

From Frozen Monuments to Fluid Landscapes.

**The Conservation and Presentation of Ancient Monuments
From 1882 to the Present.**

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Abstract.

The first half of this research considers the origins of the prevailing approach to the conservation and presentation of ancient monuments, particularly those in the guardianship of the state. Beginning with the definition of preservation principles in the nineteenth century, the research examines the creation of a government preservation office and the introduction of preservation legislation. The second half of the research examines the changes taking place in the theoretical approaches to Cultural Heritage Management, much of which derives from experience in Australia and America, and considers this work alongside a new agenda for 'the heritage' in England where it is overtly stated that the heritage industry and conservation can be used to address social issues such as urban and rural regeneration and social exclusion.

The implications of the current Government and peer reviews of conservation practice and primary legislation have also been considered in order to determine their impact on the status of the familiar preserved ruin, ideas of 'monumentality', the role of the heritage manager and the politicization of heritage. It is argued in this thesis that the preservation and presentation approach of the Office of Works and its successors has conditioned our understanding of the past, making the introduction of a new paradigm unnecessarily confrontational.

This research contributes to a number of areas of knowledge. The origins and development of conservation practice in England have received relatively little analysis and the expansion of the Office of Works in the first quarter of the twentieth century has yet to be analysed in detail. Similarly British conservation practice in an Imperial context – particularly that in the Levant – has received very little critical consideration and it is believed that this research presents the first assessment of the career of George H. Jeffery, Curator of Ancient Monuments, Cyprus.

List of Contents.

Abstract.....	iii
List of Illustrations.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Author's Declaration.....	x
Chapter One: Introduction and Methodology.	
1. Reasons for undertaking the Thesis.....	1
1.1 Defining the problem.....	3
1.2 The Inspectorate.....	5
1.3 Changes and pressures.....	10
1.3.1 Theory.....	11
1.3.2 Landscape.....	13
1.3.3 Management.....	15
2. The scope of the study and hypothesis.....	17
2.1 Aim and objectives.....	19
2.2 Structure of the study and research methodology.....	20
Chapter Two: Early Conservation of Ancient Monuments.....	
1. Introduction.....	30
2. Background.....	31
2.1 The expansion of chronology and development of conservation principles.....	34
3. Science and theory.....	39
3.1 Archaeology and science.....	39
3.2 The beginning of preservation.....	45
3.3 The questions of what to protect and how.....	47
4. Legislation.....	57
4.1 Ireland.....	57
4.2 1882 – An Act for the Better Protection of Ancient Monuments.....	61
4.2.1 The issue of private ownership.....	61
4.2.2 The bias towards prehistoric monuments.....	63
4.2.3 The politics of the past.....	64
5. The response to the 1882 Act.....	66
5.1 Legislative change.....	67

5.2 Academic changes.....	72
6. Charles Peers.....	81
7. Summary.....	88
Chapter Three: The Office of Works and the Ancient	
Monuments Act of 1913.....	93
1. Introduction.....	93
2. Threats and changes.....	94
3. The 1913 Ancient Monuments Act.....	100
3.1 After the introduction of the Bill, 1913-1939:	
the development of Peers' approach to monument care.....	109
4. Rievaulx Abbey, a case study. Introduction.....	123
4.1 Rievaulx Abbey, a case study.....	124
4. The changing perceptions of the Inspectorate,	
1920s versus 2000.....	152
Chapter Four: Colonial Cyprus, 1878 to 1939: A Case Study.....	163
1. Introduction.....	163
2. The nature and extent of British rule in Cyprus, 1878 to 1939... 166	
2.1 The political context.....	166
2.2 The cultural context.....	167
2.3 The legislative context.....	177
3. The career of George H. Jeffery.....	187
4. Changes in government and local approaches to the heritage	
of Cyprus.....	197
5. Summary.....	210
Chapter Five: Current Directions.....	214
1. Introduction.....	214
2. A contemporary case study: Whitby Abbey Headland	
Project. Introduction.....	215
2.1 The Whitby Abbey Headland Project – a case study.....	218
3. Theory and theory making.....	227
3.1 The inability to see the past objectively.....	228
3.2 The characterization and reconstruction of the past.....	230
3.3 The politicization of archaeology.....	232

4. Significance and the origins of Cultural Heritage Management.....	235
4.1 Scheduling and Landscape Characterization.....	239
5. Community, locality and participation.....	249
5.1 Sutton Common, South Yorkshire – a case study.....	259
5.2 Malton Roman Fort, North Yorkshire – a case study.....	263
6. Summary.....	274
Chapter Six: Conclusion.....	278
Appendices	
Appendix One.....	290
Coulton, North Yorkshire. Scheduling Description	
Appendix Two.....	296
<i>The Times</i> , December 16 th , 1900.	
Appendix Three.....	297
SPAB Document on Cyprus	
Appendix Four.....	299
Steeton Hall, North Yorkshire. Scheduling Description.	
Appendix Five.....	310
PPG15. Paragraphs	
Appendix Six.....	312
Text of Speech by Rt. Hon. Chris Smith.	
Appendix Seven.....	316
Text of Speech by Rt. Hon. Alan Howarth.	
Abbreviations.....	322
Bibliography.....	324

List of Illustrations.

Figure 1.....	117
Virginia House, Richmond, USA. Formerly Warwick Priory, Warwick .Original in colour.	
Figure 2.....	128
Guardianship Plan. Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Original in colour	
Figure 3 Aerial View of Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire.....	129
Figure 4 Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Nave. Before works...	131
Figure 5 Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Nave. After works.....	132
Figure 6 Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Excavation boxes.....	133
Figure 7.....	134
Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Area of Excavations. Original in colour	
Figure 8 Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Railway system.....	135
Figure 9.....	136
Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Depth of accumulated deposit.	
Figure 10.....	138
Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Extract from Finds record.	
Figure 11.....	140
Rievaulx Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Replacement stone in clerestorey windows. Original in colour.	
Figure 12.....	144
Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. West Front before bombardment.	
Figure 13.....	145
Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. West Front following bombardment.	
Figure 14.....	146
Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. West Front following further collapse.	
Figure 15.....	148
Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. West Front as rebuilt. Original in colour.	
Figure 16.....	148
Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Nave arcade being reassembled.	
Figure 17.....	149
Whitby Abbey, N. Yorkshire. Nave arcade reassembled and re-erected in current location against perimeter wall.	

Figure 18.....	173
Selimiye Mosque. Formerly Cathedral of St. Sophia.	
Original in colour	
Figure 19. Jeffery's Museum. Original in colour.....	173
Figure 20.....	221
Whitby Banqueting House, N. Yorkshire. Original in colour.	
Figure 21 Countryside Character Map. Original in colour.....	243
Figure 22 Sutton Common, S. Yorkshire. Flow Chart.....	260
Figure 23 Orchard Field, Malton, N. Yorkshire. Flow Chart.....	264
Figure 24 Orchard Field, Malton, N. Yorkshire. Original in colour...	266

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Author's Declaration.

I confirm that the material presented in this thesis is original work and research. During the research period I presented ideas for critical comment at conferences in York, Ireland, Dubai and Croatia, some of which have formed part of Chapters Two, Three and Five. All subsequent publications have been referred to in the text and bibliography.

Chapter One.

Introduction and Methodology.

'The historic environment is all the physical evidence for past human activity, and its associations, that people can see, understand and feel in the present world.

- It is the habitat that the human race has created through conflict and cooperation over thousands of years, the product of human interaction with nature

- It is all around us as part of everyday experience and life, and it is therefore dynamic and continually subject to change.'

Discussion Paper One, 'Understanding', *Review of policies relating to the historic environment: consultation*, English Heritage 2000c: 5.

1. Reasons for Undertaking the Thesis.

The way we think about ancient monuments is changing. Not only has the word 'monument' now become something of an anachronism, but we no longer consider the 'monument' to be an individual island of building fabric, rather it has become an element in the entirety of a changing landscape that is itself both a cultural product, and 'culturally perceived' (Bender (ed) 1993a; Thomas, J. 1993 and 2001; Graham Fairclough pers. comm. July 2001). As our understanding of the monument - now often referred to as the 'place' - has grown, so our desire to manage and be involved with the 'place' is shifting away from centralized and exclusive views to local and inclusive perspectives. This reinterpretation of what the heritage is, what it consists of and whom it belongs to (Chippindale et al 1990) has considerable implications for the heritage manager and it is vital that heritage specialists recognize and understand that a new approach to heritage issues has generated new meanings and new demands. But how has the idea of the monument been created, how deeply is it embedded, and how easy will it be to shift from one idea of the heritage to another?

This thesis is an exploration of the way in which the shift from 'monuments' to

'cultural heritage' is taking place. The timescale covered by this research falls into three distinct periods: a period when monuments changed from Picturesque ruins to objects of scientific enquiry; a period when monuments were frozen and conservation centralized; and finally a period when loss and change have been accepted coupled with an interest in the conservation of landscapes and the promotion of social inclusion and local management. A number of case studies will be employed to illustrate aspects of the discussion as it is essential to understand how we have arrived at our present position before we can move on to new approaches.

The particular research question can be summarised as:

How is the use and presentation of places of heritage significance determined by the approach and role of those who conserve them, now and in the past?

Supplementary questions flow from this:

Does the current appearance of ancient monuments reflect the intentions of those who initially preserved them?

How will the appearance and use of ancient monuments develop in coming years?

What are our intentions?

How will the role of heritage/cultural resource managers develop in future years?

Questions such as these appear simple, but there are numerous layers and nuances in most of them. When I talk of 'our intentions', there is the 'me' that is the author of this work, an employee of a state conservation body, and the 'me' who is the member of a greater community. Similarly my approach (and solutions) to my work can be directed by international and European frameworks, such as those that apply to World Heritage Sites or to reconstruction on archaeological sites (recent guidelines produced by English Heritage specifically relating English practice to the Lausanne Charter for Archaeological Heritage Management (O'Keefe 1993 and below page 257). The variety of levels of involvement and management can generate conflicts: how can the 'local' be married to 'national' or 'world' categories, when what local people might want is excluded by European guidance? How is it possible to define,

and who defines, those sites that are important to us? Should we appraise only scientific and testable values, or should we include local choice and subjective, but perhaps less permanent values? The concept of World Heritage 'universal value' has been criticised by an increasing number of specialists (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Lowenthal 1988; Bowdler 1988; Byrne 1991; Cleere 1996; Titchen 1996; Meskell 2002a; 2002b) because nation states have misapplied the idea of national importance. To many 'value' is firmly based on European concepts of heritage – the old, the monumental, the aesthetic, with emphasis on attribution, connoisseurship and national values (Clark 2000), which disregards local, indigenous and non-monumental values.

In Chapter Five we will see that a range of issues has become common in many parts of the world, paraphrased as questions by Greene (1999: 44): what sites, which public and who decides?

1.1 Defining the Problem.

The reason for undertaking this research is based on inter-related personal and professional imperatives: the development of heritage management as a subject has revealed and defined dilemmas for those currently involved in ancient monument conservation. These dilemmas relate in particular to the role of the professional and the manner in which particular decisions are taken. Are the decisions I have made about the conservation and presentation of a monument truly objective? Is objectivity possible? Who should be involved in decisions about what is of value? Were the changes and interventions made from the early 1900s as anonymous as intended? Has the concept of the 'monument' and the related state of 'monumentality' outlived its usefulness? Is the idea of the monument so firmly embedded in the minds of the public that the introduction of a new heritage agenda will be resisted? The principal concern is that existing practice in Britain is based on a traditional European model (above this page and below page 238), which has been 'passed on by example and word of mouth' (Thompson 1981: 33) whereas current archaeological theory and political concerns require a style of heritage management closer to the model being developed in the New World and Australia – a model based on significance, managing the conflicts of meaning

(Smith et al 2003:67) and cultural diversity (McBryde 1995). Practitioners of this latter model are developing its theoretical basis (Smith 1994; McBryde 1995; Ross 1996; Smith et al 2003) which means that British practitioners will have to become conversant with new practice and new theory if we are to respond to the new agendas.

Political considerations have never been far away from conservation practice (Trigger 1984; Byrne 1991; Silberman 1995; Meskell (ed) 1998; Hingley 2000b; Meskell 2002a; 2002b). Initially preservation was perceived to be non-political, both in terms of being non-contentious party-politically, but there was a genuine belief that decisions made about policy and practice were objective and scientific and did not have a political component or impetus. It will be seen in the following text, that concerns of national identity and international status have been evident in preservation from an early period, illustrated by examples drawn from England (Chapters Two and Five), Ireland (Chapter Two) and Cyprus (Chapter Four). The reality was that securing a particular site underlined a particular view of the past and the role of a particular élite – actions that we would now consider ‘political’ (Hingley 2000b; 2001c; Hingley (ed) 2001a for Roman and British imperialism). In more recent times government agendas on regeneration and sustainability have been seized by the conservation lobby as a way of demonstrating the relevance and uses of the past in the present and for the future. It has yet to be seen whether this recent association between heritage management and political initiatives has been founded on theoretical bedrock or has been a marriage of convenience.

In practical terms new approaches and uses have implications for Scheduled Ancient Monuments (monuments considered to be of national importance and protected under the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (DoE 1979)), but specifically that group of monuments known as guardianship sites - those sites in the management of the state – such as Stonehenge, Rievaulx Abbey and Housesteads Roman Fort. Since the early 1900s these sites have been considered ‘use-less’ and in many cases ‘dead’ (Forsyth 1914: 135-136). They were considered to be, and were preserved as, documents, whose chief value was as educational tools for a new visiting public (Thompson 1981). In recent years owners and managers of such sites have sought to develop them and improve their

income generating potential (below page 219; Fowler 1987; Hewison 1987; Fladmark (ed) 1994; Herbert (ed) 1995; Meskell 2002a). This includes improvement of visitor facilities, updating interpretation techniques, but also introducing floors and roofs (English Heritage 1992). Gradually 'dead' monuments have been 'reawakened' and once begun this process is unlikely to stop (Chapters Five and Six). Was the idea of the 'dead' monument ever a viable interpretation; was the biggest change to monuments a period in the twentieth century of no-change? There is likely to be a continuing impact on the fabric of guardianship sites, but also – if the socially inclusive model is used – impacts on the stories told on those sites and the role of those sites in local identity.

As an Inspector of Ancient Monuments for English Heritage it is particularly important that I should understand that there are such dilemmas, in order that I make sound day-to-day choices. I have come to realise that much of my work on state managed monuments is the repair of early conservation work, which has in turn made me want to understand the choices and options open to my predecessors - particularly the work of Charles Peers, Inspector of Ancient Monuments from 1910 to 1933, (latterly he became Sir Charles Peers and held the post of Chief Inspector) whose vision of architectural heritage shaped much of what we now see. A failure to understand the clash between past work, new demands, new theoretical approaches and the potential for change on our monuments may mean that I, as a professional, and we as a society, make inappropriate decisions, or fail to capitalise on our opportunities.

In order to understand the current context of heritage management, and to act as an introduction to the main themes of this thesis, it is necessary to explain the origins and role of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments.

1.2 The Inspectorate.

The title of 'Inspector of Ancient Monuments' dates from 1882, when the first ancient monuments legislation was passed, and the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments appointed, but the title 'Inspector' was a standard civil service title - as in Schools Inspector or Factory Inspector - used to denote a known specialist or expert who had been brought into the government's employ (Thompson 1977: 62 – 63; Chippindale

1983a; Murray 1989; Grenville 1999).

When the post was first created, the Inspector was part of the Office of Works. With the increase in the number of specialists in the early 1900s (below page 84) a Department of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings was created within the Office of Works, which later mutated into the Ministry of Works, and later still after 1968 was made part of a new Department of the Environment, and subsequently the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, known as English Heritage. The parent government office for English Heritage is now the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), although planning matters are dealt with by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM).

The Inspectorate of the state conservation bodies (English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW (Wales) and the Department of the Environment (Northern Ireland) is the group of specialists that has the responsibility for overseeing the statutory measures for the protection of ancient monuments, under the terms of the 1979 *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (DoE 1979). The Inspectorate for England, Wales and Scotland was a coherent group until 1980, when it was divided into regional groups (England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland (Hunter et al 1993: 30-55))

Should a developer (in the broadest sense of the word, thereby including 'owner') wish to make changes to a Scheduled Ancient Monument (a monument which appears on a 'list' or 'schedule' of legally protected sites), the Inspector of Ancient Monuments is the person who has to negotiate with the developer about the effect, or desirability, of any changes and the type and style of treatments as well as the necessary 'mitigation' strategies (measures taken to record archaeological deposits which may be lost). If content with the proposals, the Inspector can advise that 'consent' should be granted to permit the development to go ahead. Consent is not given by the Inspector, nor by English Heritage; the Inspector's role is to advise the DCMS that the consent should be granted (or not) by that government office. Consent is required for any operation that will cut, bury, flood, alter or repair a Scheduled Ancient Monument and is parallel to Listed Building Consent for Listed Buildings (Suddards 1993: 77-89). Undertaking work without consent is a criminal

offence.

The setting of a Scheduled Ancient Monument is not a matter explicitly covered by Scheduled Monument Consent: setting issues are addressed during the planning process where it is possible to make specific statements about the impact of a development on the setting of a monument. However, all Scheduled Ancient Monuments include a two meter buffer zone for the 'maintenance of the site' and thus any development that abuts a monument can be assessed under the consent procedure to counter any impact a proposed development may have on, for example, the hydrology of the monument.

However, archaeological research now recognizes the need to understand landscape 'scale' (Hoskins 1955; Beresford 1957; Aston 1973; Thomas, J. 1993 and 2001; Fairclough 1999), whether this be prehistoric or twentieth century military. But there has not been any attempt to schedule a 'landscape', such as the World War I and II remains on Spurn Point, East Yorkshire (Startin 1995:138). Scheduling remains tied to 'the site' and a limited range of testable, observable and tabulated criteria (Appendix Four), so at Spurn Point each individual site is scheduled even though the disposition of those defences was part of an overall, evolving design. Scheduled areas can be extensive, if the visible 'works' are extensive, such as iron–stone mining sites on the North York Moors, but there remains an inconsistency between the management of designated sites and archaeological landscapes. This inconsistency is matched by that of the 'meaning' of landscape: following the Rio Earth Summit of 1992 (Quarrie (ed) 1992) ideas of sustainability and local participation in planning issues are now common currency (English Heritage 1997a; Wates 2000) and highlight differences between specialist and non-specialist perceptions. Archaeological theory has also matched this change by attempting to 'theorize' perception (Bender 1993a; Thomas, J. 1993 and 2001) claiming that landscape is more than a list of the things done to it (Schama 1996; Thomas 2001: 169-170). Methods of involving people in planning and land use processes are being examined by governments and natural and cultural heritage agencies to find ways in which the values of non-specialists can be identified and enhanced: these issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five, which will lead into discussion of the current political initiatives concerning social exclusion.

At the time of writing, the Inspectorate in England is a large body of individuals which includes not only Ancient Monuments Inspectors, but also Historic Buildings Inspectors who give advice on and oversee the execution of statutory consent procedures for Listed Buildings of grade I or II* status - organized into regional teams, working alongside conservation architects, Historic Areas Advisers (who advise on Conservation Areas) and case-work staff. However, the way in which an Inspector works and the type of approaches adopted differ very little from those used since the turn of the nineteenth century. The most recent change within the Inspectorate happened as a result of the expansion of building development (particularly inner-city development) during the late 1960s and 1970s (Hunter et al 1993; Grenville 1999; Wainwright 2000; Baker and Morris 2001). Up to this time Inspectors of Ancient Monuments were primarily concerned with a relatively small group of protected monuments - principally those in 'guardianship' - as defined under the Ancient Monument Acts of 1882 and 1913 (which will be fully discussed in Chapters Two and Three). The 'guardianship' area was initially tightly drawn around the standing ruins, and included an access route to the site for works purposes (below page 127). Ownership still lay with the original owners, the state had merely acquired the duty of care and management for those buildings. At the present time there are approximately 400 guardianship monuments. The guardianship area also lies inside a larger Scheduled Area, which in some cases can be extensive, as in a monastic site, but, as stated above (page 7) does not extend to what many would now understand to be its 'landscape'. Prior to the passage of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (DoE 1979) a Scheduled Ancient Monument was entitled to a statutory period of six weeks excavation in advance of development.

During the late 1960s and '70s it became very clear that the vast majority of those scheduled sites subject to development were being lost completely; the six week excavation period being far from effective at allowing anything like worthwhile data recovery (Thomas, R. 1993: 137). The 1979 Act consolidated the idea of the Scheduled Ancient Monument and Scheduled Monument Consent, refined in more recent years with PPG 16 *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16* (DoE 1990b) and the 'polluter pays' principle - the idea being that the archaeological 'cost' of a site is to be a material consideration to the developer in much the same way as the cost of

bricks or architects' fees (Baker 1993; Colcutt 1993; Grenville 1993; 1999; Hunter et al 1993; Lawson 1993) From this point on, archaeology and the management of archaeological sites became part of the planning process (Hunter et al 1993; Wainwright 1993; 2000; Baker and Morris 2001; Rahtz 2001). Some Inspectors became wholly 'rescue' Inspectors, those who dealt with archaeology and the planning system, whereas others worked entirely on guardianship sites. This unofficial division was formalized in 1991 when English Heritage divided its responsibilities into two arms, Conservation Division and Historic Properties, the latter specifically geared to the improvement of visitor facilities and generation of income from the guardianship sites (English Heritage 1992).

A feature of ancient monuments management is the concept of 'the double list' and this does confuse the response to a simple question such as 'what sites do we want to conserve' (Fraser 1993; Grenville 1993; 1999). Essentially the bulk of the archaeological record is regarded as 'nationally important', but only a small sample of that nationally important resource is 'scheduled' (added to a list of nationally important sites) at the discretion of the Secretary of State for the DCMS acting on advice from English Heritage – thus there are scheduled sites and the majority of sites managed under PPG16 (Startin 1993; 1995; Bournemouth University 1995). A scheduled site therefore can be thought of as the best example of a particular type-site. However the idea of preserving the 'best of' whatever category has in reality, been variable. There is for example, hesitation about adding urban sites to the Schedule of Ancient Monuments, as it is believed that scheduling is an inappropriate management tool where change may be, implicitly, rapid, continuous and destructive (English Heritage 1992; Startin 1995: 140-143). Chapter Two will include discussion of whether there was an intention to create a 'National Collection' of monuments, but this idea was always complicated by there being two lists. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a list of those sites in guardianship and a list of those considered suitable for guardianship. This approach was continued by the Royal Commission in 1908 (below page 80) whereby sites were placed on an A list (the list of sites actually recorded) or B list (sites considered especially worthy of preservation), but could move from one list to another. Although it is clear that monument ranking systems have an early origin and remain in use to the present day, the rationale of those systems is far from clear, whilst their philosophical basis was rooted firmly in not only

a functionalist tradition, but one that saw a specific set of values as self-evident and inherent (Darvill et al, 1987; Darvill, 1995:40–49). The apparent objectivity of ranking systems has been refuted (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 168) and will be further discussed in Chapter Five, along with the contemporary direction that seeks to make value and significance explicit and assigned, whilst also being less absolute and permanent. However, these changes in our understanding of which sites may be important to us have yet to find their way into established processes.

1.3 Changes and Pressures.

Each Inspector of Ancient Monuments has a unique approach to the subject, which can be a considerable strength to an organisation (as it should provoke creativity) and for some considerable time in the twentieth century it was the case that the view and decision of the Inspector was the final comment. However what an Inspector could actually do and become involved in was closely circumscribed by the statutory role of the post. This could lead to inconsistency: an Inspector might have to spend considerable time on a consent application to replace a fence line on part of a Scheduled Ancient Monument, whilst less than a mile away unscheduled Neolithic and Bronze Age material was being removed through gravel extraction, but the Inspector only had a *locus* to intervene in the former case.

The management of the archaeological heritage in Britain was seen primarily as a technical and academic process (Thompson 1981; Saunders 1989; Wainwright 1989; Hunter et al 1993) with scheduling being but one tool in that process and the Inspector a regulator and policeman of that system. Today that paradigm is under review and the Inspector is expected to be an advocate for the historic environment – no longer the policeman of limited, designated sites. But this is not the only change: understanding is shifting from the objective to the subjective, from the specialist to the non-specialist and from politically neutral to politically involved. These shifts are discussed in detail in Chapter Five, but it is necessary to consider what these changes are, where they have come from and the implications for the heritage manager. In short, these changes cover three distinct but related areas:

- (i) archaeological theory; we now recognise that scientific objectivity can be

illusory, unless accompanied by self-critical examination.

- (ii) context; we have developed a greater understanding of and concentration on hinterlands and landscape context, but also local distinctiveness.
- (iii) managerial strategy; greater control, auditing, accountability and the introduction of explicit managerial strategies.

1.3.1 Theory.

In one sense archaeological theory has always been developing, beginning with evolutionary archaeology in the mid-nineteenth century, which was then over-taken by a culture history approach during the early 1900s, propounded in mid-century by full-time academic archaeologists such as Childe (Daniel 1975: 238-258; Trigger 1989; Jones 1997: 15-39). These developments in theory were complemented by experiments in method with stratigraphic excavation under Pitt-Rivers and Flinders Petrie (Daniel 1975: 152-190; Trigger 1989). What is perhaps different is the process of theory-making. There is a recognition that archaeology operates within a social context, which determines how archaeologists have understood the past (Trigger 1984; Fowler 1987; Vinsrygg 1988; Tilley 1988; Hodder 1991; Jones 1997) both in terms of the grand sweep of past narratives, and in terms of how meaning can be recognised, extracted and interpreted (Hodder (ed) 1989a; Hodder 1989b; 1991; Shanks and Tilley 1987; 1992). The search for a reliable method of extracting meaning, but on the understanding that meaning is created in the present (Hodder 1991; Shanks and Tilley 1987; 1992) has generated much of the theoretical discourse, particularly about the nature of scientific objectivity. However, as noted by Smith (Smith 1994) most of this debate has been about archaeology and archaeologists rather than heritage management.

The fact that each period reinterprets or reuses the past for its own purposes is now explicit and well established (Silberman 1995; 1999; Trigger 1980; 1995b; Ucko 1994; Maischberger 2002) and this contention, in addition to that of the construction of the past in the present, has created the view that the past is omnipresent (because we create relationships with it anew). The implication of this is that the perpetuation of the early idea of a monument or historic building as heritage or historic 'asset' (page 87, Chapter Two) merely separates the past from

the present in an arbitrary and artificial manner. A further outcome of these ideas is confusion about terminology. Cultural Resource Management (CRM), Cultural Heritage Management (CHM), historic environment and cultural environment are now familiar terms, but what, and is there, a difference between them (to be discussed in detail in Chapter Five)? In simple terms CRM conceives of the material remains of the past as a resource, in much the same way as coal or timber; CHM contends that the past and our understanding of it also consists of the intangible, such as memory and emotional responses. Historic environment is a relatively new term used to describe the impact of people on the landscape from the earliest times, and is the human opposite of the 'natural' environment. But it could be argued that the use of the word 'historic' suggests that the past does not extend to the present, but that an arbitrary line has been drawn between past and present. Thus, if theory-making contends that the past is omnipresent and created anew in the present, a more accurate term for the interaction of past and present is 'cultural environment', something that is both cultural product and culturally perceived, and this is my own preferred term, although I acknowledge that it is not widely accepted.

Thus, the problems of academic and scientific objectivity combine with arguments about the nature of the past and the present and the existence of the 'monument', leading to a real and unfamiliar dilemma for the heritage manager. Should the heritage manager say and do nothing for fear of doing the wrong thing or ricochet from one relative concept to another? If, as the post-modernists would have it, 'that every decoding of a message is another encoding' (as suggested by Trigger 1995: 263) and archaeological interpretation is subjective (Ucko 1994: vi), will the heritage manager be so fearful of interpreting sites that the dates of kings, queens, abbots and the new east end of the presbytery will be thrown away?

The post-modernists would say that the key element to interpreting the past is a self-critical awareness (Thomas and Tilley 1992: 108; Johnson 1999: 101-108), understanding where meaning and interpretation emanate and how they are constructed. What is then required is that the potential conflict of those meanings should be managed, and it is asserted by Smith et al (2003: 67) that this is a fundamental role of the heritage manager; understanding that there are such

conflicts and then managing the conflicts of meaning.

Do we keep the dates or throw them away? There is perhaps something patronizing in a view that suggests that the complexity of a building scheme should be kept from the public. It must be essential that we understand why the monuments look the way they do and understand what lies behind the presentation of the particular site and period narratives (Leone 1983; Leone and Potter 1996; Hingley 2000b and 2001c). Without this knowledge we will not be able to make the right choices about future management. However, our intentions about how that information should be used and presented will be significantly different from those of Sir Charles Peers and may include the basic evidence allowing people to draw their own conclusions.

The need for a reflexive approach that recognises the limitations of archaeological practice, lays stress on the role of the professional – particularly the ethics of the professional. It is still the individual who is of crucial importance in conservation as most projects rely on the 'touch' of the individual either in the practical sense of dealing with a building or in the sense of inter-personal skills. However heritage management in England has yet to come to terms with the range of individual voices that may be raised in connection with a single project, or the different dialogues such voices represent. The seeming failure of the heritage practitioner to engage with the unfolding theoretical discourse is of considerable concern and the implications of this gap between the two elements of CHM will be discussed below in Chapter Five. It is the intention of this thesis to present case studies illustrating the manner in which theory and practice can be discussed.

1.3.2 Landscape.

Developing alongside the changes in theory is a change of emphasis from the designated monument to the landscape, but also to perception of the landscape (Cosgrave and Daniels (eds) 1988; Bender (ed) 1993a; Bender 1993b; Thomas, J. 1993; 2001; Grenville (ed) 1999). It is difficult to know how much of this is apparent rather than real. It will be argued (Chapters Two and Four) that early practitioners in Britain and Europe understood ideas of setting, context and the wider landscape

(Baldwin Brown 1904; 1905; 1906; Iamandi 1997:23), but could do little about it owing to the pressures of conserving a plethora of fragile monuments and the barrier of private property rights. In England, the study of landscape began in an established way with Hoskins (1955) and Beresford (1957), more recent approaches with Rackham (1986) and Schama (1996) but also continued with 'traditional' archaeological approaches, Aston (1997). Most periods from prehistoric (Bradley 1991) to military (Dobinson et al 1997) have been subject to some kind of landscape analysis (Roberts 1996). However, designation has remained firmly rooted in 'sites'. The outcome (discussed in Chapter Two) was, and remains the creation of 'monumentality', a vision of the past and the heritage as a collection of preserved standing structures but now seen to be divorced from their context and lacking any explicit agenda for use, research or management. The designation of sites and its transformation from personal interest to the scientifically testable will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Chapter Five will also consider whether the suggested approaches to heritage management will find the idea of the monument so deeply embedded in the public imagination, that change will be controversial.

Today, pressure to shift the focus from site to landscape has come from outside the cultural heritage world, but has been seen as an opportunity to utilize the existing knowledge and understanding of landscape (Fairclough 1999). Characterisation of the historic landscape is a technique borrowed from the natural heritage lobby, brought into prominence by the 1992 Rio Earth Summit (Quarrie (ed) 1992) and endorsed by representative bodies such as the Council of Europe (Déjeant-Pons 2002; Fairclough 2002b; Fairclough and Rippon 2002b). Characterisation and its implications will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five, but in brief, it is a method of examining the landscape to establish its dominant characteristics, but it allows perception of the landscape to be elevated alongside 'historical' fact. The guiding principles behind characterisation state that landscape is everywhere and belongs to everybody (English Heritage 1999a and 1999b; Fairclough 2002b:25) and thus non-specialist views are as valid as those of the specialist. This brings us back to the changes in theory; multiple narratives, decoding and encoding, the relative and the subjective, but also to the intellectual repositioning of the monument and the institutions that manage them.

Characterisation goes further than assessing the landscape and is part of a wider political process of social inclusion and empowerment that is discussed in Chapter Five. However the issue now faced by the heritage manager is that some sectors of the heritage lobby have claimed that the heritage can be used to address current social and political problems – such as identity, regeneration and social exclusion (below pages 249 to 251). But can heritage managers meet this political agenda without also accepting the language and ideas of current archaeological theory as they relate to the revised role of the heritage manager? Can they give up the concepts that have obtained since 1882? Is it credible for a heritage manager to say that involvement with politics can go so far and no further, i.e. that politics does not extend to *them, their* perceptions and organizations? Is the assertion that the heritage can be used to address social issues (but without deep engagement) merely a hostage to fortune that will ultimately fail to deliver because the prevailing approach is so deeply ingrained and dominated by institutions unwilling to change?

1.3.3 Management.

The introduction of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (DoE 1979) and the later PPG 16 *Planning and Policy Guidance Note No. 16* (DoE 1990b) marked the integration of archaeology with the planning system. Integration introduced accounting, accountability and greater managerial control because it meant detailed contractual relationships between employer, contractor and regulator, performance targets for government and local government officers and the possibility of public enquiry. Archaeological tendering and the demise of 'regionality' was signalled by the introduction of 'the developer pays' approach (above page 8) and the 'new' economy, which in turn marked another change for the Inspectorate (Collcutt 1993; Hunter et al 1993; Lawson 1993). In this situation, the Inspector became an arbiter who issued briefs to archaeological units for project designs to address specific projects, thereafter making a choice between the tenders on grounds of value for money and suitability. As an increasing amount of the site work was and is 'contracted out', the requirement became that the Inspectorate should receive training in project management, rather than professional skills.

The relationship between the Inspector and the local government archaeologist was

less clear-cut (Baker 1993; Hunter et al 1993). As stated above (page 10) there was often no *locus* for an Inspector to be involved in non-scheduled work, but Inspectors could be involved in the creation or implementation of national standards, such as Sites and Monuments Records, tender documentation, or supporting the grant aid of regional research projects, which meant advising and liaising with local government archaeologists (Thomas, R. 1993). Similarly a local government archaeologist could ask for support from an Inspector and English Heritage (to provide a national overview) if there was a fear that elected members or officers were pursuing policies or initiatives that were contrary to agreed archaeological policy. Again, the stress was on management skills and process.

In the 1980s and early 1990s as the state began to redefine its own role and responsibilities, so it sought to understand what it had been doing with ancient monuments: there had never been any real discussion of approaches and practices. This led to a number of questions being asked, including the most fundamental: why has this monument and not that one been reused? why do monuments need repointing every fifty years? Why does the state 'own' this monument and not that one? A complete reappraisal was to follow, with stress on prioritization and budgeting (English Heritage 1992). This reorganization of the work was partly cost saving, but also directed towards ensuring that commercial interests were addressed: why spend money on Marmion Tower, West Tanfield, North Yorkshire, when most visitors want to go to nearby Fountains Abbey, and what, or where, is the value of the Marmion Tower? As the earning potential of ancient monuments and 'the heritage' was researched and confirmed, so budgets were directed towards visitor services, interpretation, education, health and safety and a select group of monuments. Spend and commitment was therefore driven by economic considerations, not by any theoretical archaeological heritage management agenda.

This reappraisal and retrenching by the state led to, and generated, the local management of monuments, partly as a way to off-load the non-commercial sites. In many cases the interest of local people was genuine as there were often groups who argued that a state-body could not make the best 'use' of a local site. However those groups who did make a positive response were largely educated, white middle-class

people who were already familiar with 'monuments' (e.g. Spofforth Castle, Harrogate District, North Yorkshire). The scheme was less successful in urban Barnsley (Monk Bretton Priory, South Yorkshire). The introduction of Local Management schemes had a number of outcomes: it indicated that the conservation 'constituency' had expanded beyond the range of a single conservation body, but it also continued to assume that the defining element to a community was its monument. Thus at a time when fundamental questions were being asked about monuments and the ways in which they could be managed, those charged with managing them were being trained in project management rather than the developing principles and theory of CHM - not out of deliberate intent, but as one result of the lack of appreciation between practitioner and theorist. The promotion of other, local views and value brings us back to current concerns in archaeological theory. Senior managers were either unaware of the new theoretical work and wedded to earlier paradigms, or appointments made to increase the number of commercially-minded managers did not understand that there was a theoretical side to heritage management.

Thus the heritage manager is faced by a further dilemma. How is it possible to encourage and support difference, variation and subjectivity when the legal and processual framework demands common practice? Is it the case that what may become the common practice is in fact a consistent management regime that understands the theory and practice of 'difference' rather than the consistent outcome of each individual case? In this sense each project would involve three basic steps: understanding the place, defining significance and the impact of use and implementation, but the outcome would always be different. But is heritage management theory simply a belated attempt to catch up with the economic events described above and dress them in some respectability?

2. The Scope of the Study and Hypothesis.

This thesis sets out to identify, describe and analyze the origins, changes and developments which have taken place in the field of heritage management, beginning at a time when phrases such as heritage management or cultural environment would have been incomprehensible. It will progress to the examination of current trends and preoccupations, such as participatory management,

significance and the new vocabulary of 'advocacy' and the 'facilitator'. This exploration will be illustrated with case studies drawn from England, Ireland and Cyprus. Chapter Five of the thesis will present an examination of the currently available options for the future of heritage management and present two case studies which it is to be hoped can be used by professionals and participants to examine and think critically about the role of professional, the 'position' of a monument in a community and the heritage issues currently considered important.

The descriptive and analytical work referred to above is being used to support a particular hypothesis or standpoint:

At present our understanding and administration of sites of cultural significance remains influenced by the concerns of nineteenth and early twentieth century preservation practice. Heritage management should no longer be a wholly technical enterprise focused on a select group of sites and monuments. What constitutes a place of cultural significance is unlimited and the place is as much its encompassing landscape and associations as the fabric alone. The corollary of this is that the management of places of cultural significance has to be flexible enough to reveal a greater historic continuum, peopled and visited by a greater constituency. Thus the role and participation of local communities and reference to local traditions, use and cultures will become paramount. Set against this is the centralized, top-down approach. It will be argued that the centralized approach to conservation was far from what was originally conceived, but was to emerge by default. The unsuitability of this centralized approach will become apparent as conservation and heritage management become issues larger than can be handled by a single organization.

This hypothesis leads to the formulation of two research questions:

- (1) How was the concept of the ancient monument created and sustained, and,
- (2) How will it be possible to shift from this paradigm to a new management approach that concerns itself with the management of conflicts of meaning in the cultural environment.

The research proceeds from the view that a participatory model for heritage management is the correct option and therefore emphasis will be made on this aspect of the research. This is made manifest in several ways:

- (1) there is a presumption in the text (which will be explored) that early conservation work and initiatives (particularly associated with buildings) always envisaged a local approach to their protection and conservation, which was subsumed by central government for a variety of reasons;
- (2) central government (or a centralized approach to conservation) by necessity draws from a limited historical palette for its site interpretation, rather than drawing from a greater chronological depth (a statement which will be examined in the following text). This limited palette therefore excludes many narrative lines, which may if reversed, give the monuments increased meaning and relevance.

At a practical, site specific level, one has to ask how - ideally - one would manage a project for a site that had hitherto had not attracted any conservation attention. Is it possible to say from the outset that central government should act as co-ordinator and enabler between local and regional groups? Would the site be cleared to make it 'readable' or do we accept that landscape, natural history and all the nuances of social history have equal claims on such a site - to the extent that no intervention is the only true response? How could such a site be instrumental in generating wider connections between people and other pasts? Conservation Plans are now common currency in conservation work in several parts of the world; they allow practitioners the opportunity to define what is significant about a site both in terms of physical presence, but also in terms of a site's associative values (effectively the 'stories' attached to a site). The following stage in the Conservation Plan process is to identify policies that protect those significances and thereby provide a means of balancing 'use' against 'significance'. Can such statements and structures be imported 'off the peg', or should they be created anew for each project and does the process of committing significance to text make it 'fixed' rather than dynamic?

2.1 Aim and Objectives.

The main aim of the thesis is to produce a piece of research that addresses the hypothesis and research questions (1) and (2) set out on page 18. From this I hope to generate a set of models and approaches that would help practitioners and participants to explore and understand the role of the heritage manager and the progression of decision-making. The intention is that the conclusions and models will be practical and accessible and based on actual case work.

The following objectives have been created to guide the research work.

1. To develop an understanding of the origins and development of the conservation movement in the United Kingdom with particular emphasis on pivotal periods and pivotal geographic areas.
2. To develop an understanding of the origins and development of conservation within an imperial context to establish how British practitioners behaved outside the confines of private ownership and when immersed in a different cultural environment, as this may offer insights into contemporary issues in heritage management.
3. Develop an understanding of the current trends and concepts in heritage management, and those pressures from outside, such as characterisation and social exclusion.
4. To develop an understanding of how the current trends and concepts can be applied by the heritage professional, and thence to examine two case studies to explore the relationship between the heritage practitioner and the community.

2.2 Structure of the Study and Research Methodology.

In order to explore and support the hypothesis defined above in section 2 (page 18), this research will take the format described below.

Four principal methods of research have been used in the creation of this thesis; personal experience as an Inspector of Ancient Monuments for English Heritage, Yorkshire Region; literature review; fieldwork case studies and participation in conference/seminar workshops.

The literature review was undertaken to establish what sources were available and to create an extensive bibliography for future researchers.

My experience as an Inspector of Ancient Monuments has informed much of this thesis, particularly the case studies, but as an Inspector I have been involved in many of the corporate and policy changes. I was, and remain, the Inspector for Whitby and Rievaulx Abbeys and Malton Roman Fort. My fellow Yorkshire IAM, Keith Miller, is Inspector for Sutton Common. A number of case studies will be used in this thesis, providing description and the basis for analysis. The intention has been that the approach taken in this research and demonstrated in the case studies should have an international resonance, drawing on examples from different parts of the world and thereby illustrating the common basis of the issues facing CHM.

Attendance at conferences and the presentation of papers has been an essential part of the research methodology. As many opportunities as possible have been taken to present papers (rather than just 'attending' conferences) on different parts of this research, to test ideas and seek critical response. Papers have been presented in Ireland on the proposed Irish influence on English conservation work; in Croatia and Dubai on some tentative ideas which will form part of Chapters Four, Five and Six, dealing with community participation in heritage management. Papers have been presented in England on other elements of the research, such as straightforward accounts of the development of heritage legislation. It was considered important that opportunities were taken to discuss aspects of the research in an international context and submit such papers for publication where the conference organisers considered it appropriate.

There is another dimension to attendance at conference that should be considered. Much of what is currently being discussed on the subject of CHM is presented at conferences and has not necessarily made its way into published form - this is

particularly so with regard to discussion of participatory projects and associative value. Within the discipline of CHM a substantial number of conference attendees are (or represent) Native peoples presenting Native issues. It remains the case that Native peoples are largely excluded from the construction of knowledge (Spector 1996) and not all Native groups find access to book form the most suitable way of expressing their concerns, so the only real way to come to grips with these issues was by participating at conferences and seminars.

The individual chapters have been assembled in the following manner:

Chapter One - Introduction and Methodology.

Chapter One has provided the background to the research, being general principles, hypothesis and methodology.

This chapter provides a general introduction to the broad themes to be covered in the thesis, and rather than drawing on numerous, particular texts for description and analysis, merely points the reader in the direction of specific texts which provide an outline of these themes.

Chapter Two - England.

Chapter Two begins the research proper describing the development in the United Kingdom of conservation philosophy and practices from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century and the related early ancient monuments legislation of 1882 to 1913. These early years were characterized by debate concerning the value of ancient monuments, resulting in the gradual demise of Picturesque values to be replaced by those of Science and Improvement.

The chapter will consider the origins and development of state preservation bodies and preservation legislation in Britain. An example of Irish preservation experience from the 1860s to 1900 will be presented to illustrate the methods and techniques that influenced British approaches to conservation, but this Irish work will also be used to illustrate the connection between cultural heritage, politics, identity and the need for the recreation of the past in the present. The chapter will conclude with discussion of the origins and development of the Ancient Monuments Division of the

Office of Works under Pitt-Rivers, Fitzgerald and its coming of age under Charles Peers.

Very little has been written about the early years of heritage management in Britain in book form, one exception being Thompson (1981). There is one principal collection of papers in Apted et al (1977) and two perceptive and renowned papers on Pitt-Rivers and the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act, Chippindale (1983a) and Murray (1989). There are two books on Pitt-Rivers (Thompson 1977 and Bowden 1991), but both of these texts tend to focus on Pitt-Rivers' working arrangements and the manner in which he combined his own research with his inspectoral duties, rather than analysis of contemporary attitudes to meanings of the past or the political and European contexts. Also of value is the overview of legislation provided by Saunders 1983. Hunter and Ralston (ed) 1993 is perhaps the most concise assessment of archaeological resource management post the 1979 *Ancient Monuments Act* and although largely specific to the United Kingdom provides some background context on early legislation. Jokilehto's *History of Architectural Conservation* (1999) and its basis, his DPhil thesis of 1986 are essential works, providing a good historical framework, but as the title suggests, deal exclusively with architecture rather than heritage management. The bulk of the material consulted exists as papers in journals, such as *The Builder* and the *Architectural Journal*. These two sources contain contemporary articles/lectures by individuals on policy and individual monuments, both here and abroad, but from an architects' or architectural historians' perspective.

There is nothing in England on early work in Ireland. The best Irish piece on the detail of early conservation work in Ireland is Wheeler (1975), although Sheehy (1980) provides an excellent analysis of the links between culture, identity and politics. However, Irish material on Irish approaches and issues is uncommon.

Therefore in both England and Ireland extensive use has been made of archive material at the Public Record Office, London; the SPAB archive, London; the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London; the archive of the Office of Public Works, Dublin; and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin.

Chapter Three - The Office of Works and the 1913 Act.

Chapter Three will consist of an analysis of events leading up to and including the introduction of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act, followed by an examination of the development of the approach to ancient monuments work by Sir Charles Peers, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments. This will identify how and why the 'freezing' of monuments became the established practice from the 1920s until recent years.

A case study (Rievaulx Abbey, North Yorkshire) will be presented to illustrate how the developing principles of preservation were transformed into established practice following the introduction of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act. Comparison will be made with similar, contemporary work at Whitby Abbey and Scarborough Castle to examine the ways in which the principles of repair and presentation were interpreted in different ways at those sites.

The chapter will conclude with an analysis of the relative positions of the Inspector in the 1920s and 2000, by drawing together the themes from chapters one, two and three. It will then be possible to see how the practicalities of site work meshed with the developing philosophy and principles of conservation.

There is little published material discussing the Charles Peers/Office of Works period, in terms of practice, context or examination of individual sites. In a short article, Clark (1934) refers to the influence of Peers and Sir Frank Baines (Chief Architect of the Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings section of the Office of Works), whilst Saunders (1983) refers to this period as part of his overview of ancient monument legislation. Fergusson and Harrison (1999), dedicate the final chapter of their study of Rievaulx to its consolidation by the Office of Works. In discussing the principles behind the presentation of monuments, Thompson (1981) refers to the Office of Works and its successors, but does not discuss contemporary international practice or the intellectual and political context of such work. These few publications represent the bulk of the material. However, Peers (1928; 1931; 1933) and Baines (1924) published contemporaneous justifications and descriptions of their work as did William Harvey, an architect with the Office of Works, who published two articles in *The Builder* (1922; 1923) defending the actions of the Office of Works following criticism by SPAB of preservation work at Rievaulx Abbey.

In my earlier role of Assistant IAM for Historic Properties, (North) of English Heritage, I inspected every archive source for every guardianship site in the north of England, to collate a list of drawings and surveys which would be of use for works or presentation purposes. The bulk of this information was then held in the Historic Plans Room at Keysign House, London and included the drawings, sketches and notes for the 1920s preservation work at Rievaulx and Fumess Abbeys and Scarborough Castle. This archive has now been transferred to the National Monuments Record (NMR), Swindon. These drawings and architectural surveys have copies in the National Archives Office, Kew, catalogued under WORK 31/, and where possible I have provided a reference for Kew rather than the NMR because the related text files (WORK 14/) are held at Kew.

