

RESEARCH REPORT SERIES no. 48-2014

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME FOUR: 1913-1931

Sebastian Fry



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Research Report Series 48-2014

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME FOUR: 1913-1931

THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS BRANCH UNDER PEERS AND BAINES

Sebastian Fry

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SUMMARY

This is Volume Four in a series of eight 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 available means of protecting heritage. The report covers the period from 1913 to 1931. An account is given of the introduction of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, which was a turning point both in terms of heritage protection and the national collection. The Act introduced the first compulsory form of protection through the issuing of Preservation Orders. It also saw the beginnings of statutory designation through the scheduling of ancient monuments and uninhabited historic buildings, which widened protection to thousands of privately owned sites for the first time. The growth of the national collection continued under Charles Peers, head of the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Office of Works, albeit with a temporary halt during the First World War. Most new guardianship sites were medieval castles and abbeys. New acquisitions included Stonehenge, Rievaulx Abbey, Whitby Abbey, Lindisfarne Priory, Portchester Castle and Tintagel Castle. Peers and his Principal Architect, Sir Frank Baines, determined the presentation of these monuments; a legacy that can still be seen today.

Cover Image: Goodrich Castle, Herefordshire, painted by Samuel Henry Baker, in a ruinous, overgrown and deteriorating condition, prior to be taken into guardianship in 1920. Reproduced with permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery.
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INTRODUCTION

This is Volume Four in a series of eight 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 available 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 1913 to 1931. The primary source material for this research is the guardianship files held by English Heritage and The National Archives. However occasional reference is given to sites in Wales and Scotland since protection in these countries was intimately linked with that of England, all coming under the jurisdiction of the Office of Works. The guardianship story of Stonehenge is contained in a single dedicated research report; Volume Three in this series.

An account is given of the introduction of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, which was a turning point both in terms of heritage protection and the national collection. The Act introduced the first compulsory form of protection through the issuing of Preservation Orders. It also saw the beginnings of statutory designation through the scheduling of ancient monuments and uninhabited historic buildings. Scheduling involved the compilation of lists of monuments, which were deemed to be of 'national importance'. Once a site was on the list (or 'Schedule' as it is now known) and the owner had been informed, it became a crime to damage it. This activity widened protection to thousands of privately owned sites for the first time. A new panel of experts, the Ancient Monuments Board, was created. This acted as an executive body, approving the lists of sites but also determining a wider range of preservation issues such as guardianship, town planning and conservation.

The growth of the national collection was overseen by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Office of Works, which was created in 1912 under the leadership of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Charles Peers. Among the major English sites acquired between 1913 and 1931 were Stonehenge, Rievaulx Abbey, Whitby Abbey, Lindisfarne Priory, Portchester Castle and Tintagel Castle. It was probably in this period that the sites in Government care came to be seen more clearly in terms of a 'national collection'. A temporary halt to much of the Ancient Monuments Branch's work was the First World War but thereafter its activities resumed with gusto. The acquisition policy was heavily influenced by Charles Peers and the majority of new guardianship sites were medieval castles and abbeys. Both Peers and his Principal Architect, Sir Frank Baines, also determined the presentation of these monuments; a legacy that can still be seen today.

Background to the 1913 Act

In his introduction to the 1913 'Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments presented to Parliament' the First Commissioner of HM Works, Lord Beauchamp (1872-1938), heralded the introduction of the new Act:

*'This measure, indeed, introduces a new era in the history of the preservation of Ancient Monuments... The hope, which was apparent in the tenor of the former Acts, that owners would welcome the assistance of the State has, in general, proved to be vain, and in these cases of neglect and damage there was no power of intervention. For such cases the present Act does provide a remedy, for it empowers the Commissioners of Works to adopt measures of varying stringency for the protection and preservation of these monuments.'*¹

The immediate occasion for the 1912 Bills introduced to Parliament was a report from the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments in England (RCHME) stating that their work of identifying monuments of national importance would take many years to complete.² Meanwhile valuable monuments were being damaged or destroyed. The advent of new legislation was also prompted by the purchase of either entire buildings or parts of buildings by American millionaires who attempted to transport them across the Atlantic to be re-erected on home soil. The most high profile of such cases was Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire, in 1911. This was sold by Lord Fortescue and after passing between several owners fell into the hands of an American syndicate who planned to dismantle and transplant the castle. The mantelpieces and fireplaces were sold separately and removed ready to be shipped off. The National Trust were unable to raise the funds to save the castle and it was left to the actions of an individual; Lord Curzon of Kedleston (1859-1925), to step in and out bid the Americans before the closure of the deal.³ He had visited the castle on 7th November 1911 and put up £12,000 for its purchase, some £7000 more than the National Trust were able to raise through a loan.⁴ Thereafter Lord Curzon recovered the missing mantelpieces and restored the castle to its former glory. He later added Bodiam Castle to his properties in 1917.⁵

The political consequences of Lord Curzon's intervention at Tattershall were considerable in the Parliamentary debates surrounding the Ancient Monuments Bills the following year. Curzon was an influential individual who had a deep appreciation for heritage. In the late 1880's and 1890's he travelled the world, spending time visiting the ancient sites of Persia and Afghanistan, riding through the countryside alone on horseback.⁶ These experiences had a profound effect on his attitude to the past, according to Edwardes:

*'A ruin, for him, was the shadow cast by long-vanished greatness, something to be revived and reconstructed in his mind.'*⁷

Lord Curzon (Figure 1) was MP for Southport from 1886 and later served as Viceroy of India from 1898 to 1904. He successfully brought about an Act for the preservation of

Ancient Monuments in India in 1904. Lord Curzon was a key figure in the Parliamentary discussion regarding greater protection for monuments in England. He emphasised that the case of Tattershall Castle demonstrated beyond question the need for compulsory powers in effective legislation:

*'The whole attitude of this country and of the civilised world in general has changed towards archaeology in recent years. We regard the national monuments to which this Bill refers as part of the heritage and history of the nation...they are documents just as valuable in reading the record of the past as any manuscript or parchment deed...there is the case of Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire...In these cases the government in the existing condition of affairs is absolutely helpless. All it can do is to sit still and look on while these acts happen; the only power it possesses being the limited and almost futile prerogative given to it by the legislation of 1882 and 1900.'*⁶



Figure 1. George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston photographed by Bourne & Shepherd in 1903. © National Portrait Gallery, London. Ref No.: x136612.

Three Ancient Monuments Bills were introduced into the House of Lords in 1912: One by the First Commissioner Lord Beauchamp, another by the MP Russell Rea prompted by the National Trust, and the third by the MP Noel Buxton.⁹ In November 1912 Beauchamp's Government Bill alone proceeded to be considered by a Joint Select Committee. Protection for churches and cathedrals was discussed and initially considered for inclusion within the Act but eventually left out after the Church of England assured that repairs would be carefully policed through newly created Diocesan Advisory Councils. Among other measures put forward was that of Mr C. P. Trevelyan, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, for 'Education Inspectors' who would extol the benefits of ancient monuments as teaching aids to schools, drawing up easily accessible guidebooks. This was not incorporated into the Act. Notably the RCHME had previously suggested that their own reports should be circulated to school masters across the country.¹⁰

In its final form the 1913 Act was a compromise from the initial proposals in the Bill. The less effective measure of a Preservation Order was adopted for monuments in danger rather than compulsory purchase. Despite this, the Act represented the first significant reduction of an owners private property rights over protected ancient monuments on his or her land.

The 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act¹¹

*'In 1913 the Ancient Monuments Act was passed, whereby the State admitted a cultural responsibility towards its own history never before assumed by the British government. With characteristic thoroughness it created a special department within its own organisation for the scheduling, supervision, and when necessary, the maintenance of all those relics which the makers of our history had left behind them.'*¹²

On the 15th August 1913 the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act (hereafter abbreviated to AMCAA) was passed. It brought with it a large number of measures that widened the scope of protection. The definition of an ancient monument was revised to 'any monument or part or remains of a monument, the preservation of which is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, architectural, traditional, artistic, or architectural interest'.¹³ Inhabited buildings continued to be excluded except where occupied by a caretaker.¹⁴ Whilst ecclesiastical buildings in use were also excluded.¹⁵ Under Section 15 of the Act the Commissioners were to constitute an Advisory body of experts known as the Ancient Monuments Board. This would be formed of members of the Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments, the Society of Antiquaries, the RIBA, the Royal Academy of Arts, Trustees of the British Museum and the Board of Education.

The Ancient Monuments Board was to alert the Commissioners of Works where an ancient monument of national importance was in danger of damage or destruction in order that a Preservation Order could be made, placing the monument under the protection of the Government.¹⁶ If the Commissioners considered that the matter was urgent they could place a Preservation Order without a report from the Board.¹⁷ Under this measure the Government was empowered to enter private property and inspect an ancient monument and, if they considered it to be in danger, to place an Order preventing damage or destruction for a period of 18 months.¹⁸ They could also constitute themselves guardians of the monument. In order to permanently protect the monument the Preservation Order had to be confirmed through an Act of Parliament.¹⁹

One major new innovation of the 1913 AMCAA was the scheduling of monuments. This was an entirely new form of protection although it borrowed the terminology of a 'Schedule' attached to the 1882 Act. That 'Schedule' was essentially a list of monuments the Government wished to take into guardianship. The introduction of 'scheduling' under the 1913 Act considerably widened the scope of protection to the thousands of monuments on private land rather than just those in Government or local authority care. Under the 1913 AMCAA the Office of Works were to prepare preliminary lists of monuments for scheduling to be submitted to the Ancient Monuments Board.²⁰ The Board would decide which were of national importance. Once they had received this stamp of approval the monuments were scheduled through a notification letter to the owner of the property. Thereafter they were to be published in lists. By scheduling a monument the owner was committed to give HM Commissioners one month's notice

before carrying out any proposals to alter, demolish, remove or add to a monument.²¹ Any person found convicted of contravening this rule was liable to a fine of up to £100 or imprisonment for up to three months. The Commissioners could serve a Preservation Order on a scheduled monument to permanently ensure its protection (if approved by Parliament). In contrast to the above the penalties for damage to a guardianship site were notably lower. Any person convicted of such a crime could be fined up to £5 or forced to serve one months imprisonment, with or without hard labour.²²

Under the 1913 AMCAA the Office of Works could give free advice to an owner regarding the treatment an ancient monument on their land (whether scheduled or not).²³ This usually took the form of an architect's report on the condition of the monument and the works necessary. Thereafter the Government could also superintend work carried out free of charge. This measure considerably increased the workload of the Ancient Monuments Branch but provided a valuable public service.

The 1900 Ancient Monuments Protection Act had widened guardianship powers to county councils. Through the 1913 AMCAA local authorities such as a borough or district council were also endowed with these powers. These local authorities could purchase or contribute towards the cost of maintaining or managing a monument whether guardians or not, potentially relieving the burden of the preservation costs upon the individual owner.²⁴ Under Section 18 of the Act ancient monuments legislation entered into the realms of town planning for the first time. This section allowed a borough or district council to relax bylaws where these impeded 'the erection of buildings of a style of architecture in harmony with other buildings of artistic merit existing in the locality'. Thus local authorities were empowered to provide new buildings that enhanced the setting of the existing historic buildings. In addition byelaws could be made to prohibit or restrict advertisements that were detrimental to the amenities of an ancient monument.²⁵

The Ancient Monuments Board

The Ancient Monuments Board constituted under the 1913 Act held its first meeting at Scotland House, Victoria Embankment on Wednesday morning 1st April 1913. The first Board comprised of Lionel Earle (Permanent Secretary of Works) acting as Chairman, Lord Crawford, Sir Aston Webb, Reginald Bloomfield, Sir Hercules Read, C.P Trevelyan, Professor Haverfield, Reginald Smith, Charles Peers, Harry Sirr, Lord Burghclere, Lord Beauchamp (First Commissioner) and Professor Lethaby. Harry Sirr served as the first (part time) Assistant Inspector and therefore, as became customary for the Inspector of Ancient Monuments (IAMs) in England, Secretary of the Board. His time was largely engaged in drawing up lists of monuments to be scheduled rather than the actual inspection of sites and differed from later Inspectors in this respect. At the first meeting the Chairman read out a memorandum on the powers and duties of the Board.²⁶ This set out in detail general criteria to account for determining monuments of national importance (see the scheduling section below). The Board were to determine lists of monuments to be scheduled, to report on cases where a Preservation Order was required and to give advice on the treatment of monuments. The items discussed at this first meeting included the repair of Westminster Hall roof, a Preservation Order for 75 Dean Street, Soho (see below), and the protection of York City Walls and Worlebury Camp, North Somerset through scheduling. The Board commented upon issues of preservation at the Bar Gate, Southampton, the Town Hall at Rye, and Nunney Castle. Clifford's Tower York was accepted for guardianship.

In 1914 the Board met four times and in March 1915 it met again but due to the First World War business was not again resumed until 1918. The term of each Board lasted five years before it was reconstituted with new members. Given the outbreak of war the initial Board was extended by two years. In 1919 it met a further three times but thereafter meetings tended to be yearly. The frequency of meetings in the early years, discounting the First World War, was essentially due to the Board establishing a *modus operandi* for the scheduling of monuments. At first all lists drafted by Harry Sirr were discussed but eventually an approach was adopted whereby the work would be carried on outside the Board. Harry Sirr would send each individual member a copy of the lists drafted for approval and comment.²⁷ By 1922 it was decided that the selection of monuments should be left in the hands of Charles Peers (1868-1952) (now Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments) and Jocelyn Bushe-Fox (IAM for England); only borderline cases being submitted to the Board for a final decision.²⁸ Between 1936 and 1947 the Board met only once; in 1939. By 1947 such notable figures as Sir Banister Fletcher and Professor Gordon Childe were among its members.

Besides scheduling and guardianship advice the topics covered by the Ancient Monuments Board were wide ranging; falling into the realms of town planning and conservation philosophy. At the second meeting in May 1914 the Board considered the news that a company wished to erect a brewery next to Canterbury City Walls. This would ruin the setting of the monument, obstructing the fine view of the medieval wall opposite St

Augustine's College. They resolved 'that it would be unwise to recommend an endeavour to exercise doubtful power to prevent obstruction of view, at any rate in this instance – one of the first cases to come before the Board'.²⁹ In June 1914 they discussed the proposed demolition of 56 Great Queen Street, London. It was resolved that 'seeing that the front is the only remaining specimen of street architecture of the time of Charles I, the Secretary of the Board should write to the Freemasons' urging for it to be saved.³⁰ Their protests were in vain; by the following year it had been torn down. The Board later considered the design of a new lantern on the roof of Westminster Hall, the restoration of Stonehenge, the conservation philosophy to be adopted at Tintern Abbey, Wales, and designs for an opening through Berwick-on-Tweed Town Walls.

In May 1919 the Ancient Monuments Board examined the new Housing Bill that was presented before Parliament and stressed the need for the protection of inhabited historic buildings. They were of the opinion that 'a clause should be inserted in the Bill specifically providing for the protection of such structures as it was in the Public interest to preserve them on account of historical, antiquarian or aesthetic value.'³¹ At the 12th meeting of the Board on 1st June 1923 Charles Peers reported that an unemployment scheme had been initiated by the City Corporation in Bath to uncover the Roman Baths. The Board appointed a representative, the antiquary W.H. Knowles, 'to watch and report upon progress', perhaps being unsure of the competency of the city's archaeologists.³² At the same meeting Professor Lethaby (1857-1931) raised the question of the protection of cathedrals. He questioned whether the Board could in any way influence the ecclesiastical authorities to prevent the erection of private memorials and the insertion of new stained glass windows in the cathedrals, 'a practice which was now being carried on to such an extent that the aesthetic amenities of the buildings were being very seriously affected'.³³ It was decided that the Board were unable to intervene. The following year a letter was read out from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) raising the question of representation on the Board and the separate issue of the preservation of ancient cottages. The Board unanimously agreed that the Society should not be included. Such a proposal would require an alteration to the legislation (the schedule attached to the Act). Besides one of the Board, Professor Lethaby, was a member of the Society. As regards ancient cottages:

*'The Board discussed this subject but in view of certain difficulties, principally the fact that no power exists under the Act to maintain inhabited houses, the matter was left in abeyance.'*³⁴

The first guardianship sites under the new Act

The first ancient monuments brought under the new Act were Lindisfarne Priory, Northumberland, and Yarmouth Castle, Isle of Wight, which were transferred from the Office of Woods (See Appendix 1). These acquisitions followed the general arrangement concerning monuments in Government property (See Volume Two in this series).

Lindisfarne Priory, originally home to the Lindisfarne Gospels, was an important centre of early Christianity, and the home of St Cuthbert. In AD 793 the monastery was subject to the first Viking raid on England when most of its inmates were killed.³⁵ The surviving upstanding remains related to a Benedictine cell of Durham Cathedral which succeeded the earlier monastery in the 11th century. Discussions over the transfer of the priory began in 1904.³⁶ The existing custodian was Mr. L. M. Crossman who had served the same role as his father and grandfather before him. In fact his family had incurred considerable outlay in excavating the remains. However the Ancient Monuments Branch considered that given the isolation of the monument no such services were required. The Office of Woods sanctioned the transfer in June 1913 and a case was made to the Treasury that the custodians annual wage of £5.5.0 could be saved.³⁷ The guardianship boundaries were laid out on a verbal agreement between Crossman and Charles Peers³⁸, causing difficulties in 1932 when a proper plan was required.³⁹

Yarmouth Castle, the last and most sophisticated of Henry VIII's coastal artillery forts, had been leased by the Office of Woods to a hotel; the gun platform serving as a venue for tea parties.⁴⁰ Acting Inspector James Fitzgerald had suggested in 1904 that its 'chief item of interest', the coat of arms over the castle entrance, should be protected by a glass screen.⁴¹ Following transfer to the Ancient Monuments Branch, the lease of the Marine Hotel Ltd was terminated to allow for 'preservation as an historic building'.

Between August and December 1913 the Office of Works took over **Mattersey Priory**, Nottinghamshire, Framlingham Castle, Suffolk, and Penrith Castle, Cumbria. Mattersey was a particularly rare example of its type; one of the few surviving buildings of the Gilbertines, the only English monastic order. The initiative was taken by Nottingham County Council who persuaded the owner, Captain Laycock, to transfer it into Government care. He did this willingly but admitted:

My only fear is that so little is left of the old Abbey, and what there is is so overgrown with ivy and filled with blown sand, that I fear it is not of very great interest.⁴²

This was certainly not the case. The priory may have been on a target list of sites coveted by Lord Beauchamp since at least 1912. In a memorandum the Permanent Secretary observed:

'This is one of the English "Monuments" you wished to take over if we could get the Treasury to agree.⁴³

However only a few remains were visible; the site was covered with earth up to the springing level of the arcade arches of the church. A technical report by the Ancient Monuments Architect, Arthur Heasman, proposed to excavate an incredible 13,000 square feet of soil at an estimated cost, together with consolidating the stonework, of £700.⁴⁴ This would include forming a roadway for carts to transport the spoil and installing planking and strutting. The Assistant Secretary, W.J. Downer, urged caution upon the Inspector of Ancient Monuments:

*'If we are to be successful in getting the Treasury to sanction schemes of taking on buildings and monuments we must be reasonable in connection with expenditure. Why not content ourselves with conserving ruins, and leave exploration (and excavation) to Archaeological Societies to be done at their expense, under our supervision of course? We should thus be able to take on a good many buildings which for reasons of expense we cannot do now.'*⁴⁵

Peers admitted that 'under present conditions excavation per se is outside our scope' and that the Department would confine itself to 'cleaning' the ruins. Nonetheless following its transfer on 6th August 1913 excavations were carried out; the owner contributing a sum of £75 after a letter from the Office of Works stating that monetary assistance would be 'heartily welcome'.⁴⁶ During 1914 the buried foundations of the east and south ranges of the cloister were revealed. In fact excavations proceeded to such an extent that the Department went beyond the guardianship boundaries and had to admit that they had 'committed trespass'. A new Deed was drawn up and consideration given to compensate the farmer renting the land.

Framlingham Castle was offered to the Government by Pembroke College, Cambridge, as a 'place of national interest'. This 12th century enclosure castle had been the refuge of Mary Tudor in 1553. It was bequeathed to the College in the 17th century by Sir Robert Hatcham together with a large estate at Framlingham. The estate was given on trust for certain schools and its income could not be applied to the maintenance of the castle. Thus the college admitted that it was an expense 'rather than an advantage, except as a matter of historical sentiment'.⁴⁷ At the time of its transfer the castle was occupied by several tenants: the Suffolk County Territorials, which used it as an armoury and for drills; Framlingham Fire Engine Committee, which housed the engine at the site; and Mr B. Norman who hired recesses in the walls to be used as arsenals. All were given their notices. Sir Frank Baines (1877-1933) stressed that the 17th century drill hall should be retained intact. In addition the moat was to be restored since the castle would 'gain enormously in grandeur and effect'.⁴⁸ Charles Peers was delighted with what he considered 'a first-rate example of the development of military architecture'.⁴⁹

On 19th December 1913 the guardianship deed for the sandstone ruins of **Penrith Castle** was completed.⁵⁰ The monument originally comprised a 14th century pele tower, strengthened as a response to Scottish raids into Northern England.⁵¹ From the early 15th century it was enlarged into what became a royal castle with an additional tower, outer

gateway and moat. In 1912 the Penrith Urban District Council had applied to the Local Government Board at Whitehall to borrow £2000 to purchase both the castle and its grounds. It was owned by the London and North Western Railway Company, one of several firms that looked after ancient monuments to serve as visitor attractions upon their rail routes.⁵² The council wished to turn the site into a pleasure garden but the Office of Works were less than confident about the prospect:

'Penrith Castle is a building of considerable historical and architectural interest, and this Board, as the Government Department entrusted with the administration of the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts, are of the opinion that it would be most undesirable to give a free hand to a local authority in dealing with matters of this kind.

They were confronted with a similar position in the case of the Bill promoted by the Pontefract Corporation in 1906, which provided, inter alia, for the acquisition of Pontefract Castle. On this occasion the Board were successful in securing the insertion of the following clause in the Bill:

"Provided that no alterations or additions or structural repairs to the Castle Buildings shall be undertaken except such as shall be approved by the Commissioners of Works".

The are of opinion that there should be some kind of safeguard in the present instance, and therefore express an earnest hope that the Local Government Board will, before granting the loan, inform them exactly as to what is proposed, so that every chance may be utilised of preserving the amenities of this interesting building'.⁵³

The Local Government Board advised the council to consult the Department and the Office of Works drew up a guardianship proposal. The Ancient Monuments Branch were prepared to take over the castle provided: the Council removed all modern sheds and buildings from the lines of the castle walls; excavated the whole area to a depth of three and a half feet; restored the castle moat; and arranged their pleasure garden so as not to 'interfere' with either the appearance of the castle or its surrounding earthworks.⁵⁴ Remarkably the council agreed, providing the funds to carry out much of the work. However they could not consent to restoration of the moat since this would place a demand of over £1000 on their budget.

Nearly two decades later, in November 1932, the Government wished to relinquish the guardianship of Penrith Castle. By this period the castle was in a sorry state, as evident by an unsigned but highly critical memorandum in the guardianship file. It contrasts notably with the attitude taken in 1912:

'PENRITH CASTLE

This dull and ugly little Castle is apparently in the hands of the local people, being an adjunct to the public park. The grass is naturally much worn, and the place looks untidy and not cared for in accordance with our standards. But a notice saying it is in our guardianship is there: and the state of the monument is a bad advertisement for us. Is it possible to renounce our guardianship and get out of this altogether?'

The position was put to the Office of Works solicitor but there was no such provision under the Ancient Monuments Acts and the Treasury had responded in another case by stating that the Department could not renounce its statutory duty. The conclusion was that the Government held the castle 'for better or for worse'.⁵⁵

Langley Chapel, Shropshire was the last monument to be taken on before the onset of the First World War. This was a 17th century Anglican church with obvious appeal to Charles Peers:

*'Its great interest is that it retains, almost complete, the "Puritan" fittings of the day. The communion table stands away from the East wall & is surrounded on East, North, & South by benches where the communicants sat; an arrangement in vogue at the time but one which has naturally been swept away nearly everywhere. Deerhurst Church in Gloucestershire preserves a like arrangement but such survivals are of the greatest rarity. Further, the pulpit, reading desk, all have seats, & the roof timbers are of the same date. As a piece of church history of a very important & critical date it is of the very greatest value, & I strongly wage its acceptance by the Commissioners.'*⁵⁶

Although he was not the owner Charles Gaskell of Wenlock Abbey had done much to maintain it over the previous 40 years. In 1913 he had cleaned the chapel and repaired the roof and timberwork at his own expense. Gaskell wrote a letter urging the Government to take custody.⁵⁷ The Office of Works consented and took over management of the chapel on 7th April 1914.

The first Preservation Order: 75 Dean Street, Soho, London

On 15th January 1914 Charles Peers addressed a memorandum to the First Commissioner alerting him to the imminent destruction of an empty 17th century house in Soho (Figures 2-4):

*'This house has been much in the papers lately, & is in imminent danger of destruction. I am informed that it will be demolished next week if nothing is done to save it... It was originally Crown property, having been built about 1697, & was the residence of Sir James Thornhill, who doubtless painted the staircase...the details of stair-balusters, panelling etc, are exceedingly good, & the connection with Thornhill, & possibly therefore with his Son-in-Law Hogarth makes the place of more than common importance.'*⁵⁸

James Thornhill (1675-1734) had been court painter to George I and had won the commission to paint the dome of St Paul's Cathedral.⁵⁹ The owner of the property had been unable to find a purchaser and therefore wished to demolish it altogether. Peers recommended scheduling the house so that a month's notice would be needed, during which time something could be done to save it permanently. Thereafter a Preservation Order could be made. However the First Commissioner was confident enough in the Act to issue a Preservation Order straight away. The Office of Works solicitor was instructed to prepare one for the following day.

