

The Ministry of Works and Souvenir Guides

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The first formal guidebooks for historic sites placed in state guardianship in the United Kingdom appeared in 1917. There was an expansion of the series in the 1930s and 1950s. However, from the late 1950s the Ministry of Works, and later the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, started to produce an additional series of illustrated souvenir guides. One distinct group covered Royal Palaces: The Tower of London, Hampton Court Palace, Queen Victoria's residence of Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, and Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh. This was followed by guides for archaeological sites such as Stonehenge and Avebury, the Neolithic flint mines at Grime's Graves, the Roman villa at Lullingstone, and the Hadrian's Wall. In 1961 a series of guides, with covers designed by Kyffin Williams, were produced for the English castles constructed in North Wales. These illustrated guides, some with colour, prepared the way for the fully designed guides now produced by English Heritage, Cadw, and Historic Scotland.

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Introduction

Guidebooks for heritage sites in state guardianship in the United Kingdom emerged as a precise architectural description of the remains, accompanied by a short history of the site. This formal format largely went unchanged from the First World War until the late 1950s, when new 'souvenir' guidebooks were introduced at key sites. These were intended to be purchased and used alongside the more traditional formats. The old style of guides continued through the 1960s, 1970s and into the 1980s as the blue-covered guides of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works (MPBW) and the Department of the Environment (DOE). In the mid 1980s the individual nations of England, Wales and Scotland were given responsibility for state monuments, and the new bodies (English Heritage, Cadw, and Historic Scotland)

started to issue their own fully illustrated guidebooks, some reusing the older texts alongside new illustrations, plans and reconstructions. This study charts the emergence of new type of ‘souvenir’ guidebook for monuments in state care in the late 1950s.

The travel guidebook has its origins in the classical world with regional tours such as the second century AD work by Pausanias that covered mainland Greece (Habicht, 1985). Guidebooks for ‘stately homes’ in England had appeared as early as 1817 (Cowell, 2008: 58; see also Tinniswood, 1989). These included guides for Knole House in Kent, written by John Bridgman, Steward to the Duke of Dorset (1817; 2nd ed. 1821), and Hardwick Hall and Chatsworth in Derbyshire, by William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire (1844). More specialised handbooks to the fine art in these rural retreats included G. Sagg’s, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures at Castle Howard* (1805). These single location handbooks were supplemented by regional guides such as Murray’s Handbooks for Travellers to different counties of England and Wales such as Devon and Cornwall (1851), South Wales and its Borders (1860), Durham and Northumberland (1864), Westmoreland and Cumberland (1866), Yorkshire (1867), Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Staffordshire (1868).

In 1903 (Sir) Charles Peers took the position of architectural editor of the *Victoria County History (VCH)* (Doggett, 2004; Thurley, 2013: 66-68). Peers was subsequently appointed Inspector of Ancient Monuments (1910) and then Chief Inspector (1913) for the Office of Works, the organisation responsible for monuments placed in state guardianship. This was a period when there was a call for more interpretation for the collections in state care to address ‘the listless demeanour of three-fifths of the visitors to our museums, who wander aimlessly along, unable to obtain easily information or interesting guidance’ (Sudeley, 1911). Such public calls for the educational role of collections seems to have been

headed in the Office of Works. The *VCH* informed the format of the Office of Works official guidebooks that first appeared in 1917. Peers wrote the first two Office of Works guidebooks: *St Botolph's Priory* in Colchester, Essex, and *Ashby De La Zouche Castle* in Leicestershire (Thurley, 2013: 156). Both sites had been placed in state guardianship in 1912 (Fry, 2014a: 57). The list of priors for St Botolph's acknowledged the research of the *VCH*.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

These two booklets initiated a series of guides for sites in state guardianship in England, Wales and Scotland. They had a standard format of a history followed by a description aimed at making the sites accessible for visitors (Fry, 2014b: 4). In the larger booklets a paper site plan was normally inserted inside the back cover. Shorter paper guides were produced for smaller monuments. The number of guidebooks for monuments in England, Wales and Scotland increased especially during the 1930s (Munro, 1985; Fry, 2014c: 35; Gill, in press). This coincided with the publication of what would become seven *Illustrated Regional Guides to Ancient Monuments*, with three for England, two for Wales, and one for Scotland, to cover monuments in state guardianship. These guides in effect provided a gazeteer with information about locations, opening times, and admission prices. Similarly, it was during this period that the first National Trust guide for a country house, Barrington Court in Somerset, appeared (1936). Additional guides to sites newly placed in state guardianship were produced in the immediate post-war period (Chapple, 2014a: 57).

The sudden death of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Bryan H. St John O'Neil (1905-1954) in 1954, led to the appointment of Paul Baillie Reynolds (1896-1973) as his successor (Chapple, 2014b; see also Chapple, 2014a: 5). Reynolds continued to support the publication of the formal guides, and contributed to the writing of several including *Croxden*

Abbey (1946), *Kenilworth Castle* (1948), *Thornton Abbey* (1951), *Castle Acre Priory* (1952), *Egglestone Abbey* (1958), *Framlingham Castle* (1959), and *Chysauster* (1960). Significantly, Reynolds, as Chief Inspector, seems to have encouraged the development of a new series of illustrated souvenir guidebooks to run alongside the more formal guides produced for the sites in his care. This development may have been influenced by the wide use of commercially produced souvenir guides such as the Pitkin Illustrated Guides that started to appear in the late 1940s. The following sections reveals the typology of these new souvenir guidebooks.

