

RESEARCH REPORT SERIES no. 45-2014

# A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME ONE: 1882-1900

Sebastian Fry



GENERAL VIEW OF "ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE", NEAR PENRITH, CUMBERLAND.  
LOOKING N.E. BY E. TAKEN FROM HIGH GROUND TO THE SOUTH-WEST, POINT A ON PLAN (OPPOSITE)

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# A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

## VOLUME ONE: 1882-1900

### LT. GENERAL AUGUSTUS PITT-RIVERS AND THE FIRST ANCIENT MONUMENTS ACT

Sebastian Fry

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## SUMMARY

This is Volume One in a series of eight research reports, which describe the formation of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings from 1882 to 1983, in the context of legislation and other means of protecting heritage. This report covers the period from 1882 to 1900.

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the birth of heritage protection in Britain through the passing of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act in 1882. In its final form the Act was shorn of many of its original provisions, including any compulsory measures of protection upon landowners. Protection was confined to taking archaeological sites into State care through the process of 'guardianship'. This allowed owners to voluntarily hand their monuments over to be managed by the Government whilst retaining the freehold. The first guardianship sites were almost exclusively prehistoric monuments. An Inspector of Ancient Monuments; Lt. General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, was appointed to oversee their protection. The period is characterised by difficulties in working the Act partly due to a lack of political will and public interest. However an important precedent was set and by the turn of the century several groups were campaigning for better heritage protection.

*Cover Image: Watercolour of the Neolithic henge monument known as 'King Arthur's Round Table', Cumbria, from 'Our Ancient Monuments'. Painted by W.S Tomkin in 1883. The surveyor at the centre of this henge may be General Pitt-Rivers. King Arthur's Round Table was taken into guardianship in 1884 and forms part of the National Heritage Collection.  
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## INTRODUCTION

This is Volume I in a series of eight research reports, which describe the formation of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings from 1882 to 1983, in the context of legislation and other means of protecting heritage. The series was commissioned to inform the commemoration of the centenary of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act. This volume covers the period from the first Ancient Monuments Act in 1882 to the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The primary source material for this research is the guardianship files and Pitt-Rivers papers held by English Heritage and the National Archives. The principal focus is the protection of ancient monuments in England. However reference is given to sites in Wales and Scotland since protection in these countries is intimately linked with that of England during the period; all coming under the jurisdiction of the Office of Works, the Government body appointed to oversee the Act. The 1882 Act also introduced protective measures to Ireland but this was administered by a Board of Works and is not included in this study.

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the birth of heritage protection in Britain through the passing of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act in 1882. The introduction of the Act was largely brought about through the effort of the MP Sir John Lubbock, who campaigned for almost a decade to get archaeological sites protected by law. However in its final form the Act was shorn of many of its original provisions, including any compulsory measures of protection upon landowners. This severely limited its impact and effectiveness. Protection was confined to taking archaeological sites into State care. This was through the process of 'guardianship' whereby owners would voluntarily hand their monuments over to the Government - to be managed and preserved - whilst they themselves retained the freehold. The first guardianship sites of what is now known as the 'National Heritage Collection' were almost exclusively prehistoric monuments. An Inspector of Ancient Monuments; Lt. General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, was appointed to oversee their protection. The period is characterised by difficulties in working the Act partly due to a lack of political will and public interest. However an important precedent was set and by the turn of the century several groups were campaigning for better heritage protection.

## BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST ANCIENT MONUMENTS ACT

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was growing public interest in ancient monuments and buildings stimulated by the work of topographers and historians, the study of church architecture and the setting up of numerous architectural and archaeological societies. Many people were now encouraged to visit these sites, some travelling considerable distances. According to one Member of Parliament, Mr Ferguson, speaking in 1875:

*'There was an ever-increasing stream of visitors to this country from across the Atlantic, who came here not to inspect our railways, our warehouses, or our docks, but to seek out in quiet nooks our ancient monuments, which were the landmarks of our common history'*<sup>1</sup>

Despite this growing enthusiasm, monuments were constantly threatened and destroyed. Appeals were often made to the Society of Antiquaries. A letter sent from Lord Stanhope, President of the Society, to Sir John Lubbock, MP for Maidstone, on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1873 stated:

*'As President of the Society of Antiquaries, I am able to assure you how frequently the attention of that Society has been invited to the wanton destruction of prehistoric and other early remains amongst us. This destruction is the more to be lamented since in many cases such remains are the only records extant of the early races which appear to have inhabited this island...*

*To appeals upon these subjects the Council of the Society of Antiquaries have always responded with alacrity, but seldom with success... The result is that our stone monuments are used as quarries, and our earthworks are levelled by the plough.'*<sup>2</sup>

The Society of Antiquaries founded in 1707 was the first body dedicated to studying the history of Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> As the oldest extant antiquarian society in Northern Europe it had long been involved in the protection of archaeological sites. Appeals of this sort formed the basis of a Private Member's Bill for the preservation of ancient monuments put forward by Sir John Lubbock in 1873. However it was a further nine years before an Act was finally agreed by Parliament. Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913) (Figure 1) was not only a politician but a banker and scientific writer. His father had been a good friend of Charles Darwin and Lubbock had been tutored by him in natural history, later publishing several works on nature and archaeology. Lubbock was appalled at the loss of monuments, particularly for the most careless and trivial reasons. In 1871 he stepped in and purchased Avebury when part of the ground covered by the Neolithic henge and stone circles was being sold off for building plots. Later he bought nearby Silbury Hill and West Kennet Long Barrow. In a paper first published in 1877 he gives an extensive list of some of the monuments that had been lost in Great Britain and Ireland, stating that:

*'...ancient national monuments are so rapidly disappearing, yet they are seldom destroyed because they interfere with any important improvement or with any great engineering*

*work; on the contrary they are generally demolished for the most paltry and trifling reasons<sup>4</sup>*

The earthen mounds of barrows were used as a rich fertilizer to spread upon fields whilst the stones of megalithic monuments were broken up to serve as gateposts or as part of road surfaces. In one case an Irish landowner had given orders to build a wall around a field containing the remains of Con O'Neill's Castle at Castlereagh, in order to protect the ruins. Mistakenly the agent dismantled the castle itself and used the stones to erect the wall.<sup>5</sup> In another case the Jockey Club mutilated the Anglo-Saxon earthwork known as the Devil's Dyke on Newmarket Heath because tipsters had been using it to sneak views of racehorses in training.<sup>6</sup>



*Figure 1: A sketch of Sir John Lubbock, which appeared in Popular Science Monthly (Vol. 21) in 1882. Wikimedia Commons.*



The main principle of Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Bill was that if an owner wished to damage or destroy a monument on his land then he must first give the Government a chance to purchase it for the nation.<sup>7</sup> This met with fierce opposition in Parliament due to what was perceived as State interference in the rights of landowners. Lubbock attempted to introduce his Bill in eight separate Parliamentary sessions without success. In 1880 the Liberal Party was elected under William Gladstone, an enthusiast for Mediterranean archaeology.<sup>8</sup> Under this Government George Shaw-Lefevre, First Commissioner of Works 1881-1885 (and later again in 1892-1895), put forward a compromise Bill. This omitted any compulsion on the part of landowners who were encouraged to voluntarily place their monuments under the guardianship of the Office of Works, the Government department that already maintained historic buildings such as the royal palaces as Crown property.

## THE 1882 ANCIENT MONUMENTS ACT

On 18<sup>th</sup> August 1882, 'An Act for the better protection of Ancient Monuments' received the royal assent. It applied, as explained in the associated Memorandum, to 'prehistoric remains, dolmens, ancient forts, and similar monuments', listed in an attached Schedule covering Great Britain and Ireland.<sup>9</sup> However 'more recent historic and ecclesiastical ruins, such as castles, abbeys or churches' were excluded.<sup>10</sup> Thus the prehistoric archaeological sites protected were both ancient and monumental providing the terminology still used today for nationally protected archaeological sites; whether a prehistoric standing stone, a medieval priory or a Cold War missile site all are 'scheduled ancient monuments'. The 1882 Act allowed the owner of any ancient monument on the Schedule to constitute HM Commissioners of Works 'guardians'. The Government department were thereafter bound to maintain and protect it although the owner retained the freehold over the land. The Commissioners could buy or accept a gift or bequest of an ancient monument. Additional monuments 'of a like character' could be added to the Schedule by Order in Council; legislation set before and approved by the monarch in front of the Privy Council.<sup>11</sup> There was a broad definition of ownership including tenants for life and the guardians of minors. If any person was convicted of damaging a monument in guardianship they would be liable to a fine of five pounds or one month imprisonment.<sup>12</sup>

The term 'scheduled monument' applied until 1913 to those sites included in the original 'Schedule' attached to the 1882 Act. Thus it did not have the same meaning as the legal protection offered to large numbers of sites drawn up in lists after the 1913 Ancient Monuments and Consolidation Act. Section Six of the 1882 Act implies that any person except the owner found to damage a monument on the 1882 Schedule, whether it was in guardianship or not, was liable to prosecution. Indeed this was the understanding of the National Trust in 1897<sup>13</sup> and the later Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Charles Reed Peers.<sup>14</sup> There was even a conviction on the grounds of damage to a non-guardianship site, 'The Burgh of Clickanim', Shetland, that had been on the original Schedule.<sup>15</sup> However it is clear from correspondence that Pitt-Rivers considered that non-guardianship sites were not protected in any sense at all.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore Chippindale is of the opinion that the prosecution at Shetland was in fact unlawful and would have been quashed had an appeal been made.<sup>17</sup>

The 1882 Act provided for the appointment of one or more Inspectors of Ancient Monuments to oversee and provide advice upon the protection of monuments. The Inspector was responsible for meeting and explaining the Act to owners, thereby encouraging them to voluntarily place their monument(s) under State protection. The Memorandum stated that although an owner might feel certain a monument would not be damaged under their own charge they could through guardianship bind their successors to do the same. Furthermore part of the burden and expense of maintenance would be relieved by Government. Thus, according to the Memorandum, the monument was affixed with 'the status of indestructibility'; it no longer being in the power of anyone

to destroy or damage it. The Act afforded no right of public access, which was instead left to the discretion of the owner.

## The Schedule of monuments

The 1882 Act included a Schedule of 68 entries for monuments in Great Britain and Ireland (Appendix 1). The intention was that all, with the consent of their owners, would be brought into guardianship. It comprised 26 entries for England, three for Wales, 21 for Scotland and 18 for Ireland.<sup>18</sup> Those in Ireland were outside the jurisdiction of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments. The monuments were almost exclusively prehistoric, except for early medieval carvings and one motte (a misidentified site – see below) in Scotland. Excluding those sites in Ireland the Schedule comprised twelve megalithic monuments, nine hillforts, eight stone circles, seven inscribed stones, five henge monuments, five brochs, three miscellaneous sites and one enclosed settlement.<sup>19</sup> Medieval sites were excluded because Sir John Lubbock considered them expensive and controversial to repair and maintain:

*'Medieval monuments. ...require constant supervision and frequent repairs, entailing large expenses, and involving aesthetic questions, with reference to which there are great differences of opinion. To distribute funds between the different districts, to determine which ancient abbeys, churches, or castles should be repaired or restored, and in what manner would open questions of extreme difficulty'*<sup>20</sup>

Prehistoric sites meanwhile apparently required no repairs and were 'merely to be left alone'.<sup>21</sup> The Schedule is notable for the complete omission of major Roman sites such as Richborough, Silchester and Hadrian's Wall. One Roman site, an amphitheatre at Dorchester, Dorset, known as the Maumbury Rings, had been included in Lubbock's earlier Schedule of 1873 but was omitted from the final list of the 1882 Act.<sup>22</sup> The bias towards prehistory brought criticism, such as that of Lord Francis Hervey, MP for Bury St Edmunds:

*'What [said Lord Francis] he did not understand, was that Englishmen should be called upon to exhibit enthusiasm for the monuments of that barbarous and uncivilised race whom our forefathers took the trouble to expel... were we now to be invaded by the Celtic race in this country? ...the relics of the ancient Britons... were destitute of all art and of everything that was noble or that entitled them to preservation.'*<sup>23</sup>

The prehistoric composition of the Schedule was dictated by Lubbock's own interest; the new science of prehistory. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century a major breakthrough had been made in understanding the chronology of European prehistory. In 1819 the Danish curator Christian Jurgensen Thompson had rearranged the National Museum in Copenhagen and laid the artefacts out according to the 'Three Age System': the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.<sup>24</sup> This was a chronological system based upon observations of which

artefacts occurred with others in closed finds, thereby forming an evidence-based division of prehistory into discrete periods. Lubbock himself visited Denmark in 1861 and on his return to England developed some of the ideas originating from there. In 1865 he published 'Pre-Historic Times as illustrated by Ancient Remains', in which he further subdivided the Stone Age into Palaeolithic and Neolithic. He made this distinction on a basis of whether the stone was ground and polished rather than the modern division, which is centred on the introduction of agriculture.<sup>25</sup> A second publication followed in 1870 titled 'The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man', which was an evolutionary account of prehistory connecting 'savage' with 'civilised' societies. Lubbock considered that prehistoric monuments could enhance our understanding of prehistory and human origins, which made their preservation all the more important:

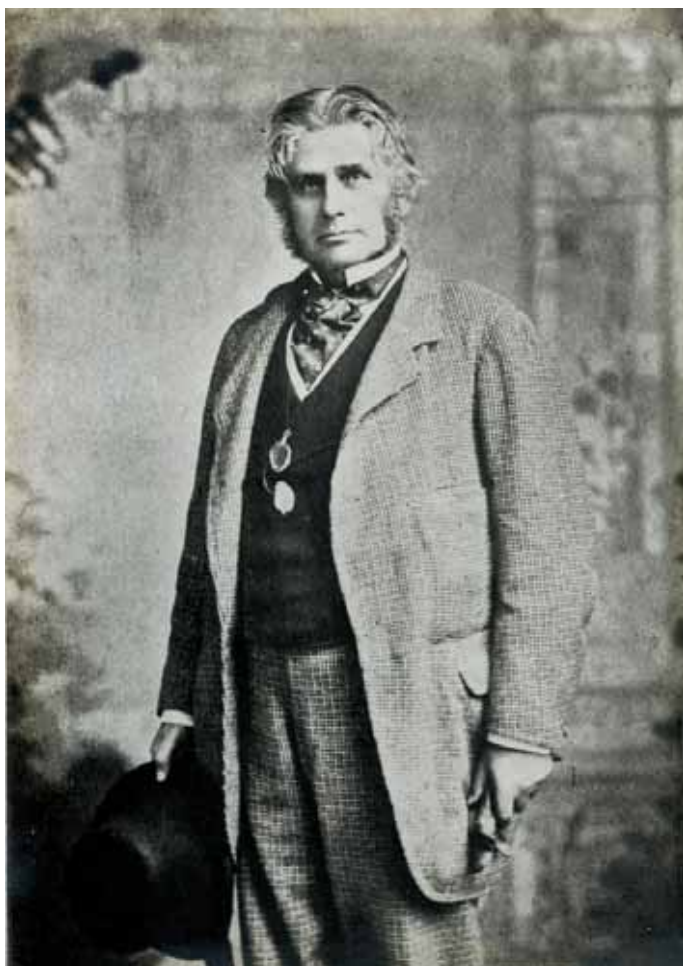
*'To a great extent, no doubt, we still have their lessons to learn...[but] they have thrown a flood of light on the history of the past: and perhaps no branch of science has made more progress of late years than has Prehistoric Archaeology'*<sup>26</sup>

He considered that these ancient monuments represented the 'unwritten history of our country' and that their preservation was a 'national duty'.<sup>27</sup> According to Emerick, Lubbock thought of these monuments as 'national' for the connection between them, national origins and national status.<sup>28</sup>

The rationale behind the choice of specific sites on the Schedule was that they were considered as some of the best preserved and most typical examples of their type.<sup>29</sup> The Schedule was approved by each of the major societies: the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Irish Academy and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. All monuments on Duchy of Cornwall land were excluded from the Schedule.<sup>30</sup> This may have been because they were already considered to be adequately protected or because it was thought politically inappropriate to request that these be taken into guardianship. However it meant that well-known prehistoric monuments in the Westcountry, such as Maiden Castle, Dorset, were not given State protection until a later date.<sup>31</sup>

## THE FIRST INSPECTOR OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

Lieutenant General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900) (Figure 2) was an anthropologist and archaeologist, one of the foremost prehistorians of his day. He had attended the Royal Military College, Sandhurst and seen active service in the Crimea as a staff officer. Originally Augustus Henry Lane Fox, he gave himself the cognomen Pitt-Rivers upon inheriting the wealth and estate of his cousin Horace Pitt, sixth Baron Rivers, in 1880. His interest in field archaeology began in the 1860s during an army posting to Southern Ireland, where he surveyed several prehistoric hillforts.<sup>32</sup> Subsequently Pitt-Rivers excavated a considerable number of prehistoric sites in England. He was among the first practitioners to transform the antiquarian pursuit into archaeology by precisely recording the location and position of finds, thereby rendering important stratigraphic evidence.<sup>33</sup> Through an extensive ethnographic collection he also developed typologies of artefacts.



*Figure 2: A portrait of Lt. Gen. Pitt-Rivers. Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. Accession number 1998.271.66.*

Sir John Lubbock had been a close friend of Pitt-Rivers and shared mutual interests in ethnography and archaeology. He later married his daughter, Alice Fox Pitt, in 1884. Both

Pitt-Rivers and Lubbock were members of the Ethnological Society, and Lubbock became President in 1864-5. They had discussed the need for Government intervention to preserve ancient monuments from an early date.<sup>34</sup> Prior to gaining the Inspectorship Pitt-Rivers had practised methods of archaeological recording in two three month expeditions to Brittany in 1878-79. In 1882 Lubbock put him forward for the position of Inspector among several other candidates.<sup>35</sup> Pitt-Rivers was selected not only for his expertise in archaeology but as a proprietor of a large estate (some 25,000 acres) who could meet landowners on an equal footing.<sup>36</sup> The official appointment written by Lord Richard Grosvenor, chief whip of William Gladstone's second administration, was sent to Pitt-Rivers on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1882:

*'I am requested by Mr. Gladstone to ask you if you will give the Government and the country the benefit of your great archaeological knowledge by accepting the appointment of Inspector....  
... We believe there is no one in England who could fill the post so well as yourself, as besides a thorough knowledge of all the Ancient Monuments... your position as a land owner will enable you to bring more weight to bear on the present proprietors of some of the Monuments, and there will be tact required in the management in the case of the first appointed Inspector...'*<sup>37</sup>

The Inspector's salary was fixed at £250 a year with expenses. Lubbock had consulted Pitt-Rivers beforehand on an appropriate salary. He refused to comment except to state that the Office of Works would have to consider the possibility of his future successor 'for whom the matter of pay might be worth thinking about'.<sup>38</sup>

## The Inspector in post<sup>39</sup>

In April 1883 Pitt-Rivers was furnished with copies of the Act and directed to carry out the work to the best of his judgment. He was to provide archaeological advice to the Office of Works, the civil servants of which would actually administer the Act by carrying out the legal processes. Using one or two assistants, which he employed himself, Pitt-Rivers would visit each site. This was carried out during the longer and finer days of summer. Plans, sections and watercolour views were measured and drawn to provide an accurate account of the condition of each monument, allowing comparison in later years or evidence in the case of damage (see Figures 7, 8 and 13).<sup>40</sup> Pitt-Rivers didn't make use of photography until 1889 when he recorded early medieval sculpture in Scotland.<sup>41</sup>

Once a site was surveyed Pitt-Rivers would write to the owner setting out the grounds for guardianship. He soon found that an official letter invariably led to refusal to place a monument in guardianship and subsequently took to meeting each in person.<sup>42</sup> This was often through a personal introduction, such as a friend of the owner who was interested in antiquities. Interviewing a proprietor often required a separate journey since most did not live near the actual monument. At this meeting he provided a copy of the Act and explained the merits of Government protection. If the owner accepted he completed a Consent Report, containing a description of the monument, assessment of condition and recommendations for protection. This was forwarded to the Office of Works to begin the legal process of entering the monument into guardianship and organise the protective measures. In most cases Pitt-Rivers recommended that a standard notice board should be erected (Figures 3 and 4). This stated that the site was in Government care and damage could lead to prosecution. In some cases official boundary stones were put up around a site bearing the initials 'V.R' (Figure 5). Pitt-Rivers initially opted for markers on monuments such as stone circles but for sites such as hillforts he considered that the earthworks themselves delimited the site. In other cases, such as Neolithic burial chambers, Pitt-Rivers recommended a more substantial iron fence be erected. The legal process of guardianship was completed once an owner signed a Deed of Appointment, deposited by the Office of Works (Figure 6). In some instances, as at 'Nine Stones', Winterbourne Abbas, Dorset, the owner was deterred from signing a formal document.<sup>43</sup> It usually took several months between the drafting of a Consent Report and the signing of the actual deed. Where monuments were brought into guardianship through Order in Council the process could take years.<sup>44</sup>

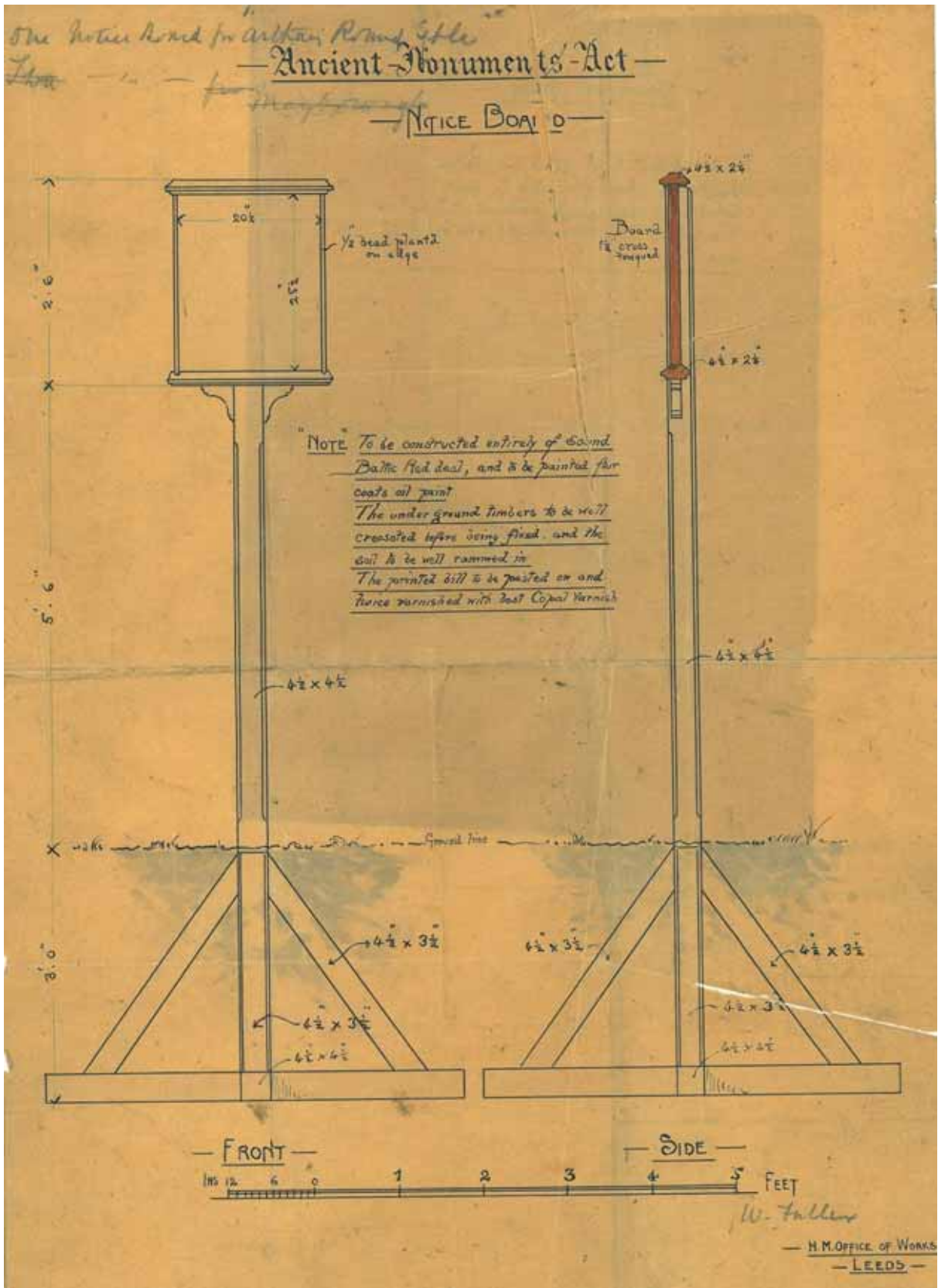


Figure 3: The design of the standard notice board erected at guardianship sites. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/89).



# **NOTICE.**

Notice is hereby given that, under the provisions of the "Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882," the Commissioners of His Majesty's Works and Public Buildings have been constituted by the Owner the guardians of this Monument, and that any person wilfully injuring or defacing the same will be Prosecuted according to Law.

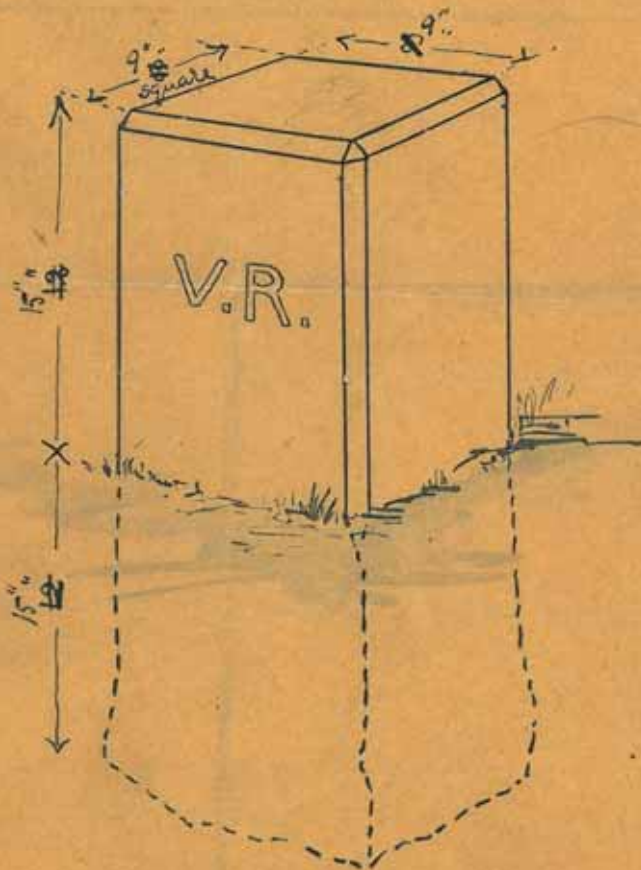
**SCHOMBERG K. McDONNELL,**  
Secretary.

H.M. Office of Works, &c.,  
Storey's Gate,  
Westminster, S.W.

*Figure 4: The notice placed at a monument once it was taken into guardianship. (This example dates to the period 1902-1912 when Schomberg McDonnell was Secretary at the Office of Works). Copyright The National Archives.*

10 of these for Arthur's Round Table  
 #0 — " — for Maybury  
 — BOUNDARY STONE —

To be of good hard stone as sketch  
 The portion above ground to be fair  
 tooled with chamfer  $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide at all angles  
 The letters V. R.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in height to be sunk on  
 one face



— J. M. Office of Works —  
 — Leeds —

Figure 5: The official boundary markers erected at guardianship sites. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/89).