The Preservation Order was put before a Select Committee of the House of Lords to be confirmed in May 1914. Giving evidence Peers emphasised the architectural and artistic interest of the building, which he also considered a valuable example of the 17th century expansion of London.⁶⁰ However the House of Lords did not confirm the Order and awarded costs to the owner. It was a major set back for the Office of Works. Shortly before the decision the Ancient Monuments Board had also recommended a Preservation Order be served on Nunney Castle, Somerset.⁶¹ The castle was suffering from neglect and the owner had both refused to carry out repair works or hand it over to the county council in 1912. Following the decision on Dean Street these plans were now put aside.

The reaction of staff within the Ancient Monuments Branch was one of despair. Just a year after the passing of the first Act with compulsive measures it was already being undermined by Parliament. The Permanent Secretary, Lionel Earle (1866-1948), wrote in a note to the First Commissioner:

'I think it almost imperative that the House of Lords should consider the position as regards the future working of the Ancient Monuments Act...

I should like to ask how a Committee of five peers, not to my knowledge specially qualified to judge of the merits of Ancient Monuments, can set themselves up to override and disregard the evidence of men such as Lord Crawford, Sir Edward Poynter, Professor Lethaby, Sir Cecil Smith, Sir Charles Holroyd, Mr. Warren, etc., and also the entire body of the Ancient Monuments Board. It appears to me that, if Parliament accept this present

*situation, the Ancient Monuments Board might just as well be done away with.... Would it not be possible, when the House meets again, to raise in some form or other a debate...as regards the paralyzing effect which this decision will have on the future working of the Act.*⁶²

The Select Committee did not release a report on their decision and the Office of Works were left to conclude that the Lords either considered the Preservation Order to be unjust to the rights of the proprietor or that 75 Dean Street was not of national importance.⁶³ The advent of the First World War forestalled the demolition of the house. However on 16th May 1919 Charles Peers reported that:

'The Select Committee delivered this house into the hands of the furniture dealers, & the inevitable consequences are now taking place.'

The staircase was shipped to the United States to be reconstructed in the Chicago Art Institute.⁶⁴

*Figure 2: The exterior of 75 Dean Street, Soho.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/203)*



*Figures 3 and 4: The interior of 75 Dean Street, Soho.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/203)*



Immediately after the Dean Street decision the Office of Works were reticent to take similar action over other ancient monuments or buildings. At the next meeting of the Ancient Monuments Board it was recorded that a decision to issue a Preservation Order for Wolverhampton Deanery would be 'useless'.⁶⁵ The Board were now hesitant to recommend the scheduling of recently occupied buildings. In March 1915 local people made a case for scheduling the 'old house' in Palace Yard, Coventry, since it was unoccupied and likely to become ruinous. The Ancient Monuments Board concluded that:

*'...although the building is extremely interesting with beautiful leadwork they resolved that it would be inadvisable to Schedule as a Preservation Order would not be likely to succeed, the question of pecuniary loss to the owner having to be considered. In view of the recent decision in regard to the Dean Street house an appeal to the Lords on this would certainly favour the owner.'*⁶⁶

The Ancient Monuments Act after Dean Street

Despite the initial set back it can be seen that 75 Dean Street did not have altogether lasting consequences for the 1913 AMCAA. It can be argued that although the decision stifled the Commissioners powers the Act still served its purpose. By the 1920s the Office of Works were ready again to resort to the Preservation Order, especially in cases where they recognised the monument to be of outstanding importance. At **Buildwas Abbey** a final warning to the owner that a Preservation Order would be issued drew the desired response and consent was given for guardianship.⁶⁷ In the similar case of **Netley Abbey**, an ancient monument suffering from neglect and falling into rapid decay by 1922, the then First Commissioner, Lord Crawford (1872-1938), drafted a memorandum for Cabinet assent regarding a Preservation Bill. He referred to the earlier decision of the House of Lords:

*'In 1914 a Preservation Order was issued by Lord Beauchamp which Parliament refused to confirm. I was called as witness before the Lords Committee, and felt no surprise at the Department's failure, as the threatened building was a second rate residence in Soho. In this I am dealing with a monument of the greatest historic importance – a royal foundation and a building of supreme architectural merit.'*⁶⁸

The mere threat of compulsory action drew the owner to a guardianship agreement on 14th April 1922.

By 1924 the Department was confident enough to issue a Preservation Order for some fragmentary earthworks at **Lexden Straight Road**, Colchester. These banks and ditches were the remains of a series of late Iron Age defences protecting the western side of *Camulodunum* – pre-Roman Colchester.⁶⁹ They were certainly less impressive than the

great ruins of the Cistercian monastery at Netley. In fact the owner, H. G. Papillion, contended that they related to an old lane and some local gravel workings:

*'I do not know who suggested to the Board that the site should be Scheduled but assume it was some Colchester Archaeologist who probably was quite unaware of the history of the site.'*⁷⁰

Papillion proposed to build houses to the east and then cut driveways through the earthworks in order to provide access to a main road to the west. His view was that if he was not permitted to do this a new road to the east would have to be built, necessitating an outlay of thousands of pounds. Therefore if the State wished to preserve the earthworks he felt he ought to receive compensation. However there was no provision to compensate under the 1913 Act. Charles Peers was reticent that the earthworks should be saved. The Department had already sanctioned the destruction of a nearby barrow, stipulating that excavation was required beforehand.⁷¹ However this case was different and would mark a precedent:

We have already allowed the destruction of ...a tumulus... This however was an isolated monument, & its site is easily recorded.

The other earthworks here are all part of a system of defence, all the more interesting because the complete plan is no longer to be seen. Every part that is left must be preserved – it is not possible to say that any one piece is of less importance than any other. They belong, according to the most probable theory, to a period shortly before the Roman occupation.

*Local opinion in Colchester must be kept in mind. Our decision to allow the removal of the Lexden tumulus was unwelcome to many... if we now give way at the very next attempt of an owner to make money by destroying a scheduled monument, the country will lose all confidence in the Bd – it will consider that our action in scheduling is so much bluff & that we have no serious intention of protecting by the powers of the Act, monuments which have been declared of national importance.'*⁷²

The owner of the site made a strong case against the Preservation Order, petitioning the House of Commons in February 1925.⁷³ He argued that the whole cost of preserving the monument for the nation should not fall to one individual; himself. Recognising the strength of this argument the Office of Works prepared to purchase the earthworks. Thereby a case could be made that the owner had been presented with an alternative even if he refused. Papillion consented and the Government purchased the earthworks for £2000 on 13th December 1925.

The Great War

The First World War began on 28th July 1914 and lasted until 11th November 1918. It brought devastating loss of life to England. Nearly half of the 5.3 million British soldiers mobilised were either killed or injured.⁷⁴ On home soil the investigation of archaeological sites ceased. Among the excavations abandoned were those directed by Jocelyn Bushe-Fox at Wroxeter. He subsequently became an Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the Office of Works in 1920 (see below). One of his students was Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976) who became a renowned archaeologist after the war. Wheeler recalled in his autobiography that he was the only student of the team to return from the Western Front:

*'Those familiar only with the mild casualties of the Second German War can have little appreciation of the carnage which marked its predecessor. It is a typical instance that, of five university students who worked together in the Wroxeter excavations of 1913, one only survived the war. It so happened that the survivor was myself.'*⁷⁵

The war also resulted in damage to archaeological sites and monuments. Stonehenge was shaken by mine explosions on Salisbury Plain and the surrounding bank and ditch mutilated by a roadway for horse-drawn artillery.⁷⁶ An army station for practising bomb throwing was positioned only yards from the Cursus. The eastern half of that Neolithic monument was ploughed up by a civilian contractor in an attempt to provide extra corn and potatoes for the troops on the front. The Head of Southern Command in Wiltshire issued orders to prevent damage to works of archaeological interest on the plain. A notice was put in Command Orders each month stating that excavations in mounds or barrows, for gun emplacements or dummy trenches, were to be wholly avoided. By 1917 an agreement was arranged with the Society of Antiquaries to install inscribed concrete pillars on important ancient monuments across Salisbury Plain.⁷⁷

Sir Lionel Earle, Permanent Secretary at the Office of Works, was deeply concerned about irreparable damage to the country's archaeological remains. In a letter to the Comptroller of Lands, Whitehall, he confided:

*'The possibilities of hurt coming to any ancient monument in our charge during these unsettled times is a positive nightmare to me.'*⁷⁸

Among other war damage was the loss of part of the west front of Whitby Abbey and the upper floors of a medieval hall at Scarborough Castle, Yorkshire, during the first months of the conflict. At approximately 8.10 am on 16th December 1914 a German fleet bombarded the North Sea English seaports of Hartlepool, West Hartlepool, Whitby and Scarborough. The bombardment lasted for nearly an hour and a half and resulted in the tragic deaths of 137 civilians with a further 593 wounded.⁷⁹ The German attack left many of the coastal towns historic buildings damaged or destroyed. Other parts of England

were better defended. For instance the Royal Naval Anti-Aircraft Mobile Brigade stationed at Kenwood House⁸⁰, North London, saw off the attacks of Zeppelin airships.⁸¹

Ancient monuments drew good comparisons to the war-torn landscapes of France. Ruined abbeys resembled the battered public buildings of Ypres whilst the Neolithic flint mines at Grimes Graves were compared with the cratered landscape of no man's land. Reginald Smith (1873-1940) of the British Museum described it as like 'a mass of shell-holes, but the trees are standing'.⁸² The Government's collection of monuments, where not requisitioned, remained open to the public. All people in uniform, including doctors and nurses, were admitted free.⁸³

During the Great War the activities of the Ancient Monuments Branch were wound down. The annual reports of the Inspector of Ancient Monument were suspended and the scheduling of a preliminary list of prehistoric sites and Roman military works was postponed.⁸⁴ The latter proved problematic when prehistoric monuments began to be damaged on Salisbury Plain. Many guardianship offers were either deferred or rejected. In November 1917 Charles Peers replied to a request to take over **Wayland's Smithy long barrow** in Berkshire:

*'In normal times the State would no doubt be prepared to assume charge of, and maintain, so valuable a monument, but for the moment it is useless to consider that question.'*⁸⁵

The applicant hoped 'that a better and more energetic 'regime'' would 'arise out of the new order of things when the war is happily over.'⁸⁶ A request from the owner of **Gisborough Priory**, Somerset, for advice on its maintenance was met with a similar response:

*'...the Board would be glad to advise at some future time as to what steps, if any, are necessary in order to preserve the ruins. As, however, it is not desirable that any works of reparation, except those urgently necessary should be undertaken until after the war, they would propose to defer any visit of inspection for the present.'*⁸⁷

The priory was taken into care many years later in January 1932. A guardianship request for Witcombe Roman Villa was marked 'End of War'⁸⁸ and likewise Nunney Castle, Somerset and Brough Castle, Cumbria were put on hold.⁸⁹

Despite the above it was not the case that all offers were refused. Several were already halfway through the process. These included Mitchell's Fold Stone Circle, the Queen Eleanor Cross, Farleigh Hungerford Castle, Clifford's Tower and Ludgershall Castle; all transferred in 1915. **Mitchell's Fold Stone Circle**, Shropshire, and the **Queen Eleanor Cross** at Geddington, Northamptonshire, had the added attraction that they would be of little expense. The former would cost only one pound annually to trim the grass and keep the weeds in check.⁹⁰ The latter could be left in its current state, although the Ancient

Monuments Architect had raised the question of erecting a fence or wire frame to prevent children clambering up the base (Figure 5).⁹¹ The 13th century cross was the finest of three surviving examples erected by Edward I as a memorial to his wife. The new fence was rejected since it would be unsightly. Transfer of the medieval castles of **Farleigh Hungerford**, Somerset, and Clifford's Tower, York were delayed until spring 1915. The owner of Farleigh Hungerford, Lord Cairn, was commanding a regiment on the front line and the Deed had to be signed by his wife under Power of Attorney.⁹² **Clifford's Tower**, York was in use as a prisoner of war camp.⁹³ **Ludgershall Castle** was a straight forward transfer under the previously established War Office Memorandum (See Volume Two in this series).⁹⁴



Figure 5: The Queen Eleanor Cross at Geddington, Northamptonshire from the north west in the early 20th century. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/431).

Finchale Priory, County Durham, had been up for consideration since 1906 but was transferred to Government care in January 1916.⁹⁵ The owners, the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, realised that they had spent some £22,000 on repairing the cathedral and there was no money left to prevent the priory falling into decay. It was a unique addition to the national collection since the medieval priory originally had the unusual function as a retreat for the Benedictine monks that lived at the cathedral. Prior to this it had been the site of a hermitage, comprising a simple hut with a turfed roof, occupied by St Godric at the start of the 12th century.⁹⁶

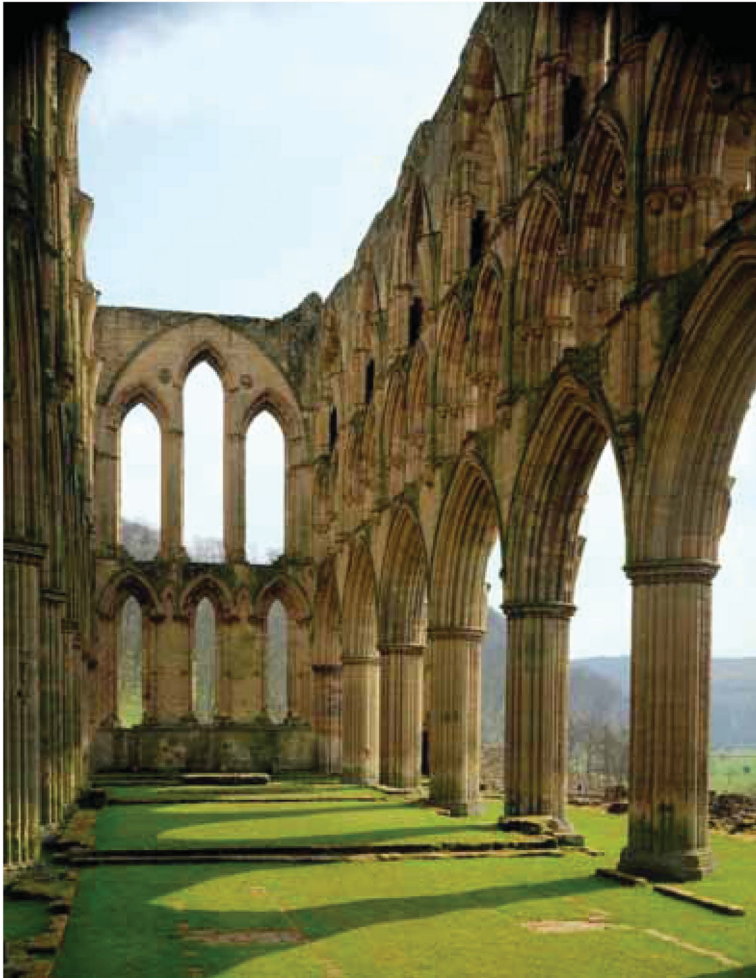
Several ancient monuments were transferred to the Office of Works as direct outcomes of the war. Most notable among these is **Rievaulx Abbey**, Yorkshire (Figure 6). This was the first great Cistercian church to be built in England on the model of the new church at Clairvaux, France.⁹⁷ In the early 13th century the presbytery was rebuilt and the transepts remodelled to form one of the most iconic buildings of the Early English style, representing a staging point in English architecture. In addition the abbey was surrounded by a massive agricultural and industrial estate, staffed by lay brothers and intended as the focus of a family of daughter houses throughout Northern Britain. Rievaulx was owned by Lord Faversham (1879-1916) who had created a rifle regiment based upon the labour force of his estate. In September 1916 it saw action on the Somme where, tragically, nearly the entire regiment including Lord Faverhsam himself were killed.⁹⁸ His death left the estate in the hands of a minor and the decision was taken to transfer the abbey into guardianship in May 1917. Despite the circumstances, the Office of Works were delighted to acquire such a fine monument. Charles Peers stated in a memorandum:

*'This offer needs no recommendation from me. Rievaulx is perhaps the most beautiful of all our ruined abbeys, & its permanent preservation is a work which would meet with everyone's approval. It has long stood in a neglected state, & though we can not at present undertake repairs on the scale which its condition demands, there is much temporary shoring & supporting which can be done at small cost, & will prevent further falls of masonry until we can give the Abbey the care it deserves.'*⁹⁹

The Assistant Secretary remarked 'this is emphatically the class of building which we ought to take over' and Sir Lionel Earle¹⁰⁰ added that it was the 'greatest offer' of guardianship that the Department had ever received.¹⁰¹ The Deed of Guardianship was completed on 20th July 1917.¹⁰² Although work was urgently required it did not commence until later in the year when an explosion at a munitions factory provided second-hand timber to use for scaffolding.¹⁰³

Figure 6: A view eastwards along the chancel of the church at the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx Abbey in the Yorkshire Wolds.

© English Heritage Photo Library. Reference Number: J940160



Charles Hobhouse the owner of the 14th century **grange barn at Bradford-on-Avon**, Wiltshire, also relinquished control of his monument during the First World War.¹⁰⁴ However it passed not to the Government but to the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. In 1936 Sir Patrick Duff (1889-1972), Permanent Secretary of Works, received a letter from B. Cunningham, Honorary Curator of the Society. This stated:

*'...[The barn] came into the possession of our Society in 1915 under somewhat unusual circumstances. Owing to the stress caused by the war the owner (late Sir Charles Hobhouse) expressed his desire to hand it over to any authority who would keep it in repair, the only alternative being its demolition. This society felt therefore compelled in these circumstances, to take over the barn though it was realised at the time that a society such as ours was hardly an appropriate body.'*¹⁰⁵

According to Cunningham both the Office of Works and the National Trust had refused to take over the barn and it was left to the Society to rescue the building. The guardianship file shows that the barn had been marked by the Department as an acquisition to follow up immediately after the war. There is no evidence that the Government actively refused it. In any case the Wiltshire Society proved worthy guardians; raising money from special local appeals to carry out essential work on the barn right through to the 1930s. It was only in 1936 that they considered it was finally time to gift it to the nation:

*'The committee of this Society feels that the Wilts Archaeological Society is not an appropriate body to take permanent charge of a building of this description, and are therefore prepared – subject to the approval of its members – to give the barn to the Nation...'*¹⁰⁶

Thus this cathedral to agriculture, with a magnificent timber cruck roof, became part of the national collection.¹⁰⁷

Whitby Abbey and **Scarborough Castle**, Yorkshire were transferred to the Ancient Monuments Branch in 1920 to repair damage suffered during the German bombardment. The owner of Whitby (Figures 7 and 8), Mrs Taton Willoughby, stated:

*'I have always taken great interest in the Abbey and had hoped as soon as death duties were paid to continue the work my father Sir Charles Strickland did in his lifetime. But alas the German Bombardment & war conditions generally have made it impossible to begin [repair work]'*¹⁰⁸

Sir Charles Strickland had ensured good repairs were carried out to the north transept and north aisle. However the bombardment and continuing decay had a devastating impact on the architectural fabric: The west doorway and wall above it had collapsed together with the northern jamb of the great west window; most of the eastern half of the stair; part of the west window in the north aisle; and some of the upper arcade. Fortunately the choir had escaped injury. The owner reluctantly handed over a family heirloom:

*'We must admit that we had rather manage the place ourselves as had been done by our family for centuries and, we think, greatly more in the public interest than our own. But times have changed & we are changing with them – hence our conclusion now.'*¹⁰⁹

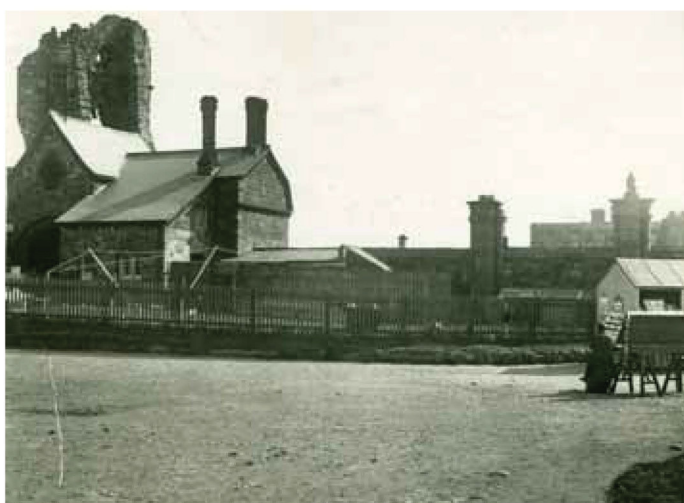
The abbey was thereafter quite literally pieced together from the broken fragments piled up around walls. In this instance the Office of Works put aside their 'preserve as found' policy (see below) and carefully numbered and then reconstructed the architectural features.¹¹⁰ The abbey looked remarkably different once completed. At Scarborough Castle they adopted an entirely different approach. The damaged medieval stone hall had been significantly altered in brick in the 18th century.¹¹¹ The decision was taken to remove

the later work and demolish the remains of the hall down to ground floor height so as to reveal the plan of the medieval building.¹¹²

Figures 7 and 8:

Top: Whitby Abbey after consolidation in the 1920s. Copyright The National Archives.

Bottom: Whitby Abbey yard showing custodian's house on the left and postcard stand on the right. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/882).



The guardianship of **Great Witcombe Roman Villa**, Gloucestershire, and Brough Castle, Cumbria, had both been interrupted due to the war but were completed in August and September 1919. Great Witcombe was the first Roman villa taken into the national collection.¹¹³ It had been excavated by the antiquarian Samuel Lysons in 1818 and left largely exposed to the elements for over one hundred years. The villa contained an impressive bath suite with tessellated pavements and mosaics. There had been a brief debate about the best way to present the remains. In a memorandum Peers stated:

*'There are two ways of permanently protecting a building of this sort. One, to cover it with earth, the other, to put roofed wooden sheds over it, as has been done at the Brading Villa in the Isle of Wight.'*¹¹⁴

The Assistant Secretary replied:

'...I cannot believe that the British tax payer will consent to his money being used in burying an ancient monument.'

In the architect's report Sir Frank Baines proposed to remove the existing cover buildings and replace them with 'simple timber erections'. Upon acquisition the Department decided to re-excavate any unexposed remains, repair the mosaic floors and build raised public viewing platforms.

Brough Castle, Cumbria, was considered less impressive than other sites in guardianship¹¹⁵ Sir Lionel Earle having remarked:

*'It is of course not a very showy place but this should not weigh with us, as non showy places can be very important & very educational.'*¹¹⁶

The medieval keep stood to a good height but the medieval living quarters had burnt down following a 'great Christmas party' in 1521. The castle ruins were expensive to repair but Sir Lionel admitted that it was an attractive proposition given that it would be 'the only monument in that part of the country' under Government care. This is one of a number of such comments in guardianship files. It indicates that the Department were concerned with the distribution of the national collection and sought, where possible, to provide an attraction in every part of the country. During the acquisition of **Castle Acre Priory**¹¹⁷ (Figures 9 and 10) several years later Sir Lionel Earle remarked:

*'This is a most important monument & very fine. Lord Peel & I visited it some 3 years ago & he was immensely impressed by it. ... We should certainly I think take it over particularly as we are not rich in monuments in the Eastern Counties.'*¹¹⁸

Figure 9: The court of the Prior's lodgings at Castle Acre Priory in the early 1920s. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/1035).



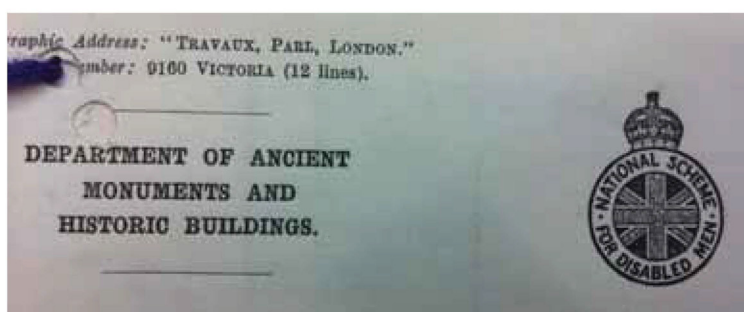
Figure 10: The shored up east wall of the dorter at Castle Acre Priory prior to guardianship. Copyright The National Archives.



The King's National Roll Scheme

One of the most positive initiatives to come out of the First World War was the King's National Roll Scheme (KNRS). This was an employment programme implemented for disabled ex-servicemen following an initiative by Henry Rothman, a rubber manufacturer.¹¹⁹ By November 1918 some 500,000 men had returned home disabled from the Front. Many had been left penniless and resorted to begging, busking or even the workhouse. The KNRS was launched on the 15th September 1919. An appeal was sent out by royal proclamation to encourage employers to participate in the scheme whilst businesses that joined were listed on a national roll of honour and awarded the King's Seal for use on their correspondence and office stationary.¹²⁰ The State set the example, increasing the number of disabled ex-servicemen in Government offices. The Office of Works were among its members and most letters sent out by the Ancient Monuments Branch in the interwar period carry the King's Seal (Figure 11). It seems likely that disabled men took administrative roles in the Department. The Scheme was extremely successful. Between 1921 and 1938 an average of 338,420 disabled ex-servicemen were employed each year.¹²¹ By the time the scheme was effectively left redundant, following the 1944 Disabled Person's Act, it had been widened from ex-servicemen to the wider disabled community. For the first time in British history disabled people had been employed equally alongside the able-bodied.

Figure 11: The King's Seal on an Office of Works letter head as part of the scheme for disabled ex-servicemen. Copyright The National Archives.