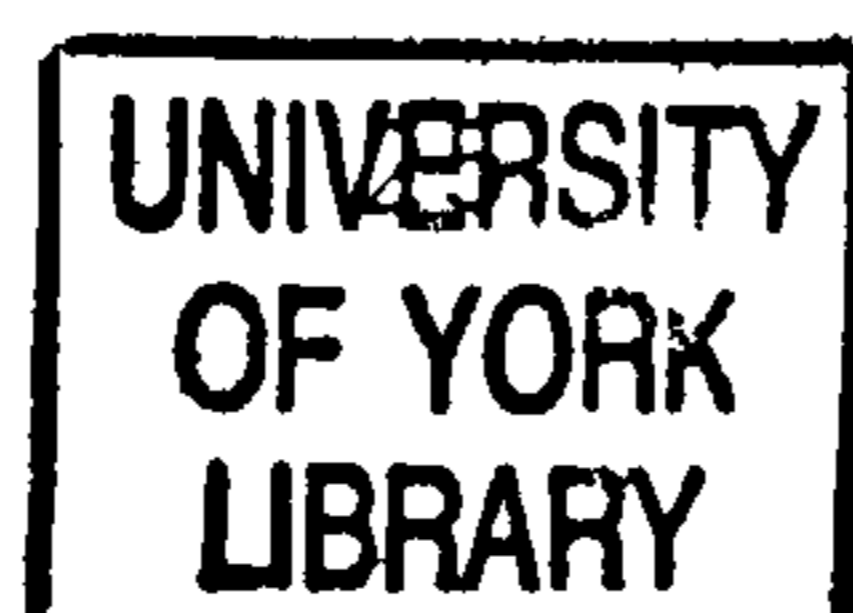
Use has been made of contemporary Office of Works files from the Public Record Office, Kew and the Registry of English Heritage; original documents from the SPAB archive, London and family documents from the County Record Office, Northallerton, North Yorkshire have also been consulted. Published material has been drawn from *The Builder* and the *Architectural Journal* of the RIBA. Much of the content of this chapter is therefore new research, rather than commentary on existing analysis.

Chapter Four - Cyprus

In **Chapter Four** the Cyprus case study is presented to provide illustration of the ways in which British conservation philosophy and practice was modified away from the confines of private property rights, the direct influence of the Office of Works and amongst different cultural communities. Therefore an imperial location was required but one that could be 'managed' within the time-frame of the part-time research.

The island of Cyprus was chosen as the subject of the case study for the following reasons:

- (i) the location of the case study had to be within easy reach of England largely because of the part-time basis of my research.
- (ii) the location had to be 'understandable' in that, for example, India was considered a possible option, but thought too large and too different to permit any satisfactory conclusions to be drawn within the time-scale.
- (iii) the location had to present opportunities for new research.



The principal sources of information on Cyprus were located at the PRO (Office of Works and Colonial Office files), British Library, SPAB archive, London and the State Archives, Nicosia, Cyprus. It soon became apparent from all the archives that there was considerable interplay between practitioners, officials and policies of all the 'colonies' in the Eastern Mediterranean which meant that the scope of the research had to extend to consider British experience in Jordan and Palestine and French and Italian work in Syria and Rhodes respectively.

Other sources used were discussions with current practitioners (Nicholas Stanley Price of ICCROM and Dr. Michael Given of Glasgow University), institutions such as the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI), as well as several practitioners from the period in question who are still alive and were prepared to be interviewed, such as A.H.S. (Peter) Megaw (Curator of Ancient Monuments, 1938-75 and Elias (a Maronite Christian who worked on many of the early excavations as an archaeological draughtsman).

The objectives of the research were to:

- (i) understand the nature and extent of British administration in Cyprus;
- (ii) identify and understand the cultural constraints under which this work was conducted;
- (iii) identify and understand the principles adopted, and consider pertinent examples;
- (iv) identify the principal conservation practitioners and define their role.

The chapter begins with an examination of the background to European research and interest in Cyprus, moving on to the period of British rule and the 'importation' of a particular type of conservation practice. The modification of this practice to suit a different social and cultural environment will be examined to see how and why it was different from contemporary work in Britain and what it can teach us about the portability and flexibility of approaches to conservation work, and the way in which there can be organic (or evolutionary) responses to different contexts. The chapter will include an analysis of the role, and assessment of the life and work of the architect George Jeffery.

Again, there are few published works on early conservation in Cyprus, whilst the subject of conservation in an Imperial context (whether British, French or Italian) is waiting to be unpicked, the only exception being limited analysis of the British in India by Chakrabarti (1982), Thapar (1984) and Linstrum (1995). There is a single volume introduction to the cultural and natural heritage of Cyprus (Hanworth 1989) which contains some background material, and one on heritage management in Northern Cyprus (Hyland 1999). There are texts about specific, contemporary archaeological issues e.g. Greene (1999) and in the volumes of *Levant* and the *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*. A more recent and important publication on contemporary heritage management issues in Cyprus is Knapp and Antoniadou (1998) which also contains the best bibliography to early excavation on the island.

The bulk of the historical published material on Cyprus is to be found in *The Builder and Architectural Journal* as articles and lectures. A considerable number of reports was produced by the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia, and these are to be found in the various archives mentioned above. The bulk of the research work was conducted in Cyprus and constitutes original research.

Chapter Five - Current Directions.

Chapter Five describes current interests and preoccupations, describing and analyzing issues such as Conservation Plans and significance, theory-making, the landscape, community participation and the role of the professional.

Three case studies will be presented. The first will be an examination of the Whitby Abbey Headland Conservation Plan (an unpublished document produced by English Heritage) and the problems caused by 'paradigm lag' between heritage practitioner and theorist. This case study will be followed by two examples from current Scheduled Ancient Monument case work (Sutton Common in South Yorkshire and Orchard Field Roman Fort, Malton, North Yorkshire) to examine ways in which theory and practice can be discussed and integrated by looking at the role of the Inspector and the manner in which heritage projects are conceived and executed. The strengths and weaknesses of the approaches identified in the latter two case studies will be considered and alternative options considered. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of the role of the heritage manager.

There is a considerable amount of material being produced on the various sub-headings to be addressed in Chapter Five - the majority of which deals with them as individual topics rather than overviews of the developing picture. The literature on archaeological theory is now extensive and the majority of the most recent work is that of post-modernists or critiques of post-modern approaches. The works of Hodder (1982; 1991) and Shanks and Tilley (1987; 1992) in particular have provoked considerable debate both supporting (Vinsrygg 1988, Johnson 1999) and critical (Barrett 1987, Kristiansen 1988 and Bintliff 1992, contained in Thomas and Tilley 1992). However little of this material contains direct reference to CHM and remains firmly embedded in archaeological interpretation, although there is a growing body of work presenting important examples and discussion of the use of archaeology and archaeological interpretation for political and national purposes (Trigger 1984; Lowenthal 1988; Byrne 1991; N'doro 1994; Díaz-Andreu and Champion (eds) 1995; Kohl and Fawcett (eds) 1995; Silberman 1995; 1999; Meskell (ed) 1998; Meskell 2002a; 2002b). There is now a considerable amount of published material on CHM from an Australian perspective dealing with Indigenous issues (Bowdler 1988; Fourmile 1996; Ross 1996; Smith 2001; Smith et al 2003), the historic period (Kerr 1982; Rickard and Spearitt (eds) 1991) and the principles and process of heritage management (Sullivan and Bowdler (eds) 1984; Smith 1994, Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Sullivan (ed) 1995). These papers and collections contain a number of important case studies that have considerable resonance in European contexts and extensive use has been made of these publications. Other collected papers of note are Cleere (1984a; 1989); Gathercole and Lowenthal (1990); Kohl and Fawcett (1995) and Layton et al (2001), but in spite of this seemingly large and expanding collection there remains a real lack of contemporary, detailed case studies, particularly from Britain. Much of the new material is to be found in the professional and academic journals, such as *Antiquity*, *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, *World Archaeology*, the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and *Journal of Architectural Conservation*. Characterisation and sustainability are beginning to generate their own texts, much of which has been produced by Graham Fairclough of English Heritage, although other bodies such as the Countryside Agency are producing material on these subjects but from the natural environment perspective. Government departments are now producing ministerial speeches (Appendix Six and Seven) and documentation on social exclusion

(Newman and McClean 1998) and participatory planning which has been 'picked up' by other agencies and incorporated into policy, advice notes or practice (Wates 2000).

Chapter Six - Conclusion.

In **Chapter Six**. The intention is to present a clear summary of the ideas presented in the earlier chapters. Assessment will be made to consider whether the research has been able to answer the research questions and hypothesis posed in Chapter One. The conclusions expressed in the final chapter will not be drawn from particular texts although reference will be made to material drawn from those areas described above.

Chapter Two.

Early Conservation of Ancient Monuments.

'It is a distinct advance to observe that Sir John Lubbock's Bill of nine previous Sessions has become the Government Bill of the present Session; for although, we fear there is no chance of it being passed, yet it is something to have induced the Government to take up a measure connected with so non-political a subject as ancient monuments.'

The Antiquary 1882 6: 65.

1. Introduction.

In this chapter I will outline and analyze the origins and development of conservation principles and practice in the United Kingdom, beginning with early work on ancient monuments in the eighteenth century, the formation of archaeological and architectural societies, the subsequent development of preservation initiatives in the mid-nineteenth century and the introduction of ancient monument legislation. The purpose of this is to identify the origin of the principles behind the conservation of ancient monuments. The chapter will conclude with the creation of the Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings branch of the Office of Works.

The period outlined in this chapter marks a dramatic change in the appearance, use and status of those structures that became 'Ancient Monuments', as they changed from being Romantic and Picturesque ruins to objects of scientific enquiry and educational improvement. This change in appearance and status indicates that the values attached to ancient monuments are not static. The role of politics was to be crucial as public views changed from acceptance of the pre-eminence of private ownership to the desirability of a conservation ethic for reasons of international status, to the introduction of legislation and a concomitant extension of the state into private property matters.

2. Background.

It is extremely difficult to pinpoint one period as the start of interest in archaeology and ancient monuments. Various commentators (Kendrick 1950; Evans 1956; Daniel 1975; Fowler 1987: 234–237; Cleere 1989b: 1; Trigger 1989: 45–52; 1995b: 266-267; Carman 1993: 40; Jokilehto 1999: 40–41) refer to the interest in prehistoric sites and objects shown by Tudor antiquarians. This interest is explained in terms of a growing awareness in the Tudor period of the English nation, nation building and national identity.

In the eighteenth century British preoccupation with the past mirrored events in Europe as Classical models were reinvented for new Neo-classical buildings and lifestyles. Again this interest in and use of the past said much about how particular parts of society perceived themselves (Honour 1968: 32-37). Republican (Roman) values and 'truths' were much admired (Hingley 2001c); the preceding Rococco and French styles were discarded as flippant (Ridley 1992; Edwards (ed), 1999).

Interest in archaeology and ancient monuments entered a different phase as architects (emerging as a distinct skill and profession) and patrons explored the Classical world to recover and use 'true' ratios and proportions from standing and buried Roman or Greek buildings (Wittkower 1974; Jokilehto 1999: 47-59) for both contemporary design and research purposes (Ridley 1992). Once the proportions were captured the architect and patron could set about rebuilding particular types of building, playing with the scale so that the new buildings would fit into their new contexts. Skills of excavation and building recording developed during this period and were applied in different parts of the world. In the Indian sub-continent systematic survey work commenced with the creation of the Asiatic Society in 1784. Some of this was descriptive, but other work sought to integrate the emerging historical knowledge of India with contemporary notions concerning the origin of culture and civilization (Chakrabarti 1982: 328).

However, work in Britain on British monuments was negligible. The great medieval monastic ruins received some limited excavation, much of which was associated with

access for visitors through or to the ruins, for reasons Picturesque as much as antiquarian (Briggs 1952; Macaulay 1953; Moir 1964; Curley 1976; MacConnell 1976; Linstrum 1988; Ousby 1990). Access was not always the preferred or only choice, as some landscape architects and their patrons sought to clear areas of fabric to improve the vistas across and within landscapes. At Roche Abbey, South Yorkshire we now realise from examination of the correspondence between Capability Brown and the owner Lord Scarbrough [sic] that numerous medieval buildings in the Inner and Outer Courts were simply buried under huge amounts of soil brought from other parts of the estate (Alice Walker, Archivist, Sandbeck Estate pers. comm. July 1997). This should not be interpreted as a lack of interest in the medieval past: the scene at Roche was completed by partial burial of the church, consolidation of the crossing and transepts and the positioning of two large trees in front of them, thereby keeping the fabric but drawing a parallel between 'true' Gothic and 'woodland', believed then to be the inspiration for Gothic architecture. At Fountains Abbey (owned by Sir William Aislaby) a decision was taken to remove the standing sections of the still roofed cloister arcade so that the site would conform with the Romantic notion of a ruin: Fountains, quite simply was not ruinous enough (Newman 1996)

The different monastic sites suffered different fates after the Dissolution. Some passed into private ownership and were converted to residences (Egglestone, Co. Durham), some were quarried away (Meaux, East Yorkshire), others survived in a much-reduced form (Crowland, Lincolnshire; Malton Old Church, North Yorkshire). In Ireland some monastic houses survived intact (Holy Cross, Tipperary), although many ruined sites (Clonmacnoise, Offaly) retained an active social and religious role as places of pilgrimage (Harbison 1991: 111–136). In urban contexts most monastic sites disappeared, with perhaps a much-reduced church surviving as the parish church (Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York), or incorporated into later public parks (St. Mary's Abbey, York).

Castles suffered comparable fates. Some castles (Scarborough (PRO Work 14/69) and Richmond, (PRO Work 14/64) North Yorkshire) remained garrison sites, although their strategic and military potency was much reduced owing to the changes in the art of military architecture and the change of threat from internal to

external. The castles so used had new barracks built and earlier works left dilapidated. In urban contexts Outer Baileys had often disappeared to be fossilized in the street plan (Richmond, North Yorkshire) as in the case of the urban monastic precinct boundary.

Another group of castle sites was given a civic role (York, Lincoln and Chester) with the baileys providing the space for services such as Law Courts, Prison and Town Hall. Other castles became redundant and passed into the landscape to be used as dwellings and then quarries (Sheriff Hutton, North Yorkshire (Couling 1993)). A relatively small group of castles stayed intact, but developing as castle residences (Warwick and Alnwick, Northumberland). But, like abbeys and every other class of historic site, ownership was far from straightforward: sites could be owned by a single or several private individuals, the Crown (either through the branches of State such as the War Office, or the Duchies of York and Lancaster) or civic authority.

Prehistoric structures received a similar mix of attention. Large sites such as Stonehenge and Avebury were plotted and drawn and received partial excavation by antiquaries, but many private owners continued to remove stones from standing groups for hard core (Bender 1993b). The investigation of tumuli proceeded, concentrating on objects rather than context, leading most antiquarians to consider such sites the work of Saxons, Romans or British kings. Trigger refers to this period as 'the impasse of antiquarianism' (Trigger 1989: 70-72) because the study of archaeological sites was tethered to historic documents. Until such a time when archaeology had its own independent chronology it would never be able to make the leap to the distant past that was required. Although sites were used in a variety of ways and passed, or not, from one century to the next there was no real selection of which sites should pass from generation to generation: a site that may have been regarded as Picturesque in one era could become a site of 'scientific' enquiry in the next. But interestingly the relationship with the past was an action of the contemporary world; Brown's use of trees at Roche was a contemporary and conscious interpretation of the Gothic, whilst the investigation of the prehistoric was, although in many cases unconscious, a statement about science and progress. The notion that the past is created in the present is a fundamental part of current concerns

with theory and meaning (Vinsrygg 1988: 1; Thomas 1988; Tilley 1988: 14; Ucko 1989b; Thomas and Tilley 1992; Johnson 1999: 25) and will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The formation of chronologies independent of textual authority and the creation of a scientific discipline was the success of the nineteenth century, which gave a new generation of archaeologists the opportunity to create their science. However, the formation of chronologies was also important to the architects and architectural historians of the mid-nineteenth century as they faced the problem of how to identify and define the character and form of Gothic architecture for the new vogue in Gothic-Revival buildings (Rickman 1819; Whewell 1842; Willis 1842;). The corollary of this need was to be a greater understanding of historic structures, their origins, development and a growing appreciation of the building as a document, and indeed this analogy between monument and document or text has remained extremely powerful and will be further considered below (page 89) and in Chapters Three and Five.

2.1. The expansion of chronology and development of conservation principles.

In eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain - as in other parts of Europe - the study of buildings and the study of archaeological deposits appeared to be two distinct strands that occasionally overlapped but were not to intertwine until more recent years. At different points through the nineteenth century the two strands came closer together (Price 1881: 125–160), but were divided by the belief amongst some archaeologists that the science of archaeology represented the conjunction of science, evolution and progress, whereas buildings still carried the baggage of 'aesthetics' (Lubbock 1879: 165; Kains-Jackson 1880: iv). Some architects felt that archaeological methods had much to offer new build and restoration in Gothic style (Willis 1842: 1–69; Mordaunt Crook 1981: 233), whilst the pre-occupation with 'the numberless and puerile details' (Viollet Le Duc 1959 (1) Lecture 10: 485) of archaeology was considered by some a distraction from the archaeologists' principal task of providing the basic principles and tendencies for modern art (Viollet Le Duc 1959, 1, Lecture 10: 451; 454; 484-6). Closer examination of many of the leading

architects of the period reveals however that many were members of archaeological societies (Burgess, Willis (1800-1875) and Whewell (1794-1866) were members of the society which became the Royal Archaeological Institute), whilst many of the archaeological societies that blossomed between the 1830s and 1870s titled themselves Archaeological and Architectural Societies revealing both their interest in historic monuments and buildings and the make-up of their membership.

The first great success in establishing a controlled chronological framework independent of texts was achieved in Denmark by the Danish scholar Christian Jurgensen Thomsen (1788-1865) in 1819, but not published until 1836 (Daniel 1975; Trigger 1989: 73-80; Jones 1997: 40-55). At the same time the English architect Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) was attempting the same methodology for styles of architecture (Pevsner 1972: 28-36). The spur to Rickman's thesis was a visit made to Normandy where he observed the similarity and divergence of Gothic architectural styles from England. Essentially Rickman realized that buildings had a stratigraphy similar to geological layering; a building element that was below another was earlier in date than the elements above. Once it was possible to date features by their stylistic variation it was then possible to establish how later features fitted into earlier blocks of masonry. But this need to understand chronology was generated by a developing national debate: what is the most suitable style of architecture in which to build today? Between 1815 and 1817 Rickman published *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation*, which defined the divisions and subdivisions of English architecture - Early English, Decorated, Perpendicular. Rickman's work was a considerable success being re-published many times throughout the century, but also served as a foundation for other scholars such as Willis and Whewell and emulated in France by Arcisse de Caumont (Baldwin Brown 1905:152; Pevsner 1972: 36- 44).

As the nineteenth century progressed so the issues concerning the past generally and the specifics of architecture and archaeology developed. In the field of architecture the Gothic Revival became the dominant issue, generating supporters

and detractors of various hues who argued for different periods of Gothic as the most favoured for new or the repair of old buildings (Jokilehto 1999). This debate ultimately became an argument between restorers and conservers (Freeman 1846; 1852; Scott 1862; Burnell 1866; Sharpe 1873; Stevenson 1877; 1878; White 1878) although several of the most notable architects (William Burges and George Gilbert Scott, for example) professed to adopting a many-handed approach, where their approach to a subject could take one of several courses from outright restoration to cautious conservation. (Mordaunt Crook 1981: 181). Also, in 1851 the writer, medievalist and hopeful Liberal MP, E. A. Freeman delivered a lecture on the preservation and restoration of ancient monuments in which he identified three 'philosophical' schools of restoration: 'destructive', 'conservative' and 'eclectic' (Freeman 1852; Mason et al 1995).

There was a need in the nineteenth century to increase the number of churches available for use, particularly in urban areas, owing to the migration of many thousands of people from the countryside to the towns (Hobsbawm 1961: 330–333). Ecclesiastical and political authorities believed that the best way to control the expanding populations was to provide churches. At the same time there was a change in the way the liturgy was being performed, brought about by a group known as the Ecclesiologists (formerly the Cambridge Camden Society, founded at Cambridge in 1839 (Webster and Eliot 2000)). The Ecclesiologists were motivated by desires to change the ritual and liturgy to something we would understand as Anglo-Catholic, but they realized that these issues were inextricably linked with architecture, and in their eyes the Gothic Revival meant restoration of the majesty and mystery of the detail and liturgy, but expressed only, or seen through the Decorated style of Gothic (which became known as 'the middle pointed').

Gothic architecture was considered the most suitable for the new century, because it was 'honest' (the outside form matched internal use) rather than possessing the perceived repetitiveness and mechanical symmetry of Classical architecture (Ruskin 1849; Scott 1862; 1879). Gothic was also felt to be 'organic' and could be used in most modern situations, using the newest materials. The architect and patron had two options: build new churches in Gothic style or restore old ones, but

the correctness of either approach depended on the accuracy of the Gothic representation. The Victorian restoration of medieval churches has been extensively reviewed, both at the time and in more recent years (Freeman 1852; Stevenson 1877; Scott 1879; Hitchcock 1954; Clark 1964; Brooks 1989; Jokilehto 1999: 101-112). 'Restoration', as practised in the nineteenth century, has entered common use as a term to describe a process whereby the original artistic and architectural intention is defined and those elements which are later than this vision are removed to present a unity of design. Many architects considered it acceptable to remove, say, fourteenth century and later material from a church to reveal and then extend a thirteenth century structure (Scott 1862; Stevenson 1877 and 1878; Micklethwaite 1881; 1883). Indeed this approach has remained a cornerstone of some conservation work - to remove later accretions to reveal a particular narrative, although all that has changed in the intervening years is the degree to which this is done and the periods of history considered redundant. But every architect realized that the portion to be rebuilt had to follow what we now consider archaeological principles; that the architect must carefully record material of the preferred date to recreate it successfully. However this practice was to generate two different approaches to restoration: an architect might study and copy original material so well that new work was indistinguishable from old (what became known as 'archaeological restoration' (Aitchison 1877; Hall Caine 1878; Micklethwaite 1881; 1883; Anon 1886)), or an architect might study original material but produce new material that captured the 'spirit' of Gothic (Ruskin 1849; Micklethwaite 1881; 1883; Anon 1886). Much of the debate during the nineteenth century centred not on whether the Gothic Revival was right or wrong, but whether the individual architect understood 'true' Gothic detailing and form. Thus the work of scholars such as Rickman, Willis, Whewell and de Caumont began to interweave the two strands of archaeology and architecture.

Of the conservers, the most influential was John Ruskin (1819–1900) (Davies 1913a; Pevsner 1972: 139–156; Brooks 1989; Jokilehto 1999: 174-181). His work, beginning with *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* published in 1849, has had a profound effect on culture and politics up to the present day (Hobsbawm 1987: 78). Ruskin came to architecture by way of literature (Sir Walter Scott and Wordsworth)

and art, and so his early experiences of buildings were as parts of sublime or picturesque scenes. His practical architectural training began with contact with John Loudon, landscape architect and editor of the *Architectural Magazine*, (Brooks 1989) and this experience became a repudiation of architectural authorities such as Vitruvius and Palladio and a celebration of architecture as human emotion and naturalism. In the debate on the most suitable style for the progressive age, Ruskin advocated replication of four particular stylistic periods, one of which, Early English Decorated, matched that of the Ecclesiologists (Ruskin 1849 8: 147). Thus the architect was expected to understand and copy, and only gradually experiment to develop a new style. It was only later under the influence of Morris that medievalism became equated with a freedom of expression for the craftsman.

Ruskin's views on restoration were first expressed in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), ('a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed' Ruskin 1849: 242). Ruskin's preference for naturalism, craftsmanship, detail and ornament meant that he spoke against restoration because it was either badly executed (a bad or mechanical interpretation of the style) or, more fundamentally, removed the life of a building by removing the hand of the craftsman which was especially valuable because of the antiquity of the work. In short, Ruskin believed that the material remains of the past had a right to be preserved (a point remade in a contemporary context by Lipe (1984: 10) in the present). To Ruskin, one of the roles of the architect was to ensure the longevity of original detail, but this view of the fabric was also to equate it with a document. Ruskin's ideas on restoration did not find a practical expression until the founding of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877, further supported by the architect J.J. Stevenson in 1877 who argued against the principle of restoration and for the value of all periods represented in any one building (Stevenson 1877; 1878).

There was a coincidence of experience across Europe - particularly so between Britain and France - that material remains of the past were important. Britain and France developed a rivalry where one nation learnt from another, took the lead, only to be caught up and overtaken (Burnell 1866; Hitchcock 1954: 206–207), although the overall complexion of preservation in both countries was to be in considerable

contrast (below page 56). Preservation practitioners (and finally government departments at the end of the century) took foreign practices and methods very seriously as the demonstration of a preservation ethic came to be seen as a hallmark of a 'civilized' nation (below pages 74 to 76 and Chapter Four). In France the similar preoccupation with architecture and the style best suited to the new, progressive century, raged between Goths and Classicists, the most famous exponent of the Goth cause being E.E. Viollet Le Duc (Burnell 1866; Wethered 1884: 210–217; Pevsner 1972: 194-217; Jokilehto 1999: 140-148). A contemporary of Ruskin, Viollet Le Duc was a practising architect and Inspector of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, who also wrote extensively, but the two men had different views about the advances of the nineteenth century. Unlike Ruskin, Viollet Le Duc welcomed the new materials and the technology behind them and the scope it gave for reviving Gothic, but again Le Duc had in mind a particular, early expression of Gothic. Le Duc also had very different ideas about the restoration of buildings, which was not just to preserve them, 'but to reinstate [them] in the complete state such as [they] may never have been in at any one moment' (Viollet Le Duc 1854, 8: 14). Le Duc is perhaps best known for his restoration of Carcassone in southwest France (Burnell 1866: 152-153; Jokilehto 1999: 147-148), and as we shall see in Chapter Four, the execution and potential of that project was to figure prominently in British responses to the treatment of Famagusta.

3. Science and Theory.

3.1 Archaeology and Science.

What of archaeology and archaeologists during this period? Archaeology at this time was a pursuit, with an extremely small minority of people (members of the aristocracy) who could enjoy it as a full-time occupation; the vast majority of those interested were the educated middle classes who had other occupations (Hudson 1981; Levine 1986; Van Riper 1993). The archaeological societies that sprang up in just about every county from the 1830s onwards contained many interest groups; some individuals were interested in buildings or local history, others in church monuments and genealogy. Archaeology was merely one facet of their interests (Burl

1976: 16; Erder 1986).

An article by Andrew Sargent (1993) provides a useful starting point. Sargent provides an analysis of statistics drawn from the Excavation Index (a national index of excavations compiled by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England). This information is presented as a series of tables and graphs revealing the changing pattern of English archaeology, as reflected in the number and periods of sites dug. The information is presented by decade from the 1790s to the 1970s, dividing the data in to Bronze Age, Roman, medieval and total number of excavations per decade. In the 1840s the total number of excavations was 602 (having risen from 116 the previous decade), of these 397 were Bronze Age, 117 Roman and 35 medieval. The total number of excavations stayed at a relatively constant figure until the 1920s when 1070 excavations were recorded (rising from 469), but this also was to mark the first period when medieval excavation overtook Bronze Age (220 and 177 respectively). In the 1890s Bronze Age and Roman excavations stood equal at 171, reflecting the new interest in Roman archaeology and new imperial responsibilities (Hingley 2000a; 2000b; Hingley 2001b; 2001c).

Obviously, all figures contain weaknesses and biases. For instance a large number of Bronze Age excavations can be attributed to single individuals who opened large numbers of barrows, whilst the definition of 'excavation' may be fluid, but the trends are real enough. The figures show how the increase in the number of excavations went hand-in-hand with the expansion of archaeological societies from the 1830s, but also indicate that the preoccupation was with prehistoric archaeology, and this was concerned with what became the fundamental research question of the period – that of the origins of humanity. This question was itself allied to interest in, and application of Darwinism to social evolution (Chippindale 1983a; Chapman 1989; Van Riper 1993; Ousby 2002: 189–191). In the period of the 1880s to the 1910s the number of excavations remains at roughly 500 per year but there is a fall in the number of Bronze Age excavations and rise in Roman and medieval. This may indicate the influence of the early Ancient Monuments Acts as they begin to encompass medieval buildings, but it definitely indicates a broadening of the subject and science of archaeology, decreasing interest in the prehistoric and origins of human society, but

increasing use of specific periods as a means of establishing national identity (Hingley 2000b; 2001c).

Pitt-Rivers and Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury), Liberal MP for Maidstone, as two of the principal forces behind the first Ancient Monuments Act, were committed to prehistoric archaeology, both in terms of excavation and also through their affiliation with societies such as the Ethnological Society, the Royal Society and Royal Anthropological Society (of which Lubbock was President) whereby 'modern' primitives could also be studied (Daniel 1975: 169-174; Chapman 1989; Jones 1997: 40-55). To Lubbock in particular, the potential and achievements of archaeology lay in the field of 'scientific' prehistoric archaeology: archaeology was a science and science represented progress, and European society, particularly Britain, represented the high point of cultural evolution. Therefore the casual destruction of prehistoric monuments - by the plough, for hard-core, or similar uses - was of particular concern to Lubbock and his supporters, and its prevention was the chief motivation for his draft Ancient Monuments Bill (Lubbock 1879; Kains-Jackson 1880: vi). Much has already been written about the career and contacts of John Lubbock (Chippindale 1983a: 6-9; Cleere 1984b; Trigger 1989: 114-118; 1995b: 268; Murray 1989: 61-66; Carman 1993: 41-43), but suffice it to repeat Murray, 'Lubbock was not just drawn in to the power structures of Victorian science - he was a foundation of them' (Murray 1989: 62). Lubbock was closely connected to both the geologist Charles Lyell and the biologist Charles Darwin and therefore at the centre of the scientific advances represented by the new disciplines of geology and biological evolution, which along with archaeology combined to produce 'cultural evolution', the chief goal of which was discovery of the antiquity of humanity (Van Riper 1993; Trigger 1995b: 268). Thus there developed a loose archaeological 'theory', or rather a rationale for archaeological research, although it is unlikely if Lubbock and Pitt-Rivers would have referred to it as such.

Lubbock was a notable theorist and writer on his own account, his most well known work being *Pre-historic Times* (1865) republished many times thereafter. Lubbock was to refer continually to the concept of progress (Carman 1993) during the debates concerning the Ancient Monuments Act from the first airing of his Private Member's

Bill in 1873. Archaeology, science and advancement were not only a single entity, but valuable and essential national attributes:

'We are told that these remains have taught us nothing. To a great extent, no doubt, we have still their lessons to learn. It is, however, scarcely true that they have taught us nothing; on the contrary, they have thrown a flood of light on the history of the Past: and perhaps no branch of science has made more progress of late years than has Prehistoric Archaeology.'

(Lubbock 1879: 168)

Therefore the research imperative for the archaeologist was a very different enterprise from the moral and design issues required by the architects and restorers. Carman argues (1993: 42-43) however that Lubbock's Liberal party politics and desire to introduce an ancient monuments act were part of a general Liberal reform drive in the 1870s 'towards a nation composed of good citizens who have a stake in maintaining the current political system and thus legitimising it' (Carman 1993: 42 citing Shannon 1976: 32).

According to the interpretation of the figures produced by Sargent (1993: 382-383) there was relatively little excavation of medieval sites. However, these figures do not reflect the huge amount of interest there was in medieval subjects. Excavation of medieval sites did take place, but it is not clear from Sargent how much of this work was coincidental. For example, many archaeological societies and local museums were created in response to the destruction of sites and recovery of artefacts caused by the construction and expansion of the railway system during the mid-nineteenth century (Draper 1996). The parliamentary initiatives which enabled the growth of the railway system also considered that the intrusion of the railway companies - through the state - onto private land was acceptable to the land-owner and the country, in complete contradiction to the sentiments expressed later by Parliament on the subject of ancient monuments legislation and intrusion into the rights of private ownership (Chippindale 1983a). This was largely because railways were considered utilitarian and represented progress, whereas archaeology and preservation had yet to demonstrate such social or political value to the bulk of the population.

Standing medieval buildings, whether ruined or roofed, were of immense significance to the early archaeological societies. Local societies visited and recorded the ancient monuments in their locality, and with the advent of the railways, were able to visit more distant sites. This interest found expression through advice given by the societies to the owners of such monuments for their repair and maintenance. Similarly many standing medieval buildings entered a new lease of social and amenity use with the coming of the railways, as demonstrated through the use of Thornton Abbey by the Temperance Society (Emerick 1998 for this specific case and Hobsbawm 1961: 247-252 for the Temperance movement).

One of the most successful archaeological societies was the Kilkenny Archaeological Society (KAS) founded in 1849, which eventually became the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Its founding principle declared that 'the Kilkenny Archaeological Society is instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs and arts of our ancestors' (Trans. KAS 1849 (1): i). The Honorary Members and Officers of the Society are of interest because, like many antiquarian societies in England they include several senior clergymen and members of the local aristocracy, but the KAS names Frederick Howard, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as Patron. Obviously there is a question of political niceties in naming the Lord Lieutenant as patron, but Frederick Howard was a close friend of Ruskin who remained a regular visitor to the Howard family home in Carlisle and their Cumbrian and Yorkshire estates. This might make the Society's avowed support of 'preservation' a more important utterance than it appears at first sight. The bulk of the membership was drawn from the same professions and classes as in England - doctors, lawyers, teachers, clergy - but with the one major difference in that it was these same people who were conscious of (to a greater or lesser extent) and participated in the political moves towards complete independence or Home Rule. Part of the political and preservation consciousness was the recognition that Ireland had a past and a distinct culture of which to be proud and which had a resonance in the present (Sheehy 1980; Bender 2001: 201) and thus its imperative was more than just academic research.

From 1851 members of the Society began recording and preserving the remains of

the most important architectural remains in Ireland: the Priory of St. John, Kilkenny in 1851; Dunbrody Abbey (Co. Wexford) in 1853; Jerpoint Abbey (Co. Kilkenny) in 1854; Kilkenny Castle (Co. Kilkenny) in 1861; Clonmacnoise (Co. Offaly, called King's County during the British administration) from 1864; Glendalough (Co. Wicklow) 1870 and Monasterboice (Co. Louth) 1871. At the sites where work was required, but could not be carried out by the Society, 'local interest was aroused, and the desired object effected. The example thus set had far-reaching effects, and influenced a number of proprietors who had such monuments on their estates to take an active interest in their preservation' (JSRAI 1892 22: 413). This use of local and charitable financing was exactly the sort of support to be espoused by Scott and Lubbock (below pages 50 and 54), and also addressed the need to encourage owners to be better owners.

The approach taken by the KAS was largely consistent across monuments, and also consistent with the precepts of Ruskin. When a monument was deemed to be in need of repair, the Society organised the collection of a Repair Fund, examined the site and prepared a schedule of work - both architectural and archaeological. The site was surveyed and drawn and an architect appointed to conduct the work (usually a member of the Society). The sites were cleared of their accumulated debris down to the level of the uppermost intact surface. Where stones were missing from doors or windows, blanks were put in place to show where repair had taken place. One can see a transition of values from the Picturesque to scientific, and again the desired end was a preserved 'textual' building. The work at Clonmacnoise is recorded in some detail by the Society (JSRAI 1865 8: 367-371 and Emerick 2003) and represents the best example of their work, which was to form the basis of the approach used on medieval monuments by the Irish Board of Works following the introduction of the 1869 Church Act (the act that disestablished the Church of Ireland (below page 58)). Thereafter a very similar approach was used by Charles Peers and the Office of Works in the 1920s.

The example of the KAS illustrates that research on material evidence of the past was being used to address questions other than the origins of humanity. However in both cases the past was understood to have a relevance to the present (above

page 33) in terms of national identity. Lubbock equated science with progress, optimism and rationality, but there was no clear theoretical construct for his work. Darwinism was a theory of biological evolution but applied by archaeologists and ethnographers to social and cultural evolution without modification. Today archaeological theory and theory-making are explicit, and the idea of a rational, politically neutral, objective science and scientist has been refuted (Kuhn 1970; Trigger 1980; 1995b; Hodder 1989b; 1991: 121; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Jones 1997: 135-144; Johnson 1999: 42-47). However, in the debate about what it is that archaeology 'does', archaeology is still understood by some to be predominantly a science revealing laws and rules (Chapter Five, page 227). As will be seen in Chapters Four and Five, there is a belief that the rigid application of scientific values in archaeology has been at the expense of other, more 'human' values (Vinsrygg 1988: 1; Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 169).

3.2 The Beginning of Preservation.

Having looked briefly at the activities of both architects and archaeologists during the nineteenth century, is it possible to define what society understood as the importance of preserving the evidence of the past?

It is far from easy to assert that there was a conscious feeling for the past expressed by a generality of the population, but it is often stated (now and in the mid to late nineteenth century) that the rapid expansion of industrialization, urbanization and capitalism changed people and severed their links with the past, tradition and identity (de Toqueville (1835 cited Mayer 1958); Dickens 1854; Hobsbawm 1961:42; Thompson 1968:207-232; Girouard 1981; Dellheim 1982). This dislocation of life, it is suggested, induced an interest in the past as a way of securing personal, civic and national identity, and it was the medieval past that was employed to help make sense of the new present (Morris 1888: 22; Rosse 1950: 297; Thompson 1955; Girouard 1981; Dellheim 1982: 1-31;113). In Chapter Five (page 230) we will see how the construction of the past in the present has become a critical issue for some post-modern archaeologists with particular reference to prehistoric periods, and also examine ideas about the manner in which

'significance' defines what is important to us in the present; but it is clear that the use and construction of the past in the present has been continuous (Hingley 2000b and above page 32).

Dellheim (1982) presented the example of the preservation of Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds in the 1880s which had a resonance in terms of the archaeological research conducted by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, was also used as open amenity space by local people, a tourist destination, a subject in painting and poetry and symbol of local identity and civic pride expressed by the people and tradesmen, but primarily the urban élite of Leeds. Political messages were also extracted from its stones, for it was claimed to be a silent record of the 'labours, the endurance, the steadfastness of those who paved the way for their country's greatness', and therefore the present had no right to destroy or deface it in the manner that was being suggested (Dellheim 1982: 99). The chief supporter and activist for the preservation of Kirkstall, Edmund Wilson, was both a Liberal councillor and member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Dellheim 1982: 92-112). Leeds was not an isolated case, and the concern for Kirkstall was repeated in a number of towns and cities throughout the country. But the notion of civic pride was not an item *per se*; it was tempered by a sense that the preservation and care of a monument, or care for the past generally, was an attribute of a civilized society - particularly so when foreign nations (and here people most often referred to France) appeared to excel in the protection of the past (Burnell 1866; Anon. 1880). But the focus of concern was primarily on the large, the monumental and art-historical, the qualities of which were easily observable.

There were other reasons why the past and particularly the medieval monastic past held such fascination. In an article entitled '*English ruins and English history: the Dissolution and the sense of the past*', Aston (1973) traced the development of antiquarian interest in monastic ruins and the effect the Dissolution had on the writing and concerns of English history. She illustrated how antiquarian interest in monastic ruins developed almost as soon as the buildings had been pulled down, which by the seventeenth century had 'matured into some of the best fruits of English historical scholarship' (Aston 1973: 254). The concluding section of her paper is particularly

relevant because it argues that the 'medieval world' became an object of historical rather than archaeological interest by virtue of the fact that Britain's secular ruins 'did not carry with them the same profound sense of shock as that left by the cataclysm of the Dissolution', (Aston 1973: 255). Thus medieval ruins became an adjunct of medieval history from an early period, but that connection was to reinforce the idea of building as document.

Thus the interest in local monuments, the growing dissatisfaction with restoration and the desire for preservation of churches (expressed by writers such as Freeman, Ruskin and Stevenson), the reinvention of the medieval in the present, the casual destruction of monuments and the activities of the scientific archaeologists and antiquarians, combined to create a preservation ethic. However, it may be the case that the medieval past was more immediately understandable to a greater proportion of the population than were the prehistoric monuments promoted by Lubbock, by virtue of the social use of local monuments, the new churches and other structures being erected in Gothic form and by being a visible facet of medieval history. Clearly architects, antiquarians and the few archaeologists considered the past important, and their number comprised people of the middle and upper classes and although numerous people who could be described as 'landowners' were part of the growing preservation movement, this did not automatically mean that landowners would accept outside intervention in the monuments and buildings on their own land.

3.3 The Questions Of What To Protect And How.

Architects and archaeologists agreed on a number of points of strategy with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments, some of which strategies were conducted and discussed in concert - borne out by the minutes of societies such as the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and Society of Antiquaries - from the second half of the nineteenth century (RIBA Transactions 1885: 9; Proc. SoA 13, 1890). There were two principal points of agreement with regard to desired outcomes:

- (1) the necessity for some sort of legislation to protect ancient monuments, and
- (2) the creation of regional and national inventories

But there was disagreement about which monuments to protect. Enthusiasts and the growing number of specialists agreed that aspects of the past needed protection, but disagreed about where the threat lay: Lubbock and his supporters were fearful of the casual destruction of prehistoric monuments; the architects and medievalists (for want of a better description) feared the collapse of large standing ruins through neglect and lack of maintenance, but were themselves divided as to whether standing ruins or 'living' buildings should be the chief area of concern.

Attempts to introduce official preservation bodies began in 1841 when the architectural historian John Britton proposed an institution for the protection of historic buildings and ancient monuments on the lines of the French Commission des Monuments Historiques (created in 1830 (Jokilehto 1999: 127-137)), to seek the preservation of great public buildings - particularly cathedrals - from the excesses of the restorers. Britton's proposal was taken up by the MP Thomas Wyse in 1845, but the idea was obstructed by the government on a number of counts: the Office of Woods (then responsible for the maintenance of historic buildings) felt that it was already conducting its repairs in an acceptable manner by using reputable architects such as Salvin to direct the works (Hitchcock 1954: 227; Allibone 1993; Jokilehto 1999: 157-158). Salvin was very much in the tradition of Viollet le Duc and was considered a great expert in 'archaeological' restoration and new build (Hitchcock 1954: 206-207), but this style came to be considered dishonest and mechanical because it was difficult to differentiate old from new work (above page 37). The likelihood of the excessive cost of such works was raised by the Treasury, as was the problem of defining the correct style of repair, which may vary from one period to the next. This latter point was considered not to be a matter for government (Saunders 1983: 11; Chippindale 1983a: 10). These same points were to be raised later in the century by Lubbock to support the exclusion of ruined buildings from his draft Bill.

Freeman and Burges had identified different scales of restoration (above page 47) and Freeman created a theoretical basis for his observations by drawing a distinction between buildings that still performed valuable, practical functions and those which did not, but were to be preserved from further injury (Freeman 1852: 25). However, the difference in approach to buildings and archaeological monuments can be

illustrated by reference to two papers, George Gilbert Scott's '*On the conservation of ancient architectural monuments and remains*' (1862) and Lubbock's '*On the preservation of our ancient national monuments*' (1879) and it should be noted that Scott uses the word 'conservation'.

Scott's paper, presented to the RIBA in 1861, attempted to define the developing practice of conservation as applied to ancient architectural remains and suggested methods to control loss. Scott defined four classes of architectural remains,

- I. Mere antiquities - such as Stonehenge, the Cromlechs, and many of the remnants of Roman structures, though the latter often contain objects of art, as mosaic pavements, etc..
- II. Ruined buildings, whether ecclesiastical or secular, such as abbeys, castles, etc..
- III. Buildings still in use, as churches, houses, inhabited castles, etc.
- IV. Fragmentary remains embodied in more modern buildings, such as those which usually exist within the precincts of cathedrals, and often in old houses and country mansions; to which class may be added a vast amount of interesting and valuable fragments, mainly of domestic architecture of great practical importance to the student of our architecture.'

(Scott 1862: 66).

Scott considered each class of architectural remains in some depth, describing the techniques that could be used to conserve them and discussing practices such as 'restoration' and 'renewal'. However, there was a recognition that the condition and treatment of items within the first two categories was at considerable variance to those in the two final categories. The first class of remains was described thus:

'On the first of these classes, - that of a purely antiquarian character, - I will not trouble you with any remarks, as I think that our antiquaries are sufficiently alive to their value, and exercise a wholesome vigilance in respect of them. It is not this class of ancient remains which is in most danger, though it behoves every one of us who has it in his power to do his utmost for their preservation.'

(Scott 1862: 66)

Again it is interesting to note that this time Scott used the word 'preservation' when talking about field monuments, as if their treatment was not only established practice, but of limited complexity and meant to 'fix' the object in its as found state - unlike the treatment of particular architectural remains.

Scott considered the second category, 'ruined buildings such as abbeys and castles' potentially a more difficult group to conserve, although he felt that the rules had been stated by Ruskin. Believing that their condition was of grave concern (quoting the example of the recent collapse of the central tower at Whitby Abbey) Scott suggested periodic examination by antiquaries and antiquarian societies to advise the owners 'as to such timely works of reparation and sustentation as may arrest the hand of time without tampering with their antiquity' (Scott 1862: 66). The cost of such work was to be borne by the owner or by private funds raised for the purpose – as had been used in Ireland (above page 44). His conclusion concerning the treatment in respect of the category two structures was that the aim of any reparation should be *protection* and *preservation* [his italics], a 'case wholly different from restoration' (Scott 1862: 68). 'Vigilance committees' would see that the value of the remains was not injured. The 'vigilance committees' were a suggestion of Scott's for the RIBA to appoint a committee in every district, in conjunction with antiquarian societies, to inspect every architectural ruin and report to the owners of such remains to suggest what repairs might be needed, to obtain funds for them, obtain permission to direct the works, and have a veto upon anything which would be 'injurious' (Scott 1862: 68-69). Although Scott referred to 'protection', 'preservation' and 'preservative solutions' he nevertheless considered this part of the 'conservation of these invaluable remains' (Scott 1862: 69) which may suggest that he considered 'conservation' an umbrella term, with 'preservation' the favoured treatment for what may be considered redundant buildings and ancient monuments, whereas 'restoration' was an active term for 'active' structures; his categories three and four are what today might be termed Listed Buildings and he believed that the use and therefore treatment of those structures was different. Although Scott saw that prehistoric sites and ruined abbeys were under different levels of threat, the components of the categories were somehow self-evident as was their 'value'.

Scott believed that Ruskin's principle of 'sustentation' for ruined buildings should not be strictly acted upon in dealing with buildings in use, as he considered it wrong to treat a 'living' church as a 'mere architectural specimen' (Scott 1862: 70). But having accepted the principle that inhabited buildings should be repaired it was then the duty of the RIBA to establish 'laws for ourselves, and suggest them as guides in carrying out the works which of necessity must be done' (Scott 1862: 70).

The paper concluded with Scott's request that the RIBA in conjunction with other architectural and antiquarian societies, should lay down a code of rules for the treatment of buildings requiring restoration and to promote 'the true, faithful and authentic conservation of these monuments and remains' (Scott 1862: 82). To ensure this, a Standing Committee should liaise with other architectural and antiquarian societies in the regions to influence owners and practitioners. Again the preferred word is 'conservation', suggesting that it is an umbrella term consisting of several approaches.

Detailed discussion of Scott's paper occurred at a later meeting (although the discussion is presented with Scott's paper). The architects discussed every aspect of the paper and its likely repercussions on them as individual professionals and on the developing architectural profession. If the government intervened (or was requested) to appoint a commission would it produce the same poor, 'government-style' of restoration now visible in France? Would its 'head' be an engineer? How could those gathered prevent the over-restoration of churches, even though such buildings had supposed guardians? Should architects themselves record in advance and supervise all works, rather than leave it to a Clerk of Works? Should such a commission be limited to England or be able to comment on French work? Did they wish to use the highly charged word 'restoration' or the more apposite 'reparation'? What would be the standing of the committee and how financed? The keenest discussion was reserved for the code of rules that went through several redraftings before the right choice of words was agreed. The principal concern was the nature and form of the committee and the way in which it upheld the code of rules. If the committee became a Court of Appeal or Inquiry, then it should be permanent, as it might have to decide whether action should be taken against an architect - who must be allowed to reply.

To make such an eventuality unlikely should they withdraw the word 'code' and adopt 'rules' or 'suggestions' - although if they did adopt 'rules' there would be 'a point of honour to obey them' (Scott 1862: 92). The final, agreed form of words was,

'That the Council be requested to nominate a Committee to draw up a series of practical rules and suggestions for the treatment of ancient buildings requiring reparation, and to put themselves in communication with other architectural and antiquarian societies, with a view of obtaining their co-operation in considering such measures as their united wisdom may suggest for the promotion of the faithful and authentic conservation of ancient monuments and remains, and to report on the same to this Institute.'

(Scott, 1862: 94)

Clearly, architects collectively and as individual professionals had a sense of their profession and the concomitant skills required to carry out their rules and codes. There was some clarity that the built heritage (although they would not have called it such) was broad in terms of timescale (but largely medieval and late medieval) and diversity of content, although the very earliest elements were the province of the antiquarian - with whom they wished to collaborate. However, the architects did not feel that the threat to prehistoric sites was of particular concern, because the 'antiquarians' were aware of their significance and vigilant in respect of them. There was an understanding amongst the architects that 'archaeological methods' could be used to record and unravel the development of a building - in the tradition of Rickman and Willis (above page 35) - and this was where their value lay, as historical documents. The architects who joined the 1862 RIBA debate were conscious of the issues which would later come to dominate the discussions before, during and after the introduction of the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act; the 'style' of repair and the question of whether the outcome was involvement and support from government or the encouragement of good maintenance practice amongst owners. Indeed Scott's categories have retained resonance into the present as has the idea of encouraging better 'management'.

