



Centre for Environment and Society Research  
Working Paper series no. 21

# Continual change: a century of urban conservation in England

Peter J Larkham



# **Continual change: a century of urban conservation in England**

Peter J Larkham  
*Professor of Planning*  
*Birmingham School of the Built Environment, Birmingham City University*

Working Paper Series, no. 11  
2013

ISBN 978-1-904839-61-3

© Author, 2013

Published by  
Birmingham City University  
Centre for Environment and Society Research  
Faculty of Technology, Engineering and the Environment  
City Centre campus, Millennium Point, Curzon Street, Birmingham, B4 7XG, UK





## CONTENTS

Abstract	iv
Early origins	1
The Second World War and the standard history of conservation	5
Buildings	5
Area conservation in reconstruction plans	6
Concepts of conservation and management in reconstruction plans	8
Events and issues into the post-war period	10
Lavenham, character and conservation priorities	10
Great Yarmouth as a cause célèbre	11
Isolated monuments	13
Coventry walls	15
Legislation and policy change	15
Conservation at the end of the 'post-war reconstruction period'	16
The emergence of an orthodoxy	18
Conclusions	18
References	20

## Illustrations

Figure 1	Bargate, Southampton: 1930 development proposals	3
Figure 2.	Bargate, Southampton: modern photograph	4
Figure 3.	York Gate, Southampton, 1930s	4
Figure 4:	Lavenham in the early 1960s	10
Figure 5:	Great Yarmouth: the Rows area, 1920s and 1960s	12
Figure 6:	City wall, Newcastle upon Tyne	13
Figure 7:	The clearance and display of York's walls, 1948	14
Figure 8:	Retention of stretch of Coventry city wall	16

**Abstract**

The history of conservation in the UK is generating significant current interest, although it has tended to produce a standard story of the development of ideas and practices, from monuments to buildings to entire areas, and from pre-Georgian architecture through Georgian, Victorian, modern to the post-war period. Ongoing archival research associated with the study of post-war reconstruction planning is able to demonstrate how conservation concepts became embedded in planning, if not in legislation, rather earlier than this conventional history might suggest; and helps to produce a more nuanced re-evaluation of the history of conservation planning in England.

**Key words:** *urban conservation, planning history, twentieth century*

# Continual change: a century of urban conservation in England

Peter J Larkham

*Birmingham School of the Built Environment, Birmingham City University, Millennium Point, Curzon Street, Birmingham B4 7XG, UK*

The development of ideas of conservation in the built environment is of long-standing interest, as recent publications demonstrate (Glendinning, 2013; Thurley, 2013); and the “opportunity” afforded by wartime destruction spurred what are often seen as new ideas and practices, although ongoing archival research associated with the period of post-Second World War reconstruction is proving their novelty to be exaggerated (Larkham, 2003, 2010; Pendlebury, 2003) especially as individual examples contribute to a more nuanced history. A discussion of the development of ideas of conservation in mid-twentieth century England has to begin much earlier. This paper focuses on England, although its legislation tends to be adopted in Wales and Northern Ireland: the Scottish system is rather different. Although these ideas have developed considerably, there is also a great deal of continuity – or perhaps inertia – to consider. Hence this exploration of ideas and approaches emerging from the crisis of war-damaged Britain in the 1940s and 1950s needs to start as far back as the 1870s. We move from a simple identification of a tiny number of archaeological sites to a multiplicity of layers of protection for individual monuments, buildings, and entire areas. It would be unpopular in many quarters to suggest that England has protected too much; for our heritage is one of our major external income generators through tourism. Yet some are beginning to see that the “designate” approach may have problems.

## Early origins

It was in the 1870s that one Member of Parliament (MP), Sir John Lubbock, made repeated attempts to get new legislation accepted. He was part of a wider, and admittedly wealthy and educated elite, reaction against the scale of contemporary developments and crude ‘restorations’ of important buildings such as cathedrals, and a broadening of interests in history and archaeology. The founding of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) at this time by William Morris, John Ruskin and others in 1878 was an important indicator of elite opinion change; and SPAB’s ideas and influence have been important in shaping British conservation ever since. All of Lubbock’s attempts were defeated by landowner interests: for example Lord Percy complained that these proposed to take control of private property not for essential public purposes, but “for purposes of sentiment, and it was difficult to see where that would stop” (Delafons, 1997, p. 24). A watered-down version eventually became law in 1882, as the Ancient Monuments Protection Act. But this afforded only minimal protection to a small number of ‘monuments’, largely prehistoric; it specifically excluded ecclesiastical buildings in use, and there was still strong sentiment among legislators and landowners that this represented an unwarranted State interference with private property rights (Kennet, 1972, chapter 1). This view amongst the land- (and monument-) owning class was persistent: in 1911 the Duke of Rutland responded in *The Times* to the mere suggestion of control over demolition: it was “a massive piece of impudence ... Fancy my not being allowed to make a necessary alteration to [his property] without first obtaining the leave of some inspector!” (quoted in Worsley, 2002,

p. 9).

Lubbock's Act did set a precedent: much of the subsequent statutory activity in terms of conservation has been spurred not by governments or political parties, but by individual MPs, often those having the chance opportunity of promoting legislation through the annual ballot for private members' Bills. Legislation, even via this route, tends to come long after a wider need has been felt; and even such needs are usually felt by the articulate elite rather than by a mass public.

Ancient Monuments legislation was regularly amended and extended in the early-twentieth century. The 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act was significant for its introduction of the concept of a 'preservation order' (although each one had to be confirmed by Parliament), and additionally gave the Ancient Monuments Board and the Commissioners of Works the duty to prepare lists of "monuments and things ... the preservation of which is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, architectural, traditional, artistic, or archaeological interest attaching thereto". Despite this wide remit, the in practice Board restricted itself to the already-traditional scope of monument control.

Conservation received a surprising boost in the 1923 Housing Etc. Act, overlooked in most histories, which provided that:

"Where it appears to the Minister that on account of the special architectural, historic or artistic interest attaching to a locality it is expedient that with a view to preserving the existing character and to protect the existing features of the locality a town planning scheme should be made ... prescribing the space about buildings, or limiting the number of buildings to be erected, or prescribing the height or character of buildings".

This unusual clause, establishing novel planning principles relevant to conservation and aesthetic control (in an Act which did not even contain the word 'planning' in its title) was apparently developed at the instigation of influential lawyers and parliamentarians, graduates of Oxford University, who were particularly concerned to protect the character of that city (Cocks, 1998). However, little or no use seems to have been made of these novel provisions, in Oxford or elsewhere. They did, however, demonstrate the *possibility* of looking at areas rather than individual monuments.