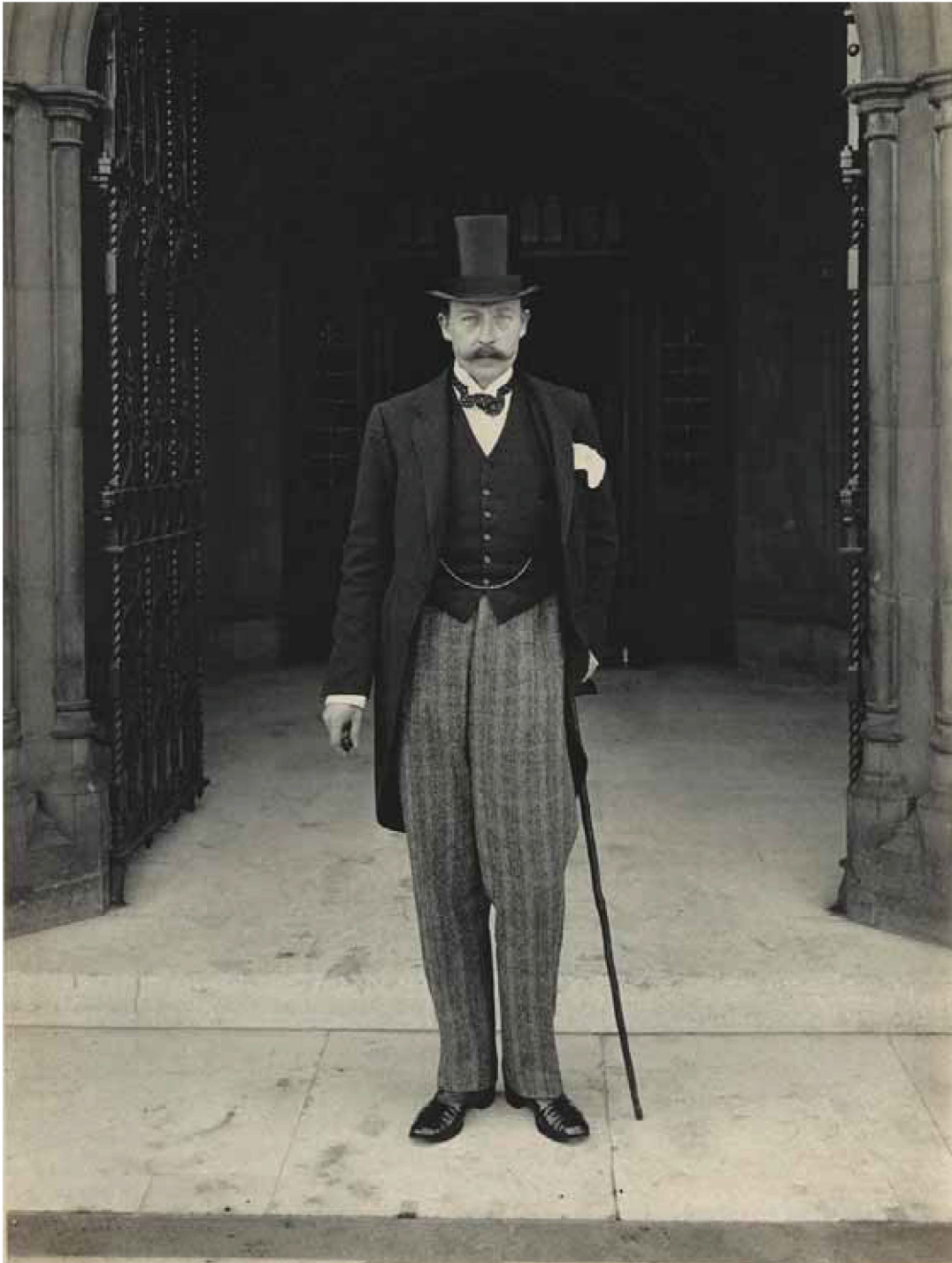


The Ancient Monuments Branch in the interwar period

Through the interwar period the numbers of staff employed in the Ancient Monuments Branch significantly increased, especially within the Inspectorate (See Appendices 2 and 3). Among the longer serving First Commissioners of Works were Sir Alfred Mond (In post 1916-1921), Viscount Peel (1924-28) and William G. A. Ormsby-Gore (1931-36). Sir Alfred Mond served as First Commissioner during the transfer of Stonehenge to the Government. His father, Ludwig, had been an archaeologist but Sir Alfred was a politician, industrialist and financier who took a leading role in the creation of ICI (Imperial Chemical Industries).¹²² His tenure as First Commissioner was in Lloyd George's coalition Government. The war veteran Viscount Peel took up the role in 1928 under Stanley Baldwin. He took many senior posts within London County Council in the early 20th century and served as Chairman from 1914-16.¹²³ William Ormsby-Gore stands out among the Commissioners for his interest and contribution to heritage. He was a Trustee of the National Gallery, the Tate Gallery, British Museum, President of the National Museum of Wales from 1937 and Chairman of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries in 1949.¹²⁴ He wrote four volumes in the series 'Guide to the Ancient Monuments of England'. It is notable that under his leadership the Treasury grant for ancient monuments saw its greatest increase prior to the Second World War: From £45,000 in 1932 to £75,000 in 1936.¹²⁵

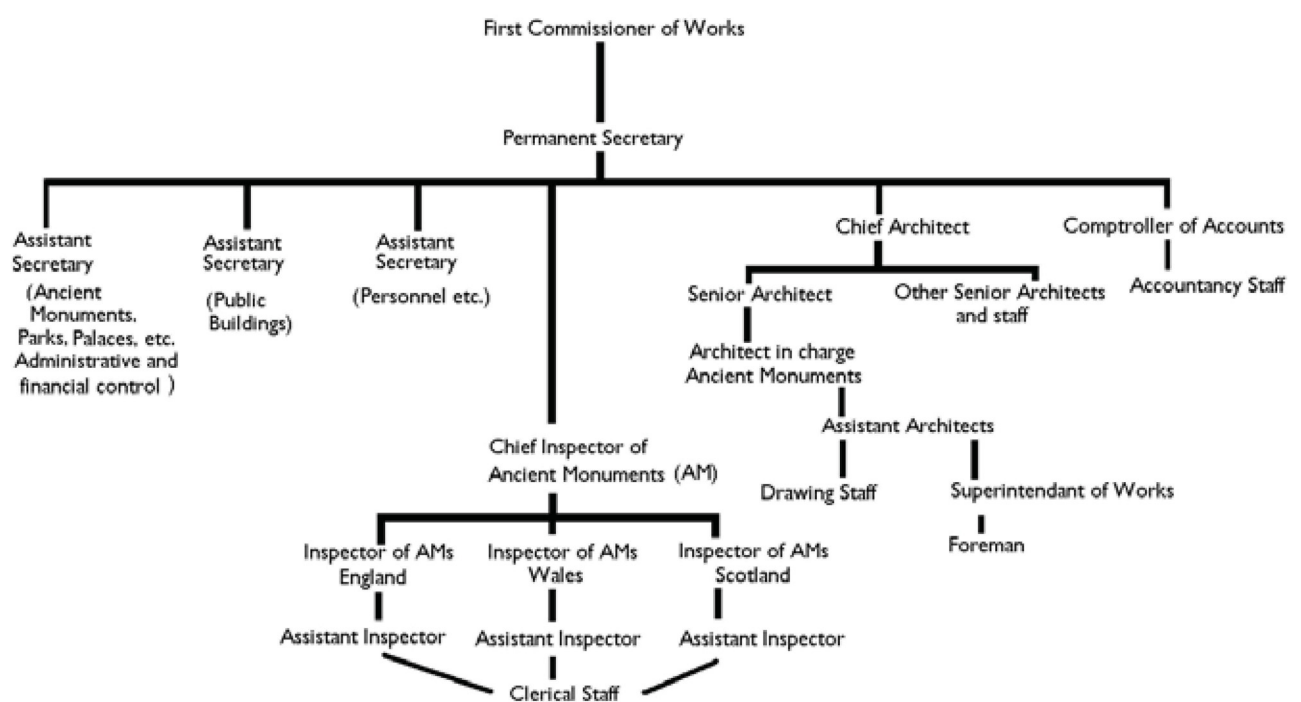
Sir Lionel Earle (Figure 12) served as Permanent Secretary (1912-1933) through much of the interwar period and was in charge of the day to day running of the Office of Works. He took over the role from Sir Schomberg McDonnell in 1912 and held the post with considerable success until his retirement. Sir Lionel served as Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, was a member of the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries (1927-1930), and had a significant influence in founding the Royal Fine Arts Commission established in 1924.¹²⁶ His successor as Permanent Secretary was Sir Patrick Duff who had been Private Secretary to Stanley Baldwin. He was an important figure in nature conservation serving as a Chairman of the National Parks Commission (1949-54) after the Second World War.¹²⁷

Figure 12: Sir Lionel Earle photographed by Sir John Benjamin Stone in 1909. Earle was the dominating figure in the Office of Works in the inter-war years. © National Portrait Gallery, London. Reference Number: x44666.



Under the Permanent Secretary were several Assistant Secretaries who were important in the day to day running of the Ancient Monuments Branch (Figure 13). In the interwar period they included James Eggar, M. Connolly and Frederick J. E. Raby. Raby took up the role from 1927¹²⁸ and proved an extremely able administrator, contributing significantly to the Department's success. He also published several works on poetry, such as 'A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages' (1927), and was an honorary fellow and then a lecturer at Jesus College, Cambridge (1948-54).¹²⁹ Raby was a member of the Athenaeum club like many of the senior figures within the Office of Works.

Figure 13: Organisation chart showing the Ancient Monuments Branch and its relation to the hierarchy in the Office of Works by the 1930s.



The Ancient Monuments Branch was headed by Charles Peers¹³⁰ as Inspector of Ancient Monuments (IAM), with the support of his Principal Architect, Sir Frank Baines.¹³¹ In 1920 Peers became Chief Inspector after the appointment of Jocelyn Bushe-Fox as IAM for England, Wilfred Hemp as IAM for Wales and James Richardson IAM for Scotland. Bushe-Fox gained experience excavating in Egypt before supervising excavations for the Society of Antiquaries at Hengistbury Head and Wroxeter. He was a Major in the army by the end of the First World War having seen action in France, Italy and Germany. Just a few years later he became an Inspector and then took over the role of Chief Inspector following the retirement of Charles Peers. Paul Baille Reynolds took over the role of IAM for England when Bushe-Fox was promoted. He had been an assistant to Mortimer Wheeler.¹³²

In 1929 three Assistant Inspectors were appointed in the Ancient Monuments Branch.¹³³ These included Mr R.S. Simms in England and Margaret Simpson in Scotland. Simpson is notable as the first woman to serve in an Inspector role, albeit as an assistant. She was the co-author of the Office of Works guide to Stirling Castle published in 1936.

A separate team led by Sir Frank Baines (Principal Architect and then Director of Works) carried out preservation works to ancient monuments and historic buildings. This was formed of the Ancient Monuments Architect, Arthur Heasman, and between 15 and 20 draftsmen. A much larger body of foremen and labourers were directly employed on the guardianship sites.

The 1921 Legislative Committee

Although the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act was a vast improvement on earlier legislation there were calls for even stronger measures almost immediately after its passing. In 1914 the six MPs from the House of Commons that had sat on the Joint Select Committee the previous year introduced a new Ancient Monuments Bill with far more stringent powers. The Bill proposed a wider definition of monuments to be scheduled as well as automatically scheduling most dating before 1600.¹³⁴ These were to include cathedrals, churches, bridges, town halls and even maritime heritage such as historic ships. In addition protection would be given to sites of natural beauty and even precious historic articles, such as silver and gold plate. Local authorities were also to have powers to prevent new buildings and alterations that would 'blemish the historic or picturesque amenities' of towns or villages. Such an extension of State powers was far too drastic to be welcomed by Parliament and the 1914 Bill ceased to make any progress.

At the Office of Works, senior staff soon realised the shortcomings of the 1913 Act. In 1914 the Preservation Order for 75 Dean Street, Soho had proved a failure. The following year a new problem was encountered. The Department received a letter from the owner of Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire, writing from the Headquarters of the Third Army at Dunmow.¹³⁵ Titchfield was a 13th century Permonstratensian abbey that had been converted into a grand Tudor mansion following the Dissolution. The site was to be scheduled but the owner informed the Department that he had the intention of restoring and living in the Tudor house after the war. This would be carried out by 'the best architect in England' with 'not the slightest injury' done to the historic monument. It presented a quandary at the Office of Works. If the building was scheduled but then restored into a dwelling house then the scheduling ceased to have effect. Charles Peers outlined what actions should be taken:

*'The only satisfactory solution of this difficulty is that our control should not cease when a scheduled building is restored & occupied.
If it does so cease, we have a choice of two evils.*

- i. to allow no scheduled building to be repaired for all future time.
 - ii. to voluntarily relinquish control over a building whose preservation we have declared to be of national importance.
- i. being clearly impossible, ii. must be considered the lesser evil. But it is a serious flaw in the Act, & calls for amendment.¹³⁶

The Assistant Secretary, James Eggar, insisted that the Department proceed with scheduling and the First Commissioner agreed:

"Scheduling" does not connote the prevention of restoration, and, as the omission of Titchfield Abbey from our list might imply that it is not of national importance, I think it should be included, even though it may eventually, with the Board's concurrence, be restored and occupied as a dwelling house.'

Nevertheless Titchfield clearly illustrated that protection for inhabited buildings was highly desirable. The case was discussed by the Ancient Monuments Board who concluded that an amending Act was urgently required.¹³⁷ By 28th January 1919 a memorandum setting out exact proposals was read before the Board members.¹³⁸ This stated that ecclesiastical buildings in use and inhabited properties should be given protection since they comprised 'the great majority of the finest buildings in the country.' However it recognised that in these cases the owner would need to have the benefit of financial support from the State:

'To apply the Act to a building in use is to some extent to limit the user, and to the persons affected, whether a Cathedral Chapter, a municipal body or a body of trustees, the limitation will not commend itself – since they may believe themselves equally or more competent to deal with their buildings than the State – unless some obvious benefit accompanies the limitation. This should clearly take the form of a sharing in the burden of maintenance; the result of which would be, in the majority of cases, that State supervision would rather be welcomed than otherwise.'

The most significant flaw in the present Act was that the advice of the Ancient Monuments Board, a body of experts, could be set aside by 'half a dozen unqualified persons' on a Parliamentary Select Committee. Thus:

'...the most important, in fact the vital part of the Act, the power of preserving monuments by Preservation Orders, is practically stultified, sacrificed on the altar of Parliamentary Control.'

In 1920 the First Commissioner directed that an Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee be formed to consider the required legislative changes. It published an official report the following year.¹³⁹ Among the Board members were the former Commissioner Lord Beauchamp, Charles Peers, Sir Lionel Earle, Sir Hercules Read and several MPs. The Committee recognised that existing legislation was still far short of that in other countries such as the French system, which was considered the high water mark of ancient

monuments protection. They recognised that inhabited buildings should be protected and that Government grants should be given to encourage owners to manage their monuments better. Compensation was needed since in some cases:

*'Part of the house may in fact become little more than a museum. Rooms may be maintained in an unusable condition as examples of bygone social manners or as things of beauty.'*¹⁴⁰

The need was great since old country houses and manor houses were of 'first-rate importance', country villages had an 'incontestable influence' upon their surroundings, whilst ancient colleges, almshouses and hospitals were of especially 'high architectural merit'. In addition cathedrals were still liable to damage from the whims of an architect appointed by the Dean and Chapter and thus needed policing through proper advisory boards. The overall conclusion was that a Fine Arts Commission should be established to consider Preservation Orders as well as 'all questions of taste' relating to the arts in England.

The arguments generated by the Advisory Committee continued for several years but successive Governments declined to implement them. In 1924 a Royal Fine Arts Commission¹⁴¹ was established but its duties were limited; it merely had powers to enquire into questions of artistic importance and provide advice.¹⁴² Finally in 1931 a few of the minor changes in the Committee's report were included in a new Ancient Monuments Act (See Volume Five in this series). However the greater part, including the most significant measures, were omitted altogether.

The development of scheduling

In 1921 the first list of scheduled ancient monuments was published. The list was dated the 31st October 1921 although in effect most had been scheduled many years before given that official notification letters had been sent out from at least 1915.¹⁴³ A second list was published in 1923, a third and a fourth in 1924, and a fifth, sixth and seventh each year from 1925 to 1927. The advent of scheduling was among the most significant measures under the 1913 Act since it widened the scope of preservation to non-guardianship sites and provided a rapid mechanism for State protection merely by including the name of a monument in a list. A Treasury report on the workings of the Ancient Monuments Branch in 1935 observed that:

'The one field of activity where purely archaeological considerations prevail is in the scheduling of Ancient Monuments i.e. protecting them from active abuse by their owners. Apart from 'overheads' the procedure costs nothing and the figures show that the Office of Works staff etc. costs do not grow to any extent with the increase in the numbers of scheduled monuments. Most of the additions to the lists are I gather thrown up (a) by the Royal Commission's surveys as they proceed. Others are brought to notice (b) by archaeological societies etc. or by the general public.

*If a (b) case survives scrutiny at Headquarters an inspector visits and if he recommends scheduling the report goes to the Ancient Monument Board for their recommendation. The formal process of scheduling is almost entirely a matter of clerical labour. Once a monument is on the list it is visited at intervals by the Inspectors.'*¹⁴⁴

In the same report it is observed that the prospect of a Preservation Order served as a successful deterrent in which to protect scheduled ancient monuments:

'It has very rarely been necessary to make use of compulsory powers of protection... the mere threat of Preservation Order procedure has apparently been sufficient to enable the Office of Works to have their way.'

Although the first list was published in 1921 the organisation of the scheduling procedure and the compilation of the first lists were for the most part carried out between 1913 and 1915. Despite the above it is clear that the first lists were drafted by the Ancient Monuments Branch and then determined by the Ancient Monuments Board. Only at a later date did the RCHME, archaeological societies or general public provide input.¹⁴⁵ The first lists intended to include the most outstanding monuments. At the first meeting the Ancient Monuments Board were asked, in their preparation of lists of national importance, to proceed with a view to amplification from time to time working from the more important to the lesser monuments.¹⁴⁶ The Statement of Purpose set out broad guidelines on how they were to determine national importance:

'Generally speaking, monuments must be considered from two aspects:-

(1) Their actual and relative importance,

(II) *Their topographical value*

*The point to be kept constantly in view being that the preservation of the evidences of the history of the country is the end to be secured.*¹⁴⁷

The final point is pertinent in that the monuments were clearly to be selected as examples of their type in which to tell the history of England. Developing upon the above, the Board were informed that they should both consider the distribution of monuments across the country as well as selecting examples that were representative of the following periods:

'the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, the Roman Occupation, the Early Christian Settlements, the Saxon, Danish and Norse Invasions, the Norman Settlement, the social and economic developments of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Great Rebellion, the Restoration and the development of industries.'

In addition they were to consider local or regional specific sites; including such monuments to 'explain and illustrate the special features' of particular districts. Guardianship sites were expected to have been identified as of national importance by the Ancient Monuments Board before they were taken into care.

The initial lists of monuments were drawn up by Harry Sirr. At the second Board meeting on the 1st May 1914 a list of monastic buildings and a list of city and town walls were considered and discussed. At the third meeting the Board considered a list of castles. However considerable discussion arose over scheduling and it was determined that the Board's lists should be considered as 'suggestions' to the First Commissioner; 'it was not intended that the Board expected immediate adoption in toto'.¹⁴⁸ A provisional list of 'prehistoric forts and Roman military works' drawn up at the following meeting was deferred for consideration until after the war. By this time notification letters had been sent out to owners of monastic buildings and castles. A total of 129 had been scheduled, some of which were Crown property and already under the Act. Of 73 owners that were written to a total of 28 had already replied, most with 'encouraging' responses.¹⁴⁹

Scheduling was in abeyance between 1915 and 1918. By the time it properly resumed in 1919 the need was urgent. The Ministry of Transport Act had set aside £10,000,000 for bridge improvements and Professor Lethaby was instructed to form a sub-committee for the rapid scheduling of historic bridges before they were damaged by widening or demolished and replaced altogether.¹⁵⁰ All bridges of national importance pre-dating 1800 were to be scheduled. By May 1919 the Board realised that the rapidly accumulating task of drawing up lists demanded Harry Sirr be appointed full time. Furthermore he was to receive 'adequate remuneration for the large amount of work, requiring special knowledge, which must necessarily be performed by him'.¹⁵¹ The measure proved successful given that by 1930 there were 1735 scheduled ancient monuments in England and Wales.¹⁵²

Field visits to scheduled ancient monuments

Under the 'Statement of Purpose' read before the Ancient Monuments Board at their initial meeting it was recognised that considerable organisation would be required to establish effective supervision over monuments that were scheduled. By necessity it had to be a voluntary task. The Board were to decide upon the best manner that this could be done. A system of overseeing the sites was discussed in March 1915 and largely in place by June 1922. The task was carried out by unpaid 'Honorary Visitors' and 'Honorary Correspondents', which were in all likelihood either fellows of the Society of Antiquaries or members of local archaeological societies. It was organised on a county basis with a Chief Correspondent in each and below him a network of Local Correspondents. Their duties were to oversee the monuments in their district reporting any damage, any scheme that might have a detrimental impact on the monument, or any change in ownership. These 'correspondents' appear to be the forerunners of English Heritage Field Monument Wardens (latterly called 'Historic Environment Field Advisers').

The development of the national collection from 1920-1930

In the early 1920s the British economy was still reeling from the effects of the First World War. Many landowners could ill afford or justify expenditure towards the preservation of ancient ruins on their estates. Among these were Captain Herbert Mosely, the owner of the 12th century **Cistercian abbey at Buildwas**, Shropshire. The Office of Works had shown concern over its condition since 1915. Charles Peers visited in June that year, whilst Captain Mosely was away on military duty, and reported that action was urgently needed if serious damage was not to be prevented.¹⁵³ The filling between the inner and outer window arches had fallen away, the rubble core of the transept walls was standing exposed and near to collapse, and rain was soaking through the fine vault of the chapter house leaving it ready to fall at any moment. Given the ongoing conflict there was no hope of a speedy resolution. Several letters were sent to the owner after the war but he clearly had no money to spend on the huge amount of structural work that was required:

*'I think it very hard lines to expect the unfortunate owner of such a property as this to make good the dilapidations and ravages of time which have been going on for 400 years – especially in such a period as this of costly living, high taxation, and, for a landowner at any rate, greatly reduced income - a time too when we are all being told not to spend our money on unproductive objects. I have not raised my rents during the past six years, my spendable income is just half what it was six years ago, being almost entirely from rentals of land etc. and I am very hard put to maintain my very much reduced establishment and make both ends meet.'*¹⁵⁴

At the same time he was reluctant to pass the abbey, a treasured possession, into Government hands. Negotiations went on for several years until the collapse of part of the vault in the chapter house brought matters to a head in November 1923. This

provided greater impetus towards a guardianship agreement but even then it was met with resistance. It was only after a Preservation Order had been drawn up and the owner sent a final warning that the Abbey passed into Government care in November 1925.

A similar story unfolded at **Netley Abbey**, the most complete surviving Cistercian monastery in southern England. The dangerous condition of the abbey was discussed at a meeting of the Ancient Monuments Board on 23rd May 1919.¹⁵⁵ However the owner, Tankerville Chamberlayne, did not see things the same way:

*'I do not think anything is required except perhaps the cutting of a little of the ivy... No friends of mine visiting the ruins... have made any complaint, so I feel sure things must be as they should be.'*¹⁵⁶

A visit by the Ancient Monuments Architect, Arthur Heasman, in January 1920 showed that the owner was taking some care of the site; the grass was cut and the grounds were tidy. However no structural repair had been carried out for many years and the walls were steadily deteriorating.¹⁵⁷ The following year the First Commissioner, Lord Crawford, sent a personal letter to try and induce some action. The owner replied in April:

*'I quite admit Netley Abbey requires some strengthening in parts but... My difficulty is the cost because I have so many Farm houses & Buildings & workmens cottages to make habitable & sanitary that I positively dread the Tax Collector...'*¹⁵⁸

Nevertheless Chamberlayne was certainly more affluent than the owner at Buildwas and the First Commissioner pressed his case:

*'Finance, of course, is the difficulty, not only to individuals like yourself who have inherited these famous Monuments, but likewise to the Government, which is always, and I suppose rightly, charged with spending too much of the tax-payers money, and I sympathise with your difficulty when confronted with urgent demands for repair to farms and estate cottages, the cost of which is nowadays almost prohibitive. But, if I may say so, I confess that I would prefer to postpone a farm rebuilding to allowing such a place as Netley to be endangered.'*¹⁵⁹

An agreement was eventually met, following the drafting of a Preservation Order, and the monument passed into State care in August 1922.

At about this time the Government took over two further Cistercian monasteries; **Byland Abbey** and **Roche Abbey** in Yorkshire (Figures 14 and 15). Roche, with its soaring early Gothic transepts, was well visited during public holidays.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore the ground plans of both were exceptionally complete and the Department considered them of 'first rate importance'. Therefore despite the expense; some £16,000 worth of works were required at Byland alone, the Government did not hesitate to accept guardianship and the deeds were completed in August and September 1921.¹⁶¹

Figure 14: Byland Abbey south transept, exterior of east wall circa 1920. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/1204).



Figure 15: Roche Abbey nave circa 1920.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/455).



Archaeological discoveries and restoration

In 1922 **Wayland's Smithy**, a Neolithic long barrow in Berkshire, was gifted to the nation by Cornelia, Countess of Craven (1877-1961).¹⁶² She had been persuaded by an amateur archaeologist, H.G.W D'Almaine, to place it in Government care. D'Almaine had contacted Charles Peers in 1917 informing him of the discovery of human bones within 'Wayland Smiths Cave':

'Never shall I forget the first sight of them, when the covering earth had been removed, and by no words can I adequately convey the sensation they produced.

*It seemed as if one had suddenly come across one's own ancestors from the vasty deep of a long forgotten past – it was uncanny, weird, mystical.*¹⁶³

He wished to preserve the ancient tomb, which had been damaged by picnickers lighting fires against the stones with the result that large pieces had cracked off in the heat. However D'Almaine also proposed to restore it, returning the stones of the entrance and chambers to their former positions. Peers cautioned against any such restoration, as well as further unsupervised excavation:

'As to the treatment: the essential point to bear in mind is this, that the permanent value of any Monument is genuineness.

