 18 March 1960, *Evening Star,* the last steam locomotive to be built under the aegis of British Railways, was 'out-shopped' from the former GWR Railway Engineering Works and a remarkable era began drawing to a close. Over the previous century a succession of illustrious railway engineers had presided over the works' expansion from a locomotive-maintenance facility employing some 400 workers into one of the largest engineering complexes in the country housing 14,000 railway staff. The Works, in terminal decline, were finally to close in 1986 and the *raison d'être* of the town and much of its landscape was apparently to disappear (Cattell and Falconer 2001). What happened since March 1960 confounded the prophets of doom and demonstrated the resilience of urban landscapes and their industrial components.

RAF Vertical photograph of Swindon Works 1960. Swindon's industrial core is surrounded by terraced housing. Only two roads pass under the main London to Bristol line in this view.


Swindon in the immediate post-war years was still dominated by the railway and its Engineering Works. In the Municipal Borough (1951 population 68,670) the majority of households had at least one member working 'inside' the Works while the railway itself, running east to west, was in effect a barrier to north–south circulation for much of its length in the urban area. The vast Works site, which comprised Central Stores and Traffic departments as well as locomotive, carriage and wagon workshops, straddled the railway and was the focus for a dense network of workers' housing. Almost no road entrances penetrated the site – this was a landscape of railway lines and sidings, pedestrian entrances and tunnels. Though the housing of New Swindon had spread up the hill to merge with Old Swindon and a civic and commercial centre had developed between the two, it was still essentially a landscape of terraced houses, corner pubs and corner shops. At its heart were the Railway Works and the Railway Village, terraces of cottages designed by Brunel that were clustered round the Mechanics Institution, Medical Dispensary and Swimming Baths. Despite some diversification in its industrial base in the inter-war years with firms such as Garrards opening factories, by the mid-1930s Swindon was at its lowest ebb. The railway works were stagnating, unemployment was at its highest-ever level, younger skilled workers commuted to Oxford to work in the car factories at Cowley and the population actually declined between 1931 and 1939.

## Wartime production

The Second World War and the remainder of the 20th century were witness to a profound transformation in the demography, economic base, industrial focus and overall character of Swindon. The seeds of that transformation were sown in the run-up to the war in the national programme of shadow factories and wartime aircraft production that spearheaded the revival. Work started on the South Marston shadow factory in January 1940 and by the following spring aircraft were rolling off the production line, supplied by components made in the Railway Works and by smaller units in Blunsdon and Sevenhampton. Further wartime factories were established, such as Plessey (radio components) in Gorse Hill and Marine Mountings at Wroughton, and for the first time new industrial landscapes were created outside Swindon's core. Significantly the population in the Swindon area rose from 88,000 in 1939 to 104,000 in 1941 and the transformation had begun.

## Cars

If wartime provided the opportunity for expansion, the major catalyst was in 1952 when, under the provisions of the Town Development Act, Swindon became a receiving authority for London's overspill. By persistent and astute political manoeuvring, Swindon was not only to attract 13,000 people from London but was also chosen as the new site for the Pressed Steel Company, a key supplier to the Oxford car industry. Production of car-body panels at the Stratton St Margaret site began in 1955: by 1958 the site had

Pressed Steel Site – sited in Swindon's outskirts as part of the Town Development Act expansion.

Renault Car Distribution Centre, Swindon. Sir Norman Foster's innovative building demonstrates the confidence shown in Swindon's future as a car town. © J O Davies, English Heritage

doubled in size and by 1965 it employed 6,595 people – 1,000 more than the Railway Works. Despite the vicissitudes that have beset the British car industry the company now called Swindon Pressings still employs more than 2,000 workers, and is a key part of the BMW Group and produces body panels for the new Mini. Crucially this successful entry into the car industry led to Honda being attracted to the former Vickers site at South Marston in 1985. Over the next 20 years Honda was to develop into the largest industrial employer in the town with 4,000 employees occupying a vast robotic factory three times larger than the Pressed Steel site. A third car-industry site, though much smaller, has attracted even more attention – that of the former Renault Distribution Centre designed by Sir Norman Foster and opened in 1983.

## Chips

Meanwhile the incursions into the electrical and electronics industries pioneered first by Gerrards and then by Plessey and their expansion in new industrial estates such as Cheney Manor from 1957 onwards, laid the foundation of an electronics industry. Attracted by the high-speed rail link that opened in 1974 and by the completion of the M4 motorway past the town in 1971, further electronics firms such as Motorola (1998) have established in the town while the presence of the headquarters of financial giants such as Nationwide and Zurich maintains a healthy IT industrial environment.

Thus by the time the Railway Works finally closed in1986 there had been a seismic shift in industrial emphasis and Swindon, very much part of the M4 corridor, had put behind itself its image as a one-industry town. The momentum established in the last few decades promises further growth and Swindon's population is predicted to reach 225,000 by the next census. This phenomenal trebling in population and physical area has come about through a variety of circumstances and its import has only recently been fully recognised. But, as Harloe argued as early as 1975, the transformation, despite all its industrial, residential and commercial manifestations, was essentially a political process (Harloe 1975). In the post-war climate of state direction of industry and employment, traditional factors such as location, transport links, market and labour supply are not enough – the new industrial landscapes are created by more complex and political combinations of factors.

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## The 'Sunrise Strip': the M4 corridor

Christine Finn
*University of Bradford*

Often marketed as Britain's answer to Silicon Valley, California, the M4 corridor forms a conglomeration of high-tech start-ups and established industry names. It is part of what is popularly known as the 'Sunrise Strip', which includes the M11 to Cambridge, the M25, and the M3.

Like its American namesake, infrastructure is key. The M4 affords easy access to airports and urban centres, attracting a workforce from a wide area. Like Stanford in Silicon Valley, it has a symbiotic relationship with centres of research excellence including Oxford and Reading universities.

And from July 2007, it shares another commonality: geological fallibility – not earthquakes, but the over-developed flood plain of the River Thames which, coupled with unseasonal rainfall, led to unprecedented flooding.

This has opened up a new debate on the uneasy relationship between nature and the built environment. In today's global-warming-aware climate, what would have been regarded as 'freak' floods are now read as a stark warning of worse to come. This has thrown the spotlight on the government's newly announced plans for millions of new homes in already crowded areas, with building still likely on flood plains.

This is just one example of the mediation – landscape and heritage versus jobs and new industrial heritage – played out increasingly in places where the drive is 'go faster'.

Like the mill houses built adjacent to the mills, which were next to the river that drove them, the proximity seems logical. But looking at the span of the Thames we see an entanglement of industrial buildings, service roads, airports, associated warehouses, storage yards, commercial spaces, traffic infrastructures, retail developments and brownfield sites. Within and without this cluster of modernity are premium waterfront conversions, post-war estates, historic cottages, ancient byways, village greens, minor roads, woodlands, market squares, and greenfield sites. And central to them all is the Thames, with its boats, barges, and poetic resonance as London's backbone.

How will the interactions of heritage and modern play out in the arguments that will surely ensue about development in this technological centre of excellence?

In the early 1990s, thousands camped at Twyford Down, Hampshire, protesting against M3 motorway development that would destroy an ancient chalk meadow. This direct action campaign, which grew out of 20 years of petitions and letters, redefined the way in which people were prepared to speak out against change over heritage. In July 2007, inhabitants of West Oxford waded through the floodwater to deliver a vociferous message about their predicament as evidence of tipping points being reached, and warnings ignored.

The traditional issues of change, involving new road siting, motorway re-laning, airport expansion and the compulsory purchase of homes, will define the shape of Britain. But the continuing history of the M4 corridor is also the sum of new challenges – global rather than local or national, as well as responses to changing business models driven by those global concerns.

The 'Sunrise Strip', for all its high-tech buzz and bravado, is a fallible entity where the lights can still go out. Planners will need to reconsider this infrastructure of their own making, and listen to the public, for whom heritage-linked environments are – literally – forces of their own.

Meeting the infrastructure needs of a brave new world. At the end of July 2007 the emergency services battled to save this vital electricity station on the outskirts of Gloucester from flooding – just one example of the kinds of environmental challenge now facing the over-developed flood plains of southern England.

## Broadmead, Bristol: art and heritage in urban regeneration

James R Dixon
*University of the West of England*

Public art and archaeology are of a similar age as locally legislated developer considerations within urban regeneration. Both have been common components of large- and small-scale development projects since the early 1990s and remain important aspects of the majority of projects. A recent initiative at Bristol's Broadmead development has provided the opportunity to consider how art and heritage can usefully work together in the context of urban regeneration.

A new landscape of retail and business, at Broadmead, Bristol.


### Developer-funded art and archaeology

Developer-funded archaeology generally takes the form of PPG15- and PPG16-led investigation and the 'preservation by record' of elements of the historic environment prior to their destruction. Developer-funded art takes a number of forms, notably the engagement of artists in architectural and landscape design and the commissioning of iconic/sculptural pieces for public places. Major urban developments in the UK incorporate these elements as a matter of course.

Potential problems arise as a result of the nature of developer-funding of art and archaeology. The archaeological consideration within a project is usually limited to a minimum of excavation and recording, with funds often lacking for more overtly *public* interpretation and involvement. The public-art aspect of development largely takes the forms mentioned above and is naturally 'developer-friendly'. Urban development and its constituent parts play a local role (the actual regeneration of areas where this is deemed necessary) but they also have to play an international role and situate any development project within a wider field of contemporary urban design.

Despite the archaeological publications, showpiece cultural events and public contact with commissioned artworks, what is often missed is the true potential of locally situated art and archaeology projects to be involved in the process of designing and building new places. Here, these two distinct areas can come together as *processes* and move on from simply digging holes and making sculptures to informing both each other and, crucially, developers about what places have been, are, will and can be.

### Who are 'the public'?

It is impossible to avoid the contested nature of the term 'public'. It is a fuzzy, murky term used in different ways by different people, never entirely satisfactorily. For a developer, the public are the projected users of the shops, restaurants, offices and apartments that they are constructing. Whether these people are 'new' users, attracted from elsewhere, or current shopper-residents engaging in different activities, this type of public are conceptual, future projections, numbers on paper. Local councils, heritage organisations and communities all mean subtly different things when they use the term.

Through this difference, sites of urban regeneration become contested. One need only look to the London 2012 Olympics project to see how local concerns can be mobilised in opposition to development. And who is at fault? By simplifying the opposition to one of local communities 'against' national developers, both sides can be seen to take up unhelpful positions.

It is here that archaeological and artistic process can be brought together and used by developers and local communities in unison, not in the nostalgic selection of elements of the past to retain as monuments or celebrate through artworks in the future, but in the creation of contemporary local identities, with reference to the past but situated in the present.

### Broadmead initiatives

Two projects based around the current Cabot Circus development centred on Broadmead in central Bristol are addressing this idea. The first, in March 2007, was a weekend of fieldwork organised as part of the Material City programme, a collaboration between Situations (UWE/Arnolfini, http://www.situations.org.uk) and the University of Bristol Department of Archaeology and Anthropology. Over this weekend, three artists (Pablo Bronstein, Richard Wentworth and Lottie Child), and three archaeologists (Dan Hicks, Sefryn Penrose and Sarah May), were invited to

Bristol Broadmead: archaeological fieldwork of an emerging landscape.
© Claire Doherty

investigate the area surrounding the Cabot Circus development with reference to the past, the present or the future.