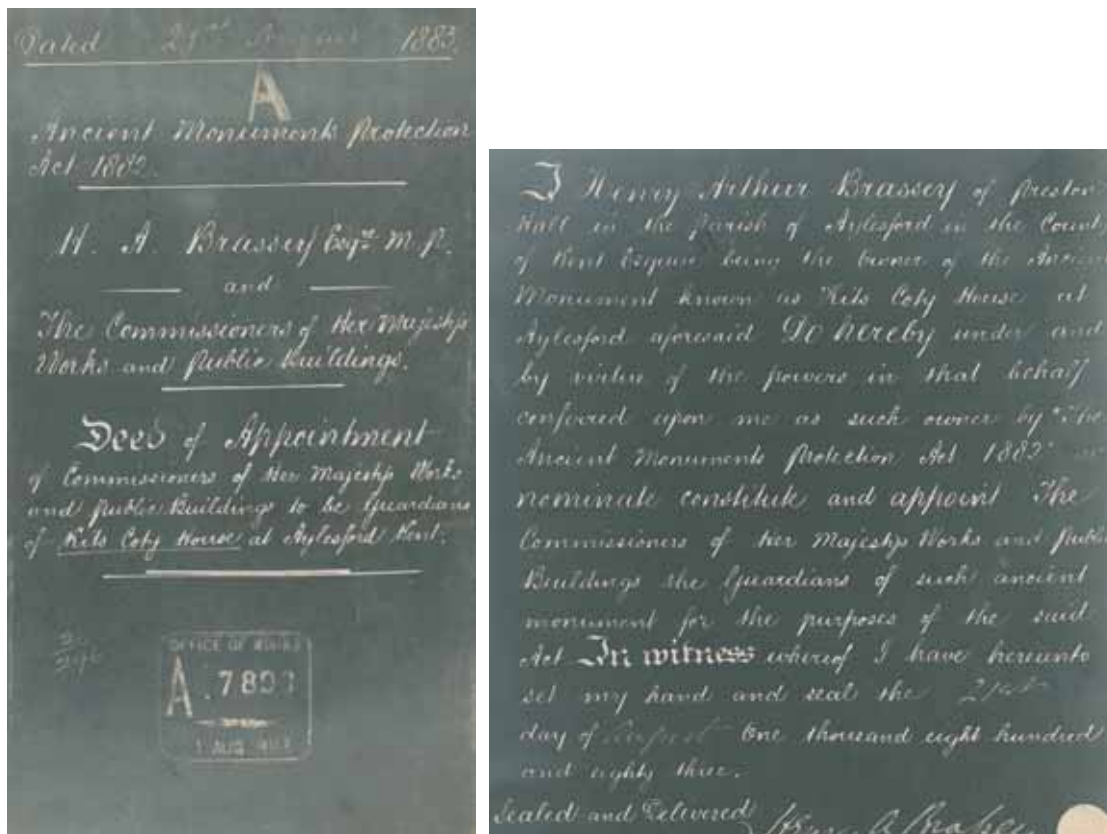


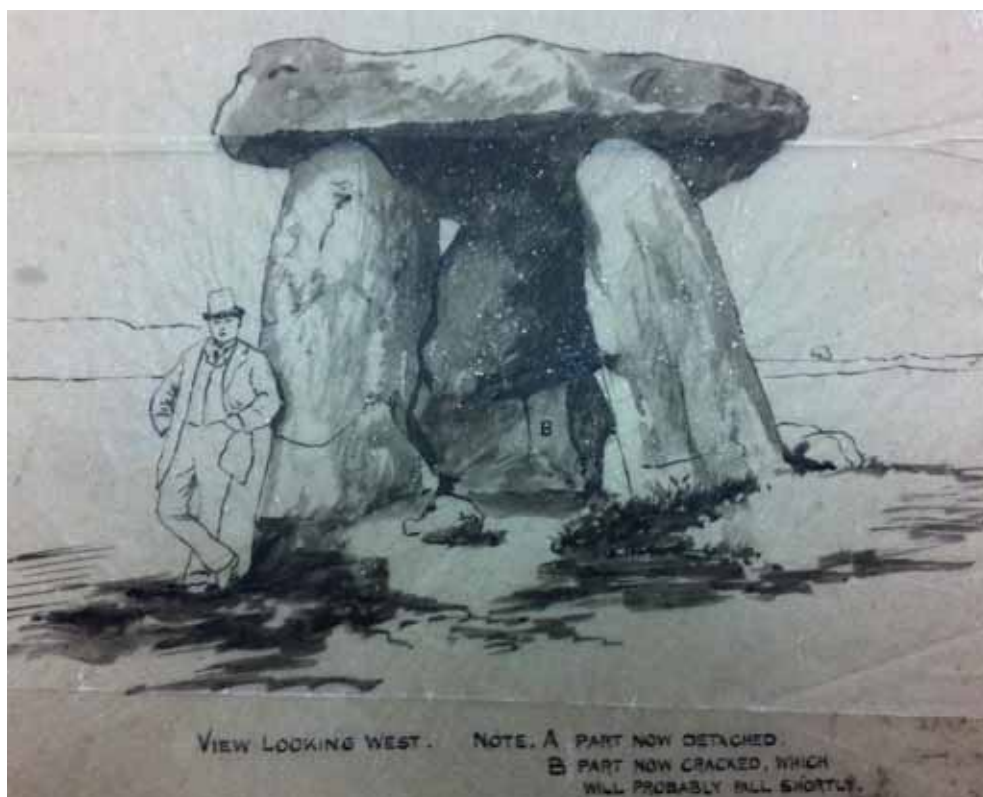
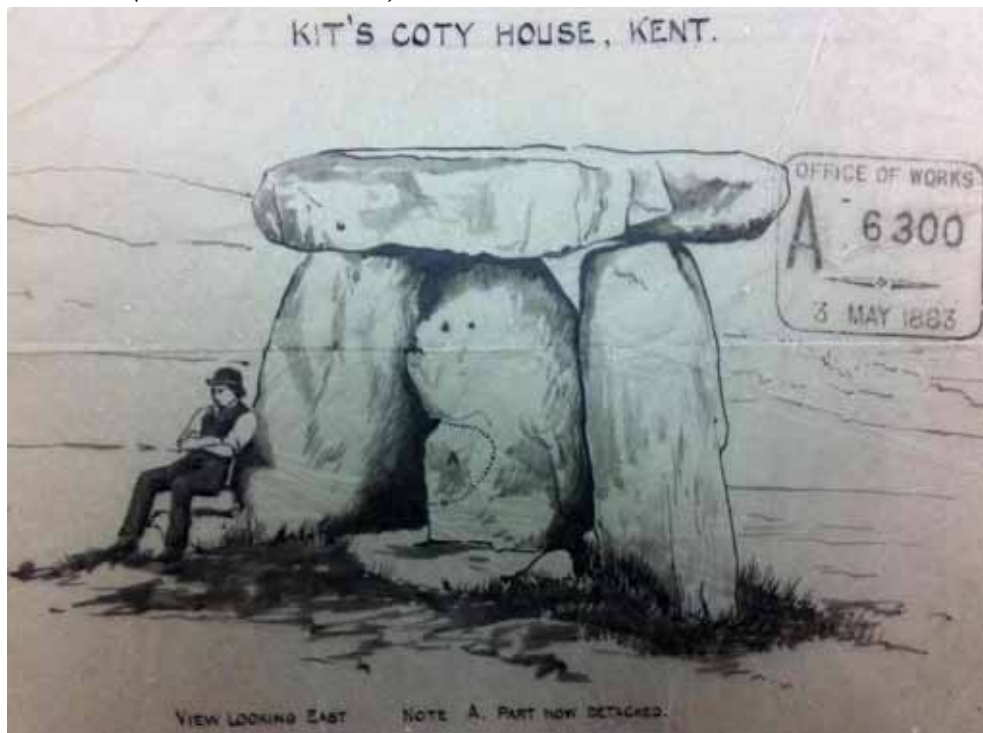
Figure 6: The Office of Works copy of the Deed of Appointment for Kit's Coty House, Kent. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/128).

## The first guardianship sites in England

Immediately following the Act not a single owner voluntarily came forward to place a monument under Government protection. Pitt-Rivers had naturally assumed that Sir John Lubbock would be the first to place his monuments in care; after all he had purchased the monumental Neolithic mound of Silbury Hill with the explicit purpose of protecting it. However Pitt-Rivers was informed that he did not wish to be the first to place a monument in guardianship.<sup>45</sup> If others refused, which he assumed they would, he did not want to be seen as the only one who had accepted the Act. Fortunately a visit to **Kit's Coty House**, the surviving burial chamber of a Neolithic long barrow in Kent, drew a positive response.<sup>46</sup> This was the first monument Pitt-Rivers choose to inspect on 26<sup>th</sup> April 1883. It was owned by the Liberal MP Henry Brassey who also offered the unscheduled **Little Kit's Coty House**. This second burial chamber was taken into State care by Order in Council in 1887. It was in a particularly poor state. A former proprietor had dismantled the stones and attempted to break them up to pave a garrison yard at Sheerness. On finding this too difficult the remaining nine stones were thrown down and scattered. Kit's Coty House was in a better condition (Figures 7 and 8). The long barrow mound was almost entirely removed but the stones of the burial chamber were still in place comprising three sarsens and a capstone. Pitt-Rivers noted that two corners of the

capstone, together with part of the central stone, had been broken off. The culprits he thought may have been visitors from the nearby lime and cement works. Pitt-Rivers recommended an 'iron spiked railing' be erected. Should the position of the central stone become treacherous then a 'strong iron frame' would be necessary. In May 1883 Pitt-Rivers requested £100 to meet the cost of maintaining this and other monuments. The Treasury responded with alarm; they were 'somewhat at a loss to understand what is meant by the statement that Kit's Coty House is in need of repair'.<sup>47</sup> Eventually expenditure was authorised but only if it could be provided from savings on the Parliamentary Vote for Public Buildings. The Treasury emphasised that they would 'strongly deprecate' any action being taken beyond what was required for the protection of the monument. In addition the Assistant Secretary of the Office of Works specified that the repairs should be of 'unobtrusive character'.<sup>48</sup> He asked Pitt-Rivers to provide an estimate and drawing. However the Inspector refused; these were jobs for a District Surveyor his own work should be confined to inspecting sites and providing recommendations.<sup>49</sup> The Deed of Guardianship was signed on the 6<sup>th</sup> August 1883 and the fence put up the following year. It still remains in place today; itself a monument to the earliest Government protective regimes (Figure 9).

Figures 7 and 8: Drawings showing the condition of Kit's Coty House, which were made following Pitt-Rivers' visit in April 1883. The figure in the first drawing is one of Pitt-Rivers' assistants whilst the second is likely to be Pitt-Rivers himself. Copyright: The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/128).



*Figure 9: Kit's Coty House surrounded by the 19<sup>th</sup> century railing. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage. Reference Number: AA001663.*



The later history of Kit's Coty House is also notable. In 1906 a Cambridge University undergraduate posing for a photograph on top of the capstone fell and became impaled on the fence. Fortunately he recovered from serious injury.<sup>50</sup> The following year Kit's Coty House and the surrounding land were put up for sale. The antiquity of the site became a major selling point.<sup>51</sup> Although the agents were instructed by the Office of Works to correct an error in the sales catalogue stating that the owner would have the power to withdraw guardianship at any time. The new proprietors embraced the monument with pride. They enclosed it in a square of evergreen shrubs forming the centrepiece of a grass lawn. In August 1910 the Commissioners of Works were offered the Freehold. The Department hesitated only accepting the offer in March 1911 by which time the owner had died.<sup>52</sup> The land was subsequently advertised as 'choice sites for the erection of week-end villas'.<sup>53</sup> The Office of Works wrote to the new owners stating that 'the proper protection of this interesting monument demands the preservation, not merely of the stones themselves, but also, as far as possible, of the surroundings.'<sup>54</sup> As such it represents an early consideration for the setting of an ancient monument. Fortunately the new proprietors were a charity, which only rented out the surrounding land for agricultural use.



*Figure 10: West Kennet Long Barrow. The end chamber and passage of the Neolithic long barrow. The chambers contained the remains of at least thirty individuals. The site sits within the Avebury World Heritage Site.  
© English Heritage. Reference Number: DP055695.*

In May 1883 Pitt-Rivers also visited the **West Kennet Long Barrow** (Figure 10) and gained the consent of its owner Robert Ashe.<sup>55</sup> He could now re-assure Sir John Lubbock that other monuments had been placed under the Act and agreement was forthcoming for **Silbury Hill**.<sup>56</sup> This, the largest Neolithic man-made mound in Europe, suffered through the tunnelling of archaeologists and by a major infestation of rabbits. In March 1915 the Deputy Chief Constable wrote to say that chalk on the side of the hill had fallen in exposing an early tunnel. In the 1920s the Office of Works were heavily criticised in the press, having failed for several years to resolve the rabbit infestation. According to one observer he could 'picture this fine old monument as nothing but a rabbit warren in the very near future'.<sup>57</sup>

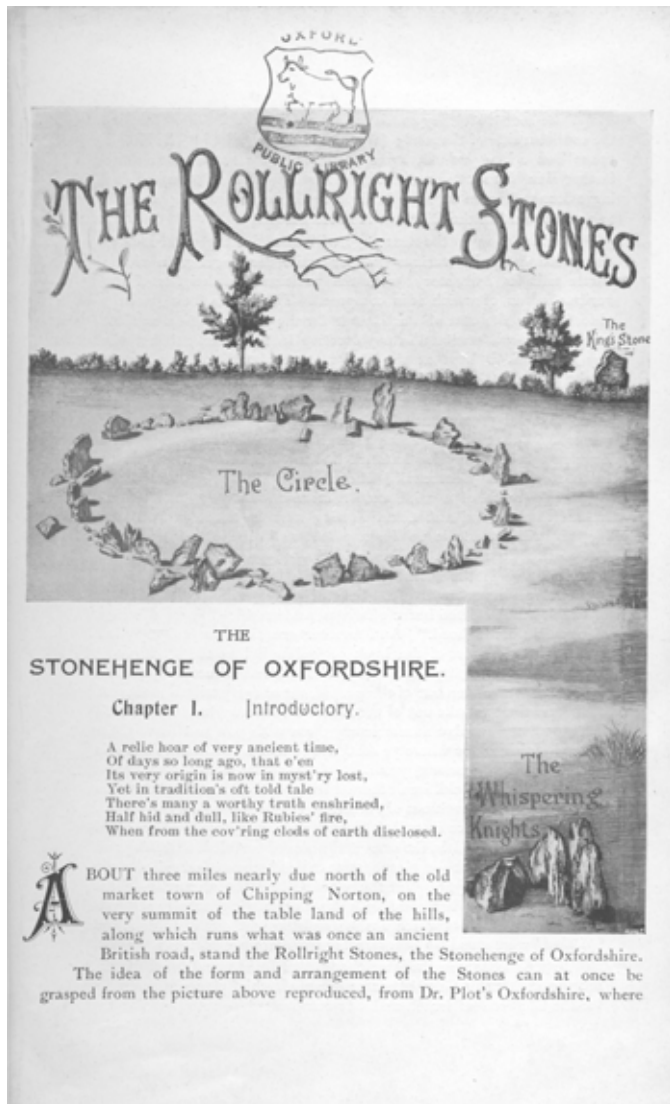


Figure 11: *The Rollright Stones* entitled 'The Stonehenge of Gloucestershire'. The opening page of Taunt's, *Rollright Stones, the Stonehenge of Oxfordshire, with some account of the Ancient Druids, and Sagas rendered in English* (1907). Copyright Oxfordshire History Centre. Henry Taunt Collection. Reference Number: HT14043.

