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A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME FIVE: 1931-1945

Sebastian Fry



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Research Report Series 49-2014

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME FIVE: 1931-1945

'HERITAGE UNDER FIRE': HADRIAN'S WALL, AVEBURY AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Sebastian Fry

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SUMMARY

This is Volume Five 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 1931 to 1945. An account is given of the campaign to safeguard the setting of Hadrian's Wall after it was threatened by quarrying. This cause célèbre provided the impetus for the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act, which introduced preservation schemes to protect the setting of monuments. Following the Act large parts of the Roman wall were placed in guardianship. The national collection grew under the stewardship of the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Office of Works (a Ministry after 1940). It largely comprised prehistoric sites, medieval castles and monastic ruins, as well as Roman military works. Among acquisitions between 1931 and 1945 were Grimes Graves, Kenilworth Castle and Avebury. A scheduling programme continued to protect archaeological sites in private ownership. The Second World War expanded the Ministry of Works responsibilities. Rescue excavations were carried out on military sites, such as RAF airfields, whilst a salvage scheme was established for historic buildings, serving as the precedent for the first list of buildings in Britain.

Cover Image: Hadrian's Wall. A view from Cuddy's Crag looking East, photographed by Paul Hignam in 1991. © English Heritage Photo Library, Ref No. K940737.

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INTRODUCTION

This research report provides an account of the development of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings between 1931 and 1945. It is Volume V in a series of reports covering the period 1882 to 1982. The primary source material for this research is the guardianship files held by English Heritage and The National Archive. The principal focus of this research is the protection of ancient monuments and buildings in England. However occasional reference is given to sites in Wales and Scotland since all came under the jurisdiction of the Office of Works.

An account is given of the campaign to safeguard the setting of Hadrian's Wall, after the Whinstone ridge, on which much of it is situated, was threatened by quarrying. This cause célèbre provided the impetus for the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act, which introduced preservation schemes to protect the setting of monuments. Following the Act large parts of the Roman wall were placed in guardianship, uncovered and consolidated. At about this time there were also the first (albeit limited) measures to protect inhabited dwellings through the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act.

The national collection continued to grow under the stewardship of the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Office of Works. It largely comprised prehistoric sites, medieval castles and monastic ruins as well as Roman military works. Among the most prominent acquisitions between 1931 and 1945 were Grimes Graves, Kenilworth Castle and Avebury. Monuments passed into guardianship for a whole range of reasons. Many landowners could not afford the expense of upkeep or repair, especially during the Great Depression in the 1930s, and offered them to the Government. Some neglected their monuments and were persuaded to transfer them before they collapsed. Others cared about preserving them but thought the State was best placed to do this. In a few cases they came as gifts through great acts of public benefaction or community effort. Monuments brought into guardianship were repaired and opened to the public. They became increasingly important visitor attractions, promoted in advertisements and guide books and made accessible by the automobile and motor bus. Alongside growing public appreciation for heritage went advancements in investigative archaeology and the first steps towards a national research policy for the discipline. This also had an impact on the scheduling programme, which continued apace through the 1930s. Finally the Second World War expanded the Ministry of Works responsibilities, although it operated with much fewer staff and resources. Rescue excavations were carried out on military sites, such as RAF airfields, whilst a salvage scheme was established for historic buildings, serving as the precedent for the first list of buildings in Britain.

Background to the 1931 Act: Saving Hadrian's Wall

The preservation of Hadrian's Wall was the cause célèbre, which directly led to the advent of the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act, the first such Act to consider the setting of a historic monument. Therefore the background to the Act is effectively the story of the protection of the Roman Wall.¹

In 1746 General Wade began the construction of the Military Way near to Hadrian's Wall. This was built after the Jacobite Rebellion in order to enable the rapid movement of troops from Newcastle to Dumfriesshire.² Stone from the Roman Wall was used in the foundations of the road, which proved the single most destructive event in the Wall's history. Besides the impact of the Military Way, stone was taken more gradually, over hundreds of years, in the construction of farm buildings or smaller road ways. The first systematic conservation of Hadrian's Wall began with the purchases of John Clayton (1792-1890).³ The Clayton family owned Chesters Fort and had shown growing concern over the gradual dismantling of the Roman monument. In 1838 John Clayton began to purchase land in the central sector of the Wall, including Housesteads Roman Fort. Through his actions Clayton sought to preserve the Wall's setting as well as the structure itself. He also provided public access to those parts of the Wall he had bought.

Figure 1: A view eastwards along Hadrian's Wall towards Cawfields milecastle (number 42). The monument is perched upon the Whinstone.

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Figure 2: A view westwards along Hadrian's Wall towards Housesteads fort (Vercovicium). © English Heritage Photo Library. Reference Number: K940737.

Despite preservation efforts on the Clayton estate the Wall continued to suffer elsewhere. From the late 19th century quarries at Cawfields and Walltown destroyed sections of the Wall. The first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Lt. Gen. Augustus Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900) provides little mention of Hadrian's Wall in his correspondence. Although towards the end of the 19th century he worked with the National Trust in attempting to preserve the Antonine Wall in Scotland.⁴ The first significant Government involvement came under the Inspectorship of Charles Peers (1868-1952). He spent two days on the Wall between the 2nd and 3rd of September 1910, and subsequently reported that several parts continued to be destroyed by whinstone quarries.⁵ Whinstone was the local name given for the black basalt, a great ridge of rock which runs east and west across the country, with a precipitous face towards the north forming a natural rampart. Hadrian's Wall is built on the crest of this ridge thus providing a commanding presence over the surrounding landscape (Figures 1 and 2). By 1910 several of the Roman forts near the Wall had been excavated and consolidated, including Chesters (*Cilurnum*) and Great Chesters (*Aesica*), and digging was ongoing at Corbridge.⁶ Peers reported that the Wall generally stood four to five feet high, serving as a boundary between landed estates.

Elsewhere it had been reduced to a heap of stones and was being treated deplorably by land agents. Most worrying was the impact of quarrying, for which the income from royalties was considerable:

'The destruction is not now rapid, but may at any time become so, and the whole character of the country, apart from its historical and archaeological value, would be entirely ruined in the course of time...

*The maintenance of these most valuable remains can not be considered assured, as long as it depends on the interest taken in them by private owners, and it would be most desirable that they should be placed under the Act, as the opportunity occurs.'*⁷

In 1928 Hadrian's Wall was scheduled in a list of monuments of national importance.⁸ It followed a flurry of activity in the scheduling of Roman remains. The need for such restrictions was great given that development was rapidly swallowing up large tracts of land elsewhere in Britain. However scheduling did not protect the amenities of an ancient monument. The concerns of the period were well summed up by O.G.S Crawford (1886-1957), who feared that wide open countryside might soon become a thing of the past:

*'Conservation, not excavation, is the need of the day; conservation, not only of purely archaeological features, but of the amenities which give them more than half their charm. Who cares for Oldbury and St George's Hill now that they are infested with villas? ... The need is really urgent; for with the approaching electrification of Southern England, the coniferous activities of the Woods and Forests Department and of private planters, the demands of the services, for land for aeroplanes and manoeuvres, the spread of bungalowoid eruptions and the threat of arterial roads and ribbon development – with all these terrors imminent it is unlikely any open country or downland will be left in southern England in a hundred years time.'*⁹

Meanwhile the pattern of events at Hadrian's Wall was moving towards a day of reckoning. In April 1928 the Clayton estate passed to John Maurice (nicknamed 'Jack') Clayton. The family had up until that time continued to preserve and consolidate substantial parts the monument. However Jack Clayton subsequently ran up huge gambling debts and was forced to sell the estate in 1929.¹⁰ It was divided into lots and auctioned off between the 19th and 20th of July 1929. The archaeologist Eric Birley purchased Vindolanda Roman Fort but admitted that he could not afford Housesteads as well.¹¹ At about the same time an agreement was signed between the landowner Sir Hugh Blackett and John Fred Wake, an engineer and machinery merchant. Wake would lease the mineral rights between the Wall and Vallum in a five mile stretch of land (between milecastle 42 and turret 37A), which happened to be one of the most impressive areas of the Whin Sill.¹² He was entitled to quarry so close to the Wall that it would leave it on little more than a knife edge.

Figure 3: John Wake's processing plant for the quarry circa 1930. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/1257).



The news reached the Office of Works by a letter from John Fred Wake on the 24th January 1930.¹³ Charles Peers was alarmed; this was one of the most significant threats to a monument the Department had ever encountered:

*'...I consider that the Bd. should take it as a general principle that no quarrying should take place in the area between the Wall, the [Military] Way, & the Vallum.
... This is not only on historical grounds: the whole significance of this notable memorial of the Roman occupation of Britain is greatly heightened by the wild & beautiful scenery through which it passes. The reasons which create protests against the defacement of natural beauties by roads, building schemes, or power transmission, are here in tenfold force. We must defend the amenities of the wall, as well as its actual remains, with all the power which the Act gives us.'*¹⁴

Peers was being optimistic; the present Act gave very little power to protect the setting of an ancient monument. A letter was sent to John Wake informing him that the scheduling applied to more than just the Wall but to the Military Way and Vallum as well.¹⁵ It stated that the relationship between all three should not be obscured and that every trace of Roman work should be preserved. A map was attached showing which area should not be touched. In his reply Wake stated that his quarrying operations came totally within the area and that he had spent thousands of pounds drawing up the scheme (Figure 3).¹⁶ It would provide employment for 200 men at the height of the Great Depression. However Peers was determined action should be taken to negate the scheme altogether:

'...Mr. Wake relies on the scale of his operations and the number of men he may be able to employ to justify his Scheme. It cannot possibly be agreed to by the Commissioners. To retire before such an attack on a monument whose long overdue scheduling was last year greeted with a chorus of approval would utterly discredit ourselves and the Act. We

must aim at a complete negation of the scheme – no compromise or half measures are possible.

The surroundings of the frontier line – the northern boundary of the Roman Empire – should from their very nature be held immune from industrial enterprises which aim at making large profits out of their destruction... The combination of scenery and history, especially on this section of the Wall, is hardly to be equalled anywhere in Britain. It is hard to believe that public opinion, which has shown itself so sensitive to the impairing of natural beauties in the home counties and elsewhere, would tolerate an organised attack on the site of the Roman Wall.¹⁷

Sir Lionel Earle (1866-1948), the Permanent Secretary, informed the First Commissioner, George Lansbury (1859-1940), that the only way to deal with the problem was through a special Act.¹⁸ Although he admitted even then significant funds would be required to compensate Wake's business. The First Commissioner subsequently contacted the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer on the matter and also arranged a visit to Hadrian's Wall. On the 23rd April 1930 Lansbury travelled to the Wall together with Charles Peers and Frederick Raby (1888-1966). The visit was reported in the *Daily Mail* under the title 'Mr Lansbury Ponders. Can he save Hadrian's Wall?' (Figure 4).¹⁹ The First Commissioner heard the arguments of William Straker, of the Northumberland Miners' Federation, and R.J. Taylor, Chairman of the Haltwhistle Labour Party. These centred on the considerable employment that quarrying would provide at the depth of the economic depression. Lansbury recognised that new legislation would need to be put in hand to protect the Wall yet he also understood that this would necessitate substantial compensation. Therefore it was apparent that quarrying would have to continue but in the least sensitive areas. On 2nd June 1930 it was reported in the House of Commons that a Bill was being prepared to protect the surroundings of ancient monuments, including Hadrian's Wall.²⁰ Initially the Department had considered incorporating a scheme in the Town and Country Planning Bill but a decision was taken to press ahead with a separate Bill.

Whilst Sir Lionel Earle drafted the Bill preparations were in hand for a preservation scheme for the Roman Wall that could be put in place as soon as the Act came into force. Charles Peers stated what was needed:

'The question of safeguarding the surroundings of the Wall, under the powers contained in the new Act, may be stated in this manner...'

There can hardly be any monument in Britain which has more to lose by the alteration of its setting than the Wall. The remote & almost uninhabited places through which it runs give a marvellous impressiveness to its scanty & half obliterated remains. Where modern buildings & roads encroach on its surroundings it shrinks into insignificance.... Out of the 73 miles of the Wall, then, three stretches of 12, 15 & 2 miles, 29 miles in all, seem appropriate for protection. To extend such protection to an area of skyline on either side of the wall is out of the question, & I consider that the reasonable treatment

should be to mark out a strip one mile wide, leaving the Wall more or less in the middle, in the three sections²¹

The Assistant Secretary, M. Connolly, urged caution given that this was the first time the Department were drawing up a preservation scheme.²² He suggested a modest scheme to include a central section, which could then be succeeded by further schemes for other parts of the Wall. The First Commissioner was given an overall outline of what was required, echoing Peers' own words:

'The general idea is to cover all those stretches of country where the historic setting of the Wall is least altered, leaving out, so far as possible villages and areas where railway lines or other modern works have destroyed the significance of the surroundings of the Wall'²³

Thus a blueprint for the Department's subsequent actions was put in place.

MR. LANSBURY PONDERERS.



CAN HE SAVE HADRIAN'S WALL ?

*Figure 4: The First Commissioner of Works ponders Hadrian's Wall.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/1259).*

The 1931 Ancient Monuments Act

The Ancient Monuments Act was passed on the 11th June 1931. It was intended to complement the 1913 Act so that both would be in force at the same time. The first section of the Act dealt directly with Hadrian's Wall through the advent of preservation schemes. The Commissioners of Works could now prepare a scheme for an area comprising or adjacent to an ancient monument.²⁴ This could prohibit or restrict the construction of buildings or structures and the alteration or extension of the same. Furthermore the Commissioners could exercise the power to prescribe the external appearance of new buildings as well as prohibit or restrict quarrying, any type of excavation, and the felling of trees. Any person whose property was 'injuriously affected' by a preservation scheme was entitled to apply for compensation. However this application had to be made within three months of the scheme first being introduced. The Commissioners were required to publish notice of a preservation scheme in the *London Gazette* newspaper before it could be confirmed.²⁵ If an objection was made, which was not frivolous, they were required to either modify the scheme or direct a public inquiry to be held. Finally if any person contravened a scheme they were liable to a fine of up to £20 for everyday on which the contravention occurred.

Besides the first section, the greater part of the legislation dealt with amendments to the 1913 Act. The definition of a monument was widened to include any building, structure, or other work whether above or below ground (excluding ecclesiastical buildings in use and inhabited dwellings) and any cave or excavation.²⁶ The latter part – cave or excavation – is the significant addition, brought within the realms of legislation for the first time. This meant that a site surviving entirely below-ground or a cave with prehistoric occupation deposits could now be scheduled. The Commissioners or local authorities as guardians of a monument could investigate the site.²⁷ But more importantly, the Commissioners alone, or any person authorised by them, were given the power to excavate any land that they believed contained an ancient monument, provided they had the consent of the owner and occupier.²⁸

Under Section 3 of the Act the Commissioners of Works were authorised to contribute towards the cost of any ancient monument even where they were not the owners or guardians. An anomaly in the 1913 Act was that this power had been reserved to local authorities, which had severely restricted the Office of Works ability to influence the management of privately owned sites. The Commissioners were empowered to create regulations regarding public access for guardianship monuments including prohibiting any activity tending towards injury or disfigurement of the monument.²⁹ If any person contravened these regulations they were liable for a fine of up to £5 or one month of imprisonment. In terms of scheduling they were now required to provide notice to the occupier of an ancient monument of intention to schedule.³⁰ Previously this had been confined to the owner. Finally under Section 2 of the new Act the Commissioners could contribute to the expenses of a town planning scheme in order to preserve the amenities of an ancient monument.³¹

After the Act: The continuing threat to the Roman Wall

The 1931 Ancient Monuments Act was not altogether the solution for Hadrian's Wall. Since the Act was not retrospective the quarries still had the legal right to remove stone until their leases ended. This was a major problem since John Wake's lease ran until 1949 and was renewable for another 20 years.³² Therefore during the passage of the Bill a separate agreement was drawn up with Wake whereby he could quarry a small area but was not to touch the Wall, Vallum, or Roman Military Way between the two.³³ Only one approach road would be made, which would be carried over the Vallum on a wooden trestle bridge whilst all new buildings would be restricted to no more than 70 feet high.

The preservation scheme for Hadrian's Wall was drafted by Frederick Raby but despite his work it was not implemented immediately following the 1931 Act. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, argued there were not enough Government funds available given the economic depression to effectively compensate owners and businesses.³⁴ Therefore it was not until the 9th December 1938 that the 'Roman Wall and Vallum Preservation Scheme' was finally published. This covered 15 miles of the central section of the Wall from Walwick in the east to Thirlwall Castle in the west. Nevertheless even then fortune intervened. The onset of the Second World War in 1939 meant that the preservation scheme was not finally ratified.

In 1942 the Walltown quarry again advanced towards the Roman Wall. This time the demand for whinstone was due to the surfacing of RAF airfields.³⁵ Once informed Frederick Raby took immediate action from the temporary Ministry of Works offices at Rhyl, Wales. He contacted Sir Eric de Norman, Under Secretary of the Ministry of Works, and John Dower at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to pressurise the Government to take action. Finally the Treasury sanctioned the necessary compensation. The preservation scheme was confirmed and a Preservation Order issued four days later on the 17th September 1943. Compensation amounted to £78,000 for quarries at Walltown and Cawfields whilst Frederick Wake's lease was purchased for an additional £6,500.³⁶ This part of George Lansbury's Ancient Monuments Act was never again implemented.

Guardianship of the Roman Wall

Following the passing of the 1931 Act parts of Hadrian's Wall were gradually, piece by piece, taken into Government care. Between 1933 and 1972 a total of 30 sites were acquired. Those taken into guardianship or by Deed of Gift prior to 1945 include: **Corbridge Roman Site** in 1933; **Benwell Vallum Crossing, Denton East and West, Banks East Turret** in 1934; **Heddon-On-The-Wall** in 1935; **Benwell Temple** in 1936; **Winshields** in 1937; **Poltrox Burn Milecastle** in 1938; **Walltown Crag** and **Vindolanda** fort in 1939; and **Planetrees** and **Gisland Vicarage Garden** in 1945. The Office of Works policy, though not publicly declared, was to eventually take the whole wall into guardianship.³⁷ These hopes were never fulfilled. As parts of the Wall were taken into Government control it was uncovered and consolidated together with the milecastles and turrets (Figure 5). Much of this work was carried out between 1935 and the late 1970s. Therefore prior to this time nothing like the current amount of Hadrian's Wall was either publicly accessible or visible to the tourist. The legacy is that it is now preserved as a World Heritage Site that can be enjoyed for generations to come.



*Figure 5: The Ministry of Works uncovering a stretch of Hadrian's Wall.
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The first preservation moves for inhabited historic buildings

The 1921 Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee had discussed the growing need for legislation towards the protection of inhabited buildings of architectural importance (See Volume Four in this series).³⁸ Calls such as this were part of a long running movement towards the preservation of historic buildings. As early as 1847 the 16th century half-timbered house of Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon had been purchased by public subscription. Among the subscribers were Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.³⁹ In 1874 there had been a campaign against the demolition of Hampstead's Georgian parish church. Whilst in 1877 the foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) was not only to resist ill-judged church restorations but also with a view to preserve important vernacular buildings. By the interwar period the conservation movement acquired further momentum. In 1924 the Ancient Monuments Society was founded and in 1928 Clough Williams-Ellis published 'England and the Octopus', the first popular book wholly about the preservation of architecture and the built environment.