It is clear that Freeman (a medievalist) and Scott (an architect) both identified a category of structures ('ruined buildings') that had no 'practical' use, the treatment of

which was to be confined to 'preservation' – that is, preserving them as they were. Although such buildings had ceased to have a practical, domestic use, they still had art-history value as documents and architectural specimens, but primarily on account of their 'antiquity'. Scott also used the word 'preservation' for the 'mere antiquities', which were, again, understood to be structures without a use, although the reference to 'objects of art' (Scott 1862: 66) gave them an aesthetic and art-historical value. The interpretation of 'use' is limited to the academic and aesthetic – a site could figure in art and poetry, or have its fabric examined, but any acquired social uses, or the cultural and political use made of Irish sites were not referred to: what remained important was the fabric of the structure. However, the amalgamation of antiquities and ruined buildings as objects to be preserved does introduce the idea of 'monumentality' to a disparate group of structures – those that are to be preserved for posterity, by virtue of the 'instructive' value embedded within their antiquity and fabric.

Interestingly Scott had to balance the role of the specialist between that of advocate and policeman, as a non-elective committee would clearly not be able to veto what a property owner wanted to do with their own property, but both aspects were considered necessary to encourage good and protect against bad practice. The agreed motion proposed by those RIBA members was overtaken by discussion on legislative control and not pursued, although the themes continued to be debated.

The distinction between useful and use-less structures has remained with us and has eventually led us to 'monumentality' which will be discussed in Chapters Three and Five, but we will see in Chapter Three that discussions were had in England in 1920 about removing that distinction, and will see in Chapter Four that the response to the heritage of Cyprus was to classify *all* historic structures as 'ancient monuments'.

Lubbock's paper of 1879 is clearly about 'preservation'. It commences with reference to the poor condition of prehistoric monuments throughout Europe and the disjointed response of the British administration that was ready to promote excavation abroad, but embarrassed by reference to its own 'rude' past (Lubbock 1879:169). Lubbock made comparison with foreign practice and the poor manner in which 'the most interesting remains of antiquity' (Lubbock 1879: 154) are held by

some nations, not just in 'semi-civilized' countries, but in Britain where 'our own archaeologists have long watched with regret the gradual disappearance of our ancient national monuments' (Lubbock 1879: 154). Although Britain's self-image was one where she represented the pinnacle of advance, this achievement was knowingly based on what would become known as 'diffusion'. Britain welcomed the idea that she had received the best of what the world had to offer – particularly Greek and Roman virtues – and the role of the British was in re-exporting those qualities (Hingley 2000b; 2001c). But ideas of diffusion were also used selectively by critics of Lubbock to suggest that the monuments he wanted to protect were the remains of 'wretched people' who were expelled by 'our forefathers' (Lubbock 1879: 167; Hingley 2000b). However, as we shall see in Chapter Four, there was a considerable difference between British scholars working on Classical sites for British research purposes as opposed to Greek-Cypriots using those same sites to establish their own national identity.

Lubbock used his 1879 essay to present his rationale for the purpose of ancient monuments legislation. Monuments representing 'the unwritten history' of the country and some connected with 'important events in our annals' (Lubbock 1879: 171) were being destroyed in a casual manner (Lubbock 1879:162; Bender 1993b). The principle of the legislation would be that if an owner wished to destroy one of the monuments on a schedule (a list) of sites, the owner should be required to give the nation (in the form of Commissioners, an independent 'supervisory' body made up of experts, land owners and legislators, the final constituted form of which is described below page 55) the opportunity to purchase the site. If the Commissioners chose not to act on their powers the owner could do as he or she wished (Lubbock 1879: 163). However, once a monument was purchased by the Commissioners it then received a more formal form of protection by being placed in the 'guardianship' of the state. The monument was then to be 'preserved' and Lubbock believed that not only would repairs not be necessary, but local people and private purchasers would come forward to purchase the monuments (Lubbock 1879: 165). Thus there would be no 'appreciable' expense by the nation, whereas medieval monuments required constant supervision, frequent repairs entailing great expense and involving aesthetic questions 'with reference to which there are great

differences of opinion' (Lubbock 1879: 165). Lubbock raised the issue of medieval buildings, stating that 'we are told that we ought to include medieval monuments' (Lubbock 1879: 165), but his view was that the monuments defined in his Bill differed from medieval monuments because they require 'merely to be left alone' (Lubbock 1879: 165). The theme of ruins and expense was reiterated by reference to France where, although he approved of the fact that the government entrusted more than £40,000 per year to the National Monuments Commission, he was less supportive of their protection of medieval and religious buildings, 'a system which I think would not work satisfactorily in our country' (Lubbock 1879: 169).

The Commission charged with the protection of the monuments would consist of the Enclosure Commissioners, Master of the Rolls, President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, President of the Royal Irish Academy, Keeper of the British Antiquities at the British Museum and seven nominated persons including individuals such as the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyll. Such a group (specifically including the Duke of Devonshire, the most senior peer in the country) would ensure and illustrate that landowners would have nothing to fear from such an act of Parliament. (Lubbock 1879: 168-69).

Lubbock repeated 'preservation' and 'maintenance' in his paper and although he stressed the advances made by the science of prehistoric archaeology (Lubbock 1879: 168), he did not refer to preservation followed by excavation or research. Similarly his Bill did not require the specialist to act as policeman: preservation is everything. In his Preface to Kains-Jackson's *Our Ancient Monuments and the Land Around Them* (1880: iii-vi), Lubbock presented the image of a person using his Bill as the inducement to take a three-day visit to Wiltshire to visit Avebury, Wansdyke, Silbury Hill, Stonehenge, Old Sarum and Salisbury Cathedral. Such a visit, he suggested, would lead to wonderment at the mechanical skill of the ancients, reflection on the 'sanctity' of Stonehenge, and regret for the modern barbarism that would destroy such sites. Thus the response was purely that of the imagination, but this is not perceived as 'use'. However, both Scott and Lubbock agreed that preservation was the correct treatment for this type of structure.

Clearly legislation could be presented in positive and negative ways; legislation that protected ancient monuments could be seen as enlightened and as a symbol of a civilized society, or it could represent the actions of an authoritarian government, and it was in this instance that the rivalry and contrast with France had particular emphasis (Burnell 1866). France had a Commission, a staff of Inspectors and a budget for works of repair, inventory and compulsory purchase (Baldwin Brown 1905: 149). British commentators were envious of the majority of this, but were sceptical of compulsory purchase as were Parliament and the majority of property owners in Britain. However, commentators could not - and largely did not - let it escape their notice that other countries felt that preservation was important (Freeman 1852; Hall Caine 1878; Anon 1880; Murray 1896; Anon 1902). Both Scott and Lubbock appear to envisage a 'light' legislative hand, with most of the responsibility for enforcement on local groups and societies. Both agree that there are different categories of site, and the treatment of those categories is both established and clearly defined.

With regard to the second category of desired objectives, that of inventories and legislation, the first step was scrutiny of foreign governments and bodies - both European and more distant.

The achievements of the French archaeological societies from the 1840s were of particular interest. Although British scholars such as Rickman, Willis and Whewell had started to classify architecture, it was a French scholar, Arcisse de Caumont who set about the coherent collating of national lists (Baldwin Brown 1905: 152; Pevsner 1972: 36-44). De Caumont instituted the Société Française d'Archéologie, the Congrès Archéologique and the journal *Bulletin Monumental*, all of which motivated regional groups to record their monuments in what we would call an 'as found' condition. In 1846 the first of the *Statistique Monumentale* documents appeared for the region of Calvados.

Britain was to lag some considerable way behind most other European countries on the creation of inventories, although particular individuals and societies attempted inventories for specific areas (including Scotland) and Imperial colonies - most

noticeably India (Ferguson 1891; Linstrum 1995: 25). It was only in 1908 that the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments was created, which will be discussed below (page 79 to 81). This reticence may be explained by consideration that an inventory is often the first step towards legislation because it becomes the basis for establishing which items should enjoy protection. The first Ordnance Survey work was undertaken in Ireland and its detail - showing all field monuments, and thus ownership - is clearly directed towards 'administration' (Wheeler 1975: 79; Sheehy 1980: 20). It may be for this reason that government in England was wary of issuing directives to societies in England. Harley (1988: 301) makes the point (supported by Thomas 2001: 169-170) that there is a direct correlation between map-making and power and it may be the case that giving unelected bodies the power of enquiry and access would have been unthinkable to government.

Although it appeared that archaeology and architecture were two distinct strands (above page 34) Rickman had begun to apply scientific and archaeological principles to architecture, whilst Thomsen had applied a scientific approach to material remains and typologies. Lubbock and his fellow ethnologists extended the relationship between archaeology and science, but the growing number of enthusiasts and archaeological societies were interested in both buildings and archaeology. Specialists in Britain attempted to define some philosophical approaches to ruined structures, but failed to carry out anything other than local strategies and failed to win any degree of governmental support. Advances in legislative control in Ireland appeared to British commentators to offer a way forward in terms of state involvement and innovation of professional techniques, and it is to this area that we now turn.

4. Legislation.

4.1 Ireland.

As we have seen (above page 43), the preservation movement in Ireland grew from a blending of architectural and antiquarian expertise, with the idea of conservative repair emerging from as early as the 1860s. But these developments received an

initial impetus from the particular political climate that obtained in Ireland, which was to peter out once the Republic became consolidated under De Valera in the 1930s (Sheehy 1980; Anne Carey pers. comm. December 1997(1)).

The fact that there was an Irish Protestant Church was a visible aspect of the Union with England, but one that served to reinforce the idea that Ireland was a junior partner in that Union. Gladstone believed a gesture to appease growing discontent in Ireland would be the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church (Kee 1972 2: 58–60) and a Bill was prepared to that effect (the Irish Church Act of 1869 (hereafter ICA 1869), or the Disestablishing Act). However, the landholdings of the Irish Protestant Church were managed by the Irish Church Commissioners; these included churches in use, churchyards and a 'residue of structures not in current ecclesiastical use, but which were felt to be too interesting to be merely scrapped or left to take their chance' (Wheeler 1975: 80). Thus whenever the Act was passed the responsibility on the Church Commissioners to maintain those ruined medieval structures would lapse. The government was approached by deputations of Irish antiquarians chaired by the Royal Irish Academy to introduce a clause in the ICA 1869 whereby the Church Commissioners would transfer to the Board of Works, 'upon trust for preservation as a National Monument, and not to be used as a place of public worship, any ruinous disused ecclesiastical structure which, by means of its architectural character or antiquity is deemed worthy of preservation' (JSRAI 1892 22: 413).

This clause became part of the ICA 1869 and was further supported by the provision that the Irish Church Commissioners should pay to the Board of Works the sum of £50,000 for the maintenance of these structures; a sum of money which was to be invested rather than replaced annually. Thus a system was in place for a group of ruined medieval structures to be passed into the guardianship of the state. What the clause does not clarify is the notion of 'place of public worship'. A working church would be outside the conditions of an ancient monument act, but it was well known that many Irish monuments - including Clonmacnoise (above page 44) - were used by large numbers of the populace as places of pilgrimage and worship (Lubbock 1879: 161; Harbison 1991: 111-136). This continued use of historic

structures was not referred to, nor was it suggested that 'popular use' should be one of the criteria for suggesting which monuments were covered by the provisions of the ICA 1869.

A further outcome of the ICA 1869 was that the Board of Works had to employ a Superintendent of Works to manage the repair of the medieval structures. To this effect, the architect T.N. Deane was appointed, although his responsibilities did not come into effect until 1875. His brief was limited and in the first instance took up the baton of the KAS who acted as advisors passing on to him their own site reports (Office of Public Works Report 1875-6 44: 14).

When it was passed, the ICA 1869 provoked enormous comment in both England and Ireland - Conservatives in England felt that it was the beginning of the road to independence and break-up of the Union; Irish commentators - particularly those of the Young Ireland movement (which included many of the active artists, architects and antiquarians) and its paper *The Nation* - considered it an enormous success (Kee 1972 2: 58-60). It should be noted that the ICA 1869 identified these structures as 'National' monuments and did not include any prehistoric works. However, the use of the word 'national' should be considered important in its own right; did the framers of the ICA 1869 consider the monuments 'national' in the sense of belonging to both Britain and Ireland, or was the word and therefore its connotation with political identity, not recognized by legislators in England?

The KAS realised that the weakness of the ICA 1869 lay in the fact that prehistoric monuments were not protected - but they did recognise that preservation in Ireland was more advanced than Britain - so they allied themselves with British and Irish societies to support and promote Lubbock's Bill. Following the introduction of the 1882 Act in Britain, Deane was made Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Ireland, a post he held alongside Superintendent of Works for National Monuments.

Ireland was to experience the same problems with guardianship as would be found in England. The architectural and archaeological societies of Britain and Ireland encouraged the owners to be better custodians, but neither the ICA 1869 nor the later

1882 Act provided any support in this area through the express recognition of an 'exemplar' role for guardianship sites. Many Irish owners did not offer their monuments for guardianship because they felt they were doing a suitable job already and were able to call on the services of groups such as the KAS as part of their response.

The political climate in Ireland, and the unexpected cultural outcome of the ICA 1869 gave an added dimension to those same questions being asked in Britain and mainland Europe; how shall we build, how valuable is the past and how shall we protect it? (Sheehy 1980). But the search for a national and cultural identity, using the more recent past as in Ireland rather than concentrating on human evolution prefigured the change that occurred in late 19th and early 20th century Europe and North America, from cultural evolution to culture history paradigms. Ireland saw some of the first experiments with popular democracy through the leadership of Daniel O'Connell and later through the Young Ireland movement. However their objectives were expressed, the overriding aim was the improvement of the lot of the Irish common people, 'Nationalism, or Irish consciousness, with its heavy and romantic sense of the past...became primarily a powerful emotive auxiliary in the drive towards political goals' (Kee 1972 1: 179). Whereas O'Connell's Irishness was expressed through his Catholicism and Irish lineage, the Young Ireland movement grappled with the problem of what it meant to be Irish - largely because a significant proportion of the leaders were Protestant or the children of English and Irish parents. Through their speeches and articles in *The Nation* they sought to reveal the splendour of Ireland's past and the vibrancy of its living culture - particularly the Irish language and its associated traditions. Almost inevitably this was to concentrate on elements that were 'unique', such as round towers, Irish decoration, objects of bog oak and the language itself (Sheehy 1980: 10–16). Irish architects produced distinctive Irish Gothic buildings and later practitioners experimented with the earlier Hiberno-Romanesque style. The early periods were not the only source of inspiration for the new movement, as many recognized that the Georgian period was a second Irish 'Golden Age' because it represented a period when Ireland had its own Parliament (Sheehy 1980: 134).

Throughout the 1870s, professionals and enthusiasts in England looked to Ireland and its suite of protected monuments with admiration and envy. Although accidental, the outcome of the ICA 1869 served to illustrate that such legislation could work. The inter-relationship between politics and the use of the past is particularly strong in Ireland (Jarman 1993; Bender 2001) and we will see this again in Chapter Four with reference to Cyprus. Although government actions and subsequent legislation were to have unlooked-for conservation outcomes (below page 68) there was in Ireland a conscious effort to retrieve and secure evidence of the past as testimony to the vitality and viability of the present. However, when we examine the presumption that particular sites were being preserved for the national good, there is a different resonance in Ireland, because they are tied to the more pressing concern of 'identity' rather than the amorphous notion of scientific enquiry.

4.2 1882 – An Act for the Better Protection of Ancient Monuments.

It is unnecessary to go into a detailed discussion of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, as there are two papers, (Chippindale 1983a and Murray 1989) which deal with the subject in considerable depth, in addition to Saunders 1983, which discusses the 1882 Act as part of the development of Ancient Monument legislation over the one hundred years from 1882. Apart from the fact of the Act being passed, the most important outcome was the creation of the post of Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and its holder, the influential prehistorian and ethnologist, General Pitt-Rivers. However, a number of pertinent points can be reinforced:

- (i) the issue of private ownership
- (ii) the bias towards prehistoric monuments
- (iii) the politics of the past

To take the numbered points in turn:

4.2.1 The issue of private ownership.

Every commentator has referred to this issue. Lubbock took the view that the

intervention of the state in the acquisition of private property was nothing new, and had already been determined and agreed by Parliament by virtue of the Defence Act passed in 1860 (which determined the price to be paid for land required for the purposes of fortification) and the Railway Bill (Lubbock 1879: 163; Chippindale 1983a: 12). Indeed Lubbock took the view that there was no power of interference in his proposed Bill 'unless the owner of a monument desires to destroy or deface it' (Lubbock 1879: 164). Chippindale observes that part of the resistance to the Lubbock Bill lay in the fact that it was a Private Member's Bill, rather than a government Bill, which made the perceived intrusion into the rights of the private owner more objectionable (Chippindale 1983a: 15). Thus there was a genuine strategy behind the nomination of the Duke of Devonshire as a Commissioner and the inclusion on the Schedule of two monuments in his ownership, one of which, Hob Hurst's House and Hut, was known to be in poor condition (Chippindale 1983a:37). The Duke was the most senior peer in the country and his support for the Bill was meant to imply that other landowners should not feel threatened by the Bill. However, the opposition to the various incarnations of the Bill was stern, typified by Earl De La Warr in the Lord's debate of March 12th, 1880:

'The bill in its present shape was an objectionable one; the third clause was especially so. A monument on any part of the land of a private owner was as much his property as if it were in his park, garden or pleasure ground. Under that clause, the proprietor was dealt with not as the owner of his property, but as a mere trustee of it. They might as well deal in that way with an old picture which had an owner as with an ancient monument which had come down to him with the family estate.'

(Kains-Jackson 1880: 109).

Earl De La Warr was probably not aware of the Royal Commission of 1869 created by government to catalogue and make abstracts of papers of general public interest in the possession of institutions and private families - perhaps the first attempt by government to reconcile public and private history (Davies 1913a: 546). It is interesting to note that even though monuments were beginning to be regarded as historical documents and/or art-historical treasures, they were not perceived as quite the same as *real* historical documents by Parliament. But it is clear that government

and the governing class *did* sanction intrusion into private property, but only when heavily qualified by arguments based on utility, although Lubbock made the point that the principle of state maintenance of monuments had been accepted in relation to the Irish Church Act (Lubbock 1879: 169 and above page 58). The final form of the Bill was the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882*, but it was a compromise Bill composed by the MP George Shaw Lefevre and was a very watered-down version of Lubbock's proposal.

4.2.2 The bias towards prehistoric monuments.

Again, most commentators have discussed this aspect of the Bill, but have normally approached it from an archaeologist's perspective (Chippindale 1983a: 9–12). The RIBA debate of 1862 covered the concerns of establishing by default a 'state-style' of repair for architectural remains, similar to that found in France, a point of 'aesthetics' borne out by Lubbock (Lubbock 1879: 165; Kains-Jackson 1880: iv). Furthermore, Lubbock realized (as was stated earlier with the Britton/Wyse proposal, above page 48) that the expense of building repair would be both prohibitive and far in excess of what Parliament would agree to, but could be answered by the sort of local charity envisaged for the purchase of prehistoric monuments,

'In the first place the expense would be much greater, and ought to be borne partly by local funds and individual liberality. Secondly, as repairs would from time to time be required, questions of style and taste would arise, with which no central Commission could, I think, satisfactorily deal; and as to which local opinion ought to be consulted.'

(Kains-Jackson, 1880: iv)

This does bear some comparison with the view expressed by many architects and Irish experience. As a member of SPAB Lubbock's comments about 'local opinion' echoed those of Scott, but both he and Scott meant local, educated opinion. Ultimately, although Lubbock was a member of SPAB, the exclusion of medieval sites from his Bill and the final form of the 1882 Act can be attributed to the fact that they did not interest him or Pitt-Rivers in the same way as the prehistoric (Chippindale

1983a: 9).

The bias in favour of prehistoric monuments did circumvent more protracted debate about private ownership rights, in that individuals did not live in prehistoric monuments (as they were then understood), but did live in several of the classes of medieval remains identified by Scott. Although it would have been impossible in 1882 to restrict the rights of an owner in his own abode we have seen that both Scott and Lubbock identified preservation as the most suitable treatment for ruins and prehistoric sites, but they differed on the issues of what should be included within the legislation and the 'value' of the two categories. Ruins were use-less and prehistoric sites were uninhabitable, therefore there was no real reason why the two categories could not both be protected. In one sense this is why we have the word 'monument' because it is an attempt by government to create in 1882 a classification for legislative purposes - a 'monument' is a field earthwork or standing arrangement of stones that is not and cannot be lived in.

To Lubbock, Pitt-Rivers and the other noted prehistorians the core of the problem was that prehistoric monuments had the potential to answer the important question of human origins and those same monuments were under threat from casual destruction. Although this research was all-important to Pitt-Rivers and Lubbock, the Act 'was far removed from the grander ambitions of ethnological science' (Chippindale 1983a: 21) whilst it was also the case that the human subjects of its study were fast disappearing (Chippindale 1983a: 20). Ethnological science was soon to be replaced by another paradigm, that of culture history, so in some respects the 1882 Act came too late for its purpose (Daniel 1975: 228-258; Trigger 1989; Jones 1997: 40-55).

4.2.3 The politics of the past.

The debates on the various stages of the Ancient Monuments Bill also revealed how people thought about the past. To many in both Houses of Parliament, the importance of the prehistoric period was a complete mystery as it appeared to be worthless, 'rude', and 'barbaric' - not unlike the behaviour of peoples in remote parts

of the Empire (Hingley 2001c: 148) - it was a non-past, because many MPs and Lords could not understand how any meaning could be extracted from the remains, even if prehistoric people ever behaved in a meaningful way (Chippindale 1983a: 13; Ross 1996a: 10-11).

A large proportion of the monuments identified for protection were to be found in Ireland and Scotland and although little comment was made about monuments in Scotland during the debates, considerable mileage was made of the Irish situation. Lubbock and others pointed to the ICA 1869 as a model to follow with care vested in the office of the Commissioners of Public Works (often referred to as the Board of Works). The reaction of MPs, Lords and landowners to the Irish situation is revealing. In contrast to the beliefs and ideals of some sections of the Irish populace, discussed above (pages 43 to 44), there was a sense amongst some MPs that Ireland had no past, no history - or if they were feeling generous - a past of no importance, except where it overlapped with English history (Lubbock 1879: 159). Thus at a time of Irish demands for Home Rule, much of which found expression through the re-discovery and promotion of Irish culture, the suggestion that there might be a distant shared past or common heritage was unwelcome to some English MPs (Lubbock 1879: 167). Although English MPs might not have considered that their views on Irish culture were 'political', there was recognition that interest in the past could fuel political unrest as was occasionally demonstrated in Ireland, and will be further illustrated in Chapter Four with reference to Cyprus. The connection between politics, the past, use of the past and the conflicts of meanings has remained a key issue in archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management and will be further explored in Chapter Five. Perhaps there is a clue here as to why the 1882 Act referred to 'ancient' monuments as opposed to 'national' monuments. To the vast majority of people prehistoric sites did not contribute to any sense of national identity in England, whereas standing medieval ruins could be demonstrably Irish, English or local. Lubbock nonetheless continued to call prehistoric monuments 'national' because he believed that there was a connection between the monuments, national origins and national status.

The inconsistency by which the British government supported research in foreign

parts, particularly on Classical sites, but failed to promote such work at home was recognised by commentators (above page 53). But this inconsistency may have been the result of fears concerning potential impacts on private property rights: would excavation and recovery of objects in Britain lead to disputes about ownership? Several MPs and Lords were of the opinion that the biggest threat to archaeological sites was the archaeologists themselves, so therefore if they had to dig it was better they did it abroad (Chippindale 1983a: 14), comments which foreshadow contemporary concerns voiced by Indigenous that archaeologists 'are the enemy' and archaeological science a threat to Indigenous culture (Ucko 1994: xvi). The idea of the 'archaeologist as threat to archaeology' also foreshadows the arguments surrounding the introduction of PPG 16 (*Planning and Policy Guidance Note 16* (DoE 1990b)) and preservation in-situ in the late 1980s, in addition to arguments made by Australian archaeologists about looting of Indigenous sites (below page 234). Archaeologists were perceived as lacking scientific and practical rigour, with a cavalier attitude towards public accountability through publication. To many it was preferable that archaeological deposits should stay buried (Grenville 1993: 131-132).

5. The response to the 1882 Act.

Almost as soon as it was passed there was a realization that the 1882 Act was a compromise measure which failed to address the problems of the threats to ancient monuments and it came as no surprise that once the gesture had been made, change began to take place quite rapidly (Chippindale 1983a: 17). We will see below (page 74) that Government began to research the measures taken by other countries to protect their ancient monuments and was forced (almost from reasons of housekeeping) to ensure that legislation was uniform across the United Kingdom.

Another factor in the changes and pressure applied to government was the growth in local feeling for the protection of local monuments. The sites that appeared on the schedule accompanying the 1882 Act could be considered a 'shopping list', but not all those monuments became 'guardianship' sites, because the owners did not want to relinquish any rights, or felt that they were treating their monuments correctly (Stonehenge did not become a guardianship site until the First World War). However

owners and local groups approached Pitt-Rivers to provide advice on sites not on the original list, some of which were added to the schedule. (Thompson 1977: 64; Chippindale 1983a: 21; 24).

Not only were changes beginning to take place in the fields of archaeology and ancient monument appreciation; there was a wider context. In the early twentieth century the activities and role of government were beginning to change with an acceptance and desire that there could be greater state involvement in the life of the individual. There was a definite sense that 'the public' and 'the nation' had rights to certain democratic principles. In 1880 attendance at primary school was made compulsory, from 1902 England was given a scheme for elementary and secondary schools administered by local authorities; from 1888 county councils were encouraged to provide housing, baths and libraries (since Tudor times most of what a county council 'does' was undertaken by Justices of the Peace), whilst central government regulated the hours and conditions of work. The overwhelming Liberal victory in the 1906 election has been considered a landmark in social history, even at the time it was seen as a huge demand for social reform, confirmed by the budgets of 1908, 1909 and 1911 which introduced an early welfare state including old age pensions, improved education provision and national insurance schemes. These changes were financed by new land taxes that were a direct assault on the position and status of the landed aristocracy. There were changes in the economic role of women with more being employed in new areas of work, and producing the first generations of women graduates - but not suffrage (Hobsbawm 1987: 142-151; Pinker 1999; Tomlinson 1999; Hingley 2000b: 28-48).

Thus the dialogue on conservation principles with regard to central and local involvement mirrored wider concerns. These changes in the conservation world are here divided into 'legislative' and 'academic' and will be considered in turn. The principal concerns can be characterised as,

- 1) the issue of central/local management
- 2) the continued need for inventories.

5.1 Legislative Changes.

Pitt-Rivers had some success during his time as Inspector but became disillusioned by the lack of will in government circles during the late 1880s and 1890s and retired from full-time work in 1890, working part-time until his death in 1900. From 1900 the Inspector post was an 'acting' position, filled by James Fitzgerald, the assistant-secretary of the Department.

Between 1882 and 1913 two ancient monuments acts were introduced to ensure consistency across the United Kingdom, in addition to one piece of civil service house-keeping, all of which was to extend state control, but also acknowledge growing popular sentiments.

1892 saw the introduction of the *Irish Monuments Act (Ancient Monuments Protection (Ireland) Act)*, by which the 1882 Act was extended to cover a large number of monuments and architectural remains. The 1892 Act extended guardianship agreements to 'any ancient or medieval structure or monument with respect to which the Commissioners of Works are of opinion that its preservation is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, traditional, or artistic interest attaching thereto', which can only be done at the request of the owner of the monument (Baldwin Brown 1905:156). As a consequence of this Act and the advice given by the antiquarian societies in Ireland, a further forty-eight monuments (in addition to the seventeen mentioned in the 1882 Act and the one hundred and thirty-four Irish ecclesiastical buildings already in the hands of the Commissioners of Public Works by 1882) were added to the list of guardianship monuments (Wheeler 1975: 85). These were chiefly ruined abbeys, ancient churches, round towers and tower houses

The 1892 *Irish Monuments Act* probably influenced the second piece of legislation, the 1900 *Ancient Monuments Protection Act*. The 1900 Act, which was presented as an Act to amend the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882*, 'widened the scope of the [existing] legislation to any structure, erection of historical or architectural interest or any remains thereof' (Saunders 1982: 15). The resulting package was a combination of the sites espoused by both Lubbock and Scott (blending the scientific

with the aesthetic, or prehistoric and medieval), although the legislation itself was far from being an improvement on the 1882 Act. In short it extended the provisions of the 1892 *Irish Monuments Act* to England and Scotland (Wheeler 1975: 85), but its one great innovation was the extension of guardianship powers to county councils, so that they could 'receive voluntary contributions toward the upkeep of any monument under their charge and enter into agreements with an owner or with any person as to such maintenance and the preservation thereof' (Baldwin Brown 1905: 157). Under this Act Northamptonshire County Council assumed the ownership and care of the Eleanor Cross outside Northampton, and the City Council of Chester took on the responsibility for its urban defences (Baldwin Brown 1905: 162-164).

A key aspect of the civil service house-keeping measures referred to above has been pieced together from research undertaken as part of this thesis using Office of Works files held at Kew, many of which have not been examined since they were formally closed in the early 1900s. Also of use was Robinson (1997), the only recent paper on this subject known to the present author. The files (PRO 14/3001 AA5745/1) contain memos, letters and reports relating to the gradual expansion of the Office of Works at the expense of the Office of Woods and Forests (the government department that managed the Crown estate) and illustrate both the developing understanding of the monument and its context, but also the gradual centralization of control. This source of information is both new and exciting and will require further study.

The shift of power from Woods and Forests to Works extended from 1896 to 1912 and began in a rather straightforward fashion with memos passed between the Office of Works and the War Office on the subject of new build at Edinburgh Castle (2) and the Tower of London. The Office of Works took the view that as the body constituted by Acts of Parliament to take charge of 'nearly all ancient monuments and historic buildings' they should be consulted on all additions and alterations at places of historic interest 'insofar only as external elevations is concerned' (a memo of 20.8.1898 in PRO Work 14/3001 A6, AA5745/1 Pt.1). The War Office agreed as they wished to avoid erecting anything 'unsightly or in bad taste'. It was proposed that this agreement should become a formal understanding on 1st April, 1904 between the two departments affecting The Tower of London, Colchester Abbey House, Clifford's

Fort (North Shields) and the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dover, Walmer, Deal, Carlisle, Chester, Tynemouth, Richmond, Holy Island and Scarborough. However when discussions developed to consider the transfer of costs granted by the Treasury so that the Office of Works could maintain historic buildings no longer required for military purposes it became apparent that the War Office did not 'own' the buildings considered for transfer. From 1904 the Office of Works agreed a longer list of buildings with the War Office, but the Office of Woods and Forests revealed that all properties acquired by the War Department prior to 1700 were considered to form part of the Land Revenues. This meant that as long as the military required these buildings for military purposes that Department received costs from the Treasury for their maintenance. As soon as the buildings were no longer required they then reverted to the Office of Woods as the department responsible for managing the Crown's estate. However, the Office of Woods also acquired monuments; they purchased Tintern Abbey from the owner as recently as 1901 to ensure the conservation and safety of 'this priceless national possession' and employed a Gloucester firm of architects to advise on its conservation needs (Robinson 1997: 43). The Office of Woods raised considerable objections to the potential loss of historic structures included within their sphere, both ex-military and purely historic (such as Tintern) which they felt had been managed correctly, had produced income from visitors and were available for academic study (Robinson 1997: 44–47). They correctly foresaw that such inroads into their department would signal their demise. By 1905 the Office of Woods agreed to the transfer of several buildings, but not without conditions,

'under the charge of the War Department, including Stirling and Dumbarton Castles and Tynemouth Priory, being transferred to the Commissioners of H.M. Works upon the understanding that the arrangement is for structural maintenance only, and that it is not intended to alter the present use or appropriation of the buildings or interfere with the claim of this Department in the event of the premises or (as regards Tynemouth Priory) the surrounding premises ceasing at any time to be required for military purposes.'

(PRO Work 14/3001 A121, AA5745/1 Pt.1)

The Office of Woods believed that the argument put forward by Works (that they had

been constituted by Act of Parliament to be the guardians of all historic structures) was flawed. As far as Woods were concerned 'the object of the Ancient Monuments Acts was to enable the Board of Works or County Councils to take over and maintain ancient monuments whose proprietors were unwilling, or unable, to maintain them properly, and would therefore, it was assumed, be willing to hand them over to a public body to be maintained at the public cost' (PRO, Work 14/3001, 77, AA5745/1 Pt.1). As far as Woods were concerned the Office of Works was an office of 'last resort': these circumstances did not apply to Woods.

By the latter half of 1908 the actual number of buildings (and parts of buildings) to be transferred from the War Department to Works was agreed by the various departments and the Treasury. The role of the Office of Woods was further curtailed by Charles Peers following his appointment as Inspector of Ancient Monuments in 1910 (below page 85).

It can be seen that although the period between Pitt-Rivers and Charles Peers is often considered something of a hiatus because Fitzgerald was not a noted archaeologist and has not attracted any interest, it is perhaps the case that his tenure was the most critical. There is a sense that the shift of responsibility from Woods to Works displays civil service housekeeping and tidy-mindedness, but this should not devalue what Fitzgerald achieved. In the civil service the competition between departments and their sense of territoriality is palpable. Any successful transference of power and responsibility can only be done with the utmost single-mindedness and ruthlessness. The result was that towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century there was in existence a coherent branch of a government department, that clearly believed it had the managerial and maintenance responsibility for those ruined and in-use historic buildings that were in state ownership and those prehistoric sites in state guardianship. This coherence was further supported by legislation that gave a recognizable process to any local management initiatives should they arise. Effective monument legislation still required the compilation of inventories before any rational assessment could be made of which sites to schedule, but the situation now was that historic buildings and prehistoric sites could be protected, and as we shall see below (page 79), the

Royal Commission on Historic Monuments was to provide the basis for that legislation. Apart from recently acquired examples such as Tintern (over which there was considerable argument about the arrangements for its transfer to Works, finally achieved in 1913 (Robinson 1997: 46)), it was the medieval buildings already in the ownership of the state that were the first medieval structures to be added to the schedule of sites. These sites were considered suitable for guardianship, were to be managed as 'monuments', and, as in the case of Colonial Cyprus (Chapter Four), the first official preservation moves made on historic buildings were on those in state ownership. However, this control was extended to include consideration of 'setting' and 'impact' of new works (in both Britain and Cyprus): it may be reasonable to assume that the Office of Works was already thinking about an 'exemplar' role.

There was of course a wider social and political context to the civil service changes described above (pages 66 to 67), but this was mirrored by changes in the intellectual context of archaeological and preservation enterprise, and this will be considered next.

5.2. Academic Changes.

The feeling of optimism and sense that 'science' was a progressive and beneficial force began to wane before the end of the nineteenth century. Trends in archaeological thought turned away from human evolution to diffusion and ethnicity (Daniel 1975: 228-258; Trigger 1989: 150; 1995b: 269-277; Jones 1997: 15-39). The reasons for this have been variously ascribed, but there were growing social and economic problems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as the traditional balance of political power shifted and partially brought about by a growth of interest in nationality, national identity and nationalism, which led to a focusing of attention on territoriality (Hobsbawm 1987: 142-164; 303; Ashworth and Howard (ed) 1999; Hingley 2000b: 28-48; Macmillan 2001). A concept such as diffusion could be viewed from two opposing perspectives: German writers considered that isolation had resulted in stronger ethnic identity (Struck 2001), whereas British and other European writers considered that the diffusion of ideas, people and culture

from the Near East and more recent cultures created a more 'vital' and vigorous society (Hingley 2001c: 146-151). In Britain, Arthur Evans, Cyril Fox, O.G.S. Crawford and V. Gordon Childe are perhaps the most notable exponents of what came to be termed the culture-history approach, with Childe pre-eminent amongst them (Jones 1997: 16-19). The figures used in Sargent (1993) indicate that the proportion of Roman and medieval excavations rose considerably towards the end of the nineteenth century, with medieval forming the majority in the 1920s and this expansion of interest in the medieval world extended to the analysis of visible standing fabric by specialists such as W. St. John Hope and Harold Brakspear.

Thus the changes in legislation to allow local management and the protection of medieval structures, coupled with the shift of research to later prehistoric, Roman and medieval periods all contributed to create a connection between evidence of the past and national identity (Ashworth and Howard (ed) 1999; Hingley 2000b; Hingley 2001b). Academic pressure continued to demand the creation of national and local inventories and these were finally to take a huge step forward with the launch of the Victoria County History series and the creation of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, both of which will be discussed below. The July - September 1882 issue of *The Antiquary* (6: 65-67) reprised the arguments for the government to encourage the study of archaeology, but chief among its requests was that an inventory of monuments and historic buildings should be made by county, directed by 'the controlling intelligence of a Government appointed staff of workers' (*The Antiquary* 1882 6: 66) to ensure consistency.

When they finally commenced, inventories took a number of forms. In 1894 C.R. Ashbee issued a circular putting forward the idea of a watch committee for Greater London to compile a register of all work of historic and artistic interest (Davies 1913a; Crawford 1985). This register became the Survey of London, the first volume of which was published in 1900 (Ashbee 1900). The first volume of the Victoria County Histories (Davies 1913a) also appeared in 1900 (with Charles Peers becoming architectural editor in 1903; (Peers Archive XVIII/ii)). Based in Glasgow University, David Murray's *An Archaeological Survey of the United Kingdom. The Preservation and Protection of our Ancient Monuments*, published in

1896, was the first assessment of the required archaeological provision for the United Kingdom. To Murray the local approach was the key, with local museums and locally based Inspectors conducting work for the local authorities ('nationality in this connection is just another name for centralization', Murray (1896): 88). His chief concern was for the creation of a systematic, county by county inventory complete with maps, photographs, drawings and other survey detail, covering earthworks, buildings, sites and local tradition. Murray like many others before him compared the current, lamentable situation in the United Kingdom with the successful work of the Archaeological Survey of India (Murray 1896; Davies 1913a; Saunders 1982: 14).

Government began its own inventories. First, assessment was made of current practice in other parts of the world, and second, a Commission was created to undertake the necessary work.

In 1897, prompted by the Society of Antiquaries, the Foreign Office dispatched a series of memos to 'Her Majesty's Representatives Abroad' (British Sessional Papers, 1897, vol. LXXXII) in most of the European capitals, and Washington. The Secretary of State requested that each Representative should furnish a report on the subject of the statutory provisions that existed, containing any particulars. The first memos were followed by a second, more detailed request that itemized the areas of interest,

- '(1) Statutable provisions for the protection of ancient monuments, buildings, or otherwise, in regard to demolition, restoration, or addition.
- (2) Composition of authority charged with supervision of ancient buildings.
- (3) Number and nature of monuments prehistoric, or historic, religious, civil or military, subject to protection.
- (4) Cost and by whom defrayed.
- (5) How provisions work in practice.
- (6) Copies of any printed documents bearing on the subject.'

(British Sessional Papers, 1897, vol. LXXXII)

The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty, created in 1895,

proposed to 'extend and broaden the 1882 Act' (Chippindale 1983: 31), and to this end it too had consulted widely. Her Majesty's Representative to Denmark commented in his reply to the Foreign Office that he had supplied the same information 'early this year unofficially to the National Trust' (British Sessional Papers, 1897, vol. LXXXII).

The observations on legislation in other countries revealed that there was often a mix of central and local initiatives: again commentators drew parallels between British and foreign practice (Baldwin Brown 1904). The 1900 Act appeared to make the replication of best foreign practice possible in a British context and seemed to reiterate the belief of Lubbock and Scott that some monuments could be best cared for at the local level. A third government survey of 'Systems adopted in certain Foreign Countries for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments' followed in 1911 (Sessional Papers, Misc. No.7, 1912 (cd6200) LXVIII.I). This survey contains much of interest, particularly a long and detailed contribution from the government representatives in Germany, citing the regions of Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony. They drew attention to very particular details that had a bearing on the debate in Britain; in Prussia grants were made to private persons and bodies to assist them in preserving monuments and the state imposed conditions that ensured that it retained control and supervision over such monuments in the future. In addition Prussian legislation was observed to contain little use for the services of private individuals or societies with the work thrown on government officials on the grounds that it ensured uniformity of method and continuance of the work. These were extremely important points, some of which were adopted in Britain. The use of grant aid will be seen to be crucial in the case of Cyprus, (Chapter Four, page 206) but it was discussed at length and then discounted in Britain in 1920 (Chapter Three, page 120). However the idea that grant aid might then be followed by state control over privately owned monuments would have found little favour in Britain, although access conditions are now an accepted part of grant aid to private owners. We have seen that individuals and societies played a significant role in defining preservation principles in the United Kingdom that were then adopted by the Office of Works, which then sought to promote exemplar practice. The presence of local societies in Britain was considered healthy and essential for the purposes of providing advice, but also as a counter to

arbitrary behaviour by the state (Peers 1928: 74), but as we will see in Chapter Three the Office of Works (and its successors) gradually became remote from such partnerships.

The competition between British and German practice is linked to a shifting political background: throughout much of the period under discussion Britain looked to compete politically and in preservation terms, with France. Now America and Germany were the principal political and industrial rivals, but Germany was also a military competitor (Hingley 2000b: 30). In Germany, the all-embracing nature of its conservation legislation might indicate its growing level of national consciousness, following unification under Bismarck and its industrial expansion. Much has been written about Gustav Kossina (Trigger 1989: 163-167; Arnold 1990; Ucko 1994: xiv; Maischberger 2002) and the developing ethnocentricity of prehistoric archaeology in Germany and its misuse in the Nazi era, but those authors referred only to archaeology, whereas it is likely that the nature of German conservation legislation was part of the same intellectual context in Germany. One could speculate that the structure and content of German conservation was a mark of their growing sense of nationalism, but Germany also suffered social and cultural upheaval as a result of industrialization. Gosden suggests (1994: 43) that the rapid urbanization and growth of factory production in the last four decades of the nineteenth century broke up traditional [German] communities and old values', whilst by 1907 only half of the 60 million Germans still lived where they were born. Ousby noted (2002: 155) that the German population increased by more than 50 per cent between 1871 and 1911. Obviously the role of conservation legislation in Germany needs further research to see if, like Britain, it was a response to dramatic and destructive change, or the action of government aware that conservation legislation was a desirable asset in its own right (with its origins in Romanticism, Goethe and Schinkel (Schinkel 1815; Jokilehto 1999: 112-127)) but clearly there is in Germany a strong link between the past, use of the past and the creation of national identity (Struck 2001).

There was undoubtedly in Britain a keen interest in those preservation measures taken by other nations. This interest is perhaps best exemplified by the work of G. Baldwin Brown, one of the most influential writers of the period, whose *The Care of*

Ancient Monuments, published in 1905, is his best-known work. Based at the University of Edinburgh, Baldwin Brown took the Foreign Office memoranda of 1897 (above page 74) to the logical conclusion of creating a more thorough examination of conservation provisions in many parts of the world. *The Care of Ancient Monuments* also provided comment and analysis on the care of monuments, the value of domestic monuments and significance. Although the 1905 study is his most well known work, Baldwin Brown published other works on the same subject, principally articles of 1904 and 1906.

Baldwin Brown's work of 1904 appeared in three weekly instalments in the December 1904 issues of *The Builder*. In this article (effectively a précis of the later 1905 work) Baldwin Brown made comparison between conservation legislation in England, France, Germany and Italy, outlining the different classifications of 'monument' in those countries and the relationship between central and regional government and professional societies. Although Baldwin Brown felt that ancient monument legislation in Britain was short of that created in Germany and Italy, he believed that the 1900 Amendment Act which extended to county councils those functions previously held by the Commissioners of Works, established a valuable precedent. Brown concluded with an interesting appeal summarising earlier and predicting later expressions of conservation philosophy and practice:

'This provision is of the best promise for the future, as introducing the decentralisation process in monument administration, which has been adopted with good effect both in Italy and Germany. There is another clause to the effect that Commissioners of Works or County Councils may receive voluntary contributions towards the upkeep of any monuments under their charge, and enter into an agreement with an owner or "any other person" as to its maintenance and preservation and the cost thereof". This, again, is a most promising stipulation, as it brings official authorities into touch with private societies as well as with individuals who may take special personal or local interest in some monument or group. This common action is of the utmost importance for a healthy "Care of Ancient Monuments" such as we may hope to see established in our own country in the near future.'

(Baldwin Brown 1904: 656).

The Care of Ancient Monuments (1905) contains much that seems to crystallize contemporary popular and professional thought with regard to the social and political changes that were in progress. Brown summarized the public versus private debate in a stimulating way (Baldwin Brown 1905: 32) declaring that laws cease to appear oppressive when sanctioned by public opinion. He compared the actions of various national governments and attempted to define the ways in which people need the past and use it to delineate themselves in the present. He argued that monuments ('all old buildings and other memorials of bygone days', Baldwin Brown 1905: 3) have a place in the common and national life, that the public and the nation has an interest in them. His preface indicates the breadth of his view:

'the safeguarding of ancient buildings and other objects of historical and artistic interest; for the maintenance of a fitting aesthetic standard in the architecture of towns; and for the preservation of the natural beauties of rural districts.'

(Baldwin Brown 1905: vii)

Baldwin Brown's article of 1906 is largely a précis of his introductory comments in *The Care of Ancient Monuments* but concentrates on the conflict between public and private rights and that between democratic and 'authoritarian' government. In addition he outlined the existence of a group of monuments which he felt could be classified as 'national' and the relationship between such monuments and the areas of conflict referred to above:

'Now, the ancient monuments with which we are here concerned, though they are in a true sense "national", in that they embody the historic memories which we have claimed to be matters of public concern, are yet in very many cases the property of individuals, who can exercise over them all rights of ownership. For example, Stonehenge is undoubtedly a "national" monument, a monument one might almost say which is in the possession of the world; and yet at the same time it is so absolutely under private control that the owner might destroy it to-morrow by dynamite, and there is no power in the Crown or Parliament or the Law Courts to stay his hand.'

(Baldwin Brown 1906: 456).

In the view of Baldwin Brown historic sites are 'national' in that they are the

inheritance of the nation. Although the method of conservation remains preservation, for the monuments are still documents, there is a greater sense – certainly with Baldwin Brown – that buildings and sites have other values that connect them to local identity and the quality of the environment. The sites of 'national' importance remain however those that are self-selecting and self-evidently important, but the breadth of that 'importance' is increasing to include the vernacular. However, despite the anticipated participation between individuals and agencies, underlying the comments of Baldwin Brown is the question of who decides which sites have value. The quest for organisation, continuity and legislation was inevitably to rebound on the state, and, just as inevitably, people would see central government (and central government would see itself) as the most suitable agency for such decisions.

The second category of government response was the most notable, with the creation in 1908 of the Royal Commissions on the (Ancient and) Historical Monuments of England, Wales and Scotland, to produce county inventories and surveys of historic buildings (Davies 1913a: 550). The first Interim Report, presented to Parliament in 1910 by its Commissioners, contains the statement of purpose: the Royal Commission was to make an inventory of,

'Ancient Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization and conditions of life of the people in England, excluding Monmouthshire, from the earliest times to the year 1700, and to specify those which seem worthy of preservation.'

(RCHME, First Interim Report 1910: 1)

Many seized on this final clause as an indication that government had finally created a preservation agency, but the report carried both a disclaimer and spur to renewed government action:

'We have from time to time been asked for advice and assistance with respect to the preservation of monuments which have been threatened with destruction. In these cases we have tried to give such help as lay within our power. But, we are agreed that, having regard to the conditions under which we carry on our work, it would seriously impair the efficiency of our enquiry, were it expected that we should at any moment interrupt its settled course, in order to report upon the

nature and value of threatened monuments in counties outside the immediate purview of the Commission. Cases, however, occur where it is desirable to deal at once with imperilled monuments of historic importance, and we are of opinion that the time has come when such cases (which may often arise outside the immediate scope of our labours or be beyond the powers of our Commission to control) should be dealt with by a Government Department acting with the assistance of a permanent Advisory Board'.

(RCHME, First Interim Report 1910: 5)

In 1908 the activities and rationale of the Royal Commission method of working was carefully considered. Lord Burghclere was appointed Chairman of the Commissioners, with James Fitzgerald (Acting Inspector of Ancient Monuments) and others as fellow Commissioners. Four Sub-Commissions were appointed to cover the following categories of monuments:

- (1) Pre-Roman monuments and earthworks other than Roman.
- (2) Roman monuments and Roman earthworks.
- (3) English ecclesiastical monuments.
- (4) English secular monuments.

Charles Peers (in his capacity as Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries and architectural editor of the VCH) was appointed as Sub-Commissioner and served as a member of both the ecclesiastic and secular Sub-Commissions.