The consent reports for the Rollright Stones in Oxfordshire, and Arbor Low and Eyam Moor Barrow, Derbyshire were completed in June 1883. The **Rollright Stones** (Figure 11) were a complex of several prehistoric monuments. Three were brought into guardianship, although only one entry was given in the original Schedule<sup>58</sup>. Among the complex were 'The King's Men' stone circle, a group of 70 stones placed in a tight circle, and 'The Whispering Knights', a portal dolmen originally covered by a cairn. These are recognised as the easternmost examples of their type in England.<sup>59</sup> The Deed of Appointment was signed in August 1883. In July 1894 a member of the public alerted the Office of Works to damage to a nearby standing stone called the 'King's Stone'.<sup>60</sup> The other monuments had been protected by iron railings but this one was left unenclosed and 'defaced and diminished' by visitors. It was subsequently brought into guardianship by Order in Council.

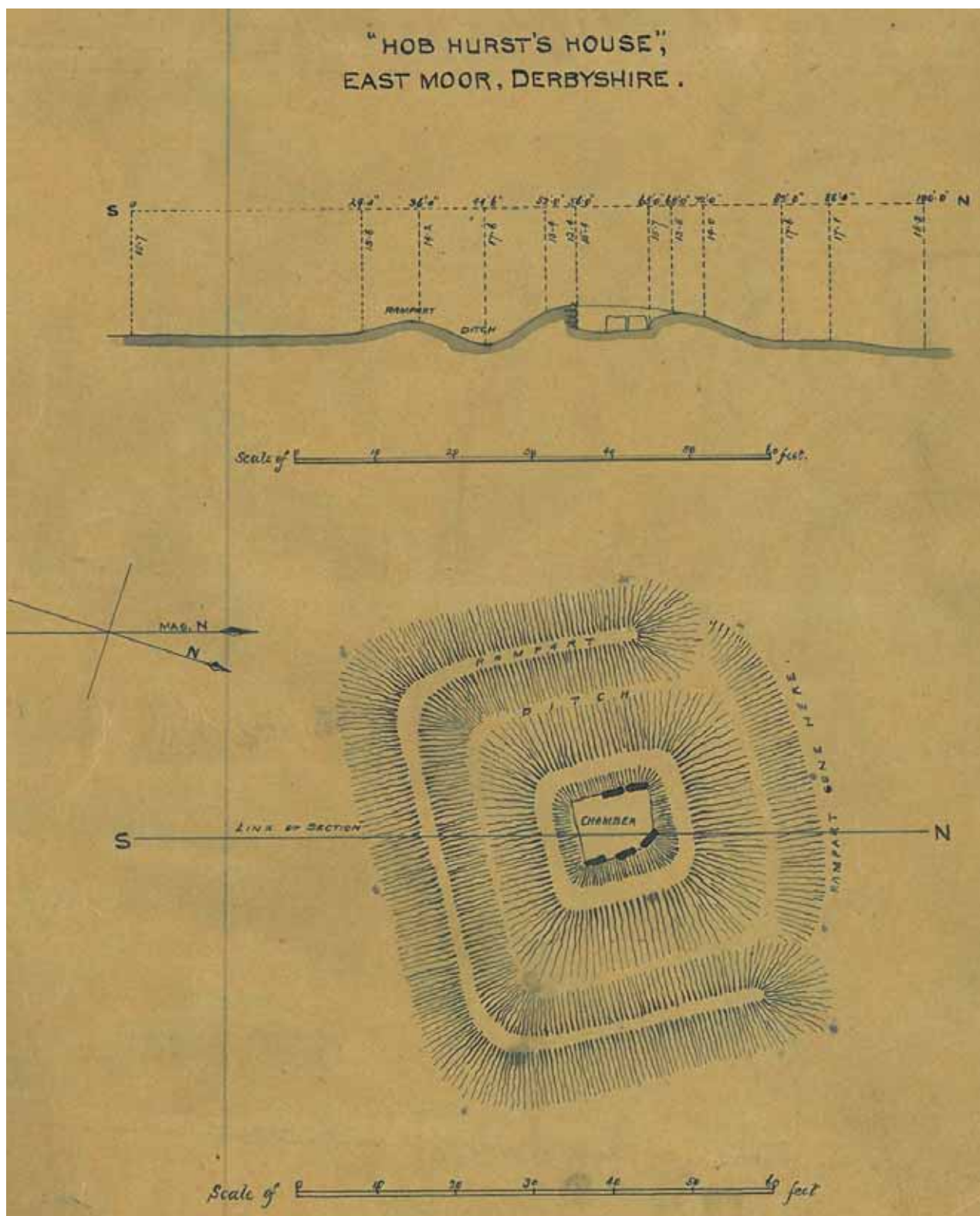




Figure 12: 'Our Ancient Monuments' watercolour of Arbor Low, Derbyshire. Copyright Pitt-Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. Accession number 2012.79.1.23.

**Arbor Low** (Figure 12) was incorrectly entered on the original Schedule as a 'tumulus'. It was in fact a stone circle and cove within a Neolithic henge. Built against the henge bank was a Bronze Age round barrow, which was included in Pitt-Rivers Consent Report<sup>61</sup>. The Office of Works solicitor questioned whether this was a separate monument altogether but Pitt-Rivers assured him that in archaeological terms it belonged with the other two. He recommended that they be protected by marker stones and the Deed was completed in July 1884. Also in Derbyshire was '**Eyam Moor Barrow**', a stone circle and cairn, owned by the Duke of Devonshire who resided at Chatsworth House. This was not on the original Schedule attached to the 1882 Act but Pitt-Rivers considered it 'more valuable' than Hob Hurst's House (Figure 13)<sup>62</sup> It was brought into care by Order in Council. In actual fact **Hob's Hurst House**<sup>63</sup> is an extremely unusual form of prehistoric site and rare in national terms.<sup>64</sup> The documentation for Eyam Moor Barrow shows that by 1887 Pitt-Rivers had 'ceased on a rule to recommend the fixing of boundary stones around monuments'. Despite being on private land the monument was subject to complaint over public access; a 'no access' sign had been placed nearby in 1907.

Figure 13: An archaeological plan of Hob Hurst's House, made following Pitt-Rivers visit to the site in 1884. Similar plans were drawn up for other guardianship monuments. Copyright: The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/25).



In July 1883 Pitt-Rivers gained the consent for two further monuments: The stone circles, avenues and cove at **Stanton Drew**, Somerset and the long barrow at Uley, Gloucestershire. The prehistoric remains at Stanton Drew formed a complex of three stone circles, two with avenues, and a cove. All were a single entry on the Schedule. Pitt-Rivers observed in his Consent Report that although entered as one 'in reality [they] constitute four, if not five or six, distinct monuments'.<sup>65</sup> The site was split into two separate ownerships and two separate deeds were therefore completed; thus the site became two monuments. S.B. Coates owned two of the stone circles, one of which was the largest known in England after Avebury. He requested that a police guard be appointed given that on weekends and bank holidays large numbers of visitors arrived from Bath and Bristol.<sup>66</sup> These day trippers were known to damage and chip the stones. It was common for people to attempt to hammer off parts of a megalithic monument as souvenirs.<sup>67</sup> Pitt-Rivers recommended a railing for the nearby cove. This unusual rectangular arrangement is now recognised as one of only nine examples of a cove in England.<sup>68</sup>

The owner of the chambered long barrow at **Uley** was Colonel Kingscote (1830-1908), MP for Gloucestershire West and later Commissioner of Woods and Forests.<sup>69</sup> He had spoken openly in the Commons against Lubbock's Bill and his consent was a significant success for Pitt-Rivers.<sup>70</sup> The barrow was commonly known as 'Hetty Pegler's Tump', after a 17<sup>th</sup> century owner of the field.<sup>71</sup> It was found to be in a poor state upon inspection.<sup>72</sup> The earth from the top of the mound had fallen down covering both the entrance and the surrounding drystone revetment. Two of the chambers were in a 'ruined state' and a modern doorway fitted to the entrance of the chamber had been removed. Pitt-Rivers recommended restoration by the owner or a local archaeological society. This was duly carried out but by 1888 the local society reported that it was again in poor condition; large stones had been dragged out, the new entrance forced and the official notice board was lying 'obliterated' on the ground.<sup>73</sup> Colonel Kingscote wrote to Pitt-Rivers: 'since it was put under the "Ancient Monuments Act" it has been very largely visited, consequently greatly pulled about, and I can well believe rendered dangerous'.<sup>74</sup> The Inspector agreed, stating in an Office of Works memorandum that he believed this to be the case at Uley and other monuments.<sup>75</sup> The condition of Hetty Pegler's Tump discouraged other owners from handing their monuments into Government care. The owner of the tumulus at Buckholt had initially consented to guardianship but afterwards refused, giving the condition of the barrow at Uley as the reason.<sup>76</sup> Eventually the protection of Hetty Pegler's Tump was secured by working with a committee of the local archaeological society (see below).

By autumn 1883 Pitt-Rivers gained consent to bring several further monuments into guardianship: **King Arthur's Round Table**, **Mayburgh Henge**, 'Long Meg and her daughters' stone circle and **Castlerigg stone circle** in Cumbria, and the **'Nine Ladies' stone circle** in Derbyshire. Despite verbal agreement the owner of Long Meg subsequently failed to respond to correspondence and after a final letter in 1886 Pitt-Rivers choose not to write again.<sup>77</sup> A major disagreement erupted over the management of the two henges near

Penrith; King Arthur's Round Table and Mayburgh. Pitt-Rivers recommended the usual notice boards and boundary stones be erected but when workmen arrived at the site Lord Brougham was appalled:

*'There is no kind of risk, or decay-injury-or depreciation. I, therefore, will not permit, the surface to be broken:- by the insertion of a Notice Post or, of a dozen stones. I trust the Orders to the Penrith Builder will be at once countermanded. - If the Commissioners of Works persist in thus destroying the monument – I shall be driven to the necessity of preserving intact my property : - by applying to the Court of Chancery for an injunction...'*<sup>78</sup>

A cautious reply stated: 'the Commissioners are anxious to avoid as much as possible doing anything that may be disliked by the owners'.<sup>79</sup> Pitt-Rivers asked whether it would make a difference if the owners name appeared on the notice board and instructed the Office of Works to omit the usual 'VR' on the marker stones:

*'These letters are usually employed to mark Government Property and are liable to be misunderstood in country places where the provisions of the Ancient Monument Act are unknown. Landowners are naturally sensitive on this point...'*

None of this was met with success (See Figures 3 and 5; Mayburgh is crossed out in pencil on the plans). Several years later a letter was sent to Lord Brougham's successor but he too refused.<sup>80</sup> The Office of Works took no further action although the Treasury solicitor was concerned about whether a prosecution would be viable in the event of damage without the official notice boards in place. The Inspector's experience at Mayburgh almost certainly led to a change of policy by 1887 when boundary stones were no longer recommended at other sites.