The aim of the fieldwork weekend was to investigate artistic and archaeological ways of thinking in the specific temporal and geographical circumstance of an urban renewal project. One result of the exercise was the deep investigation not just of existing places affected by the regeneration, but of new places and concepts created by it. Ideas of inside/outside, old/new, allowed/not allowed were among those investigated over the course of the weekend, the work going some way towards developing an understanding of the effects of urban regeneration on existing people and places as well as the different senses of place and identity created by the regeneration itself. The fieldwork weekend was followed by a symposium, and a short film was made about the entire project.

Related to this, developers of Broadmead, the Bristol Alliance, are acting as industry partners to a Great Western Research (GWR) PhD Studentship in Creative Arts based at UWE and supported by the University of Bristol's Department of Archaeology and Anthropology. The three-year study will address the relationships between public art and archaeology within developer-funded urban renewal projects and is based around the public-art programmes of both Bristol Alliance and Bristol City Council. By considering the issues discussed here, as well as wider debates about site-specific art and contemporary archaeology, it is hoped that the study will allow better incorporation of artistic and archaeological processes in development strategies and legislation.

**Benefits**

Such projects should prove useful to wider heritage concerns. We should look to public art and archaeology not simply as a means of understanding and interpreting the past, but also as tools with which to express contemporary community identities and concerns alongside the aims of developers. This will take some time to engender. There is no reason why developers should fund processes that overtly criticise their work, just as bad feeling is often the result of local communities being marginalised, ignored or actively removed from their homes. Art, archaeology and urban regeneration can come together in a productive way though this has to begin at the very start of the development process. Through collaborative engagements such as this we can both better understand contemporary landscapes and play a significant part in creating and sustaining them.

## OPINION

The years after 1950 were the first in history in which British architecture was acknowledged as globally important. This view is hard to reconcile with the popular prejudice against the period, sometimes well founded on physical or social failure. Positive aspects of post-war buildings include generous spaces, inside and outside, dramatic engineering structures, imaginative use of artworks and sensitive responses to landscape. They are a record of public spending of a kind that we may not see again. Even the toughest buildings, such as Goldfinger's Trellick Tower, have advocates in thrall to the apparently unrepeatable sublime of public housing. Modernist disdain for traditionalists such as Goodhart-Rendel and Donald McMorran has also been overcome.

The campaign for listing the post-war period, active through the 1990s, was a remarkable achievement by English Heritage, with the involvement of the Twentieth-Century Society. Owing to the confidence with which this was carried out, many problematic buildings, such as the Brunswick Centre in Bloomsbury, have been 'turned round' by developers, who have used their history as a marketing tool and shown how investment can solve problems.

Listing paused around the dateline of 1970, but time moves on. Perhaps it is time to start survey research again.

Alan Powers
*University of Greenwich*

# Political Landscapes – Governing and Defending the Land

**The post-war decades saw unprecedented investment in public building. But how much of that legacy will survive into the 22nd century?**

The actions of government, the state, authority and order are clearly imprinted on England's landscape, embracing education and health authorities, political and military wards. These spheres are configured by three interrelated yet independent bodies: parliament (the Houses of Commons and Lords, the elected and unelected lawmaking body); the executive (to put those laws into effect); and the judiciary (to adjudicate the law). The state's organs are institutional, symbols of authority, recognisable tools of state power (government offices, judicial courts, houses of correction, army installations), and channels of social welfare (schools, hospitals), all arterially joined by channels of movement (roads, corridors, pathways, broader networks). Buildings and infrastructure reflect the legal and administrative organisation of government ministries, from Health to Transport, from Rural Affairs to Culture, Media and Sport, and their contribution to the way England looks and works. Public understanding of the state is shaped by engagement, interaction and familiarity with the physical facets of government. It is through its physical manifestation, its design and presentation in the political landscape, that state power is most clearly understood by the majority of the population. In many ways, the extent and range of responses to this political landscape indicate its impact on public consciousness.

Dungeness, Kent. Here the early 1960s Magnox and later Advanced Gas Cooled Reactor dominate their surroundings.


## Recreating London: post-war place-making

Philip Davies
*Planning and Development Director (South), English Heritage*

Only twice in the last thousand years has London suffered catastrophic damage – in the Great Fire of 1666, when virtually the entire City of London was levelled, and again during the Second World War, when one in six of its buildings was damaged or destroyed by enemy action. Much has been written about the speed at which London was rebuilt post-Fire. Grand schemes by Wren, Hooke and Evelyn for a newly designed Italianate city were set aside in the face of the commercial imperative to rebuild. Ironically, much less is understood about the varying approaches adopted for the reconstruction of post-war London, and the cultural, political and social tensions these raised. It remains a subject ripe for further research.

### Post-war rebuilding

In many parts of Europe there was a national cultural consensus in favour of rebuilding blitzed historic towns and city centres to replicate as closely as possible what had been lost, but in London, and in Britain as a whole, no such consensus prevailed. A range of expedients was adopted from patchwork repair via authentic reconstruction to comprehensive redevelopment.

After the First World War many of the devastated towns of Flanders and north-east France were reconstructed with great sensitivity – authentically recreating whole areas as well as major landmarks. Ypres, with its spectacular Cloth Hall and streets of historic buildings, is perhaps the most notable example. Although recreated virtually in its entirety in the 1920s, rebuilding recaptured the spirit of the original Flemish town with remarkable success.

This deep cultural commitment to the reconstruction of lost buildings and places resonated in many European countries as a focus for national renewal after the Second World War. The entire historic centre of Warsaw, for example, was rebuilt as a symbol of national pride, using surviving

pre-war photographs and drawings to replicate whole streets of historic buildings. Indeed, it was such a spectacular success that today it is a World Heritage Site – in part, at least, because it is a recreation, and for what that tells us about post-war Polish culture of the period. Elsewhere, as recently as 2005 the Dresden Frauenkirche was reconstructed as a symbol of reconciliation between former warring enemies.

### Rebuilding London

In Britain many different factors dictated the form and pattern of post-war reconstruction – not least radical social idealism coupled with an unprecedented opportunity to create a socially engineered New Jerusalem.

But in pluralist Britain, equally, there were many who stood against the tide of comprehensive redevelopment in favour of a more delicate form of urban surgery and place-making. The great landed estates of the West End that exercised freehold control – the Crown, Grosvenor, Portman, Bedford and Howard de Walden, for instance – by and large carefully stitched back the fabric of their buildings and streets to their pre-war appearance.

Nowhere was this tension between the desire for modernity and traditional values more evident than in the Inns of Court, where the issues raised go to the very heart of our current concerns about architectural integrity and place-making. Today it is difficult to comprehend the extent of destruction of London's historic fabric in 1945. Holborn and the Inns of Court were devastated. One particular raid on 10–11 May 1941 caused huge damage, and fires ravaged both the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn. George Edinger, a Bencher of Gray's Inn, described walking through the area in 1947:

> Until the outbreak of the second World War … for the whole mile I would be enclosed by the unbroken sequence of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century buildings whose bland façades of mellow brick made up what was, to my mind, the most gracious harmony of town architecture in any capital … I cannot do that now. The phenomenon that was my Georgian mile is swallowed up in dust and rubble. It was not the greatest tragedy among the lost treasures of Western Europe. But it was something unique.

He went on to ask:

> Can we restore Gray's Inn with all the intangibles that went to make it up? Can we ever convey again the sense of serenity that the old walls of the chambers grouped so charmingly in the old setting used to give? And, if we cannot, is it wise to try?

### Place-making

Today, many would agree that it was not only wise, but also surprisingly enlightened to try. The decision to restore the Inn to its previous state had already been taken before the end of the war. Sir Edward Maufe was appointed to prepare designs for the new Library, Great Hall and Chapel, and the rebuilding of South Square, and by the late 1950s reconstruction was virtually complete.

It was a remarkable achievement. What could have been fragmented into a series of piecemeal developments 'of their time' was quietly reinstated as a single whole in a sophisticated and elegant piece of post-war place-making. The single, rather gauche attempt at an overtly contemporary building for the School of Law at Gray's Inn Place in 1964 highlights what so easily could have happened to the main courts. The classical

A scene of devastation: the Inner Temple after the bombing of 10–11 May 1941. 

Phoenix from the ashes: Crown Office Row, Inner Temple. Post-war placemaking at its best.


tradition continued into the 1970s when Quinlan Terry completed the last major piece of rebuilding with an ingenious new neo-Georgian block between South Square and Field Court that is knitted seamlessly into the wider whole.

The same subtle contextual approach was adopted for the Inner Temple. Here the Temple Church, Hall, Library, Master's House, Crown Office Row and Harcourt Buildings were also wrecked on the night of 10–11 May 1941. As early as the summer of 1944 plans were drawn up for a new Inner Temple Hall and Library, although reconstruction was not completed until 1958.

The principal reason for this delay lay with the architect, Sir Hubert Worthington, whose procrastination led to serious disagreements both with the Inn and the building contractors. Even the War Damage Commission lost patience. In October 1953 Worthington was sacked and replaced by his assistant, T W Sutcliffe, and Sir Edward Maufe was brought in to design and oversee the work. The restoration of the Temple Church was assigned to Walter Godfrey, who supervised a major reconstruction of the exterior and interior between 1947 and 1957. Worthington and Maufe shared responsibility for the Master's House, which was completed in 1955, and Maufe and Sutcliffe took over responsibility for the Hall, which was completed with a simple, understated neo-Georgian interior and opened by the Queen in the same year.

Many of the most attractive and historic areas of London owe their survival to enlightened decisions to repair, restore and rebuild the fabric and grain of what was lost in the war. It is instructive to compare how well they have worn compared with areas like Paternoster Square, where the decision was taken to rebuild a radical new layout and design which failed within 30 years.

Today it is possible to walk from the Embankment through the Inner and Middle Temple, past Street's magnificent Law Courts, through Lincoln's Inn, across High Holborn to Gray's Inn and beyond into Bloomsbury and still appreciate the qualities which so captivated George Edinger and his pre-war contemporaries. The primary reason for this is the unfashionable approach adopted by the Inns of Court in insisting upon recreating the qualities which made the place special, based on a deep understanding that the importance of the place transcended the sum of its component parts. While the intrinsic architectural quality of the post-war ranges may vary, the overall unity derived from a common classical vocabulary deploying traditional materials and details confers a very distinct and serene sense of place.

This was achieved in the face of intense opposition by the local authorities, and of scorn from the modernist architectural establishment of the day, who strongly favoured the Paternoster approach. Yet with the benefit of hindsight who was more progressive in their approach to placemaking? ■

## Artists and airmen: documenting draw-down and closure at RAF Coltishall (Norfolk)

John Schofield
*Characterisation Team, English Heritage*

It seems fitting that defence sites that encapsulate the pace of technological and strategic changes in the 20th-century also require new and innovative investigation methods. That is the case with RAF Coltishall (Norfolk) where English Heritage is creating a characterisation of the base that involves conventional photography, an historic landscape characterisation and, unusually for us, the involvement of three visual artists – Gair Dunlop, Louise K Wilson and Angus Boulton. This collegiate and inter-disciplinary approach seems appropriate for documenting such a complex landscape over time, and capturing both process and place in a way that engages the base's wider public and the service personnel who worked there.

### Documenting defence sites

Since the early 1990s, English Heritage has documented many defence sites after the withdrawal of service personnel. We typically experience these as derelict, lifeless places, with stripped buildings devoid of meaning after their personnel have left. Uniquely, in the months leading to the closure of

RAF Coltishall, the RAF granted English Heritage unprecedented access to record the base's drawdown and closure.