The 1932 Town and Country Planning Act rather diluted this wide definition of interest, referring instead to "protecting existing buildings or other objects of architectural, historic or artistic interest". It did, however, introduce the term 'amenity' – though this is still poorly defined in legislation – and building preservation orders, thus extending the familiar form of monument control to inhabited buildings. It also contained a number of significant procedural and practical flaws (Delafons, 1997, pp. 39-40). Of more direct conservation interest than this national legislation were local Acts such as the 1937 Bath Corporation Act, which extended some control to the façades of over 1200 specific buildings in the town (Pendlebury, 2004, p. 332).

Nevertheless, action on the ground was guided by dominant tastes and local feelings. Shifts in attitudes are exemplified by the inter-war rise in rural conservation and how novel features such as electricity pylons were viewed as contributing to, or detracting from, the landscape (as discussed in Matless, 1990). The Design and Industries Association also produced a number of booklets – described as "cautionary guides" – to

historic towns, criticising much modern design but also identifying and praising where “the architectural decencies [are] observed”: the disfigurement of advertising was one of their major complaints (DIA, 1930). Nationally at this time, Georgian architecture was beginning to receive critical support while industrial and Victorian structures were still derided: the national Georgian Group was founded in 1937 and the Victorian Society in 1958. Monuments still tended to be the focus of attention, albeit that they were now likely to encompass medieval structures: the national Ancient Monuments Society was founded in 1924. Yet concern often extended to only *select* parts of monuments, which were sometimes identified and displayed in isolation, almost as museum exhibits. The need for towns to respond to fast-changing circumstances such as the growth of motor vehicles also demonstrates this, for example when Southampton’s medieval north gate was severed from its wall and left on a traffic island in the early 1930s, plans for its demolition having been resisted – the wall and its gates being scheduled ancient monuments (Figures 1 and 2).

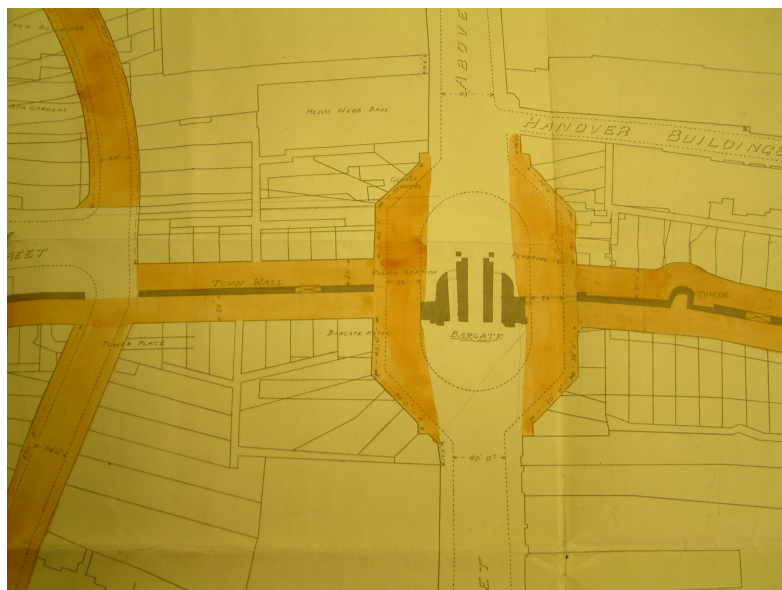


Figure 1. Bargate, Southampton: plan showing isolation of wall and the gate for improved traffic circulation, March 1930 (The National Archives [hereafter TNA] WORK 14/2129, reproduced with permission).

At about the same time in Southampton, there was a proposal to remove and widen the 1800s York Gate:

“It is of no great age or distinction, and it masks the medieval wall at this point. As the scheduling was intended to protect the medieval wall I do not think that we need object to the demolition of the gate, and the exposure and proper treatment of the butt ends of the medieval wall” (TNA WORK 14/2129) (Figure 3).



Figure 2. Bargate, Southampton (photograph by the author, 2006)



Figure 3. York Gate, Southampton (TNA WORK 14/2129, reproduced with permission).



## The Second World War and the standard history of conservation

### *Buildings*

The wartime bomb damage is normally seen as the impetus to changing conservation attitudes, and in particular to the realisation that there was no national inventory of significant structures – so it was not even possible to see what had been damaged or destroyed. However, as always, there were important precursors, including lists produced on a local basis by various local authorities, societies and interest groups, and an emergency survey by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works following the first serious air raids of 1940 (Harvey, 1993). This scheme was not solely an identification but was “designed to provide First Aid repairs to Buildings of Historic Interest damaged by enemy action”. Valuable and characteristic *groups* were to be identified, while earthworks were excluded. By the end of 1942 basic lists for the whole of England had been compiled (Harvey, 1993, pp. 4, 6).

Yet this was primarily a list, often with a sketch and brief description. A parallel initiative supplemented this through photographic and scaled drawing recording: the National Buildings Record. This was set up in 1940 by Walter Godfrey and John Summerson as a voluntary activity (anon., 1973), made difficult by the scarcity of photographic supplies and the suspicion of strangers taking photographs during wartime. This developed in time into the National Buildings Record, now part of the English Heritage Archive.

The needs of large-scale rebuilding identified shortcomings in the English planning system that were first addressed in the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act. Conservation was a relatively minor concern, nevertheless after the intervention of the MP for Twickenham, the Act gave the relevant Minister, for the first time, the power “to compile lists of buildings of special architectural or historic interest, or to approve with or without modifications, such lists compiled by other persons” (Town and Country Planning Act 1944, as quoted by Delafons, 1997, p. 57). This is the origin of the term “listed building” – simply, a building on the Minister’s list! Clearly the list and the approach were informed by the earlier activities of the Ancient Monuments Branch and the National Buildings Record. Two factors are worth noting: first that this was done on the prompting of an individual MP, not a Government initiative; secondly, that the power was just that; not a requirement.

Shortly afterwards the more radical and wide-ranging 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, in essence underpinning much of British planning throughout the post-war period (Cullingworth, 1999), made it a requirement that the Minister should compile such lists – and again this was not in the original Bill but was added during its debate in the House of Lords (Delafons, 1997, p. 60). There were also provisions for Building Preservation Orders, but nevertheless the act of Listing a building was still simply an identification: it brought no resources nor additional protection.

One of the problems with the listing system over time has been the secrecy with which it has operated. For example, an Advisory Committee on Listing was set up as early as 1945, and it developed instructions to investigators. However these were strictly secret, as John Delafons found when he became secretary to the committee in 1959:

“I was told of the instructions’ existence but it was gently explained to me that

neither my predecessor nor I was entitled to see a copy since they were confidential to the Investigators” (Delafons, 1997, p. 67).

This response would be seen as typical of the British Civil Service! However, Delafons, a senior civil servant, found a copy in a plain brown envelope in the Public Record Office and published extracts in his 1997 book. Similarly, it has always been the Minister who has made the decision on listing, albeit on advice from experts (the Advisory Committee, now English Heritage). No reasons have been given for listing or refusal to list, nor was there any appeal (except for errors of fact). Yet no minister has been trained in the architectural or aesthetic appreciation of buildings.