Royal Palaces

The origin of the official series of souvenir guides appears to lie in the 1955 'Ministry of Works Official Guide' to Osborne House, Queen Victoria's royal residence, on the Isle of Wight. The occasion for the guide is stated: 'In 1954 Her Majesty the Queen graciously granted permission for the private suite of her great-great-grandmother to be opened for public inspection' (p. 11). Parts of the house had been open to the public since 1904. The author of the 1955 guide was John Charlton (1909-2004), then Inspector of Ancient Monuments. Charlton had been responsible for writing guides for other buildings in state care: *Mattersey Priory* (1949) in Nottinghamshire, and *Lancaster House* (1954) that had been home to the London Museum. The guide for Osborne House followed the standard format for the formal ministry guidebooks. It was printed by the Curwen Press in London. The cover was in burgundy with a cameo image of Queen Victoria.

Unlike the standard guides that were divided into two main sections of 'history' and 'description', this guide was an integrated description of Osborne House, with 25 black and white images, some full page. The first section of the guide is in effect a history of the house from the purchase of the site in 1845, to the gift of the house to the nation by King Edward

VII. The history then turns into the guide for the house, noting among other things the plaque in the dining room where Queen Victoria's body had lain in state. This is then followed by descriptions of 'The Queen's Private Suite', 'The Grounds', 'The Swiss Cottage', and 'The Swiss Cottage Museum'.

INSERT FIGURES 2 & 3

This guide was replaced by a colour guide to *Osborne House* (1960) when Charlton was Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments. It was printed by the Swindon Press. Not only was the card cover full colour (and printed separately by A. Wheaton & Co. of Exeter), but there were full colour images inside: Queen Victoria's Sitting-Room (p. 7), Osborne House from the east, and The Italian Garden (p. 8), The Durbar Room, and The State Drawing-room (p. 21), and The Swiss Cottage, Kitchen used by the royal children, Miniature grocer's shop, and Queen Victoria's bathing-machine (p. 22). There were additional black and white images inserted as well as a table of 'The children of Queen Victoria'. The text is largely the same as the 1955 edition. This colour guide was reprinted by the Department of the Environment in 1974, and then as an English Heritage guide (2nd edition, 1986; 3rd edition, 1988). Charlton subsequently wrote further guides to *Kew Palace* (1956), *A History and Description of Chiswick House and Gardens* (1958), and *The Banqueting House, Whitehall* (1964).

This approach of 'modernising' an older guide is found at *Audley End* in Essex, described in the 1955 guidebook as 'one of the most famous of the many stately mansions which have been the glory of the English countryside for the past four hundred years' (p. 3). The house had been purchased by the Ministry of Works in 1949, after use as a centre for training SOE operatives during the Second World War (Chapple, 2014a: 42-44). The first guide was published in 1950, and in 1955 this appeared as a 'green' guide prepared by Bryan H. St John

O'Neil, R.J.B. Walker and F.J.B. Watson; it was printed at the Curwen Press in London. There were relatively few illustrations: a view of the house in 1676; the screen in the house; detail of the ceiling in the saloon; and a portrait of the First Lord Braybrooke. A fully illustrated 'official guide-book' was published in 1958 with integrated images, but without acknowledgement of the authors. This was printed by Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd. of London and Tonbridge. In effect, it was the formal guide but in an updated format, and with some of the sections in a slightly different order. For example, the chapel appears at the end of the original guide (p. 22), but in the 1958 edition is placed between the Neville Room and the Lower Gallery. In addition, a section on the gardens and its temples was included. Plans of the house were printed on the outside back cover.

One of the earliest guides in the new format was prepared for *The Tower of London* (1957; reprinted 1961). It was clearly stated as a 'Ministry of Works Guide-book'. There is no stated author. The card cover has a colour photograph. Inside there are numerous images, and a fold-out paper plan of the Tower is inserted inside the back cover. The text is essentially that of the 'paper' Ministry of Works guide to *The Tower of London* (1948; reprinted 1958) that is unillustrated with the plan inserted across the centre pages. The 1957 illustrated guide had additional text at the back in a new section 'Tradition at the Tower'. This consisted of 'The Ceremony of the Keys', 'Royal Salutes', 'Beating the Bounds', 'Installation of the Constable', and 'The Ravens'. The text is slightly lighter and more informal; for example, 'The birds are not popular with everyone, they are often noisy, and will amuse themselves by removing putty from windows, causing damage to unattended cars, and taking sly pecks at ladies' legs!' (p. 54). The text of both these predecessors (except for the section on 'Tradition at the Tower') reappeared in the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works (MPBW) 'blue' guide to *The Tower of London* (1967). There were no illustrations, and a revised plan of the fortress appeared across the centre pages. An additional 'official

guide' was prepared by Martin Holmes for *The Crown Jewels in the Tower of London* (1953; 3rd ed. 1962), to coincide with the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in June 1953. A further illustrated guide, *Arms and Armour in England* by A.R. Dufty (1960; repr. 1966; 2nd ed. 1969) was prepared 'to help the visitor to the Armouries in Her Majesty's Tower of London to recognise some of the physical changes that took place over the centuries and to understand the basic terminology'.

A third 'royal' site in state care was Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh. *The Palace of Holyroodhouse: An Illustrated Guide with a Short History of the Palace and Abbey* (1st ed. 1960; 3rd ed. 1963; Edinburgh HMSO) appeared alongside the more formal guide prepared by J.S. Richardson (1936; 2nd ed. 1948; 3rd ed. 1950). This illustrated guide was 'Prepared for the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works by the Central Office of Information'. The Central Office of Information was a government body responsible for marketing and communication with the general public.