The 1932 Town and Country Planning Act had origins in the English Garden City Movement and the pioneering social planning of John Cadbury, William Lever and Joseph Rowntree but its foundations were laid by the 1909 Housing, Town Planning, &c. Act.⁴⁰ The Office of Works had been lobbied in 1919 for an amendment to the Ancient Monuments Act to include:

*'A clause enacting that in approving of Town Planning Schemes the Ministry of Health should have regard to the preservation of artistic and historical features of national sentiment...'*⁴¹

This had been prompted by news of the possible construction of an aluminium factory in the historic town of Stratford-upon-Avon. Charles Peers rebuffed the suggestion, remarking to Sir Lionel Earle, the Permanent Secretary:

'I think we have enough on our hands at present without such things as this. If certain towns or villages (or streets) could be scheduled as of national importance on aesthetic or historic grounds – as is done in other countries, we should be in a position to deal with such matters as the industrialization of Stratford.'

*We must await legislation on the subject.*⁴²

The 1931 Ancient Monuments Act subsequently included a measure to assist the preservation of the amenities of an 'ancient monument' in town planning schemes.⁴³ The definition of an ancient monument could include historic buildings but not those inhabited, except by a caretaker. Thus a vacant late 15th century town house, known as The Tribunal, in the centre of Glastonbury was taken into guardianship in 1932 under that Act.⁴⁴ This was a considerable departure from the prehistoric monuments that had been given protection in the 19th century.

The Town and Country Planning Bill was introduced by the Minister of Health, Sir Edward Hilton Young, and passed on the 12th July 1932, although it did not come into operation until the following year. The broad scope of the Act was:

*'to authorise the making of [planning] schemes with respect to the development... of land, whether urban or rural, and... to provide for the preservation of rural amenities and the preservation of buildings and other objects of interest or beauty; to facilitate the acquisition of land for garden cities; and to make other provision[s]...'*⁴⁵

Thus one of the general objects of a planning scheme was to preserve buildings of 'architectural, historic or artistic interest' whether inhabited as dwellings or not.⁴⁶ Under Section 17 of the Act local authorities, including county councils, were empowered to protect buildings of 'special architectural or historical interest' through a Preservation Order prohibiting demolition. The Order had to be approved by the Minister of Health who was required to consult the Commissioners of Works, as well as consider any representations made by the owner of the building or any other person. The Minister would then make a declaration that the Preservation Order should take immediate effect. It came into force once a copy of the Order, and of the declaration, was served on the owner and occupier of the building. In this case the Order ceased to have effect at the expiration of two months from the date of the declaration unless in the meantime it was approved by the Minister. Furthermore the owner could appeal to the Minister and claim compensation under Section 18 of the Act. A Preservation Order could not be served on an ecclesiastical building in use, a scheduled monument or a building to which a preservation scheme or preservation order of the Ancient Monuments Act applied. By Section 42 of the Act the Minister of Health was required to consult the Commissioners of Works if a planning scheme involved the alteration or demolition of a building of special architectural or historic interest.

Several Preservation Orders were served through the interwar period, the first being on the medieval Watergate to Bridgewater Castle in Somerset.⁴⁷ This was followed by an early 18th century town hall (that had been heavily altered in the 19th century) in New Romney, Kent, and a 17th century market hall⁴⁸ called Grange Court in Leominster, Herefordshire.⁴⁹ The second order had notably been put forward by the then Mayor and antiquarian Major Max Teichman-Derville who was a prominent member of the Kent Archaeological Society. Holder estimates that at least 16 Orders were issued between 1936 and 1939, covering 38 buildings.⁵⁰ He considers that in the Preservation Order were the first origins of the post war listing system given that it led to surveys of buildings of special interest being carried out, that the local authority sought validations of their proposals from the Government's expert body, and that it was administered by the local authority via the planning system.⁵¹

In the context of these early moves towards the protection of inhabited historic buildings were several other key events in the 1930s. These include the foundation of The Georgian Group in 1937, the launch of the National Trust Country House Scheme in the

same year, and the City of Bath Act to preserve the city's Georgian architecture in 1938. Thus was the position prior to the advent of listing in the desperate circumstances of the Second World War (see below).

The development of the national collection during the 1930s (Appendix I)

A letter written by Sir Patrick Duff (1889-1972), the Permanent Secretary, provides a fascinating insight as to the growth of the national collection by the early 1930s. It is fitting as an introduction to the pervading sentiments through this decade:

'It is now just over 20 years since the Act was passed on which the main body of our work is still based, but, owing to the War and its after effects, only the last ten years or so can be counted as years of real activity and progress.

During those years remarkable changes have taken place which have not failed to affect profoundly the extent and nature of our work in connection with Ancient Monuments.

In the first place, there has been an unprecedented growth of interest in archaeology. Not only has the study of prehistoric archaeology been entirely revolutionised as a result of excavations carried out on innumerable sites, but an equal interest has been focussed on medieval civilisation and its material remains.

An immediate response has been forthcoming to propaganda in recent years on behalf of the preservation of the amenities of the country-side, and of buildings, - from Cathedrals to humble cottages - which might be in danger from various causes. All these movements have received support, not only from persons more immediately interested, such as archaeologists, architects and men of letters, but also from a growing pressure on the part of the general public whose conscience is becoming more and more stirred in respect of those matters, and Parliament, in passing the Town Planning Acts and the Ancient Monuments Act of 1931, has given full recognition to this remarkable growth of opinion.

One result of this has been that an enormously greater and wider interest is taken in our work. Our correspondence has grown to vast dimensions; our advice is sought on innumerable occasions; our work, and the way we conduct it, are jealously watched, and, though on the whole we have earned a great deal of praise, we are being made to feel more and more that we are falling short of what people, in the light of the obligations laid upon us by the Ancient Monuments Acts, expect us to perform.

We are, in fact, carrying on our work in the face of growing difficulties. Parliament has laid upon us the task of taking over and repairing for posterity monuments of various kinds whose preservation would be in this country, or one might say in any civilised country, be regarded as an obvious necessity. There are important monuments falling into decay - this process is perhaps accelerated a bit recently owing to owners as a whole not being in a position to spend so much money on their monuments, or even to spend the minimum necessary to patch them up: and we are apt to get into a position either, if too often we refuse to take charge of Monuments, of giving the impression that the Acts are a dead letter, or of being forced to take them over and then not being able even to go through the motions of doing anything to them.⁵²

The Great Depression

In the early 1930s the impact of the Great Depression stimulated several owners to pass their monuments into government care. Among these were **Bowes Castle**, County Durham, and **Haughmond Abbey**, Shropshire, in spring 1931. Bowes was a 12th century tower keep castle constructed on the site of a Roman fort that originally guarded the approach to the Stainmore Pass over the Pennines. In 1928 there were fears that the castle was on the verge of collapse. An article in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* gave a disparaging report:

*'One feels rather sorry for Bowes Castle. Over seven hundred years ago it was built. ... Today its glories have gone. It hasn't even a ghost to its name. It is a harbour for straying fowls, and there is no one to say yea or nay if you would push your way through its broken-down gate and scramble through the weeds over the heaps of ancient stones. ... Nobody cares. "We've enough troubles of our own" said a parish councillor. ... "It is a derelict castle," adds the Vicar. "Nobody cares about it" The villagers do not seem to bother. There is none to take pride in its preservation, and, shame for it to be said, it is going to destruction.*⁵³

The First Commissioner, Lord Londonderry (1878-1949), had noticed a similar account in *The Times* newspaper and asked that the matter be followed up.⁵⁴ An architect visited the site and sent a technical report to the owner, prompting the following reply from her land agent:

'Lady Curzon-Howe regrets that owing to the present high taxation and Death Duties to which the Estate is subject, she regrets that she does not see her way to carry the very large out-lay which would be necessary to preserve this ruin.

*If as you say the preservation of the ruin is of national importance, I shall be glad to know whether your Department would be willing to consider taking it over.*⁵⁵

The conditions were the same at the Augustinian abbey of Haughmond, although the owner, Hugh Corbet, was more reluctant to give it up:

*'I had an opportunity yesterday of inspecting the ... building, & was much surprised & disturbed to notice the difference in its condition since my last visit in November – also, I fear that further falls may take place, unless the structure is properly attended to. ... Therefore, I have decided, (reluctantly, as I must admit) to ask H.M. Office of Works to help maintain the Abbey'*⁵⁶

Corbet had spent money in past years to secure the ruin. However he now employed only a small staff and admitted that under the economic circumstances a landowner could do little more than make an estate pay for itself. The Deed of Guardianship was signed on the 1st May 1931.

In the same year the Cornish monuments known as **Trethevy Quoit** and **Chysauster Ancient Village** were added to the national collection. The former, a Neolithic dolmen burial chamber, was gifted to the nation following the death of the owner (Figure 6).⁵⁷ Chysauster had been excavated by Thomas Kendrick, Assistant Keeper at the British Museum, uncovering a phenomenal group of Late Iron Age and Romano-British 'courtyard houses' lining a 'village street'.⁵⁸ Such settlements were particular to the Land's End peninsula and Isles of Scilly. The owner, Colonel Malone, consented to transfer under the condition that the precious remains were properly fenced and 'kept in decent order'.⁵⁹



Figure 6: A view from the west of Trethevy Quoit on 29th February 1933. Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/529).

The owner of **Farnham Castle**, Surrey, was the Bishop of Guildford, and perhaps an unlikely candidate to complain about economic woe. However he too admitted:

*'It has been very difficult for us to know how to deal with so big a building, but we are working out a scheme which will, I think, prove a practicable one, the chief difficulty being the great expense of the maintenance of so large and ancient a pile'*⁶⁰

Farnham was a huge 12th century motte and shell keep castle built by Bishop Henry of Blois. It had served as a residence to the wealthy bishops of Winchester but in 1927 the

diocese was divided and Farnham Castle passed to John Guildford. In 1930 the Bishop discovered dry rot in the Great Hall and a Clerk of Works was sent to investigate. He suggested that the 18th century lath and plaster covering the walls be entirely removed to reveal the Norman stonework.⁶¹ Fortunately his suggestion wasn't adopted although the monument passed into guardianship in June 1933. The acquisition is perhaps more notable for earlier negotiations in 1912. Charles Peers had at that time suggested the Bishop's garden inside the keep be excavated by eight to ten feet to reveal the archaeological remains, together with a total eradication of the climbers on the castle walls.⁶² The Bishop was alarmed by the proposals and consulted Francis Fox, an antiquarian. He deemed such measures would 'produce a gaunt uninteresting ruin' of much less worth.⁶³ A letter from the Bishop's office summarised the position and marked the end of guardianship negotiations at that time:

*'I am afraid my last letter may have annoyed Mr. Peers a little: but it seems to have brought out a real difference in principle. The retention of the Garden is with us a sine qua non. We could not sacrifice what so many people constantly describe as unique in its charm; and I am afraid that a garden sunk at a lower level would be a totally different thing... Under the circumstances it seems to me that it would hardly be worth while to put Mr. Baines to the trouble of coming down.'*⁶⁴

Economic conditions also necessitated the transfer of the small 12th century nunnery known as **White Ladies Priory** in Shropshire (Figures 7 and 8). The owner Admiral Lord Stafford requested guardianship in view of the heavy death duties which were unsettled on his estate.⁶⁵ The request was initially refused but the Admiral used his influence to instigate a Parliamentary Question. The MP Mr Mander asked the First Commissioner, William Ormsby-Gore (1885-1964), in the House of Commons:

*'In view of the romantic association of this place with the wanderings of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester will the Right. Hon. Gentleman, give it a high place on his list?'*⁶⁶

The answer was that restricted funds precluded the Department from taking it into care. Nonetheless a notice board appeared on the site to the Department's ignorance in November 1936:

'Owing to damage which has occurred, the ruins of Whiteladies are closed to the public pending arrangements for their being taken over by the Office of Works'

Admiral Lord Stafford's bold approach and persistence eventually paid off for the site was transferred in September 1938.

*Figure 7: A view of the transept arch of White Ladies Priory prior to guardianship.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/895).*



*Figure 8: A view of White Ladies after the Office of Works 'make-over'.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/895).*



'No man's land': The Neolithic flint mines of Grime's Graves

Perhaps the most significant site taken into care in 1931 was the Neolithic flint mines known as 'Grime's Graves' (Figure 9). The monument had been likened to the Western Front in January 1917. Reginald Smith (1873-1940) of the British Museum stating: 'the site may be compared with no man's land in France: a mass of shell-holes, but the trees are standing'.⁶⁷ He had requested the monument be scheduled given that it was 'incontestably the finest Stone Age site in England and probably anywhere else'.⁶⁸ Through the 1920s the site would serve as a battle ground but between Government departments rather than opposing nations. The Forestry Commission purchased Grime's Graves and the surrounding estate in 1926. This meant that the scheduling effectively became void because it now came within the jurisdiction of a Government department. The Commission were reminded by the Office of Works that they were expected to 'take every care' of the monument and should consult the Ancient Monuments Branch regarding any changes in management.⁶⁹ However within a year a large part of the monument was planted with young trees. An urgent meeting was called on the 12th August 1927. This was not entirely successful for the Assistant Secretary concluded that the Commission were 'very concerned regarding the financial aspect' but showed little interest in the archaeology. Charles Peers summarised the impending issue:

*'This is a case of first rate importance affecting one of the most valuable prehistoric sites in the country. Having been brought by the Forestry Commission it is no longer technically scheduled but ... We should press most strongly that no more planting be done, & should point out that this is not a question of mere finance, & that the treatment of such a monument by a Govt. Dept cannot be dictated by E-S-D. The state must set an example, or it is hopeless to expect private owners to abstain from profiting by the destruction of any monuments they may own.'*⁷⁰

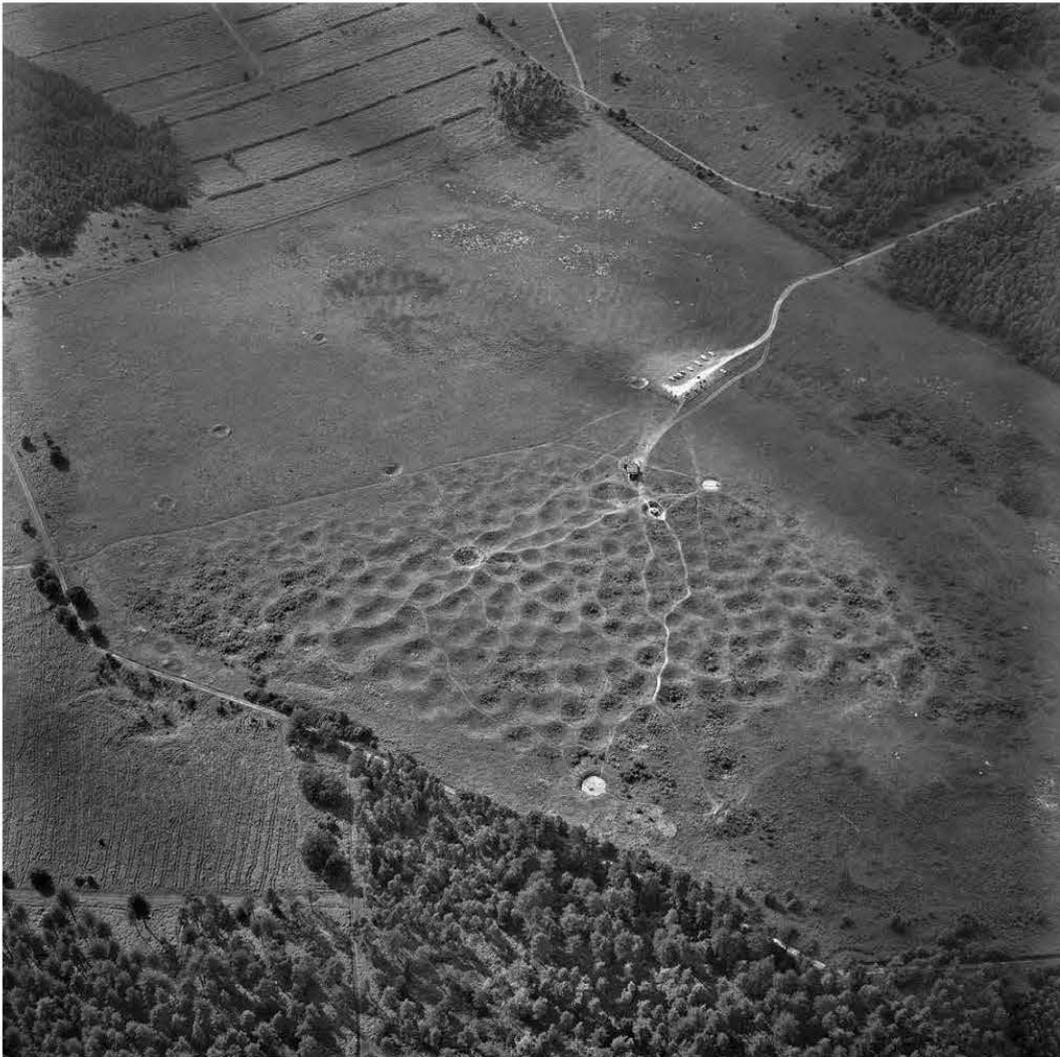
Thus a damning letter in *The Times* on the 8th October 1927, entitled 'GRIME'S GRAVES. FORESTRY ON A SCHEDULED AREA', was just the kind of press the Office of Works hoped to avoid. This emphasised flagrant contravention of the Ancient Monuments Act not by a private individual but by a Government department. The Forestry Commission defended their actions, informing Charles Peers that they had not known that the 95 acres of land were scheduled when they initially purchased the estate and to leave it entirely unplanted would result in considerable financial loss. A joint statement was issued in *The Times* setting out the misunderstanding and highlighting that if the current excavations by the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia did not uncover anything of significance then planting would resume.⁷¹

In January 1928 Lord Peel, the First Commissioner of Works (1867-1937), met a representative of the Forestry Commission at Grime's Graves. He came to an initial agreement to speed up the excavations and do everything in his power to meet the wishes of the Commission. This was not the kind of settlement Charles Peers expected:

...we must, as a Department, remember the exceptional importance of this site to science, & should not acquiesce in a treatment of it to which we should strongly object in the case of tumuli & earthworks scheduled under the Act. Our policy must, I fear, conflict with that of the Forestry Comm & indeed it is our duty to see that it does.⁷²

Figure 9: The Neolithic flint mines of Grime's Graves in July 1997.

© English Heritage Photo Library. Reference Number: NMR/15769/10.