Using the example of Sir John Evans' 1892 survey of the County of Hertford (promoted by the Society of Antiquaries), the Commissioners chose Hertford as the first county, with the county as the unit of publication and the civil parish as the unit of record within the county. The Commissioners began to appoint a 'staff of investigators' at the beginning of April 1910.

Two lists (or Schedules) were created; Schedule A was the actual list of individual sites consisting of brief site description and statement of condition with classifications such as Good, Fairly Good, Good - much altered/repared, Structurally good, Bad, Very Bad, Ruinous. Schedule B listed those monuments considered 'especially worthy of preservation'. Additional details such as the plans and sketches which were

collected and not published were to be preserved together with a set of the photographs taken of all the monuments visited to be made accessible to students of archaeology and architectural detail. Before completion, both lists were referred for revision to the relevant local Archaeological Societies, the County Councils and 'to the clergy and schoolmasters in each parish' (RCHME First Interim Report 1910: 15).

The Royal Commission inventories were a combination of text, measured drawing and photograph, capturing sites in their 'as found' condition. Saunders makes the point (Saunders 1982: 15) that the annual reports produced by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland contain a similar combination of data, which taken together, he believes was to influence the subsequent reports of the Office of Works. We have seen above (page 59) how the work of the Board of Works in Ireland had in turn been influenced and guided by the KAS. Thus the first decade of the twentieth century saw the realization of the many earlier demands for the compilation of registers, inventories and surveys of historic buildings and monuments following the example of many European nations. However, the inventory produced by the Commission, although a significant achievement, made use of a double list, so it was far from clear exactly which sites were the most significant. The assumption must be that the lists were not conclusive and additional research on a Schedule A building might promote it to Schedule B. The date range is also important, as the presumption was that structures built after 1700 were not of value. But the creation of an inventory was recognised by all to be the first step in securing the fabric of the nation's historic buildings and ancient monuments.

6. Charles Peers.

Fitzgerald's tenure as acting Inspector came at a time of a considerable change of emphasis. He was a central figure in the creation of the Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments and occupied the post during a period when preservation became both accepted and the practice itself gained considerable definition, reflected in the number of technical building conservation handbooks and notes produced by the SPAB (Powys 1929, a version combining earlier advice notes) and individual architects (Caroe 1902 and Forsyth 1911). There was change in terms of the

expansion of the responsibilities of the Office of Works, but as stated above (page 66 to 67) also in the related field of social and political philosophy. Although Lubbock felt that Fitzgerald lacked 'status' (Saunders 1982: 15), the first Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, produced in 1911 (neither Pitt-Rivers nor Fitzgerald had produced them) contains a memorandum by Lord Beauchamp, the first Commissioner of Works, in which Beauchamp gives much praise to Fitzgerald, whose 'zeal did much to stimulate local and municipal appreciation of ancient monuments and historic buildings widely scattered over the country, and this led to a marked increase of interest in their preservation' (*Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending 31st March, 1911:2*). Furthermore, by the end of 1908, 'all arrears of inspection had been overtaken and the work systematised' (*ibid: 2*). Fitzgerald died unexpectedly in the spring of 1909 to be replaced by Charles Reed Peers on 25th March 1910.

The arrival of Charles Peers (1868–1952) at the Office of Works (Peers Archive IX/i) was to mark a consolidation of control, perhaps only possible due to the work of James Fitzgerald. The acquisition of monuments continued through Fitzgerald's tenure and with the backlog of reports removed, Peers and other officers of the Office of Works were free to concentrate on creating a corps of professionals. Charles Peers was already a respected academic figure when appointed to the post of Inspector of Ancient Monuments. He was Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries; from 1903, architectural editor of the Victoria County History and from 1907, Assistant Commissioner of both the ecclesiastic and secular sub-commissions of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments for England (Peers Archive XVIII/xvi). Peers had spent six years as a practicing architect, and had also worked on archaeological sites in Egypt (Peers Archive XVIII/i).

At the end of his first year Peers produced the first of a series of annual reports to both Houses of Parliament, covering the period 25th March 1910 to 31st March 1911. The introduction of the report contains bald statements of numbers and classes of monuments and the categories of ownership and control: 'monuments in private possession transferred to the charge of the Commissioner of Works', and monuments which are the property of the state. In the period covered by the report 15 monuments

had been placed under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Act (making 119 in total). There then follows a brief description of the works conducted during the reporting year, an assessment of the treatment required for those 15 monuments newly acquired and indication of the chief areas of concern: lack of financial resources, shortage of staff, the failure of the 1882 and 1900 Acts to counter the problems facing historic buildings and ancient monuments, pressing conservation crises at Hadrian's Wall (quarrying) and St. Magnus, Kirkwall (an in-use church restoration case that was becoming an architectural cause-célèbre). Peers suggested a number of improvements; in terms of the treatment of monuments in state control, a general order was made that lias lime only should be used in their repair, and records were to be kept of the treatment given to each monument year by year. This was followed by six specific points, three of which were the first attempt to consider maintenance regimes and the final three referred to research and presentation issues:

- i. Structural and superficial repairs, i.e., grouting, underpinning, pointing, treatment of decayed surfaces, removal of ivy and weeds, &c.
- ii. Enclosure by fencing where necessary.
- iii. Care of the site, i.e., grass-cutting, prevention of disfigurement by visitors, the provision of notice boards, &c.
- iv. The preparation of accurate and complete measured plans, elevations, and sections.
- v. Photographs.
- vi. The compiling of official guidebooks to single monuments or to groups of monuments.'

(Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending 31st March 1911: 10)

Whereas the first three items on the list had long been recognised but not explicitly addressed, Peers felt that the latter three points were of equal weight, but had yet to be discussed or applied and represented the new direction of the Office of Works. The final part of the report was in the form of an appendix containing the Schedule - the complete list of ancient monuments and historic buildings in the charge of the Commissioners of Works - complete with details of accounting procedure and

explanation of the relationship between the Ministry of War and the Office of Works on particular sites.

This report formed the model for all future reports and was in some sense the first brick in the new Office of Works structure, but also represents the start of civil-service auditing and management procedures: the creation of an institution for which accountability was now a key part of monument work. During 1911, the architect Frank Baines (1877–1933) was appointed to the Office of Works as Principal Architect with staff to carry out all works to the monuments in the charge of the Commissioners. Baines had joined the Office of Works as a temporary assistant draughtsman, became Principal Architect and then Director of Works in 1920 (Fergusson and Harrison 1999: 254). By 1913 the Office of Works had Commissioners of Works (government appointees who answered in Parliament for a particular department) headed by Lord Beauchamp, a First Secretary (Sir Schomberg McDonnell, since 1902), an Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and specialist architectural and works staff. The creation of specialist staff was followed by a set of 'General Instructions to foremen in charge of the works of preservation', issued by Frank Baines (3) to ensure common standards and underline the fact that the work was to be 'of preservation only' with every endeavour 'to keep the original portions of the structure in position'. Pulling down of the original work, or restoration ('the insertion of new work into old', *ibid*: 2) was only permitted on the personal instruction of the supervising architect and only where the safety of the building 'absolutely demands such treatment'. This was effectively the beginning of the 'repair as found' policy – ruined historic buildings were to be preserved as they appeared in the present, but as we will see in Chapter Three the principle of 'repair as found' was only to apply to specific historic phases, whilst there proved to be a number of means to reach that end. The final clause concerning the nature of the work was very specific:

'And, although the new work shall in all cases be designed so as to be in harmony with the old work, no attempt should be made to give it the appearance of other than modern origin. The utmost importance is attached to this rule and the foreman who is found to have wilfully disobeyed it, will be liable to instant dismissal.'

(General instructions to foremen in charge of the works of preservation, undated:

2)

Overall, the approach signifies the victory of the scientific over the Picturesque, the establishment of the monument as document and the concentration of practice and experience in the hands of a single government department. We will see in Chapter Four that the involvement of several government offices was to hinder preservation work in Cyprus, whilst in Chapter Five we will see that the need to liaise between several government offices curtails the effectiveness of English Heritage. Having established the ground rules for the Ancient Monuments section of the Office of Works, Peers, Beauchamp and Mc Donnell were aware that the status of the Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Department of the Office of Works had to be improved. This was tackled in two ways. First, pressure was maintained to amend the Ancient Monuments Act. Second, the existing legislation was to be better promoted to encourage owners to offer monuments for guardianship. To achieve this it was necessary to treat in an exemplary fashion those monuments already in state care, to demonstrate what could be done, but it was also thought desirable to ensure that monuments controlled by other departments were transferred to the Office of Works (Robinson 1997: 46–49). Peers issued a memo in November 1911 in which he questioned the ability of the Office of Woods to maintain certain properties. Although he considered it 'inadvisable to give detailed criticism of the treatment of these buildings by the Woods [Harlech Castle and Holy Island Priory]', Peers realized that poor treatment 'weakens the case of Government against the misuse of such buildings by private owners.' He concluded that:

'The treatment of other antiquities situated on Crown land in the charge of the Woods is a matter which might advantageously be inquired into; and it would be interesting to know whether any list of such antiquities exists (camps, tumuli, etc.). I believe I am right in saying that the camp on Penmaenmawr now being destroyed by quarrying, is in the charge of the Woods.'

(Single page memo dated 21st November, 1911, signed by C.R. Peers, discovered in Cd5690 - *Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, for the year ending 31st March, 1911*)

Sir Stafford Howard, Commissioner of the Office of Woods and Forests resigned in

1912, having reached the age of sixty, but also because he had remarried, making that department effectively leaderless (PRO File CRES 3/28; Robinson 1997: 47). Howard was an adept and respected politician, having been an MP and Under-Secretary for India, but a replacement was not immediately appointed. Howard died in 1916. From the time of his resignation, and certainly from the passage of the 1913 Act, the Office of Works became the department for all matters relating to historic sites and ancient monuments.

The necessity to amend the Acts of 1882 and 1900 was outlined in Lord Beauchamp's opening memo to the Inspector's report for the year ending March 1912. The impetus given by the Royal Commissions merely revealed that there was no adequate or comprehensive scheme for dealing with the preservation of ancient monuments, short of seeking increased Parliamentary powers. Beauchamp further supported the work of the Office on the state's own monuments, claiming that the creation of such exemplars would generate additional values and attributes for those monuments; Beauchamp stated that:

'It is hoped that, in this way, the various Monuments throughout the country, in the charge of the Commissioners, will become object lessons of the manner in which such remains should be treated, and will thus possess an educational, as well as an archaeological and artistic value.'

(Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending March 31st 1912: 2)

Peers was to emphasize this line of thinking in his section of the report:

'The educational value of our national monuments has too long been overlooked by the state, but it only needs demonstration to be generally appreciated. The result must be the creation of a body of educated public opinion sufficiently strong to oppose the "acts of vandalism" which are still unhappily so common. The state, as the experience of all civilized countries shows, must set the example, but the ultimate protectors of national antiquities are the people themselves.'

(ibid: 11).

Two ideas of education are being proposed here; one, that of the exemplar which

teaches owners to be good owners, and a second that proposes the suitability of monuments to be used in general education, but the intention must have been that both ideas together will, ultimately, create popular support for 'national antiquities', and thereby shape a response to ancient monuments (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 154) These two quotations represent the first real indication of the intention to create exemplar monuments, and are explicit in defining the role of the state in that process, but they also suggest that a particular group of monuments was to be considered an historic (and national) 'asset'. Peers made the point that the public should be the police, but the 'national antiquities' remained those identified by the specialists.

Following the presentation to the House of Commons of the first Royal Commission report in 1910, pressure was maintained by MPs to pursue the consequences and results of that report. On 22nd March 1911, Mr. Whitehouse MP asked whether the government would arrange for the Commissioner of Works 'acting through the Inspector of Ancient Monuments or a special advisory board, [to] offer suggestions' to local authorities and private owners 'for the better care of ancient monuments and buildings reported upon by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments'. This was followed by a question from Mr. Buxton MP who asked whether the Government 'contemplates acting on the recommendations of the Royal Commission Interim Report that imperiled monuments should at once be dealt with by a Government department acting with the assistance of a permanent advisory board?' The Government reply was that the time was not yet right for making a further statement upon the subject. (*Hansard Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 1909-1918, Vol. XXIII, 1911, March 20th - April 7th, Col. 409*).

In December 1911 Schomberg McDonnell presented a paper to the Society of Antiquaries (McDonnell 1911) which amounted to a draft proposal for the 1913 Act. The damage and neglect caused by owners, developers and local authorities was itemized, with the quarrying at Penmaenmawr thrown in to maintain pressure on the Office of Woods. Categories of sites whose protection was desired included historic bridges, crosses, ecclesiastic buildings (not in use by the church) and a separate legislative process to protect churches in use, in addition to ruined abbeys, military buildings and town walls. However, McDonnell urged caution; he

felt that although public opinion had changed it was still necessary to progress slowly and to this end it would not be possible or desirable to include houses in occupation in any legislation. McDonnell's principal contribution was to suggest the formation of an Advisory Board on Historical Monuments (as had been suggested in the 1860s by Scott). This group, totaling eleven, would be drawn from the Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries of England, Wales and Scotland, the RIBA, British Museum and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York with a representative from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. These last named were included to ensure that no restoration should take place on an ecclesiastical building without the consent of the Advisory Board. McDonnell was keen to ensure that the legislative process had sufficient safeguards to assuage the fears of those who might still consider it an intrusion into private property. The procedure would be as follows:

'The Inspector of Ancient Monuments would inform the Advisory Board that a monument, secular or ecclesiastical, was in danger. If the Advisory Board was satisfied that this was the case they would thereupon inform the First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works, who, if convinced that their fears were well founded, would apply for an Order in Council to the effect that, in the case of a secular monument, it should be transferred to the custody of the Commissioners.'

(McDonnell 1911: 26)

Thus the good owner had nothing to fear whilst the bad owner still retained the freehold of the site, but lost the custody. The scene was set for the introduction of the 1913 Act.

7. Summary.

By 1913 the principles of ancient monument work had become relatively clear. From the 1860s there was a consensus amongst specialists that some prehistoric sites and ruined buildings were to be preserved, whilst buildings in use could be restored, and thus two of the basic elements of the historic environment had been separated, although the physical 'fabric' was the most important element of both groups. 'Monumentality' - a vision of the past based on the beliefs that value is inherent in fabric and sites and that the monument is the defining expression of the past in the

present - had been created and confirmed by the early Ancient Monument Acts and was to survive until the present day (Carver 1996) and will be further discussed in Chapters Three and Five. Conservation was increasingly used as an umbrella term that included a number of practical responses, one of which was preservation. Although there was no clear universally accepted definition of what constituted the historic environment there was recognition that it consisted of some of the material remains of the known past - ruined and 'living' buildings, standing stones, bridges, crosses, but also materials, context, setting and to some such as Murray (1896), local customs.

There was awareness amongst professionals and some parts of the public that the remains of the past were important and in many respects like a document: once a page had been removed the text was meaningless. And this text told the story of national identity and history. A sense of loss and unease with change, both in terms of technological change and a declining international status, had become palpable and galvanizing, and one solution to the problem was to preserve the ancient and monumental evidence of continuity and prestige. Although ruined buildings and ancient monuments retained picturesque qualities, scientific and educational values had been consciously explored, promoted and preferred above the Picturesque, but these new, pre-eminent values were understood to be inherent in the fabric of the buildings.

The advent of government intervention had been slow to commence, but had accelerated. Full-time specialists working within an established government department had replaced the part-time administrators, and both architects and archaeologists had achieved a new degree of professional status. Opinion was divided about what models to follow. French practice was equated with a strong, centralized authority, backed by government that could compulsorily purchase and act quickly in times of a particular problem. But this was considered both an unwelcome intrusion into private ownership, and also unfortunate in that its officers appeared to reproduce an extreme and unvarying style of repair. Set against this was the belief that Germany and Italy had reached an enviable compromise based on a combination of regional and national approaches. Such issues were understood in

the United Kingdom, but some aspects of German practice - particularly that of state grant aid to individuals followed by state control - were too invasive for a British government to contemplate in the early 1900s. However, there was a real belief beginning with Scott and echoed by Lubbock, Baldwin Brown and Murray that local solutions in respect of ancient monument work were the most suitable methods of dealing with some issues. The conflict here was that most commentators wanted government to take a lead role to ensure consistency and give direction, but the Office of Works was actively securing its own pre-eminent position. The Office of Works recognised the value of the exemplar monument, its role in encouraging owners to behave better, but also recognised its role in the promotion of the 'new' values of science and education, which were to require a specific type and style of presentation. This aspect of ancient monument work had not been considered in any detail before the arrival of Charles Peers and became a key part of discussions surrounding the introduction of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act (below page 102 to 103).

The expansion of the role of the Office of Works and the gradual consolidation of practice was dramatic in the latter period covered by this chapter and will be continued in Chapter Three. The state had begun to acquire responsibility for a considerable number of monuments by the first decade of the twentieth century, either through guardianship agreements or the transfer of historic buildings from one government department to another, and their management of such buildings it was hoped would make it easier to introduce legislative control of similar buildings in the private sector. Although sites believed to be the best of their type were identified for addition to the Schedule to be considered for guardianship (Stonehenge, Rievaulx Abbey), there is no sense that there was a structured programme of acquisition to create a 'national collection'. It is rather the case that once the Office of Works had been identified as the department responsible for ancient monuments and historic buildings its duty was to acquire the same wherever and whenever, even at the expense of other government departments, but it was also expected to receive and manage unwanted historic buildings from other government offices.

By the time of the introduction of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act, the preservation

of prehistoric and medieval sites was believed to be for the public good. Baldwin Brown had characterized the shift of perspective from the private to the public realms, but what role had the public?

The owner remained an integral part of the debate. Many owners, including Pitt-Rivers and Lubbock (Chippindale 1983: 21), did not offer monuments for guardianship because they felt they were treating their monuments correctly and could call on the services of various societies (of which they were often members) to assist in matters of repair, historical analysis and excavation. Once the twentieth century had begun, the references to 'national' monuments and statements to the effect that monuments belonged to the nation are commonplace. This would suggest that an increasing number of owners began to see themselves as trustees of an asset, rather than the owner typified by Earl de la Warr (above page 62), but also suggests that there was a developing consensus about what was significant. But where was that consensus located, with the public, or with the specialists? The selection of sites to be considered of value remained an official enterprise, although discussion was held between the Office of Works and various societies because a large proportion of those involved had membership or interests in all the groups. Some sites had well-developed social uses, (above page 43) but such use did not make a site more valuable to those doing the selecting. We have seen that Peers believed the public to be the ultimate 'protectors of national antiquities' (above page 86), but this support was closely tied to the educational value of monuments and it was the duty of the state to demonstrate that value. It was felt that familiarity with monuments would lead to the creation of a body of 'educated public opinion' to oppose the continuing acts of vandalism, but the inference must be that monuments were not there for the public, but rather the public was there for the monuments and the specialists. The question of whom the heritage was for continues to provoke debate (Flood 1989: 80; Chippindale et al 1990; Ross 1996: 11; Smith 1996b: 69-70) and will be further explored in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

Peers recognized that public support was essential for preservation, however it was also the case that a political will was required. Those with a voice had asked for preservation legislation: it had arrived and been modified within a short space of time.

In Chapter Three we shall see how the Office of Works expanded its control of ancient monuments and the effects this was to have on the monuments themselves, but this success was to be circumscribed by political hesitation.

Notes to Chapter Two.

- (1) Since discussing the subject of the Inspectorate under De Valera, an Irish student (Anne Carey) has now begun an MA dissertation on this subject at the University of Galway.
- (2) The trajectory by which ancient monuments, particularly ecclesiastical buildings, passed into the control of the state was different in Scotland, compared to that in England, although the principles of preservation and repair were consistent. An analysis of preservation initiatives in Scotland is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the most complete account can be found in MacIvor and Fawcett 1983.
- (3) There is no formal reference to this document. The title page is headed at top left 'O.W. 791', followed by 'Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings', with the full title underneath, 'General instructions to foremen in charge of the works of preservation'.

Chapter Three.

The Office of Works and the Ancient Monuments Act of 1913.

'Have you heard that HMOW have started in on Whitby to do their damndest to give us another "frozen ruin" from the Government cold storage? Help!'

SPAB File, Whitby Abbey. Letter, 26th June, 1922; Charles Thompson to A. R. Powys.

'I hold it for one of the most encouraging signs of our time that the practice of setting up non-official advisory bodies to work with officials has of late shown so large a development. We are really in a way not only to make use of the large amount of skill and knowledge which exists, but to give it a status and actual executive power which must raise our standards in the country generally in a way which mere bureaucracy could never do.'

C.R. Peers, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Address to the SPAB, *Annual Report* 51 1928: 74.

1. Introduction.

In Chapter One I suggested that the trajectory of ancient monument conservation could be characterised as three distinct periods: a period when monuments changed from being Picturesque and Romantic features to objects of scientific enquiry, a period when they were 'frozen', and the current period, a time when change and conservation are seen as compatible. Following discussion in Chapter Two of the evolution of conservation principles and the creation of a professional, full-time corps of specialists at the Office of Works, Chapter Three will consider and discuss the circumstances surrounding the introduction of the *Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act* of 1913 (AMCAA 1913) and examine the ways in which this

legislation and resulting practice solidified those evolving principles into a particular vision of the historic environment and ancient monument work. The most successful outcome of the AMCAA 1913 was to be the protection, repair and presentation of large medieval remains in private ownership, but the intellectual context for this work has remained with us for approximately ninety years. Despite the confidence of the approach to the preservation and presentation of ruined abbeys and castles, there was indecision about the mechanism, process and implications of the AMCAA 1913, and also about those historic 'assets' that could be called an 'ancient monument'.

The AMCAA 1913 survived in largely unchanged form until 1979 and is strangely under-researched and discussed in comparison to the 1882 Act. The longevity of the AMCAA 1913 and the continued elevation of the monument seems also to represent a particular state of mind with regard to the understanding of the historic environment that was itself impervious to change until more recent years, and this will be the subject of Chapter Five. Chapter Three will employ a case study - Rievaulx Abbey - to examine the reality of the philosophy and practice of ancient monuments work and will conclude with a comparison of the perceptions of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate between the 1920s and the time of writing (2003).

2. Threats and Changes.

In the preceding chapter it was suggested (page 72) that there was a change in Britain from the optimism of the mid-nineteenth century to a critical introspection in the early twentieth century. This was reflected in other parts of the Anglo-European world as social, political and intellectual change took place, and also resulted in a different intellectual framework for archaeological enterprise (Trigger 1995b: 269–277; Jones 1997; Hingley 2000b; 2001c). It is also the case that this new framework extended to conservation and the objects of conservation. But is it possible to define particular threats, and why was it the case that social improvement brought about change in other fields?

Much has been written about the political and social condition of Britain in the years preceding the First World War, largely as an exploration of the reasons why Europe went to war in 1914 (Hobsbawm 1987; Roberts 1989, Marwick 1991; Pinker 1999;

Tomlinson 1999). In broad terms Britain was on the cusp of a profound change from the principle of *laissez faire* economics to one of subsidy and government intervention in the social sphere. During the closing years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries, the Conservative government found itself unpopular, running out of steam and beset by divisive leadership struggles. The two Boer Wars were considered to be wasteful failures; failures militarily but also because they illustrated something defective about existing organisational skills and physical ability. The volunteer 'common soldiers' were seen to be poorly educated and physically under-developed (Pakenham 1979; James 1998: 212- 217; Hingley 2000b).

Britain felt its international status was under threat from Germany and America (1). America had gradually expanded into the international arena, first as an economic and industrial power, but then as a military power when its troops formed the mainstay of the force that put down the Boxer Rebellion in China (Hobsbawm 1987: 281-282; Macmillan 2001). Increasing American status was to have repercussions in the world of art and culture, both in America and throughout Europe. Industrial and economic expansion followed the Civil War with much of this new wealth created by opportunistic individuals, either those who were 'American' for two or three generations (e.g. the financier and industrialist J. P. Morgan) or those who were the children of impoverished European parents who made the crossing in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (e.g. J.D.Rockefeller, Jr., W.R. Hearst (Cashman 1988)). Both groups of people proved to be aggressive collectors of antiquities. J.P. Morgan was perhaps the first of the breed and he travelled extensively through Europe purchasing paintings, sculpture and other objects (Dalton 1906; 1907). It was not long before this trend included the purchase of parts of European buildings (doors, fireplaces, timber panelling) and then entire buildings, which were dismantled, shipped to America and re-assembled (Agecroft Hall, Warwick Priory, (below page 116), Bradenstoke Priory tithe barn - although most of this latter building is still in crates in California, (*SPAB News* 19 (3) 1998:12-15)). This was not solely a plundering of Europe and was to include the removal of objects and architectural elements from historic buildings in America - particularly Charleston, South Carolina (McGimsey III et al 1984: 118; Myrick Howard 1988: 115). It may be that there are several senses of identity being defined by such actions: identity as a new American, with 'new' money, seeking to use 'old' and 'genteel' culture as a validation of status,

both in terms of the fact that personal wealth can buy the object, but also through the associations attached to the object. Perhaps an identity as an old, formerly impoverished 'European' now able to acquire hitherto exclusive elements of 'old' culture.

The developing sense of identity and purpose was national as well as personal (Bodnar 1992; Gero and Root 1996; Macmillan 2001) and was reflected in a growth of interest in the national, but largely colonial, past (Bond 1904). Charleston produced the first schedule of preservation laws in the U.S.A., 'zoning' regulations to create the first historic district and an urban preservation society - the Preservation Society of Charleston (Brown Morton III 1987:159-160; Myrick Howard 1987:115). The first Federal ancient monuments act was passed in 1906 (the Antiquities Act – an *Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities* (Mc Gimsey III and Davis 1984; Bodnar 1992; Meskell 2002a: 568)) and The Society for the Protection of New England Antiquities (SPNEA) was created in 1910 (Brown Morton III 1988: 153). The first moves to recreate the colonial capital at Williamsburg, Virginia began in 1913 (financed by Rockefeller (Brown Morton III 1988:158–159; Tramosch 1994)) followed three years later by the founding of the National Park Service (Bodnar 1992; Jessup 1999; Meskell 2002a: 568).

The activities of the American collectors started to generate concerns in England almost immediately, particularly in the early years of the 1900s - although it should be stated that some owners of monuments and historic houses were extremely pleased that American millionaires were taking an interest in their property and moveables. Although Stonehenge had been threatened by demolition and exportation, it was the case of Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire (Davies 1913a: 594; Curzon Archive MSS Eur F 112/722-729) which generated the largest amount of newspaper coverage.

Having fallen on hard times and without heirs, Lord Fortescue sold the Tattershall Estate to Mr. Albert Ball of Nottingham in 1910, although it later transpired that the actual purchaser was a Mr. Hooley who wished to partition the estate. He in turn became bankrupt and the castle passed to a Lincoln bank (to which the estate was mortgaged) and it was subsequently resold in 1911 to an American syndicate, which intended to demolish the castle and move it to America. The mantelpieces and

fireplaces from the castle were sold separately and were bought by a London firm of art dealers, then sold to a German dealer who had partners in America, where it had been intended to sell them (Curzon Archive MSS Eur F 112/726).

Initially the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest attempted to buy the castle but was unable to raise the necessary funds; it then fell to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, latterly the Governor of India, to step in and buy the castle in the remaining twenty-four hours before the closure of the American syndicate deal. In the introduction to his book on Tattershall, Curzon stated his reasons for purchasing the castle:

'It was exclusively in the national interest that I stepped in and became the owner of the place. Having bought it, I then purchased the immediately surrounding land in order to facilitate the work of restoration, which I am anxious to take in hand...I hope that the Castle, with its Keep and double moat and courtyard, will be placed in a condition that will give to the public a more correct idea than can anywhere else be found in this country of our English fortress mansion at the end of the Wars of the Roses. The place will be shown to the public under reasonable conditions, and will I doubt not become one of the show sights of the North of England.'

(Kedleston and Avray Tipping 1929: 4)

Once the future of the castle was secure, Curzon then turned his attention to the mantelpieces and fireplaces which he located still in store. Although they were undamaged and capable of being reinstated Curzon was unable to purchase them, but left it to a conservation-minded syndicate (of which he was part) to buy them back. MSS Eur F 112/722–729 contains a scrap-book collection of the contemporary newspaper coverage of the near loss and opening of the site from a wide spectrum of papers from *Country Life* to the *Yorkshire Post*, *Nottingham Guardian* and *The Times*. These newspaper clippings are accompanied by others, chiefly from the Letters column of *The Times*, giving further examples of buildings and building elements lost, or in the process of sale, to America (e.g. August 2nd, 1912, the oak dining room at Leigh Hall, Essex)(2). In 1917 Curzon purchased the entire Bodiam Castle (Sussex) estate to protect it 'from the sacrilegious hands of the speculator' (MSS Eur F112/724).

Schomberg McDonnell's address to the Society of Antiquaries in 1911 contained a brief but alarming review of the situation with regards to America:

'One is very apt to think that because one mentions a building in a report or schedule that therefore that building is safe. I believe the exact contrary to be the case, because in these days of millionaires and unscrupulous dealers everything of antiquity which is mentioned or carefully pointed out stands in the very greatest danger. The peril from America is, I think, immense. It was only the other day that we heard a rumour, happily unfounded, that some rich American had bought a beautiful castle in the Midlands, and was about to transport it stone by stone to the United States. Lest people think that this is an exaggeration and that it is not likely to happen, may I point out that it has happened before now.'

(McDonnell 1911:17).

This fear of the American millionaire remained in the mind throughout the discussions and readings of the 1913 Act. The MP Noel Buxton reiterated the point when he asked the Prime Minister whether the Bill dealing with the preservation of ancient monuments will 'secure from destruction and exportation' those buildings scheduled by the Royal Commission 'as being worthy of preservation' (20th March, 1912, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 1909 - 18*, III, V. Fifth Series, Vols. XXII-XL).

One positive aspect of the American threat was that it encouraged those debating the ancient monument to think about 'value' and the reasons why evidence of the past was worth conserving (Davies 1913a). For some people a monument had a monetary value, which was provided by an American millionaire. For others, monuments had educational, emotional, aesthetic and art historic values representing national origins and cultural development (*The Builder* 1907, October 19th: 401–402; Maxwell 1908; Davies 1913a:549-550). But 'value' remained firmly attached to fabric. This line of thinking stressed that historic structures had survived, were becoming rare and were at risk from utilitarian threats that proposed to replace them with objects of lesser worth and aesthetic quality. Thus the preferred values were inherent in the fabric and its antiquity rather than being critically defined, whilst some values, particularly the 'new' and nationally important values of education and access were considered to be of higher rank than others (emotional). The critically significant corollary of this debate was a crystallization of the view that legal protection should be extended to include a

wider range of structures, and in some cases to those still in use (*JRIBA* 1910 17 (3rd series): 77). That monuments were understood to have a 'value' was important in its own right because the conservation of monuments could then compete with utilitarian or commercial values. However, it was also recognised by some that economics had a role in the survival of buildings: money to preserve a structure was often in short supply and this led some to discuss the need to allow adaptation of historic buildings to permit 'work-a-day uses' (*SPAB Annual Report* 1911:5–6) and therefore there would have been a necessity to consider what were the most significant parts of particular structures to enable continuing 'use'. Thus there seems always to have been a tension between the idea of use-full and use-less structures, although the idea of adaptive reuse is only now common-currency, whilst the reawakening of ancient monuments will be discussed below (page 216). The debate about value and use was principally held in the reports pages of the various learned societies and in the letters columns of *The Times*, but included the societies, diocesan groups and local authorities. Diocesan groups were criticised for failing to control restoration and repair schemes (particularly the restoration of the west front of Exeter Cathedral (*SPAB Annual Report* 1910:23–24), the original fabric of which was claimed to be 'greater than a Holbein' (*The Times* 17th May, 1909) whilst there was growing awareness of the developing structural problems of Winchester Cathedral in 1907 (*The Builder* October 19th, 1907:401– 402; Maxwell 1908)). Numerous local authorities were criticised for failing to protect their own or privately owned historic structures against road schemes (Whitgift Hospital, Croydon, Surrey; *SPAB Annual Report* 1910: 17–18; *JRIBA* 1910, 17, 3rd series: 75–77) or house building projects (such as the proposed demolition of part of the thirteenth century Edward I defences, Berwick-on-Tweed; *The Builder* March 14th, 1908: 295, and July 19th, 1912:74-75; *SPAB Annual Report* 31, June, 1908:92-103).

Despite these problems, the Office of Works believed at this time that a partnership based on central expertise and educated local authorities was the best basis for the preservation of ancient monuments (above page 68-69; Davies 1913a: 551), and as we shall see in the following section, the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act attempted to make such a partnership possible.

3. The 1913 Ancient Monuments Act.

Three Ancient Monuments Bills were introduced into the House of Lords in 1912. One was a Government Bill introduced by Lord Beauchamp ('The Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act'). The second, 'The Ancient Monuments Protection Bill' was introduced to the House of Commons by Mr Russell Rea, MP at the prompting of the National Trust, the main object of which was to prevent the occurrence of events similar to those at Tattershall Castle. The third was 'The Ancient Monuments Protection (No.2) Bill', introduced to the Commons by Mr. Noel Buxton, MP. All the relevant societies and interest groups were able to consider the three Bills and thereafter propose support for, or suggest amendments to (based on ideas in the other two bills) a favoured bill.

The principal improvements to the earlier legislation contained in the Bills were as follows:

- (i) the creation of an Ancient Monuments Board consisting of 'experts' drawn from the most prestigious societies, 'who could command the confidence of the public'. One of the express reasons for doing this was to avoid the example of French experience where it appeared that its eminent societies were continually at loggerheads with the government department responsible for ancient monuments.
- (ii) these Boards to sit in England, Wales and Scotland.
- (ii) an increase in the number of Inspectors of Ancient Monuments to cover England, Scotland and Wales, thus creating an 'Inspectorate'.
- (iii) the introduction of Preservation Orders, whereby the Commissioners of Works might, being so advised by the Ancient Monuments Board, take into its protection any monument in danger of destruction, removal or damage, after due process.
- (iv) Commissioners to have the power to purchase monuments, although this was also described as the right of pre-emption, 'instead of allowing the monument which may be of real value and interest to be carried out of the country and set up somewhere abroad'.
- (v) owners to give a period of notice to the Commissioners of any intention to destroy or alter a monument. This was a principal part of No. 2 Bill.

- (vi) the right of public access to guardianship monuments.
- (vii) two clauses which introduced the idea of setting and context for the first time by allowing local authorities to make or relax byelaws dealing with the placement of advertising boards and replacement structures.

The draft bills were a significant improvement on what had gone before as they also included reference to the protection of ecclesiastical property in use, and stressed the inclusion of church plate 'and other articles of historical and artistic interest as belong to a municipal corporation' (*JRIBA* 20 1913: 57) in the new legislative scheme. When the Government Bill was presented in the Lords there was again much discussion of the definition of the word 'monument', Lord Burghclere considered that a monument was not necessarily a building, structure, etc., 'but anything which has historic and artistic interest, moveable or immovable' (House of Lords, 30th April, 1912).

The discussion in the Lords centred on the principle of definition of the monument and the mechanism by which the state could intervene in private affairs. Lord Curzon informed the House that churches and cathedrals would be included in the scope of protection by the creation of a link between the churches and the Advisory Board. Referring to the *Ancient Monuments Act (India)* of 1904 (Davies 1913a: 603), he told the House that even in a country as sensitive as India about anything connected with religious buildings, there had not been one murmur of opposition or case of injustice, 'nothing but satisfaction at the operation of the Act' (House of Lords, 30th April, 1912). If it was true of India, then the Bishops had nothing to fear.

The issue of America and American millionaires was an abiding part of the discussion as it led to more discussion about the mechanism of government involvement. Lord Eversley (who introduced the National Trust sponsored Bill to the Lords) remembered that the only threat to ancient monuments which existed in 1882 was the threat of neglect by the owner - and that largely due to ignorance. This had been replaced by the threat of the American millionaire who wanted to purchase monuments and ship them to America; therefore an owner should not be allowed to sell out of the country. Curzon responded that an owner should be allowed to sell to whoever 'providing that the monument is properly looked after'. But the question remained as how to establish 'value' and the role of the state in opposing such exportation. Lord Eversley

indicated that a financial value based on the Finance Act (the yard-stick for Government compensation and valuation) would be small, unlike the price to be obtained from a millionaire. Therefore the basis of value had to be reviewed - not least by the Inland Revenue. This question was further elaborated by Curzon who had become a trustee of the National Gallery in 1911; his first act there was to create a committee to investigate matters concerning the national art collections and their retention in Britain (Gilmour 1994). Thus the matter for debate embraced notions of individual and national value and the definition of 'monument'. Even those who thought of monuments as documents or works of art did not draw a complete correlation between the two forms: monuments remained 'use-full' or 'use-less' and the former, unlike a book or painting, could be changed. It was inevitable that any attempt to clarify legal details about value would consider in detail its most practical aspect – how to determine financial value – in order to debate issues such as compensation. However, throughout the debates value remained fabric-specific.

Following discussions in Parliament and with the various societies, it was considered that the Government Bill alone should proceed to Committee stage in November 1912.

The draft Bill was considered by a joint committee drawn from the Lords and Commons who listened to evidence requested from various experts, covering most aspects of the historic environment - ancient monuments, scheduling, churches, portable antiquities, education and that group of historic buildings which we would now call listed buildings (*Joint Select Committee Report, 7th November, 1912*, HMSO No. 360).

The *Joint Select Committee Report 1912* (JSCR 1912) commenced with a number of articles or propositions outlining the position of the committee, followed by the Minutes of Evidence, being the questions from the committee and the responses. Many of the earlier arguments concerning the intrusion by the state into private affairs were revisited, but this time with greater emphasis on the mechanisms for achieving the right balance. Similarly the case of the damaging restoration of St. Albans Abbey was re-examined ('what was done was done in direct defiance of all the educated wishes of the country' (JSCR 1912: Article 16)) to consider ways in which greater

control could be exercised over church authorities, but also to illustrate the feeling that churches and cathedrals were of national interest and not to be left to vicars and churchwardens who were, according to Curzon's submission, 'accidental and temporary trustees' (JSCR 1912: Article 16:126). Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education was brought before the committee to expound on the benefits to schoolchildren of access to ancient monuments. He illustrated their potential role by reference to the new Education Codes (Article 44b) which encouraged the use of ancient monuments and requested that books and guide books to the monuments were to be written by Education Inspectors. This fact should be considered alongside the assertion in the RCHME First Interim Report (above page 80) that their reports should be sent to the schoolmasters in each parish, which suggests that there was a concerted effort to use monuments and historic buildings to define national identity (Hingley 2000b).

The issue of historic buildings and the controls which should apply to them was a matter of some discussion. On the one hand the question was asked what would happen should one of the units which comprised The Rows in Chester be destroyed by some accident: was there a method by which the local authority could control what was put back in its place? The reply came that although it was desirable that a building should conform architecturally to its context and the streetscape, existing law stated only that the owner must comply with all aspects of public safety legislation and could not construct a building which would overhang a public thoroughfare. Set against this discussion was a second debate which argued that public opinion was probably not yet ready for state and local authorities to intervene in private property rights in such a manner - for, it was argued, as long as the replacement building at The Rows conformed to existing legislation what more could anyone do to demand that the building be constructed in any other way? (JSCR 1912: Articles 1599-1605).

Charles Peers was called twice before the committee (Peers Archive XVIII/iii) and asked for the Office of Works' view about local authority involvement in ancient monuments and historic buildings. He suggested that not only should the Inspectorate act as a conduit between the Advisory Board and the County Councils, but that the Councils should also be provided with grant aid and the power to levy a rate to take over and manage local monuments. Representatives of the County

Councils had already asked that the Bill should contain provision for them to levy a rate in order to take care of their local monuments. However, the role of the local authorities was far from clear or agreed. Peers felt that inter-connection between central government and local authority was the most suitable way to overcome the reservations of owners who believed that local authorities were 'temporary' bodies, (unlike a government office) with a propensity to indulge in short-term 'politicking' (JSCR 1912: Article 1692). Opposition to local authority involvement was epitomised by the Duke of Rutland (one of the Lords consulted) who commented,

'If you have local bodies you will get some men upon them who will go round the country and begin to meddle. I would have nothing done except on the advice of an independent body'.

(JSCR 1912: Article 1693)

The issue of 'the schedule' and what should be included on such a list was discussed at great length (JSCR 1912: Articles 1628-1629). Even though Peers had already suggested that particular monuments (e.g. Rievaulx Abbey, Whitby Abbey) should be specifically identified for inclusion on the list (as had Pitt-Rivers with regards to prehistoric sites), there was little to suggest that the aim was a National Collection, although the idea of exemplar sites had been discussed by Peers in 1911 (above page 86). Peers suggested that monuments were to be identified by the Inspectorate and County Councils working together, with the result that two Schedules would be created; one a list of monuments *provisionally* accepted as suitable for guardianship (e.g. Rievaulx Abbey in 1915) and the other a list of those *actually* accepted (e.g. the Abbot's Fish House, Meare), thereby - quite consciously - creating two classes of monuments, and echoing the distinction made by the Royal Commission (above page 80). Peers was attempting to make a simple distinction between those monuments which were on the Schedule as opposed to those which were considered as possible or desirable candidates, but there was a considerable difference between Rievaulx Abbey and the Abbot's Fish House; the latter building was in state care because the owner had offered it to the state and it had been accepted. However, this indicates that those monuments in guardianship were in some degree, random selections. Similarly Peers was aware that not enough was known about various categories of site and he attempted to define an archaeological research policy (Peers 1929 and below page 158), which was to feed into the Schedules and provide some clarity

about which sites were to be protected. In his evidence Schomberg McDonnell (the First Secretary to the Ancient Monuments Department) gave further elaboration to the problems of scheduling, particularly in the way that monuments were classified. Some monuments, such as Rievaulx were self-evidently of 'national' importance, but others were nationally important because they were distinctive of a particular region or style - such as bastles - and were therefore suitable for scheduling (JSCR 1912: Article 1575). This suggests that there was some tension between national and local. As there were no regional archaeologists employed by local authorities it must be presumed that local societies were expected to nominate items of regional or local distinctiveness, but it is not clear how such ideas would have been passed up to the Office of Works, and as we shall see with regard to Dean Street, Soho (page 114) legal problems would have been faced over the idea of 'national importance'.

Although Lord Curzon was in the Lords at the introduction of the Bill, he did not attend the Joint Committee, preferring to submit a written statement. His concerns were consistent with the other contributors, but he went to greater lengths to demand the inclusion within the Schedule of ecclesiastical buildings, 'ancient buildings of universities or public schools', and moveable objects.

The Bill became the *Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1913* (AMCAA 1913). In its final form the Act contained some but not all the desired elements, but one aspect was of importance: an element of compulsion had been introduced – that is the owner of a monument in guardianship was obliged to apply to the Commissioner of Works for permission to alter or demolish the property.

Following appeals by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Joint Select Committee meetings, Church of England ecclesiastical buildings remained exempt from control. The condition for allowing this exemption was the assurance by the Church of England that it would demonstrate good conduct with regard to the repair of buildings designated for worship, and to this end would create Diocesan Advisory Councils (DACs) to advise on alterations and repairs through a more efficient faculty jurisdiction system. The idea of Ecclesiastical Exemption (exemption from the need to apply for Listed Building Consent, Conservation Area consent etc.) was established as a direct result of the debates surrounding the AMCAA 1913 and is now enshrined

in Section 60 of the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act, 1990* (DoE 1990c) and Section 8 of PPG 15 *Planning and the Historic Environment* (DoE 1994c) (Kennet 1972: 101; Fawcett 1976: 20; Bianco 1993: 90-92; DNH/Cadw 1994; Pickard 1996: 64–66). By 1923, 31 of the 38 dioceses had set up such DACs.

The AMCAA 1913 introduced the Preservation Order (Davies 1913a:604), by which a monument considered to be of national importance by the Ancient Monuments Boards and considered to be at risk through neglect, damage or injudicious treatment could be placed under the protection of the Commissioners. Once a Preservation Order was in place no works could be conducted on site except with the express consent of the Commissioners of Works and if neglect continued, the Commissioners (with the consent of Treasury) could make themselves guardians of the monument. However, each Preservation Order had to be confirmed by Parliament and was therefore open to the vagaries of political decision-making, as will be discussed below in the example of 75, Dean Street, Soho (page 114).

Existing arrangements were confirmed and modified as necessary: an Inspectorate was created, answerable to new Ancient Monuments Boards (Davies 1913a: 604-605) in England, Scotland and Wales, consisting of representatives from the principal antiquarian societies (and one member from the Board of Education) and the Ancient Monuments department within the Office of Works was given formal recognition. The definition of an ancient monument was redrafted to the effect that an ancient monument was any structure or erection, unoccupied except for the presence of a caretaker and not including ecclesiastical property in use,

‘the preservation of which is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, architectural, traditional, artistic, or archaeological interest attaching thereto, and the site of any such monument, or of any remains thereof; and any part of the adjoining land which may be required for the purpose of fencing, covering in, or otherwise preserving the monument from injury, and also includes the means of access thereto.’

(AMCAA 1913, Section 22)

The definition of an ‘ancient monument’ was thus quite broad and could seemingly include a collection of standing stones, a ruined medieval abbey and a roofed, but

empty Georgian town-house. The proviso was that the structure could not be occupied by anyone other than a caretaker (AMCAA 1913, Section 12.3). Thus there was an attempt to include more than just ruins, but the fundamental distinction between structures perceived to be 'use-full' and 'use-less' remained.

An intention of the AMCAA 1913 was to spread the balance of care between central government and local authorities with many of the provisions identified in the Act made applicable to both bodies, but the Ancient Monument Board was identified as the primary advisory body. The Inspectors reported to them, but were to liaise with the County Councils, although as stated above (page 105) the lack of any local authority archaeologists suggests that little thought had been given to the mechanism of partnership between central and local authority. Expertise was to remain with central authority. The Commissioners and local authorities could purchase any ancient monument should they wish, whilst any individual could bequest a monument to either body, which would then take on the duty of guardians. The Commissioners and local authorities could receive voluntary contributions for the maintenance of ancient monuments and transfer guardianship monuments between themselves. A local authority could, if it thought fit, and at the request of the owner, 'undertake or contribute towards the cost of preserving, maintaining and managing any monument' (AMCAA 1913, Section 11), whether they were guardians or not.

The mention of financial assistance to owners (AMCAA 1913, Section 11 and above, page 103) is significant, but curious in that only the local authority was seen as a grantor, and there had been reservations about the impartiality of such bodies (above page 104). It may be the case that Lubbock's initial reservation about the possible high cost of repair to medieval structures was still an issue for government, but we will see later in this chapter that state grant aid was discussed in 1920 (page 120) and in Chapter Four that grant aid to owners of buildings in use became an important part of state control in Cyprus.

The issues surrounding the replacement of historic buildings (as per the Chester discussion) were clarified in Section 18 of the AMCAA 1913 by allowing local authorities the freedom to relax byelaws that would have prevented the construction of buildings of a 'style of architecture in harmony with other buildings of artistic merit

existing in the locality', provided that they were erected with 'due regard to safety from fire and to sanitation'. Thus the issue of local character and distinctiveness was considered critically important.

Clearly, the 1913 Act attempted to resolve some long-standing problems and although the position of the Inspectorate was confirmed, its role moved between that of policeman and facilitator. The advice of Office of Works staff was promised to all those who requested it whether their monument was scheduled or not (AMCAA 1913, Section 15.3), a service designed to address the long-standing issue of creating good owners (above page 52). We will see in Chapter Five that the terms 'facilitator' and 'advocate' are considered new concepts even though it is clear that the substance of Section 15.3 of the AMCAA 1913 was repeated in the *National Heritage Act* (DNH 1983) whereby the Commission 'may give advice to any person in relation to ancient monuments, historic buildings and conservation areas situated in England, whether or not they have been consulted' (*National Heritage Act* 1983, Section 33.2(a)).

The new values of education and access – the public dimension of ancient monuments - were partially addressed in AMCAA 1913 (Section 13) by the condition that the public would be given access to any monument of which the Commissioners or local authorities were owners – subject to particular opening times, but the issue of guide-books and role of Education Inspectors was omitted from the Act and left for the Office to deal with in its own way. Many of the deeds of guardianship drawn up between owners and the Commissioners were to contain statements about access. Several owners stipulated that local people were to receive the right of free access to the monument, as at Pickering Castle, North Yorkshire (Pickering Castle, English Heritage Deed Packet File De16283/01) (3) and some owners were to discourage opening sites on particular days. The Fevershams (owners of Rievaulx Abbey) discouraged opening on Sundays, Christmas Day and Good Friday, forbade construction of shops and 'booths' on the monument and requested that Lady Feversham and her guests were to have free access to the site (PRO Work 14/786, Rievaulx Abbey).