*The 'Cave' is the undoubtedly genuine remains of a Neolithic chambered tomb. It has lost very much of its original structure, and its form and composition are now matters of inference only. Nothing that can be added to it will make it more genuine: it may be possible by search and enquiry to establish its original dimensions, and even to indicate them on the site; and anything that can be done to prolong the existence of what is left is eminently desirable. But anything in the nature of replacement of missing parts, however certain we may be that they formerly existed, only tends to destroy the scientific value of the monument. It exists to-day for our study and we hope for the enlightenment of many generations to come, and it is our duty to hand it down as we receive it... our more gifted descendents may get far more out of it, provided that the monument on which they base their deductions is what it pretends to be.'*¹⁶⁴

In 1927 there were concerns about the condition of another long barrow: **Belas Knap** in Gloucestershire. It had been offered for guardianship in 1922 but the First Commissioner declined the proposal.¹⁶⁵ After being contacted by a local archaeological society five years later Charles Peers persuaded the Board to accept guardianship. The deed was signed on the 23rd January 1928. Subsequently a programme of excavation and then restoration work was carried out, supervised by a local archaeologist.

A financial crisis at the Office of Works

Financial difficulties following the First World War were not only confined to landowners. They had a very real effect on the activities of the Ancient Monuments Branch. In 1921 the burgeoning list of guardianship sites and the huge maintenance backlog brought guardianship decisions to a grounding halt. A meeting was held by senior staff at the Office of Works on 6th March 1921 and again in August setting out what actions needed to be taken.¹⁶⁶ The policy agreed, given the backlog, was that the Department would only accept guardianship 'in the case of monuments of real importance'. The owners of Loch Leven Castle, St. Hilary's Chapel, Denbigh, Inchamore Priory, Balvenies Castle and Cessford Castle in Scotland, as well as Trinity Church Tower in Yorkshire, England, were told that financial conditions necessitated a reconsideration of their offer and that with much regret it was now impossible to accept guardianship. Furthermore the owners of Norman House, Christchurch, and Hermitage Castle, Roxburghshire, were told that it was unlikely that the Government would be able to afford to take them into care for at least three years unless the money for their preservation should be privately subscribed. All other offers, such as **St Catherine's Chapel**, Abbotsbury, were put on hold whilst Sir Frank Baines drew up a statement showing the funding required when full preservation work could be undertaken in the future. At this time activities were confined to urgent works or shoring to prevent immediate falls of masonry. The Assistant Secretary, James Eggar, observed that the problem illustrated 'the difficulty in assuming responsibility for such fine but ruinous monuments without adequate funds to apply to their preservation'. Finally a

list of sites was agreed upon and the Government could proceed with several offers such as the medieval chapel at Abbotsbury.¹⁶⁷

Northumbrian Castles

Between 1922 and 1923 **Norham Castle** and Warkworth Castle together with the nearby hermitage were taken into the national collection. Norham is a border castle commanding a vital ford over the River Tweed. It was besieged at least 13 times by the Scots before the walls finally fell under the artillery of James IV in 1513. An extensive rebuilding subsequently followed. However the preservation of the castle today is the legacy of a philanthropic gesture from its owner, Charles Romanes, in the early 20th century. Romanes had purchased Norham in 1920 when it was fast falling into decay.¹⁶⁸ Large quantities of stones were known to fall each winter and the tenant had taken to carting these away to be used elsewhere. Almost immediately after buying the castle he opened guardianship negotiations with the Ancient Monuments Branch. Considerable repair work was required: The architects report estimated £3900 for immediate repairs and then £17,400 for further work and excavation. The offer was put on hold. Nevertheless Romanes was determined that the castle should gain the protection it deserved. He wrote to Sir Frank Baines in November 1921 with an extremely generous offer:

*'I purchased the property with the sole aim of offering its guardianship to the Nation under the provision of the Ancient Monuments Act ...I am...so anxious that this magnificent Monument should be preserved that I am prepared to contribute a sum of £500 per annum for three years towards the immediate works of preservation... I have had to give the matter very grave consideration as I have serious financial commitments in respect of other works of archaeological value and interest, which I am undertaking myself at my own cost in other directions, but I view Norham Castle with such enthusiasm that I am prepared to assist on the lines stated to make possible preservation of this fine structure.'*¹⁶⁹

The offer was subsequently accepted, though the First Commissioner admitted that without such 'generous assistance' he would not have been able to do so.¹⁷⁰ The Government agreed to match the £500 annually over three years and the Deed of Guardianship was prepared. However tragically Romanes was paralysed in an accident and died several months later. The agreement was left for his Trustees to complete and the contribution slightly reduced to £350 over three years. However Romanes' gesture is among the most notable acts of public benefaction in the formation of the national collection.

Figure 16: A view towards the castle from Warkworth in the early 20th century. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/542).



In August 1922 **Warkworth Castle**, famously referred to as a “worm-eaten hold of ragged stone” in Shakespeare’s play *Henry IV Part II*, was taken over by the State from the Duke of Northumberland (Figure 16).¹⁷¹ This had originally been the site of a motte and bailey castle but in the 12th century a tower keep was built, which became the home of the Percy’s, one of the most influential families in medieval Britain.¹⁷² The transfer of the castle is most notable for the arrangements concerning the caretaker. In August 1922 three candidates were interviewed for the job, including the existing custodian. His occupation of the site had left it in a poor state:

‘Cattle, pigs and poultry ...are housed in some of the ruined portions of the building or in wooden erections built against or near the Castle Walls.

The rooms of the Keep were found to be generally well kept, as also were the rooms in the Gatehouse, but apart from these, the place was in a pitiable condition due chiefly to the presence of cattle, etc. at the buildings.

There is at present no attempt made to keep visitors from doing damage to the low walls and foundations, and children freely clamber over the masonry.

*Mr. Scott has also, in spite of his long connection with the Castle, a very poor knowledge of the building and its associations.*¹⁷³

In contrast the favoured candidate gave a gleaming account of himself. The report in the guardianship file outlines his credentials:

'Mr Cuthbert J. Turner, whose present occupation is a joiner is 37 years of age and appears to be in excellent health. He resides about 150 yards from the Castle. He is of good appearance and education and of pleasing disposition, having at the same time a commendable interest in the Castle buildings.

He is ...most suited for the position of caretaker and one who could command the respect of visitors and look well after the Board's interests.'

Among the caretakers duties would be to row visitors up the River Coquet to the nearby medieval cave hermitage taken over the following year. The only access was by river and the Office of Works had to purchase rowing boats immediately following the handover. Visitors were charged six pence for the journey and admission.

Several years later the ancient "pile" of **Dunstanburgh Castle** was offered and Peers observed that it would complement the other sites in Northumberland:

*'This is an important offer. The two great castles of Norham & Warkworth are under our care, Dunstanburgh, though not so well preserved, is well worthy of being put in the same category.'*¹⁷⁴

The Deed was duly signed on 12th September 1929.

Local benefaction

In the context of Norham are the remains of the fortified manor house known as **Spofforth Castle** and the Iron Age hillfort of Blackbury Castle. Both were transferred on similar lines. Spofforth is reputed to have been the spot where the rebel barons drew up the Magna Carta in 1215.¹⁷⁵ The castle was plundered by the Earl of Warwick during the Wars of the Roses but it was restored by Lord Percy in 1559. In 1920 Charles Peers received an alarming letter informing him that Spofforth was to be sold and possibly dismantled for building material.¹⁷⁶ However the stringent financial situation made it unlikely that the Government could accept transfer despite the concerns of local inhabitants. Remarkably an individual stepped forward; Major Nichols, and promised to provide the repair funds for the next 20 years.¹⁷⁷ The cost was considerable; estimated at £300 or £350 for urgent works and then £5000 for repairs over the next four years. The offer was one the Government dare not refuse and the Deed of Guardianship was signed in February 1924.

Blackbury Castle, Devon, was gifted to the nation by Miss Sophia Edmonds in memory of her father William Edmonds who died on the 12th May 1914 and her brother Will Edmonds who passed away on 11th December 1922.¹⁷⁸ Bushe-Fox observed that the maintenance would be minimal and that the hillfort would form an attractive summer picnic spot for motorists from the nearby seaside resorts.

Local vs. national interest

In October 1919 **Furness Abbey**, Cumbria, was offered to the Board but guardianship negotiations were drawn out over four years; Barrow-in-Furness Council driving a hard bargain over local access.¹⁷⁹ The Permanent Secretary, Sir Lionel Earle, was particularly enthusiastic regarding the transfer of the Cistercian monastery. It was one of the abbeys that he had been trying for some time to get Lord Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, to hand into Government care. The abbey was maintained by the Furness Railway Company who also paid the custodian. However since there was no entry fee it had become a popular gathering spot for children in the district:

*'... a very large number of children come from Barrow or other villages in the neighbourhood and play within the Abbey Grounds. On the 21st I think there were nearly 500 of them. They walk and jump on the lower walls of the ruins and the stones are consequently becoming very noticeably worn. The Cloister was used for the purpose of playing football.'*¹⁸⁰

Guardianship negotiations opened with a request from the railway company that those travelling on its railway line or staying in the Furness Abbey Hotel be given a free ticket. Neither proposal was entertained since an entrance fee was common practice at major guardianship sites. The Government policy was explained by Sir Frank Baines to the owner's agent:

'I explained to Mr McPherson that the policy of this Department is to preserve ruins which are considered by the competent Authorities as being of national importance, and not only of local interest, and that such works of preservation make it necessary that buildings upon which national expenditure has been incurred should not remain or be treated as play-grounds for the local population and children of the district.

As the Monuments are preserved by this Department in the interests of the whole of the nation, it is considered by the Department that the purely local interest should be subservient to the national one....

*It is therefore found that to prevent rowdyism and unjustifiable use the imposition of an entrance fee is necessary.... [this has] induced a greater reverence and appreciation on the part of the visitors for the buildings in question.'*¹⁸¹

Mr MacPherson remained concerned that if a fee were imposed the residents of Barrow would take the law into their own hands and throw down the entrance barrier. Lord Cavendish was persuaded to gift two nearby fields to the Corporation of Barrow-in-Furness as a children's playground. Despite the benevolence of the owner, Government negotiations with the council proved difficult. They insisted that the Office of Works contribute at least £5000 over the next five years towards preservation, provide free access to local inhabitants and employ only local labour.¹⁸² The latter point was understandable given that the town was suffering chronic unemployment through lack of work at Messrs. Vickers Shipbuilding Yards. However the request for free access broke

with the traditional management of guardianship sites. Eventually it was agreed that the council would operate a special voucher system whereby inhabitants would enter free, although children had to be accompanied by an adult. The Department had to gain Treasury approval given that this was a special case. The Treasury refused; they were gob-smacked at the one-sided agreement demanded by the local authority.¹⁸³ However it had taken the Ancient Monuments Branch months to get this far and they pressed their case. Eventually consent was given provided that the expense could be met by savings elsewhere. The guardianship deed was finally signed in February 1923.

Local interest was also brought to bear upon **Berkhamstead Castle** in Hertfordshire. This motte and bailey castle was transferred from the Duchy of Cornwall in December 1929.¹⁸⁴ However by 1935 local people were anxious to 'get it into the town's control'.¹⁸⁵ Admiral Sir Lionel Halsey, the Prince of Wales' Comptroller, was sympathetic and acted as a go between. However Bushe-Fox defended the Government cause:

'I indicated to the Admiral that...when public money has been spent on restoring a ruin on account of its National interest there is some difficulty in handing back that monument so restored to people who had made no effort themselves to save it: and that the treatment of historic monuments by local authorities, who were not always sensitive in these matters, was apt to be unworthy of the historical significance of the monument...'

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In many cases local authorities had not proved the best custodians of historical monuments according to Sir Patrick Duff, the Permanent Secretary:

*'...our experience in other cases where local Councils have charge of these historic places has been that the up-keep is not so strictly done. Moreover the composition of local authorities changes fairly frequently and their attitude to an ancient monument in their charge does not remain constant: and, owing perhaps to pressure from the rate payers, they are apt to allow the monument to be used for purposes which are often rather disfiguring or out of harmony with it from the point of view of its being a national possession of great historical significance.'*¹⁸⁷

He suggested that transferring the castle to the council would be a 'retrograde step' but if the entrance fee stuck 'in their gizzard' a special arrangement might be made to provide a discount for local rate payers. The Admiral was now convinced and a visit by the Prince of Wales in June 1935 brought praise on the Office of Works management of the site. Mr Penny, clerk of the council, now promised that every help would be given to the Government in 'keeping up the historic and beautiful site'.¹⁸⁸

An agreement with the Duchy

In 1915 a special agreement was made with the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall that where monuments of national importance were in their charge the Ancient Monuments Board would provide advice and guidance regarding maintenance.¹⁸⁹ In September 1920 Charles Peers inspected **Restormel Castle**, Cornwall, and reported that the 13th century shell keep was in a 'very neglected condition', 'thickly overgrown with ivy and shrubs'.¹⁹⁰ His report was forwarded to the Duchy Council who decided in October 1921 that since repairs were urgently needed it ought to be transferred to Government care. The Department's financial situation in that year meant that, like many others, the offer had to be put on hold. This was regrettable since Peers considered that given its unusual plan there was 'nothing quite like it in the country'.¹⁹¹ By 1924 the prospect could be properly contemplated although Sir Lionel Earle thought that the Duchy ought to help pay for the repairs:

*'I have always understood that the Revenue of the Duchy were very considerable & expanding. I notice the gross Revenue in 1919 was £166,354 & in 1921 £194,020. I believe they have spent large sums in development & housing etc but I expect the strain of capital expenditure must have somewhat diminished. Although this is an important monument & well worthy of preservation it has been grossly neglected by the Duchy & I do not see why they should get rid of all liability by unloading all expense on to the already heavily burdened tax payer. I think we should at least try to get £1000 contribution from them or else £500 p.a. for say 3 years towards the immediate & necessary repairs?'*¹⁹²

A letter was sent to the Secretary of the Duchy requesting a contribution of £1000. The response was that the most that could be given was £500 in £100 instalments over five years. The Department was disappointed but guardianship was completed nonetheless in March 1925.

From the 1920s the original agreement with the Duchies; that the Department would provide advice, was amended.¹⁹³ Now they were, perhaps unsurprisingly, willing to transfer maintenance responsibilities of historic buildings as long as they retained overall control. The Office of Works provisionally agreed to this but continued to expect some sort of contribution. In 1924 a request of £600 towards works at the motte and bailey castle in **Pickering**, Yorkshire, forced the hand of the Duchy.¹⁹⁴ They were now willing to divest their interest in many of their historic monuments in order to relieve themselves entirely of maintenance costs.¹⁹⁵ Pickering was gifted to the nation in 1926 followed by the transfer of **Tintagel Castle**, Cornwall, **Peeveril Castle**, Derbyshire, and **Lydford Castle**, Devon, in the early 1930s.¹⁹⁶ Tintagel was particularly well received since it was felt that it would promote much interest in the 'legendry history of England'.¹⁹⁷

Figure 17: A Ministry of Labour land surveying training scheme for the resettlement of ex-servicemen in civil life, 1919. Copyright The National Archives. Contained in file LAB 2/1516/DRA128/30/1918.



Unemployment relief schemes

In the mid 1920s unemployment relief schemes commenced at several guardianship sites. **Weeting Castle**, purchased as part of a Government estate in 1926, benefitted from the clearance of heavy undergrowth by Ministry of Labour trainees (A similar scheme though for a different purpose is shown in Figure 17).¹⁹⁸ More significant was the Increased Employment Programme at **Helmsley**, Yorkshire, which allowed the recreation of the castle moat. The monument had been taken into guardianship in December 1923 and proposals were drawn up to remove 10,000 cubic yards of excavated soil, to be tipped and levelled next to a meander in the River Rye.¹⁹⁹ Similar schemes were implemented at the Saxon Shore Forts of **Pevensley** and **Portchester** taken into care in 1925 and 1926.²⁰⁰ These forts had been built in the Roman period but accommodated Norman tower keeps following the Conquest. The substantial earthworks associated with them provided perfect employment for unskilled labour. At Portchester, Hampshire, between 25 and 30 men were to be employed over the winter under the supervision of an antiquarian (Figures 18-19).²⁰¹ However the scale of the Department's excavations presented problems. By 1931 it was reported that the recreation of moats at Helmsley and Pickering Castles in England and Ogmere, Kidwelly, and Beaumaris Castles in Wales had entirely cut off public access.²⁰² The Department had been forced to create makeshift gangways of scaffold boards, which were dangerous for public use. Provisions were therefore drawn

up for the construction of bridges. At Helmsey four bridges were created, utilising the original drawbridge entrances. However by this date the scale of the relief works were prompting parliamentary questions over the Department's expenditure, whereby it was revealed that nearly £3200 had been spent at Goodrich Castle alone (Figure 20).²⁰³

Figures 18 and 19:

Top: Portchester Castle west curtain wall from gatehouse in the early 1920s prior to guardianship. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/414).

Bottom: A view of the castle walls today. Note the ditch created through an unemployment relief scheme. © English Heritage Photo Library. Ref No. K991142.



Figure 20: Goodrich castle emergency repairs underway. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/1062). A very serious movement occurred in the south west tower at midday on Thursday 19th March 1925. The existing fractures suddenly widened and mortar and crush core began to fall out whilst part of the tower moved outward towards the moat. The whole of this section of wall, weighing over 300 tons, was in eminent danger of collapse. The Foreman, Mr Roberts, and the whole of the staff worked throughout the night of Thursday 19th March and steel wire ropes were fixed by Friday. Additional foreman were called upon from Tintern Abbey, Grosmont Castle and White Castle. They continued to work through the weekends of 21st-22nd and 28th-29th in shoring up and stabilising the tower.²⁰⁴



The Government as 'last resort'

In about 1930 the Government saved several historic monuments on the verge of collapse. Among these were the reredorter at **Muchelney Abbey**, Somerset and Burgh Castle in Norfolk. Muchelney was a Benedictine abbey on the Somerset Levels, part of which had been transferred into guardianship in December 1927. In 1931 the neighbouring farmer proposed to demolish his 'old Cider House with apple loft' in order to construct a new house on the spot.²⁰⁵ This was in fact an extremely well preserved thatched reredorter (lavatory) – the only one of its kind in Britain. It was in an extremely dilapidated state with a huge crack in the masonry on one side and a thatch roof that was about to cave in (Figures 21 and 22). The Department came to an agreement with the farmer; they would restore the reredorter as a cart shed if his house could be sited elsewhere. It was taken into guardianship in February 1932. Subsequently the condition of the abbey drew much praise following a group excursion by the Archaeological Section of the Bournemouth Natural Science Society:

*'I wish to say on behalf of myself and the party that we greatly appreciate the way in which the Office of Works has laid out this very interesting building.... The carefulness in both the Archaeological and Architectural detail and the entire absence of commercialism greatly commend it to the sympathy of the public...the Custodian, Mr H. Hall, makes the history of the Abbey so understandable to the layman. Seldom does one find a custodian so accurate with Archaeological data. His wife looked after the wants of the ladies in a most satisfactory manner.'*²⁰⁶

The Saxon Shore Fort, known as **Burgh Castle**, was transferred to the Government following an alarming letter from the SPAB that indicated it would 'shortly come down unless something is done to repair it'.²⁰⁷ A detailed examination by the works architect showed that one wall was severely overhanging and that there was significant ongoing outward movement. Guardianship negotiations were difficult; the owner was reluctant to give up good grazing land for his cattle. Therefore a compromise was met with the Office of Works taking over the fort walls whilst the interior remained a scheduled monument.

Figures 21 and 22: Muchelney Abbey reredorter in 1931 prior to repair (Copyright The National Archives. File: WORK 14/741) and today (Copyright A Riley).



By 1930 the Department were apparently considering 17 or 18 separate offers of guardianship.²⁰⁸ First among these were **Kirby Hall**, Northamptonshire, and Middleham Castle, Yorkshire. Kirby with its flamboyant gables and tall chimneys was one of the finest country houses to be built in Elizabethan period (Figure 23). As a high-status building with royal associations it played a seminal role in the development of architecture, serving as an important prototype for the English Renaissance style.²⁰⁹ The Office of Works was keen to acquire it despite the large size and great cost. The buildings covered 33,700 square feet and were extremely ruinous. In 1927 it was reported that there was a series fall of some 100 tons of masonry in the Kitchen Wing and something in the order of £18,500 was required for repairs.²¹⁰ The house was taken into care in December 1930 with a view to establishing it as a major visitor attraction:

*'I understand that the buildings are open to the public but are not visited to the extent their interest warrants – the reason must be that they have been allowed to drop out of the public eye. It should not be difficult to get them quite well known in the course of a few years & considerable revenue from admittance fees should result.'*²¹¹

*Figure 23: Kirby Hall kitchen interior in October 1928.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/1082).*



The Norman tower keep castle at **Middleham** was gifted to the nation in the same year although it had passed into guardianship four years earlier (Figures 24 and 25).²¹² The transfer was especially significant since it was the property of a Government Minister, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (1884-1972), and greatly complemented the work of the Ancient Monuments Branch. This was apparent to Sir Lionel Earle in receipt of the offer from the owner's agents:

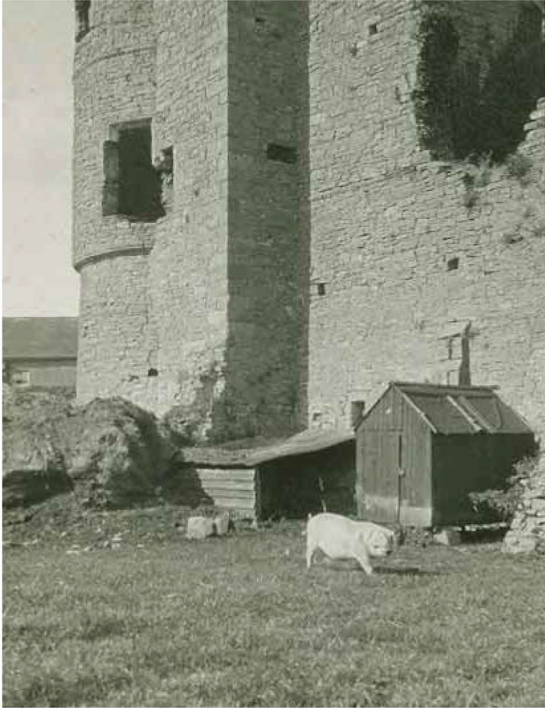
*'Meanwhile, I am to ask you to be good enough to inform Sir Philip and Lady Cunliffe-Lister that the confidence shown in the Department by the offer of this important monument is greatly appreciated.'*²¹³

Substantial work was involved in the presentation of the castle; a cattle loose box and pig sty stood against the castle walls whilst an enormous manure heap of approximately 5,000 cubic yards of material extended southwards from the tower.

Other monuments taken into care at about this time included the Augustinian Priory at **Lanercost**, Cumbria and the 18th century **Landport Gate** that formed part of Portsmouth's defences.²¹⁴

Figures 24 and 25: Middleham Castle in the early 20th century prior to guardianship: general view from the south east and detail of curtain wall with pig sty (overleaf). Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/386).





Monuments refused guardianship

In 1921-22 several guardianship offers were refused (see above). By 1929-30 the Department again had a burgeoning list. Several offers were indefinitely held for many years without an absolute refusal: Salley Abbey, Yorkshire, Pendragon Castle, Cumbria as well as Aberdour Castle, Auchans Castle, Inverloch Castle, Kilwinning Abbey and Lochleven Castle in Scotland. A minute sheet in the Kirby Hall guardianship file gives some indication behind the mode of thought at this time:

*'It would hardly be in accordance with fact to say that the Department has ever refused to take over a monument of first class importance solely because of lack of funds. If a really important monument in need of urgent repair were offered, we should accept and try to find funds for such work by curtailing less urgent work at other monuments. The Department's funds for dealing with Ancient Monuments are however, limited, and when monuments are offered it is necessary to consider their relative importance and the probable cost of putting in hand urgent works, and to weigh these considerations against the claims of other monuments already taken over or on offer.'*²¹⁵

A list of guardianship refusals (Appendix 4), discovered in a National Archives file, provides an insight into why some sites were not taken on: Fifteen monuments were not considered of sufficient importance; nine were refused on financial grounds; five were in the ownership of other Government departments or local authorities; four encountered difficulties during guardianship negotiations; and four monuments were on hold, the decision having been postponed.²¹⁶ But what dictated 'sufficient importance'? Through the scheduling process the Ancient Monuments Board determined which sites were of

national importance. Beyond that guardianship decisions were usually made at the Office of Works. On most occasions this came down to the personal opinion of the most highly qualified expert: the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments. This was Charles Peers until 1933 when Jocelyn Bushe-Fox took the position. The guardianship files show that he had the first comment on any offer, which normally dictated the opinion of those that followed. There was a particular order to comments regarding each guardianship offer: First the Chief Inspector and then the Assistant Secretary, the Permanent Secretary and finally the First Commissioner. Only on very rare occasions was the Chief Inspector's opinion overruled by the First Commissioner.

The second major influence on guardianship decisions was ancient monuments funding from the Treasury. This fluctuated during the interwar period. However it had a very real bearing on what could be taken on and when, since guardianship offers had to be scrutinised based upon the expense of repair work and the Departments existing commitments. Additional funding in 1931-6 allowed many sites to be taken into care at that time.

To some extent the personal influence of the Chief Inspector can be seen in the character of the national collection. In the late 19th century Lt. Gen. Augustus Pitt-Rivers' interest in Early Christian crosses and inscribed stones dictated that many were added at that time.²¹⁷ During the interwar period Charles Peers' overwhelmingly interest was with medieval monuments, particularly castles and abbeys. He considered the preservation of these monuments to be of the greatest public interest:

*'...the effect of public opinion of the Ancient Monuments Act must always depend principally on what is to be seen up and down the country in our castles and monasteries. In the vast majority of cases their record for the past four centuries or so has been one of continuous neglect, if not active spoliation. It will now appear that what in many cases had seemed an almost total loss has proved to be not so.'*²¹⁸

The influence of the Chief Inspector's opinion can be seen in the case of **Morton Corbet Castle**, Shropshire. This was an Elizabethan country house built on the site of a medieval castle. It is marked on the guardianship refusal list simple as 'ruined house unsuitable for guardianship'. However it is clear that other such houses, for instance Kirby Hall, were taken on. What is more likely is that Peers himself did not consider the monument of sufficient interest. In 1937 the Assistant Secretary observed:

'In 1927 and again in 1928 we were urged to take over the ruins of Moreton Corbet and on both occasions we declined on the ground that our resources were insufficient. Sir Charles Peers did not regard these ruins as suitable for Guardianship by the Dept and apart from any architectural interest they may possess the historic interest appears small.'