In 1970, the MPBW became part of the new Department of the Environment (DOE). One of the first DOE souvenir guides was for *Hampton Court Palace* (1971). This is stated as the fifth edition of the guide, with the first edition published in 1950. The main author was George Hulbert Chettle (1886-1960) who had trained as an architect under C.R. Ashbee. He had joined the Ministry in October 1929, had served as an Assistant Inspector and then Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and had prepared the official guide to *Kirby Hall* (1937) in Northamptonshire. He had then worked on the *Queen's House, Greenwich*, then under the care of the Office of Works (Thurley, 2013: 230-31). In 1948 he prepared a list of significant country houses (Chapple, 2014b: 25), followed in 1952 by one for historic gardens (Chapple, 2014a: 90-91). He subsequently wrote the official guide to the *Triangular Lodge* in Rushton (1956).

This new souvenir guide for Hampton Court Palace had its origins in the official Ministry 'blue' guide first published anonymously in 1943. A further edition appeared in 1955, with French and German editions appearing in 1960 and 1962 respectively. The anonymous MPBW 4th edition (1965) was amended in 1969. These amendments are stated as the work of John Charlton in the DOE guide. Both guides start with the history of the palace (although there is no heading in the DOE souvenir guide), and the texts are largely identical. The two page 'history' of the 'blue' MPBW guide, merges into the description of the DOE illustrated guide. The typographical technique of placing features in bold in the MPBW guide was replaced by upper case in the DOE one. The 'blue' guide has a fold-out paper plan inside the back cover, whereas the DOE guide has a fold-out plan inside the card front cover. The DOE guide was fully illustrated with several colour images.

Prehistoric Sites

The guides for the royal palaces, *Osborne House*, *The Tower of London*, *Holyroodhouse* and *Hampton Court Palace*, were followed by a combined 'Illustrated Guide' for two of the most important prehistoric sites in Britain: *Stonehenge and Avebury and Neighbouring Monuments* (1959) by Richard J.C. Atkinson (1920-94), Professor of Archaeology at University College, Cardiff. These two major prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire were both in state guardianship: Stonehenge since 1918, and Avebury since February 1944 (though parts of the prehistoric landscape were owned by the National Trust) (Fry, 2014c: 54-61).

By 1954 a number of official guidebooks and paper guides had been produced for prehistoric sites in state guardianship: in England, Avebury, Maiden Castle, the Scilly Isles (with several prehistoric burial mounds), Stonehenge; in Wales, Anglesey (with several prehistoric sites), Bryn Celli Ddu Chambered Cairn, Capel Garmon Burial Chamber, Petre-ifan Burial Chamber, Tinkinswood and St Lythan's Long Cairn; and in Scotland, Cairnpapple

Hill, Maes Howe and Skara Brae on Orkney (as well as a broader guide to the monuments of the Orkneys including prehistoric sites), Jarlshof, and Mousa and Clickhimin Brochs in the Shetlands.

An official standard Ministry of Works guide to *Stonehenge* has been written by Robert S. Newall in 1953 (2nd edition 1955; 3rd edition 1959) and continued as the DOE 'blue' guide until 1981 (11th impression of the 3rd edition). The Illustrated Guide for *Stonehenge and Avebury* was prepared by the MPBW and the Central Office of Information (as for Holyroodhouse). The guide included reconstructions by Alan Sorrell who had been commissioned in 1957 (see Llewellyn & Sorrell, 2013: fig. 1), and continued his work into 1958 with a reconstruction of nearby Woodhenge, and a drawing of 'the raising of the lintels' at Stonehenge. Other reconstructions include one for 'offerings being made to the dead in front of [West Kennet Long Barrow]', and another for 'The building of Silbury Hill', the prehistoric mound near Avebury (Leary & Field, 2010). There is a note: 'The drawings by Alan Sorrell give an idea of what the people and their monuments *may* have looked like in the past; but they must not be taken as authentic reconstructions, since in most cases there is not enough evidence for certainty' (p. 2). The guide starts with a section on 'The People and the Monuments' discussing the Neolithic communities responsible for the creation of the monuments. The guide also points visitors to relevant museums: the Museum of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society in Devizes, and the South Wiltshire and Blackmore Museum in Salisbury (p. 10). The guide then provides a description of the two sites: Stonehenge (pp. 12-37), and Avebury (pp. 38-55). Stonehenge includes a presentation of the sequence of stones, and then a discussion of surrounding sites such as The Avenue, The Cursus, Woodhenge, and the Barrows. The Avebury section includes a description of the stone circles, the West Kennet Long Barrow (excavated in 1955-57), the Sanctuary, Silbury Hill, and Windmill Hill. The guide concludes with the speculative section, 'How were the monuments built?' that

admits, ‘for the most part we have to rely on guess-work aided by common sense’. There is mention of the BBC experiment to move a bluestone by raft. A DOE ‘blue’ guide for *The Avebury Monuments* (1976) was subsequently prepared by Faith de M. Vatcher and Lance Vatcher.

In 1963, R. Rainbird Clarke, the Director of the City of Norwich Museums, published the guide for the Neolithic flint mines of *Grime’s Graves* in Norfolk. The site had been purchased in 1931 to protect it from further damage by forestry (Thurley, 2013: 105-7). The guide included information on The Exploration of the Site, The Flint-Mining Industry, Mining Technique, The Miners, The Axe Trade, and After the Neolithic Period. It included several reconstructions by Alan Sorrell that had been commissioned in 1962 (Llewellyn & Sorrell, 2013: 191). The following year a *Young People’s Guide to Grime’s Graves* (1964) appeared, written by Barbara Green, the Keeper of Archaeology, Norwich Museums. The illustrations included a number of reconstructions by Sorrell, including one used as the cover.