This project set out to visually characterise the airfield's last operational months until closure in November 2006, capturing the sense of community that existed there, the administration of drawdown, and the rituals and ceremony that marked the base's closure. Most historic photography of airfields is heavily weighted to views of aircraft, on hardstandings or in hangars. Yet airfields the size of Coltishall are also communities of a few thousand people, whose task is to keep aircraft ready for immediate deployment. The intention of the project was to focus on the wider community and to record the processes of change as well as rarely seen, sometimes mundane, everyday activities.

## Engines and parachutes

Working in the month before the last squadron flew out, aircraft were photographed in their hangars, revealing also how these internal working spaces were organised. Air-traffic controllers were photographed at work; when we returned a few months later the control tower had been stripped bare, leaving the empty spaces we usually encounter. Much of the airfield's work involved light engineering, including the assembly of the Jaguars' Rolls-Royce engines, engine testing, the servicing and repair of electronic components, paint shops and stores. More specialised tasks included the fitting and maintenance of flying clothing, much of which was specifically fitted to individual pilots. In other buildings aircraft brake-chutes and the pilots' emergency parachutes were inspected and packed. Other sections were devoted to missile storage and maintenance. To maintain the Jaguar force at maximum readiness, the pilots constantly trained for their combat roles. In a specially constructed building a large and elaborate model was constructed to simulate diverse missions and emergency procedures. More recently, a complex computer simulator has replaced this physical model. All of these buildings and activities were recorded as part of our documentation.

## Home

But an airfield is more than a working place; it is home for the personnel. The oldest houses on the base date from the late 1930s and many still retain traces of wartime camouflage. The end of conscription and the reduction in the proportion of single personnel led to enlargement of the housing estates, but without the symmetry of the original design. The distribution of housing was strictly zoned and allocated according to rank. Differentiation by rank was most visible in the messes. The officers' mess had the appearance of a country club or country house, with elegant reception rooms used before mess functions or as sitting rooms. The sergeants' mess was arranged on a similar layout, but with less space devoted to reception. Both also contained accommodation for single personnel or temporary visitors. In contrast, the airmen's institute comprised two floors of large open rooms, in its latest phase laid out as a contemporary cafeteria and with a nightclub attached. With a requirement for many hundreds of meals per day in all three messes, catering was on a semi-industrial scale. For single non-commissioned personnel barrack accommodation was typical, but as social expectations have changed, their interiors have been modified to create single rooms.

Other aspects of the social life of the base included the supermarket, a chapel with stained glass and embroideries with air-force themes, the families' centre, and a children's playground. During our investigations we also discovered murals, including some on hangar doors painted after the First Gulf War (1990–1). Around 1970,

End of an era: rehearsing for the closing ceremony of RAF Coltishall, Norfolk. Established in 1938, the base played a front-line role throughout the Second World War and the Cold War, but in 2006 it finally became surplus to defence needs.

Gair Dunlop filming on the airfield perimeter in November 2006.


in the cellar and former air-raid shelter of the officers' mess, the Lightning squadron created a private drinking club, the Spitfire bar, decorated with playing-card murals. All of these aspects of the base have now been recorded.

### Art and landscape

But it is our close collaboration with three sound and video artists, Angus Boulton, Gair Dunlop and Louise K Wilson, that sets this project apart from other work in this area. The involvement of the artists brings a very particular dimension to this project, capturing in new and innovative ways some of the essential characteristics of the base (such as its auditory landscape), as well as the rituals and ceremonies associated with closure, and the administration and management required to oversee this process of change in an appropriate and efficient manner. Together with our characterisation map and the stills photography, these complementary pieces of documentation will provide a lasting record of what RAF Coltishall was like, and what it meant to those that lived there and in the surrounding area. When completed, the artworks will present a complex intervention to address the site's evolving history: exploring and commenting on its attendant frictions without sentimentality.

*This is a collaborative project, and this article is effectively co-authored by all of the participants. Those involved are: Wayne Cocroft and Steve Cole (English Heritage), Andrea Bradley, Tony Lee and Sefryn Penrose (Atkins Heritage), Angela Weight and the artists: Angus Boulton, Gair Dunlop and Louise K Wilson.*

## Hidden heritage: military Command & Control organisation bunkers of the Cold War

Paul Francis
*Archaeological Consultant*

Before the beginning of the Second World War, the government had real fears about being bombed. For that reason a number of underground bunkers were constructed. Many of these continued in use through the Cold War, a period during which additional sites were built. A new study is assessing these structures to help reach sustainable decisions about their future.

### Origins

Before the Second World War secure underground bunkers were constructed for the Cabinet in Whitehall, and for the Air Ministry, Admiralty, and a reserve Cabinet war room in north-west London. The core governmental and military staff, however, preferred to remain close together in central London, hence the Harrow and Neasden establishments were never used in any capacity. Later a semi-underground citadel was built for the Admiralty in Whitehall; and with a new threat from the 'V' weapons, disused gas-holders in SW1 were converted into two-level underground command bunkers and use was also made by the US Army of the deep-level underground air-raid shelters. The gas-holders were called Rotundas and the Cabinet component was christened 'Anson'. A network of deep tunnels constructed at great expense during the 1940s connected all the Whitehall establishments.

There were other secure military strongholds in use by 1945: Bomber Command and the USAAF had underground centres codenamed 'Southdown' and 'Pinetree' respectively, near High Wycombe. Maritime Joint Operations used bunkers at Pitreavie Castle (Rosyth), Mount Wise (Plymouth), Eastbury Park, Northwood (Middlesex), and Dover Castle. Fighter Command's two principal operations centres were at Bentley Priory (HQFC) and Uxbridge (11 Group HQ) with facilities being constructed in the Bath-stone mines at Corsham for 12 Group – RAF Rudloe Manor. The Battle of the Atlantic was won beneath the ground in the navy's Western Approaches Command HQ under Derby House, part of the Exchange Buildings in Liverpool.

### Cold War

The arrival of the Cold War ensured that most of these underground and semi-underground

structures continued to be used into the 1950s, with significant extensions and modifications being carried out on the majority. However, apart from the civil Regional Seat of Government bunkers and the army's Eastern Command's Headquarters at Wilton Park (Buckinghamshire), no further major military-command bunkers were built during this period. The RAF's ROTOR air defence system, which started in 1950, resulted in the construction of some 60 hardened operations rooms for control of early-warning radar in all areas of the UK. These were of 10 distinct types and ranged from single-storey surface, to three-storey (two underground) buildings, the former being used mainly in the west of the UK. The aim of the network was to detect Soviet aircraft encroaching from the east, and all stations reported to RAF Fighter Command at Bentley Priory. Owing to significant leaps in technology ROTOR was declared obsolete within a few years, though the bunkers continued to be used for other defence purposes. Some 35 Royal Observer Corps Group Headquarters surface blockhouses were built between 1961 and 1965, of which about half are now demolished.

A major casualty of progress was the Pitreavie Castle underground HQ, which was demolished by the Royal Engineers in 1996. This establishment had been responsible for all operations of the northern sector of the UK for almost 50 years. The future of other similar historical sites is now in the balance – in particular the Battle of Britain Command Centre at Bentley Priory. This study will provide national context for such sites and ensure that conservation decisions, including heritage protection where appropriate, is based on a thorough understanding of this unusual and usually hidden category of site.

The preserved control room of the 1970s at the RAF Air Defence Radar Museum, Neatishead, Norfolk. This was one of the Cold War's electronic frontlines, and it was from here that the interception of Soviet aircraft over the North Sea was co-ordinated.


## Architecture for the Welfare State

Elain Harwood
*Research and Standards, English Heritage*

While it is important to recognise the broad appeal of post-war buildings, only designation – in 2007 still with the distinction between listed buildings and scheduled monuments – offers statutory protection. We have been able to list post-war buildings for exactly 20 years, yet they are still regarded as 'difficult' and extra consultation procedures have hitherto made the process slow and painful. Here, the architecture of the 1950s to the 1970s is assessed.

One of the difficulties with assessing post-war listed buildings has been hinted at in other articles in this *Bulletin*, that of the scale of post-war building, with the priority given to housing estates and whole new towns, in which planners and landscape architects assumed an equal role with that of architects. Designation is often more appropriate for individual buildings such as churches, but it can identify the landmark status of an elegant block of flats or the innovation of a small group, such as prefabs, and give recognition to the landscape. A very high proportion of the buildings erected in the years 1945–75 were wholly or partly funded by local or national government, and in the past we have been wary of referring to the welfare state and socialism that inspired them. However, there is now a younger generation of architects and conservationists for whom Thatcherism and post-modernism are equally historic terms, and for the past decade modernism has enjoyed a revival. It is time to recognise that the 1950s and 1960s are back in fashion.

### The 1950s: Beveridge's 'want'

It is hard to visualise now the consequences of six years of war and nine more of shortages on any building stock, particularly one that had already suffered from twenty years of under-investment before 1939. The culture of DIY had yet to be invented. The burst of colour made by new buildings, and the Festival of Britain, is still remembered by those who lived through the war. It is equally easy to ignore the innovations of those early post-war buildings, as we take details like good daylighting in schools for granted. Then lighting, plumbing, even paint colours, were explored from first principles in a new spirit of collaboration between architects, engineers and artists, who, having won the war against Hitler, turned to that on William Beveridge's 'want' (his umbrella term for Britain's social ills of poverty,

The Lawn, Harlow, England's first 'point' block, opened in 1951; architect, Frederick Gibberd.
© Elain Harwood

homelessness and lack of education), defined in a report published in December 1942. From old people's bungalows to new towns, universities and the first public theatres, the range of building embraced in the 1950s and 1960s is remarkable.

Beveridge's built legacy is still with us, but only just. In July 1987 the government listed its first post-war building, Bracken House, and a national competition was launched to find other 1950s' buildings of architectural or historic interest. Back then the stock of post-war buildings seemed – and was – enormous. Inflation in the 1970s and government spending restrictions in the 1980s had ensured that almost everything built in the post-war years survived in use, albeit often run down. Twenty years on we have the legacy of that neglect. There are few schools or housing estates that have not been overclad, radically remodelled or entirely rebuilt – save for those few listed examples, where change has been embraced more thoughtfully. The pace of change is demonstrated by the town of Harlow, planned and partly built by Frederick Gibberd, whose involvement there from 1946 until 1980 gave it greater homogeneity and more good buildings than the other new towns designated in the 1940s. Yet his civic centre and technical college from the early 1960s have been demolished and there are proposals to redevelop his theatre, while the shopping centre has undergone many changes. Gibberd's listed water gardens have been rebuilt and a factory delisted and demolished; today Harlow's only listed buildings are The Lawn (the first 10-storey 'point' block of flats in England), two terraces of houses, a church and some sculptures.

## Controversy

The controversy of designating buildings of great quality that are large and innovative, and therefore expensive to repair, has been exemplified by the furore over Plymouth Civic Centre, one of the few post-war town halls both elegant in its design and the artistry of its fittings, built in 1958–62 by Geoffrey Jellicoe and Partners. The building was listed in June 2007 to a storm of protest from local MPs, while the council says the building needs millions of pounds spent on it in repairs – although it remains fully occupied for its original purpose. It is an interesting litmus test of how modern civic architecture is either loved or hated.