*We are not anxious at present to add to our commitments, except in the case of a first class monument of major importance & would not be justified in taking over Moreton Corbet*²¹⁹

However Jocelyn Bushe-Fox, by then the Chief Inspector, considered that 'there should be no question that these ruins are worthy of preservation'²²⁰, and this advice brought a re-appraisal. The Permanent Secretary, Sir Patrick Duff admitting:

*'The cost of preservation will be high but I feel pretty strongly that this period of English Domestic Architecture is of the greatest interest and that the expenditure will be more than justified'*²²¹

Other notable incidents where sites were refused include: St Michael's Tower, St Benet's Abbey and The Grange at Northington. St Michael's Tower was a medieval church tower that formed a prominent landmark situated on the summit of Glastonbury Tor, overlooking the Somerset levels. The church was rebuilt in the 14th century but with the exception of the tower was torn down at the Dissolution.²²² The site was offered for guardianship in April 1933 by Neville Grenville after another one of his properties, Glastonbury Tribunal, was taken into care.²²³ From the outset Peers did not consider it of sufficient importance. The Assistant Secretary, Frederick Raby, contacted the National Trust asking whether they might wish to take it on:

*'This Tower is not included in our list of Ancient Monuments and we are inclined to think that it is not suitable to be placed under our guardianship as its value is primarily on account of its position and the fine views of the surrounding country which it affords rather than on account of its archaeological or historical interest.'*²²⁴

The Trust already owned the lower slopes of the hill and were keen to acquire the church tower. However there was no equivalent to Government guardianship and the owner did not wish to lose ownership of the land entirely. The position was explained by his land agents:

*'As regards the National Trust, the point as we see it, is that whereas Mr. Neville Grenville as tenant for life can take advantage of the Ancient Monuments Act as regards the Board of Works, he has no parallel power to deal with the National Trust save by sale. We do not think he is at all disposed to sell.'*²²⁵

In August 1937 the Department was invited to take over the medieval remains of St Bennet's Abbey, Norfolk, by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. These were refused on several grounds according to the Assistant Secretary:

*'... partly because they are in reasonable repair and partly because they are so scanty. There are many buildings a good deal more important than this site that we should wish to take over as funds permit.'*²²⁶

The Grange at Northington, Hampshire, was a different case entirely. This 17th century country house had been transformed into a remarkable Greek Revival building in the early 19th century. The solicitors of the owner, Lewis Charles Wallach, contacted the Government in February 1936 with a view of gifting it to the nation given its 'intrinsic interest' and 'historical associations'.²²⁷ The building was, after all, one of the foremost examples of Greek Revival architecture in England. However when it was brought before the Office of Works it was not classed as a 'proper monument':

*'...since The Grange belongs to a type of building which is hardly within the intentions expressed by Parliament in the Ancient Monuments Acts, the Commissioners regret that they have no alternative but to decline your client's generous offer. They have, however, sent your letter to the National Trust, in case the Trust may possibly be in a position to consider accepting the care of the Grange on behalf of the Nation.'*²²⁸

A letter from the Department to the Treasury the following year, reveals the case more fully:

*'...[Our view is still] that a building of this kind is not an appropriate one for us to take over, with or without endowment fund. We could not make any use of it and I'm sure it would be a white elephant. I cannot think of any close precedent; the nearest seems to be Lancaster House which the late Lord Leverhulme gave to the Government, but that is on Crown Land and a definite use was in view – the London Museum and accommodation for Government hospitality.'*²²⁹

By 1975 the Department of the Environment, as successors to the Ministry of Works, saw the case differently and took over the building, at that time under threat of total demolition.

The presentation of the national collection under Peers and Baines

In 1931 Charles Peers observed:

*'Modern history is separated from ancient by no change of nature, but only by an infinite gradation; the links of the chain are all there, and what was of concern to our forefathers is still of concern to us.'*²³⁰

A significant element of the story of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings is not only how it came to be formed but also the presentation of the sites after they were taken into Government care.²³¹ The Office of Works had not commenced any large-scale preservation projects under the Inspectorships of either Lt. Gen. Augustus Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900) or James Fitzgerald.²³² Thus it was left to Charles Peers and Sir Frank Baines to dictate the presentation of monuments and buildings. In his introduction to the 1912 Inspector of Ancient Monuments Report the First Commissioner, Lord Beauchamp, set out the principles that would govern the Departments presentation and repair policy:

*'...to avoid, as far as possible, anything which can be considered in the nature of restoration, to do nothing which could impair the archaeological interest of the Monuments and to confine themselves rigorously to such works as may be necessary to ensure their stability, to accentuate their interest and to perpetuate their existence in the form in which they have come down to us.'*²³³

The philosophy was 'repair as found', which had long been expounded by the SPAB and others, particularly in response to aggressive church restorations of the 19th century. However Saunders has shown that as a Government preservation policy it can be traced back to at least the 1840s.²³⁴ In 1846 Edward Blore and W. Twopenny produced a report for the Commission of Woods and Forests regarding the preservation of Crown buildings.²³⁵ This drew a distinction between restoration and preservation and illustrated that buildings could suffer from injudicious and ill-judged repairs. The same was stated by Philip Hardwick in a report for the Office of Works on the condition of Carisbrooke Castle in 1856:

*'In any repair of an old structure the first object to be gained is to arrest the progress of decay without altering in any way the character or features of the building. The restoration of an ancient fabric...usually ends in its destruction as a work of interest and study.'*²³⁶

It is further matched by Peers himself:

'...treatment must suggest itself within the limits of the maxim that nothing should be added or taken away without absolute cause. An understanding of what has been is

*necessary, but imagination must be kept in bounds and not translated into material: repair and not restoration is the essence of the matter.*²³⁷

Although these principles were the declared aim of the Ancient Monuments Branch the situation would be much less clear-cut when applied to the sites themselves. On a general level preservation and consolidation involved the clearance of vegetation; repositioning loose stonework; repairing and strengthening masonry; grouting, re-pointing and capping walls (Figure 26). However none of this was quite as straight forward as it might seem.



Figure 26: An Office of Works drawing showing the repair problems at Rievaulx Abbey in 1918. Copyright The National Archives. (File WORK 31/1609).

Setting the standard: Tintern Abbey

Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire, Wales, was one of the first major consolidation programmes undertaken and to some extent set the pattern for later work. The abbey, established in 1131, was only the second Cistercian foundation in Britain, and the first in Wales.²³⁸ Tintern was transferred from the Office of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues in spring 1914. It had been purchased by the Crown in 1901 and the Commissioners of Woods had already undertaken a remarkably severe clearance and consolidation programme. This involved the demolition of two cottages, which obscured medieval architectural details; tearing down The Ship Inn public house, which blocked a view of the abbey church from the nearest road; and chopping down the trees around the abbey so that a vista of the west front could be provided for visitors approaching from the railway station.²³⁹

Upon acquisition the Office of Works carried out a thorough survey and detailed assessment of the structural problems. They were critical of the earlier approach adopted by the Woods, which had involved smearing Portland cement across joints or over facework and altogether amounted to a 'wretched apology for repair'.²⁴⁰ A programme of work commenced after the war. Immediately a major structural problem was encountered. The south nave arcade of the roofless abbey was leaning to the north causing an eccentric load on the five clustered columns supporting it.²⁴¹ These were showing signs of incipient failure such as cracked and spoiled stonework. Arthur Heasman, the Ancient Monuments Architect, suggested supporting the overhanging nave wall with four new buttresses of local stone.²⁴² These would harmonise in colour and texture with the surrounding ancient stonework, would be compatible with the Gothic tradition as well as provide the most efficient and permanent structural support. Sir Frank Baines was in agreement. However Charles Peers argued that the buttressing was inadmissible since it was not part of the original scheme and would obscure the evidence of the moulds and shafts, spoiling the simple appearance of the nave wall.²⁴³ Baines was asked to draw up an alternative method. This was complex and involved the erection of a braced steel girder frame placed on the south side of the nave. It would need to be constructed over the entire aisle on the plane of the medieval roof; thus reflecting the form of the original roofline. Both schemes were put before the Ancient Monuments Board on the 26th January 1921. However the architect Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942) made a strong case against the girder scheme and the Board did not come to a unanimous agreement.²⁴⁴ The final decision came to the First Commissioner who admitted that he 'disliked each necessity with equal cordiality' but adopted Baines' proposal as the most effective.²⁴⁵

The Department's interventions did not stop at the above. The nave crossing was strengthened by a system of steel reinforced concrete beams set within the stonework.²⁴⁶ Furthermore concrete grouting was pumped into the wall cavities to strengthen and solidify the building. In 1925 the arcade piers were dismantled and temporary brick piers put in place to support the wall above.²⁴⁷ Steel stanchions were then erected and the masonry of the original piers hollowed out to surround them. Thus the steel structure

was entirely concealed and the temporary supports removed. The approach was later used on the north arcade piers at Furness Abbey.²⁴⁸ Vertical fractures were remedied in a similar way at other sites: Wall cores were removed, rail tracks inserted within a bed of concrete, and two wall faces therefore permanently stitched together.²⁴⁹ This was a form of 'invisible repair' which proved wholly attractive to the Works Department.

There was much public interest in the works at Tintern Abbey. In 1922 both the SPAB and the architect William Forsyth visited the site. The SPAB criticised the design of the carpentry and ironwork used in the new doors, which they considered 'mock antique'.²⁵⁰ The Department agreed with the criticism, admitting it was 'excessive enrichment' and would not be repeated elsewhere.²⁵¹ However the Society also had a more significant observation:

'There remains one consideration which it would not be right entirely to overlook and that is the physical change – it might almost be called a spiritual change...the walls [are]...monolithic...the building is no longer alive with the poise and counter-poise of mediaeval work and the thrust of the arch "which never sleeps". Everything is now fixed, solid and secure, a medieval ruin frozen, as if by cold storage, into perpetuity.

This however is not a criticism, but a distinction to be remembered – it is the price we pay to enable us to hand on such relics to posterity'.²⁵²

William Forsyth, who was also a member of the SPAB, was more disparaging in a letter published in the *Morning Post* in 1925. He had criticised the Department in a paper presented to the RIBA many years earlier when he thought there were 'unmistakable signs' that buildings had been receiving 'too much repair'.²⁵³ He could not complain about the grouting of the walls since he had stated himself:

'Grouting adds materially to the weight of a structure. A ton of cement and sand is soon lost in a medieval wall, but its results are wonderful.

Winchester Cathedral has been saved by this method. In a recent conversation with the Dean, he informed me that "it is the safest building in England; it is monolithic."

This was a comment very much of its time. The Office of Works invented a special contraption known as a 'gravity grouter' especially for this purpose (Figure 27). Instead Forsyth's criticisms focused on the use of ferro-concrete beams since he thought the steel would eventually disintegrate. Altogether he considered the level of repair too permanent and far-reaching. For instance the Government had re-pointed nearly the whole abbey. By contrast Forsyth thought a private architect would do the minimum necessary but expect to return in a few years.²⁵⁴ Peers and Baines favoured their methods because they were both inexpensive and long-lasting. According to Baines the rule should be to 'spend as little as possible' and 'aim at some finality' so that repeated returns were not necessary.²⁵⁵ Peers stated that no one should need to touch the Department's work at Tintern for another 50 or 100 years.²⁵⁶

Figure 27: The gravity grouting machine being used to repair the walls at Furness Abbey, Cumbria, in the 1920s. Copyright English Heritage.



Figures 28 and 29: The nave of Rievaulx abbey before clearance and today (Ref No. DP027681). © English Heritage Photo Library.



Unearthing the monument: Site clearance at Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys

The clearance of post-dissolution deposits at monastic sites altogether transformed their appearance. It was a major operation sometimes employing systems of light railway and turntables.²⁵⁷ Site clearance was carried out over several years at **Rievaulx**, beginning in 1919.²⁵⁸ Baines highlighted the metamorphosis in a paper published in 1924. The interior of the nave was beforehand little more than 'a dimpled mound of ruins' (Figures 28 and 29).²⁵⁹ The clearance was organised on a grid system with the division of the area into a series of boxes so that the locations of significant objects could be plotted in three dimensions.²⁶⁰ However despite this the work was not carried out archaeologically and no record was made of the stratigraphy. There was no archaeological supervision since the clearance was carried out by a foreman and team of unskilled workers.²⁶¹ As such it represented a major loss of the post-dissolution history of the site. The archaeological damage this caused was still not appreciated by Edmund Vale two decades later:

*'Clearance and excavation are, in fact, the only harmless forms of restoration, and some of the exposures gained by these means are tantamount to valuable additions in structure.'*²⁶²

The excavations at Rievaulx revealed a huge number of architectural fragments, many of which were reburied on site. However when the nave piers were revealed lying next to their bases, the possibility of reconstruction was discussed.²⁶³ It was not adopted since it would require the insertion of new material, breaking up the authenticity of the original work.

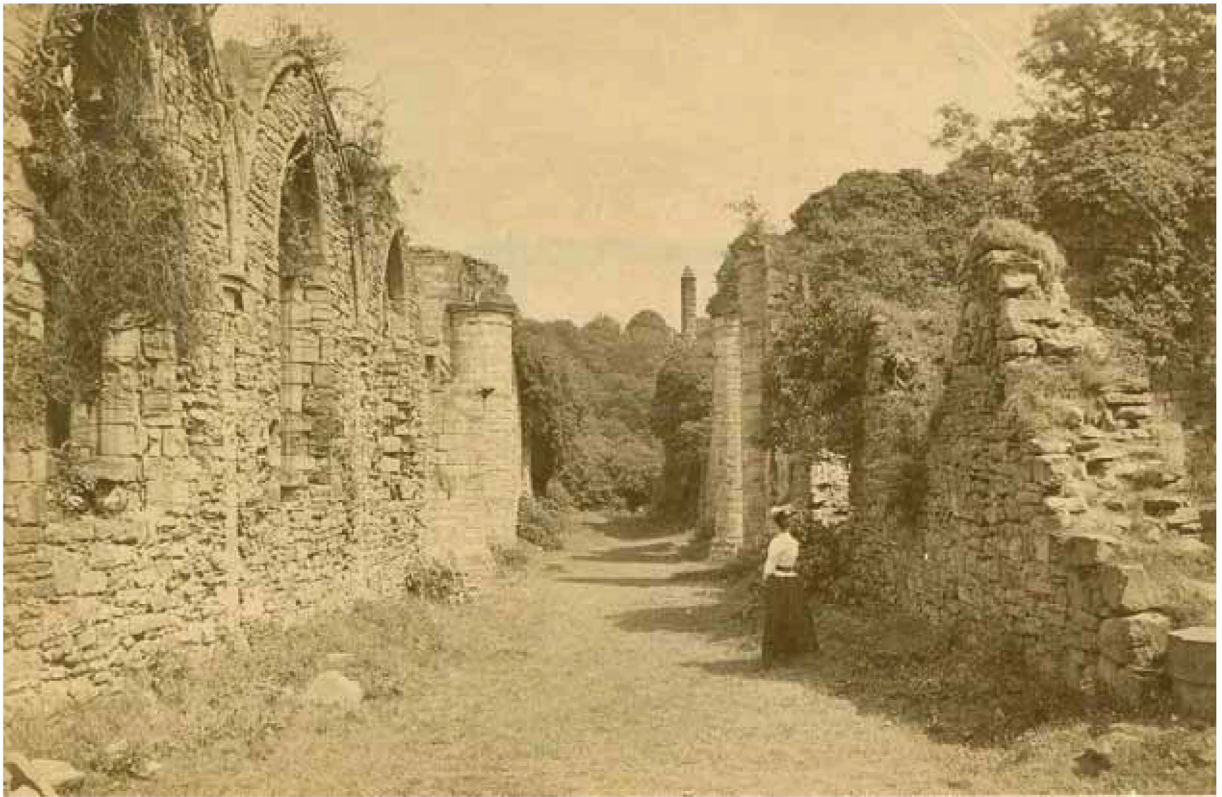
The site clearance at **Byland Abbey** took place in 1921-22 when finances were particularly restricted. For this reason Heasman had suggested that the ground simply be levelled and turfed.²⁶⁴ However Peers insisted such an approach was a waste of time and the full two and a half metres of soil needed to be cleared and removed.²⁶⁵ The results were reported with enthusiasm in an article entitled 'BYLAND ABBEY. SOME WONDERFUL DISCOVERIES. TESSELLATED FLOOR' in *The Yorkshire Herald*.

*'...while the Earl of Carnarvon and his co-workers have been startling the world by unearthing the magnificent relics buried in the tombs of the Pharaohs...relics and architecture of wonderful beauty, if of lesser importance, have been laid bare in one of the ruined Yorkshire abbeys – that of Byland...
...under all the debris was buried a tessellated floor, in a wonderful state of preservation, unique so far as the ruined abbeys of England are concerned, in extent, in exquisiteness of design, as well as the almost miraculous manner in which it has escaped destruction...'*²⁶⁶

Figures 30 and 31:

Top: Finchale Priory in 1906. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/34).

Bottom: The same view today. © English Heritage Photo Library.



Re-presenting the past

Besides site clearance it was the removal of vegetation and the exposure of the original plan forms that had the greatest visual effect at guardianship sites. This was very much the legacy of Peers and Baines. In the first decade of the twentieth century the Office of Works architects and surveyors were more sympathetic to existing vegetation. This is evident in the surveyors report for **Richmond Castle** written in November 1907:

*'The luxuriance of the ivy and other growths is such that it was only with difficulty that a way could be forced through portions of it when examining the tops of the walls, and this needs unsparing pruning (not total destruction)...some of the [Yorkshire Archaeological] Society's suggestions make for restoration, which is not the intention of the Board...to round the tops of the old walls, would be to reduce one of the most picturesque ruins in Yorkshire to a bald, uninteresting antiquarian record of doubtful value.'*²⁶⁷

The **Finchale Priory** (Figures 30-31) guardianship file contains two contrasting architect's reports dating to 1906 and 1915.²⁶⁸ In 1906 the architect admitted that though it was necessary to remove ivy damaging the stonework it added to 'the charm of the ruins' and such actions would cause 'outcry among lovers of the picturesque'. He himself thought that one of the chief values of the site was its 'picturesqueness'. The 1915 report simply stated that all ivy was to be removed. The architect also specified re-pointing in lime-mortar rather than the cement mortar suggested by his predecessor.

In 1923 Sir Lionel Earle described ivy as 'a rank and odious plant', which not even the royal family tolerated at their properties.²⁶⁹ A dramatic description of the damage it might cause was included in 'Notes on repair and preservation' handed out to staff (Appendix 5):

'Ivy is the most active and insidious enemy of old buildings owing to its rapid and persistent growth. Its tendrils penetrate into the smallest crevices, loosening and dislodging stones and often forcing out large areas of facework. Thriving and expanding it causes fractures and enlarges those which already exist, eventually bringing about the general disintegration of masonry.'

Thus nearly all vegetation; trees, shrubs and ivy, were removed from historic fabric with the exception of small plants or lichen.

The 1906 architect's report on Finchale Priory also included an early inquiry into exposing the plan of the site. This appears to be the first time those concerned with ancient monuments at the Office of Works contemplated such a concept:²⁷⁰

'...it is a question whether the Board as guardians of the ruins, and I suppose, an example to private owners should not have the foundations of these buildings, searched for,

exposed if found, and enclosed...as an example of the arrangement of a Benedictine Priory.'

Here were the signs of the later policy adopted at nearly every medieval guardianship site by Peers and Baines. The recovery of the plan (Figure 32) was considered an essential element of presentation:

*'The recovery and demonstration of its plan adds enormous significance to an abandoned building, and though it can never recall it to life it can show to all and sundry what that life has been.'*²⁷¹

The process was vividly described by Vale:

*'The decayed monastery which before treatment is generally the most meaningless jumble regains that orderliness that was, in fact, the keynote and background of the Rule. You can now see the outline of the cloisters and how the church had transepts with apsidal chapels; the cream line running in the green sward gives you back the exact boundary between ground hallowed and profane.'*²⁷²

Not all owners welcomed or appreciated the Department's approach to the presentation of their monuments. This may have been one of the reasons that meant guardianship negotiations concerning Netley Abbey took several years. The owner did not consider that major structural repairs were needed and had even been advised as such by the antiquarian Sir William St John Hope (1854-1919). In response to the Department's calls for work to be done his solicitors replied:

*'Mr Chamberlayne took the advice of Mr St John Hope just before he died as to what should be done to make all as it should be without any patchwork or modernising. Mr Hope said "above all keep up the venerable appearance of the Ruins and don't forget they are Ruins"'*²⁷³

It took several letters from the First Commissioner to convince Chamberlayne that works really were required and thus that the monument needed to be in Government care.

Figure 32: The ground plan of Byland Abbey readily visible in the snow.
© English Heritage Photo Library. Reference Number: NMR 12443/01



Mono-period monuments

The consequences of the Office of Works approach to the exposure of historic fabrics and plan forms was the merciless removal of later additions, usually anything post-medieval in date. This occurred at the abbeys of Tintern, Rievaulx, Netley, Haughmond, and Whitby, among others. At the Roman fort and Norman castle of Porchester (Figures 33-35), the Department even felt the need to remove the Victorian bandstand that had long provided a usefully local amenity.²⁷⁴ The preference was to reveal castles and monastic sites at their medieval zenith. This was heavily criticised by Edmund Vale in 1941:

'...there is a tendency to arrange matters, giving preferential treatment to one historical period above another. Thus, the very charming little cottage that for nearly two centuries had been dovetailed into the corner of the ruins of Haughmond Abbey has been completely destroyed...the archaeologist of the future will think himself cheated of a period piece that he would have valued as much as the pure monastic work. Surely one of the best excuses for spending public money on the preservation of an ancient monument is that it should demonstrate the passage of history. In order to do that you cannot eliminate the freaks of evolution. They must be as sedulously preserved as the rest.'

There was little realisation of the historical value of the landscape around ecclesiastical sites, even where these features were medieval. For instance the opportunity to take the abbey fishponds at Netley into guardianship was declined. Paul Baillie Reynolds commented that their inclusion, even as a gift, would 'not improve the site to a very great extent', although he admitted it would be 'a pity' if modern villas were built on the land.²⁷⁵ Thus the guardianship area was usually drawn closely around the footings of the main standing structures.²⁷⁶

The exception to the rule was medieval castles. Here the surrounding landscape was taken seriously. Moats and dry ditches were recreated with gusto, utilising unskilled labour available through unemployment relief programmes. The clearing and re-flooding of the moat at Beaumaris, Wales, was described as returning a magic that had long been absent.²⁷⁷ Charles Peers' successor, Bushe-Fox went so far as to propose re-flooding the Great Lake surrounding Kenilworth Castle:²⁷⁸

*'...we should certainly endeavour to re-establish the lake so as to give the Castle its proper medieval setting. The dam is, I believe, still in existence, as is, I presume, the stream that fed the lake...It would be a most wonderful addition to the castle making it one of the most attractive monuments in the country. Revenue might also be obtained from it by letting out boats!'*²⁷⁹

The re-creation of the Great Lake would require the loss of over 100 acres of fertile farmland. Unsurprisingly the owner, Sir John Siddeley, considered it altogether out of the question.²⁸⁰

Figure 33: The south wall of the north east tower at Portchester in the early 1920s. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/414).



Figure 34: The Great Hall, Solar and Chapel at Portchester in the early 1920s prior to guardianship. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/414).



Figure 35: The Great Hall, Solar and Chapel, Portchester today.
© English Heritage Photo Library.



'Destroying the Picturesque': Public criticism

The Government approach to monument presentation received criticism from amenity societies and academics. At a dinner held at the RIBA on 15th December 1913 Charles Peers had spent the whole meal in debate with Thackeray Turner (1853-1937) of the SPAB. He admitted that they had begun the dinner by holding separate views and finished it 'by holding them more strongly still'.²⁸¹ Turner argued that the Office of Works approach to monuments was not always honest. He suggested that decayed medieval stonework should be repaired in a way that made clear modern intervention in the historic fabric.²⁸² Therefore tiles might be used instead of stone.²⁸³ Peers thought it was important to retain a harmonious outward appearance. Therefore historic structures should be free from obvious signs of modern intervention. He argued that the SPAB methodology would 'find London a city of stone and leave it a city of tiles and cement'.

The most serious consequence of the Office of Works preservation approach was the wholesale cleansing of the existing appearance of medieval monuments. This came about due to the desire to prolong the lifespan of the historic structures by removing vegetation and carrying out substantial consolidation. There was a concept that monuments were either 'dead' or 'living' and that this should dictate the preservation approach:

*'There is a great distinction between buildings which are still occupied and buildings which are ruins. Buildings which are in use are still adding to their history; they are alive. Buildings which are in ruin are dead; their history is ended. There is all the difference in the world in their treatment. When a building is a ruin, you must do your best to preserve all that is left of it by every means in your power – by pointing, and grouting...When, however, you come to a building which is being used as a dwelling-house, or a church, or whatever it is you have a different set of problems. You have to perpetuate it as a living building, one adapted to the use of the present generation...'*²⁸⁴

The consequences of the Government approach to 'dead' monuments that came within its care was the complete loss of the picturesque. In 1924 the SPAB pooled its members for their views on the work of the Ancient Monuments Branch. Albert Powys, the Secretary of SPAB, concluded:

*'If we may sum up the criticisms we should say that there was a slight feeling that in aiming at substantial preservation the Department sometimes loses the point of view taken by the artist and painter'*²⁸⁵

This compared lightly to the views of Professor C.R. Marshall. He provided a lecture to the Scottish Ecclesiological Society on English Cistercian Abbeys in January 1930. The Professor's observations were summarised in an article in the Aberdeen Press and Journal entitled 'DESTROYING THE PICTURESQUE. Drastic Treatment of Board of Works':

'...[Professor Marshall] said the Board of Works had been rather too drastic in its renovation treatment of the Abbeys when the Board took them over. In the re-pointing, and removal of practically all vegetation, they had spoiled the picturesqueness of the Abbeys. Repair was very desirable, but it had been carried out in too uniform a manner....