### *Area conservation in reconstruction plans*

The outpouring of reconstruction plans covered places that were of clear historic significance as well as those of lesser importance; and places that were badly damaged as well as those that were little- or even un-damaged. However, specifically for the historic cities, these plans placed in the professional and public domains “for the first time ... a body of planning documents that specifically recognised the significance of the historic city as a whole, albeit working to a narrow definition of what the historic city comprised” (Pendlebury, 2004, p. 347).

It is conventionally suggested that the extension of conservation concerns to whole areas of towns, rather than just individual buildings and monuments, dates from the mid-1960s when Duncan Sandys MP won first place in the annual parliamentary ballot for Private Members’ Bills and introduced what became the 1967 Civic Amenities Act (discussed further below). However, Delafons (1997) shows that concepts of area-based protection can even be found in the 1909 Housing, Town Planning etc. Act (provisions for “areas of any special character”, and in the Housing etc. Act 1923, where a planning scheme may be developed on account of “the special architectural, historic or artistic interest attaching to a locality ... with a view to preserving the existing character and to protect the existing features of the locality” (Delafons, 1997, pp. 36-38). A study of conservation issues in a sample of 25 wartime and early post-war reconstruction plans shows that some thought was being given even at this time to wider-scale protection (Larkham, 2003); and Pendlebury’s examination of plans confirms the place of conservation and that it could be reconciled with modern plans and even building designs (Pendlebury, 2003, 2004). Although, as has been discussed, the 1944 and 1947 Acts referred to the listing of buildings not the protection of areas, it is interesting that an internal memorandum on the system of preparing “outline plans” in the early war years suggested that, in areas where no change was necessary, “here only a conservation plan would be needed” (Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 1943). This is an interesting application of “conservation” on an area-wide basis, but would not deal with the problems of protecting those parts of an area within which some, or much, change was to occur.

The 1945 plan for Richmond does mention areas, albeit cursorily: “[n]either the [civic] centre nor the approach roads should disturb buildings or areas having historic or architectural merit” (Todd and Weddle, 1945, p. 11). In discussing “preserving and developing an area” (Todd and Weddle, 1945, p. 10) it is, perhaps, contradictory.

The prolific reconstruction planner and internationally-renowned consultant Professor



(later Sir) Patrick Abercrombie (and his collaborators) did develop explicit concepts of area conservation. In badly-bombed Plymouth, for example, a historic core was easily identified which, despite some damage, had survived:

“[w]e consider that in this small district there is an area worthy of preservation from every point of view, and we recommend an intensification of effort towards the reconditioning and reconstruction of the buildings so that, whilst retaining its historic features of narrow roads, winding step-crossed lanes, enclosed courts and tiered houses, it shall possess those additional communal and personal facilities demanded by modern standards of living. We do not suggest for one moment that a faked, exhibitionist pseudo-antique district, but that this comparatively small area of the city – its historic precinct – should be set aside for special attention, its remaining ancient buildings and streets carefully restored, and the whole area controlled and directed in its future re-development, so as to form a fitting frame for the priceless antiquities which it contains” (Paton Watson and Abercrombie, 1943, p. 14).

This view was apparently influenced by recent American visitors, some of whom “having seen Williamsburg, the reconstructed historical piece on the other side of the Atlantic, express their surprise and wonderment that similar steps have not been taken to preserve and enshrine the yet more personally intimate historic relics here” (Paton Watson and Abercrombie, 1943, p. vii).

Later, and most specifically, the plan for unbombed Warwick discusses “areas for preservation”: a policy innovation worth quoting at length:

“In areas where the majority of buildings are of some architectural or historical interest and there are few ‘problem cases’, the aim should be to preserve the existing structure as far as possible ... Special efforts should be made in these areas to secure the reconditioning of ‘problem cases’ of outstanding interest. New buildings in these areas will require very careful control, but should not be prevented altogether ... advantage should be taken of any necessary clearances or reconditioning to provide rear access or increased yard space to buildings lacking these amenities, and to remedy excessive building-over of the rear of the plots by the demolition of unnecessary outbuildings and extensions. The realization of these aims calls for a policy of positive planning as opposed to merely restrictive planning” (Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949, p. 85).

Thomas Sharp, an equally prolific plan author and writer of planning polemics and textbooks, wrote of conservation in the 1944 plan for unbombed Durham, and in a discussion of the “conservation of old buildings”, explicitly using the term “conservation areas”. He seems to imply the main parts of the city centre where there is a concentration of conservation-worthy buildings. He discusses the sorts of work acceptable to buildings of this type in such an area:

“while the maintenance of the façades and of the main massing and roof shapes of the buildings is obviously a prime purpose of conservation (and ‘maintenance’ in this sense includes repairing, cleaning up and redecorating), a fairly free adjustment of interior arrangements, the clearing away of accretions (particularly in back-yards), and similar measures of this kind, are

also necessary parts of the undertaking. So is the removal of unharmonious buildings within the main groups, and the harmonious filling in of the gaps thus created" (Sharp, 1944, p. 79).

Sharp thus focuses on the façade, the street scene, rather than the integrity of the building or the building as 'text' demonstrating the accumulation of features and uses: this is an early example of the concept of "townscape" which he eventually developed in book form, and which became a staple of conservation planning and ideology (Sharp, 1969; see Pendlebury (2009) for a discussion of the development of "townscape" and Sharp's contribution). But other plans also proposed façade retention with internal rebuilding (Bath, Leamington Spa) supported, in the former case, by a SPAB report.

However for Cambridge, and perhaps surprisingly, the eminent consultants appear against area-based conservation. "The powers for preserving buildings contained in the 1947 Act may be used effectively to protect isolated buildings of merit and even some groups of buildings, but they could hardly extend protection to the general character of a whole district in the face of strong economic pressure. Nor do we think that they should do so" (Holford and Myles Wright, 1950, p. 62).

The majority of the wartime and immediate post-war reconstruction plans did not explicitly consider area-based conservation issues, remaining at the scale of the preservation of individual buildings. This is most clearly true of plans produced by local officials and committees of councillors; and, surprisingly, of those plans produced by local individuals and societies. However the plans of the two most prolific consultants, Abercrombie and Sharp, do demonstrate area-wide sensitivities, and from the earliest dates (1943 and 1944). Yet, although widely reviewed at the time, there is little evidence that this concept was taken up more widely.