Negative press continued. In 1928 a report by the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia suggested that if the monument were to be permanently preserved it should be purchased by the Office of Works. At the same time it was revealed that the visiting public had damaged a Neolithic mine shaft. This had been left uncovered since excavation in 1914 but members of the Ipswich Motor Cycle Club had now gone down into the radiating galleries and caused havoc.⁷³ The Assistant Secretary, Frederick Raby, sought to tackle the preservation issue head on. He broached the question of possible purchase with the Forestry Commission. However they replied that it would be 'inadvisable to

allow the area in question to pass from their control'.⁷⁴ An even stronger case was made and three months later consent to the sale was finally achieved. However the Office of Works still had to gain Treasury approval. They requested to use funds from the Public Buildings Vote to purchase the monument. Given that Grime's Graves was the most important prehistoric monument in England and had 'a high place among monuments of that age on the continent' it was a special case.⁷⁵ The Treasury did not come to the same understanding. In their reply they stated:

*' [We are] not sure that any useful purpose will be served by this transfer; am I not right in thinking that the main object of transferring Ancient Monuments to the Office of Works is that your expert staff may see that the structure is not allowed to deteriorate? Since here there is no structure or, alternatively, the structure is underground, there is nothing calling for the work of your expert to be done.'*⁷⁶

Raby persisted and the Treasury eventually gave consent in July 1929, stipulating that the sale should be carried out through an Inland Revenue Valuation. This was much to the irritation of the Forestry Commission for it was valued at £400 rather than the £545 which they expected. Under the final terms of the agreement a cottage was to be constructed for a Forestry Commission caretaker to manage the surrounding plantations. The Deed of Conveyance was completed on the 18th December 1931.

The Tribunal: an unusual addition

At the opposite end of the spectrum is the 15th century town house, known as **The Tribunal**, in Glastonbury, Somerset, transferred into Government care in 1932 (Figure 10). Guardianship negotiations initially began with a letter from the owner, Robert Granville. He wished to transfer the building but on condition that it could be let to the Glastonbury Antiquarian Society as a museum. Granville also wanted to continue to receive the rent.⁷⁷ Such conditions were rejected. However by April 1931 the Office of Works received news that the building could now be taken over unconditionally. The house was different to the prehistoric or other medieval monuments that the Department were accustomed to:

'This is an offer which is out of the ordinary. The Abbot's Tribunal is in a habitable condition; and at present two ladies run a shop on the ground floor for the sale of ornamental china articles etc. Something must be done to ensure the permanent preservation of this interesting building. The owner is now willing to entrust it to our guardianship, & I consider that this is the best thing that could happen to it. I think that we ought to consider this offer very sympathetically in spite of shortage of funds. The roof and floor timbers may require attention, and probably it would be a good thing to obtain a technical report.'

*We could charge an admission fee; & it seems to me that the place could be rendered more attractive if, through local support, some appropriate articles of furniture were obtained for the rooms...*⁷⁸

The Office of Works erred on the side of caution and first suggested to the National Trust that they might take it over:

*'The point has been raised that it might be more appropriate if the National Trust were to take over this building. Sir C. Peers tells me that he has discussed the matter with other representatives of the Trust & they do not consider that they should take it over. It is something quite different from what we have been accustomed to take into our charge, but it is well worthwhile extending the scope of our activities in this instance.'*⁷⁹

The transfer was completed in April 1932 and plans were drawn up to use it as an 'attractive museum' to house finds from excavations at Glastonbury Abbey.

*Figure 10: Glastonbury Tribunal in the early 20th century.
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Local authorities and ancient monuments

Local authorities continued through the 1930s to have mixed relations with Government regarding ancient monuments. In about 1930 St Alban's Council acquired the Roman city of **Verulamium** and excavations were carried out under Mortimer Wheeler.⁸⁰ These uncovered large stretches of the Roman city walls which were now offered to the Government. Charles Peers was slightly hesitant to take on the extra burden:

*'I have to recommend the Boards collaboration by taking the City Walls into guardianship. But it seems that our policy with such authorities is to stress their liability to protect their own monuments, we should require that our consent should depend on a satisfactory contribution by the L.A. towards the cost of treatment.'*⁶¹

The provision of £800 from the £3500 St Albans Council had received by the Unemployment Grants Committee provided the necessary persuasion. The walls were taken into care in June 1931. At about the same time the Board were offered **Monk Bretton Priory** in Yorkshire by Barnsley Borough Council. The Assistant Secretary set out the usual custom regarding such transfers:

*'This is a proposal that we should take charge of an ancient monument owned by a local authority within the meaning of the Act. In the past we have been definitely opposed to this, on the ground that local authorities have been entrusted with powers of guardianship.... This is a sound principle to adhere to unless there are special circumstances.'*⁶²

The special circumstances were that Charles Peers had spent several years negotiating with the previous owner before it passed to the local authority. They had purchased the monument on the assumption that it would be repaired and consolidated by the Government. Hence guardianship was approved in June 1932. There were also other attractions to the transfer. The Cluniac monastery possessed an almost complete west range and a well preserved 15th century gatehouse. It would prove the chief historic attraction in a thickly populated district where the Government held no other ancient monuments:

*'The remains of the Priory ...are the sole example of their kind in a district which is very uninteresting. There are innumerable collieries in every direction and the surrounding country suffers in consequence.'*⁶³

Thus the Department were concerned with the distribution of the national collection as well as the sites themselves. This was a factor in taking on **Thornton Abbey** in Lincolnshire several years later. It was the finest medieval abbey in a county where the Board held no monuments.⁶⁴ Thornton was also unusual for its later history. In the 1850s the abbey served as the venue for huge Temperance Society gatherings, with up to 15,000 people making their way to the site from across northern England for 'rational recreation'.⁶⁵

The Government attitude was distinctly different with 'first rate' monuments; the State alone was the best authority to look after them. Such was the case with the **Sandbach Crosses**, Cheshire, and the collection of monuments at Uffington, Oxfordshire. The former were two massive Saxon stone crosses, elaborately carved with animals and Biblical scenes including the Nativity of Christ and the Crucifixion, which appeared almost as totem poles in the centre of the market square.⁸⁶ It was observed that since the District Council had neglected the monument in the past they would probably continue to do so. Raby concluded:

*'The offer of the Anglian Crosses is one which we ought not to refuse. They constitute a monument of first rate importance, and we alone are competent to look after them.'*⁸⁷

The monuments at Uffington comprised an Iron Age hillfort (**Uffington Castle**), a natural mound known as '**Dragon Hill**' associated with the legend of St George, and the **Whitehorse**: the oldest chalk-cut hill figure in Britain.⁸⁸ Jocelyn Bushe-Fox (1880-1954), Inspector of Ancient Monuments, thought at this time that Dragon Hill was a man-made monument, being 'the largest tumuli in the country'. He considered that the Office of Works should certainly take charge:

*'Personally I consider we should have this very important monument although I have no doubt that the National Trust would treat it sympathetically. The Berkshire C. C. certainly should not have charge of it.'*⁸⁹

The owner Lady Craven transferred the site into guardianship on the 8th May 1936.

Local success stories

In some cases additions to the national collection were brought about by the people themselves. These are perhaps stories that deserve the greatest celebration. Among them is **Binham Priory, Norfolk**. This was a Benedictine priory founded by Baron Peter des Valoines, the nephew of William the Conqueror, in about 1091.⁹⁰ The nave was in use as Binham's parish church and therefore couldn't be taken into guardianship but the surrounding ruins were transferred in October 1933.⁹¹ For many years they had been maintained through donations by local farmers. However by 1930 the agricultural depression meant many were practically bankrupt. The Government agreed to take over the ruins on the condition that the local archaeological society raised the necessary money to purchase the land.⁹² The subscriptions took several years to collect but by 1933 a sale was arranged and the Norfolk Archaeological Trust handed the priory to the Ancient Monuments Branch.

The Liskeard Old Cornwall Society was even more active. Through the 1930s they arranged the transfer of King Doniert's Stone, The Hurlers, and Dupath Well Chapel. The

King Doniert's Stone was in fact two richly carved pieces of a ninth century cross commemorating the British King of Dumnonia. The Society collected £30 to ensure the proper presentation of the monument within a beautifully built drystone enclosure with a stile off the nearby road.⁹³ Guardianship was announced at their midsummer eve bonfire on the 23rd June 1933. The President of the Society, Albert de Castro Glubb (1865-1947), was the key mover in most of these transfers. In 1934 he organised fund raising to reinstate **The Hurlers** (Figure 11).⁹⁴ This was an extremely rare grouping of three Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age stone circles. In 1650 John Norden described the stones as like 'men performinge that pastime Hurlinge'.⁹⁵ Indeed the monument gained its name from a local tradition that identified 'The Hurlers' as men who were turned to stone for playing the ancient game of hurling on a Sunday. The Deed of Guardianship was completed on the 6th April 1935, and the monument subsequently excavated and restored.

*Figure 11: A view of 'The Hurlers', three Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age stone circles.
© English Heritage Photo Library*



Dupath Well Chapel was built by Augustinian canons of nearby St Germans Priory in 1510 (Figure 13).⁹⁶ It housed the remains of an immersion pool for cure-seekers. In the medieval period the cult of holy wells proved popular and 40 such chapels were built throughout Cornwall. The Office of Works considered this 'the best preserved and most interesting of all the Cornish Well-Chapels'.⁹⁷ Glubb raised a local subscription of £100 to purchase the monument and the Government's 'Chief Correspondent' (forerunner of a Field Monument Warden), Courtenay Arthur Raleigh Radford (1900-1999), endeavoured to 'divert the gift from the National Trust'.⁹⁸ The Deed of Gift was completed in January 1937 and a letter of thanks was addressed to Glubb personally:

*'I am directed by the First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works, etc. to state, the Commissioners' gratification at the completion of the conveyance to them of Dupath Well, Callington, which has been purchased and presented to this Department by the generosity of individual subscribers. The Commissioners are glad to possess and preserve on behalf of the nation the remains of the most important and most interesting of all Cornish Well-Chapels, which of its kind they believe to be unequalled.'*⁹⁹

Perhaps what is most notable is the list of local subscribers (Figure 12). The donations towards the £100 preservation cost range from £25 by the Marquis of Northampton to the 10 shillings by a local girl from Tavistock.

*Figure 12: The subscribers to preserve the chapel.
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List of Subscribers for the purchase of
Dupath Well Chapel, Callington
for the purpose of conveying same to
H. M. Office of Works.

Subscriptions :-		By paid Purchase Money.	
Marquis of Northampton.	25. 0. 0	By paid Purchase Money.	100. 0. 0
A. de C. Clubb, Liskeard.	25. 0. 0	" Stamp on Conveyance and Land	18. 6
Viscount Clifden, Lanhydrock.	5. 0. 0	Registry Fee.	7. 6
Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, Mount Edgcumbe.	5. 0. 0	" Postages and incidentals.	
Hon. Sir M. Eliot, Port Eliot.	5. 0. 0		
Capt. Coryton, Pentillie Castle.	5. 0. 0		
I. Foot, Penreber.	5. 0. 0		
Mrs. Pollard, St. Mawes.	5. 0. 0		
The Hon. Sir J. L. Bonython, K.C.M.G. Adelaide, S. Australia.	3. 3. 0		
D. Hornson, Great Torrington.	2. 0. 0		
Misses J. C. & E. M. Kempthorne and Mrs. Edward Symons, Wibleton, late of Callington.	2. 2. 0		
Rector of St. Dominic.	1. 3. 6		
J. C. Williams, Caerhays Castle.	1. 1. 8		
C. E. C. Andrew, St. Cleer.	1. 1. 0		
Col. E. L. Harrook, Callington.	1. 1. 0		
J. M. Macmillan, Polzeath.	10. 0		
Miss E. M. Hornson, Tavistock.	10. 0		
Collected by Callington Parish Council :-			
G. R. Hancock	25. 0. 0		
C. E. Underhill.	1. 1. 0		
Smaller sums.	2. 7. 6		
	9. 8. 6		
£ 101. 0. 0			£ 101. 0. 0

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Figure 13: Dupath Well Chapel in the 1930s prior to guardianship.
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Kenilworth Castle, one of the jewels of the Office of Works properties, was also gifted to the nation through an act of benevolence at this time (Figure 14). In April 1937 the Assistant Secretary informed the Chief Inspector of the impending transfer:

'Sir John Siddeley (of Armstrong-Siddeleys) called this morning and saw Mr Simms & Myself.

He has it in mind to purchase Kenilworth Castle and make it over to the nation. He thought first of the National Trust but was not sure that they would be able to preserve and maintain it properly.

I explained the conditions of guardianship to him and assured him that the Dept. would have no hesitation in accepting guardianship of what we considered one of the most important monuments of the country.

He would have to pay about £30,000 for it to Lord Clarendon and he would be willing to make a grant of £5000 towards the cost of preservation so that we could go on with the work without delay.

We know that the Town Council has been thinking of buying and they expected to pay about £40,000 but have hesitated about the cost of preservation. From what we have heard they will probably be glad to be relieved of any responsibility in the matter.¹⁰⁰

Sir John Siddeley had owned the huge automobile company Armstrong Siddeley before a merger with Hawker Aircraft in 1935. This company, Hawker Siddeley, went on to produce the famous Hawker Hurricane fighter plane that, along with the Supermarine

Spitfire, served as Britain's front-line defence in the Battle of Britain. Jocelyn Bushe-Foxe was thrilled with the transfer of the castle. In a letter to Paul Baillie Reynolds (1896-1973), Inspector of Ancient Monuments, he wrote:

'I am delighted to hear that Kenilworth ... is being presented to us. I have for some time been uneasy about its fate, especially as it seemed to fall into the hands of the local Council.

I have never looked at the Castle from the Guardianship point of view but you should endeavour to obtain as much of the surrounding ground as possible. There is one very important point. There was an artificial lake on one side of the Castle which was as much part of its defence as were the walls themselves. I do not know the possibilities, and Sir John will probably be astounded at the suggestion, but we should certainly endeavour to re-establish the lake so as to give the Castle its proper medieval setting.'¹⁰⁷

His proposal to restore the Great Lake was not entertained, although Sir John Siddeley agreed to keep the land free from development. The gift was applauded in a Parliamentary Question and Sir John was raised to the peerage of Baron Kenilworth by the King. It compared with the titles acquired by Cecil Chubb, the benefactor of Stonehenge, and Sir John Lubbock, the protector of Avebury.

Figure 14: A view of Kenilworth Castle taken circa 1900.

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Saving monuments for the nation

In several instances during the 1930s the Government stepped in to save an ancient monument because neither the owner nor an amenity society was able to fund the preservation works. In a five year period from 1932 to 1937 Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle, St James's Chapel, Croxden Abbey, Old Wardour Castle and St Leonard's Tower were rescued in this way. The fortified manor known as **Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle**, Leicestershire, was in such a dangerous condition that the gardener had altogether refused to remove the ivy covering the walls.¹⁰² The monument was taken into care in April 1932. **St James's Chapel**, Suffolk, was on the verge of demolition when the owner received the scheduling notification in June 1930.¹⁰³ She was in disbelief that the property in its present condition could be found worthy of treatment as a national monument. The 13th century chapel was indeed in an extremely poor state. The east wall had fallen, there was a six foot gap in the north wall and the thatched roof was nearing collapse (Figure 15). The guardianship procedure progressed quickly given her solicitors warning that: 'if any injury is caused to life or limb she will have to hold you responsible'.¹⁰⁴ The chapel was restored in 1931 (Figure 16). The following year the Commissioners received an unusual request by the new owner, Doctor James Watt, to use it as a waiting room. Charles Peers initially refused but Dr Watt, a disabled war pensioner, threatened to make representations to the House of Commons. After all he did not wish to make any alterations except to accommodate a few chairs and bookcases in the chapel. He could even carry out the role of caretaker himself. The Office of Works had a change of heart, writing to the owner in January 1933:

*'The Commissioners have always every desire not to occasion avoidable inconvenience to property owners whose co-operation in the preservation of ancient monuments is indeed essential to the success of their work. ...they would be happy to appoint you Custodian of the Chapel.'*¹⁰⁵

William Ormsby-Gore, First Commissioner of Works, took a personal interest in the preservation of **Croxden Abbey** in Staffordshire. The remains of the Cistercian monastery required urgent works to consolidate the nave and the south transept walls.¹⁰⁶ The need was considerable, as expressed by Ormsby-Gore to the Assistant Secretary:

*'...Here is another case where the only satisfactory solution of the problem is guardianship, with all that this will ultimately involve in the way of expenditure – not only on the existing buildings but on excavation of the important & almost unique apsidal east end of the church lying north of the public road. The monument & remains are clearly of very great importance & their present management most unsatisfactory. If we are to act on the spirit & intentions of the Acts we ought to take it over, & the Treasury ought to let us have the money. Nothing do I resent more than the present partial starvings of our ancient monuments work - & as you know I regard it as our most important national duty after centuries of neglect. Nothing could give me great[er] personal satisfaction than the acquisition of a monument in Staffordshire, which I represent in Parliament.'*¹⁰⁷

*Figure 15: St James's Chapel from the south-east in 1930.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/510).*



Figure 16: The chapel on 31st March 1950. Copyright The National Archives.



He sent a personal letter to the owner's land agent whereby he concluded:

*'...I feel it to be my duty laid upon me by Parliament to do all I can to preserve our wonderful heritage of medieval buildings, and I hope that Colonel Verdin will respond to my appeal.'*¹⁰⁸

The monument was taken into care in September 1936. Two months earlier the Office of Works had also gained control of the 14th century fortified house known as **Old Wardour Castle** in Wiltshire, which was in a dangerous condition (Figures 17 and 18).¹⁰⁹ The guardianship negotiations lasted six years and were only concluded following the death of Lady Arundel at the age of 92. Affairs on her landholding had long been in abeyance. According to Lord Radnor the whole estate was 'going to pieces' together with the castle.¹¹⁰

St Leonards Tower, Kent, was a Norman tower-keep, thought to have been built by Gundulf, Bishop in the late 11th century. In the 1930s the tower adjoined a private mental asylum.¹¹¹ The examining magistrates determined that since the tower was overhanging and dangerous to patients it would have to be demolished unless the Government assumed responsibility. The monument was taken into guardianship in May 1937. Many years earlier a transfer had been suggested but those negotiations fell through. That offer was put to Charles Peers in February 1915:

*'In reply to yours of the 13th Re: St Leonards Tower, Westminster – Would your people like to buy this from me. I think I would be prepared to take the same price that was paid for the old jug that was found at the Vicarage....'*¹¹²

Peers was certainly amused by the proposal, as revealed in a note to the Assistant Secretary:

'Secretary

The "old jug found at the Vicarage" was a late 16th century silvermounted stoneware flagon, doubtless a communion vessel & church property. It was sold for about £1500 & a new aisle built onto the church out of the proceeds!

The tower is of course at West Malling – not Westminster! It is a very fine piece of late 11th century building, but I am not prepared to guess its value per square foot as compared with the jug, there being no current market price for this class of antiquity.

*We might point our interest is in its preservation, & that we should be glad to be able to arrange a time when we can inspect it....'*¹¹³

One of the last monuments to be 'rescued' in the 1930s was **Castle Acre Bailey Gate**. Pressure from the local inhabitants of Castle Acre persuaded the owner, Lord Leicester, to transfer the Norman gateway into guardianship. A large portion of the flint facework had fallen, and there was growing concern that unless the gateway was restored it might

cause injury, standing as it did over a public highway. The Deed of Guardianship was signed on the 7th November 1938 and the monument was repaired and consolidated.