The Edwardian Castles of Wales

In December 1960 a critical letter to *The Times* (London) complained about the new look illustrated guidebooks, commenting on the ‘deliberate lowering of the standard of its [sc. the Ministry’s] own justly famous guidebooks’ (King, 1960). The new guidebooks were defended by Leslie Thomas, Member of Parliament for Canterbury, who noted that the Select Committee of Estimates had praised the new guidebooks, in particular the combined souvenir guide for *Stonehenge and Avebury* (Thomas, 1960). The uniformity of the series introduced by Peers in 1917 had been challenged by the introduction of the illustrated guides and this had not been universally welcomed.

On Reynolds’ retirement, Arnold Taylor (1911-2002) became Chief Inspector in 1961 (to 1972) (Chapple, 2014b: 5). He had formerly been Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Wales

(1946-54), and Assistant Chief Inspector (1954-61). His first official guide was for *Minster Lovell Hall* (1939) in Oxfordshire, and this was followed by a series for sites in Wales, *Raglan Castle* (1950), *Basingwerk Abbey* (1953), *Caernarvon Castle and Town Walls* (1953), *Rhuddlan Castle* (1955), *Conway Castle and Town Walls* (1956). One of the first things he encouraged in his new role as Chief Inspector was a series of four new Ministry of Public Buildings and Works 'Illustrated Souvenirs' for the Edwardian Castles of North Wales, all published in 1961: *Beaumaris Castle / Castell Biwmaris*, *Caernarvon Castle / Castell Caernarfon*, *Conway Castle / Castell Conwy*, and *Harlech Castle / Castell Harlech*. It should be noted that the Welsh name for each monument was included on the title page, though in a much smaller font than the English name. The author was Alan Eric Phillips (d. 2014), who had read history at University College, Oxford, and the booklets were 'produced by the Information Branch of the Ministry of Works' rather than the Central Office of Information.

The guides were seen as complementing, not replacing, the more standard (and formal) guides. For example, in the Caernarvon Castle guide there is a statement: 'The definitive account is given in the Ministry of Works Official Guide Book CAERNARVON CASTLE AND TOWN WALLS, obtainable at 2s. at the monument, H.M. Stationery Office Bookshops, or from booksellers'. These guides were illustrated in black and white, and provided a history as well as description of the sites. There are some relaxed comments. At Caernarvon Castle, 'Many of the visitors, who go well into six figures every year, making their way out through the gate passage will have carried away as a final picture of this magnificent ruin not the memory of an eagle but the image of a chough, who became known as a daily caller and perhaps the most photographed bird in Wales' (p. 31). A picture of the chough apparently being stroked concludes the guide. Beaumaris is a little more blunt: 'Beaumaris Castle is not an exhilarating place. Its impact may be compared to that of a classical symphony in a minor key. As a quarry of information no student of military arts can

neglect it. From the more bustling life of the Menai Strait in the holiday season it offers a retreat in both place and time. For this some two hundred people a day are grateful' (p. 23). Harlech Castle ends with the words: 'Thoughts induced by a long sojourn today will be of patriotism and music, turbulence and endurance. How could it better stand for those who for generations have people the valleys of North Wales?' (p, 23). It is not clear how a castle built by an English king to suppress the people of Wales could necessarily be interpreted as 'patriotic'. A short tour of the castles was printed incised the card cover, suggesting an itinerary for the visitor. In addition, the music and words of 'Rhyfelgyrch gwyr Harlech' / 'Men of Harlech' was printed inside the front cover of the Harlech Castle guide. The guides included reconstructions of Conway, Beaumaris (pp. 12-13, double spread) and Harlech Castles (p. 14) that had been commissioned from Alan Sorrell in 1956 (Dykes, 1980: 64-65, 68-69, 70-71, nos. 22, 24, 25; Llewellyn & Sorrell, 2013: 189). Taylor felt that a reconstruction for Caernarfon was unnecessary as its appearance was complete (Dykes, 1980: 20).

The illustrated souvenir guides were remarkable as their covers were designed by Kyffin Williams (1918-2006) in subdued covers (Kenyon 2013-14). The brown cover of Caernarvon was replaced in the 1963 reprint with a red cover. A loose printed note inserted inside the guide states: 'Mr. Kyffin Williams is responsible, as stated in page 2, for the cover design of this booklet. He is not, however, responsible for the colour'. The note is dated Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, October, 1963.

[INSERT FIGURE 11]

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The Department of the Environment on behalf of the Welsh Office, reprinted the guides in 1965. The Kyffin Williams cover designs were removed and replaced by simple line drawings of the castles. The Welsh names were reproduced in the same bold font as the English names. Inside the back cover, the line drawings of the castle were replaced by a short history and guide in Welsh ('Hanes y castell').

Abbeys

An illustrated guidebook to Tintern Abbey in Monmouthshire appeared in 1960. This contained a 'tour' of the remains instead of the description found in the two earlier formal guides by Harold Brakspear (1919, rev. 1929, 1934) and Oswin E. Craster (1956). The Ministry followed this with the souvenir guides to the Edwardian Castles of north Wales. Phillips, the author of these new guides, prepared an illustrated guide for monastic sites in Yorkshire, *A Look Round the Monasteries of North-East Yorkshire* (1962), printed by Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd. of London and Tonbridge. It covered Kirkham Priory, Byland Abbey, Rievaulx Abbey, Mount Grace Priory, Gisborough Priory, and Whitby Abbey. Rievaulx Abbey had been placed in state guardianship in 1917, followed by Whitby Abbey in 1920, Byland Abbey in 1921, Kirkham Priory in 1927, and Gisborough Priory in 1932. Mount Grace Priory had been given to the National Trust in 1953 and the remains of the priory had been placed in state guardianship. The guide included a reconstruction of the refectory at Rievaulx Abbey by Alan Sorrell. He had been commissioned to make the reconstruction at Rievaulx in 1959 (Llewellyn & Sorrell, 2013: 190). He had worked at Mount Grace in 1962 (although no reconstruction was included in this guide).