They had an absolute uniform system of pointing the walls which destroyed entirely the subtle distinctions in masonry which was so valuable....

He ventured to suggest that the artistic aspect of these old ruins had just as legitimate a right to be conserved for the enjoyment of the future as the architectural value, and Professor Marshall had done good service in drawing attention to the over drastic and almost savage treatment of these monuments.²⁸⁶

The article appears in an Office of Works file with a comment next to it by the Assistant Secretary, M. Connolly, stating 'this is a very severe criticism of our work'. Subsequently the Ancient Monuments Architect drew up an internal memorandum, 'Ancient Monuments: General Methods of repair', evaluating preservation works at guardianship sites (Appendix 6).²⁸⁷ This essentially focused on the Department's methods of consolidating masonry. Heasman stated that before the First World War the same method of pointing was adopted for all monuments in Great Britain. This gave a uniform and mechanical appearance. After the war, beginning at Richborough Castle in 1920-21, there was an effort to retain original mortar wherever possible and then to harmonise new pointing with the texture, colour and physical properties of the old. In terms of the removal of vegetation he concluded that this was unavoidable but that small harmless plants, such as ferns, mosses and toadflax were retained on ancient monuments. Charles Peers thought such a laboured defence was not necessary since the Department's work spoke for itself:

'Secretary

I submit that this matter is being taken too seriously. That a lack of comprehension of our methods is not confined to darkest Scotland the preceding minutes prove.

Professor Marshall appears to belong to the type of Scotsman who at a mature age discovers the adjacent county of England & cannot resist describing his surprise to his compatriots – Dr Simpson I know, & attach no importance to his opinion.

In the circs I do not think that the somewhat laboured defence put forward in the technical staff's minutes would produce a satisfactory effect.'

Lionel Earle, the Permanent Secretary, agreed. He conceded that the old techniques had brought 'a good deal of criticism from the anti-scrape etc' and that the First Commissioner, Lord Crawford 'was not quite happy'. However this was all in the past; the Department now received nothing but praise for its work. The Assistant Secretary, Frederick Raby, was less convinced. He considered that Peers' response was not helpful since it did not aid the Department to take the line that it was 'above criticism'. Given that the Ancient Monuments Branch depended a good deal on its public reputation he

thought it only right to properly appraise and consider its own methods in the light of criticism.

Professor Marshall's views were certainly not universal. An article in the *Yorkshire Post* in February 1926 actually called out for Government intervention at Easby Abbey (Figure 36). It stated that the 'neat and ordered lawns' of other abbeys in Yorkshire contrasted 'painfully' with the neglected state of Easby, which was little more than a cattle shelter.²⁸⁸ A letter from Field Marshall The Lord Birdwood to Sir Patrick Duff in 1938 relayed a message to keep up the Department's good work.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless by 1941 Edmund Vale was mourning the death of the 'progressive ruin' where decay could still be seen:

'The progressive ruin is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. Stonehenge is bedded in concrete and Tintern Abbey has its pillars rebuilt around steel cores. But a few are still to be seen, such as the castles of Okehampton and Llanstephan, Wenlock and Lilleshall Abbeys. And a few are in a transitional stage wherein decay has been partially arrested without the tidying-up standard having been imposed, such as Conway Castle and Fountains Abbey. All these buildings are now worth visiting, not only because they are ruins but because they are real ruins of the old style'²⁹⁰

The progressive ruin had largely been supplanted by the 'static ruin' where the 'vivid presentment of the ravage of time' had been lost. This was a well groomed and ordered site; the type of site that could now be experienced across the country from Restormel to Rievaulx. Forsyth had predicted such an outcome nearly three decades earlier when he warned of the consequences of an official system of repair.²⁹¹ However the Office of approach was by now almost omnipresent:

'It is chiefly in lay-out that the interesting cleavage between the ways of the Office of Works and the National Trust is most observable. The Department is characteristically Governmental in the uniformity that it imposes on its scheme of maintenance. Whereas every ruin ought to have its special local character cherished if not exaggerated, the Department serves out to all the same type of bridge, of shed, of notice-board, of fencing. Nothing is left to chance from the first click of the turnstile to the last click of the lawn-mower so that you often have an embarrassing misgiving that romanticism has been not only been preserved but sterilised, and its forlornness forcibly debunked by over-lawnliness.'²⁹²

Figure 36: The interior of the Guest's Solar looking North at Easby Abbey in 1921 prior to consolidation. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/676).



Ancient Monuments after Peers

Following the retirement of Sir Charles Peers there was a reaction to some aspects of the earlier approach. Almost immediately the First Commissioner, William Ormsby-Gore (1885-1964), requested that some reconstruction take place at Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys:

*'At Rievaulx particularly, I think the "purism" of the Department in not re-erecting any stones that have been found detached has been carried to excess. Personally I would like to see at any rate one small bit of the great cloister arcade re-erected. There are dozens of columns, capitals, and arch mouldings lying outside the hut museum, and the re-erection of one bay, as has been done in the infirmary cloister, would enable the visitor to see how the typical Cistercian cloister was constructed. At Byland it might be possible to replace in the transept or choir at any rate a bit of the fine thirteenth century arcading, so much of which lies in the overcrowded museum.'*²⁹³

This would have been anathema to Peers. It is all the more significant that it was sanctioned at Rievaulx. The First Commissioner considered this far and away the most important monastic ruin in guardianship and of international significance.²⁹⁴ Following the reconstruction of a bay of the cloister in December 1933, Ormsby-Gore visited the following year. He was so delighted with the results he sanctioned the construction of another bay on the west side. In the same visit he observed the 'neat and unobtrusive' white metal tablet stating simply 'reconstruction' on the cloister arcade, and requested that similar labelling be placed elsewhere.²⁹⁵ This was the beginnings of the laconic, and sometimes esoteric, labels that appeared across guardianship sites, such as those still present at Housesteads Roman fort.²⁹⁶ Not everyone agreed with the new changes. Lady D'Abernon, the owner of Rievaulx, wrote in a letter to Ormsby-Gore in September 1934:

*'I admire & appreciate the greater part of what the Office of Works have done. But being something of an antiquary I venture to think that in liberal "Reconstruction" lies danger. One has an example of this in the Imperial Rome of today.'*²⁹⁷

Charles Peers felt assured of his own legacy. In the year of his retirement he proudly spoke of the work carried out under his watch:

'...the cumulative effect of a great ruined church and cloister, still retaining a goodly measure of its architectural beauty, and set reverently in a simple setting of grass lawns, can hardly fail of its appeal...'

*...[these monuments] may now become objects of pilgrimage to the traveller in Britain... and as years go on their number will increase and still further justify those who just fifty years ago first set legislation for the protection of ancient monuments in the Statute Book.'*²⁹⁸

ENDNOTES

- ¹ 'Ancient monuments and historic buildings: Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending 31st March 1913. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty'. London: HMSO. Contained in TNA WORK 14/2470 C442196.
- ² Office of Works 1936, 2.
- ³ Ibid, 97.
- ⁴ Thompson 1981, 58.
- ⁵ Emerick 2003, 97.
- ⁶ Gilmour, 2004.
- ⁷ Edwardes 1965, 21.
- ⁸ Lord Curzon speaking in Parliament on 30th April 1912. Cited in Thompson 2006, 57.
- ⁹ Emerick 2003, 100.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, 103.
- ¹¹ Several boxes of documents on the 1913 Act are held by the Society of Antiquaries (Archive No. 946/3/1-4). These documents were created by Dr William Martin, FSA, Barrister (d.1929), and contain correspondence, press-cuttings & Parliamentary papers. The papers were not consulted during the writing of this research report because they were only discovered after, following personal communication from Ian Leath (English Heritage Archive Acquisition and Liason Officer).
- ¹² Vale 1941, 4.
- ¹³ Section 22 of the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act 1913 [3 & 4 Geo. Ch. 32].
- ¹⁴ Section 3 Subsection 2.
- ¹⁵ Section 22.
- ¹⁶ Section 6 Subsection 1.
- ¹⁷ Section 6 Subsection 2.

- ¹⁸ Section 7 Subsection 1.
- ¹⁹ Section 6 Subsection 4.
- ²⁰ Section 12 Subsection 1.
- ²¹ Section 12 Subsection 2.
- ²² Section 14 Subsection 1.
- ²³ Section 17.
- ²⁴ Section 1 Subsection 2, Section 3 Subsection 2 and Section 11.
- ²⁵ Section 19.
- ²⁶ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 10th June 1914.
- ²⁷ The Ancient Monuments Board members agreed on the 29th June 1926 to receive lists of monuments to be scheduled by post.
- ²⁸ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 1st June 1922.
- ²⁹ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 1st May 1914.
- ³⁰ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 10th June 1914.
- ³¹ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 23rd May 1919.
- ³² Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 1st June 1923.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 13th March 1924.
- ³⁵ Scheduled Ancient Monument Record No.1011650 on The National Heritage List for England: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/>
- ³⁶ TNA file WORK 14/45
- ³⁷ Letter from Leveson-Gower, the Commissioner of Woods and Forests, to the Treasury dated 21st August 1913. TNA WORK 14/45
- ³⁸ The transfer took place on the 28th September 1913. TNA WORK 14/45
- ³⁹ Internal memorandum dated 25th January 1932. TNA WORK 14/45

- ⁴⁰ Guardianship file AA60104/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/92
- ⁴¹ Internal memorandum 'Yarmouth Castle – Isle of Wight', dated 22nd July 1904. TNA WORK 14/92.
- ⁴² Letter 5291/7 from Captain J. F. Laycock to Nottinghamshire County Council dated 22nd May 1912. TNA WORK 14/92.
- ⁴³ The list, if there was one, does not survive; it may merely have been the subject of a verbal agreement discussed by senior staff at the Office of Works in 1912.
- ⁴⁴ Works report on Mattersey Priory following a visit on 10th July 1912. TNA WORK 14/92.
- ⁴⁵ Internal memorandum dated 13th September 1912. TNA WORK 14/92.
- ⁴⁶ Letter No. 5291 dated 9th June 1913. TNA WORK 14/92.
- ⁴⁷ Letter from A J Mason Master of Pembroke College to the First Commissioner, 14th March 1912. Contained in Guardianship file AA46227/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/35.
- ⁴⁸ Undated Works Report written by Sir Frank Baines. TNA WORK 14/35.
- ⁴⁹ Inspector of Ancient Monuments Report dated 28th March 1913. TNA WORK 14/35.
- ⁵⁰ Guardianship file AA10945/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/411.
- ⁵¹ Scheduled Ancient Monument Record No.1010690 on The National Heritage List for England: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/>
- ⁵² For example Furness Railway Company maintained and employed a custodian at Furness Abbey (See Guardianship file AA100602/3 – TNA WORK 14/1424).
- ⁵³ Letter No.22179 from the Secretary to the Local Government Board, 20th May 1912. TNA WORK 14/411
- ⁵⁴ Letter from the Secretary to Penrith District Council dated 17th December 1912. TNA WORK 14/411
- ⁵⁵ Comment by the Office of Works solicitor dated 14th November 1932. TNA WORK 14/411
- ⁵⁶ Internal Memorandum 'Langley Chapel, Acton Burnell, Shropshire. Offered to Board under the Acts'. Written by Charles Peers on 12th February 1913. Contained in Guardianship file AA790059/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/43.

- ⁵⁷ Letter dated 20th June 1913. TNA WORK 14/43.
- ⁵⁸ Office of Works file AA50720/2 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/203
- ⁵⁹ Barber, 2004.
- ⁶⁰ Emerick 2003, 114.
- ⁶¹ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 1st May 1914.
- ⁶² Memorandum: Ancient Monuments Act, 1913. Effect of rejection of Preservation Order by House of Lords Committee. Dated 26th May 1914. Office of Works file AA50720/2 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/203
- ⁶³ As above.
- ⁶⁴ Emerick 2003, 115.
- ⁶⁵ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 10th June 1914.
- ⁶⁶ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 24th March 1915.
- ⁶⁷ Guardianship file AA96230/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/594. The owner was sent a letter warning that a Preservation Order would be issued on 6th July 1925. By 16th November 1925 the Deed of Guardianship was signed and deposited in the Deed Register.
- ⁶⁸ Guardianship file AA66310/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1242. Draft memorandum to the Cabinet entitled 'Preservation of Netley Abbey'. Undated but written by the First Commissioner in June 1922.
- ⁶⁹ English Heritage. *History and Research: Lexden Earthworks and Bluebottle Grove*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/lexden-earthworks-and-bluebottle-grove/history-and-research/>
- ⁷⁰ Office of Works file AA40546/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/680. Letter from H.G. Papillon to the Department dated 29th December 1923.
- ⁷¹ An early example of a Government sanctioned 'rescue excavation', which appears to have been carried out in 1923 or the first two months of 1924.
- ⁷² Note by Charles Peers to the Secretary dated 1st January 1924. TNA WORK 14/680.
- ⁷³ Petition submitted to the House of Commons on 19th February 1925. TNA WORK 14/680.

⁷⁴ Estimates of the numbers of casualties of the First World War vary considerably. Nicholson estimates 703,000 British soldiers died and 1,663,000 were injured, accounting for about 44% of those mobilised (2001, 248).

⁷⁵ Wheeler 1955, 66.

⁷⁶ Stonehenge file AA71786/23B PT1 – TNA WORK 14/214.

⁷⁷ TNA WORK 14/214.

⁷⁸ Letter from Sir Lionel Earle to E.H. Coles dated 11th June 1917. TNA WORK 14/214.

⁷⁹ Duffy 2009

⁸⁰ Kenwood House was in private ownership at this time. It was vested in the London County Council in 1924 before English Heritage became the administrative trustees in 1986 (Summerson 19--, 12).

⁸¹ Bryant 1990, 68

⁸² Letter from Reginald Smith to Charles Peers dated 17th January 1917. Contained in Guardianship file AA46206/3 – TNA WORK 14/692. See Volume Five for the guardianship story of Grime's Graves.

⁸³ According to a letter from the First Commissioner, Sir Alfred Mond, to Lord Eversley, dated 24th October 1918. Contained in the Stonehenge Guardianship file AA71786/3F PT1.

⁸⁴ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes 8th July 1914.

⁸⁵ Letter from Charles Peers to H.G.W. D'Almaine dated 20th November 1917. Contained in Guardianship file AA16284/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/542.

⁸⁶ Letter from H.G.W. D'Almaine to Charles Peers dated 14th November 1917. TNA WORK 14/542.

⁸⁷ Letter No. 10646. From the Assistant Secretary to Colonel R.G.W. Chaloner dated 16th December 1915. Contained in Guardianship file AA16269/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/318.

⁸⁸ Guardianship file AA71216/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/547.

⁸⁹ Nunney Castle was the subject of long negotiations with the owner after the war. It was rapidly falling into decay and a Preservation Order was drawn up before the Deed was actually signed on 22nd May 1926. Brough Castle was transferred in 1919.

- ⁹⁰ Guardianship file AA90541/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/377.
- ⁹¹ Guardianship file AA30781/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/431.
- ⁹² Guardianship file AA76271/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/312.
- ⁹³ Guardianship file AA26267/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/130.
- ⁹⁴ Guardianship file AA71339/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1562.
- ⁹⁵ Guardianship file AA10030/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/34.
- ⁹⁶ Scheduled Ancient Monument Record No.1007561 on The National Heritage List for England: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/>
- ⁹⁷ English Heritage. 'History and Research: Rievaulx Abbey' <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/rievaulx-abbey/history-and-research/> (accessed 1 July 2012).
- ⁹⁸ Emerick 2003, 127
- ⁹⁹ Memorandum entitled 'Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire. Offer of Guardianship.' Dated 2nd May 1917. Contained in Guardianship file AA16260/3A PT1 – TNA WORK 14/786.
- ¹⁰⁰ Lionel Earle was knighted in 1916.
- ¹⁰¹ Guardianship file AA16260/3A PT1 – TNA WORK 14/786.
- ¹⁰² A new Deed of Guardianship, cancelling the old one, was drawn up on 13th May 1921, after additional land was added to the guardianship area.
- ¹⁰³ Emerick 2003, 127.
- ¹⁰⁴ Office of Works file AA70838/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1399.
- ¹⁰⁵ Letter dated 17th October 1936 contained in TNA WORK 14/1399.
- ¹⁰⁶ Letter to the First Commissioner from the Committee of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society dated 21st November 1936. TNA WORK 14/1399.
- ¹⁰⁷ The Deed of Gift was completed on the 4th July 1939.
- ¹⁰⁸ Letter to the Office of Works dated 26th September 1919. Contained in Guardianship file AA10101/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/544.

- ¹⁰⁹ Letter from the trustees of the estate dated 5th November 1919. TNA WORK 14/544.
- ¹¹⁰ Whitby Abbey Works File AA10101/2C PT1 – TNA WORK 14/882.
- ¹¹¹ Guardianship file AA16228/3 PT2.
- ¹¹² Emerick 2003, 146.
- ¹¹³ Guardianship file AA71216/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/547.
- ¹¹⁴ Memorandum dated 22nd November 1912. TNA WORK 14/547.
- ¹¹⁵ Lionel Earle's comment is surprising. The castle walls survive to an impressive height with many original architectural features and it is located in a dramatic setting overlooking the River Eamont.
- ¹¹⁶ Note to the First Commissioner dated 22nd May 1919. Contained in Guardianship file AA105692/3 – TNA WORK 14/1520.
- ¹¹⁷ Taken into care on 23rd July 1929.
- ¹¹⁸ Note dated 17th December 1928 contained in Guardianship file AA40055/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1035.
- ¹¹⁹ Kowalsky 2007, 567.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid, 569.
- ¹²¹ Extrapolated from figures contained in Kowalsky 2007: 575. There is no figure for 1931 so that year is not included.
- ¹²² Greenaway 2004.
- ¹²³ May 2004.
- ¹²⁴ Robinson 2004.
- ¹²⁵ TNA Treasury File T218/311. The 1931 figure is not counted here as it was probably agreed before Ormsby-Gore took up post and it was also artificially high (£58,705) as part of a scheme to ease unemployment through 'national works'.
- ¹²⁶ Norman 2004.
- ¹²⁷ Black 2007.

- ¹²⁸ Although he had been employed in more junior roles at the Office of Works since 1911.
- ¹²⁹ Black 2007.
- ¹³⁰ Charles Peers was knighted in 1931, two years before his retirement from the Ancient Monuments Branch.
- ¹³¹ The credentials of both are outlined in Volume Two of this series.
- ¹³² Wheeler 1955, 100.
- ¹³³ According to a report dated 25th November 1935 in the TNA Treasury file AS 129/01.
- ¹³⁴ Champion 1996, 47.
- ¹³⁵ Letter from Delme Radcliffe dated 7th February 1915 contained in Guardianship file AA61038/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1153.
- ¹³⁶ Note from Charles Peers to the Assistant Secretary dated 16th February 1915.
- ¹³⁷ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 25th March 1915.
- ¹³⁸ Memorandum entitled 'Amendment of Act, 1913'. Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 28th January 1919.
- ¹³⁹ Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee. 1921. London: HMSO. TNA WORK 14/2470 c442196.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁴¹ In 1999 the Royal Fine Art Commission became the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE). In 2010 CABE merged with The Design Council to become 'Design Council CABE'.
- ¹⁴² The National Archives *Catalogue Information on WORKS Files* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk> (accessed 5 June 2012).
- ¹⁴³ Under section 12 of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act the notification letter of intention to schedule a monument by including it in a list required the owner to forthwith give notice to demolish, remove, structurally alter or add to the monument. In effect the receipt of this letter by the owner meant the monument became a scheduled ancient monument protected by law.

- ¹⁴⁴ Treasury Report on the Workings of the Ancient Monuments Branch dated 25th November 1935. Contained in TNA Treasury file T218/311.
- ¹⁴⁵ By 1st June 1922 it is recorded that county organisations were drawing up lists to be sent to the Office of Works for consideration.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 1st April 1913.
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁸ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 10th June 1914.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 24th March 1915.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 28th January 1919.
- ¹⁵¹ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 23rd May 1919.
- ¹⁵² Treasury Report on the Workings of the Ancient Monuments Branch dated 25th November 1935. Contained in TNA Treasury file T218/311.
- ¹⁵³ Memorandum: Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire. Condition. 7th July 1915. Contained in Guardianship file AA96230/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/594.
- ¹⁵⁴ Letter from Captain Moseley to the Office of Works dated 26th February 1920. TNA WORK 14/594.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ancient Monuments Board minutes 23rd May 1919.
- ¹⁵⁶ Letter from Tankerville Chamberlayne to the Office of Works, 2nd October 1919. Contained in AA66310/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1241.
- ¹⁵⁷ Report on Netley Abbey dated 12th January 1920. TNA WORK 14/1241.
- ¹⁵⁸ Letter from Chamberlayne to Lord Crawford dated 9th April 1921. TNA WORK 14/1241.
- ¹⁵⁹ Reply dated 13th April 1921. TNA WORK 14/1241.
- ¹⁶⁰ Guardianship file AA20151/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/455.
- ¹⁶¹ Guardianship file AA10131/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1204.
- ¹⁶² Guardianship file AA16284/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/542.
- ¹⁶³ Letter dated 14th November 1917 in TNA WORK 14/542.

- ¹⁶⁴ Letter from Charles Peers to H.G.W D'Almaine dated 20th November 1917. TNA WORK 14/542.
- ¹⁶⁵ Guardianship file AA71803/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/579.
- ¹⁶⁶ Details of these meetings are contained in the Guardianship file for Furness Abbey (AA100602/3 – TNA WORK 14/1424) and Norham Castle (AA10928/3A PT1 – TNA WORK 14/394).
- ¹⁶⁷ Taken into guardianship from Lord Ilchester on 4th July 1922. Guardianship file AA60502/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/496.
- ¹⁶⁸ Guardianship file AA10928/3A PT1 – TNA WORK 14/394.
- ¹⁶⁹ Letter from Charles Romanes to Sir Frank Baines dated 11th November 1921. TNA WORK 14/394.
- ¹⁷⁰ Letter from Lord Crawford to Romanes dated 7th March 1922. TNA WORK 14/394.
- ¹⁷¹ As noted by John Gotch in 'The Growth of the English House' published in 1909. An extract from the book appears in the Guardianship file: AA16284/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/542.
- ¹⁷² Scheduled Ancient Monument Record No.1011649 on The National Heritage List for England: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/>
- ¹⁷³ Report entitled 'Warkworth Castle: Appointment of Caretaker' and dated 14th August 1922. Contained in TNA WORK 14/542.
- ¹⁷⁴ Note from Peers to the Secretary dated 9th November 1928. Contained in Guardianship file AA10741/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/293.
- ¹⁷⁵ English Heritage. History and Research: Spofforth Castle <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/spofforth-castle/history-and-research/> (accessed 1 July 2012).
- ¹⁷⁶ Letter from Lt. Col. Kitson Clark dated 24th March 1920. Contained in AA20141/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/494.
- ¹⁷⁷ Letter to Charles Peers from E.W.G. Crossley of Yorkshire Archaeological Society dated 13th January 1912. TNA WORK 14/494.
- ¹⁷⁸ Guardianship file AA71737/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/605. The Ancient Monuments Branch received a letter from the owner's agent on 11th July 1928 and the Deed of Gift was completed on 2nd May 1930. Since it was a gift rather than a guardianship agreement it required Treasury approval.

- ¹⁷⁹ Guardianship file AA100602/3 – TNA WORK 14/1424.
- ¹⁸⁰ Architects Report on Furness Abbey written by Arthur Heasman after a visit to the abbey on the 21st February 1920. TNA WORK 14/1424.
- ¹⁸¹ Letter to Messrs. Currey & Co. dated 24th April 1920. TNA WORK 14/1424.
- ¹⁸² Memorandum: Furness Abbess. 27th October 1922. TNA WORK 14/1424.
- ¹⁸³ Letter from M.F. Headlam of the Treasury dated 30th November 1922. TNA WORK 14/1424.
- ¹⁸⁴ Guardianship file AA40054/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/240.
- ¹⁸⁵ Internal Memorandum dated 3rd May 1935. TNA WORK 14/240.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁷ Letter from Sir Patrick Duff to Admiral Sir Lionel Halsey, 17th May 1935. TNA WORK 14/240.
- ¹⁸⁸ Newspaper clipping entitled 'Preserving Castle Ruins', June 1935. TNA WORK 14/240.
- ¹⁸⁹ Guardianship file AA76275/3A PT1 – TNA WORK 14/454.
- ¹⁹⁰ Report on Restormel Castle contained in TNA WORK 14/454.
- ¹⁹¹ Note from Peers to the Secretary dated 21st November 1921. TNA WORK 14/454.
- ¹⁹² Note from Sir Lionel Pears to the First Commissioner, 29th January 1924. TNA WORK 14/454.
- ¹⁹³ As recorded in a letter from Herbert Mitchell, 30th July 1924. Contained in Peveril Castle Guardianship file AA30515/3 – TNA WORK 14/1110.
- ¹⁹⁴ Guardianship file AA16283/3 PT1.
- ¹⁹⁵ They initially agreed to provide £50 a year for five years towards Pickering. Several years later during the transfer of Tintagel the Duchy of Cornwall made no contribution except to maintain the footpaths.
- ¹⁹⁶ Tintagel Castle was transferred 28th January 1931, Peveril Castle on 25th February 1932 and Lydford on 16th March 1934.
- ¹⁹⁷ Guardianship file AA76285/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/859.