*Figure 17: General view of Old Wardour Castle, 16th June 1931.
Copyright The National Archives. (File: WORK 14/893).*



*Figure 18: Detail of west wall with danger notice, Old Wardour Castle, 16th June 1931.
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The development of visitor tourism during the interwar period

Hand in hand with the growth of the national collection of historic sites went the development of visitor tourism. This was particularly apparent as the motor industry expanded after the First World War. Both the automobile and motor bus opened up the countryside bringing visitors to ancient monuments in ever growing numbers. By 1920 the crowds at Roche Abbey were overwhelming. The site was at that time under guardianship negotiations. Arthur Heasman, the Ancient Monuments Architect, reported that an entrance fee would be essential:

*'... on Public Holidays a very large number of people go to the Abbey and if the weather is fine the numbers amount to thousands and it is necessary for the caretaker to obtain additional assistance from the Local Police in order to maintain order. The behaviour of holiday visitors is not always orderly and the ruins are disfigured by the immense quantity of papers and other litter which is left behind. For this reason alone it would appear that an Entrance Fee is desirable.'*¹¹⁴

A couple of years before Sir Alfred Mond (1868-1930), the First Commissioner, had received a letter from George Shaw-Lefevre (1831-1928), 1st Baron Eversley, calling for entrance fees to be scrapped.¹¹⁵ Fees had been introduced at historic sites following the 1900 Ancient Monuments Protection Act. Sir Alfred Mond gave a strong defence of the entrance charge, indicating that it was needed now more than ever:

'We now have a very large number of important Monuments in England, Scotland and Wales under our care, and the expenses for custodians, cutting the grass and keeping the grounds neat and tidy amount to a considerable annual sum. If we were to get no appropriation in aid from the tourist element, it would I am convinced hamper us with the good work...'

It must also be remembered that an entrance fee is one of the most effective forms of protection which can be devised. Persons without interest or understanding of Ancient Monuments will not pay anything to see it, and as they are precisely the people who may be expected to scratch their names on it and otherwise damage and disfigure it, their exclusion is all to the good.

*... In many instances the number of visitors have considerably increased in spite of the exaction of a small charge, as they apparently consider there is something worth seeing.'*¹¹⁶

At many ancient monuments caretakers were now appointed on a formal basis and received a weekly or annual wage. They sold postcards and guidebooks on behalf of the Commissioners. Guidebooks had been introduced shortly before the First World War following Charles Peers 1911 Ancient Monuments Report.¹¹⁷

The Government sought actively to encourage the visiting public through advertisements in tourist guides or on bill boards at railway stations. In 1922 the then Permanent Secretary, Sir Lionel Earle, wrote to the Treasury regarding his plans for Furness Abbey:

'Next year, under the new railway grouping system the North Western railway take over the Furness railway, and through my long standing friendship with the Hon. Charles Lawrence, the Chairman of the North Western railway, I believe I could persuade the company to advertise the Abbey pretty freely in their railway carriages, and stations, by photographs. It would bring grist to their mill in passengers and to us in fees, provided that you would allow us to take over the monument.

I find in the case of Tintern and other monuments which are now beginning to be shown intelligently, that the visitors are increasing considerably annually; in fact every year shows a general increase in the appropriations in-aid, quite apart from the increased number of monuments that we hold under our charge.¹¹⁸

About a decade later the First Commissioner, William Ormsby-Gore, spoke of the need to get the London and North Eastern Railway (LNER) to produce a good range of posters of ancient monuments. He specified that these should be 'of a type like their Cathedral series' and would need to be displayed at York, Scarborough and the bigger railway stations of the North.¹¹⁹ By this time some guardianship sites were overrun by cars. At Kirkham Priory it was necessary to start charging visitors to park their vehicles whilst at Whitcombe Roman Villa special signposts were drawn up to direct motorists to the attraction.¹²⁰ One writer, Henry Williamson, on a visit to Stonehenge lamented the proliferation of advertisements for motor tyres that had sprung up over Salisbury Plain.¹²¹ Ironically it was the increasing numbers of cars on roads, including visitors to Hadrian's Wall, that led to demand for road improvement and therefore orders for stone from the very quarries that threatened that monument.¹²²

The 1930s were very much the heyday of the 'British Outdoor Movement'. This was not only restricted to day-trippers. From 1930 the Youth Hostel Association pioneered the provision of budget holidays and promoted access to the countryside as a form of social recreation. The rapid developments were well summarised by Sir Patrick Duff in a letter to the Treasury in December 1934:

'There was a time when, even if these monuments were preserved, few people could get the benefit of them. But to-day the great improvement in means of transport, the growth and increase in comfort of char-a-banc excursions, the spread of motoring to classes which formerly could not afford it, and the recent revival of bicycling and walking, have combined to create an interest in ancient monuments, both as objects for excursion, and as places interesting in themselves, which is reflected in the figures of our receipts. Except for the years of depression, 1930, 1931 and 1932, when there was a slight falling off, these figures have shown a steady annual increase over the last ten years, and in that period have reached a total of not far short of £100,000. The population is growing more alive to the interest of these places, and at the same time gets, and will get, more and more

*mobile, and I look forward to a time when every well cared for and attractive monument will be a source of a respectable revenue.*¹²³

By 1935 tourism at ancient monuments was big business. There were 122 monuments charging an entrance fee, which were frequented by 410,000 visitors over the course of a year.¹²⁴ The usual entry charges were 6d and 3d with smaller charges at a handful of monuments, and no charge at all for small or remote sites.¹²⁵ At paid sites special reductions were available for large groups of visitors whilst archaeological societies and educational parties of school children were given free admission. At a limited number of monuments local inhabitants that had been accustomed to free entry prior to guardianship still received it (e.g. Furness Abbey). In 1935 the entrance fees amounted to £10,364 for ancient monuments, £24,423 from historic buildings owned by the War Office but maintained by the Office of Works, and £7,302 for the royal palaces. Total revenue (including sales of guidebooks etc) amounted to £12,354 for ancient monuments, £31,622 for historic buildings and £9,060 for royal palaces: a grand total of £53,036. In comparison the annual expenditure on ancient monuments was £77,750. Thus revenue went a significant way towards funding the preservation works on the sites themselves. A formal program for advertisements was by now also in place:

*'Arrangements are made for the exhibition in hotels, steamships, schools, etc., and railway stations and carriages of coloured lino-cuts and posters prepared by the Department's draughtsmen, in sizes varying from 10" x 7", 14" x 10, 15" x 21" and 20" x 30" for lino-cuts, to 25" x 40" and 30" x 40" for posters. Posters of 40" x 50" size are in preparation. Photographs and information are supplied to Railway Companies, motoring associations, and travel agencies for reproduction or exhibition, and film companies are given facilities for the making of popular films of an archaeological or tourist nature.*¹²⁶

A whole range of guidebooks were available. Normal practice was for a small temporary pamphlet, costing 2d, to be produced before the preparation of a fuller guidebook at 6d. The guides consisted of a description and history of the monument. They were either prepared by the Department's Inspectors or an archaeologist of established repute. In the latter case they were examined by the Inspectors prior to publication. By 1937 a total of 76 guides had either been produced or were in the process of being so. In addition a new series of 'Regional Guides to Ancient Monuments' were being published and sold for one shilling each. There were three such guides for England covering the North, the South and the Midlands. Their content was summarised as follows:

*'These guides aim at presenting a short review of the history of the region concerned, illustrated by reference to the monuments in that area in the Department's guardianship. The guides are illustrated by some 18 or 20 photographs, and include notes giving a short account of each of the monuments and their situation, and stating when and at what charge the public are admitted, the price of the guide book, if there is one and whether postcards are for sale.*¹²⁷

Hence these were the forerunners of the modern day English Heritage handbook. Postcards were prepared by the Department from photographs taken by 'a special staff of photographers', and sold at 1½d each. Revenue from guidebooks and postcards amounted to a considerable sum. In 1935 the total amount gained for the former was £3049 and the latter £4328.¹²⁸

The custodians that supervised the sites were under the charge of the Chief Architect. They normally lived on or close to the monument. Visitors wishing to take photographs using a stand camera were expected to seek the permission of the custodian. Picnic parties were initially allowed at historic sites. Indeed when the Iron Age hillfort at Blackbury Castle, Devon, was taken into care in 1930 the Inspector commented that it would make a fine summer picnic spot for motorists from the nearby seaside resorts.¹²⁹ However by August 1945 it had been found necessary 'to enforce a general rule preventing picnic parties at all ancient monuments'.¹³⁰ No explanation is given of exactly why such a decision was taken.

In 1935 most objects recovered during excavations or clearance works were contained in site huts. A museum, probably the first, was situated at Richborough Roman fort, Kent. Nevertheless plans were underway for wider provision at many guardianship sites. Outside commentators, such as Graham Clarke (1907-1995), had asserted the need for these amenities:

*'If the State is to extend its interest from monuments and constructions to the objects which so often date them and invest them with meaning and associations, it seems clear that it will also have to take in hand the whole problem of the proper organisation of museums.'*¹³¹

In 1935 proposals were underway for a museum at Whitby Abbey, which was attracting over 31,000 visitors each year.¹³² In a much earlier memorandum Arthur Heasman, the Ancient Monuments Architect, wrote:

*'It is desired by the Chief Inspector eventually to provide a building at Whitby Abbey which can be used as a Museum in which to exhibit the carved stones and the interesting relics of the 7th and 8th Century Monastery. It is thought that a building about 30ft long X 15ft. wide will be required.'*¹³³

The estimated cost to provide the museum and a lavatory was £1014. However construction did not commence because the owner would not give consent. By 1933 Orsmy-Gore pressed for a decent replacement to site huts at most of the Government's flagship sites:

Both at Rievaulx and Byland the great need is the same, viz: a properly constructed and arranged museum where the more important detached finds, carved stones, tiles, etc., can

*be better housed and shown. The present huts are unsuitable, unsightly and a definite disfigurement to the amenities of the ruins.*¹³⁴

However the decision on a museum scheme for ancient monuments was delayed whilst the Treasury referred it to the Royal Commission on Museums. By April 1936 the Department had been given the green light. It was decided that two museums would be erected; one at Byland Abbey and another as an extension to the existing building at Richborough¹³⁵. As regards Whitby, the Treasury had specified that any scheme 'should be limited to providing for the most important of the lapidary remains and a representative collection of other finds'.¹³⁶ All such plans were put on hold in 1939 with the onset of the Second World War.

Investigative archaeology through the interwar period

Investigative archaeology developed under Jocelyn Bushe-Fox as Inspector of Ancient Monuments for England from 1920.¹³⁷ The excavations at Old Sarum and Stonehenge had previously been carried out by the Society of Antiquaries. However from 1922 Bushe-Fox conducted excavations at the guardianship site of Richborough Roman Fort. Many years before he had trained Mortimer Wheeler at Wroxeter. Not every site was well supervised. At many of the medieval monastic sites and castles clearance work of post-dissolution deposits went unsupervised (See Report Five in this series). This appears to have been partly due to Charles Peers' emphasis on built remains, as well as a view that real archaeology was restricted to earlier periods.

During the 1920s the Society of Antiquaries organised archaeological supervision in the City of London, appointing 'Inspectors of London Excavations' in association with the London Museum.¹³⁸ Such expert assistance was not available everywhere. On the 25th April 1928 the Ancient Monuments Board reported that there had been difficulties obtaining both supervision and funding for excavations at the Iron Age hillfort known as Chilworth Ring in Hampshire.¹³⁹ The redevelopment of the interior for housing was imminent. The Board asserted that a clause in an amending Ancient Monuments Act was greatly needed to provide powers to spend money on actual research in urgent cases such as this. These were the first mutterings of both a research policy for archaeology and of the importance of rescue excavation.

In 1929 the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Charles Peers, published a paper entitled 'A Research Policy for Fieldwork' in the *Antiquaries Journal*. It was drawn up with the assistance of a sub-committee of the Society of Antiquaries formed of Messrs. Bushe-Fox, Robin Collingwood, Harold Peake and Mortimer Wheeler. The paper stated that the time was opportune for the establishment of a research policy:

'...a general agreement on the direction of archaeological enquiry in Britain would be of the greatest possible value. By such means the energies of all the archaeological societies

*and institutions of the country might be concentrated on a definite programme of research, in which all might take part, avoiding side-issues and useless repetitions.*¹⁴⁰

The point was pressed that every excavation should now have a specific motive and definite line of enquiry, which would benefit the archaeological world in general. It could perhaps be seen as the final death nail for 'antiquarianism' and the mark of the establishment of an archaeological discipline. What was important in this case was the knowledge and record gained from the excavation, not the quantity or quality of the finds:

*'The examination of ancient sites can no longer be regarded as was unhappily the case in former days, as a mere search for antiquities. The thing found is of value, whether to history, art, or science, but the circumstances of its finding are of even more evidential worth. The ideal excavation is one in which all the evidence is recognised and recorded, a task which demands no ordinary degree of knowledge and experience. It follows that such work should not be lightly undertaken, for with the best intentions it is easy to do more harm than good. The choice of a site should not be at haphazard, but made with a particular problem in view. No work should be begun without the supervision of an archaeologist competent by reason of his experience and general knowledge to direct every detail. Provision must be made for complete and accurate record by measurements, drawings, and photographs of all evidence disclosed... [Whilst] a necessary condition of all such work is that its results should be published as promptly and completely as possible.'*¹⁴¹

In this context it is important to appreciate the steps made in the late 19th century by Lt. Gen. Augustus Pitt-Rivers, the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments. He is often termed the 'father of British field-archaeology'.¹⁴² Pitt-Rivers' background included the test demonstration of ordnance and work as a military prosecutor.¹⁴³ Thus he introduced the concept that archaeological evidence should be able to stand up in a court of law. The proof of evidence rested on the vertical stratigraphic section, a notion borrowed from the field of geology. Pitt-Rivers was meticulous at recording his archaeological work and appreciated the worth of every find no matter how insipid:

*'the value of relics, viewed as evidence, may... be said to be in inverse ratio to their intrinsic value.'*¹⁴⁴

Nevertheless there is a sense that by the end of the 1920s Pitt-Rivers' earlier aspirations no longer represented the crusade of a single man but a common principle of the archaeological discipline as a whole.

The specific policies set out by Charles Peers in his research paper were organised under three headings: Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman. In terms of prehistory Peers identified that research was needed in: glacial and interglacial deposits of the Stone Age; occupation sites of the Bronze Age and Iron Age; and the chronology of earthworks.¹⁴⁵ The priorities for the Roman period included: military sites; villas; village sites; and

miscellanea i.e. unusual building types. An example of some of the specific questions put forward were those relating to Roman towns. Peers stated that the date of foundation and abandonment should be determined; the date of the defences should be discovered as well as the history of the principal buildings.¹⁴⁶ He considered that little could be learnt through the excavation of shops and private buildings so this was best avoided. Finally under Post-Roman the emphasis was on: Discovering Anglo-Saxon occupation sites; dating medieval pottery; and understanding the architectural development of later medieval buildings. That was where Peers' policy ended. Thus it seems evident that he regarded post-medieval archaeology as hardly archaeology at all, or otherwise simply of insufficient interest to warrant research. The consequences were altogether apparent in the clearance of post-medieval remains at guardianship sites, which would bring criticism in later years.¹⁴⁷

The terms of the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act provided that the Commissioners of Works could, for the first time, excavate any site they had reason to believe contained an ancient monument (Section 9 (1)). Thus they could now spend money on a site not in their charge. The new powers were used to excavate remains relating to the Vikings on the Orkney and Shetland Islands, Scotland.¹⁴⁸ Among the Inspectors duties were the supervision of such investigations. In addition the Commissioners sanctioned the excavation of scheduled monuments by approved archaeologists under the condition that they published their results and sent a copy to the Department.¹⁴⁹ The Department's activities eventually widened to encompass a large number of rescue excavations during the Second World War (see below). Among the first substantial rescue excavations was the redevelopment of Whitehall Palace under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries in 1938.

In the context of archaeological research it is important to emphasise the progress that had been made by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME). Between 1908 and 1933 a total of 15 volumes detailing the ancient monuments of England were published. These were scholarly and accurate and yet able to appeal to the informed public. Thus Clark considered that they were part of a 'comprehensive policy of preservation by the State'¹⁵⁰, which served to broaden public interest. He also emphasised that given the level of detail in the reports the output was truly astonishing. Between 1919 and 1923 alone the organisation recorded 3554 monuments in 314 parishes.¹⁵¹ The average rate of progress by the 1930s was 700 monuments annually. On the basis of annual expenditure this equated to about £8 per every English monument investigated. At the same time O.G.S Crawford as the Ordnance Survey archaeological officer was providing the State with an accurate cartographic record of its antiquities. The production of period maps had obvious public appeal whilst Crawford's work was to a great extent aided by developments in aerial photography, made possible by the RAF.

Scheduling in the 1930s and 40s

The scheduling of ancient monuments had been introduced under the 1913 Act. The system of carrying this out and overseeing the monuments across the country was established between 1913 and 1922 (See Report Four in this series). In the 1930s several interesting questions arose as regards the compilation of lists of monuments of national importance. At the 19th meeting of the Ancient Monuments Board in July 1931 the issue of notice boards at scheduled sites was brought up given that the Bleasdale Stone Circle in Lancashire had been 'investigated by a party of school boys who were unaware that the monument was scheduled.'¹⁵² The Board decided that the cost of notice boards at so many sites would be prohibitive.¹⁵³ At the same meeting the first windmill was put forward for scheduling. This was a 17th century post mill at Bourn, Cambridge. The monument was discussed but it was decided that windmills should not be scheduled. In May 1936 the scheduling of The Pinhole Cave, The Langwith Cave and Mother Grundy's Parlour at Cresswell, Derbyshire were considered by the Board. Under the 1931 Act caves could become scheduled monuments where they retained evidence of human occupation. These examples had been put forward by the British Association. All were approved, as was the 'general principle of scheduling such caves'.¹⁵⁴ At the same meeting the Board considered 'monuments discovered by Air Photography but invisible from the ground' (i.e. crop marks). They decided to take each case on its merits but to leave it to the discretion of the Chief Inspector to decide which were of most importance.

Some monuments were scheduled in error. In 1937 a collection of rocks were scheduled at the Church Down Hill 'camp', Gloucestershire before it was discovered to be a natural formation. Another mistake was made during the attempt to schedule a 'round barrow' near Horsley, Gloucestershire, which was actually the debris from a quarry.

In November 1938 the Ancient Monuments Branch received a letter from the Central Council for the Care of Churches deprecating in strong terms the scheduling of monuments in churchyards.¹⁵⁵ The Inspector of Ancient Monuments for England, Paul Baillie Reynolds, spoke before the Ancient Monuments Board stressing the vital importance of the preservation of Dark Age Crosses in churchyards. It was decided that it was perfectly legal to schedule in churchyards but if any action was required over a scheduled monument it was to be reported first to the church authorities. At the same meeting on 15th February 1939 a discussion on scheduling Martello towers, widened to a discourse on what actually constituted an 'ancient' monument:

'Mr Clapham... also suggested that one or two of the pill-boxes of the last War should be considered for scheduling – they are valuable as historical documents of Military History, and if Martello Towers were included, the series would be continued right through. ... Neither Sir Lionel Earle nor Sir Charles Trevelyan could see any harm in scheduling the Martello Towers but they wondered if the pill-boxes of the last War were worth it, and the question arose as to what constituted an Ancient Monument. The pill-boxes were not

historically interesting at present but they may be in another 100 years and there are full records, photographs and drawings, etc., in the War Museum.