The style of the guide is relaxed. The opening paragraph states: 'Monks we think of as men of tranquil mind, attained by days of repetition and repose. At the opposite pole of the Middle Ages, knights suggest the questing spirit, fired by a life of colour and movement.'

Which did more to civilize Europe: monasticism or chivalry?’ (p. 3). The intention was to provide a guide for motorists. The abbeys selected ‘are strung out in that order in the following pages, presented as to a motorist on a zigzag course from York’ (p, 5). Again, the guidebook is intended to supplement more formal guides: ‘This book is designed to be only an illustrated souvenir; the visitor in search of fuller information is advised to consult *Abbeys*, a Ministry of Works official publication’ (p. 5). In fact, all the abbeys or priories had guides except for Mount Grace Priory. *Abbeys: an introduction to the religious houses of England and Wales* guide was written by R. Gilyard-Beer and had first appeared in 1958. A separate handbook to *Scottish Abbeys* (1960) was prepared by Stewart Cruden, Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland.

Phillips subsequently prepared the MPBW illustrated ‘Souvenir Guide-book’ for *Fountains Abbey* (1967) shortly after it came into state guardianship in 1966. This was printed by the Swindon Press. The guide included four pages of colour photographs of the site. Like the castles of north Wales, there was a plan inside the foldout back cover, with a numbered route for visitors to follow. Phillips’ prose lavishes praise on the ruins: ‘Nowhere in Europe can even the expert hope for a clearer, more detailed impression of what the vast precincts of a wealthy and powerful monastery looked like in their medieval glory’ (p. 3). He reminds us that the government Minister ‘felt that this latest accession would soon claim to be the brightest jewel of the whole collection’ of monastic sites in Yorkshire (p. 21). The first part of the guide related to the history of the abbey including a short section on the post-reformation period. It then moved into a tour, highlighting the ideal route through Studley Royal, or more practically from the direction of Fountains Hall. He closed with a reflection on the task that lay ahead for MPBW: ‘the newest guardians of a wonderful place will have enough to do in keeping it, as they received it, one of the art treasures of Europe’ (p. 26).

The guide to abbeys in Yorkshire was mirrored by an official guide to *Scottish Border Abbeys* (1964) by George Scott-Moncrieff, and printed by the HMSO in Edinburgh but with a cover printed by G. Cornwall & Son. This covered the four abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso and Jedburgh. The guide contains plans as well as photographs of the abbeys, including reconstructions by Alan Sorrell, e.g. Melrose (p. 10), Dryburgh (p. 18), and Jedburgh (p. 30), that were commissioned in 1957 (Llewellyn & Sorrell, 2013: 189). This guide was published alongside the more standard ‘blue’ guides: J.S. Richardson and Marguerite Wood for Melrose Abbey (1932; 2nd. ed. 1949; Historic Scotland, 1995; rev. Chris Tabraham, 2005); J.S. Richardson and Marguerite Wood for Dryburgh Abbey (1932; 1937; 2nd ed. 1948; rev. C.J. Tabraham, 1983). The general book was followed by one short guide for Jedburgh Abbey (1966; 2nd ed. 1978), and a pamphlet guide for Kelso Abbey was published in 1984.

Coastal Defence

Coastal forts had attracted the attention of inspectors since the 1930s. A number of Tudor forts created for coastal defence had come into state care: Deal and Walmer castles in Kent had been transferred from the War Office in 1904 (Fry, 2014a: 11), Hurst Castle in Hampshire, and Pendennis and St Mawes castles in Cornwall. (Calshot Castle in Hampshire was subsequently transferred to state guardianship in 1964.) One of the first illustrated guides for this type of feature was the combined ‘Guide Book’ to *Deal and Walmer Castles* (1963) in Kent, prepared by Andrew Downing Saunders (1931-2009). Saunders had been appointed an Inspector of Ancient Monuments in 1954, and one of his earlier tasks was to prepare a standard guide for *Barnard Castle* (1959).

Unlike the earlier guides that formed a single narrative, Saunders’ guide contained three main sections, with numerous sub-headings, to break up the text. There was an introduction

to the two castles, with a history of the Cinque Ports, the expected invasion of 1538, the Civil War, and later history of the castles. The guide then moved to description, with separate sections on the two castles. It concludes with a 'Select glossary of military engineering terms'.

This Kent booklet was followed by Saunders' illustrated MPBW guide to *Dartmouth Castle* (1965) in Devon. This booklet was divided into a section on history down to its handing over to state guardianship in 1907, and further sections of the harbour defences in 1955. Mention was also made of the castle's use in the Second World War: 'In 1940 the castle was again pressed into active service and a brick position for a 4.7 inch gun was built on one of the two upper embrasures and platforms of the "old battery"' (p. 22). The history was followed by a description of the castle. A plan of the harbour defences was placed inside the back cover.

Saunders was appointed Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in 1973 and retired in 1989. He wrote further standard Ministry 'blue' guides for *Upnor Castle* (1967) in Kent, *Old Wardour Castle* (1968) in Wiltshire, and, for English Heritage, *Launceston Castle* (1984) in Cornwall, *Prudhoe Castle* (1993) in Northumberland, and *Tynemouth Priory* (1993) in Tyne and Wear.