### *Concepts of conservation and management in reconstruction plans*

Of course, conservation implies more than merely identification and retention. Wider issues of the management of the conserved urban landscape arise; although there has been little development of values or ethics in this respect, which can lead to problems (Larkham, 1996; Worskett, 1982). Little or no recognition of broader requirements of managing conservation is evident within most of the plans. The same is, of course, true for listed buildings: the system of Listed Building Control was not introduced until 1968. Yet much of this management is actually the improving, often the opening-up, of the settings of already-identified key buildings. The plan for Newcastle upon Tyne proposed improving the settings and accessibility of important historic buildings (Parr, 1945, p. 9). Although Norwich sought to retain as many as possible of the identified significant buildings, it also noted that "some of [them] are in good repair and others in bad and sometimes deplorable condition: their treatment is at present at the mercy of the purse and conscience of their owners" (James *et al.*, 1945, p. 12). The opportunities (and resources) for direct action of the part of the local authorities were scarce. York was a rare example: the council took direct action in the case of the Shambles, much of which had been "allowed to fall into disrepair and decay", purchasing much of the street and seeking advice from SPAB (Adshead *et al.*, 1948).

The majority of comments show that what was wanted, above all, was detailed development control. For example, Tunbridge Wells Civic Association recognised the need to control new buildings: “since control over the elevations of new buildings as well as over the plans is now well established...” (apparently referring to the 1932 Act) (Spalding, 1945, p. 34). York had exercised such elevation control under the City of York (Special Area) Planning Scheme, from March 1937 (Adshead *et al.*, 1948). The Norwich plan illustrated a mixed street and bemoaned “the result of lack of control over both signs and elevations” (James *et al.*, 1945, p. 25). Key streets should be subject to particular attention: for Magdalen Street, “every effort should be made to preserve it and, in the future, to control development and restoration” (James *et al.*, 1945, p. 28). Likewise in Leamington Spa, with its relatively uniform Regency townscape, the same consultants suggested that “much greater control should be exercised over untidy and incongruous signs, fascias, street furniture and the periodic painting of continuous façades, in fact, over everything that combines to give the general impression denoted by the word ‘street’ ”. Too little use had been made of the powers under the 1932 Act, and the consultants hoped for more powers under future legislation. “It is clear that entire absence of control over these things, as over the design and materials of new buildings, means that the three-dimensional results of any planning scheme may be nothing less than chaotic and lead to a mere expression of individualism and self-sufficiency at the expense of citizenship and an expression of corporate pride” (James and Pierce, 1947, p. 66).

This reflects a broader concern with the balance between old and new forms, and the implications for contrast between the two on issues of character and conservation. The Tunbridge Wells Civic Association did not wish “slavish imitation of the past” (Spalding, 1945, p. 34). Sharp was characteristically forthright: in Durham, “in new buildings no attempt should be made to imitate past styles of architecture. Harmony between new and old buildings will depend upon scale, siting and suitability of materials” (Sharp 1944, p. 81). Likewise, and in very similar wording, the important thing about managing Salisbury’s development is that new buildings “should be good buildings, well-sited, and in scale with the rest of the city. The production of good buildings does not lie in sterile playing for safety any more than it does in slavish imitations of old forms” (Sharp, 1949, p. 64). In Warwick, no “attempt should be made to re-create an atmosphere of vague antiquity by means of more or less spurious restorations” (Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949, p. 64).

One of the interesting issues about the development of theory and practice in area-based conservation was that, in contrast to other European countries, notably Germany, there was little or no tradition of detailed local survey of the historic urban environment in terms of origins, development, character and quality. The widespread Germanic ‘movement’ of old-town (*Altstadt*) study and conservation produced some detailed academic work (for example the study of Görlitz by Klemm, 1962) but there was little exchange of ideas with the UK. The German émigré M.R.G. Conzen trained as a town planner and drew on the Germanic tradition, for example in his study of the character of Whitby (Conzen, 1958); but as an academic geographer in the post-war period he exerted little influence on planning practice.

## Events and issues into the post-war period

### *Lavenham, character and conservation priorities*

Lavenham (Figure 4) in Suffolk, described as a small town (population 1454) and treated very briefly in the rural reconstruction plan for Sudbury and District (Jeremiah, 1949), presented problems for area-based conservation even during wartime. Its major heritage resource was a large number of timber-framed late-mediaeval houses; but the poor condition of many was simultaneously its problem. The proposed removal of one of its key buildings in 1912, for a member of the Royal Family, had already made the town something of a *cause célèbre* of conservation (Bettley, 2013). Proposals for new housing and some demolitions in 1944 resulted in protests from the Royal Academy of Arts and SPAB, spurring an investigation and site visits by the Ministry (TNA HLG 79/124, from which this section is derived).

Ministry staff in the person of the architect S.E. Dykes Bower felt that this small local author was plainly over-ambitious: “bitten with megalomania” in proposing a large housing development and a by-pass: if it “so compromised its character that its rare, almost unique charm is lost, it will have destroyed an asset that, in the post war world, is likely to be of ever increasing worth” (TNA HLG 79/124, Memo, Dykes Bower to Fitzgibbon, 28/7/44). The “character” of a building or area has become a crucial component of conservation-related decision-making in recent decades, so it is interesting to see its early use here.

However, in considering whether older inhabited buildings should be preserved, the Regional Planning Officer (RPO) wrote that



Figure 4. Lavenham in the early 1960s, before conservation area designation and mass tourism (photograph by Alan Green).

“There are a few old houses in Lavenham at present which are of very great artistic beauty, and essential elements in the architectural tableau which Lavenham presents: and which are lived in by decent human beings because there are no other houses to be had, but which would be death traps for pigs. It is difficult to believe that even the ubiquitous bug [presumably cockroach] could survive in them in their present condition”.

He was scathing of the “artists and others” arguing for preservation: they “should be made to understand clearly that their object must be achieved by their own efforts”, ie they should purchase and restore buildings themselves, not at public expense (TNA HLG 79/124, Memo, Fitzgibbon to Gaster, 25/5/1944).

Lavenham and the vast majority of its timber buildings survived, but the differing views of Ministry staff are of interest. The RPO's priority was clearly provision of better housing; Dykes Bower, later to become known as a sensitive church restorer,<sup>1</sup> was more sensitive to wider issues of the town's character and historic value. The Ministry's involvement eventually led to the appointment of a specialist, whose report led to a funded conservation scheme. It is also interesting to note that Evelyn Sharp, soon to become the Ministry's head civil servant, had a weekend cottage here (Delafons, 1997, p. 80) thus, presumably, valuing aspects of the town's character and appearance. Yet, in the words of one of her Ministers, conservation and preservation were utterly despised: “she regarded it as pure sentimentalism, and called it ‘preservation’, a term of abuse” (Crossman, 1975, p. 623).