Pitt-Rivers had greater success at Castlerigg. In 1885 he found that a large advertising board for the George Hotel had been placed in the centre of the stone circle.<sup>81</sup> Pitt-Rivers informed the hotel proprietor that the sign disfigured the site and was contrary to Section Six of the Act, forbidding injury or defacement of a monument. The board was subsequently removed.<sup>82</sup>

## Work by committees

Between 1883 and 1884 Pitt-Rivers was successful in bringing 14 monuments from the Schedule for England and Wales into guardianship.<sup>83</sup> Thereafter the progress of his work significantly slowed. Only one additional site on the Schedule for the two countries was brought into guardianship: Old Sarum in 1892.<sup>84</sup> The Inspector's visits to sites in Scotland were usually carried out late in the season. He spent much time there between 1884 and 1887 when nine monuments on the Schedule were taken into State care. Towards the end of the decade he adopted a new approach. He arranged for monument protection through committees of local archaeological societies. According to Pitt-Rivers, this was based on a principle that the Government would help those who helped themselves.<sup>85</sup> On the 28<sup>th</sup> October 1889 he wrote to George Payne (1848-1920) of the Kent Archaeological Society asking whether he would be able to establish a committee in Kent:

*'Since I last saw you I have established a new system of working the Ancient Monuments Act, by means of Local Voluntary Committees in different districts. I found it impossible to get on fast enough, single-handed, and that Local influence was necessary, in order to induce the owners to make use of the Act, to the extent that was requisite.*

*Committees have been established, at Aberdeen, Glamis, Aberlemno, St. Andrews, Newcastle, Carlisle, in Wales, at Devizes, and in Gloucestershire. The Committees find out the Monuments that require protection, in their respective districts, and apply to the owners to protect them, or if necessary to put them under the Act.'*<sup>86</sup>

In the same month he wrote to John Romilly Allen (1847-1907) of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, Wales.<sup>87</sup> He explained the main process. Committees were to be established formed of members from archaeological societies and major land owners. They were to identify the monuments most worthy of preservation and to persuade owners to place them under the Act. Pitt-Rivers would then visit the site and carry out the usual survey, taking plans and drawings and sending an Inspectors report to the Office of Works. To fund the works of protection societies were to raise a local subscription. According to Pitt-Rivers the works might include fencing, arranging for a 'supervising cottager' or asking clergymen to place early Christian carved stones within churches. If a local subscription was unsuccessful or not enough was raised they could apply for a Government grant. Once this application was accepted by the First Commissioner of Works the society could then carry out the protective works. These were inspected by Pitt-Rivers and the grant subsequently sent out. Where Societies had difficulty gaining co-operation from owners then a joint appeal could be made with the Government. Pitt-Rivers informed Romilly Allen that:

*'The change of system has arisen from the Office of Works finding that they have not the Staff necessary for carrying out the necessary protection works, and also from the difficulty I find in getting at the owners of the Monuments, over such an extended area. Neither the Government nor Parliament take much interest in the Monuments, and with*

*our Constitution, and Parliamentary System, there must be a demand on the part of some considerable section of the public, before anything of this nature can be done.'*

Pitt-Rivers's continuing efforts were met with praise by local representatives such as George Payne:

*'what you are doing to aid the Government is truly remarkable, and I trust will one day receive from the Antiquarian world a recognition of no common order.'*<sup>88</sup>

Nevertheless the approach amounted to little success. In January 1891 Pitt-Rivers informed Sir John Lubbock that committees had been useful in carrying out some protective works, a duty which the Government complained of, but had not been successful in placing any monuments under the Act.<sup>89</sup>

## Monuments in Wales

There were only three monuments in Wales included in the 1882 Schedule, all Neolithic chambered tombs. Pitt-Rivers was only successful at bringing one into guardianship; The Pentre Ifan (or Pentre Evan) portal dolmen. This is considered to be one of the finest chambered tombs in Wales.<sup>90</sup> It had not been on Sir John Lubbock's original Schedule but was added at the request of the owner Lord Kensington, MP and later Comptroller of the Household, in 1879.<sup>91</sup> The owners of the two other tombs: Arthur's Quoit, Gower and Plas Newydd, Anglesey both refused guardianship.

In October 1889 Pitt-Rivers had written to John Romilly Allen of the Cambrian Archaeological Society in order to set up a committee to bring a greater number of Welsh monuments under the Act:

*'I have not hitherto been able to do as much in Wales, as in either England or Scotland, and although I have been over a good deal of the country, I have as yet obtained only a few monuments in the Principality; but it is, as you know, perhaps richer in Antiquities than any other district.'*<sup>92</sup>

Romilly Allen focused efforts on bringing early medieval inscribed stones under the Act. However this was met with opposition by land agents who claimed that they did not come within the definitions of the legislation. As a result no further monuments in Wales were brought into guardianship during Pitt-Rivers Inspectorship.

## Monuments in Scotland

Pitt-Rivers spent much of the summer of 1884, 1885 and 1886 inspecting sites in Scotland. There were 21 Scottish monuments on the 1882 Schedule and of these nine were brought into guardianship.<sup>93</sup> A further 15 were taken into Government care by Order in Council, including a group of 12 early medieval carved stones in Whithorn Churchyard, Wigtonshire.

The Scottish sites included some of the most important on the Schedule. Pitt-Rivers considered the megalithic stones of Callanish, Isle of Lewis, as next to Stonehenge, the most extensive, interesting and best preserved collection of standing stones in the British Isles.<sup>94</sup> Several precedents were also set in terms of State protection. The guardianship sites in Scotland included the first Roman monument; a camp at Rispaun as well as a cave with early Christian carvings south-west of Whithorn and a medieval chapel on the Isle of Whithorn. All three monuments in Wigtonshire were brought into care by Order in Council. The latter two were connected with St. Ninian, an early missionary considered to have introduced Christianity to that part of Scotland. The cave was said to have been St. Ninian's retreat. An incised cross was found there in 1871 and a number of further crosses were recovered during excavations in 1884.<sup>95</sup> The medieval chapel was taken into guardianship because it was traditionally thought to be the site of St. Ninian's first preaching in Britain.<sup>96</sup> It is truly remarkable that it was brought within the terms of the Act for it does not meet the definition explained in the Memorandum.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore it was not consistent with the Office of Works approach elsewhere; Whithorn Priory for instance had been refused guardianship on the grounds that the Act did not include medieval buildings. Another anomaly was the inclusion of a medieval motte and bailey castle called 'The Bass of Inverury' in the Schedule.<sup>98</sup> Chippindale suggests that this was included by accident since the date of motte and bailey castles was not known at this time.<sup>99</sup> In any event the owners refused guardianship.

One of Pitt-Rivers main interests in Scotland were early medieval carved stones. He put forward several unscheduled examples for guardianship. Pitt-Rivers advocated the construction of shelters or removal to nearby churches to protect them from the weather. However there was a lack of Government money or incentive to carry this out:

*'...the Government are not encouraged to go to the expense of building protections for such Monuments, where they stand. A representative Government cannot tax the people for interests that the people care nothing about...even the leading Archaeological Societies, are not sufficiently in earnest about protection to induce Government to exceed its legitimate powers in this direction.'*<sup>100</sup>

Pitt-Rivers strongly favoured the retention of such remains in their original locality, although this did not necessarily always mean preservation in-situ. The protection of the Dyce Stones, Aberdeenshire, is one such example.<sup>101</sup> These were built into a modern wall near an associated chapel at Dyce. However by the efforts of a committee of the New

Spalding Club, in consultation with Pitt-Rivers, they were brought under the archway of the western door of the nearby chapel and placed in guardianship. They remain protected at the west end of the chapel to the present day.

As a response to the potential loss of early Christian monuments Pitt-Rivers sought to record them. He created and exhibited 42 models for a lecture on the development of the Celtic Cross. This was also intended to appease requests by Dr Anderson, Curator of the Scottish Antiquarian Museum, to have the stones removed to the safety of a museum, which had caused some controversy in Scotland:

*'nearly all other Antiquarians are opposed to depriving the localities of their Monuments, and it is unfortunate that he should hold this view, as it has prevented the Scottish Society of Antiquaries being as useful as it might have been in promoting the Act.'*<sup>102</sup>

In 1895 Pitt-Rivers was consulted by the Office of Works on several fragments of early Christian carved stones in the east gable wall of St Andrew's Cathedral.<sup>103</sup> These included the lower part of the Great Cross, which St Acca was considered to have erected during his visit to St Andrew's from Hexham in AD 732. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland had recommended that they be extracted from the wall so that they could be preserved. Pitt-Rivers was averse to this view:

*'As they now stand, there is evidence of historical sequence by their being built, simply as materials, into walls, the dates of which are known. By their removal they will lose that sequence. ... as separate fragments, they will be liable by inattention at any time, to be dispersed, or even lost; and not less so for being under the care of Government.'*<sup>104</sup>

He consulted John Romilly Allen, the recognised authority on early Christian stones who suggested they be removed and recorded and then either returned or replaced by numbered stones showing their original position.<sup>105</sup> This unique episode provides some insight into Pitt-Rivers' understanding of standing building archaeology at such an early date in the profession.

## The General 'retires'

Pitt-Rivers' greatest success had come in the first couple of years of his Inspectorship. By the late 1880s he had grown despondent both with the Government and the Act. He considered funding for the protection of ancient monuments as 'totally inadequate'.<sup>106</sup> In 1884 he had requested at least £500 and in 1887 no less than £300 but no more than £100 was allocated annually. He therefore decided to forego his travel expenses in the hope that a larger sum would be devoted.<sup>107</sup> The amount was raised to £200 but this was still considered far too little to cover all of the monuments. On the basis of expense the Government had refused to provide protective railings for the megalithic stones of Callanish. Worse still, they had declined to take three monuments offered by owners into



guardianship. Pitt-Rivers was reticent to request further funds. By 1890 he had been told that 'as the Act was permissive, the attitude of the Government towards it must be passive.' He was instructed not to take any further steps to obtain ancient monuments except where owners actively offered them. In this case Pitt-Rivers considered his post a 'sinecure'. He resigned his salary but continued as Inspector in an honorary capacity. In 1891 he wrote to Sir John Lubbock regarding the Act:

*'I feel that my time has been a good deal wasted in the attempt to carry out a measure, which, if it can be regarded as a success at all, has certainly not repaid me for the trouble it has caused'*<sup>108</sup>

He questioned whether new legislation, by now being discussed, could be effective:

*'...I don't think much reliance can be placed on Government. I question whether it is right to tax the people for the maintenance of Antiquities, which none but the educated classes, and not all of them, are in a position to appreciate'*

Despite this success had been realised elsewhere. For instance Whithorn Priory, Wigtonshire, refused guardianship by the Government, had been saved by Lord Bute at the considerable cost of £1000. This was more than the Government had spent on all the monuments in Britain since the Act was introduced. Pitt-Rivers believed that private benefaction might be the future for monument protection:

*'I believe that an owner who takes an interest in his monuments is out and out the best person to protect them. He is on the spot, and has all the means of doing so... Everything that is possible should be done to encourage owners to do the work themselves, and local archaeological bodies should be made to feel that the country looks to them to bring to notice any damage... No Inspector of Ancient Monuments can stand sentry over all the Monuments in Great Britain.'*<sup>109</sup>

During the 1890s the Act was not carried out as an active measure and very few additional monuments were taken into care. In August 1894 the Office of Works received an unexpected letter from the owner of the stone circle known as **Nine Stones** near Winterbourne Abbas in Dorset.<sup>110</sup> He had originally consented to placing the unscheduled monument under State protection but there was a significant delay before Order in Council and thereafter he had refused to sign the Deed of Appointment. By 1894 he had changed his mind, put up a fence around the stones and now finally agreed to place what Pitt-Rivers deemed 'the most important stone circle in Dorset' under Government care. The delay caused by Order in Council had been just one of the major shortcomings of the Act. The Office of Works would only institute an Order when several sites were included. This caused other monuments, such as the long barrow known as 'Grey Mare and Her Colts' at Gorwell in Dorset, to be rejected.

## The 1882 Act considered

During Pitt-Rivers Inspectorship a total of 24 owners of sites on the Schedule consented and 26 refused guardianship (See Appendix 2).<sup>111</sup> Among the latter was the barrow and dolmen at Plas Newydd, Anglesey, although the owners may never even have been approached by Pitt Rivers. It is entirely absent from his final 'Report on the Present Working of the Ancient Monuments Act.' This monument was held by Pitt-Rivers family-in-law with whom relations were never good. His father-in-law, the Conservative politician Lord Stanley, had been 'scathing' in family correspondence regarding the General and Pitt-Rivers does not appear to have taken any action at all over the monument.<sup>112</sup>

Pitt-Rivers final report provides a valuable account of the reasoning behind refusals for guardianship. The most common, accounting for twelve of the sites, was that the owners already took an interest in their monument and wanted to retain complete control without Government interference. Most notable among these is the Neolithic henge of Avebury. Having purchased the site in 1871 Sir John Lubbock considered that he was best placed to protect it. Five monuments were not taken into guardianship because they were 'in abeyance' according to Pitt-Rivers. Two owners refused because they intended to sell their land or considered it valuable for mining purposes. Four owners failed to provide any reason at all. Fortunately many additional monuments were brought into State care by Order in Council. This included three main groups in 1887, 1888 and 1890, the majority of which were Scottish monuments. When these unscheduled sites are included a total of 63 monuments were brought into guardianship during Pitt-Rivers' tenure as Inspector.

Pitt-Rivers' final report to the Office of Works shows that between 1882 and 1891 he visited an additional 131 other monuments. The great majority of these were located in the Westcountry or Scotland. The travel expense must have been extraordinary. Furthermore Pitt-Rivers managed to secure the preservation of three sites threatened by destruction simply through correspondence; the Longhouse Cromlech, Pembrokeshire, and hillforts on Clifton Down, Somerset and Titterstone Clee Hill, Shropshire. Other monuments could not be saved. Among these were prehistoric cup-marked stones at Ilkley in Yorkshire, brought to Pitt-Rivers attention in May 1889:

*'A large stone filled with cup and ring marks... was cut for building purposes a short time ago. A fellow stone, which is most elaborately marked, and I believe unique among marked stones, is in danger. This stone ought to be preserved, for I do not think there is its equal in the country'*<sup>113</sup>

By 1891 the Society of Antiquaries informed Pitt-Rivers that the stones had been carted away 'probably to some rockery'.<sup>114</sup>

## PITT-RIVERS AND THE EXCAVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

A significant aside to Pitt-Rivers protective work are his excavations. These were undertaken for the most part on his own estate. According to Bowden, Pitt-Rivers was one of the finest excavators of his generation, recording information using detailed plan and section drawings and carrying this through into comprehensive publications.<sup>115</sup> In the context of 19<sup>th</sup> century explorative digging, Pitt-Rivers' level of recording and publication were all the more remarkable. One of the main points of opposition during discussion of the Ancient Monuments Bill in the Commons had been the treatment of sites at the hands of archaeologists. Many sites had been effectively destroyed through digging, particularly ancient funerary monuments such as barrows.

In 1883 Pitt-Rivers carried out an excavation at Pen Pits, Somerset, under his official capacity as Inspector. This was an attempt to determine whether the earthworks were a settlement site, and therefore warranted Government protection, or simply the scars of former quarrying.<sup>116</sup> He concluded the latter. Excavations at Cranbourne Chase, though funded and carried out using Pitt-Rivers's own resources, were also published under his Government title. In 1885 the Office of Works asked Pitt-Rivers for an estimate for the following year. His reply stated:

*'Considering that the Office of Works has sanctioned the principle of excavations being made in 'special cases' to ascertain the nature of a work proposed to be placed under the protection of the act [sic], I think there should be the means of expending £100 or £150 if requested.'*<sup>117</sup>

Thus it is clear excavation was sanctioned in certain circumstances prior to guardianship. Once under the Act damage or injury to the monument was prohibited. This included unauthorised excavations but where sanctioned by the Office of Works they could be carried out.