Roman Sites

In 1958 the newly excavated Roman villa at Lullingstone in Kent was placed in state guardianship. A short paper guide had been prepared by the excavator, Lt.-Col. G.W. Meates. The villa was a subject of a MPBW illustrated guidebook *Lullingstone* (1963) also written by Meates. It compared the villa to the other better known ones at Bignor in Sussex (in private hands), and Chedworth (National Trust) in Gloucestershire. The guide was divided into a history and description, dividing the occupation into different phases: I, 1st century AD, II,

2nd century AD, III, 3rd century AD, IV, 4th century AD. Four colour pages showing mosaics and wall paintings were included. A reconstruction (in black and white) by Alan Sorrell covered the centre pages. The guide closed with a section on the finds, including the marble portraits that had been placed in the British Museum. A numbered plan of the villa was printed inside the back cover.

This was followed in 1963 by ‘an illustrated guide’ to Hadrian’s Wall by Anthony R. Birley. His father, Eric Birley (1906-95) of Durham University (Bowman, 2004), had prepared the official ‘blue’ guides to the Roman sites at *Corbridge* (1954), *Housesteads* (1952), and *Chesters* (1960). This illustrated guide included a fold-out card map of Hadrian’s Wall showing the locations of all the fragments of the frontier system that were in state guardianship. There were a number of reconstructions by Alan Sorrell, some commissioned for *The Illustrated London News*: Walltown Crag, the *vicus* at Housesteads, Harrow’s Scar milecastle and Willowford Bridge over the river Irthing, the Roman depot at Corbridge, the *principia* at Chesters, the bath-house at Chesters, the Mithraeum at Carrawburgh, Housesteads Roman fort, and Birdoswald Roman fort. The bath-house had the unusual feature of having the roof printed on a clear page so that the interior could be viewed; this see-through page could then be placed over the reconstruction. There is a single plan: the fort at Chesters. The guide includes a section on ‘General description of surviving remains’, and many of the key elements of the wall were illustrated.

The Late Roman fortresses known as ‘The Saxon Shore’ are found along the coast of eastern and southern England from Brancaster in north Norfolk, to Portchester in Portsmouth harbour. Leonard Cottrell wrote *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* (1964). This covered the forts in state guardianship: Burgh Castle in Norfolk (though at the time of writing still part of Suffolk), Reculver and Richborough in Kent, Pevensey in Sussex, and Portchester in Hampshire. Reculver and Pevensey were placed in state guardianship in 1925, and

Portchester the following year, and Burgh Castle in 1929 (Fry, 2014b). Richborough was excavated in the 1920s and 1930s, and then placed in state guardianship.

Cottrell's guide included a single reconstruction of Portchester Castle by Alan Sorrell that had been commissioned in 1959. The booklet has a sense of the informal, talking of Pevensey Castle 'with instructive notices and neatly-slipped turf lovingly tended by the Department' (p. 32). Pevensey Castle was later to receive its own dedicated souvenir guide (1970) [see below].

Further Castles

Souvenir guides had been produced for various castles in state guardianship: The Tower of London, the Edwardian castles of North Wales, and Henry VIII's coastal defence forts in Kent. An illustrated guide for Scarborough Castle was produced in 1960 (with a reprint in 1966). Hugh de S. Shortt (d. 1975), curator of the Salisbury Museum, prepared an illustrated guide to *Old Sarum* (1965) that covered the Iron Age hillfort, the castle, as well as the original cathedral. It contained both a history and a tour of the site, and the guide contained several reconstructions by Alan Sorrell that he had made in 1963 (Llewellyn & Sorrell, 2013: 191). There are plans of the cathedrals as well as the inner bailey. The guide contained two appendices: on the name of Old Sarum, and on Saint Osmund.

In 1965, Dover Castle's last military garrison was withdrawn and the defences transferred to the Ministry (Chapple 2014b). The MPBW illustrated guide for *Dover Castle* (1967) was prepared by R. Allen Brown. He had already written the MPBW 'blue' guide to *Orford Castle* (1964) in Suffolk. Brown stressed the importance of Dover: 'Few if any fortified sites in England are more impressive than Dover Castle, and few even in Wales, the land of castles' (p. 3). Like many of the earlier souvenir guides there was a continuous text, the history changing into a description. A numbered plan of the castle was placed at the end of

the text, but not inside the back cover. Little was made of the recent history of the castle, such as its role after the Fall of France and during the Battle of Britain: 'in the dark days of 1940-41, the skies above the ancient castle were filled with historic fighting of another kind' (p. 4). The 'new' style of writing closed with the apologetic, 'Lastly, it will not perhaps be out of place to mention that there will be found within the inner bailey a bookshop, a restaurant and toilet facilities' (p. 26). Brown's guide was followed by the DOE 2nd edition (1974), and 3rd edition (1979), that continued as an English Heritage guide (1988). Brown later prepared the 'blue' guides for *Rochester Castle* (1969) in Kent, and *Castle Rising* (1978) in Norfolk.

A further combined MPBW 'guide book' for Launceston, Restormel, and Totnes castles in Devon and Cornwall appeared as *Three Shell Keeps* (1969), prepared by Derek Frank Renn. Restormel Castle had been placed in state guardianship in 1925, and an earlier official guide had been prepared by C.A. Raleigh Radford (Todd, 2004). Totnes Castle had been placed in state guardianship in 1947, followed by Launceston in 1951. The new illustrated guide included colour images, a reconstruction of Totnes Castle by Alan Sorrell, as well as plans on the castles. Inside the cover was a fold out model of a Norman motte and bailey castle.