Actual numbers of post-war listed buildings are hard to give accurately, as the computer system counts every facsimile rebuild of an older structure, and separately listed kerbs and pool surrounds. One housing estate may contain several items: Byker in Newcastle has 82 items covering 1,999 addresses. Approximately, there are 700 items, including 62 sculptures and war memorials, relating to 330 distinctive building projects. These include private houses, a few office buildings and a very large number of churches, as well as expressions of the welfare State. There is only one structure erected for a nationalised industry: the headstocks at Clipstone Colliery in Nottinghamshire. This is remarkable, since in the years 1945–65 as much money was spent on building power stations as on local authority and university buildings put together, and far more than on buildings for defence. The number of post-war listed buildings is likely to remain small, as examples worthy of designation simply do not survive.

## Schools

There are two areas where new research, evaluation and appreciation are just beginning. The first is schools. Since 1997, some £34 billion has been spent in a programme that has seen more than a thousand new schools and many more substantially remodelled. More are proposed with the government's Building Schools for the Future programme, aimed at all secondary schools and about half our primaries. Authorities like Nottinghamshire and Islington are rebuilding all their unlisted schools. This is a delicate area: is a

Intake School, Mansfield, 1956, Nottinghamshire County Council Architect's Department. Called the 'Rock 'n' Roll' school for its ability to ride mining subsidence, this was the first school to be built using the CLASP system and is the only post-war school in the county to be listed.
© Elain Harwood

new school always the best way of reviving education standards? The costs of maintenance versus rebuilding, and the availability of budgets, are important. Elsewhere architects are looking at converting listed modern schools into housing, as at Oaklands College in St Albans, a refinement in 1958–60 of Hertfordshire's innovative steel-framed building system developed to meet post-war exigencies. Hertfordshire's building achievement is well known; research is needed into other counties before a generation of school building is swept away.

Alexandra Road Estate, Camden, 1972–8, by Neave Brown. The flagship of Camden's public housing programme, the Alexandra Road Estate offered an alternative to the tower block. It is one of the few 1970s' buildings to be listed.
© Elain Harwood

### The decade 1967–77

The other subject of research, following on from the work of English Heritage's former Post-War Steering Group, is the decade 1967–77 when the excesses of welfare state provision and of modernism were rejected amidst growing economic decline. Yet the era produced models of low-rise, high-density housing in brick, new open-plan forms for schools, and experiments in unusual structures and materials such as fibreglass. This was the decade of the first 'high tech' buildings as well as the first 'Po-Mo' ones, and we need to understand their significance as they too reach the age of 30 and become eligible for listing.

## England's atomic age

Wayne Cocroft
*Research and Standards, English Heritage*

During the early 20th century the increasing scientific and technological nature of warfare led to a new relationship between the government, industry and workers. The state took control of factories and the labour force, and directly engaged in the manufacture of armaments and scientific research. This pattern persisted into the immediate post-war period as the Ministry of Supply continued to exert control over the allocation of scarce raw materials. A national study is currently reviewing the architecture of England's atomic age to better inform conservation decision-making for a category of sites increasingly seen to have historic significance.

### Cold War imperatives

British scientists had played a key role in developing the atomic bomb. However, partly due to the enormous cost of the Manhattan Project – four times the cost of the German V2 missile programme – the industrial infrastructure for the programme was built in the United States. In Britain, the government funded ICI to research the industrial production of nuclear materials. Birmingham University's Archaeology Field Unit has recently investigated the experimental isotope separation site at Rhydymwyn (Clywd), which, as one of the world's earliest nuclear installations, may be preserved within a proposed country park.

Sixty years ago, after the cabinet decision in January 1947 to proceed with the development of an atomic bomb, a vast scientific and industrial infrastructure was required to manufacture this novel and complex device. In a country still subject to rationing, the programme was given the highest national priority.

Initially the bomb project was housed in existing defence establishments at Fort Halstead (Kent) and the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, with additional space quickly acquired at Foulness (Essex). Elsewhere, redundant ordnance factories and airfields provided sites for the construction of large and innovative industrial plant. The political imperative was the nuclear weapon's development. In the research establishments to accommodate their rapidly expanding workforces, utilitarian and often prefabricated structures were hurriedly constructed.

### Power from the atom

Power derived from splitting the atom represented the final break with the smog-producing coal of the first industrial revolution. The early post-war coal-fired power stations, such as Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's Bankside (now Tate Modern), housed in monumental brick edifices of cathedral-like proportions, represented throwbacks to a pre-war generation. During the 1950s as Britain emerged from wartime rationing and standardised utility goods, the country's scientific and technological prowess was celebrated as ushering in a prosperous new Elizabethan age. The novelty of the nuclear power stations' technology was distinguished by their modernist architecture. They are typically steel-framed, clad in moulded asbestos cement or pressed metal sheets, and in some the external pipework was left exposed. In the headquarters building of the Calder Hall power station modernism was tempered against local stone end

Orfordness, Suffolk. The construction of the 'pagodas', vibration test laboratories, in about 1956, coincided with Britain's push to develop the hydrogen bomb. The National Trust now owns the site.

walls. In contrast to the old smoke-blackened industrial buildings and drab wartime camouflage schemes, colour played an important part in their industrial design, often serving the practical purpose of colour coding different sections of the plant, while adding visual interest to the buildings.

### New landscapes

The new nuclear power stations also represented a distinct shift in the geography of power generation. Previously electricity had been generated within a factory, town or city, or close to the coalfields. Safety concerns and the need for large amounts of cooling water pushed the new nuclear power stations out to remote coastal sites. Here these uncompromising monuments to a technologically dependent society dominate their localities within new late 20th-century designed landscapes.

Great care was taken over the design of the new stations and leading contemporary architects were engaged as consultants to advise on the buildings and landscapes of the new plants. Sir Frederick Gibberd, the chief architect of Liverpool's Roman Catholic cathedral and Harlow New Town, advised on Sizewell A (Suffolk), and the buildings and landscape at Hinkley Point (Somerset). Outside England, most famously at Trawsfynydd (Gwynedd), Sir Basil Spence collaborated with the landscape consultant Sylvia Crowe to blend the station into the landscape of the National Park. Yet, the anonymous in-house design teams of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority produced some of the most iconic structures of the era – such as the dome of the fast breeder reactor at Dounreay (Caithnness), or the 'Pagodas' of the former Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, Orfordness (Suffolk).

### Legacy

Unlike many industries that have been quickly wiped from the country's landscape, the hulks of the nuclear-reactor fleet will perhaps remain for the next century, the exact timetables for their final demolition as yet undetermined. The new establishments also changed their surrounding social landscapes through the influx of skilled scientists and well-paid power-station workers to remote rural areas. Housing estates and communities created to accommodate these workforces, and new 21st-century high-technology parks will remain while the primary reason for their existence is disappearing.

Calder Hall, Cumbria, commissioned in October 1956, was the world's first industrial-scale nuclear-power station connected to a national electricity grid. To the rear is the Windscale plutonium factory.


## OPINION

Those who operate in the contentious territory of protecting post-war sites and buildings need to cultivate friends. While good-quality research is essential it is not enough in itself to win the day. As conservation practitioners – in local authorities, amenity societies, English Heritage – we have to confront the challenges that our heritage designations create. The post-war listing programme, carried out in the 1990s by English Heritage and many partners, augmented systematic research with active publicity, and helped create a climate where (by the year 2000) 75 per cent of people thought that the best of our post-war heritage should be preserved (rising to 95 per cent of the 16–24 age group). But such high levels of support cannot be guaranteed without sustained campaigns and public dialogue. It's high time for another heave on this front, urgently so, as long as people misread statements about the whole environment being historic as meaning everything in it should be preserved. Most of us enjoy exploring the unknown and the recent past is a surprisingly little-understood place. Hats off to English Heritage for striding off towards that particular horizon. But it behoves us all to recognise the risks and anticipate the pitfalls. Attitudes such as those of one leading conservationist recently quoted –'we can't go looking to make friends' – simply won't do.

Martin Cherry
*University of Bath*

# Pleasure and Leisure – the Pursuit of Happiness

**From seaside holidays to shopping and hip-hop, an explosion of leisure activities is adding a complex new layer to England's historic environment.**

The English are internationally known as hobbyists. From trainspotting to traditional wrestling, the landscape of weekending and after-work activity has historically displayed regional undulation. However, changing economic emphasis and technological development have started to reshape our landscapes of leisure. In the 21st century, car ownership transports the pleasure seeker to any number of leisure sites while, paradoxically, technology offers an imagined array of televised landscapes and virtual worlds to entertain within the home. The advent of disposable income has equated leisure with consumption: units of leisure time and activity are bought and sold, and the leisure market is one of England's biggest and fastest-growing economies. The consumption of leisure – the almost workmanlike way in which the English must enjoy their free time – has led to the inexorable boom of leisure's market share, from the contemporary obsession with the gym and pursuit of the body beautiful to the reinvention of the past for modern-day amusement.

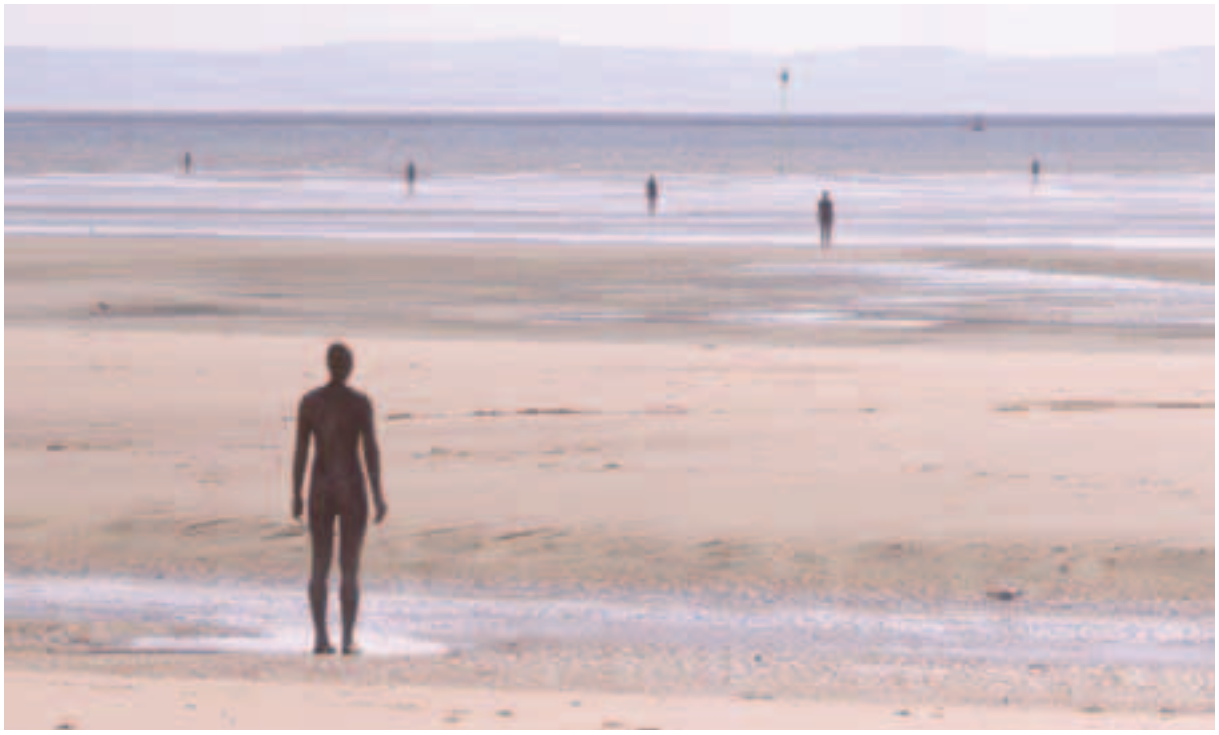
## Taking a break: holidays in the later 20th century

Allan Brodie
*Research and Standards, English Heritage*
Janet Miller
*Atkins Heritage*

Late 20th-century life can be traced in our holidays. Here the changing face of the English holiday is described, in both the fabric of the resorts and the memories of those that visited them.