- ¹⁹⁸ Office of Works file AA41083/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1377.
- ¹⁹⁹ Guardianship file AA10031/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/328 and Works file AA10031/2 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1071.
- ²⁰⁰ Pevensey was gifted to the Nation by the Duke of Devonshire on 7th October 1925. Portchester was taken into care on 23rd June 1926.
- ²⁰¹ Guardianship file AA66264/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/414.
- ²⁰² As stated in an Internal Memorandum in Helmsley Castle Works file AA10031/2 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1071.
- ²⁰³ Goodrich Castle Works file AA96239/2 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1062. Goodrich was taken into guardianship in 1920.
- ²⁰⁴ TNA WORK 14/1062.
- ²⁰⁵ Guardianship file AA71429/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/741.
- ²⁰⁶ Letter from the Chairman John Cameron to Sir Patrick Duff dated 24th June 1936. Contained in TNA WORK 14/741.
- ²⁰⁷ Letter from the SPAB to the Office of Works dated 3rd August 1926. Contained in Guardianship file AA40590/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/578.
- ²⁰⁸ According to an internal memorandum written by the Assistant Secretary M. Connolly contained in the Guardianship file for Middleham Castle AA16278/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/386.
- ²⁰⁹ Scheduled Ancient Monument Record No. 1014421 on The National Heritage List for England: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/>
- ²¹⁰ Guardianship file AA36276/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1082.
- ²¹¹ Note by the Secretary dated 9th February 1929 contained in TNA WORK 14/1082.
- ²¹² The Deed of Guardianship was signed on 16th July 1926.
- ²¹³ Letter from Lionel Earle to the owners land agents dated 13th July 1925. Contained in AA16278/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/386.
- ²¹⁴ Lanercost Priory was taken into Guardianship on the 5th September 1930 whilst the Landport Gate was transferred from the War Office on 28th July 1930.

- ²¹⁵ Minute sheet dated 28th February 1929 contained in AA36276/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1082.
- ²¹⁶ Contained in Office of Works file AM6/1 - TNA WORK 14/2469.
- ²¹⁷ Of those sites not on the original Schedule attached to the 1882 Act.
- ²¹⁸ Peers 1933, 436.
- ²¹⁹ Note by the Assistant Secretary dated 4th November 1937. Contained in Guardianship file AA090813/3 PT1.
- ²²⁰ Note from Bushe-Fox to Raby dated 15th December 1937. AA090813/3 PT1.
- ²²¹ Note from Sir Patrick Duff to the First Commissioner, dated 6th July 1938. AA090813/3 PT1.
- ²²² Scheduled Ancient Monument Record No.1019390 on The National Heritage List for England: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/> .The fascinating site of the Tor is thought to have been occupied in the early medieval period, followed by a monastic settlement from at least the 10th century and then a medieval pilgrimage centre for the cult of St Michael. The original stone church of St Michael's has extant foundations believed to date from the 12th century but the lower parts of the tower structure date to the first half of the 14th century. It was restored in 1804.
- ²²³ Office of Works file AA71184/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/325.
- ²²⁴ Letter from Raby to S.H. Hamer Secretary of The National Trust, 24th July 1933. TNA WORK 14/325.
- ²²⁵ Letter from Messrs. Gould & Swayne to the Office of Works, 24th November 1933. TNA WORK 14/325.
- ²²⁶ Note by the Assistant Secretary dated 18th August 1939. Contained in Office of Works file AA40999/3 PT1 – TNA WORKS 14/854.
- ²²⁷ Letter from Charles Bradshaw & Waterson to Sir Warren Fisher of the Treasury, 14th February 1936. Contained in Office of Works file AA60512/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/700.
- ²²⁸ Letter from Raby to Messrs Bradshaw & Waterson, 14th February 1936. TNA WORK 14/700.
- ²²⁹ Letter from A. Miller to The Treasury dated 14th July 1937. TNA WORK 14/700.
- ²³⁰ Peers 1931, 311.

- ²³¹ The most extensive study of the presentation of guardianship sites has been carried out by the Inspector of Ancient Monuments Keith Emerick (1998 and 2003). His work has informed the following section of this report, which draws upon several of the same sources.
- ²³² James Fitzgerald was Acting Inspector of Ancient Monuments from 1900-1909.
- ²³³ 'Ancient monuments and historic buildings: Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending 31st March 1912. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty'. London: HMSO. Contained in TNA WORK 14/ 2470 C442196.
- ²³⁴ Saunders 1983, 18
- ²³⁵ Contained in TNA WORK 14/131. Cited in Saunders 1983: 18.
- ²³⁶ Contained in TNA WORK 14/13. Cited in Saunders 1983: 18.
- ²³⁷ Peers 1931, 312.
- ²³⁸ Cadw 2011 *Tintern Abbey* <http://cadw.wales.gov.uk/daysout/tinternabbey/?lang=en> (accessed 3 July 2012)
- ²³⁹ Robinson 1997, 43.
- ²⁴⁰ Ibid, 53.
- ²⁴¹ Tintern Abbey Works file AA82074/2 PT4 – TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁴² Technical report written by Arthur Heasman. Contained in TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁴³ Memorandum on Tintern Abbey dated 13th July 1920. TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁴⁴ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 26th January 1921.
- ²⁴⁵ As recorded in a letter from Lionel Earle to Reginald Blomfield dated 10th June 1921. TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁴⁶ The same approach was used at Rievaulx Abbey where a ferro-concrete beam was inserted inside the entire length of the south wall. Works file AA16260/2B PT1 – TNA WORK 14/787.
- ²⁴⁷ Robinson 1997, 48.
- ²⁴⁸ Peers 1931, 316.

- ²⁴⁹ Emerick 1998, 184.
- ²⁵⁰ Letter from A.R. Powys to the First Commissioner, 15th May 1922. TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁵¹ Letter of reply dated 17th May 1922. TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁵² Report of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings contained in the Tintern Abbey Works file AA82074/2 PT4 – TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁵³ Forsyth 1914, 111.
- ²⁵⁴ According to a Clerk of Works report regarding Forsyth's visit on the 19th May 1922. Contained in TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁵⁵ Baines 1924, 104.
- ²⁵⁶ As recorded in the Clerk of Works report. TNA WORK 14/1372.
- ²⁵⁷ Vale 1941, 6.
- ²⁵⁸ Rievaulx Abbey Works file AA16260/2B PT1 – TNA WORK 14/787.
- ²⁵⁹ Baines 1924, 168.
- ²⁶⁰ Emerick 2003, 137.
- ²⁶¹ Ibid, 137.
- ²⁶² Vale 1941, 7.
- ²⁶³ Emerick 2003, 137.
- ²⁶⁴ Memorandum: Bylands Abbey. 24th October 1921. Contained in AA10131/2 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1032.
- ²⁶⁵ Note from Peers to the Secretary dated 31st October 1921. TNA WORK 14/1032.
- ²⁶⁶ The Yorkshire Herald, 31st March 1923. TNA WORK 14/1032.
- ²⁶⁷ Guardianship file AA10342/3 – TNA WORK 14/64.
- ²⁶⁸ Guardianship file AA10030/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/34. These Architect's Reports are dated 6th September 1906 and 16th March 1915.

- ²⁶⁹ Comment on a project at Windsor Castle in 1923. Cited by Alan Cathersides in the English Heritage Seminar Report 'Ivy on Walls', 19th May 2010.
- ²⁷⁰ Finchale Priory was not at this time in guardianship, only up for consideration. After being informed of the terms of guardianship in 1906 the Dean and Chapter decided against it. By 1914 there had been a rethink and they now actively offered the site to the Board of Works. It was taken into care on the 24th January 1916.
- ²⁷¹ Peers 1933, 436.
- ²⁷² Vale 1941, 10.
- ²⁷³ Letter from Messrs. Gunners & Gillson to the Office of Works, 21st February 1920. Guardianship file AA66310/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1242.
- ²⁷⁴ Vale 1941, 12.
- ²⁷⁵ Note by Paul Baillie Reynolds dated 24th February 1937. Contained in AA66310/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1242.
- ²⁷⁶ Key 2004, 11.
- ²⁷⁷ Vale 1941, 6.
- ²⁷⁸ See Report Five in this series for the guardianship story of Kenilworth Castle.
- ²⁷⁹ Letter from Jocelyn Bushe-Fox to Paul Ballie Reynolds, 27th April 1937. Contained in AA90127/3 PT1 – TNA 14/2012.
- ²⁸⁰ Note addressed from Baillie Reynolds to the Secretary, 6th May 1937. Contained in TNA 14/2012.
- ²⁸¹ Peers in Forsyth 1914, 135.
- ²⁸² Ibid, 134.
- ²⁸³ This methodology is particularly clear in repair work undertaken by the architect W D Carøe at Wolvesey Palace, Winchester, according to SPAB principles in the 1920s. Distinctive red tiles were inserted in the corners of walls and the arches of windows and doorways where the stonework had decayed.
- ²⁸⁴ Peers in Forsyth 1914, 135.

- ²⁸⁵ Letter from Albert Powys to Viscount Peel dated 12th December 1924. Contained in the Office of Works file: Ancient Monuments. Criticism of the Departments Methods of Preservation. AA56271/1 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/2284.
- ²⁸⁶ Newspaper article dated 15th January 1930. Contained in TNA WORK 14/2284.
- ²⁸⁷ Internal memorandum dated 30th January 1930. TNA WORK 14/2284.
- ²⁸⁸ Article entitled 'MOST NEGLECTED RUIN IN YORKSHIRE. State of Easby Abbey.' Published in the Yorkshire Post on 26th February 1926. Contained in Easby Abbey Works File AA16270/2C PT1 – TNA WORK 14/676. The Abbey, one of the best preserved examples in Britain of a Premonstratensian monastery, was subsequently taken into guardianship on the 19th March 1930.
- ²⁸⁹ Letter dated 16th October 1938. Contained in AA56271/1 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/2284.
- ²⁹⁰ Vale 1941, 2.
- ²⁹¹ Forsyth 1914, 136.
- ²⁹² Vale 1941, 11.
- ²⁹³ Internal memorandum from the First Commissioner to Sir Patrick Duff, 12th Sept 1933. Contained in Rievaulx Abbey works file AA16260/2B PT1 – TNA WORK 14/787.
- ²⁹⁴ In a letter to Lady D'Abernon on 10th September 1934 Ormsby-Gore wrote: '*Rievaulx is unique, not only in its setting but in the wealth of evidence and remains of the Cistercian Order, not merely in Britain but in Europe. Personally I consider it the most important monastic ruin in the guardianship of the Office of Works.*' TNA WORK 14/787.
- ²⁹⁵ Minute Sheet dated 23rd August 1934 contained in TNA WORK 14/787. Ormsby-Gore visited Rievaulx on the 19th August 1934.
- ²⁹⁶ Key 2004, 16.
- ²⁹⁷ Letter dated 12th September 1934. Contained in TNA WORK 14/787.
- ²⁹⁸ Peers 1933, 436.

SOURCES

Primary Sources

Office of Works files: The National Archives, Kew, and English Heritage Registry, Swindon

Original Number	The National Archives Number	Name
Guardianship / Acquisition files		
AA30836/3 PT1	WORK 14/57	Mattersey Priory
AA60104/3 PT1	WORK 14/92	Yarmouth Castle
AA16246/3 PT1	WORK 14/47	Lindisfarne Priory
AA46227/3 PT1	WORK 14/35	Framlingham Castle
AA10945/3 PT1	WORK 14/411	Penrith Castle
AA790059/3 PT1	WORK 14/43	Langley Chapel
AA90541/3 PT1	WORK 14/377	Mitchell's Fold Stone Circle
AA26267/3 PT1	WORK 14/130	Cliffords Tower
AA30781/3 PT1	WORK 14/431	Eleanor Cross, Geddington
AA76271/3 PT1	WORK 14/312	Farleigh Hungerford
AA71339/3 PT1	WORK 14/1562	Ludgershall Castle
AA10030/3 PT1	WORK 14/34	Finchale Priory
AA16260/3A PT1	WORK 14/786	Rievaulx Abbey
AA71786/3F PT1	N/A	Stonehenge
AA71216/3 PT1	WORK 14/547	Witcombe Roman Villa
AA105692/3	WORK 14/1520	Brough Castle
AA96239/3 PT1	WORK 14/1061	Goodrich Castle
AA31039/3 PT1	WORK 14/714	Jewry Wall
AA10101/3 PT1	WORK 14/544	Whitby Abbey
AA10131/3 PT1	WORK 14/1204	Byland Abbey
AA20151/3 PT1	WORK 14/455	Roche Abbey
AA60502/3 PT1	WORK 14/496	St Catherine's Chapel
AA66310/3 PT1	WORK 14/1242	Netley Abbey
AA16284/3 PT1	WORK 14/542	Warkworth Castle

AA16284/3 PT1	WORK 14/542	Waylands Smithy
AA10928/3A PT1	WORK 14/394	Norham Castle
AA61038/3 PT1	WORK 14/1153	Titchfield Abbey
AA11230/3 PT1	WORK 14/331	Warkworth Hermitage
AA10031/3 PT1	WORK 14/328	Helmsley Castle
AA100602/3	WORK 14/1424	Furness Abbey
AA20141/3 PT1	WORK 14/494	Spofforth Castle
AA76275/3A PT1	WORK 14/454	Restormel Castle
AA10306/3 PT1	WORK 14/301	Egglestone Abbey
AA56344/3A PT1	WORK 14/421	Pevensey Castle
AA96230/3 PT1	WORK 14/594	Buildwas Abbey
AA40546/3 PT1	WORK 14/680	Lexden Earthworks and Bluebottle Grove
AA16283/3 PT1	N/A	Pickering Castle
AA41083/3 PT1	WORK 14/1377	Weeting Castle
AA71479/3 PT1	WORK 14/756	Nunney Castle
AA66264/3 PT1	WORK 14/414	Portchester Castle
AA16278/3 PT1	WORK 14/386	Middleham Castle
AA26282/3 PT1	WORK 14/356	Kirkham Priory
AA71429/3 PT1	WORK 14/741	Muchelney Abbey
AA71803/3 PT1	WORK 14/579	Belas Knap Long Barrow
AA40055/3 PT1	WORK 14/1035	Castle Acre Priory
AA40590/3 PT1	WORK 14/578	Burgh Castle
AA10741/3 PT1	WORK 14/293	Dunstanburgh Castle
AA40054/3 PT1	WORK 14/240	Berkhampstead Castle
AA16270/3A PT1	WORK 14/306	Easby Abbey
AA71737/3 PT1	WORK 14/605	Blackbury Castle
AA40691/3 PT1	WORK 14/510	St. James Chapel, Lyndsey
AA16217/3 PT1	WORK 14/368	Lanercost Priory
AA60905/3 PT1	WORK 14/731	Landport Gate, Portsmouth
AA36276/3 PT1	WORK 14/1082	Kirby Hall
AA76285/3 PT1	WORK 14/859	Tintagel Castle

Works files		
AA16270/2C PT1	WORK 14/676	Easby Abbey
AA96239/2 PT1	WORK 14/1062	Goodrich Castle
AA10131/2 PT1	WORK 14/1032	Byland Abbey
AA10031/2 PT1	WORK 14/1071	Helmsley Castle
AA26282/2 PT1	WORK 14/357	Kirkham Priory
AA10306/2 PT1	WORK 14/681	Eggleston Abbey
AA66310/2 PT1	WORK 14/1570	Netley Abbey
AA10101/2C PT1	WORK 14/882	Whitby Abbey
AA16260/2B PT1	WORK 14/787	Rievaulx Abbey
AA82074/2 PT4	WORK 14/1372	Tintern Abbey
Other files		
AA5672/1 PT1	WORK 14/2284	Ancient Monuments. Criticism of Departments Methods of Preservation
N/A	WORK 14/131	1846 Office of Works
N/A	WORK 14/2469	Ancient Monuments Acts
AA50720/2 PT1	WORK 14/203	75 Dean Street, Soho, Unsuccessful Preservation Order
N/A	WORK 14/325	St Michael's Church, Glastonbury Tor
N/A	WORK 14/ 45	Lindisfarne Castle
N/A	WORK 14/1201	Brede Place
N/A	T218/311 CAS 129/01	Treasury File: Ancient Monuments
N/A	TS 18/1472	Treasury File: Ancient Monuments
N/A	WORK 22/2/25	Treasury File: Ancient Monuments
N/A	WORK 22/21/1	Treasury File: Ancient Monuments
N/A	LAB 2/1516/DRA128/30/1918	Ministry of Labour File
AA5489/1	WORK 14/ 2470 C442196	Ancient monuments and historic buildings: Reports of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments.

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APPENDIX I

The National Collection of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings: Acquisitions 1913-1931

Name	County	Date	Type
Mattersey Priory	Nottinghamshire	6th August 1913	Guardianship
Yarmouth Castle	Isle of Wight	23rd September 1913	Office of Woods transfer
Lindisfarne Priory	Northumberland	28th September 1913	Office of Woods transfer
Framlingham Castle	Suffolk	19th December 1913	Guardianship
Penrith Castle	Cumbria	19th December 1913	Guardianship
Langley Chapel	Shropshire	7th April 1914	Guardianship
Mitchell's Fold Stone Circle	Shropshire	6th January 1915	Guardianship
Cliffords Tower	North Yorkshire	13th March 1915	Guardianship
Eleanor Cross, Geddington	Northamptonshire	24th March 1915	Gift
Farleigh Hungerford	Somerset	16th June 1915	Guardianship
Ludgershall Castle	Wiltshire	30th June 1915	War Office transfer
Finchale Priory	Co. Durham	24th January 1916	Guardianship
Rievaulx Abbey	North Yorkshire	20th July 1917	Guardianship
Stonehenge	Wiltshire	26th October 1918	Gift
Witcombe Roman Villa	Gloucestershire	21st August 1919	Guardianship
Brough Castle	Cumbria	30th September 1919	Guardianship
Scarborough Castle	North Yorkshire	1920	War Office transfer
Goodrich Castle	Herefordshire	8th July 1920	Guardianship
Jewry Wall	Leicestershire	19th July 1920	Guardianship
Whitby Abbey	North Yorkshire	26th July 1920	Guardianship
St Olaves Priory	Norfolk	1921	-
Byland Abbey	North Yorkshire	29th August 1921	Guardianship
Roche Abbey	South Yorkshire	14th September 1921	Guardianship
St Catherine's Chapel	Dorset	4th July 1922	Guardianship
Netley Abbey	Hampshire	14th August 1922	Guardianship
Warkworth Castle	Northumberland	29th August 1922	Guardianship
Waylands Smithy	Oxfordshire	1922	Gift
Norham Castle	Northumberland	4th January 1923	Guardianship
Titchfield Abbey	Hampshire	17th July 1923	Ministry of Agriculture transfer
Warkworth Hermitage	Northumberland	25th October 1923	Guardianship
Helmsley Castle	North Yorkshire	13th December 1923	Guardianship
Furness Abbey	Cumbria	19th December 1923	Guardianship

Spofforth Castle	North Yorkshire	12th February 1924	Gift
Reculver Towers and Roman Fort	Kent	1925	-
Restormel Castle	Cornwall	6th March 1925	Guardianship
Egglestone Abbey	Co.Durham	27th August 1925	Guardianship
Pevensey Castle	East Sussex	7th October 1925	Purchase
Buildwas Abbey	Shropshire	16th November 1925	Guardianship
Lexden Earthworks and Bluebottle Grove	Essex	13th December 1925	Purchase
Pickering Castle	North Yorkshire	23rd March 1926	Guardianship
Weeting Castle	Norfolk	8th April 1926	Purchase
Nunney Castle	Somerset	22nd May 1926	Guardianship
Portchester Castle	Hampshire	23rd June 1926	Guardianship
Middleham Castle	North Yorkshire	16th July 1926	Guardianship
Kirkham Priory	North Yorkshire	11th July 1927	Guardianship
Muchelney Abbey	Somerset	6th December 1927	Guardianship
Rotherwas Chapel	Herefordshire	1928	-
Belas Knap Long Barrow	Gloucestershire	23rd January 1928	Guardianship
Castle Acre Priory	Norfolk	23rd July 1929	Guardianship
Burgh Castle	Norfolk	12th July 1929	Guardianship
Dunstanburgh Castle	Northumberland	12th September 1929	Guardianship
Berkhampstead Castle	Hertfordshire	24th December 1929	Guardianship
Acton Burnell Castle	Shropshire	1930	-
Bratton Camp and White Horse	Wiltshire	1930	-
Easby Abbey	North Yorkshire	19th March 1930	Guardianship
Blackbury Castle	Devon	2nd May 1930	Gift
St. James Chapel, Lyndsey	Suffolk	19th August 1930	Guardianship
Lanercost Priory	Cumbria	5th September 1930	Guardianship
Landport Gate and King James's Gate, Portsmouth	Hampshire	31st October 1930	War Office transfer
Kirby Hall	Northamptonshire	12th December 1930	Guardianship
Tintagel Castle	Cornwall	28th January 1931	Guardianship
Chysauster Ancient Village	Cornwall	23rd February 1931	Guardianship
Bowes Castle	Co.Durham	20th March 1931	Guardianship
Haughmond Abbey	Shropshire	1st May 1931	Guardianship

* This list extends to the passing of the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act on 11th June 1931. Some sites acquired in 1931 on the above list are mentioned in the succeeding report: Volume Five in this series.

APPENDIX 2

Office of Works* Senior Staff List 1851-1951

First Commissioners of Works

Rt. Hon. Lord Seymour (afterwards Duke of Somerset).	1851 -1852
Lord John Manners (afterwards Duke of Rutland).	1852 -1853
Sir William Molesworth, Bart.	1853 -1855
Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart. (afterwards Lord Llanover).	1855 -1858
Lord John Manners (afterwards Duke of Rutland)	1858-1859
Rt. Hon. Henry Fitzroy.	1859
Rt. Hon. W. F. Cowper (afterwards Lord Mount –Temple).	1860 -1866
Lord John Manners (afterwards Duke of Rutland)	1866 -1868
Rt. Hon. A. H. Layard.	1868 -1869
Rt. Hon. A. S. Ayrton.	1869 -1873
Rt. Hon. W. P. Adam.	1873 -1874
Rt. Hon. Lord Henry Gordon-Lennox.	1874 -1876
Rt. Hon. G. J. Noel.	1876 -1880
Rt. Hon. W. P. Adam.	1880
Rt. Hon. G. J. Shaw-Lefevre (afterwards Lord Eversley).	1881 -1884
Rt. Hon. The Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T.	1885
Rt. Hon. D. R. Plunket, Q.C. (afterwards Lord Rathmore).	1885 -1886
Rt. Hon. The Earl of Morley.	1886
Rt. Hon. The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.	1886
Rt. Hon. D. R. Plunket, Q.C. (afterwards Lord Rathmore).	1886 - 1892
Rt. Hon. G. J. Shaw-Lefevre (afterwards Lord Eversley).	1892 - 1894
Rt. Hon. Herbert Gladstone (afterwards Viscount Gladstone, G.C.B., G.C.M.G, G.B.E.	1894- 1895
Rt. Hon. A. Akers-Douglas (afterwards Viscount Chilston).	1895 - 1902
Rt. Hon. Lord Windsor, C.B. (afterwards Earl of Plymouth, G.B.E.)	1902 - 1905
Rt. Hon. Lewis Harcourt (afterwards Viscount Harcourt).	1905 - 1910
Rt. Hon. The Earl Beauchamp, K.G., K.C.M.G.	1910 - 1914
Rt. Hon. Lord Emmott, G.C.M.G.	1914 - 1915
Rt. Hon. Lewis Harcourt (afterwards Viscount Harcourt).	1915 - 1916
Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, Bart. (afterwards Lord Melchett).	1916 - 1921
Rt. Hon. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T.	1921 - 1922
Rt. Hon. Sir John Baird, Bart., C.M.G., D.S.O. (afterwards Viscount Stonehaven of Ury, G.C.M.G., D.S.O.).	1922 - 1924
Rt. Hon. F. W. Jowett.	1924
Rt. Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E. (afterwards Earl of Peel and Viscount Chanfield of Chanfield, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.).	1924 - 1928
Rt. Hon. The Marquess of Londonderry. K.G., M.V.O.	1928 - 1929
Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, J.P.	1929 - 1931

Rt. Hon. The Marquess of Londonderry, K.G., M.V.O.	1931
Rt. Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore (afterwards Lord Harlech, K.G., G.C.M.G., F.S.A.).	1931 - 1936
Rt. Hon. The Earl of Stanhope, K.G., D.S.O., M.C.	1936 - 1937
Rt. Hon. Sir Phillip Sassoon, Bart., G.B.E., C.M.G.	1937 - 1939
Rt Hon. Herwald Ramsbotham, O.B.E., M.C. (afterwards Viscount Soulbury, G.C.M.G, G.C.V.O., O.B.E., M.C.).	1939 - 1940
Rt. Hon. The Earl de la Warr.	1940
Rt. Hon. Lord Tryon of Durnford.	1940

Ministers of Works and Buildings and First Commissioners of Works

Rt. Hon. Lord Reith, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., C.B., LL.D.	1940 - 1942
Rt. Hon. Lord Portal of Laverstoke, D.S.O., M.V.O.	1942

Minister of Works and Planning

Rt. Hon. Lord Portal of Laverstoke, D.S.O., M.V.O. (afterwards Viscount Portal of Laverstoke, G.C.M.G., D.S.O., M.V.O.)	July 1942 -February 1943
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Ministers of Works

Rt. Hon. Lord Portal of Laverstoke, D.S.O., M.V.O. (afterwards Viscount Portal of Laverstoke, G.C.M.G., D.S.O., M.V.O.)	1943 – 1944
Rt. Hon. Duncan Sandys.	1944 - 1945
Rt. Hon. George Tomlinson.	1945 - 1947
Rt. Hon. Charles. W. Key	1947 - 1950
Rt. Hon. R. R. Stokes, M.C.	1950 - 1951
Rt. Hon. George Brown.	1951

***Office of Works until 1940; Ministry of Works and Buildings from 1940 until 1942 and from 1943 until 1951; Ministry of Works and Planning from 1942 until 1943; Ministry of works from 1951 until 1962.**

Permanent Secretaries

Rt. Hon. Viscount Esher, G.C. V.O., K.C.B.;	1895 - 1902
Hon. Sir Schomberg K.McDonnell, G.C.V.O, K.C.B.:	1902 -1912
Sir Lionel Earle, G.C.V.O., K.C.B, C.M.G.:	1912 - 1933
Sir C. Patrick Duff, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.: 1933 - 1941	1933 - 1941
Sir Geoffrey G Whiskard, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.:	1941 1943
Sir Percival Robinson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.:	1943 - 1946
Sir Harold C. Emmerson, G.C.B., K.C.V.O.:	1946 - 1956

APPENDIX 3

Extracts from HM Office of Works Staff List 1st April 1939.
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1

LIST OF OFFICERS, SHOWING SERVICE, etc.