It was recommended that all reasonably good Martello Towers should be scheduled, but that the scheduling of pill-boxes should be left to later generations.¹⁵⁶

By 1939 there were 2998 scheduled ancient monuments.¹⁵⁷ The work of scheduling was in abeyance during the Second World War, with 50 monuments on hold, but the process resumed in 1946.¹⁵⁸ However the Ancient Monuments Branch faced the difficulty of finding the owners of the land on which many monuments were situated, many having tragically lost their lives during the conflict.

The Ancient Monuments Branch and the Second World War

*'Now the night sky is full of the noise of a fierce and vindictive enemy bent on destroying us, and this challenge has re-awakened our faith in the culture we stood for. But perhaps it is not too much to say that if we had understood how to look back we should not have been caught off our guard and this hideous thing would never have happened.'*¹⁵⁹

This was the observation of one historian following the advent of the Second World War. On the 3rd September 1939 Great Britain declared war on Nazi Germany. In July 1940 the Battle of Britain commenced and by August the Luftwaffe were bombarding London in what came to be known as the Blitz (Figure 19). In that same year the Office of Works became the Ministry of Works and Buildings, responsible for providing new buildings and converting existing ones as part of the war effort. The sections of the Ministry not directly involved in the war were evacuated to the Welsh seaside town of Rhyl. Here they occupied at least seven addresses, including numerous hotels. Staff from the Ancient Monuments Branch were based at the Palace Hotel. The workforce employed on monuments was drastically cut; from 349 down to 80 by February 1941 and eventually to 69 employees.¹⁶⁰ Many joined the armed forces including Paul Ballie Reynolds and Arnold Joseph Taylor (1911-2002) from the Inspectorate. Ballie Reynolds eventually rose to the position of an army Major. Activities of the Branch were rationalised. Excavations on guardianship monuments were halted and consolidation and repair work reduced to the bare minimum.¹⁶¹ At the same time the Ministry were responsible for organising the salvage scheme for bomb-damaged historic buildings and co-ordinating a large number of rescue excavations (see below). They were also involved in safe-guarding the historic fabric of country houses requisitioned by the War Office, Air Ministry and Admiralty. The Department inspected many of these houses and ensured works of protection were done to rooms or fittings of special value. For instance the historic contents of Brede Place, a 14th century manor house in East Sussex, were carefully stacked up for their own protection. Pendennis, Tynemouth and Caernarvon castles were among the Department's properties requisitioned whilst Harlech Castle and Isleham Priory Church were occupied by the Home Guard.¹⁶² Many of the historic properties in Greater London suffered damage, particularly through the German bombing campaigns. These included Westminster Hall, Chelsea Hospital, St James's Palace, Marlborough House Chapel, Royal Naval College Greenwich, The Horseguards, Kensington Palace and Somerset House.¹⁶³

The preface to Edmund Vale's *Ancient England*, written in Spring 1941, during the Blitz, emphasised that England's ancient monuments and historic buildings needed to be cherished now more than ever:

'If our wealth of ancient monuments is becoming less, it is at the same time becoming more precious, and many people who have given no more than a tourist's casual thought to those "old world sights"...may be stirred to deeper reflections on them.'

*...I hope that the tourist now turned combatant, will feel more than ever convinced when he has read the book that he is fighting for a heritage in spirit as well as in land that is worth while*¹⁶⁴

He commented that some people might think it odd to publish 'a book on old ruins when new ones are being made for us daily' but this made it all the more important.¹⁶⁵ The same was felt by staff at the Ministry of Work and by amenity societies. At an early stage in the war, Frederick Raby wrote to the Treasury regarding ancient monuments expenditure:

*'...we do not gather that it is the accepted policy at allow a cultural 'black-out' to take place even in war-time...the National Trust and the C.P.R.E. have publicly stated that, far from abandoning their activities, they consider that they are more than ever necessary in time of war. We entirely agree with this view, and our reduced Staff in the Inspectorate is fully occupied with what I might call protective duties:- the examination of Service Department schemes, of numerous electricity and other schemes, and a minimum of inspection of monuments at which work is still proceeding.*¹⁶⁶



Figure 19: The library at Holland House, Kensington, London, after an air raid in 1941. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage.

The response was that all but absolutely essential work should be carried out and that monuments should be put into 'cold storage':

'We do not at all want to impose a cultural black-out. It would, I think be generally agreed that it is of the highest importance that people should keep alive in war time their interest in things of permanent value. What is also important, however, is that they should do so at the absolute minimum cost. There are, of course, lots of good things which fortunately can be kept going in war time at practically no cost. Cathedrals and churches, for example, make less demand on current resources to keep open than museums. One can take the Browning from one's shelf or the library and read it at less cost in money and paper than is involved by buying the magnificent book on Rodin which I noticed in Charing Cross Road on Saturday. In your particular case this means, of course, that you should concentrate chiefly on keeping available and in reasonable condition those buildings which can be so kept at minimum cost.

Beyond that the policy we must follow if we are to have a convincing answer to criticism is what I may call that of cold storage... We are agreeable to your spending a reasonable amount of money and effort on safeguarding or recording material that may otherwise be destroyed by war operations. We are also ready to agree to such work as may be necessary to prevent important monuments being irreparably damaged by getting into a worse state of repair, though a measure of caution is called for since many of these buildings have lasted hundreds of years and are not likely to deteriorate much more in three.

On the other hand we do not want to spend money upon keeping lawns, paths and fences in good order simply because if allowed to deteriorate they will look shabby and eventually cost more money to put in order again. In other words it is no defence for expenditure of this kind that it will cost £2 or £3 more later on if we do not spend £1 now. So far as that sort of consideration is concerned the post war future must take care of itself.

... What we ask of you is to review the whole position and the expenditure... so that we may be sure that, in answer to criticism of spending money on unessential things in war time, we can reply with conviction that if we don't we are not merely losing the years of the war... but losing something of permanent value for ever.¹⁶⁷

In response to the Treasury request Raby reduced the estimate for the Ancient Monuments Branch by £2000 for 1941. However over the remaining years of the war there was a constant battle with the Treasury to protect the greatly reduced resources from more severe cuts. In January 1942 the Treasury suggested that many monuments should be closed and custodians employed elsewhere.¹⁶⁸ Alternatively the keys to a monument should be available upon request from the custodian's wife. Assistant Secretaries Raby and Miller defended the Department's ground stoutly. They argued that monuments were attracting visits from evacuees and soldiers. The numerous Dominion and American troops were particularly interested. Furthermore if left unattended monuments would be 'over-run and seriously damaged' since they did not enjoy protection from 'that odour of sanctity' that still clung to ancient village churches.¹⁶⁹ Miller

estimated that of the 170 custodians, half were part-time whilst many were elderly and a few were women or men with major disabilities.¹⁷⁰ Custodians were also needed to keep a watch over the sheep drafted in to act as mobile grass cutters. By January 1943 the Treasury had given up pressing the matter. Internally one Treasury Officer, H. Gatcliff, informed colleagues:

*'...[Ancient Monument] Works have been able to find their 10% reduction on manpower but to the general decline in the construction programme which I regard as pretty near a fraud; the result is that their really optional services... have probably gone almost unscrutinised. I have raised the point each year and again this year but am always met with the argument that the people employed are elderly and immobile and that the monuments are visited and would be damaged if they weren't looked after. All this is true up to a point but the fact remains that elderly and immobile people get themselves employed on war work if they haven't anything else to do. However, I suppose there is no use pressing the matter further.'*¹⁷¹

The Ministry's own account, given retrospectively, contrasts notably:

*'During the War of 1939-45 work on the monuments never stopped. We quickly lost all our young men. Then we weathered a storm over the minute quantity of cement which we were using. Later on we released some of our not-so-young charge hands for war work. But we never lost all our charge hands and masons. It was recognised by all who had to take the necessary decisions that it would be fatal to break up entirely our experienced men including the artists, who remained with us throughout the War.'*¹⁷²

Wartime rescue excavation¹⁷³

In the later 1930s the Office of Works carried out several 'rescue' excavations. These were archaeological digs that examined and recorded an ancient monument before it was destroyed. They were especially significant in that they often provided the opportunity for complete rather than partial excavation of a monument. Among the first such excavations was at the site of a Royal Ordnance factory at Bridgend in Wales in 1937. Sir Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales excavated two round barrows and published the results.¹⁷⁴

On 21st January 1938 Sir Horace Wilson, a top civil servant, presided over a meeting of Government departments concerned with the acquisition of land. One result of the meeting was that the Office of Works would receive notification, usually in the form of a plan, when the Admiralty, the War Office or the Air Ministry proposed to acquire a site. In the remaining years before the war the expansion of the armed forces, particularly the Royal Air Force, took in large areas that often contained ancient monuments. Where possible the Office of Works sought to ensure the monuments were respected or, alternatively, to excavate them before their destruction. Following the outbreak of war the task proved much greater as the Defence Ministries need for land vastly increased. Army requisition was organised locally and, with the exception of the largest requisitions, could not be monitored. In 1942 an all-embracing system of a central register was established and all land now acquired by the Services could be safely scrutinized.¹⁷⁵

Rescue excavation was undertaken by archaeological supervisors on behalf of the Ministry of Works. Much was under the charge of William Francis Grimes but a great deal of work was also carried out by female archaeologists. According to Brian O'Neil (1905-1954), Inspector of Ancient Monuments, this could be in trying circumstances, in all weathers, often a race against time whilst maintaining high standards of archaeological recording. Among these women were Audrey Williams (a leading 'pupil' of Grimes and wife of P.J. Williams), Peggy Piggott (wife of Stuart Piggott), and Lady Aileen Fox. Brian O'Neal praised both the speed and expertise of their work. Although they were the wives of better known figures in the archaeological world they were also respected archaeologists in their own right. The same was the case of the archaeologist Tessa Verney Wheeler who was a leading light in the interwar period.

By May 1942 Brian O'Neal reported that two long barrows and 100 round barrows had been excavated together with a Roman settlement, several roads, three early medieval linear earthworks, a medieval priory, castle and house. The fact that these were 'complete' excavations allowed for new discoveries, according to O'Neal:

'... the 100 round barrows ... are of the very greatest interest to students of the Bronze Age because of the structural features, which very careful excavation alone can reveal. Generally speaking the excavations of the last century... failed to reveal those features, because the excavators lacked skill or the knowledge of what to look for. This led to the

belief that there was nothing more to be learnt from round barrows, and...in 1930 the Research Committee of the Congress of Archaeological Societies definitely discouraged further excavation...Now all that is changed...entirely due to our work on aerodromes...precisely because our work has been both widespread and complete within its compass, it has shown how much more can be learnt from these barrows in any and every part of the country...'

The early wartime rescue excavations were largely in the west of Britain on prehistoric sites. However by 1942 there had been a move to Central and Eastern England uncovering Roman and medieval sites. At Heathrow the laying out of a runway uncovered a Celtic temple, a unique discovery at the time and a significant milestone for archaeology. A Roman villa was also discovered at Park Street near St. Albans. It was found to have been levelled by Germanic raiders in AD 367 yet, ironically, in February 1944 two German incendiary bombs fell into the freshly excavated cellar and again caused destruction.¹⁷⁶ At least 55 rescue excavations (some including multiple monuments) took place during the Second World War.¹⁷⁷ These set a precedent for continuing rescue archaeology from within the Inspectorate after the war.¹⁷⁸ Amidst the wartime conditions Brian O'Neal wrote proudly of the work being carried out by the Ministry:

'When it is possible to make known to the archaeological world the extent and the results of this work, I am convinced that we shall be universally praised, just as, had we done nothing, we should have been universally criticised as blind to our duty and opportunities.'

Salvaging historic buildings

Another major aspect of the Ministry's work dictated by wartime conditions was salvaging historic buildings damaged by enemy bombing raids. This eventually formed the catalyst for the first list of buildings in Britain and the introduction of further statutory protection for inhabited dwellings. On the 18th November 1940 at the height of the London Blitz a special meeting was held attended by Lord Reith (1889-1971), Minister of Works, and representatives from the RIBA and SPAB.¹⁷⁹ The first outcome of the meeting was the establishment of the National Buildings Record (NBR). This was officially founded in 1941 initially through Treasury funding but subsequently by grants from the Leverhulme Trust, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pilgrim Trust and other bodies.¹⁸⁰ The task of the NBR was to record by photography historic buildings in the most vulnerable towns. (Figure 20) However once this was done it proceeded to less vulnerable areas; creating a methodical record of all parts of the country.¹⁸¹ By September 1942 the NBR had covered 67 towns in detail with a further 21 records in preparation.¹⁸²



Figure 20: The façade of a Georgian terrace at Southernhay West, Exeter, Devon, as photographed by the architect Margaret Tomlinson for the National Buildings Record. The ruins were later demolished. © English Heritage Photo Library.

The second major outcome of the meeting in November 1940 was the provision of a salvage scheme. This was organised by the Ancient Monuments Branch and particularly

through the efforts of the Assistant Secretary Frederick Raby. Negotiations were taken up with the Ministry of Home Security to put in place a system whereby the Air Raid Precautions Controllers were to report damage to historic buildings.¹⁸³ However they first needed to be provided with a list of these buildings. To create the lists the Ministry of Works collaborated with the RIBA and other bodies to appoint 300 architects.¹⁸⁴ The scheme was organised by dividing England and Wales into 12 regions then further dividing each region into separate areas; over a hundred in all.¹⁸⁵ Each area was then covered by a panel of architects who were employed by the RIBA at 10 shillings per hour.¹⁸⁶ They were expected to use their local knowledge in drawing up a list of buildings for each civil parish. This enabled the task to be carried out with the necessary speed.

Once drawn up the lists were sent to and checked by the Ministry of Works and subsequently issued to Air Raid Precautions Controllers. These controllers were to report damage to any of the listed buildings, which passed up the chain of command to a Ministry of Works representative.¹⁸⁷ The salvage scheme then swung into action. The representative instructed the panel architect to act and secure the preservation of the building in question. In February 1941 the process was slightly refined.¹⁸⁸ The Air Raid Precautions Controller was substituted by the surveyor or engineer of the local authority as the officer responsible for the initial report.¹⁸⁹ In London the preparation of the salvage list was devolved to the London County Council and Corporation of London. The County Council had already begun a systematic list of buildings in 1938 due to the growing number of metropolitan demolitions.¹⁹⁰ The list of buildings was also supplied to the three Service Ministries.¹⁹¹ In cases where it was necessary to requisition historic buildings, such as to accommodate troops, advice could be sought from the Ancient Monuments Branch to avoid damage to fireplaces, staircases and other fittings.¹⁹²

The actual lists of historic buildings compiled by the panel architects varied in their composition but tended to include addresses, a description, location map and drawings or photographs.¹⁹³ This was the basis for the Air Raid Precautions Controller, surveyor or engineer to identify the damaged building. In February 1941 the panel architects were given broad criteria for the compilation of their lists.¹⁹⁴ These were to include:

- 1) Roman buildings in built-up areas
- 2) Ecclesiastical buildings
- 3) Other religious buildings
- 4) Public buildings such as town or market halls
- 5) Institutions such as schools or almshouses
- 6) Domestic buildings, including fine examples of small dwellings
- 7) Miscellanea e.g. barns, dovecotes, mill bridges – in all instances only when of exceptional architectural or historic interest. Any building containing earlier fittings or fragments from elsewhere worth saving.

In terms of dating they were to include:

- a) All medieval buildings;
- b) Good examples of any category down to 1750
- c) Outstanding buildings from 1750 to 1850

Further to the above the architect could decide to include an ensemble of buildings such as historic streets. Buildings important for their national or historic associations, such as Shakespeare's birthplace, were also to be included.

Only a few lists had been completed before the heavy bombing of 1940-41 was over. However they proved their worth during the Baedeker raids in April to June 1942, which targeted the historic towns of Exeter, Norwich, York, Bath and Canterbury.¹⁹⁵ The panel architects provided guidance on damaged buildings. Dangerous buildings were shored up and damaged historic structures were carefully dismantled rather than felled with a rope as per usual.¹⁹⁶ Fittings of value were also recorded so that they could be salvaged and stored. Among the examples of the buildings saved were a row of 17th century houses on Church Street, Ipswich. The damaged roofs of the terrace were made watertight by the Ministry of Works and internal features such as plaster ceilings prevented from decay. Through the salvage scheme historic buildings were not only saved from demolition but from long-term deterioration so that they were still standing after the war when full repairs could finally be implemented. At Canterbury action was taken to rescue the tower of St. George's Church (Figure 21).¹⁹⁷ Whilst in Exeter the walls of the medieval hall of the Vicars Choral and the Old Black Lion were secured, among other buildings. The Ministry wrote proudly of the achievement:

*'... the result has been the retention of much of the nation's assets, which would otherwise have been squandered for lack of a little forethought. Many of the buildings thus repaired are not only houses, potential or actual; they are also good to look upon and an attraction to visitors.'*¹⁹⁸

On occasion there were also discoveries through enemy action. At the Church of All Hallows by the Tower in the City of London a bomb blast uncovered Saxon remains. A Saxon arched doorway, thought to be the oldest in the City, was revealed at the west end of the nave.¹⁹⁹ Whilst the base and part of the top of a wheelhead cross fell out of the nave pillars.²⁰⁰ All of these remains can still be seen today. In Southampton fire damage revealed several medieval vaults, dating from the 12th to the 15th century, that were hidden below the city.²⁰¹

The precedent created by the salvage lists, as well as growing sentiments for the protection of historic buildings after the losses of the war, provided the impetus for new legislative measures. In the words of the Ministry itself:

'... Thus it came about that the stress of war produced what decades of peace had failed to give us. Once compiled the list has been progressively improved in many areas. It has formed the basis of a complete list for the use of the Ministry of Town and Country

*Planning, and it is perhaps not too much to say that its very compilation and existence during the war...led to the inclusion in the Town and Country Planning Acts, 1944 and 1947, of provisions for the preservation of inhabited historic buildings.'*²⁰²

Figure 21: St George's Church, Canterbury; the tower following an air raid.
© English Heritage Photo Library.