### Caravans to the 'costas'

For one of the authors, the term 'seaside' evokes childhood fortnights in a chilly caravan park in Mablethorpe in early 1960s' Lincolnshire. When it wasn't raining, it was sand sandwiches on the beach. When it was, it was either hearty group fun – her four-year-old brother won a talent competition as Tarzan – in the wooden camp entertainment centre or listening to adult squabbles in the tiny duck-egg-green and cream caravan, one of many set in permanent close-set rows. It wasn't long before the family graduated to the regimentation and mass fun of Butlins – ringing the changes each year at Skegness, Minehead and



Antony Gormley, *Another Place*, 1997.

Ayr – with their chalets, pavilions, ballrooms and canteens, camps laid out as neat low-rise fantasy towns, dedicated to baby-boomer families.

In a few short years that same family abandoned these package holidays for those offered by the modern high-rise hotels, perma-sun and sangria of the continental costas, leaving the English camps and traditional resorts to decline in a destination wilderness. It was a time of social mobility and change. Holidays, as always, were enlisted as badges of personal progress. By the 1990s all-in family packages, in the UK and abroad, were given up for restored historic country cottages, the second homes for the second holidays of 'empty-nesters' and their contemplative walks along the managed coastal trails of Cornwall, when not vacationing in Cape Cod. Paradoxically, in these busy days leisure takes up more of our time. No longer is it a single annual event. Long weekends, city breaks and environmental volunteering blend into our career paths. And what place, at the start of the 21st century, is one of the fastest-growing short-break destinations in the UK? No place. *En masse* once more, all generations and all types flock to the organised entertainment camps of Glastonbury and other festivals, whose transient urbanism appears and disappears each year. *Plus ça change*… .

Centre Parcs at Longleat, Wiltshire: the 21st-century equivalent of the family seaside holiday camps of the 1950s and 60s.


### Refreshing the seafront

Parts of the English coast became 'seaside' when the water's edge was no longer simply for fishing and trade, but also for health, pleasure and leisure. In contrast to the pastoral tranquillity of the countryside, a holiday by the sea took people a little closer to the exotic – to strange, sometimes extreme, weather, to brighter lights and colours and to the mental possibilities of other lands.

The upheavals of the Second World War hit seaside towns badly, and resorts had to adopt a 'make-do and mend' attitude to their buildings. The modest investment available was directed towards reinstating piers and to refreshing seafronts that had been cleared or damaged by anti-invasion defences. Old holiday camps returned from wartime duty and new ones were opened, sometimes by reusing former military camps. There was a desire to turn back the clocks to the 1930s, but one strand of architectural

On the beach, and in the gallery. Tate St Ives, Cornwall.

thought strongly connected to the seaside was not revived. 'Modernist' forms had been pioneered in some resorts, most spectacularly at Bexhill, where the De La Warr Pavilion, now restored to its original glory, still dominates the seafront.

### New buildings

Substantial new buildings at the seaside did not begin to appear until the 1960s. The most prominent new arrivals were tower blocks, but not the typical inner-city ones. Instead many of the seaside's tallest buildings were private ventures aimed at a wealthier audience, people seeking a sea view in comfortable modernity. There is also a strong emphasis on access to sun and fresh air, through the balconies and sun lounges in buildings as different as Arlington House in Margate (opened 1963) or Albany Flats in Bournemouth (1962–4). But by the 1970s seaside resorts had succumbed to competition from the resorts of the Mediterranean. Now at last even the average worker could experience the real exoticism of abroad. England's resorts entered a cycle of under-investment leading to neglected facilities, attracting still fewer visitors.

By the 1990s the signs of decline were sufficiently strong to prompt local authorities and other bodies to invest in new facilities and to try to stimulate new markets. Brighton began to be transformed from a fairly tired resort with an ageing population to the lively, cosmopolitan town it is today. In 1993 the Tate St Ives in Cornwall opened, recognition of the public demand for a high-quality gallery celebrating British art. Gastronomic tourists have helped to transform Padstow from a quiet Cornish fishing town into a bustling destination and lovers of oysters undertake pilgrimages to Whitstable in Kent. In recent years other towns have been stimulated by the creation of marinas, bringing something of the Mediterranean back to Britain. At Morecambe in Lancashire, one of the resorts facing the most severe difficulties, public and private investment in a revitalised seafront was based on a theme of sea birds, but with a statue of Eric Morecambe at its heart, another example of how pilgrimage can improve the fortunes of a town. The refurbished art-deco Midland Hotel, a short distance along the seafront, should act as a further stimulus for investment in the town.

### New markets

Newspaper headlines have regularly proclaimed the death of the traditional seaside holiday and they may be right. The 'traditional' aspect may be disappearing, but a new type of holiday based on some of the enduring strengths of seaside towns combined with high-quality facilities in a thriving, historic setting, seems to be creating new markets. The two-week holiday at the seaside may be a thing of the past for many, but millions can now afford the luxury of extra short breaks, a hen or stag party, or a night away at the seaside. Party political conferences may be moving inland, where larger facilities await them, but there is still a strong market for other types of conference and business events and holiday camps do a roaring trade in themed weekends and club conventions. This changing market requires resorts to adapt, but for nearly three centuries seaside towns have demonstrated that they have the flexibility to meet new challenges and changing fashions. And the new summer may be just around the corner. Climate-change concerns about global travel and fashion trends away from the tan, mean that holidaying in the UK is cool again. The best of the buildings and spaces created for previous generations of holiday-makers will be ready.

## Popular music, characterisation and the urban environment

Brett Lashua and Sara Cohen
*University of Liverpool*
John Schofield
*Characterisation Team, English Heritage*

An innovative project (2007–9), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), is examining critically, with English Heritage, the relationship between popular music and the urban environment, in particular built and sonic environments. It will consider the influence of music-making on the character of the urban environment and on how that environment is used, experienced, interpreted and represented, and in turn the influence of the urban environment on music-making.

### Urban rhythms

Popular music has been described in academic book titles as 'the sound of the city' and as 'urban rhythms'. The urban environment has symbolic significance within popular music culture and has been represented through musical sounds, lyrics and visual images, and through oral and written narratives. This is evident in the urban dystopias of industrial music, post-punk portrayals of urban decay, the nostalgic urban landscapes of so-called 'Britpop', the upbeat images of downtown promoted by 1950s' crooners, the inner-city 'hoods' of rap, and in the garages, cellars and lofts of alternative or bohemian culture. Moreover,

while popular music is a global, 'travelling culture', it is also commonly perceived as being fixed to place, and urban environments are commonly believed to have a deterministic influence on musical performance and creativity.

### AHRC-funded study

The project seeks to contribute to and inform topical and pressing debates about changes to the environment of European and North American cities brought about by economic restructuring, and the impact of those changes on creativity, cultural diversity and local distinctiveness. It will involve comparative, ethnographic research on musicians and music-making and will focus on rock, country and 'hip-hop' music. Liverpool has been chosen as a case study for this research, in order to take advantage of heightened activity and debate concerning culture, landscape and the urban environment provoked by its status as European Capital of Culture 2008. The research will be conducted through a partnership with National Museums Liverpool, which will be staging a major exhibition on Liverpool popular music in 2008, and with English Heritage, which is currently supporting historic-landscape characterisation in the city. The implications of the research for an understanding of the relationship between music-making and the urban environment will be considered through published scholarly outputs. Ways of disseminating the research findings to a wide range of audiences will also be considered in order to provoke public reflection and debate on music and place and new perspectives on the urban environment. The project will explore, for example, ways of digitally mapping the practices and perspectives of musicians in order to represent, through audio-visual means, characterisation of the urban environment and cultural and historical change.

## Where the action was: recording music clubs and venues

Robin Page
*Datasets Development Team, English Heritage*

English Heritage's National Monument Record (NMR) database, and its online version, *PastScape*, www.pastscape.org or http://pastscape.english-heritage.org.uk/, is a representative inventory of England's cultural heritage, comprising records of monuments, buildings, surveys and excavations from the Palaeolithic to the present. Over the past 10 years the record has come fully up-to-date with a surprising array of entries. A category

Liverpool's music scene: here a landscape of flyposters on Georgian houses.
© Abigail Gilmore

recently enhanced by the Datasets Development Team includes clubs and other venues for popular music and musical subcultures, mainly from the 1950s and 1960s, but also including early jazz clubs from 1919 onwards.

The desk-based project was initially focused on London, but was expanded to include important regional examples in Liverpool associated with the Beatles and Merseybeat. Entries included the Cavern and the Casbah Club (the latter including murals by Beatles members) and sites relating to the rare 1960s and 1970s phenomenon of Northern Soul such as the Twisted Wheel in Manchester and the Wigan Casino.

The core of the project targeted the centres of London's music scene in Soho in the 1960s. These included: seminal 'Mod' haunt the Scene Club, now a car park, the Flamingo, where the all-nighter was pioneered, and La Discotheque, one of the first-ever true discothèques in Britain. Entries also include The Rolling Stones' first venues in Richmond and north London, the Who's heartland on the Goldhawk Road and touch on the 'bluebeat' (the 1960s' British term for 'ska') West Indian influence at the Ram Jam in Brixton and the Roaring 20s in Carnaby Street. The dataset follows the music scene's change to psychedelia at the Middle Earth and the UFO, and the exclusive clubs of the glitterati such as the Ad-Lib, The Bag O' Nails and the Speakeasy. It also takes in early coffee bars, such as The 2is (pronounced 'two-eyes'), a centre of the skiffle scene, and folk clubs such as Bunjies.


Map of clubs and venues in Soho recorded in the NMR.


The network of clubs, coffee bars, dance-halls and other venues were places where Afro-American, white-American, West Indian, continental and British cultures interacted producing revolutions in music, clothing and youth culture. These were important places, a fact now recognised through their inclusion in the NMR database.

## The late 20th-century seabed

Chris Pater and Peter Murphy
*Maritime Archaeology Team, English Heritage*

Since 1950 development on the seabed has continued apace and in many different ways. One obvious example was the discovery of extensive North Sea oil and gas reserves in the 1970s. Today however, we are in a period of declining hydrocarbon reserves and it is estimated that 500 platforms are approaching the end of their design life. Under international legislation these will require decommissioning and disposal on-shore. Submarine cables date back to 1851, when the Brett brothers laid a telegraph cable under the Channel, but, just as with platform decommissioning, international obligations stipulate that modern redundant cables are to also be removed and disposed of on-shore.

It is therefore apparent that much of what we have built or laid on the seabed in the 20th century is destined for removal. This situation is applicable even in the inter-tidal area: here, the final phases of land claim for agriculture are now directly targeted for managed realignment schemes for flood alleviation and habitat creation purposes, as demonstrated by breaching embankments to allow tidal flooding over arable land near Boston, Lincolnshire.