Pitt-Rivers also gave advice and drew up guidance for the exploration of ancient monuments. In December 1889 he was contacted by a member of the public:

*'A note in "Science Gossip" informs me that you are willing to assist with directions for the opening of barrows and mounds... I enclose a rough sketch of barrows we are opening... I shall be glad to learn of the discoveries at a greater depth than 1',6" below surface – also any information about ...square mounds & the ditches (or trenches) round'*<sup>118</sup>

Pitt-Rivers later formed part of a committee providing guidance for the investigation of barrows. In 1890 he attempted to secure excavations at the Roman town of Uriconium (Wroxeter). He wrote to George Yates, the Secretary of the Cheshire and Lancashire Society, in order to raise a public subscription to fund the excavations. He stated that part of his role as Inspector was 'in carrying out or otherwise promoting the excavation of

ancient sites'.<sup>119</sup> Pitt-Rivers gained permission from the Duke of Wellington for the Society of Antiquaries to carry out excavations at Silchester the same year. The excavation at Uriconium was considered a major priority to Pitt-Rivers:

*'...it is hardly creditable to English Archaeologists that so important a site as Uriconium...should for so long have remained unexplored'.*

Once excavations had been carried out he proposed to backfill the site with the exception of the best preserved Roman remains, which were to be put on display. He recommended that a model be produced and that 'a museum for the preservation of the relics [be] constructed on the spot'.

### The attempted purchase of Old Sarum

The guardianship story of **Old Sarum** is particularly relevant in the context of Pitt-Rivers excavations. Old Sarum (Sorviodunum) is the site of an Iron Age hillfort upon which were built Roman and medieval settlements (Figure 14). In 1887 the Office of Works was in communication with the Dean and Chapter with a view to taking the monument into Government care.<sup>120</sup> The Dean stated that if guardianship meant that the site would be protected but not excavated or disturbed then there would be no objection. However if it was 'liable to disturb any burial on consecrated ground where there are many of the bones of our forefathers' then they would be compelled to refuse.<sup>121</sup> From about this time Pitt-Rivers made private enquiries for the purchase of the monument. He had been informed by the Bishop in Salisbury that the Dean and Chapter would be willing to sell. In May 1891 arrangements were being made for the valuation of Old Sarum. Pitt-Rivers informed the agent that by placing it in the hands of a Government Inspector the owners would be 'doing the best they can for the preservation of this interesting historical monument'.<sup>122</sup> His express interest was the investigation of the site. It is clear that by this time he had convinced the Dean and Chapter of the benefit of excavating at least part of it. Pitt-Rivers informed them that if foundations were discovered they would be preserved.<sup>123</sup> He would turn the interior to grass and plant bushes and shrubs around any wall footings. The matter was brought to the attention of the town council who voted in favour of the sale. However several local citizens began a campaign of opposition.<sup>124</sup> There was concern over the potential loss of public access to such a prominent local site. Pitt-Rivers had informed the council that the public would still be able to visit but that he would maintain his own discretion and control of Old Sarum, fencing off any areas needed for excavation:

*'...with people constantly meddling and asserting themselves on every opportunity the investigations would be greatly interfered with.'*<sup>125</sup>

In response a local petition was drawn up. By mid-August 1891 Pitt-Rivers was informed that the Dean and Chapter had decided to retain possession.<sup>126</sup> However they now

agreed to take steps to place it in guardianship with a view to permanent preservation and the regulation of any archaeological investigations. The Dean re-assured Pitt-Rivers that he would do all in his power to promote any 'researches' he might wish to carry out. The Deed of Appointment was sealed on the 4<sup>th</sup> February 1892. A later note from Pitt-Rivers to the Secretary of the Office of Works reads:

*'I presume the Board is empowered to give permission for archaeological excavations to be carried on this structure by competent persons. There is much of interest to be discovered hereafter by such excavations, and anything that would throw obstacles in the way of them is to be deprecated...'*<sup>127</sup>

There is no record of a response and it was not until after Pitt-Rivers death that excavations were carried out by the Society of Antiquaries from 1909. Thereafter a Custodian was appointed to protect the recently exposed castle walls.



*Figure 14: Old Sarum. The Norman castle and cathedral of Old Sarum from the north-east. They were built within the ramparts of an Iron Age hillfort.*

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Pitt-Rivers retained an abiding interest in the excavation of archaeological sites through the final years of his life. In July 1897 an Iron Age hillfort at Uphall Farm, between Illford and Barking near London, was under threat of destruction after being sold for a housing development.<sup>128</sup> The earthworks were considered at this time to be Roman, although Pitt-Rivers stated that he had proved that other sites of a similar type were prehistoric. He considered this example to be of 'great interest at the present juncture in the history of British earthworks'.<sup>129</sup> Pitt Rivers even suggested excavating the site himself but at the age of 71 and in poor health he thought he might struggle to cope with digging at such a long distance from home. Pitt-Rivers overwhelming concern was with the exploration of the site rather than any attempt at preservation:

*'I consider the thorough excavation and record of an earthwork of this description to be of greater importance than the preservation of it, because it is of little interest to Archaeology to have the power of forever grazing an area enclosed within four banks, without knowing what it is, and if including it under the Act threw any impediment in the way of the proper examination of it, I think it would do mischief.'*<sup>130</sup>

The matter was brought before the attention of the Society of Antiquaries and National Trust but neither organisation were able to save the hillfort.

## THE ORDNANCE SURVEY

One great aid to the work of Pitt-Rivers was the mapping of antiquities by the Ordnance Survey (OS), a separate department within the Office of Works. Pitt-Rivers used these maps to identify monuments and accurately mark their location. The OS mapping of archaeology across the British Isles was eventually unparalleled in terms of completeness in any other major national survey in the world.<sup>131</sup>

The OS was founded in 1791 by the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance, in order to provide detailed topographical information in the event of a French invasion.<sup>132</sup> One of its earliest advocates had been Major-General William Roy (1726–1790) who recorded Roman antiquities such as the Antonine Wall.<sup>133</sup> The first OS map was produced in 1801 although it was not until the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that a system for mapping antiquities was more fully established. In 1865 an order by the Director Sir Henry James stated that officers should become acquainted with local history and objects of antiquarian interests in their districts to allow these sites to be properly represented.<sup>134</sup> This was followed by a circular in 1867 stating that staff should read up on county histories.<sup>135</sup> In 1884 a system was laid to print in instructions to the Field Officers of the OS.<sup>136</sup> This would form the basis for mapping archaeology until the appointment of the first Archaeology Officer, Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford in 1920, and the subsequent establishment of an Archaeology Branch.<sup>137</sup>

The Ordnance Survey was a department within the Office of Works. As such there were other staff within Government who held archaeological experience through the mapping of antiquities. In 1891 Pitt-Rivers observed that he 'often thought it might work better if the Inspectorship was to be transferred to the Director General of the Ordnance Survey.'<sup>138</sup> In contrast to his own position, the OS had greater rights of access to survey monuments on private lands. He considered it 'absurd' that he could not do the same. According to Pitt-Rivers the OS also had a large body of engineers across the country that could potentially draw up plans and carry out works of protection to ancient monuments.

Ordnance Survey maps provided a tool in which to assess the impact of development or cultivation on the archaeological landscape. As early as 1872 the OS had responded to a request from the Society of Antiquaries to record earthworks around Stonehenge, which were fast disappearing through ploughing.<sup>139</sup> In 1897 Pitt-Rivers instructed the War Office that they should inform his department of potential damage to earthworks within the army training area on Salisbury Plain. Arrangements were to be made for the protection of barrows wherever possible and the 25 inch OS map would be the main reference point.<sup>140</sup> The OS depiction of antiquities was also utilised to determine the impact of the proposed Pewsey and Salisbury Light Railway line near Stonehenge.

## REVISED ANCIENT MONUMENTS LEGISLATION

During the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there had been limited progress under the Ancient Monuments Act. The retirement of Pitt-Rivers in 1890 meant that it was no longer carried out as an active measure. This provided the context for increasing pressure, particularly from learned societies, for revised legislation. Among the prime movers were the Society of Antiquaries, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) and the National Trust.

The SPAB had been formed in 1877 by William Morris as a response to the over zealous restoration of medieval churches. The emphasis of the Society was the protection of ancient buildings rather than archaeological sites. Sir John Lubbock had been among the founding members of the organisation.<sup>141</sup> The SPAB formed a sub-committee to draw up proposals to extend the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Act, which had not included historic buildings. They prepared a draft Schedule that consisted of Roman towns, Saxon churches, medieval castles, abbeys and palaces, city walls, farm buildings, bridges, town and county halls, inns and taverns and even a grammar school.<sup>142</sup> In 1891 the sub-committee wrote to Pitt-Rivers for his views. Given his position as (honorary) Inspector he felt that he could not give official comment except to state that the funds required were well beyond those currently provided by Government. The immediate efforts of the SPAB led to the advent of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act for Ireland in 1892. This formed an important precedent for later measures in England since it provided protection to historic buildings, such as medieval castles or abbeys, as well as a significant allocation of funds to carry out works of repair and conservation.

In 1895 The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty was founded by Canon Rawnsley, Octavia Hill and Robert Hunter. Among the governing body of the Trust was George Shaw-Lefevre (1831-1928) who had for many years been First Commissioner at the Office of Works (1881-85 and 1892-94). He had initially opposed the foundation in 1885.<sup>143</sup> Shaw-Lefevre was at that time the Vice-President of the Commons Preservation Society and felt that the proposals might weaken the standing of his own organisation, which campaigned against illegal encroachment of common land.<sup>144</sup> Shaw-Lefevre's opposition delayed the foundation of the Trust for another decade. It was not until the countryside of the Lake District was threatened through the sale of the Lodore Falls that a breakthrough was made and Shaw-Lefevre came to an agreement with Robert Hunter and Octavia Hill.

The National Trust's Memorandum of Association stated that the object of the Trust was:

*'To promote the permanent preservation, for the benefit of the Nation, of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest...'*<sup>145</sup>

From an early stage there were disagreements about the relative importance of buildings as opposed to countryside. Octavia Hill observed: 'all my friends seem keener about



beautiful open space...We don't seem to reach the antiquaries and artists'.<sup>146</sup> Despite this the first reports of the Trust show a significant commitment to the protection of ancient monuments and buildings. In the same year of its foundation the Trust wrote letters to Pitt-Rivers regarding the condition and preservation of Stonehenge and The Antonine Wall.<sup>147</sup> He replied that if the monument was not in guardianship there was little he could do. As part of this correspondence he was invited to join the Trust and duly took up the offer.

On 16<sup>th</sup> April 1896 the Trust purchased their first building: Alfriston House for £10 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.<sup>148</sup> This 14<sup>th</sup> century hall-house was in such a poor state of decay that the bishop had previously authorised its demolition. The SPAB helped guide the subsequent preservation work. They had been a supporter of the Trust from the outset. Walter Crane, a founding member of the SPAB, attending the inaugural meeting at Grosvenor House.<sup>149</sup> The Trust also pressed the Commissioners of Work to schedule the Prehistoric village at Hughill, Cumbria, and to protect the land of Bute House Estate, Petersham, both without success.<sup>150</sup>

In November 1895 the National Trust formed a special committee lobbying the Government for a new Ancient Monuments Act. Among its members was Sir John Lubbock. The committee made five main proposals.<sup>151</sup> The first was to extend the Ancient Monuments Act in Ireland to England, thereby ensuring protection to medieval structures. The second was for the foundation of a royal commission to prepare a register of ancient monuments. This anticipated the later establishment of commissions in England, Scotland and Wales by over a decade. The three other proposals for legislation all involved places of natural beauty as well as ancient monuments. These stated that: an owner should be able to ensure his successors were bound to the preservation of a place or monument; that places or monuments in guardianship should be relieved of both increases in rates and taxes, as well as death duties; and that the Home Secretary should be able to issue a Preservation Order for a place or monument. Although not fully adopted these provide an important background to the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1900.

## Monuments protection at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

On the 4<sup>th</sup> May 1900 the Inspector of Ancient Monuments Lieutenant General Augustus Pitt-Rivers died. He literally carried the title to his grave, having continued to advise the Office of Works as an honorary Inspector up until his death (Thompson 1977: 73). The Department did not make a formal professional appointment for another decade. During Pitt-Rivers stewardship none of the monuments on the 1882 Schedule had been destroyed. Furthermore he secured the preservation of a large number of additional sites. As such it is through the efforts of himself and Sir John Lubbock that the foundations of a Government system for heritage protection were established. After 1900 the temporary appointment of James Fitzgerald as Acting Inspector and the introduction of new legislation and guardianship to medieval sites marked a new phase in the formation of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings, which is covered in Volume Two of this series of research reports.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Speech by Mr Ferguson in 1875, cited in Baldwin Brown 1905, 31.
- <sup>2</sup> Lubbock 1879, 159-160.
- <sup>3</sup> Starkey 2007, 1.
- <sup>4</sup> Lubbock 1879, 160.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid, 161.
- <sup>6</sup> Chippindale 1983a, 59.
- <sup>7</sup> Lubbock 1879, 162.
- <sup>8</sup> Chippindale 1983, 16.
- <sup>9</sup> Memorandum on the Ancient Monuments Act and the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882 [45 & 46 Vict. Ch. 73].
- <sup>10</sup> The definition of a monument as expounded by the attached Memorandum was vague and later caused problems in working the Act. On the 11<sup>th</sup> November 1889 John Romilly Allen of the Cambrian Archaeological Society wrote to Pitt-Rivers: *'The definition given in the Act itself... is extremely vague. I cannot make out whether the Act draws the line at any particular date say 1066. In the Memorandum it says the "more recent" historic and ecclesiastical ruins &c are not included, but what is "more recent"? Could a 14<sup>th</sup> Century Churchyard Cross or an Irish Round Tower be scheduled?'* Many early medieval carved crosses were eventually brought under the Act. The ambiguity is probably what enabled a handful of medieval guardianship sites in Scotland to be sanctioned.
- <sup>11</sup> Section 10 of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882 [45 & 46 Vict. Ch. 73]. A copy of the Act is held in the Red Box Collection of the English Heritage Archive: Red Box 5.8.1.
- <sup>12</sup> Section 6.
- <sup>13</sup> Letter from Ambrose Poynter, Secretary of the National Trust, to Pitt-Rivers on the Clava Stones, Inverness, dated 26<sup>th</sup> November 1897. Pitt-Rivers file FL01553.
- <sup>14</sup> Charles Peers wrote in a letter of 20<sup>th</sup> November 1922 to H. D'Almaine: *'...as to the position of ... Monuments Scheduled in the Act of 1882... if the owner of a scheduled Monument did not place it under the Commissioners' charge, he might destroy it or do anything he pleased to it, and the law could not touch him. The Commissioners could, it is true, prosecute any person other than the owner in such cases, but the owner himself was out of their reach. Wayland Smith's Cave was in this position: its guardianship had never been offered to the Commissioners, and the protection given by the Act was in practice almost nil.'* Guardianship file AA60521/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/215.
- <sup>15</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 51.
- <sup>16</sup> Pitt-Rivers correspondence with Ambrose Poynter contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01553.