The 1944 Town and Country Planning Act

The importance of the first list of historic buildings was not confined to salvaging damaged structures. It would form an essential part of post war reconstruction; identifying buildings to be restored as well as providing a guide for those that needed to be safeguarded during redevelopment.²⁰³ Therefore the compilation of a list formed a significant part of the Town and Country Planning Act passed on the 17th November 1944. The incorporation of listing into the new legislation was also due to the lobbying of The Georgian Group. The Secretary, Angus Acworth, and Deputy Chairman, Edward Kelling, had pressurised the Government to bring in significant provisions for the designation of historic buildings.²⁰⁴

The 1944 Town and Country Planning Act included several sections that related to the protection of historic buildings. Under Section 42 (1) the Minister of Planning was empowered to create lists of 'buildings of special architectural or historic interest' for the first time. He could also approve lists compiled by other bodies. However before taking such action he was required to consult persons or bodies with 'special knowledge of buildings of this kind' such as the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, The National Trust and the Town Planning Institute.²⁰⁵ The definition of a building included a structure or erection.²⁰⁶ Thus it was possible to list such entities as drinking fountains, market crosses, village stocks, mile stones and boundary posts.²⁰⁷ An owner was not consulted during the process but both owner and occupier had to be informed once a building was either listed or a decision was made to exclude it.²⁰⁸ Heap, in his annotated analysis to accompany the Act, observed that:

*'It is the public and national interest which is to be considered when a building is being listed under this section and that interest is given precedence over the interest of the owner or occupier of the building...'*²⁰⁹

Thus it was a significant inroad into private property rights relating to an inhabited dwelling. Once listed an owner was required to give at least two months notice to demolish, alter or extend the building.²¹⁰ If he contravened the Act he would be liable to a fine of up to £50 and could be ordered to pay the cost of restoring the building to its former state.²¹¹ During the two months a local authority could issue a Preservation Order. That power had been provided under the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act but was now extended. The authority could not only prevent demolition of a building but also any alterations or extensions which would seriously affect its character.²¹² The penalties for contravening this rule were the same as the above. Local authorities were now also empowered to acquire, with the consent of the owner and the Minister, a listed building.²¹³ More significantly where a Preservation Order was in force and the building was not being properly maintained the authority had the means to acquire it compulsorily through a Compulsory Purchase Order confirmed by the Minister.²¹⁴

Although the 1944 Act gave the Minister of Town and Country Planning the power to compile a list the process by which this was to be carried out still needed to be developed. The lists compiled for the salvage scheme would form the initial basis for a national list. However in December 1944 the principle of having an expert committee to supervise listing was agreed.²¹⁵ This committee was appointed in October 1945 and formed of 11 individuals, including archaeologists, historians and architects. To support the listing process a model manual was drawn up for the architectural investigators; 'Instructions to Investigators', which became known as the 'grey book'.²¹⁶ Thus everything was in place at the start of the new financial year in April 1946 for the systematic investigation and listing of England's historic buildings.

The guardianship of Avebury

Avebury was taken into the national collection in February 1944. Its guardianship story provides something of an interlude to the activities of the Second World War. Given the significance of the prehistoric monument it was a major addition. Avebury was built and altered over many centuries from about 2850 BC to 2200 BC.²¹⁷ It comprises a huge circular bank and ditch with an inner circle of great standing stones enclosing two further stone circles each with a central feature (Figure 22). Also within the 'henge' ditch is part of Avebury village. The size and complexity of the monument led the antiquary John Aubrey to declare that Avebury was to Stonehenge 'what a cathedral is to a "village church"'.²¹⁸

Figure 22: Avebury from the air in November 2007.

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Avebury was purchased by Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913) to ensure its protection in the late 19th century but not placed in guardianship. In 1923 Marconi, the wireless pioneers, proposed to build a relay station at the nearby site of the Neolithic causewayed enclosure on Windmill Hill.²¹⁹ Avebury likewise was threatened by a housing development. Fortunately the following year Windmill Hill was purchased by the archaeologist Alexander Keiller (1889-1955) who subsequently began buying up land at Avebury. Keiller had worked with O.G.S. Crawford of the Ordnance Survey on an aerial survey of archaeological sites in South West England.²²⁰ Nearly a decade later, in 1933, the

Government began drawing up the Avebury Preservation Scheme.²²¹ This was not a scheme under the Ancient Monuments Act but a planning scheme under the Town and Country Planning Act.²²² It was intended to prevent any further development on or near the monument of Avebury. The Office of Works and National Trust combined to urge the County Council to make a plan for the area but compensation had to be raised by public subscription. In 1937 an appeal for help in funding the preservation scheme was made by the First Commissioner, Sir Philip Sassoon (1888-1939).²²³ Just over £8000 was raised but, though in a very advanced stage, the scheme was not settled by the outbreak of the Second World War and all work on it was suspended. By 1949 the Preservation Scheme was considered a 'wash out' although planning measures for Avebury were to be incorporated into the County Development Plan.²²⁴

Alexander Keiller took more direct action for the protection of the prehistoric monument. He bought up large parts of it together with the surrounding land and began excavating the site in 1937; the first of three seasons over the ensuing years (Figure 23 shows the early C20 excavations that preceded Keiller's work). Alongside the excavations Keiller's work involved a remarkable campaign of 'megalithic landscape gardening'. This incorporated the restoration and reconstruction of substantial elements of Avebury and West Kennet Avenue, making them far more visible features in the landscape than they had been for hundreds if not thousands of years.²²⁵ In the first season Keiller re-erected eight stones in the north-west quadrant of the site. Some were up to a metre below-ground but were uncovered and positioned in their original stone holes, whilst concrete pillars were used to denote missing stones.²²⁶ In the second season he re-erected eleven stones in the south-west quadrant. At the same time Keiller excavated part of the outer earthworks and 'cleansed' the site by removing many trees, buildings and other 'unsightly' modern intrusions. As Avebury was a major site the project generated considerable public interest and a museum was created in the stables of Avebury Manor. The outbreak of war ended the excavations and Keiller joined the special constabulary at Marlborough.²²⁷

Figure 23: Avebury. A deep section through the ditch during a campaign of excavation in 1908-22, directed by Harold St George Gray for the British Association for the Advancement of Science. ©Crown Copyright.English Heritage, Ref Number: BB81/02729.



In the early years of the Second World War negotiations began for the purchase of Avebury by the National Trust and the transfer of guardianship responsibilities to the Ministry of Works. It had been agreed during the time of William Ormsby Gore, First Commissioner from 1931 to 1936, that guardianship would eventually be handed over to the Government.²²⁸ However the National Trust still had to raise the necessary funds and a public appeal was out of the question in wartime. Fortunately The Pilgrim Trust and Ivan Margary came forward and donated £10,000 and £2,000 respectively to meet the purchase price.²²⁹ Keiller sold the museum, twelve cottages, the Lodge, Norris Farm, and Manor Farms.²³⁰ The sum paid by the Trust related to the agricultural value of the 950 acre estate. Keiller did not ask for any reimbursement for the vast sum he had spent on

excavating and restoring the circle (in the region of £50,000; equivalent to over £2 million today).²³¹

The purchase agreement took more than a year to settle, much to the annoyance of Alexander Keiller. He found the Trust particularly difficult to deal with and was highly critical of them. In June 1943 he wrote to Frederick Raby:

'The National Trust moider on. ...Neither Mr. Dale, my Solicitor nor I, nor apparently the N.T. solicitors themselves, can find any reason for the peculiar delay in completing the business beyond the pronounced and increasingly manifest inefficiency of the members of the staff of the National Trust. After all, this is comprehensible. Try to visualise, if it is not too painful a thought, the entire Ministry of Works staffed by individuals who have never had any sort of training, even of the most elementary sort, in the work that they purport to carry out. And yet that is the situation of the National Trust. Why should Eardley Knollys, manager of small art galleries, and not very efficient at that, be expected to carry out his novel duties with any degree of skill or success?

...I think perhaps that the most contemptible aspect of the whole was the indecent haste with which the National Trust rushed through the ballyhoo of publicity last March. Unwarned though I was of the spate of self-advertisement in which they proceeded to indulge, and which, intermittently, they have kept up ever since...

The "survey" of the N.W. Sector fence round Stone 17 has at last appeared. It may be accurate or it may not be; one cannot tell, for the scale is – now what do you think? 30 ft. to the inch, 50 ft., 60ft? Oh no, 25 inch to the mile! Oh, ye Gods! No wonder Knollys' "surveyor" preferred his somewhat rusty chain to a theodolite survey!

Enough of all this absurdity.

I attended the 12th. Annual Meeting of the S.W. Group of the Museums' Association at Taunton on last Wednesday, the 9th. June. ...[I explained that] the entire control of the Museum would rest with the Ministry of Works... This information was warmly welcomed, and evidently relieved considerable anxiety on the part of all those present. As usual, the National Trust did not appear to command the least confidence among the experts!²³²

Keiller insisted on signing the Deed of Sale to co-ordinate with the Deed of Guardianship since he was concerned any lapse between the two might result in damage to the monument.²³³ One proposal of the Trust particularly alarmed Keiller; the construction of a concrete car park upon the monument itself.²³⁴ During the guardianship negotiations the Trust also pressed for cattle to be allowed to graze within Avebury ring. The Ministry of Works refused since cattle were known to cause considerable damage to ancient monuments, only sheep were permitted.

By October 1943 Alexander Keiller had written to *The Sunday Times* calling public attention to the National Trust's management of ancient monuments:

'Let me rather draw attention to...the preservation and archaeological development of any sites of prehistoric value...[While] the agricultural side of the Trust's activities is safe in the capable hands of Mr. H. J. F. Smith...and other technical aspects are similarly entrusted to experts of standing, there does not exist upon the staff of the National Trust a single archaeologist or trained prehistorian. Let this state of affairs be compared to the Ministry of Works... Within the ranks of Civil Servants are to be found the names of the leading British archaeologists of to-day, names of international repute. Typical of such are members of the Ancient Monuments Department...

...[Upon] the (premature) announcement by the National Trust of the acquisition of the prehistoric sites of Avebury and Windmill Hill...archaeologists...almost without exception [displayed] the liveliest apprehension as regards the future care and preservation of the monuments – an anxiety only allayed by my assurance that the Guardianship of both sites would be vested in the hands of not the National Trust but of the Ministry of Works²³⁵

In January 1944 the purchase agreement was drawing towards its conclusion, bringing a festive atmosphere to Avebury village. Many were counting on charitable treatment at the hands of the Trust. The mood is well summed up in a letter from Alexander Keiller to Edward Eardley Knollys (1901-1991), the National Trust representative for South-West England:

'Dear Knollys,

As I said in my last letter and in my telegram, the local feeling concerning the fact that the greater part of the village of Avebury now belongs to the National Trust is electric. Everyone realises that The National Trust is no ordinary landlord, and the majority believe that the Trust is run as a charitable institution, in other words that rents will, if demanded at all, be merely of a nominal nature. Furthermore it is understood that, under the N.T. there will no longer be any cause for complaint at any inadequacies in the provision of amenities limited only by the individual aspirations of the tenant concerned.

Already a mass meeting has been held in the open space between the Red Lion and Perry Hotel, timed neatly for 6.00 pm and attended by the more vocal inhabitants. Cries of:- "NOW FOR THE NATIONAL TRUST" and "WE WANT KNOLLYS!" rent the air. On another occasion a procession trailed down Green Street, and loud cheers greeted the unfurling of a banner of sorts on which was sewn a crude inscription or "strategic device" reading:- "NEW HOUSES FOR ALL." It is universally appreciated, and has been fully publicised in the Red Lion, that a new house is to be provided for every cottage and house tenant who desires, and it is even said that such provision will be immediate....

...[there is also] the appearance of a curious (and ominous) triangular erection on a stone post about ten foot high in Peake-Garland farmyard, on which is nailed a square of cardboard (a torn-down "Out of Bounds" Army notice from the N.W. Sector, turned back to front,) bearing the single word:- "KNOLLYS".

Best of Luck to you, when you come down here,

Yours,

Alex. Keiller²³⁶

On the 15th January 1944 the Deed of Guardianship was finally signed and the long process of protecting Avebury that first commenced under Sir John Lubbock was brought to a close. Nonetheless the last word was again that of Keiller's. He went so far as to suggest the amalgamation of the National Trust within the Ministry of Works, not duly recognising the good work the Trust had done in the conservation of so many of the properties in its care:

*'...[The National Trust] treat Avebury with that total disregard which appears to be a customary attitude of theirs... the time is already overdue for the total abolition of everything to do with the National Trust, other than its name and its very large financial resources, and the transference of its functions (as well as the two above items) to a satisfactorily organised and efficient Government Dept. e.g. H.M. Ministry of Works, "N.T." branch, working in close cooperation, where necessary and applicable, with the Ancient Monuments Dept. of that Ministry.'*²³⁷

Avebury's guardianship story did not end in 1944. After the war the site drew increasing attention from the Ministry of Works approach that sought to get rid of all modern (in the relative sense) buildings or accretions and recover the ancient isolation of the prehistoric monument (Figure 24). It was supported by the National Trust, although it may have been the Ministry that held sway. Privately it was admitted:

*'Although we have never made it public our policy in the Avebury Circle is to demolish all the existing buildings and so present the Circle as near to its original condition as we can get.'*²³⁸

What this equated to was the gradual suffocation of village life. It took the presentation of a monument as an 'object' to be appreciated in isolation (as originally advocated by Charles Peers) to a whole new level. In 1949 the *North Wiltshire Herald and Advertiser* mourned Avebury's slow death, though they blamed this on the National Trust, failing to recognise the part played by the Ministry:

*'It is an extraordinary freak of circumstance that the village with the longest past in the history of Britain should now have no future worth mentioning, and that the body responsible for its peaceful "demise" should be one whose function is to preserve the finest beauties of our island. The scene of the paradox is historic Avebury, self-styled by some of its own inhabitants "the doomed village," and the sponsor of its gentle annihilation is the National Trust. The policy of the Trust... is to demolish any amenity of the village which becomes vacant.'*²³⁹

*Figure 24: The two surviving stones of The Cove, which stood at the centre of the north circle at Avebury, circa 1890. The building behind the stones was later demolished as part of the Ministry of Works approach to the site.
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Avebury and the army training area

Alongside the guardianship story of Avebury is the protection of the monument in wartime. This aspect of the site is well documented in the guardianship files and provides a valuable insight into public concerns. Avebury was within the army training area on Salisbury Plain, which incorporated a countless number of ancient monuments. In May 1943 it was agreed between the Ministry of Works and Southern Command that circa 50 acres of the monument, including West Kennet Avenue, would be prohibited from army manoeuvres.²⁴⁰ 'Out of Bounds' signs were to be fixed around the designated area. Such measures were important since other monuments had been badly damaged. Among these was the Iron Age hillfort known as Barbury Castle, which had been exploited as an anti-aircraft defensive position. This resulted in the widening of the entrances, the digging of trenches and the positioning of guns. Thus in May 1943 Keiller was apprehensive about the arrival of American troops to Avebury. Fortunately Captain Worthington, the army representative tasked with the protection of the monument, arrived just in time:

'Yesterday morning...I got (for the first time) an intimation of an Exercise, couched in ominous terms...

I was just contemplating action of a sort, When Capt. Worthington suddenly turned up, armed with a mass of notices for Avebury, as Major Littlewood, on hearing of the Exercise (the name is "Columbus", so one fears the worst,) had decided to act at once without waiting for the matter to "go through channels" as the Americans say – a

*procedure quite unique in my knowledge of the B. Army. Fortified by a whiskey and soda and lots of stewed rhubarb and real cream, Capt. Worthington proceeded to nail up the boards in my presence in all the places that we had suggested...
Up to this morning the B. Army had not arrived in any force...[but] the place was stiff with troops by the afternoon, and [the] G.O.C's car was outside the Manor gates...²⁴¹*

By November 1943, the US army were to take over the whole area, calling for an urgent letter from Keiller to Frederick Raby:

'This is something of an S.O.S...swift action, if possible, would appear to be indicated, e.g. an approach from the Ministry of Works direct to the High Command, American Army in this unhappy country.

An area "from Aldbourne to Warminster" is to be taken over entire by the U.S. Army in the immediate future. It is to be used as a training ground for armoured units primarily. Three Armoured Divisions are to be stationed forthwith. No regard is to be paid to any form of agriculture: fences and walls are likewise to be disregarded. Farmers may (but not necessarily will) be given three to five hours warning to collect all their livestock, and – after the Exercises – they may return the livestock to what is left of their pastures, once they (the victimised farmers) have repaired their fences... The treatment of all land – downland, arable, pasture, woodland, – in the area is to be "ruthless", and all considerations will be regarded as subservient to U.S. military "requirements"....

BUT – The Monument? What of Avebury, and the West Kennett Avenue, and the Stones at Beckhampton, and the Sanctuary? What of them? (What indeed of Wiltshire archaeology as a whole). These must be protected. And there is no time to be lost. In one afternoon, or less, Avebury would literally disappear, once the American Army got cracking within the Monument.²⁴²

Alexander Kieller's fears were soon allayed since the new armoured training area was not to include the Avebury ring and avenue. Among the measures taken by the Ministry of Works were to provide archaeological lectures to U.S. Officers and to instruct them on the significance of Gothic letters on OS maps.²⁴³ An inspection of barrows traversed by Sherman tanks showed that damage was often limited. Nonetheless a special list of archaeological sites was drawn up for Salisbury Plain.²⁴⁴ The majority were Iron Age hillforts but they included such sites as Old Sarum and Durrington Walls. These were to be regarded as what the Americans called 'Sanctuary'. However the Ministry's wartime efforts did not always yield success. In February 1944 Brian O'Neill, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, commented on the frustrations of co-ordinating protection:

'I have found by experience that above a certain rank one gets less and less consideration, the higher one goes. I have also learnt that no arrangement of any kind made with a representative of a combat unit is of the slightest use. They are all butterflies and never dream of speaking to their successors!²⁴⁵

Planning for a post war future

In June 1943, the threat of invasion having subsided, the Ancient Monuments Branch began planning for a post war future. The programme of work for guardianship sites was to include: cottages for custodians at Grimes Graves, Kirby Hall and Riveaulx; an office at Goodrich Castle; underground lavatories at Stonehenge; and museums at Riveaulx, Byland, Whitby and Furness Abbey.²⁴⁶ Raby emphasised the need for individual buildings to respect the setting of monuments:

*'We must, in fact, be very careful what sort of new construction we build at our monuments; there is no possibility, therefore of anything like standard plans or designs being prepared... the local circumstances will dictate the building, both as to size and design... All our work at ancient monuments is done in a fierce light of publicity and we must be very careful to do the right thing. Also the requirements of the various monuments differ greatly.'*²⁴⁷

However by now standardisation in design was a major concern of Sir Eric de Norman, Under Secretary of the Ministry of Works:

*'As regards planning ad hoc both cottages and museums, generally speaking I agree naturally that they must fit in with the landscape, but standardisation is coming more and more into the picture and we had better see the results of experiments before we rule it out.'*²⁴⁸

The programme of work anticipated a considerable increase in the staff of inspectors, architects and superintendants given that the war had much reduced the size and capability of the Department:

*'... [The Ancient Monuments Branch has] suffered serious losses as a result of the War. Our body of trained craftsman has been reduced to a mere handful, some of the directing architectural staff has, of necessity, been diverted to other work, and pre-occupation with war work or military service, must have prevented a number of young architects, who might otherwise have done so, from acquiring the necessary knowledge and skill to carry on the direction of the work.'*²⁴⁹

By August 1944 a general building embargo had been lifted. However owing to flying bomb attacks in London there was an acute shortage of labour. Therefore the Minister of Production ordered that works in the Capital were only to be undertaken if they were of operational or first aid urgency.²⁵⁰ A considerable number of the properties in control of the Ministry of Works required repair from war damage (see above). Outside Greater London these included Pendennis Castle and Portsmouth Garrison Chapel. The responsibilities of the Ancient Monuments Branch had also widened as a result of the war. Rescue excavation on military sites was to continue. Furthermore the opportunity needed to be taken to excavate bombed sites in the Roman cities of London, Canterbury, Exeter

and Dover. The Inspectorate had taken the first steps in this regard and was to supervise many of the excavations. They were aided by the Society of Antiquaries and a large body of volunteers. This was of considerable importance for it was recognised by the Department as a unique opportunity prior to redevelopment:

*'... When new buildings rise on these sites, however, they are likely to have deep basements, the excavation for which will destroy the Roman buildings. This then is the last as well as the greatest opportunity for investigating many acres of our Roman towns, and so of enriching our own history and our own self-esteem. The cost will be large, yet small in comparison with that of the new buildings themselves... Time may be scarce, because no impediment must be placed in the path of those erecting new buildings. Careful planning in advance should, however enable the scientific investigators, who must be in charge to keep well ahead of the builders.'*²⁵¹

The Department was to provide advice to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning in the preparation of the national list as well as the War Damage Commission on the restoration of historic buildings. They were to continue providing advice to local authorities regarding medieval bridges. Furthermore office records had not been properly maintained during the war and needed to be organised.²⁵² Wartime rationing and re-use of paper is clearly evident in the Ministry files. For instance there is the reuse of the reverse side of Emergency Warden Instructions for internal memorandums.