A reversal in this trend for removal is the push for more power generation from renewable systems such as offshore wind farms. The next few years will see the completion of wind farms out in areas once populated by the gas platforms of the southern North Sea and Irish Sea. But these are temporary too, so what might be a lasting legacy?

It seems that artificial reef habitat creation to support fisheries and recreation is gaining support and wider interest, particularly when the artificial reef in question is a decommissioned Royal Navy warship, such as HMS *Scylla* now lying upright on the bottom of Whitesands Bay, near Plymouth. HMS *Scylla* is notable in naval history as the last ship to be built at Devonport and she was an active participant in the 'Cod War' with Iceland in the 1970s. The focus of English Heritage participation in the general environmental assessment of this artificial reef project was not specifically to do with heritage values of the vessel itself, but to ensure that any archaeological interests already in the seabed were not unnecessarily impacted when the ship was scuttled and a 'reef' created.

Off-shore wind-farm construction at Lowestoft, Suffolk.

## Making memoryscapes: accessing the Thames path through oral history

Toby Butler
*Royal Holloway, University of London*

In the last 50 years the audio guide has generally been an experience reserved for inside the museum or art gallery. Until recently there were only isolated examples of using recorded sound in an outside setting – most commonly as compositions by musicians and experimental sound artists. But now the popularity of MP3 players and a crash in the price of the equipment and software necessary to record and edit professional-quality sound and voice has opened up new opportunities for people to narrate and intervene in the experience of moving through outdoor places and spaces.

### The Thames path

Satellite navigation systems, GPS and mobile phones have tremendous potential to meet a new demand for location-based interpretation of local communities and landscapes. I was therefore inspired to experiment with using the Museum of London oral-history collection, as well as some of my own interview recordings, to create two audio walks along the Thames path. The walks feature interviews with 30 different people concerning their life on the river and an accompanying trail map showed where to play each track along the river bank. The interviews were carefully edited with added background sound.

These 'memoryscape' audio walks are freely available for download to an MP3 player from a website (www.memoryscape.org.uk) and a CD version was sold at the Museum of London and Tourist Information Centres. Many listeners have responded positively to the experience of walking and hearing local voices *in situ*. They particularly liked the authenticity of hearing 'real' people rather than a tour guide. The stories and memories they hear relate to the landscape and some people reported a feeling of closeness or rootedness to the local area as a result. One newcomer to London wrote, 'now I know a sense of a beginning attachment'. Another walker who had recently moved to the area described the process beautifully as 'deepening my attachment to the river. Like roots shooting off into the soil.' Like an aboriginal songline, stories heard *in situ* are given a profound geographical presence.

### Plurality and memory

The range of voices and memories also afforded the listener a plural and multi-layered impression of place. Several people talked about the experience adding a new dimension of reality to the existing landscape. Furthermore, anyone who visited the riverside landscape again could use those links to remember something of the stories that they heard; as one walker put it, 'memoryscape has made me consider the part the river has played in so many people's lives. I think about this whenever I visit the river since listening to the recording.' In this way the memoryscape can perhaps mimic the way our memories seem to work in the brain – it is an active, mobile process, connecting often-disparate things in an intensely creative way to make sense of our past and present.

A group of partially sighted people experiencing a memoryscape walk at Greenwich, London.
© Photo: Toby Butler

### OPINION

In a way, all heritage is contemporary heritage and matters as such. For example, Stonehenge is as much a monument of the architecture, cosmology and rituals of what we call 'the Bronze Age' as it is a monument of 20th-century archaeology, heritage management, tourism and religiosity. The main significance of our entire heritage is that it forms, in one way or another, part of people's everyday lives.

However, it is unclear who will benefit in the future from conserving contemporary heritage now. After all, the only thing we know for sure about history is that everything keeps changing and that nothing ever remains as it was. This rings particularly true in the case of Stonehenge. When future people are going to visit Stonehenge and other heritage sites, they may not only remember the Bronze Age or the 20th century, but also remember remembering these periods at the beginning of the 21st century, when heritage of all periods was being conserved systematically and professionally. By then, conserving heritage might easily be considered as one of the defining characteristics of the age in which we are living now.

Cornelius Holtorf
*University of Lund*

# ‘It’s turned out nice again’
## Lifestyle and landscape in 21st -century England

**Graham Fairclough** *Head of Characterisation, English Heritage*

**Late 20th-century heritage is different: unlike the legacy of the remote past it directly challenges the way we live today and think about the future.**

If you’ve read the other articles first, you’ll have noticed for yourself this issue’s diversity. Its four themes are just one way to cut the rich cake of modern heritage. Many tools can be used. Some – building survey and historical research – can apply to many types of heritage. Others – historic landscape characterisation (HLC) – were designed specifically to understand the present-day landscape; looking at modern times comes easily to HLC, hence perhaps why traditional landscape archaeologists have difficulty with it. There are newer tools, too, that sit comfortably with traditional heritage concerns – the artistic gaze at Coltishall, public art in Bristol, an MP3’s ‘songline’ along the Thames; this living heritage cries out for inter-disciplinary work and new alliances.

All the contributors to this issue share a sense of conservation as socially relevant. They use different labels like heritage, landscape or art but they are all talking about how people make a liveable relationship with their surroundings. Prehistoric, medieval and even 19th-century heritage is safely distant, neutralised by age. Late 20th-century heritage, however, brings with it unfinished business, politics and ideology, uncomfortable memories and open wounds. It is hard to deal with but it reaches out to people and it is unavoidable – it won’t go away. It is there all the time, on the street or at work, on the TV, beneath your car’s wheels. It defines your lives – and it offers conservation one of its best entrées into the really important current debates about how land is used, our responses to climate change or the urbanisation of everyone’s lifestyles.

> ‘Late 20th-century heritage brings with it unfinished business, politics and ideology, uncomfortable memories and open wounds.’

### A Heritage of Change

Not everyone writing in this issue is a ‘conservator’. The concept of recent heritage overturns the commonly heard definition of heritage as ‘what we wish to keep’. There is simply too much to keep, and in any case recent heritage is not necessarily for keeping. Time will thin out the late 20th-century inheritance; keeping some of it will simply not be practicable; some of it we will prefer not to keep, some will become ‘heritage’, and, importantly, some will be preserved in memory only. Much of it we will keep in modified forms, revamped for new lives. All of this is heritage, and for the foreseeable future it will shape everyone’s landscape or townscape.

My life spans these decades. It is ‘my’ period, but I do not view the landscape changes of my own time with distaste, as W G Hoskins seems to have done of his. It seems to me a sign of failure and disillusion; and in this at least I cannot but think that Hoskins was mistaken. But he was of his own time and generation; for my part I still retain a little of the belief in progress of my parents generation, even if fashionably accessorised with 21st-century doubt. Even modern things that I dislike have interest and meaning for me, but then I’m an archaeologist, and an archaeological perspective colours this debate.

‘Can’t complain’, that traditionally British reply to ‘how are you?’, could be a watchword of sorts – as George Formby put it with cheery opti-

Some of the major constructions of the late 20th century are already history: Bankside power station, by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, has become an art gallery and the cooling towers of the white hot technological revolution of the 1960s are also now under notice.

mism 'It's turned out nice again'. In truth, we can't complain much, living as we do in this land of (more or less) peace and prosperity; J G Ballard has suggested that for many car-parking is the greatest spiritual need, so well it seems is everything else catered for; Big Brother suggests that celebrity is a mainstream career choice, so free of economic need do we apparently feel ourselves to be.

Some of the events and years mentioned in this issue are no longer very recent and the heritage of these years is already dwindling. Thatcher's revolution is history, and the Atlee-Beveridge one is even more distant; already a generation separates us from the tumbling of the Wall. The North Sea oil and gas wells which paid for Thatcher's revolution will soon be gone; Bankside is an art gallery and the cooling towers of the white hot technological revolution of the 1960s are also under notice. Paternoster 'failed', we are told, and few 1950s schools or high rise housing blocks survive. And yet. What precisely failed at Paternoster? The architecture was found wanting? Public opinion never came to accept it – or was discouraged from doing so, or not given long enough? A dislike of modern public architecture seems to be quite distinctively British. The Scandinavian countries seem not to have this problem, and the French celebrate Royan, rebuilt as a modernist seaside resort after wartime bombardment. Nor are the 'unchanged' schools and housing towers the only survivals. Others survive through re-cladding or remodelling. We don't expect medieval castles or churches to be totally unchanged, nor do we think that the 'scars' of a life lived – patina, indeed – make something less interesting or important. Perhaps the remodelled 1950s building is the successful one, surviving fit for purpose in a different future; do we put too much weight on authenticity or architectural purity?

> 'Landscape and lifestyle are increasingly difficult to prise apart, so we might need to re-examine our assumptions about which heritage is most important.'

### Conservation – a 20th century habit

Where does conservation fit in this? People don't always dislike new architecture. They seem happy to buy the products of our enormous house-building industry. But what is being built? The modern domestic vernacular, wholly supplanting the inter-war semi as fully as that replaced the terrace, is at the core of the future heritage we are creating. It is based on a generalised concept of a past rural lifestyle filtered through 'local distinctiveness', but it can be disorientating to be thrown from region to region at every turn of the winding streets of a new Poundbury-lite estate. Here is architecture as a generalised habit of conservatism; conservation as consensus. Is it unthinkable not to preserve the next stately home 'at risk'? A recipe for the character of the English (but not the European?) late 20th century would have conservation as a key ingredient.

Conservation can be a selective habit, however. In the 1950s, inner-city redevelopment in South Yorkshire took a 'clean-slate' approach whilst 'greenfield' development aspired to keep an inherited rural context. The new houses at the edges of towns and villages throughout England appear traditional, but their construction methods are not: wood, brick and stone are all there, but only as cladding for the cement blocks. The cars outside are modern, and their drivers want new roads that save five minutes travelling; the houses are full of electronics. Rural life is sought after, but only with an urban lifestyle; what now does 'rural' mean? A Government minister calls for debate on what land should be used for, it no longer being

Modern domestic vernacular is based on a generalised concept of a past rural lifestyle filtered through 'local distinctiveness'. The result is an architecture that seems to belong to no particular time or place.

Bluewater shopping centre, Kent: where better to carry out an archaeological study of the physical culture of the early 21st century?


self-evident that the answer is food production. Landscape and lifestyle are increasingly difficult to prise apart, so we might need to re-examine our assumptions about which heritage is most important or significant.

### 14 per cent used already

As the new century's first decade rushes to its close, the late 20th century starts to look different. Its growing 'otherness' brings a need for understanding. We have lived through these decades but that does not mean we necessarily know what happened. The material culture – the modern things, buildings and landscapes – that those years have left us is everywhere and can remind us of what recently we were; they also offer a half-finished canvas for drawing the future. With hindsight, we should have kept Paternoster; we need to ensure that 1950s and 1960s housing estates work well again, not start again. That is what this issue of *Conservation Bulletin* is about. Like Change and Creation and *Images of Change*, it is about looking back not in anger, denial or distaste but often in celebration and always in understanding, an understanding of who we are, where we are, what might come next.

The study of very recent things is neither very new nor a big step for English Heritage but it may be a larger step in terms of attitudes to heritage and conservation. Recent and contemporary heritage takes us a very long way from concepts such as 'designated resource', 'heritage asset' and 'local list'. It takes us into the realm of people's everyday surroundings, their *cadre de vie* – their landscape. The European Landscape Convention illuminates all the pages you have just read.