- <sup>17</sup> Ibid, 51.
- <sup>18</sup> Although there are 68 entries on the Schedule several of these represent more than one monument. For example the prehistoric cairn at Knocknarea and the megalithic tombs at Carrowmore, near Sligo, Ireland, are contained as one entry but in reality are several miles apart.
- <sup>19</sup> Bowden 1991, 96.
- <sup>20</sup> Lubbock 1879, 165.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid, 165.
- <sup>22</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 11.
- <sup>23</sup> Lubbock 1879, 169.
- <sup>24</sup> Patton 2007, 53.
- <sup>25</sup> Thompson 2009, 21-22.
- <sup>26</sup> Lubbock 1879, 168.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid, 169.
- <sup>28</sup> Emerick 2003, 63.
- <sup>29</sup> Lubbock 1879, 163.
- <sup>30</sup> Monuments on Duchy of Cornwall land were dropped from the draft Schedule in 1874. See Chippindale 1983b, 11.
- <sup>31</sup> Maiden Castle was brought into guardianship in 1908.
- <sup>32</sup> Bowden, 2004.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> Thompson 1977, 63.
- <sup>35</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 18.
- <sup>36</sup> Thompson 1977, 63.
- <sup>37</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01545.
- <sup>38</sup> Preface of Pitt-Rivers 'Report on the Present Working of the Ancient Monuments Act' contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01547.
- <sup>39</sup> Except where stated information in the following two sections is taken from Pitt-Rivers file FL01547.
- <sup>40</sup> Thompson 1977, 65.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid, 68.
- <sup>42</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 21.
- <sup>43</sup> Note by Pitt-Rivers dated 20<sup>th</sup> April 1889 contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01561.

- <sup>44</sup> For instance Eyam More stone circle and barrow in Derbyshire. Pitt-Rivers gained verbal consent at a meeting with the Duke of Devonshire on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1883 but it was only brought into state protection after Order in Council on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1887. See Chippindale 1983b, 38.
- <sup>45</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 21.
- <sup>46</sup> Guardianship file AA050517/3 - TNA WORK 14/128.
- <sup>47</sup> Letter from the Treasury to the Secretary at the Office of Works dated 15<sup>th</sup> May 1883. Contained in guardianship file AA050517/3 - TNA WORK 14/128.
- <sup>48</sup> Office of Works Internal Memorandum dated 30<sup>th</sup> November 1883.
- <sup>49</sup> Office of Works Internal Memorandum dated 18<sup>th</sup> December 1883.
- <sup>50</sup> Article in the Daily Telegraph 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1906.
- <sup>51</sup> 1907 Sales Particulars in guardianship file AA050517/3 - TNA WORK 14/128.
- <sup>52</sup> Sir Schomberg McDonnell, Secretary of the Office of Works noted on 21<sup>st</sup> August 1910: *'I don't see what is to be gained from our becoming the freeholders. But if the law permits we may as well accept it.'* Charles Peers, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, wrote to the owner accepting the freehold on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1911.
- <sup>53</sup> 1911 Sales Particulars.
- <sup>54</sup> Letter sent to the Michael Yoakley Charity on 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1912.
- <sup>55</sup> Guardianship file AA071959/3 – TNA WORK 14/549. The early papers for this monument were lost prior to 1921 and all that remains of this documentation is the Deed of Appointment signed 11<sup>th</sup> June 1883.
- <sup>56</sup> Guardianship file AA071721/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1300. The earliest documentation on this file dates to 1915.
- <sup>57</sup> Guardianship file AA071721/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1300.
- <sup>58</sup> Guardianship file AA60263/3.
- <sup>59</sup> Scheduled Ancient Monument record No.1018400.
- <sup>60</sup> Letter from Reverend C.J. Bowen dated 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1894.
- <sup>61</sup> Guardianship file AA030048/3 – TNA WORK 14/23.
- <sup>62</sup> Guardianship file AA030728/3 – WORK 14/299.
- <sup>63</sup> Brought into guardianship 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1884.
- <sup>64</sup> Scheduled Ancient Monument No.1008600.
- <sup>65</sup> Consent Report 26<sup>th</sup> August 1883. Guardianship file AA071747/3 – TNA WORK 14/211.
- <sup>66</sup> Consent Report 20<sup>th</sup> July 1883. Guardianship file AA071747/3 – TNA WORK 14/211.
- <sup>67</sup> Chippindale 2012, 59.

- <sup>68</sup> National Heritage List for England (NHLE) Entry No.1007916. <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1007916> (accessed 12 May 2012).
- <sup>69</sup> Guardianship file AA71909/3.
- <sup>70</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 40.
- <sup>71</sup> Scheduled Monument No.1008195.
- <sup>72</sup> Consent Report 20<sup>th</sup> July 1882. Guardianship file AA71909/3.
- <sup>73</sup> Condition Report of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society sent to Pitt-Rivers on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1888.
- <sup>74</sup> Letter from Nigel Kingscote to Pitt-Rivers dated 4<sup>th</sup> March 1889.
- <sup>75</sup> Office of Works Internal Memorandum entitled 'Condition of Uley Long Barrow', 16<sup>th</sup> March 1889.
- <sup>76</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 40.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid, 36.
- <sup>78</sup> Letter from Lord Brougham to Pitt-Rivers dated 30<sup>th</sup> December 1884. Guardianship file: AA010823/3.
- <sup>79</sup> Letter from Pitt-Rivers to the Secretary of the Office of Works, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1885.
- <sup>80</sup> Letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> August 1889.
- <sup>81</sup> Chippindale 1883b, 36.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid, 36.
- <sup>83</sup> Report on the Present Working of the Ancient Monuments Act by Lt. Gen. Pitt-Rivers. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01547.
- <sup>84</sup> Pitt-Rivers initially gained consent to bring Old Sarum into guardianship in August 1886 but this was delayed, probably due to his negotiations to purchase the monument. The Deed of Appointment was only finally signed and returned to the Office of Works on 4<sup>th</sup> February 1892.
- <sup>85</sup> Letter to John Romilly Allen of the Cambrian Archaeological Society dated 10<sup>th</sup> October 1889. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01566.
- <sup>86</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01556.
- <sup>87</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01566.
- <sup>88</sup> Letter from George Payne to Pitt-Rivers dated 28<sup>th</sup> October 1889. Pitt-Rivers file FL01566.
- <sup>89</sup> Letter dated 24<sup>th</sup> January 1891 contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01551.
- <sup>90</sup> See the National Monuments Record of Wales (NMRW) Coflein database: <http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/101450/> (accessed 10 May 2012).
- <sup>91</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 43.
- <sup>92</sup> Letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> October 1889 contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01566.

- <sup>93</sup> 'Report on the Present Working of the Ancient Monuments Act by Lt. Gen. Pitt-Rivers'. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01547.
- <sup>94</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 51.
- <sup>95</sup> The Whithorn Trust: St Ninian's Chapel. <http://www.whithorn.com> (accessed 10 May 2012).
- <sup>96</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 51.
- <sup>97</sup> See Endnote 10 above.
- <sup>98</sup> Although Old Sarum encompasses a motte and bailey castle it was included in the Schedule because of the earlier prehistoric hillfort on the site.
- <sup>99</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 47.
- <sup>100</sup> Extract from Pitt-Rivers paper: 'On Models of Ancient Monuments and on some points in the Development of the Celtic Cross' contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01566.
- <sup>101</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01570.
- <sup>102</sup> Letter from Pitt-Rivers to John Romilly Allen dated 30<sup>th</sup> October 1889. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01566.
- <sup>103</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01577.
- <sup>104</sup> Letter to John Romilly Allen dated 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1895.
- <sup>105</sup> Romilly Allen's letter of reply to Pitt-Rivers dated 25<sup>th</sup> May 1895.
- <sup>106</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01546 containing estimates of expenditure on ancient monuments from 1884-1897.
- <sup>107</sup> As recorded in the preface to Pitt-Rivers 'Report on the Present Working of the Ancient Monuments Act' contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01547.
- <sup>108</sup> Letter to Sir John Lubbock dated 24<sup>th</sup> January 1891 contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01551.
- <sup>109</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>110</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01561 and guardianship file: AA72007/3 – TNA WORK 14/200.
- <sup>111</sup> 'Report on the Present Working of the Ancient Monuments Act by Lt. Gen. Pitt-Rivers'. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01547. This report is undated but appears to have been drafted in 1891 and then annotated with later additions. Contrary to the information given by Chippindale (1883b: 28 and 46) it shows that Avebury was refused guardianship and Old Sarum was not taken into State care until 1892.
- <sup>112</sup> Chippindale 1983b, 34.
- <sup>113</sup> Letter to Pitt-Rivers from H. Buttersworth, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1889. Pitt-Rivers file FL01554.
- <sup>114</sup> Letter to Pitt-Rivers from St John Hope, 14<sup>th</sup> May 1891. Pitt-Rivers file FL01554.
- <sup>115</sup> Bowden 2004.
- <sup>116</sup> Bowden 1991, 102.

- <sup>117</sup> Pitt-Rivers estimate for expenditure dated 7<sup>th</sup> November 1885. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01546.
- <sup>118</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01548.
- <sup>119</sup> Letter dated 18<sup>th</sup> December 1890 contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01565.
- <sup>120</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01558 and guardianship file AA71513/3.
- <sup>121</sup> Undated telegram sent to Pitt-Rivers. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01558.
- <sup>122</sup> Letter to Mr Farrer, Lincolns Inn Field dated 9<sup>th</sup> May 1891.
- <sup>123</sup> Letter from Pitt-Rivers to J.D. Boyle, the Dean of Salisbury Cathedral, dated 18<sup>th</sup> July 1891.
- <sup>124</sup> Article in the Mirror and Express newspaper dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1891.
- <sup>125</sup> Letter to Mr Pye Smith dated 13<sup>th</sup> July 1891. Pitt-Rivers file FL01558.
- <sup>126</sup> Letter from the Dean, 14<sup>th</sup> August 1891. Pitt-Rivers file FL01558.
- <sup>127</sup> Note dated 4<sup>th</sup> February 1892. Pitt-Rivers file FL01558.
- <sup>128</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01564.
- <sup>129</sup> Office of Works Internal Memorandum contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01564.
- <sup>130</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>131</sup> Phillips 1980, 1.
- <sup>132</sup> Mitchell 1993, 16.
- <sup>133</sup> Phillips 1980, 3.
- <sup>134</sup> Ibid, 17.
- <sup>135</sup> Ibid, 17.
- <sup>136</sup> Instructions to Field Examiners and Revisers, December 1884, p23-5, paragraphs 157-67. Cited in Phillip 1980, 17.
- <sup>137</sup> Seymour 1980, 237 & 240.
- <sup>138</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01551.
- <sup>139</sup> Phillips 1980, 17.
- <sup>140</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01564.
- <sup>141</sup> Donovan 2008, 86.
- <sup>142</sup> Details of the SPAB sub-committee and correspondence contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01551.
- <sup>143</sup> Waterson 1994, 32.
- <sup>144</sup> Ibid, 32.
- <sup>145</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01550 containing reports and correspondence with the National Trust.



<sup>146</sup> Waterson 1994, 50.

<sup>147</sup> Pitt-Rivers file FL01550.

<sup>148</sup> Waterson 1994, 42.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>150</sup> National Trust reports for 1896 and 1897 contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01550.

<sup>151</sup> National Trust Legislative Committee Report: Heads of Possible Legislation. Contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01550.