Renn prepared the DOE souvenir guide for *Pevensey Castle* (1970) that replaced the earlier 'blue' guide by Sir Charles Peers, first published in 1933, revised in 1952, and with a second edition in 1967. The outer 'bailey' of the castle was formed by the oval walls of the Roman Saxon Shore fortress, and the fortifications had been reused after the Norman Conquest of 1066. The guide was illustrated throughout mostly in black and white, but also with colour photographs including 'the Pevensey Gun'. The plan used in Peers' guide appears towards the end of the text. A reconstruction of the castle by Alan Sorrell was included. The guide starts with a section on 'The Invasion Coast' and mentions events of the Second World War: 'hidden here and there among the ruins of earlier fortifications can be

found the machine-gun posts built in anticipation of Hitler's Operation Sea Lion, the 1940 invasion that was prevented by the Battle of Britain fought in the skies about this invasion coast' (p. 4). The guide emphasises the medieval castle with its Norman keep, including the association with William the Conqueror's landing in Sussex. There is a short discussion of the Roman fort, and readers are directed to the souvenir guide on *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* by Cottrell for further information.

Renn later wrote the official 'blue' guides to *Clifford's Tower and the Castles of York* (1971), *Portchester Castle* (1972), *Kenilworth Castle* (1973) in Warwickshire, and then the illustrated English Heritage Guides for *Goodrich Castle* (1993) in Herefordshire, *Old Sarum* (1994) in Wiltshire, *Framlingham and Orford Castles* (1988) in Suffolk, and the Cadw guides for *Caerphilly Castle* (1989), *Flint Castle and Ewloe Castle* (1995).

Souvenir Guides and the Department of the Environment

After the transfer of MPBW sites to the care of the Department of the Environment in 1970, a number of new illustrated guides appeared such as Stephen Johnson's, *Roman Fortification on the 'Saxon Shore'* (1977), and Beric M. Morley's, *Henry VIII and the Development of Coastal Defence* (1976). These adopted a landscape format. Johnson's booklet replaced the earlier MPBW guide by Cottrell. The booklet contained photographs (some in colour) and plans, and section on the history of the 'Saxon Shore'. The description of the forts included ones not in state guardianship, namely Brancaster in Norfolk, Walton Castle in Suffolk (though largely lost to the sea), Bradwell in Essex, and Dover and Lympne in Kent. Johnson later wrote the English Heritage guides for *Belsay Hall and Gardens* (1984) in Northumberland, and *Conisborough Castle* (1984) in Yorkshire.

[INSERT FIGURE 23]

[INSERT FIGURE 24]

Morley, an Inspector of Ancient Monuments, explored the Tudor defences of England that are highlighted in an extremely helpful double-page spread (pp. 8-9). The booklet covers a number of topics: Historical; The Fortifications; The 1539/40 Castles; Gunpower; The Development of Coastal Defence. The last section, 'Open to the Public' lists coastal defences in the care of the DOE (including some of the Roman 'Saxon Shore' forts) as well as those in private or local authority ownership. Morley returned to the topic of Tudor coastal defence in his English Heritage guide to the forts at *Pendennis and St Mawes*, written with Ken Osborne (1995; 1988). He subsequently wrote the DOE guides to *Blackfriars in Gloucester* (1979), *Hylton Castle* (1979) in Tyne and Wear, *Stonehenge* (1984), and the English Heritage guide to *Wenlock Priory* (1985) in Shropshire, and *Peveril Castle* (1990) in Derbyshire. He revised Sir Charles Peir's guide to *Middleham Castle* (1984) in Yorkshire.

Conclusion

The creation of the three national heritage bodies, English Heritage (1983), Cadw (1984) and Historic Scotland (1991) served as a break with the old format of the official 'blue' guides, although the text for some was used as the basis for revised and more heavily illustrated editions. Cadw, in particular, adopted its yellow illustrated guidebooks with full illustrations. English Heritage, Cadw and Historic Scotland now all produce high quality illustrated guidebooks that are now the norm. The emphasis is much more on a tour of the site and an interpretation of what the visitor will encounter. However, the history of the site continues to be stressed.

There is scope for further exploration of the more formal official guides that survived largely unchanged in their format for some 60 years. Indeed some texts written for Ministry

guidebooks continue to appear, with some editing and reformatting, in contemporary 'souvenir' guides. Such guides were prepared as monuments were placed in state guardianship, rather than because there was necessarily an expected influx of visitors requiring interpretation. Monuments in counties such as Yorkshire and Northumberland with their rich diversity of abbeys and castles had a comprehensive set of guides prepared. In other locations the preparation of official signage affixed to the architectural remains was intended to point the visitor to the guidebook for an interpretation of that part of the site.

This study has aimed to identify the new type of guidebook that emerged for monuments in state care in the late 1950s, in part through the initiative of the Central Office of Information. There may be other souvenir guides that have yet to be identified and so this study cannot claim to be comprehensive. But it shows that prehistoric and Roman sites, medieval castles and abbeys, Tudor coastal defences, as well as royal residences were treated with more 'modern' interpretative guides meeting the needs of the visiting public who, in the post Second World War era, now chose to visit historic sites by motor car. Monuments in state guardianship were seen as tourist attractions in post-war Britain, and these guidebooks were intended to make these structures more comprehensible to members of the general public.