In reading through this issue, however, you might wonder as I do whether this argument is already won. Despite several different setting-out points and their different choices of vehicle, the contributors to this *Bulletin* have arrived at the same destination. All agree that recent things warrant consideration, and that the legacy of the recent past, whatever we choose to do with it, is as much a part of the historic environment as anything. Participation and outreach (see *Conservation Bulletin* 55, Summer 2007) tells us that recent things mainly, or at least firstly, form most people's idea of heritage. This *Bulletin* does not ask whether (or when) we should study, debate and (perhaps) preserve the landscapes of the late 20th century, it asks how. There's no point in waiting.

## SEX AND SHOPPING

Most of the time, archaeologists have to work back from the often limited material that we can find today, to think about past beliefs and attitudes. But when looking at the recent past we can reverse the usual process. We can ask what characterised life in late 20th-century England and then see how it is expressed in the landscape.

For our professions, it is no more reasonable to sneer at the commercialism of the Bluewater shopping centre than at the evidence of trade at Maiden Castle. At the mall we can study trade routes, technology, building styles, food consumption, domestic and ritual material culture, coinage, discard patterns, kinship arrangements, social stratification or the conflict between public and private space. But the real point is that shopping malls like Bluewater represent their time.

On the other hand there are some defining characteristics of modern times which are not reflected in our landscape. Take sex, the family, gender relations. Perhaps the new starter homes and estates occupying the infills and the edges of town reflect the smaller and more fluid families of today. But they are not so very different in size and form from Victorian workers' housing. Few would dispute the shifts in relations between men and women at work and in the home between 1950 and the year 2000 and its wide consequences. Yet, arguably they have no material trace in the landscape we see today.

Janet Miller
*Atkins Heritage*

# **News** from English Heritage

## Guidance on Tall Buildings

English Heritage and CABE have produced a revised version of their joint *Guidance on Tall Buildings*. Following a period of consultation, this was endorsed by government on 26 July 2007 and supersedes previous guidance published in 2003. In announcing the publication, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Iain Wright MP) said:

> The government's aim is to ensure local planning authorities are getting the right developments in the right places, which we consider to be a fundamental part of creating places where people will want to live and work, now and in the future. Recent reforms to the planning system have helped to reinforce this message, making clear that all new development should be of good quality and designed in full appreciation of its surroundings and context. Tall buildings, in the right places and appropriately designed, can make positive contributions to our cities.
>
> The government therefore welcome this updated guidance, which will assist local planning authorities when evaluating planning applications for tall buildings, including, importantly, the need for effective engagement with local communities. It also places a greater emphasis on the contribution that design can make to improving the character and quality of an area. It offers good practice guidance to a range of stakeholders in relation to tall buildings in the planning process, provides practical advice on achieving well-designed solutions in the right places, and is capable of being material to the determination of planning applications.

The full document can be downloaded from www.english-heritage.org.uk/tall buildings or the HELM website www.helm.org.uk/server/show/nav.7714

## Heritage Counts 2007

The sixth annual survey of the state of England's historic environment was published on 31 October. Five years after the publication of the original *State of the Historic Environment Report*, this year's report looks at the main trends in the historic environment since 2002. It also includes a focus on the historic environment as a learning resource and on the issues faced by the sector in relation to the skills of the workforce. Alongside the national report, a suite of regional reports will provide further detail on the state of the historic environment in the nine government regions.

## HELM

Keeping up to date with English Heritage policy developments and publications could not be more straightforward. Most English Heritage policy publications are now available from the HELM website: www.helm.org.uk .Via the website you can also sign up to an e-newsletter that contains information on news, recent publications and forthcoming events such as training courses, including those run by universities, professional institutions and amenity societies. Sign up is simple – you just need to provide your name and email address in the form on the homepage.

## World Heritage Sites

Management plans for the Tower of London and Westminster World Heritage Sites (WHS) have been completed, which means that all UK WHS now have Management Plans.

In June, the annual meeting of the World Heritage Committee (WHC) considered reports assessing the impact of developments and proposals on the Liverpool, Tower of London, Westminster and Stonehenge WHSs and decided not to put any of the sites on to the World Heritage in Danger list. At next year's meeting the

A sense of scale: the medieval church of St Andrew Undershaft is shrunk to Lilliputian proportions by 30 St Mary Axe (The 'Gherkin') and the other tall buildings that capture the spirit of 21st-century London.

WHC will review the Tower and Westminster Management Plans, the new protected view of the Tower and the recently commenced Westminster Dynamic Visual Impact Study.

The 2007 nomination of 'Darwin at Down' was withdrawn by the government on the grounds that ICOMOS had failed to recognise the property's 'significance as a site for the heritage of science'. The UK has since offered to host an expert meeting to develop guidelines as to how to assess scientific nominations.

## Energy conservation and the historic environment

English Heritage is publishing a series of guidance notes on energy conservation in traditionally constructed homes. The first of these, *Energy Conservation in Traditional Buildings*, shows how insulation and draught-proofing can reduce the heat lost through a building's walls, windows, floor and roof. Aimed at the homeowner, it explains how traditional (historic) buildings differ from modern homes and why inappropriate techniques or materials can cause problems. The guidance can be downloaded free of charge from: http://www.helm.org.uk/upload/pdf/EnergyConservation.pdf

Other guidance notes in the series will address the issue of microgeneration, defined by Government as 'the production of heat and/or electricity on a small-scale from a low carbon source'. These will show homeowners how various renewable technologies can be sensitively installed in traditionally constructed homes and what they will need to consider. The first of the guides, *Micro Wind Generation and Traditional Buildings*, can be downloaded from: www.helm.org.uk/upload/pdf/MicroWind.pdf . Further guides, to be published from Autumn 2007 onwards, will look at solar thermal energy (solar water heating), solar electric energy (photovoltaics), heat pumps, combined heat and power, hydro electric, rainwater and grey water recycling.

## Historic Environment Champions

Historic Environment Champions provide leadership for heritage issues within their local authorities. The majority of Champions are elected members and 31 of them (15 per cent) were lost as a result of local elections in May 2007. However, the number of replacements is growing steadily and by August 60 per cent of local authorities, four national parks and the Greater London Authority all had Champions.

English Heritage has developed an exciting three-year programme to help Champions keep up-to-date, develop skills, share ideas and build partnerships. In July we held four conferences around the country on the Heritage Protection White Paper, while from September we are rolling out 'Building in Context' training to help councillors make better-informed decisions about new design in historic areas.

If you want to find out more on the Historic Environment Champions initiative, read the latest publications or see if your local authority has a Champion, visit the HELM website (www.helm.org.uk) or email champions@english-heritage.org.uk.

## West Dean College

West Dean College, English Heritage and the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum are again collaborating to offer the following intensive courses:

### Building conservation masterclasses

Mortars for Repair and Conservation, 12–14 November 2007
Conservation and Repair of Timber, 3–6 December 2007
Conservation of Stone Surfaces and Detail, 14–17 January 2008
Conservation and Repair of Architectural Metalwork, January 2008
Specifying Conservation Works, 4–7 February 2008
Conservation and Repair of Brick, 25–28 February 2008
The Historic Interior: Commissioning and Managing, 14–16 April 2008
Conservation and Repair of Masonry Ruins, 6–9 May 2008
Conservation and Repair of Plasters and Renders, 27–30 May 2008
The Ecological Management of Historic Buildings, 9–12 June 2008
Cleaning Masonry, 23–26 June 2008

### Professional conservators in practice

Decorated Papers, 29 October–1 November 2007
Sharpening Edge Tools, 5–8 November 2007
Preventive Conservation, 26–29 November 2007

For further information on all the courses in this programme, please contact Liz Campbell at West Dean College, Chichester, West Sussex PO18 0QZ; tel: 01243 818219 or 0844 4994408; fax: 01243 811343; e–mail: bcm@westdean.org.uk; web: www.westdean.org.uk

# The National Monuments Record
## News and Events

The NMR is the public archive of English Heritage. It includes more than 7 million archive items (photographs, drawings, reports and digital data) relating to England's historic environment. Catalogues are available online and in the NMR search room in Swindon.
Contact the NMR at:
NMR Enquiry & Research Services, National Monuments Record, Kemble Drive, Swindon SN2 2GZ
tel: 01793 414600
fax: 01793 414606
email: nmrinfo@english-heritage.org.uk
web: www.english-heritage.org.uk/nmr

### Online resources from the NMR

#### *Images of England*

*Images of England* is a unique online photographic record of the buildings listed as of historic interest at the turn of the 21st century. Volunteers have been snapping England's built heritage since 1999 and each image is loaded on to the website alongside the building's statutory list description. We were delighted to see the 300,000th image loaded on to the website back in July.

The benefits of having a 'point-in-time' record of England's listed structures are already apparent. Many of the buildings captured by our volunteers have altered in the few years since the photograph was taken. Regeneration, restoration, fire and flooding have all had an impact on the historic landscape since the *Images of England* project began. Visit the website at www.imagesofengland.org.uk to see how much your area has changed.

To get the most from the website we recommend you register to use the Advanced Search facility – this is quick and easy and is free of charge. From the advanced search page you can explore the website in many different ways, such as building type, locality and even building material. For further information, please contact: Julie Swann, tel: 01793 414779; email: julie.swann@english-heritage.org.uk

#### *ViewFinder*

*ViewFinder* is an online picture resource drawing on the NMR's national photographic collections (www.english-heritage.org.uk/viewfinder). It contains more than 50,000 images with a programme to add more each year. The following important collections of historic photographs have recently been added to *ViewFinder*.

Following the death in 1999 of John Gay, a professional photographer active from the 1930s to the 1980s, the NMR received his archive of about 40,000 negatives. Among other work, he published a number of illustrated books, including *London Observed* (1964) with Macdonald Hastings, *Prospect of Highgate and Hampstead* (1967) with Leonard Clark and *London's Historic Railway Stations* (1972) with John Betjeman. This collection is of major national importance, so a programme to catalogue and scan the material and make it available online is under way. To date about 5,000 images have gone on to *ViewFinder* and new pictures will be added each quarter.
For further information please contact Andrew Sargent, tel: 01793 414740; email: andrew.sargent@english-heritage.org.uk

This evocative picture by John Gay of a locomotive on the Flying Scotsman route out of Kings Cross was used in John Betjeman's *London's Historic Railway Stations*. © English Heritage.NMR AA062839

Above: The former coal staithe at Wearmouth Colliery, Sunderland. Sunderland Football Club's Stadium of Light now occupies the colliery site. © Taken for Images of England in 2002 by D H Bottoms. IoE 391655

Below: The same view taken in 1992. © Taken by R Thomas. (This image is available on *ViewFinder*). AA93/03720

A water cart in the River Thames at Shiplake, Oxfordshire, photographed by Henry Taunt. © English Heritage.NMR CC97/02430

## Photographic exhibitions

### Merchant palaces – Liverpool and Wirral mansions photographed by Bedford Lemere

The photographs in this exhibition were taken between 1888 and 1916 by Harry Bedford Lemere, one of the most important architectural photographers of his day. He travelled widely, recording the homes of the rich for their owners or for professional decorators and architects. The prosperity of late Victorian and Edwardian Liverpool often brought him to Merseyside; the exhibition gives an insight into the lives of these affluent families.
Sudley Art Gallery, Liverpool, until early 2008.