By April 1945 plans were underway to boost the Department with a larger number of staff. Chief Inspector Jocelyn Bushe-Fox suggested re-organising the Inspectorate with specialists in particular periods of history rather than on a district basis.²⁵³ Five extra inspectors were required including two architectural advisors with particular knowledge of domestic architecture.

In the last years of the Second World War two historic buildings had been added to the national collection; **Isleham Priory Church** and **Bolsover Castle**. Isleham was one of the finest examples in England of a Norman Benedictine priory church. It survived in a surprisingly unaltered state despite later conversion into a barn. A guardianship offer from Pembroke College was refused in 1934 on the basis that the building formed part of a farmers tenancy and because the Ministry expected the College to meet funding for repairs.²⁵⁴ By 1943 the Department were informed that the building was vacant and they now consented to guardianship. A deed was completed in February 1944. However the Home Guard were to requisition the building before it could finally open to the public.

Bolsover, a Norman tower keep castle converted to a country house in the 17th century, was described romantically by the historian Sacheverell Sitwell:

*"The Castle stands gaunt and empty on its crag, abandoned to the weather and shaken and riven by the mines beneath, but its romantic fire must touch and heat the blood of all who see it."*²⁵⁵

In April 1943 the Marquess of Titchfield wrote on behalf of his father the Duke of Portland to the Minister of Works, Lord Portal (1885-1949):

*'I am wondering whether your Ministry would take over Bolsover Castle in the same way as your Ministry takes over places of historical interest. Bolsover is now a semi-ruin...it is in need of a good deal of repair now which we are quite incapable of doing'*²⁵⁶

Dr Raby was almost as enthusiastic as Sacheverell Sitwell, though less romantic, in his response. He considered that there could be 'no two opinions about the interest and importance' of the castle as 'a remarkable example of early 17th century architecture'.²⁵⁷ The building was, however, in a mining area and mine workings had affected its stability. He warned that the Ministry would have to know more about the condition of the fabric and the risk of subsidence before accepting the offer. If the cost of making the building safe was prohibitive they may not be able to act. By May 1943, Lord Portal was able to tell the Duke of Portland that, having been satisfied that mining in the area was not going to permanently affect the stability of the castle, he was happy to accept guardianship. It was gifted to the nation on the 10th February 1945.

Bolsover was the last site taken on before the post war reconstruction and rebuilding of England began. Until now the national collection largely comprised prehistoric monuments, medieval castles and monastic ruins as well as some Roman military works. After 1945 its character would change markedly to include industrial monuments, coastal fortifications, redundant churches, vernacular buildings and deserted medieval villages.²⁵⁸ However the Ministry, with a post-war increase in staff and funding, were well placed to take on the new challenge. The Director of the National Buildings Record, Walter Godfrey (1881-1961), gave a glowing account of the Branch which would oversee England's heritage in the post war future:

*'...England already possesses, in the Ministry of Works, a department more skilful and better equipped than in any other country to deal with all the questions concerning historical architecture. Its name, the Department of Ancient Monuments, by no means indicates its lively interest and good sense in approaching modern problems. ...In its care have been our principal national monuments – castles, public buildings ancient and modern, and the imposing ruins of our greater monasteries, and in the course of this tutelage the Ministry has formed a School of construction and repair second to none in Europe. It has carried out its work to the admiration of all who value architecture and the building crafts, so much so that complete reliance can be placed upon its advice in the practical art of maintenance, re-instatement and repairs.'*²⁵⁹

ENDNOTES

- ¹ The most extensive study of the preservation of Hadrian's Wall has been carried out recently by Leach and Whitworth (2011). Their work has to a great extent informed the following section of this report.
- ² Leach and Whitworth 2011, 11.
- ³ Ibid, 11.
- ⁴ In the year of its foundation the Trust were in correspondence with Pitt-Rivers regarding the protection of The Antonine Wall. These letters are contained in Pitt-Rivers file FL01550 held in the English Heritage Archive, Swindon.
- ⁵ TNA WORK 14/2470 C442196.
- ⁶ 'Ancient monuments and historic buildings: Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending 31st March 1911. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty'. London: HMSO. Contained in TNA WORK 14/ 2470 C442196.
- ⁷ TNA WORK 14/2470 C442196.
- ⁸ Leach and Whitworth 2011, 11.
- ⁹ Crawford, O.G.S 1929 'Editorial' In *Antiquity*, 3, 1-4 (Cited in Champion 1996, 48).
- ¹⁰ Leach and Whitworth 2011, 15.
- ¹¹ Ibid, 17.
- ¹² Ibid, 20.
- ¹³ Office of Works file AA6039/1 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1257. This letter states that Wake was entitled to work within 30 feet of the Wall contrary the figure given by Leach and Whitworth (2011: 20) of 10 feet.
- ¹⁴ Internal memorandum from Charles Peers to the Permanent Secretary, 28th January 1930. TNA WORK 14/1257.
- ¹⁵ Letter dated 11th February 1930. TNA WORK 14/1257.
- ¹⁶ Letter dated 20th February 1930. TNA WORK 14/1257.
- ¹⁷ Note from Charles Peers to the Secretary 21st February 1930. TNA WORK 14/1257.

- ¹⁸ Memorandum dated 26th February 1930. TNA WORK 14/1257.
- ¹⁹ Newspaper article dated 24th April 1930. Contained in Office of Works file AA6039/1 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1257.
- ²⁰ Leach and Whitworth 2011, 11.
- ²¹ Memorandum: Roman Wall. Written by Charles Peers, 17th April 1931. Contained in Office of Works file AA60171/1 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1259.
- ²² Note by M. Connolly dated 30th April 1931. TNA WORK 14/1259.
- ²³ Note for the First Commissioner's use contained in Office of Works file AA60171/1 PT2 – TNA WORK 14/1260.
- ²⁴ Section 1. Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16].
- ²⁵ First Schedule. Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16].
- ²⁶ Section 15 (1). Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16]. Note that 'monument' and 'ancient monument' are distinct terms within the Act. The term 'ancient monument' essentially retained the same definition as in the 1913 Act.
- ²⁷ Section 3 (1). Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16].
- ²⁸ Section 9. Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16].
- ²⁹ Section 7. Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16].
- ³⁰ Section 6 (5). Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16].
- ³¹ Other minor changes included the registration of ancient monuments as land charges following the 1925 Land Charges Act. This was significant in terms of the administration of the scheduling process.
- ³² Leach and Whitworth 2011, 51.
- ³³ Note for the First Commissioner's use contained in Office of Works file AA60171/1 PT2 – TNA WORK 14/1260.
- ³⁴ Leach and Whitworth 2011, 53.
- ³⁵ Ibid, 57.
- ³⁶ Ibid, 58.

- ³⁷ This is clearly stated in a Letter from G.M. Trevelyan to Eric Birley, 11th November 1948, contained in Office of Works file AA110014/3 PT1: *'Since the Ministry of Works has not fulfilled its hope that it would acquire the guardianship of the whole Roman Wall, and since this control was a condition of the Trust's handing over the guardianship of Housesteads to the Ministry of Works, the Trust now reserves its decision and will consider the question on its merits at some future date.'*
- ³⁸ Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee. 1921. London: HMSO. TNA WORK 14/2470 c442196.
- ³⁹ Office of Works file AA090947/1 – TNA WORK 14/1303.
- ⁴⁰ Holder 2012.
- ⁴¹ Letter to Lionel Earle from Earnest Law, 29th November 1919. Contained in Office of Works file AA090947/1 – TNA WORK 14/1303.
- ⁴² Note from Charles Peers to Sir Lionel Earle, 2nd December 1919. TNA WORK 14/1303.
- ⁴³ Section 2. Ancient Monuments Act [21 & 22 Geo.5, Ch.16].
- ⁴⁴ Guardianship file AA71183/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1466
- ⁴⁵ Town and Country Planning Act [22 & 23 Geo.5, Ch.48].
- ⁴⁶ Section 1. Town and Country Planning Act [22 & 23 Geo.5, Ch.48].
- ⁴⁷ Holder 2012.
- ⁴⁸ Although of 17th century date the market hall had been re-located and converted to a private residence in the 19th century (Holder 2012).
- ⁴⁹ Holder 2012.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Letter from Sir Patrick Duff to Sir James Rae, HM Treasury, 10th December 1934. Contained in TNA File AS 129/01.
- ⁵³ Yorkshire Evening Post, November 1928. Article entitled 'Historic Bowes, About Which Nobody Seems to Bother'. Contained in guardianship file AA10329/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1025.

- ⁵⁴ Note written by M. Connolly, 13th November 1928. TNA WORK 14/1025.
- ⁵⁵ Letter from A.W. Watts to M. Connolly, 27th November 1928. In a reply the Office of Works consented to transfer, though this would have to wait until funds were available. The Deed of Guardianship was finally completed on 20th March 1931. TNA WORK 14/1025.
- ⁵⁶ Letter from Hugh Corbet to Arthur Heasman, 20th January 1930. Contained in AA90984/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1223.
- ⁵⁷ Guardianship file AA71645/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/529.
- ⁵⁸ Guardianship file AA71360/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1040.
- ⁵⁹ Letter from Colonel Malone to Charles Peers, 21st December 1928. TNA WORK 14/1040.
- ⁶⁰ Letter from the Bishop of Guildford to Sir Lionel Earle, 13th October 1928. Contained in AA50774/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/311.
- ⁶¹ Technical Report written by J. Jack, 16th September 1930. TNA WORK 14/311.
- ⁶² Internal memorandum: Farnham Castle, 1912. TNA WORK 14/311.
- ⁶³ Letter to the Bishop of Winchester from Francis Fox, 14th December 1912. TNA WORK 14/311.
- ⁶⁴ Letter from Edward Winton to James Eggar, 4th January 1913. TNA WORK 14/311.
- ⁶⁵ Guardianship file AA90181/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/895
- ⁶⁶ Parliamentary Question, 9th April 1935. TNA WORK 14/895
- ⁶⁷ Letter to Charles Peers dated 17th January 1917. Contained in AA46206/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁶⁸ Letter dated 11th January 1917 contained in TNA WORK 14/692. The scheduling request was prompted by the imminent sale of the monument that year.
- ⁶⁹ Letter from D.M.Harvey to the Assistant Commissioner of the Forestry Commission, 25th May 1926. TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁷⁰ Note to the Permanent Secretary, Sir Lionel Earle, 20th August 1927. TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁷¹ Statement issued in The Times 12th October 1927. TNA WORK 14/692.

- ⁷² Note by Charles Peers to Sir Lionel Earle, 24th January 1928. TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁷³ As revealed in a letter from Frederick Raby to the Forestry Commission, 8th October 1928. TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁷⁴ Letter dated 21st January 1929. TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁷⁵ Letter from Raby to N. Young at the Treasury, 16th May 1929. TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁷⁶ Reply from N. Young, 6th July 1929. TNA WORK 14/692.
- ⁷⁷ Letter to Charles Peers from George Swayne, writing on behalf of the owner Robert Granville, 18th November 1930. Contained in guardianship file AA71183/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1466.
- ⁷⁸ Note by M. Connolly, Assistant Secretary, 20th July 1931. TNA WORK 14/1466.
- ⁷⁹ Note by M. Connolly, 13th January 1932. TNA WORK 14/1466.
- ⁸⁰ Guardianship file AA40998/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/535.
- ⁸¹ Note from Charles Peers to the Sir Lionel Earle, 26th November 1930. TNA WORK 14/535.
- ⁸² Note by M. Connolly, 2nd April 1930. Contained in AA20018/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/384.
- ⁸³ Comment by Sir Frank Baines, 18th August 1924. TNA WORK 14/384.
- ⁸⁴ Guardianship file AA30979/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/867.
- ⁸⁵ English Heritage. *History and Research: Thornton Abbey*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/thornton-abbey-and-gatehouse/history-and-research/> (accessed 1 July 2012).
- ⁸⁶ English Heritage. *History and Research: Sandbach Crosses*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/sandbach-crosses/history-and-research/> (accessed 3 July 2012).
- ⁸⁷ Note by Frederick Raby, 17th November 1936. Guardianship file AA100072/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/852.
- ⁸⁸ English Heritage. *History and Research: Uffington Castle*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/uffington-castle-white-horse-and-dragon-hill/history-and-research/> (accessed 1 July 2012).

- ⁸⁹ Note by Bushe-Fox to the Secretary, 21st December 1929. Contained in Guardianship file AA61048/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/533. Although guardianship negotiations began over Uffington Castle in 1929 they were delayed for several years whilst Bushe-Fox also sought to acquire Dragon Hill so that it too could form part of the group of monuments.
- ⁹⁰ English Heritage. *History and Research: Binham Priory*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/binham-priory/history-and-research/> (accessed 10 July 2012).
- ⁹¹ Guardianship file AA40058/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/607.
- ⁹² Letter from William Ormsby-Gore to the MP Thomas Cook, 25th October 1932. TNA WORK 14/607.
- ⁹³ Guardianship file AA71643/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/359.
- ⁹⁴ Guardianship file AA71312/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/341.
- ⁹⁵ English Heritage. *History and Research: The Hurlers Stone Circles*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/hurlers-stone-circles/history-and-research/> (accessed 10 July 2012).
- ⁹⁶ English Heritage. *History and Research: Dupath Well Chapel*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/dupath-well/history-and-research/> (accessed 12 July 2012).
- ⁹⁷ Letter from the Assistant Secretary to Albert de Castro Glubb, 13th July 1936. Contained in guardianship file AA70954/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/674.
- ⁹⁸ Letter from Raleigh Radford to the Office of Works, 13th August 1935. TNA WORK 14/674.
- ⁹⁹ Letter from W.A. Procter to Albert de Castro Glubb, 22nd January 1937. TNA WORK 14/674.
- ¹⁰⁰ Note by the Assistant Secretary, 20th April 1937. Contained in Guardianship file AA90127/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/2012.
- ¹⁰¹ Letter dated 27th April 1937. TNA WORK 14/2012.
- ¹⁰² Guardianship file AA36274/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1191.
- ¹⁰³ Guardianship file AA40691/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/510.

- ¹⁰⁴ Letter to the Office of Works from the solicitors Messrs. Greene and Greene, 30th July 1930. TNA WORK 14/510.
- ¹⁰⁵ Letter from M. Connolly dated 23rd January 1933. TNA WORK 14/510.
- ¹⁰⁶ Guardianship file AA90911/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1325.
- ¹⁰⁷ Note dated 1st July 1935. TNA WORK 14/1325.
- ¹⁰⁸ Letter from William Ormsby-Gore to the land agent Messrs. E. Gandy, 21st November 1935. TNA WORK 14/1325.
- ¹⁰⁹ Guardianship file AA71941 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/893.
- ¹¹⁰ Letter from Lord Radnor to Sir Lionel Earle, 3rd July 1931. TNA WORK 14/893.
- ¹¹¹ Guardianship file AA51107/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/826.
- ¹¹² Letter from the owner, H. J. Wood, dated 25th January 1915. TNA WORK 14/826.
- ¹¹³ Note to the Assistant Secretary, 2nd February 1915. TNA WORK 14/826.
- ¹¹⁴ Internal memorandum: Roche Abbey. Addressed from Arthur Heasman to Sir Frank Baines, 29th March 1920. Guardianship file AA20151/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/455.
- ¹¹⁵ Letter from George Shaw-Lefevre to Sir Alfred Mond, 24th October 1918. Contained in Office of Works file AA71786/3F PT1. Shaw-Lefevre had himself been First Commissioner of Works in 1881-85 and 1892-94. TNA WORK 14/455.
- ¹¹⁶ Reply dated 31st October 1918. TNA WORK 14/455.
- ¹¹⁷ 'Ancient monuments and historic buildings: Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending 31st March 1911. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty'. London: HMSO. Contained in TNA WORK 14/ 2470 C442196.
- ¹¹⁸ Letter from Sir Lionel Earle to M.F. Headlam, 15th November 1922. Contained in guardianship file AA100602/3 – TNA WORK 14/1424.
- ¹¹⁹ Note from the First Commissioner to Sir Patrick Duff dated 12th September 1933. Contained in Rievaulx Abbey works file AA16260/2B PT1 – TNA WORK 14/787.
- ¹²⁰ A Memorandum dated 16th September 1929 shows that there was a lack of parking space within the grounds of Kirkham Priory and that visitors without a ticket to the abbey were charged five shillings to park their vehicle (Kirkham Priory works file AA26282/2 PT1 – TNA WORKS 14/357). At Whitcombe Roman Villa Bushe-Fox

gave instructions for proper signage in 1929 (Guardianship file AA71216/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/547).

¹²¹ Champion 1996, 48.

¹²² Leach and Whitworth 2011, 12.

¹²³ Letter from Sir Patrick Duff to Sir James Rae, 10th December 1934. Contained in TNA Treasury file AS 129/01.

¹²⁴ The information in the following three paragraphs is largely drawn from the Office of Works publication *The Preservation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings in Great Britain*, pp 15-17, 19, 20. There is no publication date or publisher but information in the book indicates it was created in 1936. The book can be obtained from the English Heritage Library in Swindon (Shelf Number 2.3.11/OFF).

¹²⁵ In 1936 there was a charge of 6d at 80 monuments and 3d at 43 monuments.

¹²⁶ Office of Works 1936, 17.

¹²⁷ Ibid,17.

¹²⁸ These figures for 1935 can be broken down as follows: Guidebooks at ancient monuments £673, historic buildings £1470 and royal palaces £908. Postcards at ancient monuments £540, historic buildings £2963 and royal palaces £825.

¹²⁹ Comment by Bushe-Fox. Contained in guardianship file AA71737/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/605.