England	Department responsible	Year of publication	Edition	Publisher
A Look Round the Monasteries of North-East Yorkshire	MOW	1962		London and Tonbridge: Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd.
Deal and Walmer Castles	MPBW	1963		Tonbridge: Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd.
Old Sarum	MPBW	1965		Tonbridge: Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd.
Dartmouth Castle	MPBW	1965		Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd.
Scarborough Castle	MPBW	1966 (1960)	Reprinted	Swindon: Swindon Press Ltd.
The Crown Jewels in the Tower of London	MPBW	1967 (1953)	3 rd ed. 5 th impression	Swindon: Swindon Press Ltd.
Osborne House	MPBW	1968 (1960)	Reprinted	London and Tonbridge: Brown Knight

				& Truscott Ltd.
Grime's Graves	MPBW	1968 (1963)	Reprinted	London and Tonbridge: Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd.
Arms and Armour in England	MPBW	1970 (1969)	Reprinted	Anstey: The Artisan Press Ltd.
The Crown Jewels	MPBW	1970 (1953)	2 nd impress. 3 rd ed.	Bolton and London: Tillotsons (Bolton) Ltd.
The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore	MPBW	1964		Liverpool: C. Tinling & Co. Ltd.
Audley End	MPBW	1967 (1958) [1970]	3 rd ed.; 5 th impress. with amendments	London and Tonbridge: Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd.
Fountains Abbey	MPBW	1967		Swindon: Swindon Press Ltd.
Stonehenge and Avebury	MPBW	1970 (1959)	7 th impression with amendments	Swindon: Swindon Press Ltd.

				Cover: Exeter: A. Wheaton & Co.
Hadrian's Wall	MPBW	1969 (1963)	3 rd impression	Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd.
	DOE	1973 (1963)	6 th impression with amendments	Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd.
Lullingstone Roman Villa	DOE	1974 (1963)	Reprinted	Swindon Press
Grime's Graves	DOE	1975 (1963)	Reprinted	Swindon: Swindon Press Ltd.
Arms and Armour of England	MPBW	1969 (1960)	2 nd ed.	Anstey: The Artisan Press Ltd.
Osborne House	DOE	1974 (1960)	Reprinted	Swindon Press Ltd. Cover, Exeter: A. Wheaton & Co.
Scotland				
The Palace of Holyroodhouse	MPBW / COI	1963 (1960)	3 rd ed,	Glasgow: James Findlay & Sons

The Palace of Holyroodhouse	MPBW / COI	1968 (1960)	3 rd ed. 2 nd impression	Paisley: James Paton Lrd. + J.J. Cook Ltd.
Scottish Border Abbeys	DOE	1973 (1964)	2 nd impress. with minor amendments	Edinburgh: HMSO Cover: G. Cornwall & Son
Wales				
Beaumaris Castle	MOW	1961		London: HMSO
Caernarvon Castle	MOW	1961		London: HMSO
Caernarvon Castle	MPBW	1963 (1961)	Reprinted	London: HMSO
Caernarvon Castle	DOE	1975 (1961)	Reprinted	London: HMSO
Harlech Castle	MPBW	1965 (1961)	Reprinted	London: HMSO
Harlech Castle	DOE	1974 (1961)	Reprinted	London: HMSO

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FIGURES

Fig. 1. St Botolph's Priory (1917)

Fig. 2. Osborne House (1955)

Fig. 3. Osborne House (1960; repr. 1968)

Fig. 4. Osborne House (1960; repr. 1974)

Fig. 5. Audley End (1955)

Fig. 6. Audley End (1950; 3rd ed. 1958, 5th impress. With amendments, 1967)

Fig. 7. The Tower of London (1957; repr. 1961)

Fig. 8. Tower of London (1948; reprinted 1958)

Fig. 9. Arms and Armour in England (1969; reprinted 1970)

Fig. 10. The Crown Jewels (1953; 3rd ed. 1968, 2nd impress. 1970)

Fig. 11. The Palace of Holyroodhouse (1960; 3rd ed. 1963)

Fig. 12. Hampton Court Palace (1943; 4th ed. 1965; 3rd impression 1969)

Fig. 13. Hampton Court Palace (5th ed. 1971)

Fig. 14. Stonehenge and Avebury (1959; 7th impress. With amendments 1970)

Fig. 15. Grime's Graves (1963; repr. 1968)

Fig. 16. Caernarvon Castle

Fig. 17. Caernarvon Castle

Fig. 18. Caernarvon Castle

Fig. 19. Beaumaris Castle (1961; 2nd impress. 1966)

Fig. 20. Harlech Castle (1961; repr. 1965)

Fig. 21. Harlech Castle (1961; repr. 1974)

Fig. 22. Tintern Abbey. (1960; 1964, 2nd ed.; 1967, 3rd impression)

Fig. 23. Monasteries in North-East Yorkshire (1962)

Fig. 24. Scottish Border Abbeys (1964; 1973, 2ns impress. With amendments)

Fig. 25. Fountains Abbey (1967)

Fig. 26. Deal and Walmer Castles (1963)

Fig. 27. Dartmouth Castle (1965)

Fig. 28. Carisbrooke Castle (1956; 7th impress. With amendments 1967)

Fig. 29. Lullingstone Roman Villa (1963; repr. 1972)

Fig. 30. The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore (1964; repr. 1971)

Fig. 31. Old Sarum (1965)

Fig. 32. Dover Castle (1967)

Fig. 33. Three Shell Keeps (1969)

Fig. 34. Pevensey Castle (1970; 2nd impression 1975)

Fig. 35. Roman Fortifications on the 'Saxon Shore'

Fig. 36. Henry VIII and the Development of Coastal Defence