### *Great Yarmouth as a cause célèbre*

The case of Great Yarmouth proved something of a *cause célèbre* in early post-war conservation thinking: it was mentioned by senior English Heritage staff when interviewed by the author in 1992-3. It was on the whole a well-preserved medieval port town, with tight-packed alleyways – the ‘Rows’ – leading to the river and harbour which formed a unique feature of urban form. Although by 1910 there was concern over the town, this was focused on the walls and towers, not the Rows (Ditchfield, 1910, chapter 2). However, the town was bombed several times in 1943 destroying 1,636 houses (TNA CAB 87/11, 3). The damaged area was then further damaged by its use in training Allied troops before the D-Day invasion. Ministry papers refer to this area

simply as one of “old and sub-standard housing” (TNA HLG 71/2222) and a report on conservation issues by the architect Hugh Casson, including a National Trust property, was not positive (TNA HLG 79/199, report dated 13/11/1945). The Town Council “were vehement in expression of their view that the Rows were an insanitary and utterly unsatisfactory form of development which could not possibly be retained” and the Minister “felt impelled to tell them pretty bluntly ... that there was another side to the question” (TNBA HLG 79/202, undated note on Minister's visit to the town). The Society of Antiquaries argued this other side, recommending the preservation of the Rows (mentioned in TNA HLG 79/202). Objections to their demolition were raised at a public inquiry into proposals for redevelopment in 1948 (TNA HLG 79/202 and 203)

---

<sup>1</sup> Interestingly Dykes-Bower's recent biography (Symondson, 2011) scarcely mentions this stage in his career.



but the compulsory purchase of 35.5 acres (14.4 ha) was agreed in January 1949. Demolition followed quickly, with little being retained of this rare medieval mercantile quarter. The replacements (which still stand) were undistinguished brick low-rise apartment blocks.

In this case a substantial area of considerable interest was virtually destroyed despite attention from conservationists. However the area had been neglected and the surviving buildings, although numerous, were in poor condition by the 1930s; but could then have been saved. Bombing and wartime training had inflicted considerable damage. What official interest there was tended to focus on the South Quay, where the National Trust property was threatened by proposals for a new river crossing as part of the redevelopment.

What is of value here is the speed of the move to clear and redevelop. It is clear that some of these properties could have been conserved and restored, but the will was plainly not there, and new housing was the priority (the acerbic architectural historian Sir Nikolaus Pevsner noted the scant survivors: Pevsner and Wilson, 1997, pp. 510-515). Although it is known that the rubble of bomb damage was often speedily cleared (Woolven, 2013), even in Coventry, some damaged key historic structures were propped up for future restoration (eg Ford's Hospital). Values have very clearly changed in the decades since the Great Yarmouth decision, as Pevsner and Wilson show; their comment that "it is a pity though that so many buildings, damaged or not, had to be subsequently demolished" is a masterpiece of dry understatement (Pevsner and Wilson, 1997, p. 493).



Figure 5. Great Yarmouth: the Rows area, 1920s and 1960s showing the destruction of the medieval narrow alleys and their replacement by 1950s flats (© Crown Copyright/database right 2013. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

### *Isolated monuments*

One of the characteristic features of many reconstruction plans was that surviving historic buildings and monuments were identified, but were to be treated almost as monuments isolated as in a museum (Pendlebury, 2003). Their urban context was often to be swept away, and the structures retained in some landscaped setting (Figure 6). While in origin some such features were isolated, for example the necessary *glacis* or clear tactical zone for city walls, over time they had usually been encroached upon and it was this that produced their urban character by the 1930s. Pendlebury (2003, p. 385) comments on this with respect to the Chester plan, that “[a]gain there was a desire to ‘open up’ the walls and other key monuments and generally to decrease the density of the city in a way that would have been anathema to Thomas Sharp”, whose proposals for a range of historic cities were more sympathetic to existing character while still making provision for new structures, uses and roads.

The plan for York shows the clearance and isolation of the city walls, themselves an unusually complete survival, most plainly (Adshead *et al.*, 1948) (Figure 7). Large-scale clearance, not all necessitated by the damage of the city’s single significant air raid, would allow the walls to be clearly seen across a ‘green belt’ largely comprising leisure facilities and open space. This was not carried out.



Figure 6. City wall, Newcastle upon Tyne, now isolated adjoining surface car park (photograph: author, 2004).

This approach highlights the significant difference between a “designation” approach, focusing on individual features, and one which looks more holistically at the entire urban landscape, its development over time, and its potential management. Although



the English system as it developed during the 1970s onwards did pay some heed to the “context” of individual designations, whether of areas or individual structures, this proved rather problematic in practice: how far did the context of a designation extend, such that decision-makers would be expected to explicitly take it into account? This is most particularly shown by some conservation area designations which omitted particular features or areas, producing “doughnut” areas – yet the character and appearance of the designated area could readily be affected by what happened in these undesignated “holes”! More recent policy guidance has mentioned “the wider historic landscape” (the now superseded Planning Policy Guidance Note 15: Department of National Heritage and Department of the Environment, 1994) and English Heritage is completing a major series of landscape character assessments (discussed at the widest landscape scale by Turner, 2006). This is also, of course, closely related to the vexed question of restoration: is an object to be retained as inherited, or restored to some perhaps imagined earlier state?



Figure 7. The clearance and display of York's walls, shown in the plan drawn up by the consultants Adshead *et al.*, 1948



## Coventry walls

Coventry was another problem case. It had expanded rapidly as an industrial city, and this with extensive bomb damage had left little of the medieval town and, controversially, some of the remaining timber-framed buildings were dismantled and later re-erected to give some of the appearance of a late-medieval street (Coventry City Council, undated; Gill, 2004). The Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments “uniformly decried” the principle of this approach when initially raised (TNA WORK 14/1781, memo, 4/12/1952). Yet some remnants of the late city wall, which were scheduled ancient monuments, remained *in situ*. The radical reconstruction plan emerging through the war, driven principally by its young city architect, Donald Gibson, suggested the removal of some of these remains.

The ensuing debate amongst senior staff of the Ancient Monuments Branch led to one of its Inspectors, the architect P.K. Baillie Reynolds, writing that “It is a good piece of wall ... we should not agree to its demolition. The city must adapt its re-planning to its scheduled monuments and not *vice versa*” and, a few months later, “If the city has wasted money in drawing up plans which do not fit the sites, it has only its own officials to blame. The argument that because other bits of the city wall are better preserved than this, therefore this is not worth keeping, is, of course, puerile” (TNA WORK 14/1781, internal exchange of notes, undated but after 28/4/1952, and 7/7/1952). The debate extended to include the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, the redoubtable mediaevalist B.H.St J. O'Neill, who made a site visit in December 1952. He wrote in an internal memo that “It is, of course, quite clear that the Coventry planner,<sup>2</sup> who is a malignant, has paid no attention at all to ancient monuments because he dislikes them...” (TNA WORK 14/1781, memo, 4/12/1952). O'Neill was in post from 1945 to 1961, and his influence was also recalled by senior English Heritage staff interviewed by the author in the early 1990s. This surprisingly personal attack on a senior professional is mirrored in much contemporary internal Ministry correspondence (Larkham, 2011), and betrays an interesting arrogance and disdain for local views. However the Ministry won, the plans were adjusted, and the segments of Coventry wall remain (Creighton and Heigham, 2005, p. 265) (Figure 8). The significance of this example is not just the escalation of centre-local conflict, nor the views expressed *per se*, but the conservationist view overcoming the radical *tabula rasa* reconstruction view.<sup>3</sup>

## Legislation and policy change

By the early 1960s there was a view that protecting individual buildings alone was not always sufficient, and in April 1963 Robert Cooke MP introduced a Private Member's Bill on this issue, although it was defeated at its second reading in the House of Commons. A very critical Ministry report noted that the Bill was “wrong in principle,

---

<sup>2</sup> He must have meant Gibson. The Coventry plan was, at the insistence of City Council and Ministry, an uneasy collaboration between Gibson and the City Engineer, Ernest Ford, a more conservative character.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that a recent body of literature on the heritage of walled cities tends to focus on those with virtually complete circuits, rather than the fragments and traces more common in the UK and shown in the Coventry case: they are presented as a dissonant heritage but significant for tourism and place identity (Bruce and Creighton, 2006; Creighton, 2007; Ashworth and Bruce, 2009).