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- FL01545 – Correspondence on appointment of Inspector
- FL01546 – Estimates of Expenditure 1884-1892
- FL01547 – Pitt-Rivers's Reports
- FL01548 – Committee of Aid
- FL01549 – Miscellaneous
- FL01550 – The National Trust
- FL01551 – Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings

##### Ancient monuments

- FL01552 – Cumberland
- FL01553 – Hughill
- FL01554 – Illkley cup-marked stones
- FL01555 – Jewry Wall, Leicester
- FL01556 - Kent
- FL01557 – Newcastle
- FL01558 – Old Sarum, Wiltshire
- FL01559 – Rollright Stones, Oxfordshire
- FL01560 – Silchester, Hampshire
- FL01561 – Stone circle at Winterbourne Abbas, Dorset
- FL01562 – Stonehenge, Wiltshire
- FL01563 – Uleybury Tumulus, Gloucestershire
- FL01564 – Camp at Uphall Farm
- FL01565 – Uriconium, Shropshire
- FL01566 – Welsh monuments
- FL01567 – Llantwit Crosses, Glamorganshire
- FL01568 – Longhouse Cromlech, Pembrokeshire
- FL01569 – Margam Crosses, Glamorganshire
- FL01570 – Dyce Stones, Aberdeenshire
- FL01571 – Eassie Cross, Forfarshire
- FL01572 – Glamis Cross, Forfarshire
- FL01573 – Kirkmadrine, Wigtonshire
- FL01574 – Lundin Stones, Fifeshire
- FL01575 – Maiden Castle, Fifeshire
- FL01576 – Ruthwell Cross, Dumfries
- FL01577 – Stones at St Andrews
- FL01578 – Wall of Antonious
- FL01579 – Whithorn Priory & Crosses, Wigtonshire

## Office of Works Guardianship files (The National Archives, Kew)

Original Number	The National Archives (TNA) Number	Name
N/A	WORK 14/392	Nine Ladies Stone Circle, Derbyshire
AA050517/3	WORK 14/128	Kits Coty House, Kent
AA060263/3	WORK 14/66	Rollright Stones
AA071721/3 PT1	WORK 14/1300	Silbury Hill
AA071959	WORK 14/549	West Kennet long barrow
AA071747/3	WORK 14/211	Stanton Drew stone circles, avenues and cove
AA71909/3	WORK 14/197	Uley long barrow
AA030048/3	WORK 14/23	Arbor Low stone circle
AA030622/3 PT1	WORK 14/25	Hob Hurst's House
AA010826/3	WORK 14/89	Arthur's Round Table
AA010826/3	WORK 14/89	Mayburgh Henge
AA071944/3 PT1	WORK 14/73	Stoney Littleton chambered tomb
AA071513/3	WORK 14/128 and 129	Little Kits Coty House
AA071721/3 PT1	WORK 14/1300	Old Sarum
AA072007/3 PT1	WORK 14/200	Nine Stones, Winterbourne Abbas, Dorset
AA030728/3	WORK 14/299	Eyam Moor Barrow, Derbyshire

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## APPENDIX 1: THE SCHEDULE OF THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTION ACT, 1882

Name of Monument (as appears 1882)	County (as appears 1882)	Parish (as appears 1882)
<b>England</b>		
The tumulus known as Wayland Smith's Forge	Berkshire	Ashbury
Uffington Castle	Berkshire	Uffington
The stone circle known as Long Meg and her Daughters, near Penrith	Cumberland	Addingham
The stone circle on Castle Rigg near Keswick.	Cumberland	Crosthwaite
The stone circles on Burn Moor	Cumberland	St Bees
The stone circle know as The Nine Ladies, Stanton Moor,	Derbyshire	Bakewell
The tumulus known as Arborlow	Derbyshire	Bakewell
Hob Hurst's House and Hut, Bastow Moor	Derbyshire	Bakewell
Minning Low	Derbyshire	Brassington
The tumulus at Uley	Gloucestershire	Uley
Kits Coty House	Kent	Aylesford
The Rollrich Stones	Oxfordshire	Little Rollright
The ancient stones at Stanton Drew	Somersetshire	Stanton Drew
The chambered tumulus at Stoney Littleton	Somersetshire	Wellow
Cadbury Castle	Somersetshire	South Cadbury
Mayborough near Penrith	Westmoreland	Barton
Arthur's Round Table, Penrith	Westmoreland	Barton
The group of stones known as Stonehenge.	Wiltshire	Amesbury
Old Sarum	Wiltshire	-----
The vallum at Abury, the Sarcen stones within the same, those along the Kennet Road, and the group between Abury and Beckhampton.	Wiltshire	Abury
The long barrow at West Kennet, near Marlborough.	Wiltshire	West Kennet
Silbury Hill	Wiltshire	Abury
The dolmen (Devil's Den), near Marlborough	Wiltshire	Fyfield
Barbury Castle	Wiltshire	Ogborne St Andrews,&Swindon.
<b>Wales</b>		
The tumulus and dolmen, Plas Newydd, Anglesea.	Anglesea	Llangedwen
Arthur's Quoit, Gower	Glamorganshire	Llanruidian
The Pentre Evan Cromlech	Pembrokeshire	Nevern

<b>Scotland</b>		
The Bass of Inverury	Aberdeenshire	Inverurie
The vitrified fort on the Hill of Noath	Aberdeenshire	Rhynie
The pillar and stone at Newton-in-the-Garioch	Aberdeenshire	Culsalmond
The circular walled structures called "Edin's Hall" on Cockburn Law	Berwickshire	Dunse
The British walled settlement enclosing huts at Haresfaulds in Lauderdale.	Berwickshire	Lauder
The Dun of Dornadilla	Sutherlandshire	Durness
The sculptured stone called Suenos Stone, near Forres.	Elgin	Rafford
The cross slab, with inscription, in the churchyard of St. Vigean.	Forfarshire	St. Vigean
The British forts on the hills called 'The Black & White Catherthuns'.	Forfarshire	Menmuir
A group of remains and pillars, on a haugh at Clava on the banks of the Nairn	Inverness	Croy and Dalcross
The Pictish Towers at Glenelg	Inverness	Glenelg
The Cairns, with chambers and galleries partially dilapidated	Kirkcudbrightshire	Minnigaff
The Catstone, an inscribed pillar	Linlithgow	Kirkliston
The Ring of Brogar and other stone pillars at Stennis in Orkney, and the neighbouring pillars.	Orkney	Firth and Stennis
The Chambered mound of Maeshowe	Orkney	Firth and Stennis
The stones of Callernish	Ross	Uig
The Burgh of Clickanim	Shetland	Sound
The Pictish Tower at Mousa in Shetland	Shetland	Dunrossness
The inscribed slab standing on the roadside leading from Wigton to Whithorn, and about a mile from Whithorn.	Wigtonshire	Whithorn
Two Stones with incised crosses on a mound in a field at Laggairn	Wigtonshire	New Luce
The Pillars at Kirkmadrine	Wigtonshire	Stoneykirk
<b>Ireland</b>		
The earthen enclosure and mounds called the Navan Fort	Armagh	Eglis
Stone monuments and groups of sepulchral cists in Geln Maulin	Donegal	Glencolumbkille
The earthen and stone inclosure known as Grianan of Aileach	Donegal	Burt
The earthen inclosure and Cromlech called the Giant's Ring near Ballylessan	Down	Drumbo
The earthen fort at Downpatrick (Dunkeltir)	Down	Downpatrick
Stone structure called Staigue Fort	Kerry	Kilcrogham
The earthen mound at Greenmount	Kerry	Kilsaran



The stone monument at Ballyna	Mayo	Kilmoremoy
Cairns and stone circles at Moytura	Mayo	Cong
The tumuli, New Grange, Knowth and Dowth	Meath	Monknewton and Dowth
The earthworks on the hill of Tara	Meath	Tara
The earthworks at Teltown (Taltin)	Meath	Teltown
The earthworks at Wardstown (Tiaghta)	Meath	Athboy
The two central tumuli on the hills called Slieve Na Caliagh	Meath	Loughcrew
The Cairn at Heapstown	Sligo	Kilmacallan
Sepulchral remains at Carrowmore. The cairn called Miscaun Mave or Knocknarea	Sligo	Kilmacowen
The cave containing Ogham inscribed stones at Drumlogham	Waterford	Stradbally
The stone monument called the Catstone and the cemetery on the hill of Usnagh	Westmeath	Killare

## APPENDIX 2: GUARDIANSHIP MONUMENTS UNDER THE INSPECTORSHIP OF PITT-RIVERS

### Monuments on the 1882 Schedule placed in guardianship (excluding Ireland)

Name of Monument (as appears 1882)	Monument Type	County (as appears 1882)	Deed of Appointment deposited at Office of Works
<b>England</b>			
The stone circle on Castle Rigg near Keswick	Stone circle	Cumberland	29 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1883
The stone circle know as The Nine Ladies, Stanton Moor	Stone circle	Derbyshire	25 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1883
The tumulus known as Arborlow	A stone circle and cove within a henge, and a barrow	Derbyshire	18 <sup>th</sup> July 1884
Hob Hurst's House and Hut, Bastow Moor	Burial chamber	Derbyshire	25 <sup>th</sup> Sept 1884
The tumulus at Uley	Chambered long barrow	Gloucestershire	3 <sup>rd</sup> Aug 1883
Kits Coty House	Remains of a long barrow	Kent	24 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1883
The Rollrich Stones	Stone circle, portal dolmen and standing stone	Oxfordshire	11 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1883 (King Stone added 22 <sup>nd</sup> Sep 1894)
The ancient stones at Stanton Drew	Stone circles, avenues and a cove	Somerset	9 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1883
The chambered tumulus at Stoney Littleton	Long barrow	Somerset	27 <sup>th</sup> Sept 1884
Mayborough, near Penrith	Henge	Westmoreland	8 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1884
Arthur's Round Table	Henge	Westmoreland	8 <sup>th</sup> Jan 1884
The long barrow at West Kennet	Long barrow	Wiltshire	15 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1883
Silbury Hill	Monumental Neolithic mound	Wiltshire	15 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1883
Old Sarum	Hillfort	Wiltshire	4 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1892
<b>Wales</b>			
The Pentre Evan Cromlech	Portal dolmen	Pembrokeshire	25 <sup>th</sup> June 1884
<b>Scotland</b>			

The circular walled structures called "Edin's Hall" on Cockburn Law	Hillfort, broch and outworks	Berwickshire	30 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887
The British forts on the hills called 'The Black & White Catherthuns'.	Hillforts	Forfarshire	15 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1884
The Pictish towers at Glenelg	Two brochs	Inverness	21 <sup>st</sup> Nov 1885
The stones of Callernish	Megalithic ring and avenues	Ross	17 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1885
The Burgh of Clickanim	Broch	Shetland	23 <sup>rd</sup> Oct 1888
The Pictish tower at Mousa	Broch	Shetland	18 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1885
Two stones, with incised crosses, on a mound in a field at Laggangairn	Medieval carved stones	Wigtonshire	21 <sup>st</sup> Apr 1887
The pillars at Kirkmadrine	Medieval carved stones	Wigtonshire	7 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887
The inscribed slab standing on the roadside leading from Wigton to Whithorn, and about a mile from Whithorn (later removed to Whithorn Priory)	Pictish carved stone	Wigtonshire	1886 (Exact date unknown)
		<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>

### Monuments brought into guardianship by Order in Council

Name of Monument (as appears in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century)	Monument Type	County	Order in Council (Date Deed deposited in brackets where known)
<b>England</b>			
The Druid's Circle and tumulus on Eyam Moor	Stone circle and cairn	Derbyshire	7 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887 (2 <sup>nd</sup> Aug 1887)
Little Kits Coty House	Remains of a long barrow	Kent	7 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887 (23 <sup>rd</sup> June 1887)
The stone circle on Tenant Hill, Kingston Russell Farm, near Dorchester	Stone circle	Dorset	7 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887
The Nine Stones, Winterbourne Abbas	Stone circle	Dorset	(4 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1895)
<b>Wales</b>			
12 sculptured stones and fragments of Crosses at Margam	Early Christian carved stones	Glamorganshire	(9 <sup>th</sup> May 1891)

Scotland			
Sculptured stone with a cross in the churchyard at Dyce	Pictish stone	Aberdeenshire	8 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1890
Sculptured stone with an animal and a spectacle ornament, in the churchyard at Dyce	Pictish stone	Aberdeenshire	8 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1890
The Ruthwell Runic Cross	Anglian carved cross	Dumfriesshire	7 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887 (15 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1887)
Sculptured stone at Eassie	Pictish stone	Forfarshire	8 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1890 (25 <sup>th</sup> Apr 1890)
The Pictish tower of Carloway	Broch	Ross	7 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887 (17 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1887)
St. Ninian's Cave containing sculptured cross	Natural cave with early Christian carvings	Wigtonshire	7 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1887
The cup-marked rock at Drumrodden, Mochrum	Cup-marked stone	Wigtonshire	3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1888
The three standing stones at Drumrodden, Mochrum	Megaliths	Wigtonshire	3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1888
The Moat Hill of Druchtag, Mochrum	Motte	Wigtonshire	3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1888
The semi-circular earthwork on the sea-cliff, Barsallock, Mochrum	Cliff-top fort	Wigtonshire	3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1888
The ancient chapel at the Isle of Whithorn	Medieval chapel	Wigtonshire	3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1888
Standing stones at Blairbowie, locally known as 'The Wren's Egg'.	Megalithic ring	Wigtonshire	8 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1890
Roman camp at Rispain, near Whithorn	Iron Age fortified farmstead?	Wigtonshire	8 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1890 (25 <sup>th</sup> Apr 1890)
12 sculptured stones and fragments of crosses in Whithorn churchyard	Early Christian carved stones	Wigtonshire	(1 <sup>st</sup> Oct 1892)
		<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>

† In addition to the above the Office of Works took over the repair (only) of several historic buildings and Crown properties in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (these were not guardianship sites). Among them were **Carisbrooke Castle** in 1856 and the **Chapter House of Westminster Abbey** in 1872. By 1896 it gained sole control of these two buildings. For more on this arrangement see pages five to seven in Volume Two of this series of reports.



## ENGLISH HERITAGE RESEARCH AND THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

English Heritage undertakes and commissions research into the historic environment, and the issues that affect its condition and survival, in order to provide the understanding necessary for informed policy and decision making, for the protection and sustainable management of the resource, and to promote the widest access, appreciation and enjoyment of our heritage. Much of this work is conceived and implemented in the context of the National Heritage Protection Plan. For more information on the NHPP please go to <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/protection/national-heritage-protection-plan/>.

The Heritage Protection Department provides English Heritage with this capacity in the fields of building history, archaeology, archaeological science, imaging and visualisation, landscape history, and remote sensing. It brings together four teams with complementary investigative, analytical and technical skills to provide integrated applied research expertise across the range of the historic environment. These are:

- \* Intervention and Analysis (including Archaeology Projects, Archives, Environmental Studies, Archaeological Conservation and Technology, and Scientific Dating)
- \* Assessment (including Archaeological and Architectural Investigation, the Blue Plaques Team and the Survey of London)
- \* Imaging and Visualisation (including Technical Survey, Graphics and Photography)
- \* Remote Sensing (including Mapping, Photogrammetry and Geophysics)

The Heritage Protection Department undertakes a wide range of investigative and analytical projects, and provides quality assurance and management support for externally-commissioned research. We aim for innovative work of the highest quality which will set agendas and standards for the historic environment sector. In support of this, and to build capacity and promote best practice in the sector, we also publish guidance and provide advice and training. We support community engagement and build this in to our projects and programmes wherever possible.

We make the results of our work available through the Research Report Series, and through journal publications and monographs. Our newsletter *Research News*, which appears twice a year, aims to keep our partners within and outside English Heritage up-to-date with our projects and activities.

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