3.1 After the introduction of the Bill, 1913–1939: the development of Peers' approach to monument care.

By 1914 the Ancient Monuments Division of the Office of Works had established a way of working that placed an emphasis on central control. The appendices of the Inspector's annual reports contain notes on the many experiments put in place to understand decay and preservation processes, as well as the instructions issued to all foremen. The value of constant supervision was recognized, which could 'only be obtained by a closely organised system of control, every workman being in direct touch with the Department through the foreman and the Clerk of Works' (*Report of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the year ending 31st March, 1913*, PRO Work 14/2470). Peers stated that the results achieved 'can only be obtained by keeping the management of every detail in the hands of the Board through a system of direct labour' (*ibid*:4). However, Lord Beauchamp's introduction to that report made it clear that the belief was that the new British legislation had avoided the pitfalls of the French experience, whereby in ignoring the opinions of unofficial experts the French officials had found themselves in a position where good preservation work 'is watched in a critical spirit by the instructed public' (*ibid*:3). The collaboration between state, local authority and antiquarians was considered the only correct option. What is not clear is when and why this consensus began to disintegrate, but it is likely that it began with disagreements over 'treatment' and the consolidation of expertise solely in the hands of the Office of Works. We have seen that some commentators felt that intervention in the private realm could only be countenanced if it was undertaken by the state (above page 104) rather than local authorities, but there does not seem to have been an attempt to create mechanisms by which local authorities could be meaningfully involved in matters of private ownership relating to the management of ancient monuments. We will see that the consolidation of expertise was also brought about by legal difficulties (pages 114-119). In the next section I will describe what this expertise was and the way it manifested itself and this will be followed by examination of those areas where the 1913 Act did not live up to expectations.

One of the first references in Britain to monuments as either 'living' or 'dead' is Davies (1913a) *'The preservation of ancient monuments'* (4). According to Davies, when a monument is 'not fulfilling the purpose for which it was built' (Davies 1913a: 596) the

only reason for preserving it is as an illustration of artistic and historic development and only those works required for maintenance should be done to preserve it – thus ruined buildings became object lessons, and were not permitted to develop or change. This definition adds to that distinction conceived by Freeman and Scott (above page 52) and agreed by later practitioners such as Caroe (1902).

Peers' view of how material evidence of the past should be presented is most explicitly stated in the question and answer section following Forsyth's 'Repair of ancient buildings' paper in the *Architectural Journal* (Forsyth 1914); Peers was to comment,

'Buildings which are in use are still adding to their history; they are alive. Buildings which are in ruin are dead; their history is ended. There is all the difference in the world in their treatment. When a building is a ruin, you must do your best to preserve all that is left of it by every means in your power - by pointing, and grouting. Your course in regard to this is clear. When, however, you come to a building which is being used as a dwelling-house, or a church, or whatever it is you have a different set of problems. You have to perpetuate it as a living building, one adapted to the use of the present generation, but which has a history to be preserved.'

(Peers in Forsyth 1914: 135)

In his paper *Archaeology and the State* (Clark 1934:420) Graham Clark made the observation that not only were the Inspectorate and machinery for the preservation of ancient monuments very much in the mould of Sir Charles Peers (Peers retired in 1933, the year before Clark's paper), but Peers and Baines together laid down the fundamental principles which guided the Commissioners of Works in the actual work of preservation. Clarke's assessment of the significance of Peers' achievement was part of his thesis on the utility of archaeology in nation building – which clearly was meant to stretch to preservation and the objects of preservation (Carman 1993: 44-47). The influence of Peers and Baines was such that they effectively shaped the way people were to think about the past and conditioned people to think in a particular way about a limited idea of value (Pearson and Sullivan 1995:145). Peers earnestly believed in the idea that historic buildings and monuments were either 'living' or 'dead' and their treatment varied accordingly and although this distinction had been evident

since Gilbert Scott (above page 49) Peers and the Office of Works made it their creed (Forsyth 1914:135–136; Peers 1928; 1931;1933; Baines 1924). The implications of this approach and the way it has subtly shaped current expectations will be discussed in Chapter Five (page 270).

There was thereafter a gradual and increasing distance between the Office of Works and organisations such as the SPAB, whatever the sincerity behind Peers' comment quoted at the head of the chapter and the direction suggested by the AMCAA 1913. There were two particular areas of disagreement with regards to preservation practice: organisations such as SPAB felt that the degree of work undertaken by the Office of Works was over-restoration and verged on the brutal (Forsyth 1914:133–134), whilst the engineering approach to works of preservation (whereby fabric was dismantled and laced together by hidden supports) was dishonest and diminished the authenticity of the structure (Forsyth 1914:133–134). The accusation of over-restoration was based on the belief that it happened *because* the Office of Works was a government department and therefore subject to the demands of annual budgeting and cost-effectiveness – that its response was institutionalized, an idea about heritage management that will be explored below in a contemporary context (page 248). Peers felt that the 'dishonesty' was acceptable as he believed it important to keep the outward appearance of monuments harmonious (Peers 1931: 320;1933: 6). Peers claimed that SPAB-style repair would 'find London a city of stone and leave it a city of tiles and cement', an 'honest' approach, but one that would destroy the harmony of the structure and its context (Forsyth 1914: 136). With regard to the accusation of over-restoration, Peers believed that the work they were doing was 'once in a lifetime work' (Baines 1924: 104; Peers 1931: 325) and therefore as much as possible was to be accomplished within any season. Underlying the criticisms was a belief that although the monuments were treated on an individual basis, the outcome was a structure of a common style, shorn of the qualities that made each monument unique (SPAB File, Whitby Abbey, Letter 26th June, 1922, Charles Thompson to A.R. Powys). The monasteries and castles were the principal resource to Peers; although he recognized the value of the prehistoric monuments and believed that they had an appeal to the imagination of many, that appeal was largely for the archaeologist. Public opinion about the past in general and the Ancient Monuments Acts in particular depended 'on what is to be seen up and down the

country in our castles and monasteries' (Peers 1933:6). If such structures were meant to shape public opinion and the Office of Works itself was an 'institution' it was perhaps inevitable that a common style would emerge, both in terms of appearance and the content of their interpretation.

The clearest explanation of the principles by which the Office worked was stated by William Harvey in *The Builder* of November 10th, 1922: 700-706. Harvey, an architect in the Office of Works, stated that 'the creation of picturesque ruinous compositions' is not the object of the Office of Works - aesthetics was not part of the work. Whereas some, such as the SPAB believed in 'repair by building' (the insertion of new buttresses or infillings as supports to historic fabric), the Historic Buildings Branch aims at,

'conserving the beauty and the stability of the old buildings in its charge without involving the removal or alteration of a single old stone or the addition of a single new one, except upon obvious structural necessity. The monuments are allowed to tell their own story without the intrusion of modern architectural design, whether good or bad, affecting the question.'

(Harvey 1922: 706).

Harvey used this publication to respond to the accusations that the Office of Works 'soullessly' regarded every monument in the same light, and from the standpoint of the engineer rather than the architect, by pointing to the monuments and the works of repair which 'speak for themselves' as being far in advance of anything done on the continent. The kernel of Harvey's defence was that the Office of Works had learnt from the mistakes of the injudicious restoration of St. Alban's Abbey and similar sites, where 'architectural impertinence' had triumphed over the integrity of the fabric. What was required in historic building work was the 'entire suppression of the architect's personality', a sort of anonymity that was the architectural equivalent of scientific objectivity.

This desire to right the wrongs of St. Alban's and preserve medieval authenticity had other consequences, chiefly the removal from ruined sites of anything not of the period of the principal buildings. Although the intention was to preserve the monument in its 'as found' condition, the practice was to intervene on a considerable

scale to produce a monument of a specific period, but then not only not allow it to develop, but obscure or remove any later use. This stripping away of a site was also considered to be part of the concept of the historical document, because rather than being understood as the removal of pages, the stripping away of later material revealed the most important document, allowing it to speak for itself. Such a view of the past also tends to conceive of the past as somehow 'other', surviving isolated from present-day values, but we have seen that the structures were believed by Peers to have a function in the present in terms of education and as shapers of public opinion (above page 86).

The tension between past and present and the creation of the past in the present has become one of the central issues in the current debate about archaeological theory-making and will be explored in Chapter Five, but we have already seen with reference to Ireland (page 43) that past and present were clearly inter-related in people's minds, but it is also clear that the relevance and implications of such experiences were only partially understood. Medieval buildings were considered important and seen as symbols of national identity, but in England this relationship seems to remain largely sub-conscious and rarely overt. Monuments were being preserved in an anonymous style and presented using the best engineering and objective academic solutions. Decisions made about which buildings to preserve were not seen as choices or a conflict of values to be debated on site, but rather a predetermined course of action, the only variable being the likelihood of the Treasury to financially support those decisions. On being taken into guardianship the sites were 'cleared' of all accumulated deposits - principally those of the post-medieval and early modern periods - and the fabric was then 'preserved', with all the effort put in to defining the plan of the building. The closely mown lawns completed the sense of anonymity and were the perfect setting for the monument as object. Peers was to write before his retirement,

'The recovery and demonstration of its plan adds enormous significance to an abandoned building, and though it can never recall it to life it can show to all and sundry what that life has been. Where much still remains the task is simpler, and while, as always, the machinery of repair, even reinstatement, must remain unobtrusive, the cumulative effect of a goodly measure of its architectural beauty, and set reverently in a simple setting of grass lawns, can hardly fail of its appeal.'

(Peers 1933: 6).

Although the preservation and presentation of the guardianship sites was the main area of success for the Office of Works, the AMCAA 1913 and the seeming consensus it heralded were challenged almost as soon as it was passed (below page 114). The challenges were not addressed to the principle of preservation, but to those issues of definition that were discussed by the Joint Select Committee, and were to remain at the periphery of the AMCAA 1913: what constituted an ancient monument, how could they be defined on the ground and how should they be managed? Three examples of these particular issues are presented below to illustrate the different problems faced by the Office of Works.

In 1914 a Preservation Order was placed on an empty, largely Georgian house at 75, Dean Street, Soho to prevent its demolition (PRO Work 14/203). The house was believed to have been built in 1697 and believed to have been the home of James Thornhill, court painter to George I (known to have designed the paintings for the dome of St. Paul's and Greenwich Hospital). The first floor of the property was decorated with paintings believed to be by Thornhill, whose son-in-law was Hogarth. The owner of the property had attempted to find purchasers for the property in 1912, but failing in this made it known that he would demolish the building. The Preservation Order issued by the Office of Works, dated January 16th, 1914, was the first such Order to be served and was put before a Select Committee of the House of Lords for confirmation in May 1914, with Peers and representatives of the SPAB giving evidence (PRO Work 14/203). The newspaper coverage, e.g. *The Times* (19th January) and *Daily Mail* (23rd May) was fully supportive of the measure. Peers revealed that he considered the building to be of national importance for its architectural and artistic merit, but also because it was evidence of the expansion of London into 'empty' areas at the end of the seventeenth century. However, the House of Lords did not confirm the Order and awarded costs to the owner. The Lords' summation was never revealed, and the Office of Works was led to assume that it failed on two counts: that the Preservation Order was unjust, and that the Lord's did not believe the building to be of national importance.

The decision caused considerable panic in the Office of Works, because they felt that

no Preservation Order for the protection of a monument would ever be confirmed by Parliament 'unless it [the monument] was of very exceptional character' (Memo 26th May, 1914 from Lionel Earle, First Secretary of the Commissioner's of Works). The Office of Works considered making a public appeal against the decision because they felt that any owner of an ancient monument could threaten a site with demolition. They were only dissuaded against this by Lord Burghclere (Chairman of the Commissioners of the RCHM) who argued that a public appeal would attract unfavourable attention to the decision from owners. Burghclere added that an appeal might not only force the Lords to 'dig in', but might lead to unfavourable comments being made about the meaning of 'national importance', which, coming so soon after the passage of the AMCAA 1913 could be politically damaging.

To Peers and the Office of Works the building fell within the definition of an ancient monument, but they had concerns on a number of counts (PRO Work 14/203). Peers was concerned that the building had been recently occupied and could be made habitable in the future, which would then lead to its removal from the Schedule. When he attempted to find purchasers, Peers had to make it clear that if the Preservation Order was confirmed, the prospective purchaser would have to 'use' an 'ancient monument', which would be preserved, rather than adapted for 'active' use. This was to limit the number and type of potential purchasers and Peers had hoped that one of the arts and crafts societies might purchase the building.

At the Select Committee hearing Peers had to admit that the historical detail had not been confirmed, and as far as the rent book for the house was concerned it was revealed that there was no mention of Thornhill or Hogarth, which may well have undermined his case, although the wall paintings were still believed to have been executed by Thornhill. How then was national importance to be defined for structures and materials that were not self-evidently significant? After the First World War the building was dismantled and its staircase shipped to the United States to be reconstructed in the Chicago Art Institute (*SPAB Annual Report* 1914: 34; Fawcett 1976: 19–20).

The context of an ancient monument remained open to debate. Quarrying for stone took place in a number of areas close to Hadrian's Wall. Following the passage of the

AMCAA 1913 stone quarrying continued because the guardianship area could not be extended to include that which we would now understand as its 'setting'. This shortcoming of the AMCAA 1913 was rectified by the *Ancient Monuments Act 1931*, which authorized local authorities to set up preservation schemes to 'preserve the amenities of any ancient monument' (known as 'a preservation scheme'), whereby 'any area comprising or adjacent to the site of the monument' as defined by the Commissioners (*Ancient Monuments Act 1931*, Section 1) could be subject to severe planning controls (Fawcett 1976: 21). But this Act only applied to those monuments identified after 1931 – it was not retrospective. However the Hadrian's Wall problem was only secured by the personal wealth of a member of the public who provided another source of stone, but the larger issue of local authority care of ancient monuments remained problematic because of the continued failure to provide the necessary professional infrastructure.

In 1925 came the problem of Warwick Priory (SPAB File, Warwick Priory; PRO Work 14/552 Warwick Priory: Proposed Demolition) that was to highlight the lack of cohesion between state and local authority. Originally founded in the medieval period, the standing fabric was largely late medieval and Tudor, but was sold by the owner (Mr. George Lloyd), to the American millionaire Alexander Weddell (a United States ambassador), whereupon it was dismantled, shipped to America, rebuilt in a suburb of Richmond, Virginia and renamed Virginia House (Fig. 1). This case generated considerable public outrage, as it appeared to be further evidence of the fragility of the nation's heritage. The owner had not lived in the house for approximately ten years, but during this time had paid all rates and taxes on the property and set about finding a purchaser or tenant. Lloyd offered the building to the Bishop of Coventry for use as a palace at the nominal rent of one shilling per annum. After this offer was refused Lloyd approached the Corporation of Warwick in the hope that they would acquire the building for use as a museum. During this period the SPAB were made aware of the problem and they attempted to act as broker between the parties. Appeal was made to the Commissioners of Works when it was becoming clear that the owner's only option was sale to an American millionaire, but their response was suitably non-committal:

'The First Commissioner is aware that this building is threatened, but he very much regrets that, for financial reasons, he is unable to intervene under the Act [1913

Figure 1.

Virginia House, Richmond Virginia, USA. Formerly Warwick Priory,
Warwick. 1997. Original in colour. K. Emerick.



Ancient Monuments Act]. I may say that the First Commissioner is acutely conscious of the loss which the district would suffer by the loss of this fine old mansion. He very much hopes that a local effort will be made to save it, and has appealed to the Mayor of Warwick to use his influence to this end.'

(PRO Work 14/552, Memo)

Lloyd sold the internal fixtures and fittings and then made ready to demolish it. A final appeal by the SPAB resulted in a statement from Lloyd to the effect that having paid rates and taxes on the building when empty 'for him to have maintained the building in the interests of the people of England he felt would be unjust to him, as already he paid his contribution to the revenue' (SPAB File, Warwick Priory, letter from A.R. Powys, 19th October, 1925). The building was demolished, crated and sent to America.

Unfortunately for Warwick Priory, this was the *only* scheme available as the various authorities in England had failed to act, leaving the public impression that the building was being 'poached' by Americans. In a memo of 22nd June, 1925 Peers stated that the Ancient Monuments Board had not recommended Scheduling, and was clearly concerned that the Dean Street problem was about to reoccur. Peers acknowledged that the Office of Works would not be prepared to issue a Preservation Order, but in this case it was because the house had been so recently occupied as a dwelling house. In a further memo of the 25th July, 1925 to the Mayor of Warwick, Peers stated that if a Preservation Order was applied for and confirmed 'we should find ourselves face to face with the question of purchasing the property', and he felt it useless to contemplate purchase by the state because, 'we cannot in these days expect the Treasury to provide funds for such purchases' (PRO Work 14/552).

Again, it was clearly within the power of the Office of Works to Schedule the site and the owner appears to have wanted a satisfactory resolution: but it is likely that the failure of the Dean Street court case made the Office of Works wary of acquiring or becoming involved with potentially habitable buildings. Even though Warwick Priory was not on the list of monuments to be acquired for guardianship, the Office of Works had been content to accept most structures offered to it; but privately owned, habitable buildings were clearly a different matter from historic buildings in

government ownership. We will see in Chapter Four, however, that in Cyprus privately owned, inhabited buildings were declared ancient monuments. In the Dean Street and Warwick Priory examples local authority involvement would have appeared to be the best solution. The infrastructure of conservation management created by the 1900 and 1913 Acts envisaged cooperation between state and local government, particularly where the local authority was the most suitable trustee, but it is evident that such co-operation was not always forthcoming. The relationship between state and local authority was augmented by the Ancient Monuments Act of 1931, but 'expertise' remained solely within the Office of Works. The result was that the Office of Works and its successors became regarded as an 'office of last resort' - as had been claimed by the Office of Woods and Forests (above page 71) - but it is also likely that the legal set-backs suffered by the Office of Works (and these would have been critically important to a civil service department) and the apparent failure of local authorities made the Office inward looking and less keen on partnerships. Peers was to admit (1928: 74) that local government was 'better in theory than in practice'. We have seen in Chapter Two that public support for preservation still relied on political will and it may be the case that the Office of Works interpreted the setbacks of Dean Street and Warwick Priory as a lack of will to back the AMCAA 1913 against private property issues, particularly in that area of the definition of what constituted an ancient monument. The consequence was a concentration of focus on the structures that were demonstrably ancient monuments.

What attempts were made to clarify the intentions of the AMCAA 1913? In 1920 the Commissioners of Works directed that a committee - the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee (AMAC) - be created to consider amendment, extension and strengthening of the existing legislation (PRO Work 14/2470). As with most government conservation committees their first act was to review existing papers, and second to consider what was done on the continent; in this instance the principal comparison was, again, with France rather than Germany. The chief distinctions between French and British legislation were that in France there was:

- (i) control of moveable objects
- (ii) preservation of scenery where it affects the amenities of monuments
- (iii) financial help to private owners for the preservation of monuments in their possession

(iv) compensation

A further difference, not lost on the Committee, was that the distinction between monuments in use and those no longer used was not recognised 'and we are of the opinion that on logical and practical grounds the advantage is with the Continental conception' (*Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee 1921: 5*).

The conclusion of the Committee was that the AMCAA 1913 did little to encourage owners to offer sites for guardianship or be better owners and it was to be acknowledged that an owner who took care of a nationally important monument was doing a public service: the conception was that neglect or injudicious treatment was due mainly to lack of means and knowledge rather than malice. Therefore 'it would be to the national advantage that not only advice, but actual assistance in the cost of repairs, should be forthcoming, as in France, from public funds' (*Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee 1921:7*). In this sense grant aid was perceived to be a reward for good behaviour, rather than a method of control. The Committee felt that the national and local bodies (recognised by the AMCAA 1913 as possible grant givers) should be brought into line, with the state agreeing to 'advance money for repairs at a low interest or none, repayable in 20 years; and a certain proportion of the necessary expenditure might be borne by public funds' (*ibid: 7*). However, it was recognised by the Committee that local authorities, however sympathetic, would never have the resources to secure all the historical and ancient buildings in a typical town (*ibid: 11*) as was to be demonstrated by the failure to secure Warwick Priory.

Advances were made in the field of compensation, which like the idea of grant aid made inroads into private property rights, as the assumption was that the recipient might then be asked to undertake specific actions at a later date, as was indicated by the earlier reference to practice in certain German states (above page 75). The Committee report stated quite clearly that:

'the Nation has an interest in monuments, apart from, and in some respects superior to, the interest of the owners' and in such cases the exercise of state control will cause a degree of financial loss which may be compensated for by direct or indirect means. Direct compensation could be awarded in the form of terminable annuities over a period of twenty to twenty five years this would result in posterity paying a share for the direct advantage which it would derive from the

preservation of national monuments of historic and artistic interest.'

(Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee 1921: 10).

Debate over the introduction of indirect compensation posed the example of an inhabited house whereby the extension of the AMCAA 1913 to such property might limit the owner's 'freedom of usage and amenities'. Part of the house might become little more than a museum, with rooms maintained in an unusable condition 'as examples of bygone social manners or as things of beauty'. Such limitations on the property owner were to be taken into account in assessing the value of the house for rating, taxation and death duties. The conclusion of the debate on secular buildings in use stated,

'we are of the opinion that the nation is not justified in neglecting to devise some scheme for the protection of secular buildings in use...we recommend that the scope of the existing Act be extended to include buildings actually in use, subject to the payment of compensation as already proposed.'

(Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee 1921: 11-12)

We will see in Chapter Four that the island government in Cyprus not only devised a scheme for protecting secular buildings, but also introduced the principle of state grant aid in 1905. It was clearly the case that there was limited communication between government offices, but even if AMAC had been aware of the situation in Cyprus, the context and rationale of Cypriot legislation was geared towards control of an Imperial colony, where different constraints applied and it will be seen that the use of grant aid was a method of controlling use rather than rewarding good practice.

The AMAC paper further considered the Ancient Monuments Boards created by the AMCAA 1913, which were considered a resounding success in utilising local knowledge and experience and it was suggested that there should also be subsidiary local District Boards (appointed by the Commissioners) in York, Birmingham, Bristol and London consisting of local architects and antiquaries, which would have representation on the Central Board (*Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee 1921: 9*). This success was in contrast to the 'anxiety' still felt about the treatment of religious buildings in use, particularly with regard to parish churches and their 'ornamenta' (*ibid: 9–11*). It was felt that Cathedral churches had no satisfactory

scheme for their legal protection and it was envisaged that provision would be made for them 'by an appropriate extension of the powers of the Ancient Monument Act (*Report of the Ancient Monuments advisory Committee*: 10). The 1926 proposal by the Bishop of London to demolish 19 City churches (*SPAB Annual Report 1927*: 43-44; Fawcett 1976: 20) was to underline the continuing concern about the lack of control on unjustified and injudicious treatment in spite of DAC controls.

Although the suggested improvements represented a considerable advance on what had gone before, particularly in terms of state intervention and the make-up of the historic environment, the stated principles of repair remained the same even though the report's opening comments suggested that the division between 'living' and 'dead' was illogical. As in earlier years, therefore, there was a realization that one part of the historic environment should be able to progress, although the overall tone of that progression was conservative,

'There is a distinction to be made between such buildings [secular buildings in use] and buildings which are ruined and disused. For the latter preservation in the strictest sense of the word is the obvious treatment; but where a building is in actual use full allowance must be made for the fact. A rigid adherence to archaeological details would be out of place, for the history of the building is not finished, and the rights of the present generation must be carefully kept in mind. In such cases above all, it is necessary that State action should take the direction of encouragement and assistance.'

(*Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee 1921*: 11).

The arguments generated by this report continued for several years, but successive governments failed to consider the proposed measures suitable. The problem remained that the governments were not sure if the measures were in advance of or behind public opinion; generally public opinion was exercised when there was a problem - as at Warwick - but otherwise were the experts really right, or were they asking for the impossible? What was suitable in France was not necessarily right for Britain. In short, it seemed too great a risk. Thus the situation was to remain much as it did in 1913 with the art-historical and monumental structures receiving the attention of state support. Change did not become reality until after the Second World War when it was considered suitable for the state to become involved in so direct a

manner in private property. But the view of AMAC was that state and local authorities had to be brought into line (*Report of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee 1921:7*) which suggests that the process and outcome of the preservation of ancient monuments was intended to be a single, unvarying response.

The AMCAA 1913 however, remained in place with limited clarification added over the years until the passage of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (DoE 1979). As late as 1979 the documentation sent out to owners notifying them that an ancient monument on their land was scheduled contained reference to the 1913 Act as its principal legislative buttress (see Appendix One). Buildings in use were finally given protection with the introduction of the *Town and Country Planning Act* (DoH 1944 and 1947). Lists of buildings thought worthy of preservation on account of their architectural or historic interest were created, and owners had to notify the local authority of any intention to alter or demolish the property (Suddards 1988; 1993).

4. Rievaulx Abbey, a case study. Introduction.

The Office of Works took the view that its preservation practice was always that of repair, or preserve 'as found'. Similarly the Office was aware that each site had different repair problems, which meant that different techniques were used by the Office, requiring different levels of intervention in the fabric. However, the final product was always an architecturally anonymous, single-period, textual object lesson. How did this happen? A case study of the preservation of Rievaulx Abbey will be used to illustrate and examine,

- (i) the ways in which the process of guardianship and the early ancient monuments acts were applied to sites, and
- (ii) the ways in which the Office of Works applied its developing principles of preservation and presentation.

The aim of this section is to consider whether these principles were applied in a uniform way, explain why there were differences and understand what vision of the past was being presented. The definition of these points will lead into the final section of Chapter Three, which is a comparison of the Inspectorate in the 1920s and 2003.

The case study will begin with a brief history of the site up to the late nineteenth century, followed by detailed discussion and analysis of the following period of official 'adoption' and comparison with the treatment undertaken contemporaneously at Whitby Abbey and Scarborough Castle.

4.1 Rievaulx Abbey, a case study.

Of all the ancient monuments in Britain, Rievaulx is perhaps the best for following the trajectory from 'ruin' to 'monument'. Rievaulx Abbey in Bilsdale, North Yorkshire, was the second Cistercian house to be created in Britain, but the first in the north of England. Founded in 1131, it became, along with Byland and Fountains, one of the three most influential Cistercian houses in Britain (Fergusson and Harrison 1999). Its third Abbot, Aelred, was renowned throughout the Christian world as a cleric, writer and diplomat. Following the Dissolution in 1539, the abbey was sold to the Earls of Rutland and the site was partially dismantled, principally for timber and lead, but not completely destroyed (Fergusson and Harrison 1999: 187-194; English Heritage 2000a 1: 15-16). Industrial activity continued in the monastic courts (iron furnaces and bloomeries are now known to abound, Dr. G. McDonnell pers. comm. February 1997) and the majority of current village buildings occupy the site of former monastic buildings of the Outer Court. The larger part of the seventeenth century at the abbey and village is something of a blank, although many of the cottages contain crucks of probable sixteenth and seventeenth century date (J. Grenville pers comm. September 1998) and we know that the parish church (formerly the Gatehouse chapel) was ruinous (Fergusson and Harrison 1999: 187; Hall 2001). During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the abbey (and the village) is once more visible historically, and it is perhaps the case that the village was 'restored' once the abbey and other landscape features were made part of the designed landscape (English Heritage 2000a 1: 16–22). As is the case at other monastic sites integrated with Romantic and Picturesque landscapes, the abbey formed one of several landscapes to be viewed on the estate, both in its own right, but also from other parts of the estate - in this case from the Neo-classical Terrace and Temples situated above the abbey (English Heritage 2000a 1: 16–22).

In the nineteenth century the abbey, village and terrace passed into the possession of

the Duncombe Estate (Earl of Feversham). The site was a tourist destination and minor repairs were undertaken to the fabric, but there were no programmes of major repair or rebuilding until the 1870s when George Gilbert Scott was asked to correct the faults developing in the South Transept (English Heritage 2000a 1: 22-29; SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey).

Popular concern for the condition of Rievaulx came to the fore in the 1890s. Again, it was the antiquarian societies which began to apply pressure on the owner (SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey). The architect John Bilson went in 1900 to make a plan of the Choir and undertake an analysis of the phasing. A representative of the SPAB visited the site in July 1900 to consider first hand the condition of the ruin, and followed this with a letter on the same to Lord Feversham which failed to receive a reply. This approach was followed by the Society of Antiquaries, who also failed to elicit a response. This should not be taken to mean that the owner was unconcerned; Lord Feversham had developed close links with the noted architect Temple Moore (Ellis 1997: 47–83) who undertook many projects for Feversham during the period 1890 to 1910. Projects included construction of the new church in Rievaulx village (1899), built on the site of the monastic Gatehouse chapel, repairs to Duncombe Park and the provision of buttresses and underpinning to the South Transept of the abbey to address faults which had developed following Scott's work.

The core of concern to the SPAB and Society of Antiquaries was the condition of the building and the site; in a letter from W.A. Russell to Thackeray Turner dated 17th July 1900, Russell asserted:

'It is a pity that some of the [admission] money is not spent on the Abbey enclosure, where the condition of things is disgraceful. It is used as a sort of sheep fold and is in a horribly filthy condition. When I visited it a few weeks ago, the noise in the quire of the church of sheep and lambs bleating was literally deafening, to say nothing of other things. The place is covered with nettles and long grass. I am convinced that, if excavations were made in the high mound covering the south wall of the nave, the wall would be found to be more or less complete to the heads of the arches. In any case the ruin ought to be rescued from the neglect and filth from which they now suffer; even the shutting out of sheep and the employment of a scythe would be very great improvements.'

(SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey, Letter, W.A. Russell to T. Turner).

Russell concluded his letter by comparing the situation at Fountains and Jervaulx which were managed with 'care' and concern for 'research': again it is clear that ideas about the image and value of the monument had undergone a thorough reappraisal from the earlier Picturesque ideal. The response from the Society of Antiquaries was similar in tone, but considered the condition of the fabric to be a calamity waiting to happen, 'every year there is a fall of something and often on a larger scale'. The author of the letter was William St. John Hope who was conducting the research at Fountains. Hope had undertaken some research at Rievaulx and wanted to continue his studies and suggested to Thackeray Turner that a series of letters should be sent to the Yorkshire papers calling attention to the perils at Rievaulx in the hope that that might have some weight, but he concluded, 'but keep my name out of it' (SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey, Letter, St. John Hope to Thackeray Turner, 21st July, 1900).

When it became apparent that Feversham was not going to respond to the SPAB or Society of Antiquaries, a small delegation from both societies visited the site in 1907 and petitioned Lord Feversham, who declined to meet them. Feversham contracted Temple Moore to start work on the South Transept in early 1907, but this was not enough for the SPAB who felt that the only way forward was to send the local representative (William Weir) to the site to prepare in secret a costed survey and report, which would then be sent to Feversham. Weir's report was sent in November 1907, although it was not until September 1908 that Feversham replied to the SPAB, saying that he 'would like to have some idea as to the amount of the outlay that would be necessary to keep the ruins in a state of preservation' and whether the Society would 'be prepared to send someone who could advise as to the nature of the repairs to be undertaken and to see that it is satisfactory.' (SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey, Letter, Chaplain to the Earl of Feversham to Thackeray Turner). Thus at this date advice to owners was still emanating from the societies, not from the Office of Works. Agreement was reached: the SPAB commenced work on the South Transept in November 1908 and completed in April 1909. The work contained the full range of techniques used by the SPAB; tile repairs, taking down and rebuilding, replacing core-work whilst retaining face stones, modern insertions for strengthening, formation of concrete lintels and the correction of the structural problems caused by earlier

repairs. Peers had been involved in the site, encouraging its repair, in his capacity as secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, but he formally visited the site in December 1912 (PRO Work 14/786) and made a report on its condition. With the preparations for the passage of the 1913 Act, the Office of Works became more involved with the site and placed Rievaulx on the list of sites to be scheduled for guardianship (PRO Work 14/786) in 1915.

With the start of the First World War preparations for the commencement of work at Rievaulx halted. In 1915 Lord Feversham created a Rifle Regiment based on his estate labour-force, which was then sent to France. It saw action in September 1916 on the Somme, where nearly the entire complement including Lord Feversham were killed (Macdonald 1983: 272-273). This tragedy was compounded on the estate because the new Lord was still in his minority and the family members had to find a way of managing the various properties. Part of the solution was to transfer the abbey into the Guardianship of the Commissioners of Works, which was done in July 1917 (PRO Work 14/786). The response in the Office of Works was one of jubilation. Lionel Earle (First Secretary, replacing Schomberg McDonnell) wrote in a memo of May 4th, 1917, 'This is the greatest offer that we have yet had and I strongly recommend acceptance' (PRO Work 14/786). Peers was aware that work was immediately needed but could do nothing until late 1917 when an explosion at a munitions factory in Morecambe provided some second-hand timber which could be reused for scaffolding.

Although the initial guardianship agreement was quickly reached, the guardianship process did not end until 1923. The coloured plan reproduced as Fig. 2 (PRO Work 14/786) was produced by the Office of Works to show the sequence of acquisitions and transfers across the site, needed to get the bulk of the site under one set of control. The initial agreement from 1917 covered the core of the abbey complex, but did not provide suitable access or space for the works compound. Over the next five years a complex set of agreements had to be created to enable the works of repair to be undertaken, dealing not only with the Fevershams, but with the tenants of the abbey lands. For example, the portion coloured brown on Fig. 2 became the site of the Office of Works compound, but the use of this area had to be agreed with the estate and the tenant. It should also be noted on Fig. 2 that a farmhouse and kitchen

Figure 2.

Guardianship Plan, Rievaulx Abbey. 1924. PRO Work 14/786. Original in Colour.

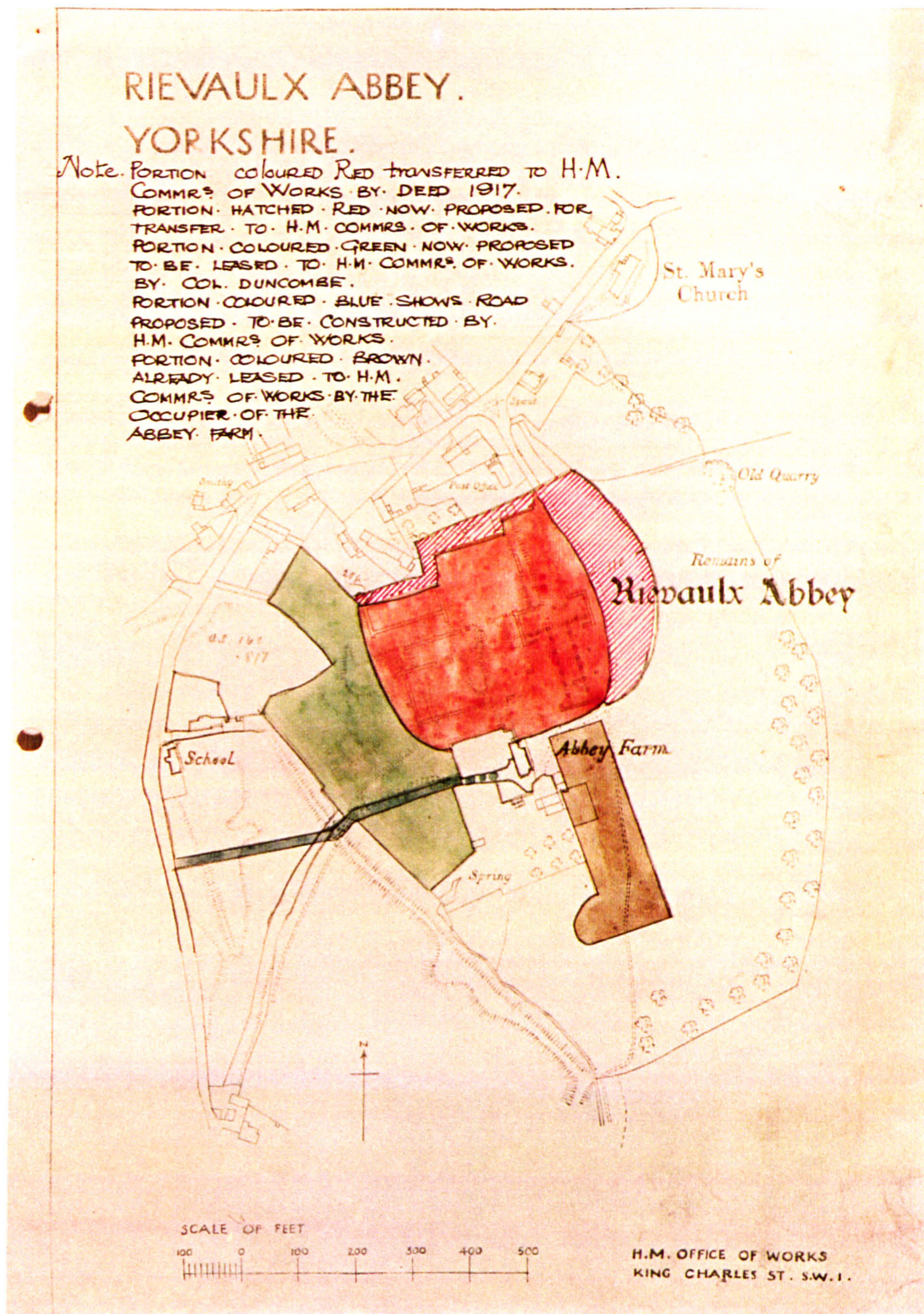
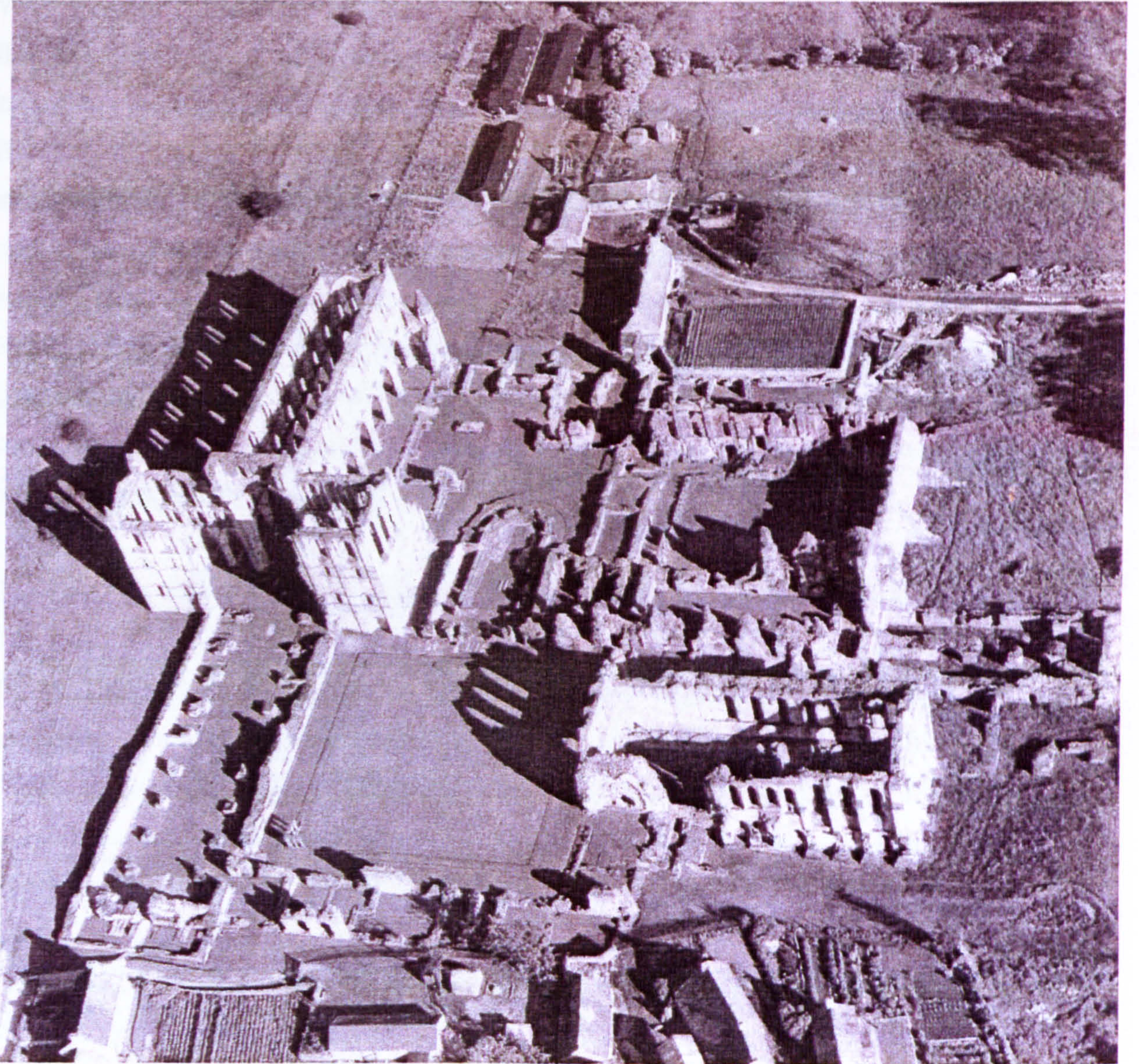


Figure 3.

Rievaulx Abbey. Aerial view showing farm-house at upper right, centre.

1949. Courtesy of Cambridge University.



garden is depicted (see also Fig. 3) and this was only removed in the 1950s when the tenancy was terminated (PRO Work 14/1589). Photographs of works being conducted are not plentiful, but the majority of the photographs taken of the (ecclesiastic) east end of the site were taken from specific angles in order to exclude the farmhouse.

A similar negotiation process was required with the majority of guardianship sites. At Whitby Abbey (PRO Work 14/544) a number of agreements had to be reached with the adjacent tenants who kept their livestock on and around the Abbey. Similar conditions also applied to those sites nominally already in the care of the state (Richmond Castle, PRO Work 14/64), so although the idea of guardianship sounds straightforward, there was in reality a complex set of clauses and permissions which had to be agreed to lead to the definition of 'the site'. During the transfers described above (page 69) between the War Office, Office of Woods and Forests and Office of Works, there was a sort of 'creeping' guardianship whereby buildings and areas were gradually transferred to different government departments over a period of years. The complexity of the legal agreements may indicate why the guardianship boundaries were drawn so tightly around the monument.

One can see from the papers published in *The Builder* (November 10th, 1922: 699–706; July 13th, 1923: 58–61) and in the speeches and presentations of Charles Peers (Peers 1928; 1931; 1933) that the consolidation and presentation of Rievaulx was considered the crowning achievement of the Office of Works in the 1920s. For others it was the site that demonstrated that a state conservation body was inevitably trammelled by budget, cost and ultimately lack of flexibility and sensitivity. Work began in earnest in 1919 with the clearance of the Nave (Figs. 4 and 5) and the west wall of the East Range, and continued into 1923 with work to the South Transept, and south wall of the Choir, until the monument was stabilised. The preservation work included the full-range of Office of Work techniques, from invisible repair and rebuilding, removal of earlier preservation work and the clearance of deposits. The clearance process in the Nave was conducted in what became the familiar manner, re-used on other sites, and which may have had its origins in Ireland. The nave was divided into a series of 'boxes' (see Fig. 6, for a similar scheme used at Whitby Abbey and Fig. 7 for the total area excavated at Rievaulx) and the labour-force excavated

Figure 4.

Rievaulx Abbey, Nave. Before works, circa 1917. Courtesy of English Heritage.



Figure 5

Rievaulx Abbey, Nave. After works, circa 1928. Courtesy of English Heritage.

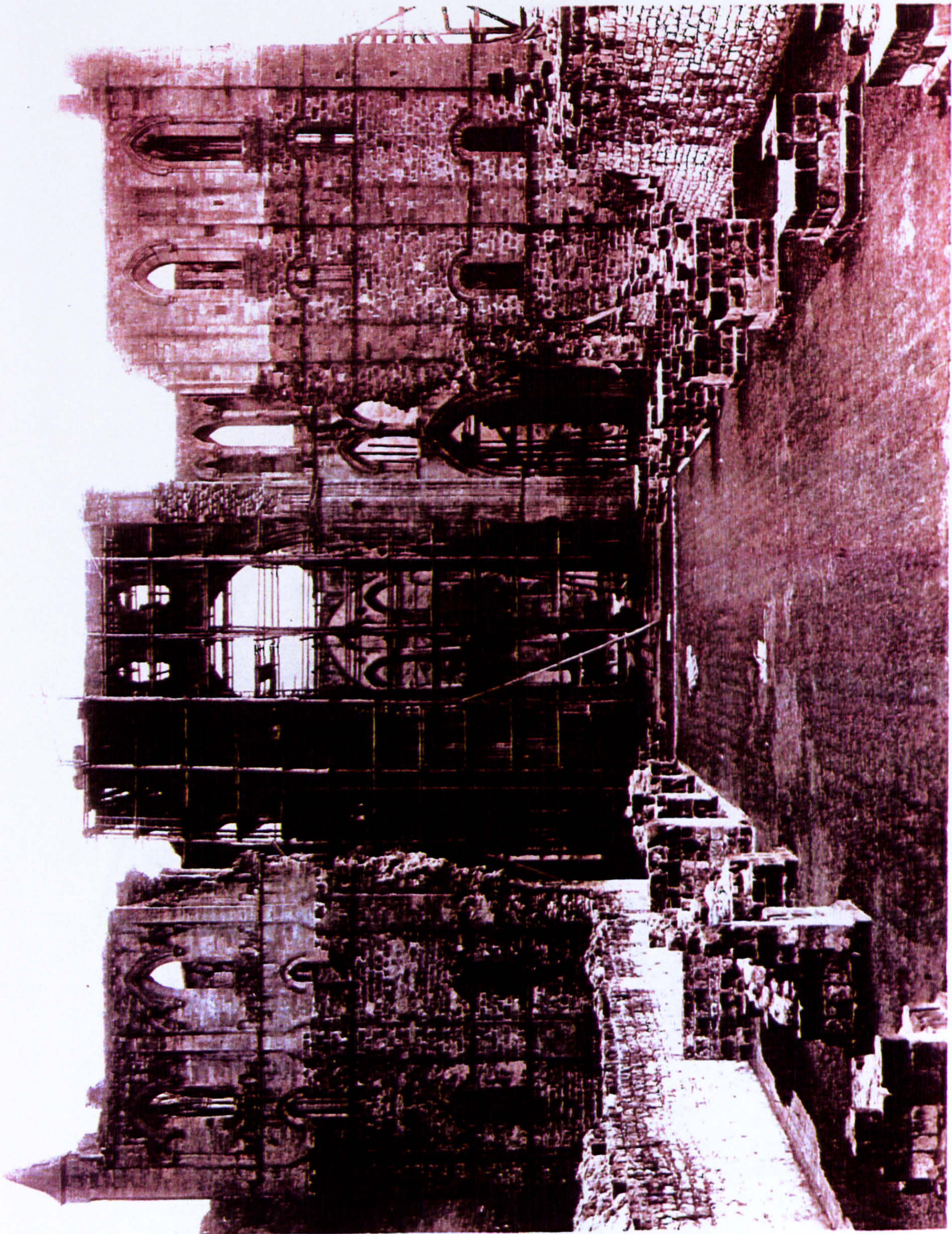


Figure 6.

Whitby Abbey. Excavation boxes. Undated. PRO Work 14/882. Courtesy of English Heritage.