Figure 8. Retention of stretch of Coventry city wall (with more recent footbridge)  
(photograph: author, 2009).

ineffective and unnecessary. It would add to the burden of work of planning authorities and the Department, and increase the delays which already afflict the planning machine” (TNA HLG 103/45, briefing note, Miller, undated but 1965). The author noted that the Bill’s supporters might interpret issues differently from the Ministry staff, but the most carefully-argued sections deal with a hypothesised increase in Ministry workload: “clearly this is impossible to contemplate”.

Cooke later admitted that the Bill as submitted was “probably unworkable” but he continued reiterating his argument that owners of listed buildings, in their “capacity as a trustee for the time being of something of National importance” should at least be informed of development proposals that might affect their buildings (TNA HLG 103/45, letter, Cooke to MacColl, 30/7/1965). Resulting from the Parliamentary debate, the Government agreed to issue a Circular advising local authorities about the potential adverse impact of development near listed buildings, which appeared in August (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1963).<sup>4</sup> It was very short, and advised local authorities that “independent professional advice”, or that of the Royal Fine Art Commission, could be sought. In a House of Lords debate the following year, Lord Methuen commented that “One can only hope that planning authorities will act on it far more than they have in the past. I think that interference on the part of the Ministry might be quite a good stimulus” (Methuen, 1964).

Here, then, is a further example of thinking beyond the boundaries of individual listed structures. Although not discussing conservation of wider areas *per se*, it explores the wider implications of conservation designations. That decisions further afield (albeit that the distance was unspecified and, in the Ministry view, would provide “ground for endless argument”) could affect the setting and character of buildings identified, in the

<sup>4</sup> This is a very elusive document, but a copy is filed in NA HLG 103/45.

national interest, as “special” is unarguable. The critique that it would increase workload is undoubtedly accurate but indefensible. The timing is interesting, as this and the Circular came hard on the heels of the French legislation of 1962 introducing *secteurs sauvegardés*: every individual *monument classé* was already protected by a 1 km diameter *zone protégée*. Cooke’s proposal was quite modest by comparison. Lord Methuen, in the House of Lords debate, alluded to this with his comment that “To put up an unsuitable structure near a historic building should be made illegal, as it has been in France for many years” (Methuen, 1964).

#### Conservation at the end of the ‘post-war reconstruction period’

Reconstruction after the war was initially very slow, and bombsites seemed normal in many cities: “...as a boy, all buildings required being propped up, that’s how I remember the UK. It was not until I came to Canada as a small boy that I realized buildings were not in streets filled with debris” (‘Barrie’, accessed 2013). There was little progress until the end of building control and rationing in the mid 1950s, but the subsequent building boom, with its large-scale demolitions and wholesale change, soon produced a critical reaction. Polemics such as the *Rape of Britain* (Amery and Cruickshank, 1975), the *Sack of Bath* (Fergusson, 1973) and the *Erosion of Oxford* (Curl, 1977) were published. Even some of those responsible for designing and planning in this period were able to critically re-assess the nature and scale of their changes (eg Esher, 1980). The development boom was virtually halted by the Middle East war and oil crisis of the early 1970s.

The conventional histories highlight Sandys’ 1967 Civic Amenities Act, and the extension of protection to entire areas of towns and cities as ‘conservation areas’, as a watershed. Some have suggested that he was influenced by the work of André Malraux, Minister for Cultural Affairs, and the 1962 legislation widely known as the Malraux Law. This drew Wayland Young (Lord Kennet), then a junior Minister responsible for historic buildings, to visit France in 1966 (Kennet, 1972, pp. 54-62). Yet, as has been shown, the roots of the 1967 legislation, again non-governmental in origin, lie at least as far back as the 1940s. It was swiftly followed by the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act, significant in this context for introducing the Listed Building Consent process requiring specific consent for demolition or alteration affecting the character or appearance of listed buildings. The demolition of unlisted buildings within designated conservation areas also required consent. The system of designation had then, albeit belatedly, been given some teeth. Conservation areas, although a local and potentially speedier designation process, were and remain relatively toothless.

However, one of the most significant problems for conservation at this point was traffic. Again this had been seen in the reconstruction plans, for example in the clash in Chichester between the earliest listing of buildings and Ministry of Transport road-widening standards that would have swept them away (Larkham, 2009). Rapidly-increasing vehicle numbers and congestion (see Plowden, 1971, p. 456) led to radical plans, foreshadowed in some of the post-war reconstruction plans, for large-scale ring roads and related highway infrastructure. Planning for transportation seemed wholly separate from issues of conservation, even in key historic centres such as York – one of the four cities that were subjects of innovative government-sponsored conservation studies published in 1968 (Esher, 1968). York’s 1971 ring road proposal was countered by expert opinion identifying alternatives and the suggestion that the city

needed both to identify the issues more clearly and to plan more comprehensively: there had been no revision of its 1951 Development Plan (Lichfield and Proudlove, 1976). Pedestrianisation became a stock solution to the statutory duty to prepare enhancement plans for conservation areas; and the number of area designations reached such levels – approximately 9000 in England alone – that by the early 1990s there were concerns about ‘debasement of the coinage’ and erosion of character (Royal Town Planning Institute, 1993).

### The emergence of an orthodoxy

By the end of the reconstruction era an orthodoxy in British conservation thinking and practice had emerged. This focused on the very best monuments, buildings or areas, which were to be identified and designated (or scheduled or listed). This focus on designation was reinforced by four studies of key cities, commissioned by Crossman when Minister in the mid 1960s (Buchanan, 1968; Burrows, 1968; Esher, 1968; Insall, 1968). Once identified, the management of these features became an issue, and problems of encouraging appropriate development and controlling inappropriate; funding, especially for enhancements of the public realm, and the writing and dissemination of policy and guidance dominated professional discourse (cf Chapman, 1975).