### Making the past present – images of Essex

We all take the buildings around us for granted. This exhibition prompts people to look again at some familiar and unfamiliar buildings as a way of making the past more relevant to their daily lives, bringing NMR material together with images, facts and figures from eight museums and archives that hold historic collections about Essex.
Location: Chelmsford Museum, Essex, 22 December 2007 to 28 February 2008.

### In the footsteps of Henry Taunt

Henry Taunt was a prolific 19th-century photographer. His photographic guides to the River Thames inspired digital photographers Jeff Robins and Graham Diprose to recreate many of his views. Historic images from the NMR, Oxfordshire Studies and the River and Rowing Museum, Henley-on-Thames, feature in this 'before and after' exhibition.
Locations: River and Rowing Museum, Henley-on-Thames, 6 Oct 2007 to 20 Jan 2008; Reading Museum, 26 Jan 2008 to 26 April 2008.
For further information about these exhibitions please contact Anne Woodward, NMR Exhibitions Manager, tel: 01793 414613; email: anne.woodward@english-heritage.org.uk

***English Heritage Historical Review***
**Volume 2 – due in November!**
English Heritage Historical Review is a rich source of historical research and interpretation. Published annually, the second issue of the journal is due in November and reflects the broad range of research being undertaken at English Heritage.

How to order: 01761 452966
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# Legal Developments

## Reinforcement of concrete rules of protection

**Mike Harlow** *Legal Director, English Heritage*

The summer brought two Planning Inquiry decisions that, unlike the summer, should be warmly received.

Easington Colliery School in County Durham was built around 1913 in the baroque revival style. It has been vacant for 10 years. On a call-in inquiry into its demolition, to make way for a proposed housing development, the inspector described the Grade II school as nationally important. Although not that rare, it is a good example of school design at a significant point in the development of school buildings.

The crux of the matter for the inspector was whether the PPG 15 tests for demolition had been satisfied. There must be clear and convincing evidence that: all reasonable efforts have been made to sustain existing uses or find viable new uses; preservation in charity or community ownership is not possible; or, that preservation is decisively outweighed by substantial community benefits.

A large number of local residents clearly thought there were sufficiently decisive community benefits in demolition and supported the applicant. The inspector acknowledged that regeneration was a high priority in a deprived area.

The property had been marketed in accordance with the requirements of PPG15, so said the inspector. Some offers had come forward but the applicant argued that none were realistic. There was a party with some plans for retention as an enterprise centre, but they lacked full funding at the time. There was also evidence that a conversion to residential use may be viable in an improved market.

Given the obvious regeneration imperative, it would have been easy for the inspector to weave a line through the policy requirements to conclude that the community benefits of the new housing scheme outweighed the loss of the building. But he was intellectually honest in his appraisal. He focused on the simple policy aim for listed buildings: keep them, save very occasionally when loss is unavoidable (PPG 15 para 3.17, sort of). The threads of hope for a viable future for the building that English Heritage had highlighted, together with some apparent scepticism about whether housing amounts to a lasting regeneration benefit in any event, left the inspector convinced that the buildings should not be irreversibly lost.

Whilst the future is still uncertain, it is certainly not without hope.

By comparison, in the other inquiry the development site at Hume Street in the Ouseburn Industrial Estate, not far down the Tyne from central Newcastle, does not hold buildings of any historic merit at all. It is, though, a key development site in a conservation area focused around a ribbon tributary to the Tyne. In the area's Victorian pomp, buildings fought for access to the Ouseburn-river-front to use and be used by the water-traffic. Many of the buildings survive and some are listed.

> 'These cases form a very useful demonstration that conservation principles are not simply a luxury for developments that can afford it.'

The applicants applied to build a large mixed-use development of 40 flats and 3,700 square metres of offices.

English Heritage was concerned that pursuit of the undoubted need for regeneration in the area would seduce the planners into accepting a design that fell short of preserving or enhancing the character of the conservation area, to the long-term detriment of all.

A strong-minded report of the inspector said the scheme 'would fail to relate satisfactorily with the existing urban form and the established industrial character of the surrounding built-environment'. She concluded the applicant had failed to produce a high-quality design or preserve or enhance the conservation area. Planning was refused, as was Conservation Area Consent for the demolition of the existing buildings (of no particular merit in themselves) since they were at least to the scale and grain of the surrounding area. Whilst there was no acceptable plan for their replacement they were better than a cleared site.

It is very reassuring to see in both cases that historic environment planning aims are being maintained robustly and not barrelled over when immediately in conflict with others. These cases form a very useful demonstration that conservation principles are not simply a luxury for developments that can afford it or only applicable to the hyper-historic.

# New publications

## Images of Change: An Archaeology of England's Contemporary Landscape

Sefryn Penrose with contributors
Foreword by Antony Gormley

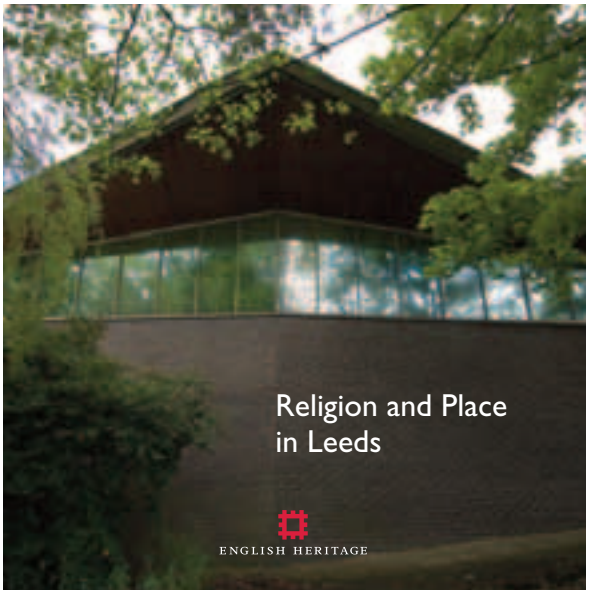
Motorways, airports, tower blocks, power stations and windfarms; business parks, starter homes and vast shopping and leisure complexes. All of these helped define the later 20th-century world and their material remains remind us of the major changes brought about through innovation and rapidly developing technology.

Illustrated with striking aerial and ground photographs of some stunning and sometimes surprising 20th-century landscapes, *Images of Change* highlights the impact the developments of the last century have had on the landscape and gives us a new angle on the industrial, military, domestic and agricultural influences at work around us. By turns dramatic, beautiful, even shocking, the images and accompanying text will convince that the later 20th century should not be seen as an age that has devalued or destroyed what went before. We recognise and celebrate the process of landscape change for earlier periods – the 20th century should be no different.

PRICE: £17.99 + P&P
ISBN: 978 1 905624 14 0 / PRODUCT CODE 51233
Hardback, 200 pages

### SPECIAL OFFER

Until 31 December 2007 *Conservation Bulletin* readers can purchase *Images of Change* for the reduced price of £14.99 plus £1.50 p&p through English Heritage Postal Sales at the address shown overleaf.


## Religion and Place in Leeds

John Minnis and Trevor Mitchell

Religious and cultural diversity has been a key feature of the city of Leeds for almost 200 years and has resulted in the building of many fine churches, chapels and synagogues; these are now joined by mosques, gurdwaras and a mandir. Tracing the architectural response to the changing conditions of the inner city and suburbs, this book examines the buildings associated with the groups of newcomers to Leeds, thus charting a great change in the city's religious life.

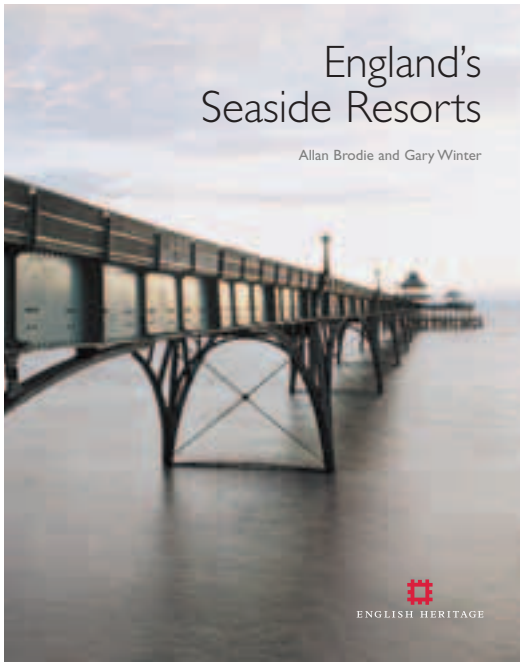
The book suggests that both brand-new purpose-built places of worship and the adaptation of existing buildings reveal significant continuities with the way Christian groups expanded in the 19th century. It also discusses how alterations have been made to Leeds' churches to adapt them to changing liturgical requirements and to the pastoral and social requirements of the present day.

PRICE: £7.99 + P&P
ISBN: 978 1 905624 48 5 / PRODUCT CODE 51337
Paperback, 96 pages

## England's Seaside Resorts

Allan Brodie and Gary Winter

For three centuries people have headed to the seaside. Although this was initially limited to a few wealthy people in search of cures for their ailments, during the 19th and 20th centuries a day at the seaside came within the reach of everyone. This had a huge impact on coastal towns, transforming them from small working towns to the lively resorts we know, and love, today.




*England's Seaside Resorts*, the culmination of four years of research, combines new information derived from the resorts themselves with a re-examination of many of the most significant, original documents. All stretches of the coastline, and all sizes of resorts, have been studied to explain what gives the seaside towns their special character. A large number of new photographs taken for this project, along with a selection of historic images from the National Monuments Record, provide a unique insight into England's favourite holiday destinations.

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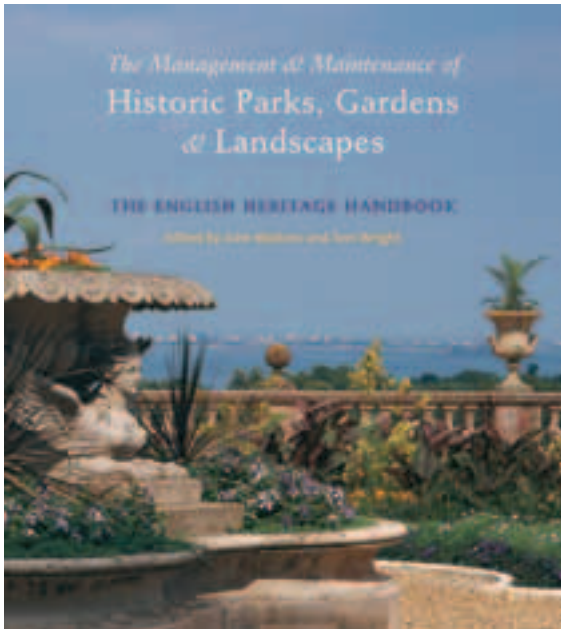


## The Management and Maintenance of Historic Parks, Gardens and Landscapes: The English Heritage Handbook

Thomas Wright and John Watkins

Published by Francis Low in association with English Heritage, this new reference book is for all those professionals, agents, owners, designers and managers concerned with the many aspects of managing historic gardens, parks and design landscapes. The comprehensive scope emphasizes the importance of the principles of management, and the historic, scientific, botanical, horticultural, economic, legal and technical aspects essential for success. There is no other up-to-date book on the subject; the last one was written in 1982.

PRICE: £35
ISBN: 978 0 7112 24 39 1
Paperback, 368 pages

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