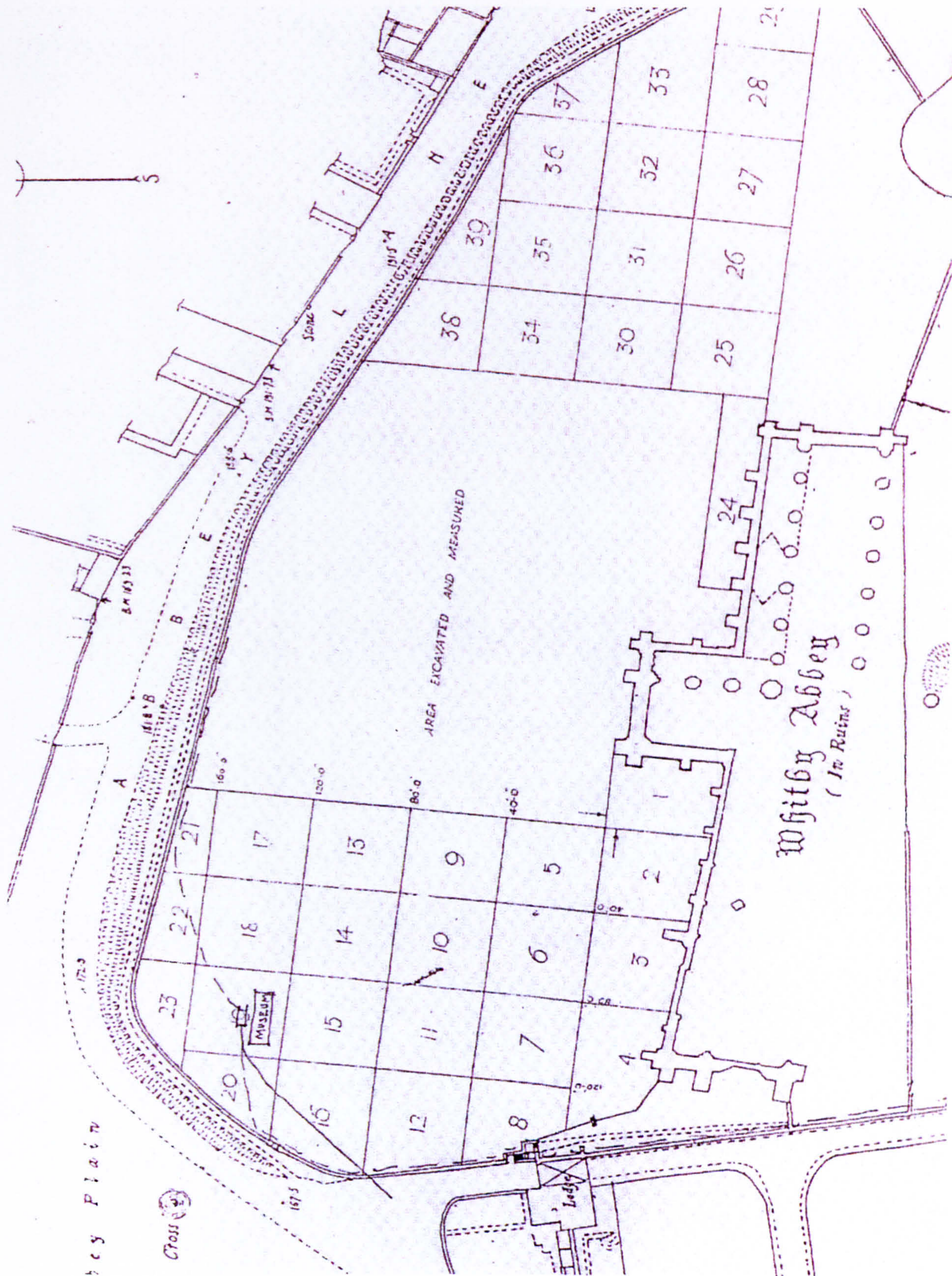


Figure 7

Rievaulx Abbey. Area of excavations. 1920. PRO Work 14/787. Original in colour.

Courtesy of English Heritage.

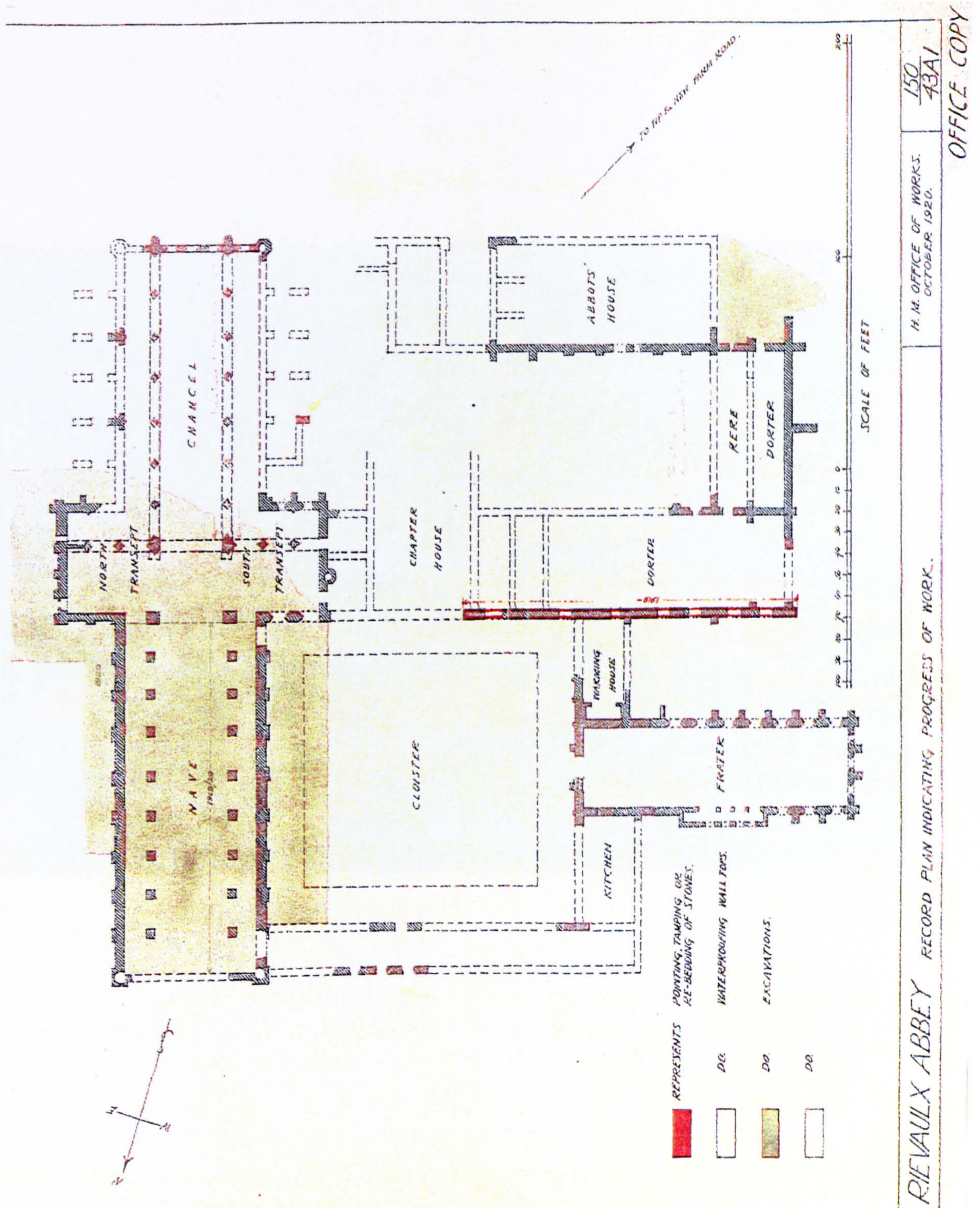


Figure 8

Rievaulx Abbey. Railway system, circa 1921.

Courtesy of English Heritage.

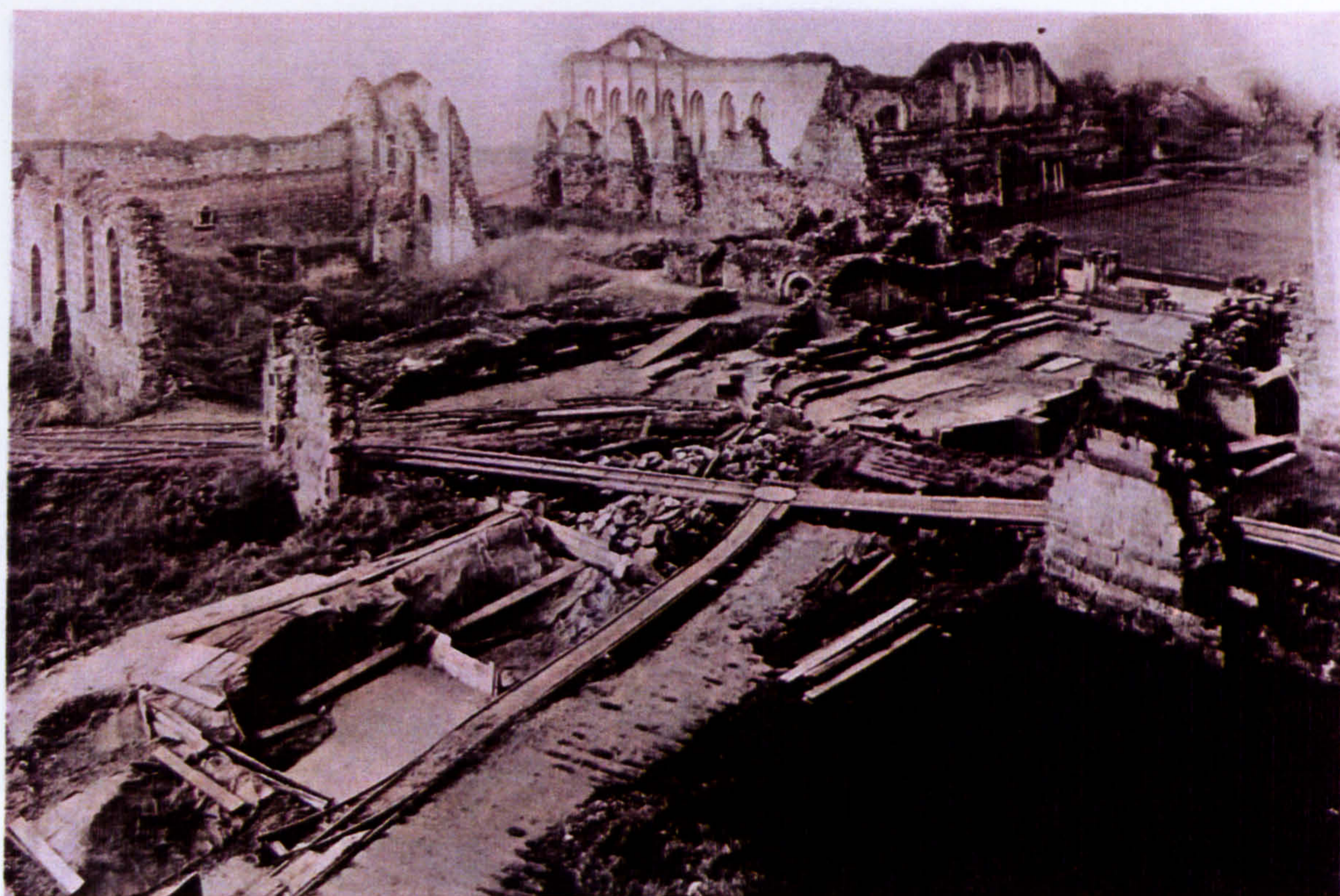


Figure 9

Whitby Abbey. Depth of accumulated deposits, with railway track and turn-table in the foreground, circa 1921.

Courtesy of English Heritage.



each box removing the spoil from the site using a mini-railway system, such was the volume of material (Fig. 8). Although the principle of stratigraphy was understood at the time, the sites were not dug stratigraphically, and indeed Peers did not believe that the clearance deposits warranted an archaeological response (Peers 1933: 6): archaeology was required only for prehistoric and occasionally Roman sites (Fig. 9 for the depth of clearance deposits at Whitby Abbey). A foreman was placed in charge of the work and most of the communication with the Inspector was conducted by letter. The Inspector and architect made regular visits to the site and issued further instructions there about the strategy (PRO Work 14/787). Objects of interest, architectural fragments, complete vessels and items of copper, bronze, silver or gold, were recovered and their location in each box established by means of three-dimensional measurement from fixed points on the fabric. The members of the workforce were given financial rewards according to the material they recovered and items of particular interest were sent to the Inspector in London or collected during site visits (see Fig.10). During the excavation large sections of the Nave piers were discovered lying next to their respective pier bases as were other sections of arcade. Discussion was held as to whether the elements should be re-erected, but this was considered reconstruction, which was anathema and therefore not permissible (PRO Work 14/787). Such re-erection would be too speculative, since any new material needed to make the pier fragments stable would have been inserted at low-level and therefore visible to the public, thereby destroying the sense of uniformity, but also because there was no surviving independent evidence. The various fragments were broken-up and reburied on site, or reused in the construction of new boundary walls along with many hundreds of the architectural fragments recovered from the clearance but not deemed 'representative' (Fergusson and Harrison 1999: 208-209 and figs 173 and 174).

One of the most complex engineering problems encountered at Rievaulx was the dismantling and rebuilding of the spandrel of the first Choir bay east of the crossing. This work is recounted in Harvey (1922 and 1923) and was a text-book example of Peers' preferred approach using the principle of invisible repair and rebuilding. The fabric was first recorded, the face stone removed from both elevations and props inserted. The core was then removed and replaced with concrete and steel bars, followed by the reconstruction of the face stone in exact accordance with the earlier

Figure 10

Rievaulx Abbey. Extract from Finds record. Two items (no's. 32 and 33) were removed by CRP. File held at English Heritage Archaeology Store, Helmsley N. Yorkshire. Courtesy of English Heritage.

Ref. No.	Description of Article	Building	Description of position of findings	Date of finding	W.D. date of C of other report where reported	Destination
29	Iron chain of 7 rows (probably hooks) Ring.	nave	see Phase 33. 9 ft. above floor.	23.4.20	W.D. 41 Report - 21.5.20	Rievaulx Abbey in H. 14th
30	41 fragments of lead several cast each concave shape 3'-10" x 17" x 9" each	nave	see Phase 33 near west-cloot at floor level 3 fragments to York Minster	28.1.20	W.D. 2 Report - 23.4.20	Rievaulx Abbey at Office
31	Fractured Carved Stone body	nave	see Phase 34 2 ft. above floor	30.4.20	W.D. 41 Report - 21.5.20	Rievaulx Abbey in H. 14th
32	Lead Casket - 6" deep 5 1/2" diameter Roman inscription three containing chart - 2 fragments	nave North aisle 11 Chapel	see Phase 41 behind top course of Archway in Altar W.D. 11 Chapel	20.5.20	W.D. 41 Report - 21.5.20	Londons with W.D. Report 21.6.20
33	Lead Casket - 3 1/2" deep 2 1/4" diameter containing 2 fragments of chart - at bottom of Casket cleaned.	nave North aisle 11 Chapel	see Phase 39 behind top course of Archway at Altar W.D. 11 Chapel	20.5.20	W.D. 41 Report - 21.5.20	Londons with W.D. Report 21.6.20

drawings.

The sequence and process of work employed at Rievaulx became the norm and was comparable in terms of intervention with that reproduced at Scarborough Castle (PRO Work 14/70 and 14/825), Whitby (PRO Work 14/882), Tintern (PRO Work 14/1372), and Furness Abbeys (PRO Work 14/687; Peers 1931). Although many praised the excavation of the nave and the clearance of the site at Rievaulx, criticism was reserved for the aggressive nature of the rebuilding.

Dissent was voiced as early as 1920, with the SPAB requesting that their representative (William Weir) should visit the site and inspect the work, followed by a suggestion that Peers should appear before the SPAB Committee to explain what was being done. Weir and other reporters recognised that the end product was one that all would desire and yet felt that 'one feels uncomfortable with regards to the means adopted to obtain this end' (SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey). Although rebuilt sections closely resembled the original, many felt it to have been unnecessary to dismantle and then rebuild such large areas of fabric. The main element of the repair to the Choir was the burial of a ferro-concrete beam inside the entire length of the south wall (PRO Work 14/787). This necessitated the rebuilding of the backs (interior faces) of the clerestory windows. Where mouldings and details did not survive only the general outline and depth of the stone was followed for new stone insertions (Fig.11) Even though this was claimed not to be restoration in the sense then accepted and was generally welcomed, the overall context of the work was considered an 'almost extravagant bid for safety in every point' which was the key to 'finding the difference between our [SPAB] methods and theirs' (SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey, Powys note to the Committee, 20th July, 1920). Criticism of the work increased; the ferro-concrete beam was considered to be a poorly judged, ineffective and a non-reversible technique making repair impossible by future generations. The use of Portland cement in strong proportions was condemned whilst others referred to the 'over-repair' as 'part of the departmental procedure' (SPAB, Rievaulx file, letter Forsyth to Powys, 24th July, 1920).

By September 1920, the SPAB Committee had drafted a series of points in preparation for their desired meeting with Charles Peers:

Figure 11.

Rievaulx Abbey. New stone in the clerestorey, dated 1920. Original in colour.

K. Emerick.



'The tendency of state control in the repair or preservation of ancient buildings, as seen in British and in Continental practice, is to produce a sense of uniformity which the buildings themselves do not possess. The extensive organisation which a state department necessarily entails, involves the preparation of estimates for budgeting purposes thereby inducing financial waste and frequently wrongful repair. Such a system does not lend itself to flexible treatment which discoveries, during progress of works, render imperative. The inclination to entrust engineers with the charge of works of this order is liable to create risk in the use of undesirable processes'

(SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey, Committee note 'State Control of Ancient Buildings', 9th September, 1920).

A surviving transcript of the meeting between Peers and the SPAB Committee has yet to be found, but some points of debate can be guessed. The SPAB position doubtless concentrated on practices, materials and the problems caused by an excess of money; whereas Peers was convinced of his actions. From his later publications it is clear that he believed the work of repair should be once in a lifetime work, because it would not be cost-effective to come back to Rievaulx and erect a scaffold in the same area within twenty or fifty years (Baines 1924: 104; Peers 1931: 325). Both parties would have agreed that the Office of Works was not involved in 'restoration' and that the end product was something desired by everyone. A letter from Powys was sent to Peers on 16th November, 1920, the day after the meeting, which offered thanks for the 'generous way in which you [Peers] received the criticism', but effectively says that they must agree to differ over certain aspects (SPAB Rievaulx file, letter, Powys to Peers). But Forsyth also wrote to Powys discussing Peers' presentation; after restating his objection to materials and practices he concluded:

'The one solid indisputable fact [his emphasis], arising from the confessions of Mr. Peers, is the liability and what is of greater concern, is the necessity for wholesale repair of anticipated, as well as existing, defects which a Government Department, such as the Office of Works, is compelled to make.'

(SPAB File, Rievaulx Abbey, letter, Forsyth to Powys, 20th November, 1920).

Peers was faced by a considerable problem; as the 1920s progressed an increasing

number of monuments was being passed into guardianship, the majority of which were in a terrible state of repair. He had a government department staffed by professionals, a budget and an approach to the work of which he was convinced: the governing principles of anonymity and legibility were agreed, and the building was to be left to speak for itself. In 1931 Peers expressed his approach thus:

'Creative it is not, but rather re-creative, if the word will bear the meaning. The treatment must suggest itself, within the limits of the maxim that nothing should be added or taken away without absolute cause. An understanding of what has been is necessary, but imagination must be kept in bounds and not translated into material: repair and not restoration is the essence of the matter.'

(Peers 1931: 312).

As an answer to those who still felt that invisible repair was deception, he wrote: 'Repair must neither deface nor obscure old work, but it is better to risk a deception by inconspicuous additions than to proclaim them by conspicuous and unsympathetic materials' (Peers 1931: 320). One thing that does become apparent is that the Office of Works approach became a 'style', not dissimilar to continental work, about which there had been much consternation in Britain (above page 51). However, the SPAB criticism centred on, but perhaps did not recognize, the issue of the constraints created by an 'institution' which thereafter would restrict its capacity to act. This concern has been referred to above (page 111) but will be further explored in Chapter Five.

How did the preservation work at Rievaulx compare with that at other sites?

On the 16th December 1914, the Imperial German navy bombarded Whitby and Scarborough (in addition to other areas on the north-east coast) and during this bombardment both Whitby Abbey and Scarborough Castle were damaged. The architect John Bilson (Bilson 1915: 1-5), acting in his role as Yorkshire Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, was sent to Whitby and produced a report on the damage. Most of the damage had been done to the west end of the Nave, particularly the west front: the arch of the west doorway was destroyed and the wall-arcades either side had collapsed. The north jamb of the west window had fallen, with the whole of the eastern half of the intra-mural stair. The south half of the inner arch of the west

window of the North Aisle had fallen and what remained of its tracery had been dislocated (see Figs. 12 and 13). This damage was then aggravated by the inability of the owners to secure the ruin, because most of the timber used in scaffolding was being sent to the Western Front (Fig. 14).

With the arrival of 1918 concerns about the condition of Whitby Abbey were raised. A letter to *The Times* (8th January, 1918) bemoaned the evidence of 'most appalling neglect and callous indifference' and asked why there were 'no diocesan, county, or national societies able and willing to step forward to save this precious relic of the best period of English art from oblivion'. Following an exchange of letters between Peers and the SPAB (SPAB File, Whitby Abbey, Peers to T. Turner, 21st May, 1918), the owner of Whitby Abbey was contacted and asked about her intentions. There then followed a three-way exchange between Peers, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the owner (5). Initially the owner (Mrs. Tatton-Willoughby) claimed that money could not be spared to undertake the work, but when the possibility of issue of a Preservation Order was made, Mrs Tatton-Willoughby consented to place the Abbey in the guardianship of the Commissioners of Works (PRO Work 14/544, Letter, 27th October, 1919, Mrs. Tatton-Willoughby to Lionel Earle, Office of Works). However Lionel Earle finally agreed to accept the site for guardianship when Peers confirmed that the visitor revenue was such that it would make a significant contribution towards the repair cost. (PRO Work 14/544).

Peers' first job at Whitby was to secure the west front (PRO Work 14/882). The first stage of work was to collect as many pre-1914 photographs of the west front as they could whilst each fallen piece of masonry was examined and then set to one side. Scaffolding was erected on both sides of the wall and a detailed survey was made of the masonry including buttresses and windows. The examination of the fabric revealed that it was so shattered that a scheme for 'strengthening and solidification' had to be put in place. The photographs were then compared against the fallen debris at the west end and each stone on site which could be identified on the photographs was plotted on the survey drawing 'to its correct and original position in the building'. Approximately 500 stones were identified in this manner, leaving 'about one per cent missing or unidentified' and it was then decided 'that the rebuilding could be undertaken without defacing or altering the wall as it had existed in 1914' (PRO

Figure 12

Whitby Abbey. West Front before the bombardment, circa 1913.

Courtesy Society of Antiquaries of London.

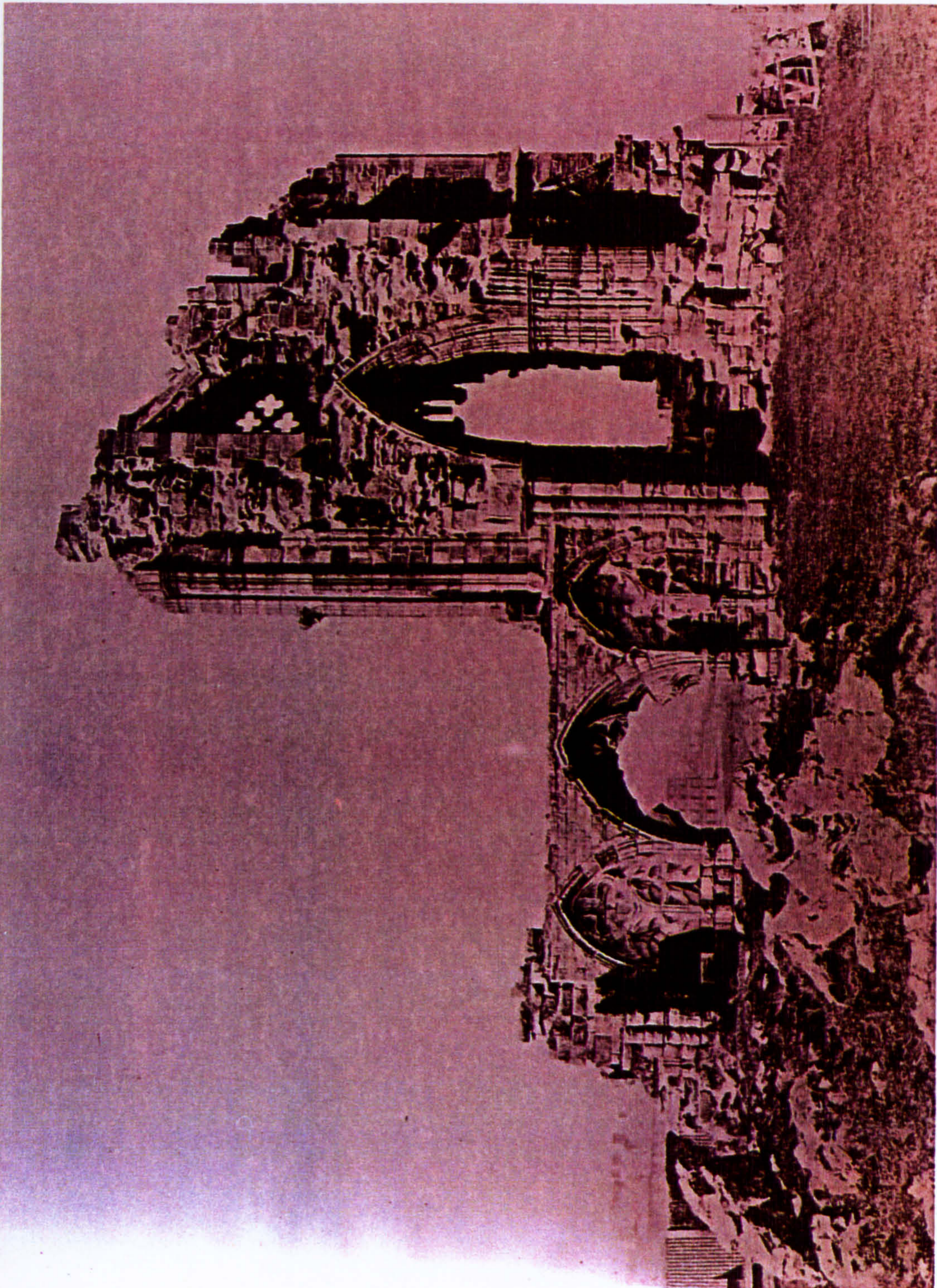


Figure 13

Whitby Abbey. West Front following the bombardment, December 1914.

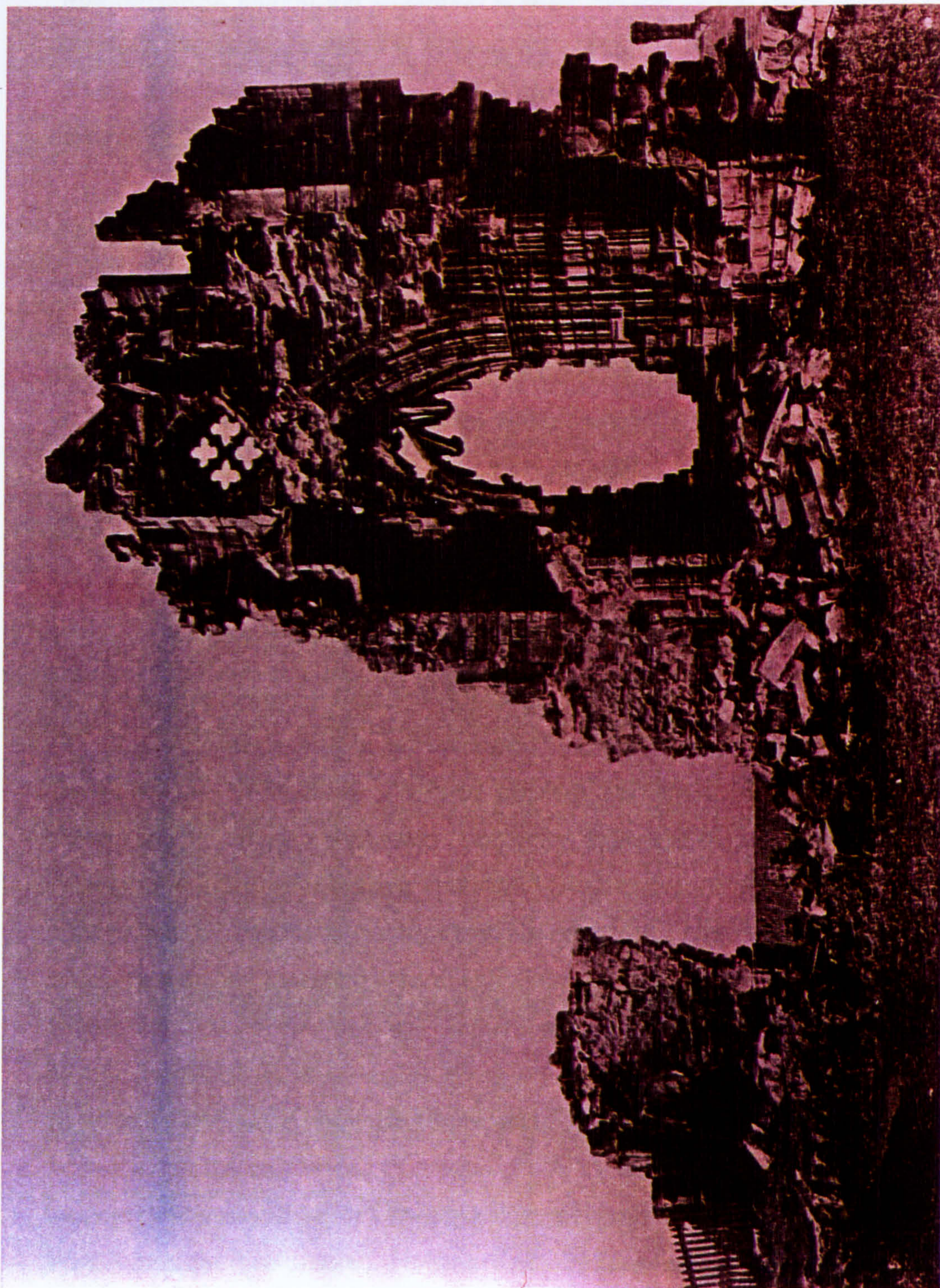
Courtesy of Society of Antiquaries of London.



Figure 14

Whitby Abbey. West front following further collapse, circa 1915.

Courtesy of Society of Antiquaries of London.



Work 14/882). Additional reinforcing beams were placed in various positions to strengthen the wall, but these were hidden in the masonry (Fig. 15). On completion of this work the Nave was cleared of accumulated debris and earlier conservation work was removed. During the clearance a large section of the Nave arcade was found beneath the deposits and this section was removed to the north side of the Abbey church and then re-erected against the perimeter wall (Figs. 16 and 17) – in complete contrast to the situation at Rievaulx.

At Scarborough Castle a large medieval hall was attached to the internal face of the curtain wall. This medieval building was adapted in the eighteenth century by being raised in height, reroofed and clad in brick. The German naval bombardment damaged this building, destroying part of the roof and some of the front elevation. At Scarborough the decision was taken completely to demolish the brick-clad medieval hall to ground floor height, remove what remained of the Georgian brick and then consolidate and display the 'preserved' plan of a medieval hall (PRO Work 14/825).

The only activity common to the three sites (less so at Scarborough) was the 'clearance' work, whereby many feet of deposits dating from the Dissolution to the early twentieth century were removed down to the first intact medieval surface (see Fig. 9). If the process of 'repair as found' had become an established principle and the techniques of repair were defined, codified and defended in publications, why was there such divergence of practice concerning those elements - Whitby west front and arcade, Scarborough medieval hall and Rievaulx piers and arcades - which many might consider central to the repair and presentation programme? It is possible that many specialists, including Peers and Baines, felt that the damage caused by the recent war was not yet 'historical fact' and should be 'repaired', even if this meant that modern material would be visible at ground level, which may explain the difference in treatment between Whitby west front and Rievaulx (above page 143 and 137). It is possible that the existence of photographs of Whitby west front provided a degree of independent verification, but the same did not apply to the section of arcade found at Whitby and then re-erected. However, why rebuilding might have been the case at Whitby and not Scarborough is open to conjecture. We know that hugely intrusive engineering schemes were used to support the south Nave arcade at Tintern Abbey (PRO Works 14/1372; Robinson 1997: 47–49) and the North Transept arcade at

Figure 15

Whitby Abbey. West Front as rebuilt. Original in colour. K. Emerick.



Figure 16

Whitby Abbey. Nave arcade being re-assembled, circa 1922.

Courtesy of English Heritage.

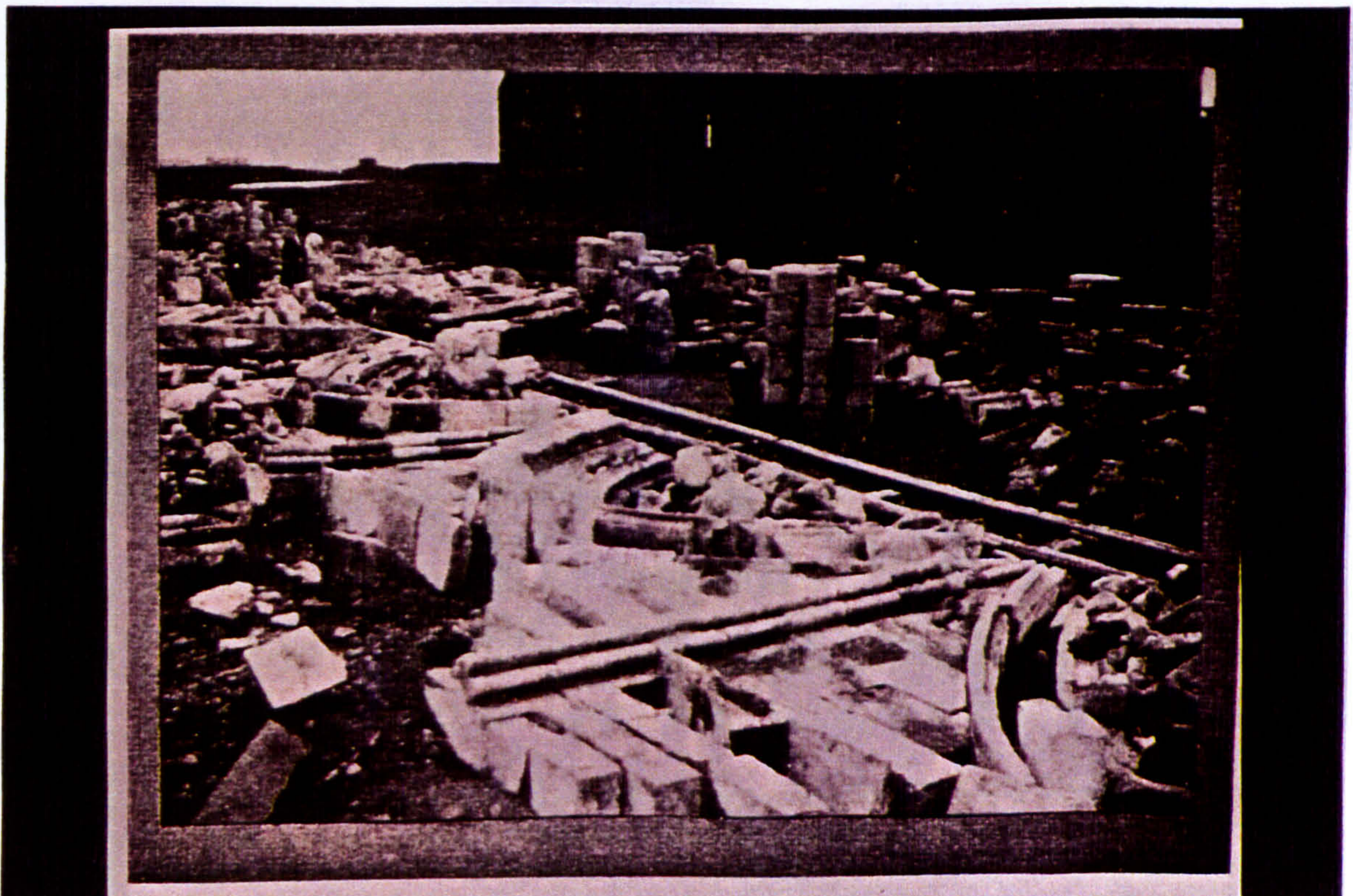


Figure 17.

Whitby Abbey. Nave arcade re-assembled and erected against perimeter wall.

Original in colour. 1997. K. Emerick.



Furness Abbey (PRO Works 14/687; Robinson 1997: 53), so the expertise would have been available to secure some of the Georgian block at Scarborough: the Office of Works chose not to do so. The answer probably lies in the bias towards medieval ecclesiastic and monastic sites (above page 86) and the need to shape public opinion. There is a real sense that the preservation and presentation of monastic sites in the early twentieth century was a conscious attempt to recover the ground lost in the church restorations of the nineteenth century, whilst the medieval buildings represented the zenith of activity on the site. The corollary of this is that the Office of Works presented mono-period sites where the presentation and legibility of the ground plan of the medieval structure was all important, and any 'illegibility' which might have resulted from multi-period presentation was to be avoided. This might explain why Whitby west front was rebuilt and the Georgian block at Scarborough Castle demolished, but it does suggest that plan and 'legibility' were achieved at the expense of medieval fabric – which was supposed to be sacrosanct.

Although Peers did not consider clearance work 'archaeological' (above page 130), excavations did take place, sometimes using the labour force, other times using archaeologists (the excavation of the Roman Signal Station, Scarborough PRO Work 14/490, being one example). During the Whitby Abbey 'clearance' the Office of Works staff excavated part of the site to the north of the abbey. Peers, like many others, was acutely conscious of the site's pre-Conquest importance and yet none of that was visible or understood (Peers Archive, Peers XVIII/iii). During the clearance process it was sometimes the case that earlier periods and arrangements of buildings became apparent as many features survived immediately below ground surface. At Whitby the Romanesque east end is marked out in the grass using paving slabs placed on edge in that design and in the correct location. However on the north side of the abbey church (see Fig.6) Peers excavated the presumed location of the Anglo-Saxon monastery (again, largely by postal instruction rather than being present on site) uncovering many Anglo-Saxon features and burials, but these features were not consolidated or presented but reburied along with many of the architectural fragments recovered from the clearance of the interior of the church. One must assume that the creation and presentation of a two-period site was not considered practically or academically justifiable, whereas it was possible to produce a medieval but multi-phase site. At Scarborough the Roman signal station is some distance from the castle

remains, although a later medieval structure was historically incorporated (and displayed) with the Roman.

The invisible, anonymous repair was made possible by engineering rather than architectural solutions, but the risk of that 'deception' was a matter of belief taken by architects and archaeologists. This does not necessarily explain why Whitby west front was rebuilt, Scarborough demolished or Rievaulx's fallen arcades and pier fragments broken-up, but it does suggest that the risk of deception had to be total. As stated above, if the Rievaulx piers and arcades had been re-erected it is possible that new stone would have been inserted at low-level to complete the fabric, but this deception would have been visible and would therefore risk open and continued argument about the correctness of the work, but also detract from the harmony of fabric that Peers was trying to create. Because everyone knew that Whitby had been badly damaged in the recent past, the visibility of repair solutions was considered to be acceptable. To the Office of Works it was better to risk damage to medieval fabric rather than prompt speculation on modern work.

The Office of Works had not embarked on any large-scale preservation projects under Fitzgerald and it was only possible to undertake such work on privately owned sites following the introduction of the AMCAA 1913. Thus Peers and Baines must be recognised as those chiefly responsible for perfecting a particular response to ancient monuments that had its roots in Freeman and Scott and continued largely unaltered until the 1990s, and their particular vision of what the monument should be has remained as a powerful mental image to the present. Although Peers believed that the Office of Works approach was anonymous and did not consciously create or recreate monuments in the present, the touch and the choices made by the practitioner were paramount, whilst the general approach is now visible as 'a style'. Each monument was treated on an individual basis and received treatment from a limited palette of techniques: the outcome, however, was predetermined and once the work was completed, the monument as a physical entity, an expression of professional skills and aspiration was fixed.

5. The Changing Perceptions of the Inspectorate, 1920s versus 2000.

The Peers quotation used at the opening of this chapter indicates that he wanted to follow the partnership pattern suggested by Murray, Baldwin Brown and Fitzgerald. It appears that he was perhaps deflected by a new governmental reality but also by a failure to address the local authority issues that might have created a context for local management. This might have happened because the arguments surrounding the intervention of the state into the private realm overwhelmed any discussion or ideas about what local authorities needed to turn the legislation into practice. The outcome as Graham Clark suggested (above page 110), was that Peers and Baines formed the mould for the Inspectorate and the machinery and objects of conservation in Britain and this was to remain largely unaltered for ninety years.

Despite the best intentions of various officials, the local societies and interest groups had less and less involvement with the guardianship sites, whilst the Inspectorate itself became an élite within the Civil Service and the archaeological profession. The Ancient Monuments Boards set up in the regions suggest participation, but when it came to the preservation of ancient monuments, the ideology behind the approach was not a matter for discussion or change. There are a number of strands to the increasing central control. The Office of Works had suddenly found itself the protector of numerous, large, dilapidated medieval ruins, and it had a limited annual budget which made it accountable to Treasury and Parliament. This made it inevitable that a particular format for preservation would be developed, because it saved both time and cost (above page 141). There was also a commitment to 'exemplar' sites and 'exemplar' treatment. Obviously there are connections between these threads; the increasing experience of the Office staff cemented their 'authority', particularly in their advisory role with the local authorities, and it remained the Office and its successors who alone undertook the preservation of the guardianship monuments. The Office of Works wanted to schedule the large monastic remains and believed in its exemplar role and this role was one of the justifications for taking particular monuments into guardianship. Certainly up to the Second World War, and probably beyond, the abbey was regarded as the monument '*par excellence*' (Thompson 1981). Exemplar treatment extended to new approaches such as explicitly educational and improving use as opposed to purely 'visiting', a new concept in the early twentieth century,

which as stated above was to transform some monuments into heritage assets – objects of value for the nation.

Although in 1920 AMAC raised the possibility of dropping the distinction between 'living' and 'dead', (above page 120) perhaps one long-term effect of the exemplar monument was that it crystallized the idea of 'dead' monuments, particularly at a time when they were perceived as historical documents. This was compounded by the reluctance of politicians and civil servants to press ahead with the AMAC suggestions and confront the private property lobby, albeit with the carrot of grant aid. The outcome was a divided heritage: one part static, another able to develop. The distinction between 'living and dead' led in the 1950s and '60s to the deliberate removal of sound or recoverable roofs from ancient monuments (Wharram Percy church, North Yorkshire; Appledurcombe House, Isle of Wight) to make them 'useless' and conform to the, by then, accepted image of the 'monument'. Although the concept of scheduling was to expand in 1979 following the introduction of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (DoE 1979), the principles used for the management of guardianship sites were merely transferred to Scheduled Ancient Monuments, extending the concept of monumentality. The only difference was that the value attached to the visited sites was more obvious to the public than that attached to the new field monuments. As Carver argues (Carver 1996: 50-53) monuments and monumentality became an international language, with monuments developing self-evident value tied to a perceived status as diplomatic and economic assets. Such was the power of the image of the monument, it was assumed and accepted that the past bequeathed 'monuments' to the present to preserve for the future, which ultimately was to 'freeze-out' those societies that did not produce 'monuments'. The long-term effect of monumentality was to set a legalistic and administrative concept of the management of the past against one based on research, theory and ultimately changing values, which will be further explored in Chapter Five (Darvill et al 1987; Carver 1989; 1996; Grenville 1993; Startin 1993). In the 1920s and 1930s, the monument had changed from document to museum exhibit, as M.W.Thompson, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Wales, was to write in 1981,

'There is perhaps an analogy between a ruin and an object in a museum: both are going to be displayed to the public, both come into custody requiring expensive

conservation. Except in the case of an industrial monument or science museum where machinery is to function, the object of display is still and passive. No doubt it is very much easier to display an object indoors than a large structure at the mercy of the elements out in the open, but the principle is nevertheless the same in either case.'

(Thompson 1981: 28)

Thompson also made it clear that the approach to ancient monument work was not part of a critical, structured process, but rather,

'one of characteristic British pragmatism, started in the early years of the century in the flush of the attitude created by William Morris which accorded with the later dominant archaeological ideas; the actual methods of work have been passed on by example and word of mouth, not by written example.'

(Thompson 1981: 33)

What did the preservation format deliver? Even though the treatment of the Whitby and Rievaulx examples differed in detail, the outcome was a preserved ruin of a specific period, with stress laid on the exhibition of the ground plan, in an anonymous setting. The process and the product was about functionalism and creating 'truth' and presenting 'frozen evidence' (Thompson 1981: 86) but drawing from a very narrow palette, for a limited number of people who had 'the discerning eye' (Thompson 1981: 21) to appreciate their detail. When Peers retired in 1933 questions were asked within the Office of Works and the Commissioners about the appearance of guardianship sites: words like 'purism' and 'clinical' were used in connection with the appearance of Rievaulx (PRO Work 14/787; 14/1589; Fergusson and Harrison 1999:211). Such was the consternation that many Commissioners felt that the level of 'recreation' did not go far enough to help the visitor understand the sites or the way in which space was used and asked for more reconstruction to be undertaken. At Rievaulx this involved rebuilding a fragment of arcade in both the cloister and Infirmary cloister. These reconstructions were marked with a small plaque stating that they were reconstructions. Other techniques were employed to allow distinctions to be made between rebuilt, reconstructed and *in-situ* material, but these were slight corrections to satisfy academic demands, and as a suite of practices they remained incomprehensible to the public. The sites themselves did not

change nor were they seen in a new light. The perception remained such that Thompson was able to state that 'the ruin is indeed performing its function as a reminder, a monument in truth' (Thompson 1981: 34). Perhaps the requirement to introduce some reconstruction at Rievaulx and other sites was an admission (although not recognized) that the 'dead' monument could not be sustained: people visited the monuments in increasing numbers but increasingly they also needed help to understand what they were looking at. To comply with the prevailing preservation approach, the solutions, such as limited reconstruction or the addition of slate inserts, were deliberately understated to satisfy specialist reservations.

What role had the public? It had been suggested by specialists that the income from visitors to Rievaulx and Whitby could be used to finance the repairs to the monument (page 125 and 146), an assertion that continues to have resonance today and was of considerable significance in Colonial Cyprus (Chapter Four). People 'used' monuments, but social use, as at Thornton Abbey (above page 43) was not part of the justification for taking a monument into guardianship. Certainly some owners were aware that there was a connection between local people and a monument, which was often stated in the guardianship deeds (above page 108). However, this relationship broke down after the death of the generation most closely involved, and it is only in very recent years that the idea of free entry for locals has been rekindled in addition to local use of the monuments for fêtes and fairs (David Bailey, English Heritage Area Manager, Yorkshire Region pers. comm. November 2002). The selection of sites for guardianship was by specialists and their use as tools in the education of the public was the primary aim. The medieval monuments were seen as adjuncts of medieval history, but we have also seen (page 86) that their preservation and display was an explicit means of generating public support for the principle and objects of preservation. However, as we will see in Chapter Five, English Heritage and other bodies are now aware that significant elements of the population feel excluded from, or fail to see the relevance of, that particular manifestation of the heritage that appears to be geared towards a particular élite.

Looking back at the Office of Works from the vantage point of today, it is difficult to imagine how one individual could have had such a grip on the manner of preservation and the character of ancient monuments. Peers' intentions (as far as we can piece

them together) appear to have been collaborative, but the result was an exclusive and centralized bureaucracy. What is surprising is that it has taken approximately ninety years for the conservation paradigm of Peers and the Office of Works to be subject to fundamental reappraisal and it comes as something of a shock to realise that Thompson's, *Ruins: their preservation and display* (1981) was written after the *Burra Charter* (1979), although it has to be noted that until Thompson 1981 very few papers or essays had been written on the subject of the preservation of ancient monuments in England. Both Johnson (1999: 15) and Shanks and Tilley (1992: 30) have repeated Renfrew's comment (1982) that the period 1900 to 1960 was the long sleep of archaeological theory and this lack of theory extended to ancient monument work. One can see in Thompson 1981 that the author was trying to explain ancient monument work in the context of the changes in archaeological theory and practice that were taking place around him, but also with regard to the capacities of new materials, increasing visitor pressure and more sophisticated visitor requirements (Thompson 1981: 77–85). The responses to these demands had begun to reawaken the 'dead' monument. However, the resulting publication was something that could have been written by Peers. In 1989, papers by Saunders and Wainwright on heritage management still referred to 'monuments', preservation, were site specific and understood sites as an educational resource or as a static, long-term research tool. Only peripherally were they about, 'a source of pleasure, as well as providing fixed points in the landscape which help to establish roots and a sense of place in space and time' (Saunders 1989: 153).

Is it correct to say nothing changed between 1939 and the 1990s? The various officers and specialists (Inspectors, architects and engineers) had to come to terms with new materials and new design approaches, but the outcomes are as they were pre-1939. The monument was supreme and all interventions were deliberately understated so as not to compete with or impact on the historic fabric. However there were some examples where new design provoked comment. The flying bridge access to Beeston Castle, Cheshire (built in the 1960s) is perhaps the best example and was particularly noteworthy at the time because it was an exception. It received criticism then and in more recent years because it was a piece of architecture in its own right.

Even as recently as the 1990s the handful of new interventions at Scarborough and Middleham Castles were heavily criticised both internally and externally because they were visible interventions and therefore not the accepted practice. Indeed the section of English Heritage that undertook these alterations (Historic Properties, North, the section of English Heritage that managed the guardianship sites in the north of England) was viewed by the Conservation section of English Heritage as pandering to a 'donkey ride' mentality. The doctrine of repair as found and reversibility was perpetuated through example and tutorship but without critical assessment or discussion of the inconsistency of its application.