Name, Rank, and Scale of Salary	Date of Birth	Date of entry into Service	Date of admission to present Rank	Salary	Next increment due	Remarks
First Commissioner - £2,000				£		
Rt. Hon. Sir P. Sassoon, Bart., G.B.E., C.M.G., M.P.	4.12.88	-	29. 5.37	3,000	-	
Secretary - £2,200						
Sir Charles Patrick Duff, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., J.P.	20. 7.89	11. 3.12	1. 2.33	2,200	-	
Principal Assistant Secretary - £1,700						
W. Leitch, C.B.	18. 7.80	18. 9.12	1. 3.35	1,700	-	B. 4-6; 8; 11, 12; 15-17; 31
Assistant Secretaries - £1,150-50-£1,500						
J. Eggar, C.V.O., G.B.E.	13.11.80	24. 2.04	22.11.19	1,500	-	A. 1-3, 25
F. J. E. Raby, C.B., F.S.A.	11.12.88	24.10.11	1. 4.27	1,500	-	C. 15; 20-24; 26; 28
E. W. de Normann (Acting)	26.12.93	26. 1.20	20. 2.37	1,250	20. 2.40	E. Substantive rank Principal.
H. L. Davis, G.B.E. (Acting)	22. 6.86	21. 6.05	1. 7.38	1,150	1. 7.39	F. Substantive Grade Principal 14; 7, 9, 18-19, 27-28, 30, 32.
Private Secretary to First Commissioner - (Staff Officer) £550-25-£650						
W. S. A. Winter	1. 1.93	20.10.10	12. 9.38	598	1. 6.39	+Allowance £175 p.a.
Private Secretary to Secretary (Assistant Principal) -						
A. Jolly (Acting S.O.)	4. 8.96	29. 3.15	18. 3.39	695	1. 6.39	Sub rank H.C.O.

LIST OF OFFICERS, SHOWING SERVICE, etc. - contd.

Name, Rank, and Scale of Salary	Date of Birth	Date of entry into Service	Date of admission to present Rank	Salary	Next increment due	Remarks
<u>ANCIENT MONUMENTS</u>						
<u>INSPECTORATE</u>						
Chief Inspector - £953-13s.-£30-£1,161-2s.						
J. P. Bushe-Fox, F.R.S.A., F.S.A.	7. 7.80	9. 11.20	22. 9.33	1101.11. 0	13.11.39	
Inspectors - £575.8s.-25-£797.3s.						
J. S. Richardson, F.S.A. (Scot.)	2.11.83	2. 3.14	8.11.20	797. 3. 0		Scotland.
F. K. B. Reynolds, F.S.A.	28. 2.98	29. 6.34	29. 6.34	674. 4. 0	29. 6.39	England.
B. H. St. J. O'Neill F.S.A.	7. 8.05	29. 9.30	26. 3.35	675. 2. 0	26. 3.40	Wales.
Assistant Inspectors (Men) - £277.16s. x 18 - £575.8s.						
(Women) - £277.16s.-12-£396.17s.-18-£486.3s.						
Miss M. E. B. Simpson	13.10.06	8. 9.30	8. 9.30	373. 7. 0	8. 9.39	Scotland.
R. S. Simms	15. 4.06	1.10.30	1.10.30	421. 3. 0	1.10.39	England.
A. J. Taylor	24. 7.11	7.11.35	7.11.35	331.16. 0	7.11.39	Wales
G. H. Chettle	4. 9.86	28.10.29	5. 5.38	346.10. 0	5. 5.40	
Clerk, High Grade - £400-10-£525						
A. S. Hoskin	6. 5.98	13.10.15	6. 8.35	450.17. 0	6. 8.39	
Clerical Officers (Men) - £85 - £350						
(Women) - " - £280						
F. W. Strange	4. 2.83	14. 6.99	30. 5.23	350. 0. 0		
A. E. McBain	15.10.79	27. 7.14	27. 9.26	350. 0. 0		
H. F. N. Moore	3. 4.77	31. 5.20	8. 4.27	301.16. 0	6. 4.39	
W. G. Freeman	23. 7.93	11. 6.21	31.10.29	277.16. 0	31.10.39	
Miss S. J. Wares	22. 4.88	4. 9.22	2. 1.35	233. 4. 0	2. 1.40	Edinburgh scale.
S. Hunter	11.11.20	2. 8.37	2. 8.37	100. 0. 0	11.11.39	do.
S Clerks, Grade III - 65/- x 3/- - 86/- a week						
				s. d.		
*J. E. Warner	5. 3.92	15.12.19	3. 1.33	78. 0	1. 1.40	
A. G. D. Curling	16.10.94	3.12.19	4. 1.33	78. 0	1. 1.40	

APPENDIX 4

Guardianship refusals list circa 1932.

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<u>Offers of Guardianship declined.</u>	
<u>Monument.</u>	<u>Reason for refusal.</u>
Aberlour Castle	difficulty of arranging with tenant
Auchans "	insufficient importance
Avoniels "	property of County Council
Ballin "	consideration deferred.
Bardney Abbey	financial grounds: some work since done by Lincoln Antiquarian Society
Bristol Bridge, Cos, & c.	lack of funds
Brakie Castle	Refused on financial grounds: 14.7.31. AM2-37381.
Brig O' Barn	refused unless money is raised for repair.
Builtle Old Kirk	not nationally important.
Dals Abbey	difficulty of obtaining sufficient land.
Drip Bridge	not nationally important.
Dunblair Castle	property of local Council.
Dunbar Castle	property of local Council.
Dunare "	little of interest.
Dun an Iadhard, Skye	refused 1922: probably worth reconsideration.
Dun Beag "	now the property of Board of Agriculture.
Edlingham Castle	refused on financial grounds.
Eilean Donan Castle	owner wished to retain rights of occupation.
Elphinstone Castle	mining subsidence: consideration deferred.
Falside Castle	insufficient importance.
Federate "	insufficient importance.
Findlater "	" "
Gainsborough Old Hall	Partially inhabited.
Hills Castle, Kirkcubright	insufficient importance.
Inverlochy Castle	consideration postponed since 1928.
Kenyon Peel Hall	refused on financial grounds.
Kildrumny Castle	consideration postponed, 1931.
Kilbride Graveyard	not nationally important.
Kilmaulir ruined Church and grave slabs.	not nationally important.
Kilwinning Abbey	decision postponed since 1928.
Loughor Castle	property of local authority.
Loch Leven Castle	refused 1921: possibly worth reconsideration.

<u>Monument</u>	<u>Reason for refusal.</u>
Morton Corbet Castle	ruined house unsuitable for guardianship.
Mulgrave Castle	refused because of difficulties as to fees and admissions.
St. Donnan's Church, Bigg	insufficient interest
Salley Abbey	X lack of funds.
Skelbo Castle	not important
Tullibardine Castle	insufficient importance
Tullibody, Bridge west of	property of local authority
Weem, Auld Kirk of	insufficient importance
Crookston Castle, Renfrewshire	X Sir J. Stirling-Maxwell's property. Offer deferred because of caretaking difficulty and lack of funds.
<i>Fatton, Chapel at Chapel Farm Herefordshire</i>	<i>Not of sufficient importance</i>
<i>Rosslyn Castle, Midlothian</i>	X <i>financial grounds</i>

APPENDIX 5

'Ancient monuments. Notes on repair and preservation' issued to staff.
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ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

NOTES ON REPAIR AND PRESERVATION.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

The aim of the Department in charge of Ancient Monuments is to preserve intact the remains of the original fabric in each building which comes under its charge.

Restoration or rebuilding with new or partly new materials is avoided although departures from the rule may be made in such cases as:-

- (a) The rebuilding of fallen fragments of the structure, where these fragments are actually found lying on the site.
- (b) The replacement of missing masonry in order to secure portions of the fabric which are liable to fall without support.
- (c) The provision of protective coverings such as roofs where there is evidence of the original design.

In brief, the objective in repairing an old structure is to preserve the original, remove modern additions which often confuse or obscure the outline of the original structure, and to make any new work harmonise with the old.

Destructive vegetation is in all cases removed (see Appendix) but certain small harmless plants are allowed, though their growth should be restricted.

EXCAVATIONS AND LAYING OUT SITE.

Many Monuments have stood in a neglected and ruinous state for a long period of years, and the original ground or floor levels are covered sometimes many feet deep with fallen debris and accumulated soil. The removal of this accumulation is a necessary part of the work of preservation for not only is the site restored to its original levels, but buried walls and foundations are exposed revealing in many cases the complete layout of the buildings.

Where walls have been destroyed, and foundations or other evidence remain to indicate their past existence, their lines are marked out on the surface by stones set on edge, or other suitable method. When the work of consolidation has been completed, and the ground has been levelled, the site is turfed or sown with grass seed.

REPAIRS AND CONSOLIDATION OF MASONRY.

As a general rule, Masonry which is in a good state of preservation may be left untouched. No original Masonry which can possibly be secured should be removed. If it is necessary to introduce material on the surface to support dangerous or overhanging portions it should be similar in all respects to the existing, whether facwork or broken core. Pointing should as far as possible be similar in texture and appearance to the old.

Disfiguring modern pointing should be removed. Cement pointing is detrimental, particularly if the stone is of a soft nature. It is hard, non-resilient, and comparatively non-absorbent, and therefore, does not respond to the variation in the atmosphere to the same extent as the stone with which it is in contact.

MATERIALS AND METHODS.

SAND.

Sand used for the mortar should, generally speaking, be of a type similar to that used in the old walls. In many mediaeval mortars fine grained or dirty sands have been used. Such should be avoided in the new work, and new sand should be clean, sharp and, if allowable, coarse grained.

LIME.

The Lime used should be blue lias or other good hydraulic lime from an approved maker, ground and delivered in bags.

Should the lias lime available prove uncertain in its setting properties, a de-hydrated lime may be used.

CEMENT.

This should conform to the British Standard Specification.

MORTAR.

Lime mortar should be prepared by mixing the lime and sand in the proportion of two parts lime to 5 of sand in a dry state on a boarded platform. Allow the mixture to stand until the lime is cool, and then work up with a shovel using comparatively little water.

When weather conditions indicate the possibility of frost, a proportion of Portland cement should be added to accelerate the setting of the mortar. The mixture should be one part Portland cement to 4 or 5 parts of lime. Take one part of this mixture and add it to $2\frac{1}{2}$ parts of sand.

RAKING OUT JOINTS.

The joints should be raked out in order to remove all dirt and/or loose mortar. They should then be thoroughly washed with clean water by means of a hose or garden syringe. Bricks or stones should be quite wet when pointing is carried out.

FILLING JOINTS.

Fill the joints thoroughly with the mortar and consolidate by pressing in with the appropriate tools. There should be no voids and the mortar should adhere to the upper and lower stones of the joint. Avoid mere superficial pointing. It has no durability.

FINISH OF POINTING.

The new pointing should harmonise in colour and texture with the old. After the joint has been filled and compacted, a slightly roughened effect can be produced either by the use of a jet of water from a garden syringe or by stippling with a bristle brush. The object is to make the new pointing indistinguishable from the old.

During hot weather recent pointing should be kept damp, and during frosty weather, thoroughly protected at night.

It is not necessary to point every open joint in the structure. Very often the mortar has worn back from the surface of a stone but is still sound and hard in the main body of the joint. Unless it is more than $\frac{1}{2}$ " deep there is no need to fill such joints.

WALL TOPS.

It is necessary to waterproof wall tops to prevent percolation of moisture into the heart of the wall. Usually the upper courses of stones are found to be loose and the mortar disintegrated. Such courses should be lifted and cleaned for the depth the mortar has disintegrated. They should then be rebedded in mortar with a rough broken top, care being taken to finish the joints between the stones so that water does not stand on the wall top.

necessary, by a hand plunger consisting of a rubber cone.

In both hand and gravity grouting care should be taken that all cavities are filled and that there are no air locks.

A plentiful supply of water is essential for this work (a main supply with hose pipe extension to the actual job if possible) and thorough washing out prior to the injection of the grout cannot be over-emphasised.

The subject of grouting is dealt with more fully in the Appendix, which includes a diagram of the apparatus, photograph, and brief specification of the parts required with the name of the firm from whom they can be obtained.

APPENDIX I.

Vegetation, its effects and removal.

IVY.

Attention is called to the serious damage caused by the unchecked growth of Ivy on Ancient Monuments.

Ivy is the most active and insidious enemy of old buildings owing to its rapid and persistent growth. Its tendrils penetrate into the smallest crevices, loosening and dislodging stones and often forcing out large areas of facework. Thriving and expanding it causes fractures and enlarges those which already exist, eventually bringing about the general disintegration of Masonry.

The roots draw nourishment from lime mortar, breaking it up and robbing it of its virtue. As the roots increase in size, disintegration accelerates, moisture and vegetable matter penetrate more easily increasing the sustenance on which the Ivy thrives.

REMOVAL.

The stems should be cut at a convenient place above the root. If the root is in the ground it should be grubbed up at once; if it springs from the walls it should be killed by pouring a corrosive acid into holes bored in the stump. After the Ivy has withered its removal will be effected more easily. This, however, should be carried out with care in order that stones may not be dislodged. This can be done by cutting the stems for a rectangular or circular area about 20 feet across, tying a rope to the centre of the area and pulling the Ivy off in one operation. If the walls are thickly clad the Ivy should first be clipped back. This will enable a closer examination of the walls to be made and the extent of the damage ascertained.

SHRUBS AND TREES.

Trees and all forms of undergrowth growing in Masonry are responsible for much damage, particularly the vigorous types as Elder, Sycamore and Ash. These all have large root spread and penetrate long distances into the Masonry.

Saplings and small shrubs may be removed without disturbing much Masonry, but where they are large they should be cut off as near the roots as possible and the stump killed. The decayed roots can subsequently be removed more easily.

APPENDIX II.

NOTES ON GROUTING.

It is often possible to fill voids in old walls with liquid Portland cement and the procedure by gravity grouting is as follows:-

TESTING FOR VOIDS.

If there is any doubt as to the condition of the interior of a wall, it can be tested for voids with a hammer. If on tapping a stone a hollow sound is obtained, it is almost certain that voids exist, but where the wall is solid a ringing sound is produced.

GROUTING HOLES.

Small holes should be drilled where voids are anticipated. They should be about 4' apart horizontally and 2' apart vertically. They should be formed at wide joints, preferably where vertical and horizontal joints meet. The holes should be "staggered", i.e. they should be spaced alternatively with those immediately above and below.

WASHING OUT.

As these holes are drilled the cavities should be washed out thoroughly with clean water, pouring it in at the top and continuing to do so until it runs clear at the bottom.

Assistance in clearing old decayed mortar can be given by using a long thin piece of steel with a bent end.

During the washing process a note should be taken of joints or stones through which the water runs out. Before grouting is commenced these joints must be filled in very tightly with tow or clay. It should be pressed into the joint with the steel tool for a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ " or 2".

The holes through which the water runs freely and where large cavities are found should be noted in order that adequate preparations may be made for filling a cavity when grouting is in progress.

It may be found during the process of washing out that there are a number of deep open joints through which no water penetrates and behind which there is no void. In such cases the joint should be filled with mortar.

GROUTING APPARATUS.

The grouting apparatus consists of one or two, preferably two, open galvanised iron pans similar in shape and size to the domestic washing copper and having an outlet in the bottom. A union with a $1\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter galvanised iron pipe is connected to the outlet.

The latter connects by means of couplings to several 8' lengths of $1\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter rubber hose which terminates in a galvanised iron nozzle, $\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter, fitted with a stop cock.

A wooden plug is provided about 18" long, which will fit into the hole at the bottom of the pan.

Another fitting supplied with the apparatus is a plunger formed of a wooden handle with an india rubber cup. This cup, when placed over the hole in the bottom of the pan, and pressed down, gives an additional impetus to the flow of the liquid in case there is a stoppage or air lock in the tube.

GROUT MIXTURE.

In order to mix the grout the pan should be filled with water to within about 3" of the top. The cement is emptied into the water and is stirred continuously until the required consistency of grout is obtained. A usual proportion is $1\frac{1}{2}$ parts of water to one part of cement. Thorough mixing is essential, and it should be continued until it is known that the whole of the cement is in suspension and that there are no solids in the bottom of the pan.

To economise, it is sometimes possible to use sand with cement in the proportions $\frac{1}{2}$ cement, $\frac{1}{2}$ sand to $1\frac{1}{2}$ parts water. It is important, however, that this sand should be very fine, and practically the same specific gravity as the cement.

PROCEDURE.

Before grouting is commenced, it is necessary to be assured:-

- (a) That all cavities are washed out thoroughly;
- (b) That open joints are plugged with tow, or clay (the latter for small holes);
- (c) That the nozzle of the delivery tube is inserted in the lowest hole and is plugged around with tow; and
- (d) That a supply of clean water is available to wash from the face of the stonework any cement which may run out of the joints.

During the process of grouting one man is stationed at the nozzle to open and close the stopcock as may be required. Two other men are stationed on the scaffold; the one regulating the flow of grout into the delivery tube; the other preparing and mixing the second grout pan. If large voids are to be filled it is essential that there should be an ample supply of cement and of clean water on the scaffold.

When the cavity is ready to be filled and the cement in the pan is mixed, the wooden plug is raised and the grout flows down the tube. The man controlling the nozzle opens the stopcock, and thus permits the grout to flow into the cavity.

The number of pans of grout required will, of course, depend upon the size of the void, but generally speaking, the operation should continue without removing the nozzle until the grout rises up the wall and begins to flow out of the series of holes immediately above.

Where it is found the grout does not flow freely and is met with some obstruction, assistance can be given by using the rubber cone, placing it over the hole in the bottom of the pan and pressing up and down vigorously.

When the cavity has been filled, the stopcock is turned off and the nozzle is allowed to remain in position until the cement has begun to set. When this takes place, the nozzle can be withdrawn and should be washed in clean water.

At the same time the tow and clay should be removed from the joints, the former being washed in clean water to get rid of any particles of cement. It can then be used again.

The stage to which the cement has set should be that when it has reached the consistency of putty. This is usually from 5 to 10 hours, depending upon the nature of the masonry in the wall.

PRESSURE.

A pressure of from 14 to 18 lbs. per square inch is usually obtained in the rubber tube, and the grouting pan can conveniently be placed from 12' to 16' above the point of inlet.

CLEANING APPARATUS.

At the completion of a day's work, the pans, the hose and the nozzle should be cleaned in clean water to prevent the deterioration of cement.

SEQUENCE OF OPERATIONS.

When a wall is to be grouted the sequence of operations will depend upon its size and the condition of the masonry.

If it is of great height (as is sometimes the case with Norman Keeps) it will be dangerous to commence washing out from the top and continue to the bottom without taking precautions to prevent the collapse of the face stones. In such a case it is advisable to commence at the base of the wall, take a height of about 6' along its length, boring the holes where required, washing out the cavities from the top of this section and then commencing the grouting from the bottom holes and working upwards.

In this manner the wall will be consolidated from its base upwards.

When, as very often happens, cavities penetrate through the thickness of the wall, the preliminary operation of cutting holes and cleaning and washing out must be repeated on the opposite side of the wall. Observation must be kept on that side while washing out and grouting is in progress, and any leakage immediately stopped with tow or clay.

APPENDIX 6

Ancient Monuments Branch. Criticism of the Department's Methods of Preservation and Response. Copyright The National Archive. (File: WORK 14/2284)

REGISTER NO.

DESTROYING THE PICTURESQUE.

Drastic Treatment of Board of Works.

AN ABERDEEN CRITIC.

In a delightful personally-conducted tour, illustrated by beautiful photographs, Professor G. H. Marshall lectured to the Scottish Archaeological Society in the College Hall, Alfred Place, Aberdeen, last night on some of the English Cistercian Abbeys.

They all knew, said Dr Wm. Kelly, who presided, that Professor Marshall was an exceptionally artistic and well-photographer. Ancient buildings would not be better represented than by thoroughly good photographs, and it was strange that medium that Professor Marshall had studied the very interesting subject of the Cistercian abbeys.

We in Scotland, he thought, had especially kindly side to the Cistercians. They were austere, they were clean and pure, and they were very hard-working themselves. He thought he would have liked to have been a Cistercian himself. (Laughter.)

Spoiling Picturesqueness.

In his interesting pictorial narrative, Professor Marshall gave a brief account of the Cistercian Order, and of the lives of the monks, and graphically pointed out the architectural beauties of the different Abbeys shown on the screen.

He said the Board of Works had been rather too drastic in its restoration treatment of the Abbeys when the Board took them over. In the repainting, and removal of practically all sculpture, they had ruined the picturesqueness of the Abbeys. Repair was very desirable, but it had been carried out in too uniform a manner.

Dr Douglas Simpson voiced the opinion of all present that they had never in the Society been privileged to see such a remarkable collection of photographs. They were outstanding architectural records, and high works of art.

Technique.

He joined heartily with what Professor Marshall had said about the technique which had been applied to their ancient monuments by the Board of Works.

They had an absolute uniform system of painting the walls which destroyed entirely the subtle distinctions in masonry which was so valuable. They were far too drastic in their treatment.

He ventured to suggest that the artistic aspect of these old ruins had just as legitimate a right to be conserved for the enjoyment of the future as the architectural value, and Professor Marshall had done good service in drawing attention to the over-ferocious and almost savage treatment of these ancient monuments.

Mr G. M. Fraser joined in appreciation of the lecture, and was thankful that Professor Marshall did not find it necessary to mention the name of Mr Walter Scott (Lambert). He expressed the hope that Professor Marshall would next deal with the Cistercian Abbeys of Scotland.

Deep Impression.

Professor Baird said Professor Marshall had created a deep impression on the Society by his lecture, and it had been an eye-opener to highlight Scotland to know that there were so many Cistercian Abbeys to be seen in Yorkshire alone.

This is very severe criticism of your book.
M.H.
2/11

SUBJECT.

6 FEB 1930

AD/AH

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

Sen
Methods of Repair.

MEMORANDA.

Chief Architect.

Lawrence P. Stone

The remarks made by Professor Marshall and Dr. Douglas Simpson upon the repairs carried out by H.M. Office of Works obviously refer to those of the pre-war period.

It is ^{now} quite incorrect to state that "they had an absolutely uniform system of pointing the walls, which destroyed entirely the subtle distinctions in masonry which were so valuable. They were far too drastic in their treatment."

It must not be forgotten that when the Ancient Monuments Branch was formed in 1912 very little was known about the proper technique of repair; methods had to be created and men had to be carefully trained. The only guide available was the quality of the repairs carried out by the local builders under the instructions of private owners or other Departments such as the War Office. It was found that in nearly all cases the workmanship was merely superficial; it did not strengthen or waterproof the walls and soon showed signs of decay and deterioration. Special attention was, therefore, at that period given to the subject of workmanship and quality of material used. Emphasis was laid upon the necessity for using a lime mortar (instead of Portland cement) in which a proportion of coarse grit sand was mixed in order that it should set hard. The foremen and workmen were instructed to wash out every joint thoroughly and to tamp the mortar, so that it filled all voids. In order to assist in obtaining solidity of the mortar, the surface was compressed and rubbed by special steel tools until it became perfectly smooth.

Another feature of the repairs at that period was to recess the mortar, say, 1/8" or 1/4" from the face of each stone, so that the latter should be clearly defined. On some buildings cement grouting (by hand) was adopted in preference to tamping, the joints subsequently being pointed with lime mortar.

This method of repair was employed on all buildings in England, Scotland and Wales, and it is possible that the accusation of uniformity is justified.

During

During the War repairs on Ancient Monuments practically ceased, but when they re-commenced in 1919 it was soon realised that the earlier methods gave a mechanical appearance to wall surfaces, particularly when applied to rough masonry forming the core of a wall.

The alteration in appearance between an unrepaired and a repaired wall was particularly noticeable after the removal of the scaffolding, when the mortar was clean and bright and the stones had lost any lichens or mosses that had been growing on them. Generally speaking, these small vegetable growths made their appearance again within two or three years, and the general appearance of the masonry consequently became softened.

It was realised, however, that much could be done to improve the appearance of repairs without losing the high standard of workmanship which had been attained, and one of the first buildings where endeavour was made to make the new work harmonise in appearance and texture with the old was Richborough Castle, about 1920/21. There were many discussions with the Chief Inspector on the subject, and it has now been agreed that the best method of treating old walls is to retain as much as possible of the original mortar, where it is in sound condition, and that any new work (either pointing or re-building) should harmonise in texture, colour and other physical properties with the old. This necessitates each building being treated as a special problem, and strong emphasis is always laid upon the necessity of making new work exactly similar to the old. This meets Dr. Simpson's second criticism, where he says:- "The artistic aspect of these old ruins has just as legitimate a right to be conserved....."

Professor Marshall refers to the removal of vegetation, and it is admitted that no alteration in practice has been made. All trees, shrubs, grasses, etc. are removed from the wall heads or other places where they are likely to do harm, and the masonry is waterproofed. This is regarded as an essential feature of repair, for if growths are allowed to remain, the roots destroy the mortar and displace the stones. Every endeavour, however, is made to retain small, harmless plants, such as, ferns, mosses, toadflax, etc; in fact, they are encouraged to grow wherever possible.

The best way to deal with criticisms of this nature is to invite people to visit buildings where work is in progress, and an explanation can be given of the methods that are now adopted.

The constant aim of all officers is to effect improvements and economies in technique; the gravity grouting plant introduced by Mr. Milne is an example. Each building is regarded more in the light of a work of art, where the impression of a ruin is to be retained, combined with absolute security of all walls.



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/>.

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- * 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)

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