The orthodoxy was shaped by the focus on ‘townscape’ in British planning, which had emerged from wartime thinking principally in the pages of the *Architectural Review* and encompassed both conservation and the emerging concept of urban design (Erten, 2009). Practitioners such as Thomas Sharp and Gordon Cullen, both of whom (though Sharp most prolifically) authored reconstruction plans, drove a focus on the external appearance of the public realm and its functioning, developing this into a way of thinking, analysis and graphic representation (where Cullen’s approach was particularly significant) (Gosling, 1996; Pendlebury, 2009). Both wrote influential books; Cullen’s has become a citation classic in urban design, whereas Sharp’s has become rather overlooked and under-valued (Cullen, 1961; Sharp, 1969).

The orthodoxy became manifest in a series of studies as local authorities began to exploit the 1967 Civic Amenities Act and its power to designate conservation areas. These were, however, far from the type of detailed historical and morphological study of which Germany, for example, had such a long tradition (cf Klemm, 1962). That by the consultants Rock Townsend for the town of Ware, Hertfordshire (East Hertfordshire District Council, 1974) is an excellent example of the then-dominant orthodox thinking, analysis and presentation; Cullen himself contributed sketches. The analysis of visual and spatial characteristics, building fabric, social and work fabric led to clear ideas for action and implementation; the report is clearly written, well-illustrated with maps, sketches and photographs, and is readily accessible. This was the first such settlement-wide study in the south-east region and was designed to “stimulate public observation and comment” (p. 5). Many more followed.

### Conclusions

This exploration of issues and actions has suggested that the “traditional” histories of conservation in the UK require some revision. The easy target of specific legislation, in

1944 for listed buildings and 1967 for area conservation, is correct but omits the lengthy gestation of both concepts. Exploring Ministry files demonstrates some radically divergent values and attitudes, not least towards – it seems – anyone outside the Ministry itself (Larkham, 2011). Analysing the detailed content of contemporary reconstruction plans shows that ideas were developing, but that it was difficult to successfully articulate them in the language of plan-making. “The prevention of disfigurement, together with the preservation of existing natural and historic beauty, must go hand in hand with proposals for development and redevelopment” (Todd and Weddle, 1945, p. 14). These words typify the considerations and wording of conservation in the majority of these reconstruction plans.

It is clear from the majority of plans studied that mere identification is not enough: not even for individual buildings, and despite this legislation for listed building consent was not introduced until 1968. A much broader development control system than the limited elevation control permitted in certain circumstances by the 1932 Act was wanted and, to some extent, this was introduced in the 1947 Act. Even so there is clear evidence that some towns and consultants were concerned with longer-term management issues and broader conceptual/ethical issues such as the relationships between old and new architectural styles, area character and so on. Even these concerns were not to be directly addressed by the 1967 Act’s conservation areas.

In summary, these reconstruction plans demonstrate an interesting stage in the development and adoption of conservation-related concerns. These are largely limited, although a small number of prominent and prolific consultants were developing area-based concepts that can be seen as precursors of conservation areas. Given Duncan Sandys’s political activities during the war, and Cooke’s Bill, perhaps the French influence in the development of area-based conservation in Britain (cf Kennet, 1972) has been over-stated.

In considering legislative development, it is significant to consider how much conservation action has been spurred by individual Members of Parliament, particularly those lucky enough to be able to put forward Private Members’ Bills, rather than by any government in office. Furthermore, the evident estrangement between “planning” and “conservation” seen in several examples, including those affecting highway development, were later made plain in the separation in 1990 with the Town and Country Planning Act and the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act.

Finally, values change, sometimes significantly, over time. This is true in terms both of support for conservation, and the nature and extent of conservation-related activity. Indeed Inglis (2009) suggests that, in the post-war period, public attitudes to historic buildings have moved from contempt to veneration. To return to the Southampton Bargate example discussed earlier, it is an indication of radical changes in values that there are recent proposals to reinstate (ie in replica) the stretches of wall medieval demolished in the 1930s (Hamilton, 2012). In the 1930s these stretches were perceived as being of lesser value than the free circulation of motor vehicles; while during the post-war reconstruction period, unlike other countries such as Belgium after the First World War and Poland after the Second, the UK engaged in scarcely any reconstruction in replica.

## References

- Abercrombie, P. and Nickson, R. (1949) *Warwick: its preservation and redevelopment* Architectural Press, London
- Adshead, S.D., Minter, C.J. and Needham, C.W.C. (1948) *A plan for the City of York* (title on outer cover) *York: a plan for progress and preservation* (title on inner page), no publisher given, York,
- Amery, C. and Cruickshank, D. (1975) *The rape of Britain* Elek, London
- Anon. (1973) *The National Monuments Record (England)* HMSO, London
- Ashworth, G.J. and Bruce, D. (2009) 'Town walls, walled towns and tourism: paradoxes and paradigms', *Journal of Heritage Tourism* vol. 4 no. 4 pp. 299-313
- 'Barrie' (2013) [www.ourgreatyarmouth.org.uk/page\\_id\\_231\\_path\\_0p4p.aspx](http://www.ourgreatyarmouth.org.uk/page_id_231_path_0p4p.aspx) accessed January 20, 2013.
- Bettley, J. (2013) 'The Wool Hall, Lavenham: an episode in the history of preservation', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* vol. 57 pp. 56-55
- Bruce, D. and Creighton, O. (2006) 'Contested identities: the dissonant heritage of European town walls and walled towns', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* vol. 12 no. 3 pp. 234-254
- Buchanan, C. and Partners (1968) *Bath: a study in conservation* H.M.S.O., London
- Burrows, G.S. (1968) *Chichester: a study in conservation* H.M.S.O., London
- Chapman, H. (1975) 'The machinery of conservation: finance and planning problems', *Town Planning Review* vol. 46 no. 4 pp. 365-382
- Cocks, R. (1998) 'The mysterious origin of the law for conservation', *Journal of Planning and Environment Law* pp. 203-209.
- Conzen, M.R.G. (1958) 'The growth and character of Whitby', in Daysh, G.H.J. (ed.) *A survey of Whitby and the surrounding area* Shakespeare Head Press, Eton
- Coventry City Council, Development Directorate (undated) *Spon Street townscape scheme* brochure, City Council, Coventry
- Creighton, O. (2007) 'Contested townscape: the walled city as world heritage', *World Archaeology* vol. 39 no. 3 pp. 339-354
- Creighton, O. and Heigham, R. (2005) *Medieval town walls: an archaeology and social history of urban defence* Tempus, Stroud
- Crossman, R. (1975) *The diaries of a Cabinet Minister: volume 1: Minister of Housing, 1964-1966* Hamilton and Cape, London
- Cullen, G. (1961) *Townscape* Architectural Press, London
- Cullingworth, J.B. (ed.) *British planning: 50 years of urban and regional policy* Athlone, London
- Curl, J.S. (1977) *The erosion of Oxford* Oxford Illustrated Press, Oxford
- Delafons, J. (1997) *Politics and preservation: a policy history of the built heritage 1882-1996* Spon, London
- Department of National Heritage and Department of the Environment (1994) *Planning and the historic environment* Planning Policy Guidance Note 15, HMSO, London
- Design and Industries Association (1930) *The DIA cautionary guide to Carlisle* DIA, London
- Ditchfield, P.H. (1910) *Vanishing England* Methuen, London
- East Hertfordshire District Council (1974) *Vivat Ware!* East Hertfordshire District Council, Bishop's Stortford
- Erten, E. (2009) 'Thomas Sharp's collaboration with H. de C. Hastings: the formulation of townscape as urban design pedagogy', *Planning Perspectives* vol. 24 no. 1 pp. 29-49