What of the Inspectors of Ancient Monuments themselves? Although the 1979 *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* introduced the concept of scheduled monument consent and later guidance placed archaeology within the planning system practice did not change because the prevailing treatment of guardianship sites was taken as the model to follow – they had become exemplars and the people dealing with consent procedures were the same people dealing with the guardianship sites. The range of monument types considered suitable for scheduling expanded as their significance was recognized, but they were still approached as monuments. Intellectually the Inspectors continue to make use of the gradually expanding site files, begun in 1882. Each monument has a file series made up of site number followed by category number, such as /1 denoting the original scheduling documents; /2 works; /4 management agreements, upto /13 denoting damage. Thus when an Inspector attended a site meeting they invariably took with them a large collection of files that represented the accumulated weight of knowledge about the site. The files became something of a barrier – the Inspector could hide behind documented past practice or use the suggestion of accumulated knowledge as a means of intimidation. What the files prevented was the opportunity to look at the monument afresh at each meeting.

In *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1977) Foucault's discussion of power/knowledge identified the creation and accumulation of files, registers and written reports as the construction of a new 'modality of power' (Foucault 1977: 192) and it is the case that the ancient monument files can be viewed in this way. It is difficult to imagine that such an expression of status, power and knowledge would be readily given up by an

institution (these ideas will be further explored in discussion of theory-making in Chapter Five). The files passed from one Inspector to the next, the desk instructions for work procedures and the mentoring techniques were the structures originally put in place and are still in use. These structures have steered the practice and principles of ancient monument conservation, but the consequence has been that several generations have been unable to use the monuments to make their own history.

We will see in Chapter Five, that during the 1970s and 1980s when conservation and heritage management in the New World and Australasia not only invented itself, but tried various theoretical paradigms (Tainter and Lucas 1983; Clarke and Smith 1996: 3), conservation and heritage management in the United Kingdom remained strangely isolated from these changes - perhaps because the image and value of the ancient monument had become so firmly established, but that image was itself sustained by increasingly isolated practitioners. Therefore we can see that it has been possible to answer the first research question posed above (page 18). In Chapters Two and Three we have seen how the idea of the monument was created, but it is clear that that idea was sustained because there was no opposing paradigm until the 1960s, but also because those who maintained ancient monuments became increasingly isolated. Chapters Four and Five will consider the second research question, how we shift to a new management paradigm.

Peers attempted to define a framework and research policy for archaeological fieldwork and this concept was published in the *Antiquaries Journal* (Peers 1929). Drawn up with the assistance of a sub-committee of the Society of Antiquaries Research Committee, consisting of Bushe-Fox, Collingwood, Peake and Wheeler, this initiative was more an Antiquaries proposal than one from the Office of Works, but was perhaps the first research policy paper aiming to consider the main points of each period and arrive at a 'clear conception of the most profitable lines of inquiry' (Peers 1929: 349). The Research Committee felt that,

'it is at any rate evident that something like a general agreement on the direction of archaeological inquiry in Britain would be of the greatest possible value. By such means the energies of all the archaeological societies and institutions of this country might be concentrated on a definite programme of research, in which all might take part, avoiding side-issues and useless repetitions.'

(Peers 1929: 352-353)

But the focus was to remain on the academic, the large and highly visible sites, particularly those 'where really valuable results are to be expected' (Peers 1929: 350), whilst the direction of enquiry required in all periods was a clarification of chronology, particularly in association with key-dates of invasion, foundation and desertion - the key foci of the culture history approach. The excavation of Romano-British shops and private buildings, for example, was considered, 'unlikely at present to add materially to our knowledge' of the culture (Peers 1929: 351). Thus assumptions about inherent value were to permeate archaeological research, but also the justifications for the selection of sites for scheduling, and although the balance of scheduling shifted from standing monuments to field monuments (buried archaeology), the ideas of the monument as 'document' and the pre-eminence of fabric persisted.

The research policy created by Peers and others was not pursued and only resurrected in the 1990s. Similarly there was no sense that management was different from scheduling or guardianship; once a site was scheduled, it was somehow, being managed. It is only in very recent years that the legal entitlement to continuously plough a scheduled site is being recognised as a failure of management. Pitt-Rivers and his successors seldom referred to 'management', perhaps because the elements of management were familiar to them: the familiar treatment of family tombs and urban churches (for example) was demarcation by railings, which could easily be applied to scheduled prehistoric sites; the treatment of large medieval monuments was established and could be continued. In a sense Thompson was correct when he drew a complimentary (in his view) parallel between monuments and museum pieces, as the state, like a museum, continued to acquire more and more artefacts, but these acquisitions became meaningless because their designation was not part of an understanding of a broader heritage agenda (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 318). Thus one of the most fundamental changes now taking place is that management of the historic environment is based on understanding and managing a wide range of values and meanings which have been applied by a wide range of people to buildings, sites and places. Many of these meanings may be in direct conflict, but the desired outcome is that the elements of the past that are of meaning to us today should be identified and used in the present and into the future.

Today, the Inspectorate does not have the same sense of being an élite within the profession because the field of conservation is now at a point where it stretches from the Palaeolithic to Cold War, of human origin to natural and local to world heritage, tangible to intangible, where one small group - let alone one organization - cannot pretend to cope with all the ramifications and nuances of the subject. From being a specialist, the Inspector is now more akin to a general practitioner but most Inspectors still consider themselves 'archaeologists' rather than 'cultural heritage managers' who happen to be archaeologists using archaeology as one of the tools at their disposal.

We shall see in Chapter Five that the initial intention to include local initiatives and local management has resurfaced to be complemented by diversity and participatory effort, but with an eye to a world context. The problem is that many of these 'drivers' are now contradictory: how can the local be married to universal; how international is an international charter? When guardianship sites were perceived as mono-period, 'tidiness' and clarity were considered essential for the visitor to be able to read the document, although the reality was that only a few could read the fabric. There is now recognition that a site has many 'narratives' and values - ecological as well as cultural - and can in consequence (and in rather contradictory fashion) appear 'untidy', when perhaps greater clarity is needed for the visitor to unpick those threads. The original analogy between fabric and the 'document' has been extended into an analogy between archaeology and linguistics and literary criticism, where the use of 'document' has been replaced by terms such as 'text', 'narrative' and 'discourse' (Shanks and Tilley 1987; Hodder 1991; Gosden 1992). In a literary sense a text can have several narrators, all of whom see the same plot and action from different perspectives, whereas a site, although still 'text', has a variety of competing narrative strands: grand narrative, narrative of 'official' history, social history narrative, gender, class, narratives of primary and secondary use and so on. It is also the case that archaeologists do not necessarily understand the implications of the parallels made with literary techniques. It might be common knowledge to archaeologists that Brecht challenged audiences to understand that what they were seeing was artifice. However, they be less aware that a dramatist such as James Saunders actively sought to have the audience participate in the drama, arguing with characters, thereby blurring the boundary between 'reality' and 'drama', but deliberately

subverting the roles of actor, audience and playwright. The consequence was that the play as written was never complete; this might be a more useful parallel for archaeologists and heritage managers to consider. Similarly the relationship between the site and the individual does not have to be educational and improving; the discourse could be one of the senses or imagination (Lipe 1984: 4). No heritage manager acting alone could ensure that the multiplicity of narrative threads is recognised, although who decides which threads to present is a subject of continuing debate and this will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Almost without notice, the gradual blurring of distinction between 'living' and 'dead' by the introduction of floors and roofs for conservation purposes, the continuing discussion on reconstruction and the recognition that monuments have a present and future life as well as ignored past lives, have coalesced to bring about a situation where all the practices and principles of the early twentieth century are now open to reinterpretation. Coupled with this is an increased understanding of how we have arrived at our current position. Analysis of the new directions for conservation practice will be made in Chapter Five, but the following chapter, a case study of early conservation in Cyprus, will examine the ways in which British conservation practice responded to, and in, a different cultural environment. Although conservation in the United Kingdom remained isolated from the changes that took place in archaeology, British conservation practitioners working abroad were exposed to and participated in different approaches to the past and monuments, but somehow the lessons learned in the Empire did not inform established practice in the British mainland. The possibility is that many of those issues which the profession is now considering - inclusion, the politics of the past, cultural identity and different approaches to monuments - were phrased and explored in an imperial context.

Notes to Chapter Three.

- (1) Between 1880 and 1910 Britain's portion of the world's trade shrank from 23 to 17 per cent, and by the latter date her share of the world's industrial capacity was 15 per cent, compared to the United State's 35 per cent and Germany's 16 per cent (James 1998:202).
- (2) See also *The Builder* July 19th, 1912:74 - 75 'Our Vanishing Monuments' for comments on the 'American purse' and the sale of the Globe Room, Reindeer Inn,

Banbury.

- (3) For some unknown reason there is no Pickering Castle Guardianship File at the PRO, Kew, so the English Heritage Deed Files had to be consulted.**
- (4) The terms 'living' and 'dead' as applied to monuments were defined at the VIth International Congress of Architects, Madrid in 1904 (Erder 1986).**
- (5) Only part of the discussion can be assessed as the archive is incomplete. The papers of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society were being reordered at the time of the research and were unavailable for consultation. The letters quoted have been recently discovered and are currently being conserved at the English Heritage Archaeology Store, Helmsley, North Yorkshire.**

Chapter Four

Imperial Cyprus, 1878 to 1939 - A Case Study.

'For lack of requisite funds and consequent well-considered attention most of that great inheritance is in dire jeopardy and going to pieces. Is it not time that Great Britain, which has inherited this responsibility with the direct control of the island, should play her part as Italy is doing in Rhodes and Tripoli, and France in Syria, Algeria and Tunis? These may be hard times, but the loss of such priceless treasures of antiquity is likely in the long run to lead to a lack of prestige in the world of culture as irreplaceable as are the treasures themselves if allowed to founder.'

The Times, 22nd September, 1935.

1. Introduction.

This chapter will illustrate how British administrators and preservationists behaved in a multi-cultural environment, away from the constraints of domestic politics and social conditions. The reasons for choosing this case study are that it will indicate that conservation practice is flexible, (or at least not rigid) and indicate that contemporary issues in Cultural Heritage Management, particularly the issues of multi-culturalism, 'use' of the historic environment and the role of the heritage manager have been explored in other contexts. These issues will be discussed in this chapter and pursued in Chapter Five.

As noted above (page 25) I felt it was important to include research on British conservation practice in the Empire in order to explore the different constraints and opportunities on such work in a colonial context rather than at home. The Eastern Mediterranean appeared to be the most suitable choice because British presence there coincided with the beginnings and expansion of the preservation movement and because the countries under consideration contained (and still contain) several cultural groups who were likely to have attached different values to the remains of the past. Cyprus, Palestine, Israel, Iran, Jordan and Egypt were the obvious locations. Of these Cyprus appeared to be the easier option in terms of 'attainability', with an

extensive British involvement up to recent years and several, but chiefly two, cultural communities which would provide material on cultural differences and values. There is of course a difficult political problem in Cyprus that has lasted since the Turkish occupation of the northern and eastern parts of the island in 1974: this has placed parts of the island 'out of bounds' to researchers. In spite of this latter issue, Cyprus was chosen as the case study and I am grateful for the support given by several academics who felt that my area of study was important and under-researched (in particular Nicholas Stanley Price, Director General of ICCROM and Dr. Michael Given, University of Glasgow).

A week-long research visit was made to Cyprus in February/ March 2000, with most of the time spent in the State Archives, Nicosia. The present political situation in Cyprus not only made the possibility of visiting sites difficult, but also any overt attempt to question Turkish authorities and academics could lead (and has led) to the withdrawal of assistance from Greek-Cypriots. Therefore, although many of the sites discussed and conserved in the early 1900s are located in the Turkish-occupied zone, I chose not to visit the area except to cross the Green Line for a brief visit to the northern, Turkish half of Nicosia to look at the Bedestan, Jeffery's Museum, the church of St. Catherine (now Haidar Pasha Mosque) and the Cathedral of St. Sophia (now Selimiye Mosque). Such a visit could be conducted in one day and as an independent tourist. As the majority of my research was to be conducted at the State Archive office in the Greek-Cypriot sector of Nicosia I did not want to jeopardise this work and therefore consider my approach to have been a workable and sustainable compromise.

In Chapters Two and Three it could be seen that British interpretation of foreign conservation practice played an important role in shaping British attitudes. In reality foreign experience was divided into two categories: what other nations did, and what Britain did abroad as an imperial power. As far as the former category was concerned competition between fellow European and colonial rivals played a key role, as did the need for Britain to be seen to be acting 'better' (in the sense of being more 'paternal') than other regimes. In the latter category, what Britain did as an imperial power with regard to preservation was not consistent as there was more than one government department responsible for imperial activity (unlike the pre-eminence of the Office of Works in Britain), and experience gained abroad did not necessarily inform and

expand preservation principles in Britain. The actions of British imperial power rested on the interest and motivation of particular individuals, although there was an overarching political dimension to British presence. In Cyprus the motivating force was the architect George H. Jeffery.

This raises a number of questions about conservation in an imperial context:

- 1) Were those conservation principles imported from Britain modified in the light of experience, particularly with regard to the demands and preferences of different cultural groups, and if so, how were they modified and what impact did this have on the historic environment?
- 2) Does the conservation work undertaken in Cyprus between 1878 and 1939 have a relevance beyond those geographical and temporal boundaries?
- 3) What effect did national, local and charitable conservation agencies have on conservation principles or strategy in Cyprus? Of particular importance in Cyprus is Evkaf, the Board of Commissioners for Charitable and Religious Purposes (1), the Muslim equivalent of the Church Commissioners in the Arab world. Evkaf is a charitable foundation, the duties of which can include the repair of historic structures, ranging from mosques to urban fountains.

Questions such as these lead to the identification of main themes that will be explored in the chapter through specific case studies:

- 1) conservation as an indicator of international status,
- 2) differences between home and colonial approaches,
- 3) the recognition, exploration and acceptance of different and sometimes opposing cultural values, leading to new approaches in conservation.

Most of the known work on conservation in an imperial context is based on examples from the Indian sub-continent (Chakrabarti 1982; Thapar 1984; Linstrum 1995), so research on the activities of British specialists in Cyprus can make a significant contribution to this particular aspect of the development of conservation strategies.

2. The Nature and Extent of British Rule in Cyprus, 1878 to 1939.

2.1. The Political Context.

The Ottoman Empire had ruled the island of Cyprus since 1571, while British control began in June 1878 as a response to an ultimatum from the Ottoman Empire that Britain should take over the control of Cyprus on behalf of the Ottomans (an agreement known as 'the Cyprus Convention', or 'Convention of Defensive Alliance'). Initially the agreement was only temporary; should Russia return lands to Ottoman Turkey, Britain was expected to return Cyprus (Hill 1952; Hanworth 1989; Knapp and Antoniadu 1998). This temporary arrangement was to play a major part in the difficulties which beset the early administrators (Hanworth 1989: 157-158). Surprisingly Britain had to pay rent for administering Cyprus, being a sum of money paid annually by the British to the Sultan in Constantinople, which became known as 'the Turkish debt'. The Ottomans had taxed the Cypriots very heavily and had spent little on improving the island. The 'debt' was defined as the difference between revenue over expenditure, which amounted to £92,000 annually. The crux of the matter was that the Ottomans would lose tax revenue by leaving the island, and Britain, over-hastily, agreed to refund the money. The 'debt' was to be paid annually out of revenue raised in Cyprus, although this sum decreased with the balance being paid by the Treasury (Lukach and Jardine 1913; Hill 1952; Hanworth 1989; James 1998).

In 1878 British control was administered by the Foreign Office operating through a High Commissioner (Lt.-Gen. Sir Garnet Wolsely); two years later the administration was transferred to the Colonial Office. The island was then formally annexed to the British Empire on the 15th November 1914, after the outbreak of war with Turkey. Direct rule (rule without reference to Ottoman practice) did not begin until 1915, and in 1925 Cyprus became a British Crown Colony overseen by a Governor. Following an attempted uprising inspired by Greek-Cypriot clerics in 1931, the constitution was suspended and the Legislative Council abolished to be replaced by the Governor ruling by decree (Hill 1952; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998).

British interest in Cyprus was to wane over the period under research. At first Cyprus was considered valuable because it was seen as a counter to protect Suez;

however with the development of a major British installation at Alexandria, Cyprus was held largely to deny it to another power (Curzon Archive MSS Eur. F 112/269). Thus the combination of 'temporariness', waning strategic interest and the Turkish debt was to create a situation where resources available for preservation would be strictly limited.

Initially the Greek Cypriot community welcomed British control, as they were aware that the British government had ceded control of the Ionian Islands to Greece in 1864, and they were optimistic that greater prosperity for the island would lie ahead. In 1915 there were undertakings between Britain and Greece that Cyprus would be ceded to Greece in return for Greek entry into the First World War. These undertakings were reneged upon after the war although further discussions were held in 1919-20 on the subject of 'Greater Greece' (Silberman 1995: 259; Macmillan 2001) and the place of Cyprus within such a union (the Greek term is 'enosis' or 'union'). Greek-Cypriot opposition to British rule increased as it became clear that the desired investment and union would not be forthcoming, whereas official British correspondence (SA1:532/1907/1; Curzon Archive MSS Eur F 112/269) recognised the necessity of maintaining a presence to safeguard the large Turkish minority (approximately one sixth of the population, or 60,000 people, (Cyprus Committee 1934: 1)), which was seen as pro-British (Hill 1952; Alastos 1955; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998).

It will be seen later in the chapter that 'enosis' was to have an impact on Greek-Cypriot responses to the conservation agenda because the Greeks felt compelled to refer to the interests and values of those on the Greek mainland (Silberman 1995: 259; Kotsakis 1998; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998). As was seen in Chapter Two with reference to Ireland and will be seen again in Chapter Five, politics, the past and the uses of the past have always been linked, particularly with regard to identity (Trigger 1984; 1985; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell (ed) 1998).

2.2 The Cultural Context.

The island population contained Greek-Cypriot, Turkish-Cypriot, Maronite Christian (that section of the Syrian Orthodox Church brought into communion with Rome) and Jewish communities. In some areas Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived side by side (although they were often described as being aloof from each other (Cyprus

Committee 1934: 1; Alastos 1955; Durrell 1957)), whereas there could be, and still are, villages that are completely or largely Maronite. This mixture of cultures was one of the reasons for academic interest in the island as it was seen to lie at the junction of Europe, the Near East and Middle East – a crossroads of the ideas of cultural diffusion (Hill 1952; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998).

In common with many Eastern Mediterranean locations, Cyprus attracted scholars from many parts of Europe to conduct studies of the prehistoric and Classical world and to recover artefacts for national collections (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 30; Merrillees 2003). The di Cesnola brothers excavated at Kourion in the 1870s, occupied from the Neolithic to the fourth century AD and renowned chiefly for its acropolis and the discovery by Luigi di Cesnola in 1876 of a hoard of gold and silver objects known as the Kourion Treasure (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 29; Stanley Price 1998). The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies undertook work at Paphos (settled in the fourth century BC and occupied later by the Romans and later still by the Crusaders) and Salamis (a Greek, Roman and Byzantine city) in the 1880s (Hill 1934: 277). Dr Olnefalsch-Richter excavated at Kouklia and Paphos (occupied 1500BC to AD70) in the 1890s on behalf of the British Museum, the Berlin Museum and the German Emperor (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 30). This work was continued by a Dr. Zahn of the Prussian Royal Academy of Science in 1896 (*The Builder*, 100, January, 1911: 82). Further work was supported by the Cyprus Exploration Fund and Cambridge University (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998). Also in 1896 representatives of the British Museum excavated at Kourion (Jeffery 1906: 481). Between 1927 and 1931 various groups of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition were sent by the Swedish government and Crown Prince Gustavus Adolphus (Jeffery 1931: 28–29; Hill 1934: 278; Merrillees 1994; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 30) to excavate at Kition (dating from the thirteenth century BC) and the palace at Vouni (dating from the beginning of the fifth century BC). In 1933 the American archaeologist George McFadden began systematic excavation of Kourion (Hill 1934: 278). Thus the period under research covers the shift from 'speculative' excavation to 'scientific' research.

Two points are of significance from the above list and will have a bearing on the later discussions concerning the need to encourage tourists to the island: many objects were taken from the island and only Vouni was left by the excavators in a condition

suitable to be displayed to the public (Caroe 1931: 6; Hill 1934: 279; Peers 1934: 6; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 29-30) in terms of both the condition of the site and the availability of interpretative material.

Other scholars came to record the standing buildings, to understand their stylistic evolution, record possible relationships with familiar medieval buildings on the European mainland and to recover the principles of their geometry for new buildings. The principal textual work was produced by the French, the *Monuments de Chypre et de Rhodes* in 1860 by the Marquis de Vogue and the *Architecture Militaire* in 1871 by Rey. These texts and visits were followed in 1882 by two members of the RIBA, l'Anson and Vacher, who visited the island and presented a paper to the Institute on its architectural remains and antiquities, published in the 1882-1883 RIBA *Transactions* (Hill 1934; 1952; Peers 1934)

The most comprehensive text was that produced in 1899 by Camille Enlart, *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*. This text was a continuation of the exemplary work commissioned by the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, that had already taken in much of the Classical world. This text however dealt only with the Gothic remains on the island and sought to establish a link and evolution between the Gothic of France and Cyprus. To this extent Enlart's work is a continuation of that begun by de Caumont, and by extension, Rickman (above page 35) and represents the continuation of the application of an empirical and 'scientific' method to the study of buildings, although the subject matter was art-historical. Enlart contains a gazetteer of Gothic sites on the island and was used in the manner of a Blue Guide by tourists. Enlart continued his interest in Cyprus for several years working in partnership with George Jeffery, most notably on the repairs to the Gothic churches of Famagusta (Hill 1934; Peers 1934).

Another influential text was a series of essays entitled *The Medieval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia*, written by the historian and cleric, Bishop Stubbs of Chester and Oxford in 1878. These essays focused on the foundation of the medieval Kingdoms of Cyprus and their relationship to the Crusades (Hill 1934).

Thus when academics and preservation specialists looked at the historic resources of the island as a whole (Jeffery 1906: 487; 1910: 135; 1931: 30-31; Caroe 1931: 5-6),

several facts became apparent: the vast majority of objects from Classical sites were in museums in other parts of the world (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 29-30), the sites themselves were in poor condition, Byzantine churches were being demolished at an increasing rate, many of the large medieval ruined medieval monuments were in danger of collapse and suffering from ill-use, and several important medieval cathedrals and churches had been converted to mosques (the cathedrals of St. Sophia, Nicosia and St. Nicholas, Famagusta – now the Selimiye mosque and Lala Mustafa Pasha mosque respectively). Although it was recognised that there were problems of illicit excavation and smuggling of artefacts from Classical sites, the Cyprus administration felt that this could be controlled (Markides 1917). The historic buildings of Cyprus had particular significance to the European mind because they represented and exhibited a mixture of European styles derived from the European mainland as well as those styles reflected back to Europe from the period of the Crusades. Furthermore, the buildings (principally the churches) were understood to have been isolated from Renaissance influences and alterations (Markides 1917: 3; Jeffery 1931: 1; Caroe 1931: 5; Peers 1934: 6–7), which was to lead to consideration of the island as a museum case for the instruction of west Europeans and illumination of west European culture (above page 153 for Thompson's comments on the monument as museum piece).

However, following the take-over the British discovered that cultural associations and cultural identity were important issues in Cyprus. The crux of the matter was that the British responded more enthusiastically than the Greek-Cypriots to the medieval remains, which were by and large familiar to the British and valued by them. The Turkish-Cypriots maintained, adapted and used medieval buildings, so there was some degree of empathy between the two cultures. The Greek-Cypriots however did not value the medieval remains or existing buildings because they represented domination by other cultural groups, and thus Greek-Cypriot communities were content to demolish Byzantine churches and build new structures and remove stone from ruins. For the Greek-Cypriots the remains of the Classical past had greater meaning as those remains represented both political aspirations and a shared past with the Greek mainland. The British found this difficult to understand, and on the subject of Nicosia one administrator was to comment,

'Greek-Cypriots are apt to have a curious outlook with regards to such antiquities as the town walls. I understand some prominent persons among them consider

that they should be removed altogether as relics of the days of oppression. On the same principle we should remove Hadrian's Wall'.

(SA1:532/1907/1. Memo, Attorney General to Chief Secretary, 21/3/33)

This conflict of values and politicization of the past was unlike that described in Chapter Two with regard to Ireland and indeed bears closer resemblance to contemporary cultural heritage issues – particularly those in the Balkans (Chapman 1994) and at Ayodhya, India (Layton et al 2001). However, although in Ireland both the English and Irish were convinced of the antiquity of the monuments, and thus their academic 'value', they disagreed over the 'meaning' of the monuments – and as we shall see in Chapter Five, managing the conflicts over the 'meanings' given to the past is identified as one of the key tasks of the heritage manager (Smith et al 2003: 67). The irony of the Greek situation was that many British philhellenes helped create the 'idea' of Greece (St. Clair 1972; Lowenthal 1994: 307–308).

Paradoxically the British take-over of Cyprus was to have serious negative consequences for the survival of historic buildings on the island. With the removal of Ottoman rule the Greek-Cypriot community found that they had a greater sense of freedom and increased wealth and were prepared to exercise that freedom in terms of developing their villages and communities. In preservation terms this meant that historic buildings of the medieval period, particularly the churches, disappeared at a faster rate under British control than they did when the island was under Ottoman rule with its severe financial constraints (Jeffery 1910: 127 and 136). The assumption made by west European commentators was that the Ottomans had destroyed much of the island's Christian past, whilst the remainder was at risk because of lax British control,

'Does England wish to have it said that what the Turks left the English destroyed? The landmarks of history are the most precious legacy of the past, the most priceless heritage of the future. Who is to restore them once they are effaced? Every civilized government in the world is at last becoming awake to its responsibility in this matter.'

(*The Times*, 26th December, 1899, Letter from Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco).

It was concern for the adapted cathedrals that brought the preservationists and island administrators into proper contact with Evkaf and Muslim preservation principles.

After the Ottomans conquered the island in 1571, the conversion of the cathedrals and selected churches happened as a matter of course, but those conversions and the subsequent maintenance were conducted by Evkaf, using money raised for those purposes. This worked in the following way: one or more Muslim individuals might own a market (*suq*) and the rents from the stall-holders would be used to maintain the property, but the owner(s) might also decide to place a proportion of the profit into a trust for the specific purpose of building a minaret onto the cathedral of St. Sophia, or the general desire to maintain religious buildings in Cyprus. The trust would be managed and the tasks executed by Evkaf, and these could range from the construction of a minaret, the building of a school, the distribution of food to the poor or the provision of a drinking-water fountain. Rather than being a 'one off' donation, the charitable foundation was the essence of the Muslim welfare system (Akurgal 1980:144). Initially, perhaps because the changes appeared so spectacular (Fig. 18), the British felt that the alterations to the fabric and the addition of minarets were unsympathetic and damaging (SPAB File, Cyprus Antiquities 1906–1922. Letter, Jeffery to Secretary of SPAB, 21/10/1904). But gradually, the interventions and role of Evkaf were appreciated and seen to be largely consistent with European practice, and as a consequence collaborative work on Turkish-Cypriot owned property was actively pursued (Jeffery 1906: 483 and 490–491; Caroe 1931: 27; Peers 1934: 16). Thus the threat of loss to a proportion of the island's built heritage was removed, largely because Evkaf had the responsibility for undertaking work, and more important, had the financial resources which the island government lacked. However, the one issue that British specialists had to come to terms with was the fact that the Muslim property was 'used' and adapted and could not be 'frozen' in the manner familiar in Britain and described above in Chapters Two and Three. The reality was that change was better than loss, and this was grasped by George Jeffery. This relationship with the Muslim community was to be in sharp contrast to the relationship with the Greek-Cypriot community, which will be explored below (page 202).

The British administrators felt that the differing responses to the buildings and antiquities of Cyprus and the associated criticism from fellow Europeans (typified by the Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco letter referred to above), could be improved by the education of the island communities and the introduction of ancient monuments legislation (Jeffery 1907: 1–4; SPAB File, Cyprus Antiquities 1906-1922). We have seen in Chapters Two and Three that in Britain it was understood by the Office of

Figure 18.

Selimiye Mosque, formerly Cathedral of St. Sophia. Original in colour.

K. Emerick.

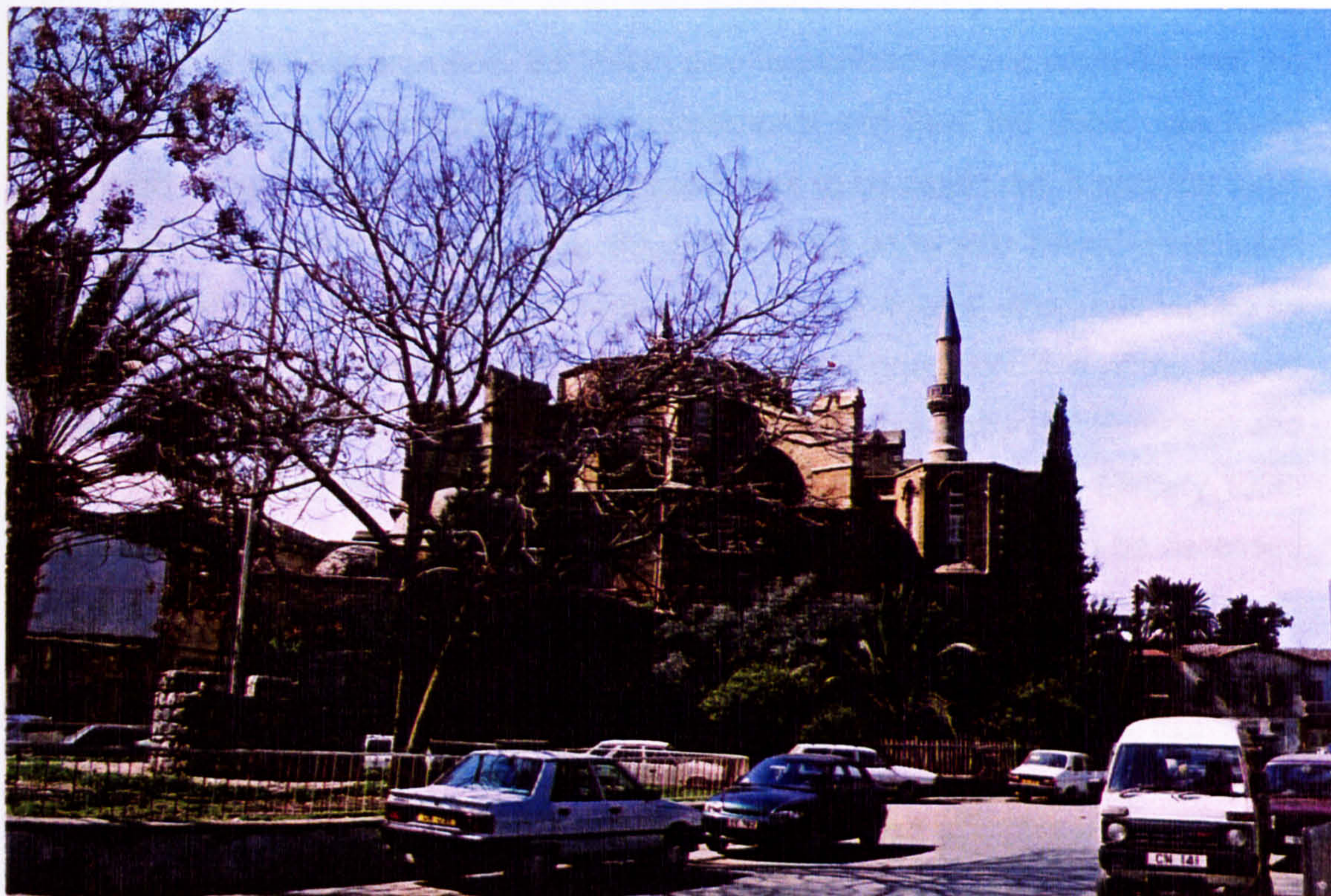


Figure 19.

Jeffery's Museum. Original in colour. K. Emerick.



Works and other preservationists that there was a close relationship between the guardianship monuments and education. On the one hand the monuments were 'improving' for the general visitor, whilst their potential role in the education of children was new and actively exploited, but Peers also recognized (above page 86) that the public were the true custodians of the monuments and thus the public had to be educated about their value if their preservation was to be continued. It was this latter proposition that held true for Cyprus. Education of the population meant a reduction of the threat to ancient monuments – particularly the medieval structures valued by the British. But it was also realised that the survival and good condition of the ancient monuments of Cyprus would make the island a popular destination for European and North American tourists - and a possible source of additional revenue (Jeffery 1906: 487; 1907: 4; Caroe 1931: 5; Peers 1934: 4). The level of tourism can be assessed by reference to primary and secondary documents and it is clear that although tourism was known in the early 1900s (*JRIBA* 1899–1900 7 (3rd series): 117 and 340; *The Times*, December 16th, 1900, see Appendix Two for the full text of this letter) there was a feeling that this could be increased, partly in an attempt to compete with other sites – particularly Carcassone – being preserved by European rivals (Burnell 1866: 152-153; *The Builder*, July 21st, 1900: 4–5). By 1931 the average number of tourists landing for the day from ships was 5,200 per annum, whereas the number of visitors was not less than 4,000. In 1934 the number of visitors was 4,176 and in 1935, 3,988 (SA1:690/31). In these figures 'tourist' means a person visiting as part of a group from a cruise ship, whereas a 'visitor' is an independent traveller.

However, increased tourism and the use of that revenue had to be carefully managed and it was in this area that the inconsistency between civil service departments in the colony and the home country had a damaging effect. Discussions began in 1930 with regard to the advisability of introducing a Landing Tax Bill and a charge to enter the monuments. This decision could not be taken alone by the island government and had to be agreed with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Secretary (Passfield) to the Secretary of State (Cunliffe-Lister) was not supportive of the idea and referred to a similar case raised with regard to Palestine and then abandoned. The Secretary suggested that the Governor (Storrs) should look at alternative methods, such as a charitable fund, voluntary contributions, or a handbook on the antiquities of Cyprus for sale to visitors (SA1:690/31).

Storrs was far from content with this reply and outlined for Passfield the inadequate nature of the funds available for preservation and the parlous condition of many of the monuments. Leaving Passfield in no doubt as to the condition of monuments in Cyprus, Storrs replied:

'A recent consultation with Mr. Caroe (the architect who had purchased a summer residence on Cyprus) has convinced me that unless means can be found without delay to increase the present grant, the historic buildings of Cyprus will reach a stage of dilapidation which will not only reflect the greatest discredit on the island, but will considerably reduce the number of visitors interested in the architecture of the Middle Ages. It is not practical to impose fresh taxation on the people of the Colony, but perhaps a Landing Tax.'

(SA1:690/31).

A Landing Tax of eight shillings and four shillings was proposed for day tourists (according to the class by which tourists were travelling) and five shillings and three shillings for visitors. Storrs estimated that approximately £2,500 per annum could be generated. Government accounting decreed that it was not possible to allocate the revenue to the specific purposes of preservation, but detailed accounts would be kept of receipts and expenditure to ensure that the sum was not exceeded. Again the concept was rejected.

In 1934 a new Governor (Palmer) took up the fight. On the 22nd September 1935, *The Times* published a damning article on the British government's irresponsibility with regard to Cyprus [part of which article is reproduced at the head of this chapter], it concluded:

'We press upon a Government, apparently callous in this important matter, a reconsideration of their negative attitude, pointing out that in Cyprus even a little goes a long way. Thus only exiguous outlay under sound direction is needed. The responsibility for both should be shouldered by Great Britain before it is too late.'

(*The Times*, 22nd September, 1935).

The reference to the work being conducted by France and Italy in the Eastern Mediterranean [in the section of the quote at the head of the chapter] was calculated to upset government ministers, but was also a plea for renewed action. The Colonial Office stated that special efforts had been made to increase the interest of the

shipping companies in Cyprus as a tourist resort, therefore any attempt to impose a Landing Tax would run counter to these objectives. Palmer consulted other colonial tourist destinations and found that the West Indies had a duty on passengers transported to Jamaica by ship and aircraft, but still the Colonial Office did not relent (SA1:690/31).

What strikes the reader of these archives is the lack of consistency across the colonies and the role of the individual governors in inducing change. Similarly there is no sense that reference is being made back to Britain and the management experience of the Office of Works – particularly when one remembers that Lionel Earle (Secretary to the Commissioners of Works) was finally convinced of the sense of taking Whitby Abbey into guardianship when he realised that the entrance fees could be used for the repair of the fabric (above page 143). It is also clear that the principal monuments are understood to be the Medieval ruins – parts of the historic environment that were of particular interest to west European travellers and academics. Although the matter of the Landing Tax Bill was quashed, it can be seen that the role of tourism and the existence of the heritage tourist has been a long-standing debate (Briggs 1952; Macaulay 1953; Mac Connell 1976; Ousby 1990; Herbert (ed) 1995; Keay 1997:14-15;31; Orbasli 2000).

Tourism introduced the demand for better presented sites, introduced some capital benefit but also brought complications of its own, such as increased wear through access coupled with the problem of constructing physical access and it was clear that the Cyprus administration lacked the resources to improve basic infrastructure (SA1:590/1912/2). Allied to this was the increased possibility of public and publicized dissatisfaction and unfavourable comparison with other preserved remains in the Eastern Mediterranean (*The Times* 31st October, 1933; 19th July, 1934; 6th November, 1934). Thus the poor condition of the prehistoric and Classical sites, the lack of objects and the 'better' quality of sites in Palestine, Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia was acknowledged ('Monuments of Cyprus: a neglected heritage', *The Times* 5th May, 1934) and greater stress was placed on the value of the medieval remains on the island – which were themselves far from secure. A further issue was the potential for conflict between tourists and islanders over whether a site or building was an opportunity for tourism and 'improvement' or a valued and 'working' cultural asset, but the obverse of this was that islanders might recognize the economic potential of

particular heritage assets – and this will be explored (below page 206 to 207) by reference to a particular example in the context of the shifts in the appreciation of heritage assets.

The key to many of the problems faced on the island was believed by experts to be improved legislative control and a coherent, funded antiquities service (Peers 1934: 16 –19) that would secure the island's antiquities for research and tourism, but would also confirm Britain's imperial intent in the face of competition from France and Italy.

2.3 The Legislative Context.

At the take-over of the island in 1878 the Ottoman codes of law were administered by the British in any action in which the defendant was an Ottoman subject (as were most of the population of Cyprus) (Stanley Price 1998: 2). Complete overhaul of the legislation only happened at annexation in 1915 (Stanley Price 1998). This unusual situation included the antiquities legislation which was the Ottoman 'Reglement sur les Antiquités', issued in Constantinople in March 1874 (Stanley Price 1998). This law defined the conditions on which excavations on the island could be authorised, but also provided for the dispersal of the excavated finds - one third to the government, one third to the finder and the final third to the landowner. This regulation with its liberal attitude to finds dispersal was drawn up by Dethier, a French academic and Director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, and was the principal reason why there were so few objects recovered from excavation remaining on the island. Such was the situation that many excavators attempted to buy the land on which they excavated in order to increase their proportion of finds (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998; Stanley Price 1998: 6). Dethier's successor was the Ottoman, Osman Hamdi Bey who rewrote the Ottoman antiquities laws in 1884 - after the British take-over of Cyprus - to forbid all export of antiquities. Therefore the antiquities legislation in operation in Cyprus was out of step with the rest of the Ottoman Empire, although it was in advance of legislation in Britain simply by virtue of being legally binding.

The first conservation crisis for the British authorities developed over Famagusta. Famagusta was a walled medieval town that was almost completely intact in the 1890s, but was also completely deserted. The developing criticism of the British

administration concerned two issues: one, buildings within the walls were being pillaged for stone to be shipped to Port Said whilst the colonial government found itself unable to prevent this as it did not own any of the buildings within the town; and two, the Colonial Office in collaboration with the government in Britain sought to extend the harbour facilities and install a railway system along the waterfront that was to connect with Nicosia and which would of necessity have to pierce the curtain wall of the town. George Jeffery was a frequent visitor to Cyprus from his base in Jerusalem and he began a letter and article writing campaign to the SPAB in London, noted individuals, *The Builder*, and the journal of the RIBA (SPAB file: Cyprus Antiquities 1906–1922) to complain about and highlight both issues. Pressure was applied to the Colonial Office via delegations to Downing Street and mounting concern was expressed by European rivals, with the result that the island government in 1891 issued a law '*To Provide for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings in the Town of Famagusta, Cyprus*'.

This law made it an offence to export, or move, dressed or cut stone, ashlar or rubble work, without giving twenty-four hours notice in writing to the Commissioner of the District. The location and destination of the stone had to be acknowledged, as did ownership of the site. Under this law it was also an offence to deface or destroy any ancient building or remove any stone from any ancient building that had collapsed. As a corollary, the island government and Colonial Office were forced to specify their own works at Famagusta in greater detail, reduce the area of curtain wall to be breached and refrain from some elements of the project which had been described in the British and European press as wanton destruction (*JRIBA* 1899–1900 7 (3rd series): 117; *The Times*, December 16th, 1899, 'Ruined Cities in Cyprus' (Appendix Two), and December 26th, 1900, 'Vandalism in Cyprus'). These and similar letters and articles made a great deal of Britain's responsibility as a civilized country to protect the European inheritance, but also drew attention to the romantic and picturesque quality of the deserted city.

'The President and Council respectfully beg that in the carrying out of any such works the fortifications and surroundings of this remarkable and almost unique example of an old walled city should remain intact. They venture to urge the great value of the place to the historian, the artist, and the antiquarian, as a picturesque monument associated with some of the most stirring events of the Middle Ages.'

(*JRIBA* 1899–1900 7 (3rd series):117)

Thus the automatic view was that the city should be frozen, but it is also interesting to note that at a time in Britain when monuments were becoming 'scientific' the combination of science, education and the picturesque was considered possible (*The Times*, Letter, December 16th, 1900). This is perhaps because the site was almost intact, something unknown in western Europe, and could therefore be all those things. However, the problem remained that freezing required management and was not the same as the benign neglect perhaps envisaged by those who favoured 'true' Picturesque. At this time Famagusta was also given an explicit role in the competition to establish international preservation credentials and it was specifically spoken of as Britain's Carcassone, although to be better preserved than the French example (*The Builder* July 21st, 1900; 7th June 1901: 101),

'But in the case of Carcassone the remains are not so complete of their period as at Famagusta, and although a most interesting archaeological study, the French town displays a little too much "restoration". Famagusta requires no restoration. It should merely be left alone in its desertion and solitude, a place of pilgrimage for the artist and antiquary.'

(SPAB File, Cyprus Antiquities 1906–1922, Letter, Jeffery to SPAB, 2/1/1900.)

The combination of picturesque and academic values was to resurface in a later press campaign in the 1930s that will be referred to below (page 208), but was in that instance part of the intention to encourage an increasing number of tourists to the island, although the desire to treat the city as a single, frozen monument remained the same (Caroe 1931: 12 and 25; Peers 1934: 17).

The Famagusta Stones Law illustrates some of the issues faced by the island administrators. Because practically all the possible defendants in any legal action would have been subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the law had to be consistent with Ottoman practice because the removal of stone had begun before the British take-over and a completely new British law would have been against the principles of the management agreement with the Ottomans. Thus the Famagusta Stones Law was consistent with 'a section of the Ottoman Penal Code that forbade the destruction of, or damage to, public buildings and monuments', (Stanley Price 1998: 3). The issue of ownership was also of concern to the British: private buildings were private buildings and remained private whether they were in Famagusta or Rievaulx. The British self-

image of their colonial role was of even-handed enablers, assisting nations to become (eventually) self-governing, respectful of the law, responsible and elevated to the same civilized plane as Britain herself (James 1998: 589; Hingley 2000b). However in an imperial context this could also be understood as requiring due process to revoke private property rights. Thus where there were no obvious or declared ownership rights – as in the case of a harbour or curtain walls of a fortress – the island administration assumed the ownership. The island government could not halt the removal of stone from buildings it did not own, but could only control it, and this in a less than effective manner, with very case-specific legislation. But as was seen in Chapter Two (pages 71-72) once the principle of preservation was accepted by government it was often the case that buildings in government ownership were the first of new categories to be protected or placed under agreements with the Office of Works (e.g. the protection extended to medieval ruined or ‘unused’ buildings before the introduction of the AMCAA 1913) and this was also to be the case in Cyprus.

Once the Famagusta problem began to recede, island administrators were made aware of unauthorised excavation and a substantial trade in Classical antiquities (one of the principal recipients being the American J. P. Morgan (Dalton 1906 and 1907; Lukach and Jardine 1913: 74)). Concerns about this activity resulted in the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1905 (described in detail below, and hereafter AA1905), but this was also used as an opportunity to include controls on standing structures. However, the result was a document that many found confusing. This textual confusion was probably generated by confusion about Britain’s imperial role. Britain wanted to ensure that its own values, particularly those concerning the rule of law and private property, were diffused to the colonies, but at the same time Britain sought to protect those cultural items that were of value to her, yet unappreciated by the native population. Education of the community would then result in appreciation of this cultural material, but in the interim AA 1905 brought private property, different cultural values and paternalism into conflict. All following quotations taken from the Act are taken from *The Statute Laws of Cyprus: Antiquities of 1905, May 10th, 1905*, Nicosia.

AA 1905 is described on its frontispiece as an Act to ‘consolidate and amend the law relating to ancient monuments and antiquities, and to provide museums’. Part One of AA 1905 defines the term “ancient monument” as meaning and including ‘any object, or building, or locality which, under the provisions of this Law, may be declared to be

an ancient monument'. Section 4 of Part One defines an "antiquity" as,

'all works whatever of architecture, sculpture, or any graphic art, or art generally, which date from the most ancient times up to the Turkish conquest of the Island, such as any buildings and architectural memorials, sculptured stones which originally belonged to such memorials, and pedestals, rampart, tombs, dressed stones, statues, reliefs, statuettes, inscriptions, paintings, mosaics, vases, arms, ornaments, and all other works and utensils of any material, gems for rings, coins, and, generally, all objects of antiquarian interest.'

(AA 1905: 2).

These two definitions were interpreted to mean that *all* structures whether ruined, intact or in use (such as a privately owned dwelling) could be termed 'ancient monuments', which was a significant change from contemporary practice in Britain. It should be remembered that the suggestion to schedule habitable structures caused enormous problems to the Office of Works (above page 114), whilst it was only in 1920 that AMAC considered the possibility of removing the distinction between ancient monuments and historic buildings (above page 120). However, in Part Three of AA1905 – Excavations for Antiquities, Section 28 (dealing with the power of acquisition) stated that,

'Nothing contained in this Law shall be construed as conferring any right to acquire any mosque, mesjid, church, teke, tomb, shrine, fountain, medresse, school or any other building, erection or site of a religious character, or any property belonging either to the Moslem Evkaf or to any ecclesiastical body in Cyprus. And no person shall under the provisions of this Law interfere or in any manner deal with any such property of a religious character as aforesaid, or property belonging to the Moslem Evkaf or any ecclesiastical body in Cyprus, without the permission in the case of the Moslem religion of the Chief Cadi [later replaced by Turkish delegate of Evkaf], in the case of the Greek Orthodox Church of the Metropolitan of the Diocese, or in the case of any other Church of the person recognized by the High Commissioner as the person for the time being administering the affairs of that Church in Cyprus.'

(AA 1905: 8)

Thus whilst it was clear that religious property could not be acquired by the Government, some commentators (particularly Jeffery) were not clear if this section meant that religious property was excluded from the Act, or whether a church could

be considered an ancient monument provided that the owners agreed to such classification (SA1:1077/12).

The issue of ownership was addressed in Part One in a comprehensive manner: 'all undiscovered antiquities of a moveable character' and 'all antiquities of an immovable character', were deemed 'the property of the Government subject to the provisions of this Law, unless in any case some person shall be the owner of them' (AA 1905: 2), but given further clarification in Part Two. Part Two, Section 10 of the Act specified that,

'The High Commissioner, whenever he considers that any structure, erection, monument, or site is of public interest by reason of the historic or traditional interest attaching thereto, may by notification in the *Cyprus Gazette*, declare it to be an ancient monument and subject to the provisions of this Law, and may appoint a Curator to take charge of it.'