¹³⁰ Note by G. Tomlinson dated 28th August 1945. Contained in the guardianship file for Netley Abbey. AA66310/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1242.

¹³¹ Clark 1934, 427.

¹³² Whitby Abbey works file AA10101/2C PT1 – TNA WORK 14/882.

¹³³ Memorandum: Whitby Abbey, 10th November 1925. TNA WORK 14/882.

¹³⁴ Note from the First Commissioner to Sir Patrick Duff, 12th September 1933. Contained in Rievaulx Abbey works file AA16260/2B PT1 – TNA WORK 14/787.

¹³⁵ Whitby Abbey works file AA10101/2C PT1 – TNA WORK 14/882.

¹³⁶ Note dated 4th August 1938 contained in TNA WORK 14/882.

¹³⁷ Saunders 1983, 20.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 20.

¹³⁹ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 25th April 1928.

¹⁴⁰ Peers 1929, 352.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 352.

¹⁴² Clarke 1934, 424.

¹⁴³ Evans 2007, 185.

¹⁴⁴ Pitt-Rivers 1892, IX.

¹⁴⁵ Peers 1931, 349-350.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 351.

¹⁴⁷ Saunders 1983, 20.

¹⁴⁸ Office of Works 1936, 15.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 15.

¹⁵⁰ Clarke 1934, 421.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 421.

¹⁵² Windmills were later scheduled, after the Second World War, including the example at Bourn, which is currently both listed and scheduled.

¹⁵³ There were 1735 Scheduled Ancient Monuments in England and Wales in 1930.

¹⁵⁴ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 20th May 1936.

¹⁵⁵ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 15th February 1939.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ancient Monuments Board for England minutes, 13th November 1947.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Vale 1941, vii.

¹⁶⁰ Office of Works file AA5800/1 – TNA WORK 14/2327.

- ¹⁶¹ TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ¹⁶² TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ¹⁶³ Internal Memorandum: 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1952.
Contained in Office of Works file A7 – TNA WORK 82/10.
- ¹⁶⁴ Vale 1941, vi.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid, v.
- ¹⁶⁶ Letter from Raby to H.E.C. Gatcliff, 25th January 1940. Contained in TNA Treasury File AS 129/01.
- ¹⁶⁷ Reply dated 30th January 1940. TNA File AS 129/01.
- ¹⁶⁸ Letter from H.E.C. Gatcliff to Raby, 27th January 1942. TNA File AS 129/01.
- ¹⁶⁹ Letter dated 28th February 1942. TNA File AS 129/01.
- ¹⁷⁰ The Department's arguments appear to grow more exaggerated with time. In February 1941 Raby argued that a good proportion of full time custodians were men over 50 whilst in 1943 Assistant Secretary Miller stated that the men left were 'practically all elderly (and probably "immobile")'. TNA File AS 129/01.
- ¹⁷¹ Note dated 22nd January 1943. TNA Treasury File AS 129/01.
- ¹⁷² Internal Memorandum: 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1952.
Contained in Office of Works file A7 – TNA WORK 82/10.
- ¹⁷³ The information in this section is taken from the following source unless otherwise stated: Ministry of Works Memorandum: 'Excavation of Ancient Monuments on Aerodromes etc'. Written by Brian O'Neil, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, in May 1942. Contained in Ministry of Works file AA5800/1 – TNA WORK 14/2327. The memorandum was the subject of an article by Kohan in 1952 (See bibliography).
- ¹⁷⁴ The results were published in the journal *Archaeologia* LXXXVII.
- ¹⁷⁵ Ministry of Works 1949, 5.
- ¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 5.
- ¹⁷⁷ Internal Memorandum: 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1952.
Contained in Office of Works file A7 – TNA WORK 82/10.
- ¹⁷⁸ Saunders 1983, 21.

- ¹⁷⁹ Kohan 1952, 387.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ministry of Works 1949, 31.
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid, 33.
- ¹⁸² Saint 1996, 123.
- ¹⁸³ Kohan 1996, 388.
- ¹⁸⁴ Saunders 1983, 21.
- ¹⁸⁵ Wagner 1993, 15.
- ¹⁸⁶ Saint 1996, 122.
- ¹⁸⁷ Kohan 1952, 388.
- ¹⁸⁸ Under Ministry of Home Security Circular No.44/1941 of 15th February 1941 (Kohan 1952: 388).
- ¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 388.
- ¹⁹⁰ Saint 1996, 122.
- ¹⁹¹ Ministry of Works 1949, 34.
- ¹⁹² Ibid, 34.
- ¹⁹³ Wagner 1993, 14.
- ¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 15.
- ¹⁹⁵ Kohan 1952, 389.
- ¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 389.
- ¹⁹⁷ Ministry of Works 1949, 24.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ministry of Works 1949, 49.
- ¹⁹⁹ All Hallows by the Tower website. 'Saxon Arch':
<http://www.ahbtt.org.uk/visiting/virtual-tour/k-saxon-arch/> (accessed 1 August 2012).
- ²⁰⁰ Ibid.

- ²⁰¹ Ministry of Works 1949, 51.
- ²⁰² Ministry of Works 1949, 34.
- ²⁰³ Wagner 1993, 15.
- ²⁰⁴ Saint 1996, 125.
- ²⁰⁵ Section 42 (4). Town and Country Planning Act [7 & 8 Geo.6, Ch.47].
- ²⁰⁶ The Act itself contained no definition but the expression was given the same interpretation which was accorded to it by Section 53 of the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act.
- ²⁰⁷ Heap 1945, 214.
- ²⁰⁸ Section 42 (3). Town and Country Planning Act [7 & 8 Geo.6, Ch.47].
- ²⁰⁹ Heap 1945, 215-216.
- ²¹⁰ Section 43 (5). Town and Country Planning Act [7 & 8 Geo.6, Ch.47]. Notice was given to the local planning authority. Only urgent repairs could be carried out without prior notice on the grounds that these were needed for the preservation of the building or in the interests of health and safety.
- ²¹¹ Section 43 (7). Town and Country Planning Act [7 & 8 Geo.6, Ch.47].
- ²¹² Section 43 (1), (2) and (3). Town and Country Planning Act [7 & 8 Geo.6, Ch.47].
- ²¹³ Section 43 (9) (a). Town and Country Planning Act [7 & 8 Geo.6, Ch.47].
- ²¹⁴ Section 43 (9) (b). Town and Country Planning Act [7 & 8 Geo.6, Ch.47].
- ²¹⁵ Saint 1996, 128.
- ²¹⁶ Ibid, 129.
- ²¹⁷ English Heritage. *History and Research: Avebury Henge and Stone Circles*.
<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/avebury/history-and-research/>
(accessed 1 July 2012)
- ²¹⁸ Ibid.
- ²¹⁹ Champion 1996, 49.
- ²²⁰ Murray 2004.

- ²²¹ Office of Works file AA76216/3C – TNA WORK 14/1192.
- ²²² Internal Note written by Assistant Secretary A. Miller, 9th September 1949. TNA WORK 14/1192.
- ²²³ Article in *The Times* Newspaper entitled 'Avebury for the Nation' 23rd March 1943. TNA WORK 14/1192.
- ²²⁴ Internal Note written by Assistant Secretary A. Miller, 9th September 1949. TNA WORK 14/1192.
- ²²⁵ English Heritage. 2005. *Avebury World Heritage Site Management Plan*. <http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/artsheritageandlibraries/museumhistoryheritage/worldheritagesite/aveburyworldheritagesitemanagementplan.htm> (accessed 20 July 2012).
- ²²⁶ Murray 2004.
- ²²⁷ Ibid.
- ²²⁸ Note dated 6th February 1943. Contained in Office of Works file AA76216/3C – TNA WORK 14/1192.
- ²²⁹ Draft Press Statement for the National Trust entitled 'Avebury and the National Trust'. TNA WORK 14/1192.
- ²³⁰ Murray 2004.
- ²³¹ Ibid.
- ²³² Letter from Alexander Keiller to Frederick Raby, 16th June 1943. Contained in Guardianship file AA76216/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²³³ Letter from Alexander Keiller to Frederick Raby, 9th July 1943. TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²³⁴ TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²³⁵ Sunday Times. 'Letters to the Editor: The National Trust', October 1943. Press cutting contained in Guardianship file AA76216/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²³⁶ Letter from Alexander Keiller to Eardley Knollys, 15th January 1944. TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²³⁷ Letter from Alexander Keiller to Frederick Raby, 30th January 1945. TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²³⁸ Note by J.H. Lewis dated 13TH November 1956. TNA WORK 14/1645.

- ²³⁹ Article in the *North Wiltshire Herald & Advertiser*, Friday 28th Oct 1949, entitled 'Decaying Village On Oldest Site in Britain: Avebury's Slow Death is National Trust Policy.' [n.b. 'Avebury' was another commonly used name for the site]. TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²⁴⁰ Internal Memorandum dated 26th May 1943. Guardianship file AA76216/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²⁴¹ Letter from Alexander Keiller to Brian O'Neal, 28th May 1943. TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²⁴² Letter from Alexander Keiller to Frederick Raby, 8th November 1943. TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²⁴³ TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²⁴⁴ Ibid
- ²⁴⁵ Letter from Brian O'Neal to Alexander Keiller, 2nd February 1944. TNA WORK 14/1645.
- ²⁴⁶ Letter to Eric de Norman from Frederick Raby, 30th July 1943. Contained in Office of Works file AA5800/1 – TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ²⁴⁷ Letter to Eric de Norman from Frederick Raby, 11th June 1943. TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ²⁴⁸ Reply dated 16th June 1943. TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ²⁴⁹ Memorandum entitled 'Post-war programme of works on ancient monuments including organisation'. Written by Frederick Raby, 10th November 1944. TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ²⁵⁰ Memorandum entitled 'Building Embargo', 4th August 1944. TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ²⁵¹ Ministry of Works 1949, 55.
- ²⁵² Letter from Frederick Raby to the Deputy Secretary, 10th November 1944. TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ²⁵³ Letter from Bushe-Fox to Assistant Secretary Miller, 6th April 1945. TNA WORK 14/2327.
- ²⁵⁴ Guardianship file AA40648/3 PT1 – TNA WORK 14/1552.
- ²⁵⁵ Quote contained in Guardianship file AA36235/3.

²⁵⁶ Letter from the Marquess of Titchfield to Lord Portal, 17th April 1943. Guardianship file AA36235/3.

²⁵⁷ Memorandum written by Frederick Raby, 22nd April 1943. Guardianship file AA36235/3.

²⁵⁸ Saunders 1983, 22.

²⁵⁹ Extracts from Walter Godfrey's book *Our Building Inheritance* are recorded in the Memorandum entitled 'Post-war programme of works on ancient monuments including organisation'. Written by Frederick Raby, 10th November 1944. Contained in Office of Works file AA5800/1 – TNA WORK 14/2327.

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Guardianship / Acquisition files		
AA76285/3 PT1	WORK 14/859	Tintagel Castle
AA71360/3 PT1	WORK 14/1040	Chysauster Ancient Village
AA10329/3 PT1	WORK 14/1025	Bowes Castle
AA90984/3 PT1	WORK 14/1223	Haughmond Abbey
AA40998/3 PT1	WORK 14/535	Roman Wall of St Albans / Verulamium
AA71645/3 PT1	WORK 14/529	Trethevy Quoit
AA46206/3 PT1	WORK 14/692	Grimes Graves
AA16269/3 PT1	WORK 14/318	Gisborough Priory
AA30515/3 PT1	WORK 14/1110	Peveril Castle
AA36274/3 PT1	WORK 14/1191	Ashby de la Zouch Castle
AA71183/3 PT1	WORK 14/1466	Glastonbury Tribunal
AA20018/3 PT1	WORK 14/384	Monk Bretton Priory
AA66279/3 PT1	WORK 14/704	Hurst Castle
AA50774/3 PT1	WORK 14/311	Farnham Castle Keep
AA61069/3 PT1	WORK 14/351	Jordan Hill Roman Temple
N/A	WORK 14/442	Hadrians Wall: Corbridge Roman Town
AA71643/3 PT1	WORK 14/359	King Doniert's Stone
AA40058/3 PT1	WORK 14/607	Binham Priory
AA76255/3 PT1	WORK 14/737	Lydford Castle & Saxon Town
N/A	WORK 14/802	Hadrians Wall: Benwell Vallum Crossing
N/A	WORK 14/808	Hadrians Wall: Denton East and West
N/A	WORK 14/446	Hadrians Wall: Banks East and West
AA110014/3 PT1	N/A	Hadrians Wall: Housesteads Fort
AA71312/3 PT1	WORK 14/341	The Hurlers

AA60118/3 PT2	WORK 14/1730	Silchester Roman City Walls
N/A	WORK 14/440	Hadrians Wall: Heddon-On-The-Wall
N/A	WORK 14/802	Hadrians Wall: Benwell Temple
AA61048/3 PT1	WORK 14/533	Uffington Monuments
AA71941 PT1	WORK 14/893	Old Wardour Castle
AA90911/3 PT1	WORK 14/1325	Croxden Abbey
AA70954/3 PT1	WORK 14/674	Dupath Well
AA51107/3 PT1	WORK 14/826	St Leonard's Tower, West Malling
AA100072/3 PT1	WORK 14/852	Sandbach Crosses
N/A	WORK 14/801	Hadrians Wall: Winshields
AA90127/3 PT1	WORK 14/2012	Kenilworth Castle
AA30979/3 PT1	WORK 14/867	Thornton Abbey
AA90181/3 PT1	WORK 14/895	White Ladies Priory
AA40521/3 PT1	WORK 14/647	Castle Acre Bailey Gate
N/A	WORK 14/807	Hadrians Wall: Poltross Burn Milecastle 48
AA090813/3 PT1	N/A	Moreston Corbet Castle
AA70838/3 PT1	WORK 14/1399	Bradford on Avon Tithe Barn
AA71478/3 PT1	WORK 14/1105	Notgrove Long Barrow
N/A	WORK 14/2104	Hadrians Wall: Walltown Crags
N/A	WORK 14/1123	Hadrians Wall: Vindolanda Roman Fort
AA40648/3 PT1	WORK 14/1552	Isleham Priory Church
AA76216/3C PT3	WORK 14/1192	Avebury
AA36235/3	N/A	Bolsover Castle
AA36235/3	N/A	Bolsover Cundy House
Hadrian's Wall preservation scheme files		
AA6039/1 PT 1	WORK 14/1257	Negotiations with Mr. J.F. Wake to control the extent of quarrying
AA6017/1 PT1	WORK 14/1259	Preservation scheme, central portion: fixing of controlled areas. 1931-33
AA6017/1 PT 2	WORK 14/1260	Preservation scheme, central portion: fixing of controlled areas. 1933-37
AA6019/1 PT1	WORK 14/1287	Preservation scheme: order confirming scheme 1943-44

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APPENDIX I

The National Collection of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings: Acquisitions 1931-1945

Name	County	Date	Type
Roman Wall of St Albans / Verulamium	Hertfordshire	15th June 1931	Guardianship
Trethevy Quoit	Cornwall	7th November 1931	Gift
Grimes Graves	Norfolk	18th December 1931	Purchase
Gisborough Priory	Redcar & Cleveland	27th January 1932	Guardianship
Muchelney Reredorter	Somerset	5 th February 1932	Guardianship (See p.50 of Vol.4)
Peveril Castle	Derbyshire	25th February 1932	Guardianship
Thetford Priory	Norfolk	1932	-
Woodhenge	Wiltshire	1932	-
Ashby de la Zouch Castle	Leicestershire	5th April 1932	Guardianship
Glastonbury Tribunal	Somerset	15th April 1932	Guardianship
Monk Bretton Priory	South Yorkshire	17th June 1932	Guardianship
Hurst Castle	Hampshire	1st April 1933	War Office transfer
Farnham Castle Keep	Surrey	30th June 1933	Guardianship
Jordan Hill Roman Temple	Dorset	12th April 1933	Guardianship
Hadrians Wall: Corbridge Roman Town	Northumberland	15th May 1933	Gift
King Doniert's Stone	Cornwall	28th July 1933	Gift
Binham Priory	Norfolk	28th October 1933	Guardianship
Lydford Castle & Saxon Town	Devon	16th March 1934	Guardianship
Hadrians Wall: Benwell Vallum Crossing	Tyne & Wear	4th June 1934	Gift
Hadrians Wall: Denton East and West	Tyne & Wear	4th June 1934	Guardianship
Hadrians Wall: Banks East and West	Cumbria	14th August 1934	Gift
Minster Lovell Hall	Oxfordshire	1935	-
The Hurlers	Cornwall	6th April 1935	Guardianship
Silchester Roman City Walls	Hampshire	9th April 1935	Guardianship
Hadrians Wall: Heddon-On-The-Wall	Northumberland	9th May 1935	Gift

Hadrians Wall: Benwell Temple	Tyne & Wear	18th January 1936	Gift
Uffington Monuments (Dragons Hill, White Horse & Uffington Castle)	Oxfordshire	8th May 1936	Guardianship
Old Wardour Castle	Wiltshire	13th July 1936	Guardianship
Croxden Abbey	Staffordshire	18th September 1936	Guardianship
Dupath Well	Cornwall	12th January 1937	Gift
St Leonard's Tower, West Malling	Kent	24th May 1937	Guardianship
Sandbach Crosses	Cheshire	25th June 1937	Guardianship
Hadrians Wall: Winshields	Northumberland	29th October 1937	Guardianship
Houghton House	Bedfordshire	1938	-
Jewel Tower	London	1938	-
London Wall	London	1938	-
St Augustine's Abbey	Kent	1938	-
Kenilworth Castle	Warwickshire	18th February 1938	Gift
Thornton Abbey	North Lincolnshire	17th July 1938	Guardianship
White Ladies Priory	Shropshire	12th September 1938	Guardianship
Castle Acre Bailey Gate	Norfolk	7th November 1938	Guardianship
Hadrians Wall: Poltross Burn Milecastle 48	Cumbria	27th November 1938	Guardianship
Moreton Corbet Castle	Shropshire	1939	Guardianship
Netheravon Dovecote	Wiltshire	1939	-
Bradford on Avon Tithe Barn	Wiltshire	4th July 1939	Gift
Notgrove Long Barrow	Gloucestershire	21st July 1939	Guardianship
Hadrians Wall: Walltown Crag	Northumberland	1st November 1939	Gift
Hadrians Wall: Vindolanda Roman Fort	Northumberland	5th November 1939	Includes Milecastle
Baconsthorpe Castle	Norfolk	1940	-
Isleham Priory Church	Cambridgeshire	5th February 1944	Guardianship
Avebury	Wiltshire	15th February 1944	Guardianship
Bolsover Castle	Derbyshire	10th February 1945	Gift
Bolsover Cundy House	Derbyshire	10th February 1945	Gift
Hadrians Wall: Planetrees	Northumberland	30th June 1945	Guardianship

* Sites acquired prior to the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act on 11th June 1931, namely Tintagel Castle, Chysauster Ancient Village, Bowes Castle and Haughmond Abbey, are included in the list of acquisitions in Volume Four of this series of reports. The cut off date for this list is the end of the Second World War: 2nd September 1945.



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