- Esher, L. (1968) *York: a study in conservation* HMSO, London
- Esher, L. (1981) *A broken wave: the rebuilding of England, 1940-1980* Allen Lane, London
- Fergusson, A. (1973) *The sack of Bath* Compton Russel, Salisbury
- Gill, R. (2004) 'From the Black Prince to the Silver Prince: relocating medieval Coventry', *Twentieth Century Architecture* no. 7 pp. 61-86
- Glendinning, M. (2013) *The conservation movement: a history of architectural preservation, antiquity to modernity* Routledge, Abingdon
- Gosling, D. (1996) *Gordon Cullen: visions of urban design* Academy Editions, London
- Hamilton, K. (2012) 'Looking to the past for the Bargate's future', *Southern Daily Echo*, 17th December, 2012, available at < [http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/heritage/archives/10112472.Looking\\_to\\_the\\_past\\_for\\_the\\_Bargate\\_s\\_future/](http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/heritage/archives/10112472.Looking_to_the_past_for_the_Bargate_s_future/) > accessed January 20, 2013
- Harvey, J. (1993) 'The origin of listed buildings', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* vol. 37 pp. 1-20
- Holford, W.G. and Myles Wright, H. (1950) *Cambridge planning proposals: a report to the Town and Country Planning Committee of the Cambridgeshire County Council*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Inglis, J. (2009) 'The changing fortunes of Britain's 'heritage' of historic buildings since 1945', *History Compass* vol. 7 no. 6 pp. 1509-1525
- Insall, Donald W. and Associates (1968) *Chester: a study in conservation* H.M.S.O., London
- James, C.H., Pierce, S. Rowland and Rowley, H.C. (1945) *City of Norwich plan*, City of Norwich Corporation, Norwich
- James, C.H. and Pierce, S. Rowland (1947) *Royal Leamington Spa: a plan for development*, Leamington Spa
- Jeremiah, K. (1949) *A full life in the country: the Sudbury and District survey and plan*, Sudbury and District Planning Association: Batsford, London
- Kennet, W. (1972) *Preservation* Temple Smith, London
- Klemm, B. (1962) 'Altstadtsanierung: Bestand und Erneuerung der historischen Altstadt von Görlitz', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Technischen Universität Dresden* vol. 11 pp. 913-940
- Larkham, P.J. (1996) *Conservation and the city* Routledge, London
- Larkham, P.J. (2003) 'The place of urban conservation in the UK reconstruction plans of 1942-1952', *Planning Perspectives* vol. 18 pp. 295-324
- Larkham, P.J. (2009) 'Thomas Sharp and the post-war replanning of Chichester: conflict, confusion and delay', *Planning Perspectives* vol. 24 pp. 51-75
- Larkham, P.J. (2010) 'Developing concepts of conservation: the fate of bombed churches after the Second World War', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* vol. 54 pp. 7-35
- Larkham, P.J. (2011) 'Hostages to history? The surprising survival of critical comments about British planning and planners c. 1942-1955', *Planning Perspectives* vol. 26 pp. 487-91
- Lichfield, N. and Proudlove, A. (1976) *Conservation and traffic* Sessions, York
- Matless, D. (1990) 'Ages of English design: preservation, modernism and tales of their history, 1926-1939', *Journal of Design History* vol. 3 no. 4 pp. 203-212
- Methuen, Lord (1964) Speech in debate on buildings of architectural or historic interest, *Hansard*, House of Lords Debate 10 March, vol 256 cols 374-412
- Ministry of Housing and Local Government (1963) *Development near buildings of special architectural or historic interest* Circular 51/63, HMSO, London

- Ministry of Town and Country Planning (1943) 'Notes on main outlines of a planning system', TNA HLG/71/1638 File 95226/7A
- Parr, P. (1945) *Plan – Newcastle upon Tyne 1945*, report of the Town Planning Sub-Committee, Newcastle City Council, Newcastle upon Tyne
- Paton Watson, J. and Abercrombie, P. (1943) *A plan for Plymouth*, Underhill, Plymouth
- Pendlebury, J.R. (2003) 'Planning the historic city: reconstruction plans in the United Kingdom in the 1940s', *Town Planning Review* vol. 74 pp. 371-393
- Pendlebury, J.R. (2004) 'Reconciling history with modernity: 1940s plans for Durham and Warwick', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* vol. 31 pp. 331-348
- Pendlebury, J.R. (2009) 'The urbanism of Thomas Sharp', *Planning Perspectives* vol. 24 pp. 3-28
- Pevsner, N. and Wilson, B. (1997) *Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East* Buildings of England series, Penguin, London
- Plowden, W. (1971) *The motor car and politics 1896-1970* Bodley Head, London
- Royal Town Planning Institute (authored by Larkham, P.J., Jones, A.N. and Daniels, R.) (1993) *The character of conservation areas* RTPI, London
- Sharp, T. (1944) *Cathedral city: a plan for Durham*, Architectural Press, London
- Sharp, T. (1949) *Newer Sarum: a plan for Salisbury*, Architectural Press, London
- Sharp, T. (1969) *Town and townscape* John Murray, London
- Spalding, H. (ed.) (1945) *Tunbridge Wells: a report. Presented at the request of the Borough Council by the Tunbridge Wells Civic Association*, Courier Printing & Publishing, Tunbridge Wells
- Symondson, A. (2011) *Stephen Dykes Bower* RIBA Books, London
- Thurley, S. (2013) *Men from the Ministry: how Britain saved its heritage* Yale University Press, New Haven
- Todd, J.W. and Weddle, S. (1945) *Towards a plan for Richmond, Surrey* Richmond Borough Council, Richmond
- Turner, S. (2006) 'Historic landscape characterisation: a landscape archaeology for research, management and planning', *Landscape Research* vol. 31 no. 4 pp. 385-398
- Woolven, R. (2013) 'Between destruction and reconstruction: London's Debris Clearance and Repair Organisation 1939-1945', in Clapson, M. and Larkham, P.J. (eds) *The Blitz and its legacy: wartime destruction to post-war reconstruction* Ashgate, Farnham
- Worskett, R. (1982) 'New buildings in historic areas 1: conservation: the missing ethic', *Monumentum* vol. 25 pp. 151-161
- Worsley, G. (2002) *England's lost houses* Aurum, London