(AA 1905: 4)

However this section concludes that where a structure, erection, monument or site is not in the possession or under the control of the Government, 'no such declaration shall be made unless with the advice of the Museum Committee.' This meant that the Museum Committee (and High Commissioner) made the decision as to which properties could be considered ancient monuments. The make-up of the Museum Committee was detailed in Part Six, Section 39, which stated that it was to include representatives of the two principal communities, although all decisions were to be confirmed by the High Commissioner, who was President of the Committee,

'The Committee shall consist of eight members, in addition to the President, that is to say, of the Chief Cadi of Cyprus [replaced by the Turkish delegate of Evkaf], the Archbishop of Cyprus, and the Curator of Antiquities [the Greek-Cypriot Markides], all for the time being, and of five persons to be elected in such manner as the High Commissioner may direct by the persons contributing to the cost of the Museums an annual sum of not less than ten shillings each, for the time being resident in Cyprus, or by the duly appointed representatives of such persons.'

(AA 1905: 11)

Thus control always stayed with the imperial power. The cultural component of the decision making body was likely to remain the minority group, depending on which

five people were elected, but with the final decision always resting with the High Commissioner. Once a structure was declared an ancient monument, Section 11 stated the penalties for unauthorized works, which were in excess of those in operation in Britain,

'It shall be unlawful for the owner of or for any person interested in or having the use of any ancient monument to destroy, demolish, or alter the archaeological character of it, or to deface it, or to modify it in any way, without the permission in writing of the Museum Committee confirmed by the High Commissioner. Every such person who acts contrary to the provisions of this section shall be liable to the penalty provided by section 13 [a fine not exceeding ten pounds, or imprisonment for a maximum of two months, or both] and the ancient monument shall vest in the Government of Cyprus.'

(AA 1905: 4)

The latter paragraph in Section 11 continues and contains one of the most interesting developments in early heritage legislation:

'Where the owner so desires, the Museum Committee with the sanction of the High Commissioner may, if it sees fit, from any funds at its disposal for the purpose of, and from time to time, grant to any such owner or person money for the purpose of maintaining, preserving, or restoring any such ancient monument.

Provided always that the owner or administrator of any building used or intended to be used for the purpose of religious worship may at all times repair, alter, enlarge or reconstruct the building for the more convenient performance of religious worship.'

(AA 1905: 5)

This added further confusion as it seemed to suggest that a church could be enlarged and altered without consent, although one interpretation of Part Three, Section 28 (above page 181) suggested that a church could be deemed an 'ancient monument' if the owner agreed and therefore it would become subject to the conditions in the first part of Section 11 – namely that it could receive state grant aid. Generally speaking, the term 'provided' can be taken to mean 'except that', so in this sense although an owner may apply for grant aid, the owner of a religious building may repair, alter and enlarge that building. What is not clear is whether this condition should be understood to apply to ruined or to intact and in use structures. However, the provision of state

grant aid was a remarkable innovation for the British in 1905, although it is not clear where the money was to come from. Part Seven – Financial Provisions, established the Cyprus Antiquities Fund, the monies of which ‘shall be applied for the purpose of carrying out this Law’ subject to the agreement of Committee and sanction of the High Commissioner, but it does not specifically state that the Fund could be used as the source of grant aid for owners to maintain, preserve or restore ancient monuments.

Section 12 of the Act dealt with the compulsory acquisition of ancient monuments when sanctioned by the Museum Committee and High Commissioner, which again would have provoked outrage if applied in Britain. Section 14 provided the justification for the High Commissioner (with the advice of the Museum Committee) to cause any work to be carried out which may be ‘necessary for the restoration, preservation or protection of any ancient monument’ (AA 1905: 5). Section 15, the final section in Part Two, contained a variation on the guardianship proposals established in Britain in 1900, stating that the High Commissioner acting with the advice of the Museum Committee may,

‘place the ancient monuments in any locality under the care of a Local Committee and depute to such Committee any of the powers hereby given to the High Commissioner for the preservation of such ancient monuments.’

(AA 1905: 5)

The membership of the Local Committee was to be appointed by the High Commissioner and hold office for two years. In Britain County Councils were given the power to take ancient monuments into guardianship, but the term ‘guardianship’ is not used in AA 1905, although the outcome is comparable to guardianship and the recent English Heritage use of Local Management Agreements (English Heritage 1992) whereby the day to day management of particular sites has been handed over to local community groups.

The reason for the introduction of AA 1905 is given as the need to provide a counter for the illicit trade in antiquities (above page 180; Dalton 1906; 1907), but it is clear that the concerns voiced over the problems in Famagusta raised the profile of ancient monuments and historic buildings – particularly when much of that concern drew unfavourable comparisons between British colonial practice and that of Britain’s

competitors. The SPAB File, Cyprus Antiquities 1906 to 1922 contains several letters on this topic including the following from Thackeray Turner, the Secretary of SPAB, to Lord Balfour, (26th January, 1900). Turner commented 'that the English are allowing priceless works to be destroyed which the French consider to be worth carefully illustrating'. It is perhaps unsurprising therefore that ancient monuments were included within the legislation, but surprising that protection was extended to historic buildings, particularly private dwellings. There is no sense from the primary or secondary sources that the island government or Colonial Office discussed their proposed ancient monuments law with the Office of Works, but one might assume that legal officers were consulted and they referred to the existing ancient monuments legislation. However, in AA 1905 the requirements on the owner were greater than those on the owner in both the 1882 and 1900 British ancient monuments acts, and as stated above (page 183) the penalties were greater than those in the 1882, 1900 and 1913 British Ancient Monuments Acts. The breadth of the definition of 'ancient monument' is perhaps best understood as a product of the British imperial role and responsibilities, that of paternalist and protector, ensuring the survival of cultural artefacts and extending knowledge and science despite the activities of, as yet, unappreciative dependants. In this sense, private property was an important consideration but not one that should stand in the way of Britain's imperial role. The legislation combined the categories of 'living' and 'dead' monuments, although at the same time it allowed change, so it would conceivably be possible to alter a ruin, or require that a 'living' building was not modified, and yet there is no sense that the island authorities perceived that there were two categories of site. The desire to secure antiquarian values was to generate conflict with living communities, but the legislation was inadvertently ahead of the AMAC deliberations in 1920 (above page 120) and prefigures contemporary issues in heritage management with regards to the use of historic structures, the role of the specialist and the relationship with multi-cultural communities.

We have seen in Chapters Two and Three that ancient monuments were discussed in relation to a 'Schedule' – monuments could be added to the 'schedule', which in plain terms is a list of monuments considered to be of national importance, some of which may or may not be in guardianship. It is clear from the sections and definitions in AA 1905 that the High Commissioner and Museum Committee could declare any structure an 'ancient monument' and it would then enjoy particular, defined protection.

Nowhere in AA 1905 is the word 'schedule' mentioned. However, Part Two, Section 10 of AA 1905 states that when a structure is declared an 'ancient monument' notification must be made in the *Cyprus Gazette*. This necessity to publish is an essential part of the process of ancient monument legislation, explicitly stated in the AMCAA 1913 and the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (DoE 1979), but is also part of the process of all government legislation. It may be the case therefore that publication was comparable to a schedule, but it is more likely that there was no mental or physical list of 'schedulable' ancient monuments in advance of the legislation. In Britain, the legislation was published with a list of monuments – some of which may have been described and identified by the RCHM(E) survey – but the majority were already known to the academic world. In Cyprus the legislation came first and it was only in 1907 that Jeffery began an inventory of monuments on the island.

But what was the outcome of the AA 1905? The reality of the situation was that the ruined medieval monuments wholly in government ownership were rapidly classified as ancient monuments (such as St. Hilarion and Kyrenia Castles, SA1 778/14) and Greek Orthodox and Muslim religious buildings were considered to be outside the Act. Agreements concerning monuments and buildings in private ownership were carried out but became quite protracted because the pattern of ownership was more complex than was imagined, with some sites such as Kolossi Castle being in multiple ownership (SA1:1186/1912 and SA1:1242/1913/2) as it was being used as a silk-worm farm and had many hundred shareholders in the business, resident in the local villages, all of whom had to be contacted and bought out by the island government. In his report of 1916 Jeffery states that Kolossi was finally 'scheduled' in 1915 (Jeffery 1916: 1).

The debate about whether Muslim and Greek Orthodox sites should be excluded from the definition of ancient monuments was to continue throughout the remainder of the period under research, but the AA 1905 remained the basis of ancient monuments law on the island and to some extent it will be seen that its vagueness made it adaptable. This meant that Jeffery, other specialists and government officers had to rely on *negotiation* with the Greek and Turkish Cypriots to achieve what they wanted, which in some senses brought their practice closer to that identified today as 'facilitation' to be discussed in detail in Chapter Five. The law and the discussions

about its intent illuminated cultural differences between Greek, Turkish-Cypriots and the British and were to lead to, and reflect, shifts in practice and responses to the cultural heritage of the island. These shifts in practice and principles will be considered next, beginning with the career of George Jeffery and then continuing with assessments of the accommodations made by the island government and its communities.

3. The Career of George H. Jeffery.

Jeffery is virtually forgotten as a preservation practitioner and the results of this research represent the first outline of a career that is central to the preservation and presentation of ancient monuments and historic buildings in Cyprus. He pressed for better legislative protection for ancient monuments and worked closely with many organisations both western and native to Cyprus. He developed a particularly close and productive relationship with Evkaf. Examination of his career reveals an interesting trajectory as he commenced work on the island using imported, recognisably SPAB techniques, but as he became familiar with the island, its communities, the different cultural demands and new contexts for conservation, his response to the work evolved.

There is little in the archive material that gives exact dates about George H. Everett Jeffery, FSA, FRIBA, OBE; neither the SA nor the RIBA have record of his birth or death dates. His gravestone in Nicosia records only his date of death – April 4th 1935 but it is calculated from comments in his recently discovered diaries that he was born in April 1855 (Despo Pilides, Curator, National Museum, Nicosia pers. comm. July 2003).

He was distantly related by marriage to John Ruskin. His uncle on his mother's side married into the Millais family and Sir John E. Millais and Jeffery 'were cousins of some sort' (SPAB File, Cyprus Antiquities, 1922, Letter, Jeffery to Powys, 1/2/1935) During the latter part of the nineteenth century he designed St. George's College, the Anglican Cathedral and Bishop's House and several schools all in Jerusalem, completing this work in 1912. He became involved with Cyprus over the Famagusta walls affair and wrote frequently to the SPAB (he was also a member of that organisation) apprising them of the situation and requesting financial and moral

assistance with various small projects on the island. He appears to have been heavily involved with conservation work in many parts of the Near East; in a letter of 1900 to Thackeray Turner he refers to the fact that he is now, 'engaged in a crusade for the preservation of the ancient cities of the mainland of Turkey - (see my letter in a current "Times")'. The destruction of the great Roman cities of the Decapolis..is now something appalling' (SPAB File, Cyprus Antiquities 1906-1922. Letter, Jeffery to Turner, 16/11/1900). In 1903 he moved to the Public Works Department in Cyprus under the patronage of Sir Robert Herbert, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was given the title Curator of Ancient Monuments. In 1904 he was appointed to the SPAB committee to give his position some backing. In 1906 he became involved in the design and commissioning of the new Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, then called the Victoria Museum. Jeffery stayed closely involved with the Museum Committee, both in his role as Curator of Ancient Monuments and also as architect.

Jeffery's position was made more formal in 1907, but was never a fixed appointment, and he set about creating those conservation mechanisms that were familiar in western Europe. He began surveys and lists of properties and sites throughout the island and identified those that were in need of legal protection and repair work (SA1: 591/1912/2; SA1:1077/12). With the limited funds at his disposal he was forced to think about what should be protected and how, and came to the belief that he should aim to protect the best examples of various type sites. He produced annual reports identifying work carried out and sites that were subject to or going to be subject to damaging works or demolition (e.g. Jeffery 1916a).

Although his position was never an established government appointment, he gradually became a permanent adviser on all works that had an impact on historic fabric. During the First War he served for four and a half years as Private Secretary to Sir John Clauson and then proposed to retire to England (which was the time of his last visit to Britain) but was recalled to the post of Curator by Lord Milner. In his final letter of 1935 he explained the circumstances of his return to the post, suggesting that he was to act as 'a guardian or watchdog' that might give a 'warning howl' when the 'marauders' approached (SPAB File, Cyprus Ancient Buildings 1910-1936. Letter, Jeffery to SPAB, 5/3/1935), and it is likely that this definition applied to his earlier, original role. In one of his last letters he re-iterated

the point,

'I was engaged by Lord Milner in 1919-20 not only as much as possible to avoid the expenditure of money myself, but also to prevent the expenditure by other people on more than the simplest repairs - and above all to avoid such an exhibition as at Rhodes!'

(SPAB File, Cyprus Ancient Buildings 1910-1936. Letter, Jeffery to Powys, 7/3/1935)

Although Jeffery was always constrained by a lack of resources he did achieve many of his aims. He tried for many years to ensure that the numerous architectural fragments and grave slabs recovered from clearances had a secure and accessible resting place, where they could be viewed. Initially in Nicosia he wanted that to be a building known as the Bedestan, but latterly he used a building that was part of the old Lunatic Asylum, which still remains in the northern, Turkish section of Nicosia, although it is now locked and in poor repair (see Fig. 19 page 173).

It was in the last five years of his role as Curator that he began to feel blamed for the poor condition of ancient monuments in Cyprus. At this time in the 1930s there was a vociferous newspaper campaign about the treatment of Cyprus monuments (above page 176 and below page 208) which coincided with the arrival of the architect W.D. Caroe and his increasing role as consultant conservation architect to Sir Ronald Storrs.

Jeffery wrote regularly to SPAB from 1933 outlining the position as he saw it,

'I find myself very isolated in my efforts to support and propagate the principles of the SPAB...I must also mention that within the last two years a well known ecclesiastical Architect has come to Cyprus as one of the numerous English settlers at Kyrenia. I need not mention his name, as you may have heard of him coming here. He seems to act in opposition to the SPAB in England, and of course is doing the same thing here. His presence in the island is exceedingly annoying to both the Director of Public Works and myself, with whom he interferes in a disagreeable interloping way. Having gained the consent of government, he collects money from visitors, and then amuses himself by repairing Ancient Monuments in his own way, without consulting me. The position of course is becoming embarrassing.'

(SPAB File, Cyprus Ancient Buildings 1910-1936. Letter, Jeffery to Powys, 7/3/1933)

Jeffery then asked whether it would be possible for any members of the SPAB who happen to be in the area in one of the 'numerous pleasure steamers which are always cruising around the Mediterranean' to come to the island to 'assist and support me as your agent' (*ibid*) in his efforts to preserve the monumental history of Cyprus. Powys refused. As the public campaign to highlight the failings of the Cyprus administration gathered pace, Jeffery interpreted all statements as a personal attack on him and his work. This was made more bitter by the readiness with which successive Governors seemed to take advice from Caroe. In his defence Caroe always praised the work done by Jeffery with the limited sums at his disposal (Caroe 1931: 5; 20–21).

In 1934 Jeffery announced his intention to resign his post. The Government granted him a pension and in 1935 after his resignation, appointed him Honorary Advisor to the new Department of Antiquities: the SPAB also made him an Honorary Member. But 1934 was a bad year for him:

'I naturally regret that my work of past years has been so unfavourably viewed by the different London Societies and by many distinguished tourists - the expression of their views at public meetings has astonished me.

I judge from your last letter that the SPAB follows the popular opinion in London and is equally out of harmony with my ideas and I also [two words obscured by punch holes] think with those of John Ruskin in such a case.'

(SPAB File, Cyprus Ancient Buildings, 1910-1936. Letter, Jeffery to Powys, 23/12/1934)

Jeffery does not explain what he meant by 'my ideas' but he may be referring to his work with Evkaf which when seen from London was quite revolutionary.

Powys replied almost immediately,

'I am sorry to learn that you are giving up your Government appointment in Cyprus. Of course I have heard a great deal about the criticism of your work. My prejudices are against this criticism but not having first hand knowledge I have been unable to refute it as I should like to have done. You are wrong however, in thinking that the Society has accepted this popular criticism as just, for my part I

am quite sure you have done a great deal of good work in Cyprus in circumstances which have not been at all easy, and I regret the methods that have been lately adopted by others.'

(SPAB File, Cyprus Ancient Buildings, 1910-1936. Letter, Powys to Jeffery, 5/12/1935)

The Honorary membership of the SPAB and his honorary position as adviser to the new Department of Antiquities were some consolation to him. Many of his final letters were written from hospital and he died in Cyprus and was buried alongside his late wife in the British cemetery, Nicosia.

Jeffery's career does not fall into an easy pattern of early, middle and late. What we see is more akin to two parallel careers. The first is his day to day, SPAB informed repair of ancient monuments which he continued from his arrival in Cyprus until his death; his second career is that work undertaken in conjunction with Evkaf and begun in about 1910, and again, continued until his death.

The repair policy used in his day to day work was in line with the practice of the SPAB, eschewing restoration and using the familiar palette of repair techniques: in truth the annual budget of £600 did not allow him to do more, as £300 was his own salary (SA1:590/12). He secured areas of wall, repaired gates and doors to make buildings secure, cleared accumulated debris and provided roads and paths to provide access to the monuments, for maintenance work and visitor use. His SPAB style is best illustrated by his work at the monastery of Bella Paise (Jeffery 1914; 1915) where he constructed buttresses to shore-up collapsing walls, removed vegetation, provided supports for the cloister arcades and repaired and recovered the upper surfaces of vaults to protect them from incursion of water.

Jeffery was frustrated by his lack of resources and the seeming lack of will in the island government to increase the sums at his disposal. Similarly the delays encountered in the extension of protection to privately owned monuments caused him concern and he thereafter appealed directly to the owners for permission to undertake the work on their behalf. By 1910 ten sites were protected under the AA 1905. In 1912 he outlined his perception of the current state of the resource against the 1912 edition of the AA 1905 (which was exactly the same),

'Ancient monuments of importance belonging to Evkaf and not protected by the 1912 Act: 16.

Ancient churches in ruins – of archaeological interest – not protected by the 1912 Act: 18

Churches in use of great historical and artistic importance which should be protected: 6'

(SA1:591/12).

Jeffery's initial view of Evkaf work was similar to those of his contemporaries who believed that the Ottomans had destroyed most of the Christian inheritance of the island. Jeffery's letter of 21/10/1904 to Thackeray Turner describing the architectural condition of the island contained much that would have been familiar about the role of the Ottoman authorities and the treatment of buildings by the Muslims:

'The great cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta and most of the churches built by the Latins before the Turkish conquest are in the hands of "Evkaf" or Moslem Board of Commissioners for Charitable and Religious Purposes. These buildings are of course the great treasures of the island from our point of view - but not so from the native standpoint. On the contrary they are regarded as comparatively modern buildings to be treated when ruined as mere quarries whence old stones may be taken to build modern hovels with. At the same time such of these buildings as are mosques are being "restored" in a way which is quite unlike anything we even associated formerly with "restoration" in Europe. Here "restoration" means a complete transformation of the building. No attempt is made to keep up any of its ancient characteristics as a church converted to other uses - but everything in the least weatherworn or shabby is turned out to mend the roads or used in the foundations of new walls - and so the very sites of historical buildings are becoming gradually unknown.'

(SPAB File, Cyprus Antiquities 1906-1922. Letter, Jeffery to Secretary SPAB, 21/10/1904)

In spite of this denunciation Jeffery believed that it would be possible to work with Evkaf both in general terms and on specific projects and it is clear from his correspondence that growing familiarity with Evkaf work caused him to revise his view,

'As is usual with all the Christian buildings now used as mosques or schools, such

repairs as have been made to features of an architectural or ornamental kind take the form of mere utilitarian substitutes, with little or no special character about them. In this way the delegates of Evkaf avoid to some extent any accusation of "restoration", and are in so far to be complimented on their good taste. The Cathedral may in fact be considered as in a fairly good state of conservation, and even less changed than many a European building of the kind which has been possibly "restored" more than once since the Middle Ages. The funds for such work as the present naturally comes from the coffers of the Evkaf and are not subscribed either by the English Government or the people.'

(Jeffery 1906: 483 and 490-491)

In his 1910 paper, Jeffery referred to the works of repair at the Great Mosque, Famagusta (formerly the Cathedral church) in the following manner: 'The delegates of the Evquaf [sic], to whom the principal monuments of the Middle Ages belong, are anxious to undertake all necessary work of conservation and support, to be carried out under the supervision of the Curator of Ancient Monuments [Jeffery].' (Jeffery 1910: 128). Not only had Jeffery revised his opinion of 1904, but he now had a direct involvement in such work. Evkaf property, like Greek Orthodox property was supposedly excluded from the AA 1905, but Jeffery, and by extension the British authorities, had arrived at a workable solution for these sites. The work he conducted with Evkaf falls into several categories. He was involved with repair work to the two in-use medieval cathedrals and the several churches converted into mosques (SA1 591/12; Jeffery 1927; *SPAB Annual Report* 1931: 55) and he could also undertake familiar work on ruined buildings such as the Bedestan, used as a market by the Ottomans, and his lapidarium (Jeffery 1922: 2;1927). Liaison with Evkaf brought him into contact with a category of work unfamiliar to him (and probably so to a great many of his contemporaries) namely that of urban regeneration. Historic buildings and urban areas that had been ruinous, but were being 'regenerated', were to be found principally in the core of Nicosia and the whole of Famagusta. In the urban areas Jeffery repaired and reconstructed vernacular buildings, features and spaces, although he maintained that reconstruction was always undertaken using the best evidence (Jeffery 1931: 3; 8-9, 16-19; 1932: 33) this work was undertaken with and around 'living' communities, with different values and the work itself was a response to their needs. This may well have been his greatest achievement. As he became more familiar with the situation on the island, the amount of work he undertook in

collaboration with Evkaf increased until he became an honorary architect with that organisation.

The collaboration continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s, including those periods when Evkaf chose to allow some of their buildings to be scheduled, which was perhaps brought about by Jeffery. Several documents produced in the 1930s reinforce the positive relationship that had developed between the British and Muslim authorities. Jeffery sent contributions to most of the SPAB annual reports on the topic of conservation in Cyprus. In 1931 it was stated that 'his advice [has been] taken by the Moslem community in regard to the maintenance of their older mosques' (*SPAB Annual Report 1931: 55*). In 1932 the SPAB congratulated Jeffery 'on the great amount of work he has managed to do, in conjunction with the Moslem Evcaf Department' (*SPAB Annual Report 1932: 55*), whilst Jeffery himself concluded the report with the statement, 'In the Levant a mosque frequently preserves an ancient church strictly in accordance with the principles of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings' (*SPAB Annual Report 1932: 57*). In his 1932 publication on the historical and architectural buildings of Cyprus, Jeffery described himself as honorary architect for the Evkaf Department, (Jeffery 1932: 3) and revealed that in 1929 he was part of the team involved in the reinstatement of the Kyrenia Gate, Nicosia 'which is Evkaf property' (Jeffery 1932: 3). The preface concludes with the revelation that the Director of Evcaf, the 'Hon. Mehmed Munir Bey, O.B.E., M.E.C. etc., is an honorary member of the SPAB and thus expresses the sympathetic interest of the Turkish community in the preservation of the historic memorials of Cyprus' (Jeffery 1932: 4).

The reasons for Jeffery's growing sympathy towards Evkaf are not made explicit in the archives, but must lie in a developing understanding of the island communities and a realization that Evkaf and the Turkish community had an affinity with medieval remains which matched his own. Therefore when one considers that there was on the island a financial and political disinclination to fund a comprehensive repair strategy, an Ancient Monuments act that allowed change, a seemingly hostile Greek-Cypriot community and a seemingly supportive Islamic agency with funds and a bureaucracy, it was inevitable that Jeffery would be drawn to that agency and ultimately see it as positive. However, what is not so obvious is that Jeffery should adopt a similar preservation outlook, but again this must be a result of what he saw as possibilities given the situation. The adaptation of buildings had to be better than their loss, all that

was required was to find acceptable adaptation, which again raises issues of choice and negotiation. In one of his later letters to the SPAB he pinpointed the particular issue that he had to resolve in his work: he was aware that he was working with material and in a context quite unlike that in Britain, and that it required a different level of thought:

'I feel sure the reasonable members of SPAB will agree with me that the best way of treating an ancient church - although of the greatest beauty in its original form - which has been in use as a mosque for 365 years is to recognize that it is a mosque, and must always remain so [i.e. so long as Cyprus remains British!]....but the minaret which so much offends the English tourist is of course du avant "Restoration" perhaps not within the lines of SPAB, but then Christian "Restorations" of Moslem buildings were hardly contemplated by Ruskin and Morris!

(SPAB File, Cyprus Ancient Buildings 1910-1936. Letter, Jeffery to Powys, 20/9/34)

However, we have seen from his communications with the SPAB that not everyone agreed with his suggested treatment.

In a recent DPhil thesis on the subject of British buildings in Jerusalem, Anat Almog (1996: 186) makes some reference to Jeffery and his response to new build in that city. Quoting some of Jeffery's material from 1919 and 1921, Almog makes it clear that Jeffery was deeply critical of methods of construction common throughout the Ottoman Empire and saw 'no value' (Almog 1986: 186) in the entire architectural heritage of Jerusalem with regard to its relevance for adoption in the buildings of Europeans in the Near East. We have seen that preservation practitioners can be ambidextrous and it is not unusual to see one approach applied to new build and a different approach to preservation work (above page 36). However, Jeffery did have a positive response to Turkish values and practices, and it is clear that after initially condemning Evkaf his opinion shifted to outright support and participation. His corpus of work reveals a specialist who was able to consider and revise his own approach, balance the conflicting values and then adopt the unfamiliar to participate in new areas of work. In Chapter Five I will consider a modern definition of Cultural Heritage Management as the management of conflicts of meaning, and although it would be unwise to describe Jeffery as the embodiment of that definition, his actions suggest

that he considered two conflicting sets of values and made a decision on what was the most suitable for the situation.

Both Gosden (2001) and Meskell (2002b:292-293 and citing Van Dommelen 1997 and Loren 2000) in their discussions of the use of postcolonial theory in archaeology refer to the notions of hybridity and creolization in the construction of material culture and social identity, 'moving between notions of blended or reworked articulations and the hard realities of repression' in colonial contexts (Meskell 2002b: 292). Perhaps examination of Jeffery's career reveals this same notion of hybridity, but in this case the hybrid is that of the practitioner and the process; the colonial situation creating something new. Similarly we must assume that each imperial colony was its own hybrid. Cyprus was ruled by Britain through an accident of history, the Palestine and Transjordan protectorates were no less imperial colonies, but the basis of British rule was a political and 'legal' mandate from the League of Nations (Martin 1924; Macmillan 2000; Keay 2003), different bases for 'blended articulations'.

If Jeffery had managed to achieve such a great deal, why did he feel increasingly sidelined by island governors? Although we do not have a specific birth date for Jeffery, one could assume that his age may have counted against him in the 1930s. Similarly we know that he felt threatened by the arrival of W.D. Caroe to the island and of his direct relationship with the Governor, Ronald Storrs. Storrs had a profound interest in the natural and historic environment and moved in the same social and political circles as Gertrude Bell (Keay 2003), which might have connected him with SPAB and perhaps Office of Works personnel in London, and therefore the mainstream of British approaches to preservation. Political change was also taking place: the suspension of the Legislative Council in 1931 was the opportunity to introduce a completely new Antiquities Department based on other colonial examples, but also removed the necessity of close liaison with the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities - and would have been a further reason for looking for 'new blood' rather than keeping someone like Jeffery who could have been described as having 'gone native'. Storrs had approached E.T. Richmond, Director of Antiquities in Palestine in 1930 to visit Cyprus and advise on 'certain problems and difficulties relating to the archaeological organization of Cyprus' (SA1:712/30). Richmond examined the 'various archaeological problems', made suggestions and left copies of the Antiquities Laws and Regulations of Palestine with Storrs, 'which were likely to

prove of considerable assistance'. Storrs had been Governor of Jerusalem in 1917-1920 (Keay 2003:195) and had considerable experience of the Middle East during and after the First World War and it may be that his former experience, and civil-service mentality, preferred to see uniformity of practice. The Palestine Antiquities Laws and Regulations were adopted in 1934, as was the format of an Antiquities Department, which brought in its wake close liaison with the Office of Works and the arrival of J.E. Bowler, a foreman with that organisation to direct repairs and train staff (PRO Work AM 36/1). In such a situation Jeffery's approach would have been out of place.

4. Changes in Government and Local Approaches to the Heritage of Cyprus.

When the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act was passed in Britain there were immediate calls from societies and individuals for it to be improved and the government began a consultation procedure within a relatively short space of time (above page 74). With regard to Cyprus, Jeffery and practitioners in Britain welcomed the AA 1905, but questioned the island administration to know when and if there might be clarification of its sections on Orthodox and Islamic buildings, and whether all its provisions would be enacted. The island government considered the Act adequate for its purpose and, as we shall see, chose instead to adapt its interpretation of the document as the situation demanded.

Pressure was maintained on the island government by reference to the approaches that had become familiar in Britain and Europe. Jeffery, the SPAB, and other British societies were aware that education and the support and interest of the public was the only real way to secure the antiquities of the island. Jeffery made frequent reference to the need for education in his annual reports and with particular emphasis on published material being produced in Cyprus by the Museum Committee so that all sections of the island could be reached. Of particular note is his report of 1907:

'I would beg to suggest to the committee that the most pressing need in the matter of preservation of ancient monuments in Cyprus at the present moment seems to be the diffusion of knowledge or information of a popular character as to their value and significance. The uneducated villager who looks upon the ancient temple of his forefathers as a mere utilitarian property to be treated with no greater consideration than the mud-buildings of a chiftlik [farmhouse], can only be

expected to change his point of view when his intelligence is aroused by some popular statement on the subject. For this purpose I would suggest to the committee the publication and distribution in a suitable manner of a leaflet drawing attention to the importance of preserving historic monuments of the island in the way that all the civilised peoples are busy doing at the present day.'

(Jeffery 1907: 3)

There are a number of images and conceits in the quotation above which are not unusual for the period – or later periods. The paternalistic images of ill-educated villager in counterpoint to a desired and higher 'civilized' position are familiar, but do contain a subconscious sub-text. The civilizing process was not only part of the British administration's responsibility, but also an essential undertaking for its own standing in the world. Education was about revealing 'value' rather than creating links and the values in question were those of the British, not Greek-Cypriots.

Jeffery intended that a shift in public opinion (and here he was really talking about Greek Orthodox opinion) would encourage people to retain those buildings which he considered 'an older and more national style' (Jeffery 1907: 3), but were also the medieval structures familiar to him and west Europeans. Here we can see similarities with Peers and his intentions to use education to create a body of informed opinion for preservation (page 86).

In order to support Jeffery, the SPAB in March of 1907 produced a document called 'The Better Preservation of the Ancient Buildings of Cyprus' (SPAB 1907), printed in English, Greek and Turkish (see Appendix Three) and distributed across the island. Although this was exactly the type of concise document suggested by Jeffery, he felt that the fact it was issued from London undermined its usefulness (SPAB File Cyprus Antiquities, 1906–1922). In common with all the external pressure on the island government, the document has inevitably, considerable west European bias, promoting a familiar element of the historic resource, but failing to understand the basis of the conflicting cultural values. In its introduction it is clear about the significance of the antiquities of Cyprus, based entirely on western academic values,

'Cyprus in addition to considerable remains of classical times possesses a unique series of buildings both civil and ecclesiastical of the Byzantine period and the Middle Ages. It is to these latter that the attention of their custodians is more

especially directed.

It will not be contested that practically every building of this antiquity that has come down to us is by reason of its historical or artistic interest worthy of preservation'
(SPAB 1907)

The document then identified the principal elements of the SPAB philosophy of repair and indicated that, 'the advice of the Society's representative [Jeffery] in Cyprus will be given free of charge' (SPAB 1907) in the hope that the village communities would be persuaded to use him in any discussions on the future of their ancient churches. The conclusion of the SPAB paper identified future uses,

'Throughout Europe the historical buildings of Cyprus are justly celebrated and every year a greater number of visitors bring prosperity to the Island because of them. If the interest of these buildings is destroyed either by their being made as new from misdirected zeal or by their being allowed to fall into ruin from neglect - they will cease to form the chief attraction to visitors.'

(SPAB 1907)

Although the intention of this document was to be even-handed its subject matter is a western preference and perpetuates the image of the monument and Cyprus as an exhibit case (above page 170). The use of 'us' in the introductory paragraph has little relation to the actual sense of values on the island and assumes that the different cultural groups can respond in the same way to the monuments and buildings, irrespective of the fact of the deeper connectedness there was to the Classical remains on the part of the Greek-Cypriots. Similarly there is the suggestion that the increase in tourism is west European tourism and those tourists are only going to be interested in the familiar. The role of the local people is unclear; they are certainly considered to be 'custodians' of the heritage assets, but the benefit of the increase in prosperity is general rather than specific to a community. The discovery of such documents demonstrates the value of examining the colonial period as it throws into relief some of the current management concerns, but also the growing interest in the applicability of postcolonial theory (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998; Hingley 2000b; Meskell 2002a). Such discussion of the use of heritage assets has considerable resonance today as we try to define the role of the heritage manager, attempt to extend access to all people but try to understand that some groups do not recognise what is on offer as their culture, whilst others do not wish to see elements of a living

cultural heritage become someone else's heritage 'asset' .

External pressure on the island administration for change saw renewed efforts between 1910 and 1913 to seek a redraft of the 1905 Act and reorganize the conservation arm of the island authorities. Jeffery prepared lists of those buildings of historical and artistic importance that should be protected, including religious buildings still in use and those in government control, basing his arguments on a case-study of the development of preservation legislation in England, France, Germany and Italy and including documents from the Office of Works outlining the necessary procedure (SA1/778/14). It is interesting that Jeffery had to do this, rather than expect a colonial government body to be aware of, or enquire about, the existing legislation in the home country and the reasons for its introduction. We have seen above (page 74) that the Foreign Office was assiduous in seeking the views of its representatives abroad, but clearly there was no interchange between the different government departments.

A report on the antiquities of Cyprus was prepared for the Council of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (SA1:591/1912/2), who thereafter prepared a document to be signed by groups including the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Archaeological Institute, the Hellenic Society, the British School at Athens and the Anthropological Institute, to be delivered to the Colonial Office. The report dealt specifically with the problems of curation and excavation on the island and stated that 'the careful scientific work of British officials specially sent from England has been irretrievably wasted through the neglect of the British Government of Cyprus' (SA1:591/1912/2:2), but, like the SPAB document, it is clear that its contributors had a particular concept of the monument in mind even when they referred to buildings in use, and they had a particular concept of the value of 'scientific' archaeology. The document outlined the failings of the AA 1905 (the weakness of the Museum Committee structure, the lack of adequate archaeological learning, the stress on Classical archaeology and the 'unfortunate' rights of religious groups to repair and alter their churches and mosques. The Curator of Antiquities (Markides) is described as the administrative head of the Museum, 'but has no other well-defined functions', and does not appear 'to be concerned with monuments of medieval date' (SA1:591/1912/2:2). The SPAB paper of 1907 is considered not to have had enough of an influence, whilst the role of Jeffery is seen as far from satisfactory as he is 'not

responsible to, or in any organic relation with, the Museum Committee' (SA1:591/1912/2:2), and,

'even where medieval buildings have become the property of Government, the Curator can only recommend repairs, and has no adequate means of effecting them. The present Curator is an English architect, whose published work on the 'Churches of Cyprus' shows him to be a man of mature training and experience.'
(SA1:591/1912/2:3)

The paper contained a set of recommendations, the first of which stated that the 'Museum Committee as at present composed and elected is unnecessary and dangerous' (SA1:591/1912/2:3). The role of the two Curators was to be confirmed and in particular Jeffery 'should be given executive powers in regard to monuments under Government control' (SA1:591/1912/2:4) and made directly responsible to Government for their maintenance 'and should be supplied with adequate funds for necessary repairs' (SA1:591/1912/2:4). The division of responsibilities between the two Curators was seen as sensible as Markides could address himself to Classical sites and antiquities, whilst Jeffery dealt with the medieval (SA1:591/1912/2:4).

The concluding paragraph of the report followed the pattern of such reports by emphasising not only the role of the British as a civilizing influence, but also its desire to be seen as a civilized power:

'In making the above recommendations, the Council of the British Association is actuated solely by its concern for the archaeological remains of an important and instructive civilisation and for the good name of the British Government, which an accident of history has made their custodian and trustee. The Council appreciates keenly the difficulties of the British administration in a region where political and scientific interests do not always coincide. But it has studied the systems of official supervision of antiquities and excavations which are in use in Egypt, in the Greek kingdom and in the Turkish Empire, and it believes that, with goodwill at headquarters, all the practical difficulties can be surmounted, even in the peculiar circumstances of the Government of Cyprus.'
(SA1:591/1912/2:4)

The stress on the primacy of archaeology as objective science (and its distance from politics) to be pursued to the exclusion of the island population is quite clear and there

is no sense that there has been any discussion with Jeffery or other government officers to understand the cultural constraints that might be in action on the island. The values are entirely those of the educated west European colonial paternalist for whom the evidence of the past is a matter of rationalist study (Meskell 2002b: 290-291).

Although AA 1905 was re-issued in 1912, the response of the island government to its critics was to state that rather than redraft the Act it should be interpreted in a more pro-active manner, using all its conditions and provisos (SA1 1077/12). Jeffery's desire to have an extensive redrafting of the AA 1905 and an Ancient Monuments department following European models was rejected by the island government for three reasons: lack of funds; it would cause religious difficulties; but it was also felt that an Ancient Monuments department would be perceived as a direct threat to the reputation of the Museum Committee which was, substantially, a body representative of the island communities (SA1 1077/12). In this sense the government position could be seen as more responsive to local feeling than the views expressed by external groups, but this could also be interpreted as a desire to ease the machinery of government. The island government had to govern, but found itself in the position of trying not to provoke the potentially hostile Greek-Cypriots, but wanting to ensure the safety of the pro-British Turkish-Cypriot minority (Curzon Archive MSS Eur F112/269). It had become clear that the Greek-Cypriots did not value the medieval monuments and in some instances responded angrily to communications asking whether particular in use churches could be scheduled (SA1:591/12) and therefore gradual accommodations were made. A particular example of this is that of Bella Paise Abbey in Kyrenia district, north of Nicosia (now part of the Turkish sector).

The notion (and existence) of community ownership was prevalent in Cyprus, but it could also mean 'community' in the sense of a village community and ownership by that community. This was to complicate matters when the British authorities undertook their familiar legal procedures to schedule monuments, as the owner and sometimes the extent of the monument was far from clear. Bella Paise is a monastic site of the Premonstratensian Order founded in 1232. The ruins of the site are extensive, consisting of church (used by the villagers as their 'parish' church), cloister, refectory, dormitory, chapter house and gatehouse. It occupies a cliff-top site of great drama and beauty and was to become a favoured tourist site. Following a collapse of

the east wall of the dormitory in 1911, the island government sought to protect the site, stating that it was 'desirable that all proper and possible precautions should be taken in order to prevent the further dilapidation of this historic and antiquarian building' (SA1: 436/1911). However, the abbey was adjacent to a Greek Orthodox village, (which achieved some fame as the home of Lawrence Durrell (1957)) whose residents had constructed a school alongside the abbey and still used the monastic church, having been robbing the ruins since the 1890s. Before preservation work or legal protection could be considered, the question of ownership had to be addressed and in this instance it was discovered that the abbey was in the ownership of the local village commune through the office of the village church. The village community was unable to pay for the repairs and would have been quite content to build a new church in a different location. The government authorities responded by drawing-up what we might now call a Management Plan outlining the responsibilities of government and village community:

'The village to undertake and agree to allow the government and any officer authorized in writing free access to Bella Paise and to renovate, repair, maintain and otherwise prevent the further dilapidation of the said abbey.

The village undertakes and agrees to allow the government and any officer authorized in writing free access to cut down or remove such trees in or near the abbey.

The village undertakes that the abbey shall not be used as a church or school or for any other purpose, domestic agricultural industrial or otherwise but shall be retained and maintained solely as a place of exhibition and general display.

The village undertakes to keep the abbey clear tidy and free from animals nuisance or offence, nor let itself, nor permit any other person to tamper interfere pull down or remove any part or portion of the abbey or its ruins.

The Government undertakes that any monies recovered from visitors to the abbey should be devoted to the purposes of the village church of Bella Paise and to lay no claim to any of such moneys.

The Government undertakes that it will renovate, repair and maintain the abbey and its buildings (subject to such times and with such funds).

The Government at its own expense to replace the water channel leading to the village.

The above to be terminated by agreement of both parties.'

(SA1 436/1911)

This agreement enshrines some of the familiar British preconceptions about ancient monuments, but also looks forward to the application of management agreements and grant aid. The use of the monastic church (a ruined building) as an active church was of concern to the British authorities because it confused those two categories, ancient monuments and historic buildings, which the island government had brought together. The Greek Orthodox churchmen and the villagers had no particular attachment to the Abbey in that it was not their heritage, represented the presence of an earlier oppressor and was, to them, recent. Therefore they were quite happy to modify the monastic church as and when necessary until it could no longer be used or until such time as they could build a new church. The condition that the Abbey shall not be used except as 'a place of exhibition and general display' raises the question of island tourism and the conflict between something being instructive but also part of someone's community and revisits the content of the SPAB document of 1907. Who, then was the display was for? Clearly the Greek-Cypriot commune did not consider the Abbey part of their cultural heritage and the details of the agreement exclude them from the monument, except in the role of caretakers, although the government no doubt hoped that in time the commune could be made to appreciate the site. However preservation work was now an indicator of international standing and therefore justifiable in its own right, so such local, community use of the site would be likely to generate unfavourable comment from tourists.

Beneath the text of the agreement one should not lose sight of the fact that the island authorities were not only prepared to enter into such an agreement, but also prepared to divert the site revenue towards the Bella Paise community. This might be seen as an attempt to buy-off their 'interest' in the site, but it is nevertheless a radical departure and a step towards the eventual use of grant aid on the island. This is no small matter as the entire edifice of British conservation practice responded to the principle of ownership, whether a site was owned by Lord Feversham or a Greek Cypriot commune. The island government had few alternatives when it came to preservation; either it looked to the purchase of sites as one method of securing them or was forced to negotiate and enter into numerous agreements like that for Bella Paise.

The relationship between the Greek Orthodox Church and the village commune at

Bella Paise is illustrative of the situation the British authorities sought to understand in their dealings with the two principal religious groups on the island. At Bella Paise the District Commissioner (Kyrenia District), his clerk and Jeffery had to negotiate with the local Church Committee and the parish priests. In reply to the government's questions about ownership and use of the monument, the Church Committee stated that they did not consider that the ruins of the Abbey belonged to them as a Church Committee, but regarded the site as the property of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, for which the Church Committee and the entire village acted as trustee. (SA1:436/11/:10). This dialogue between the practitioner and the community, trying to capture the nuances of ownership but also attempting to define the different ideas of its value were to become commonplace and may bear some resemblance to the current idea of the specialist as 'advocate'. However, the desire to understand the nuances was not the same as encouraging and liberating them; understanding the nuances made it easier for the administration to govern.

One of the outcomes of the discussions concerning the creation of an Ancient Monuments department and updating AA 1905 was that preservationists and legislators began to understand the implications of their earlier actions and the possibilities in AA1905. Once it was realised that not everything was or could be scheduled (SA1:1533/06), they recognised that change in the historic environment was inevitable and similarly once buildings in use were scheduled the colonial government had to accommodate change rather than alienate large sections of the island community by rigid application of the law. Thus change was possible as long as proposed changes and alterations were appropriate. This also meant that the aims of protection had to be better explained to the populace.

A graphic indication of this is provided by the discussions concerning the addition of St. Michael Tripiotis Quarter to the Schedule of Ancient Monuments in 1936. The letters confirming ownership and identification of the site had been sent and received along with objections to its classification as an ancient monument. The Orthodox Church believed that the repairs and enlargements they had envisaged for this in use church would not be carried through if the building became an ancient monument - as would have been permitted under Section 11 of AA 1905. The response of the Commissioner (using text supplied by Jeffery) was far from what was considered appropriate for a scheduled monument in Britain in 1912, but quite possible today, but

also drew a sharp contrast with the concern over the lack of control on church repairs in Britain (pages 121-122):

'I am to ask you to inform the petitioners that His Excellency has considered their objection but is unable to entertain their appeal as it appears to be grounded on a misapprehension of the effect of scheduling the church as an ancient monument. The Church Committee will not be prohibited from extending the church. The only restriction placed upon them will be that no addition or alteration affecting the architectural character of the church can be carried out except under a permit from the Director of Antiquities. The object of that restriction is to ensure that such additions will be in harmony with the style of the building. In the present case the objectors state that the proposed two new arches will be in keeping with the existing style, and this being so there is no reason to anticipate that the Director of Antiquities will refuse to give a permit. He would only do so if the Church Committee wished to erect an incongruous addition.'

(SA1:591/12/2)

By 1937 the idea of using all sections of the 1905 Act was being grasped, and this included the use of grant aid. One example from 1937 can serve as illustration.

The Greek-Cypriot owner of a property on Koraes Street in the Ioannis Quarter of Nicosia wished to replace the door of his house with a new door in a new location on the facade. The building was a Scheduled Monument. Following discussions with the owner and the preparation of drawings a suitable scheme was discovered that satisfied all parties. Five conditions were applied by the Department of Antiquities, (I) the alterations and repairs were to be carried out by a mason appointed by the Director of Antiquities (II) the doorway was to be moved and re-created in the centre of the facade of the house in such a way that the original threshold was to be level with the pavement, (III) the alterations and repairs were to be carried out in accordance with the agreed drawings, (IV) the masonry of the doorway and wall in which it was to be set were to be left exposed, (V) the existing wooden doors were to be reused. The owner of the property received two-thirds grant aid from the government (SA1:1015/37).

Although there was never rapprochement it can be seen that there was modification of the conservation principles imported from Britain, whilst the Greek community on

the island and in mainland Greece redefined their views on significance and value. In 1905 Jeffery estimated that two thirds of the village churches had been swept away (Jeffery 1906: 487) and he took the view that the Greek-Cypriots, primarily and the islanders generally, were 'too uneducated and too prejudiced' to be of assistance in the matter of preservation (SPAB File Cyprus Antiquities 1906-1922. Letter, Jeffery to Secretary SPAB, 25/1/1906). But he also recognised that what he and other practitioners were trying to do was a specifically west European undertaking: 'it would be difficult to introduce ideas into a country such as Cyprus, which are based on traditions peculiar to Western Europe' (*ibid*).

However, throughout the 1920s and 1930s interest in Byzantine art and architecture was to grow in Europe amongst academics and also amongst the increasing numbers of tourists to the Eastern Mediterranean. The Orthodox Church Committees recognised this interest as a source of income from tourists but also as a growing recognition that the iconography within the churches was part of the shared cultural heritage and identity of the Greek mainland and islands. This latter appreciation spread from the Greek mainland during the 1920s to culminate in a survey of Byzantine art in Cyprus (SA1:917/29/1) financed in large measure by the Greek community. The survey was supported by recommendations for the conservation of the art by British government officers. Writing in 1933 Jeffery commented,

'The Orthodox Church has hitherto refused to cooperate with any efforts to arouse interest in the Byzantine style in Cyprus. The Antiquities Law of 1905 was framed to exclude any property of the Orthodox Church from its action. On 8/1/1914 Sir Harold Goold Adams circulated an enquiry amongst the village church committees as to whether they had objections to their churches being scheduled as Ancient Monuments. The reply was unanimously in the affirmative. No churches could therefore be declared Ancient Monuments. In 1927 a change seems to take place - in that year five ancient churches being declared Ancient Monuments.'

(SA1:917/29/2

Initially, the conservation of the Classical past was the sole interest of the Greek-Cypriots because of its cultural and political relevance, their awareness of other values and significance could and did change and thereafter they were prepared to use British controls on later periods to secure their own developing identity.

Inadvertently the island administration had reached a conclusion with regard to the management and use of ancient monuments that is quite close to our own, but unfortunately this was not to last as external pressures helped bring about a coincidence of island and British practice. The pressures on the island administration recommenced in the 1930s and began with a letter-writing campaign that was part of the public appeals by leading academics and conservation specialists to contribute to the Cyprus Fund, a charitable body headed by Lord Mersey to raise funds for the preservation of historic buildings in Cyprus. The growing public criticism of British inactivity on Cyprus did not go unnoticed by the Colonial Office and in 1933 a small team of experts consisting of Sir Charles Peers and Sir George Hill, Director of the British Museum, was asked to visit the colony and make a full report with recommendations (Hill 1934; Peers Archive XVIII/xviii). The proviso was that the travelling costs and allowances were not to exceed £150.00 and would be paid by the Colony. The Colonial Office agreed, but the then Governor of Cyprus (Sir Reginald Stubbs) refused the visit claiming that the colony could not afford it. Letters appeared immediately in *The Times*. Lionel Earle (onetime Secretary to the Commissioners of Works, above page 143), wrote to the paper on 3/11/1933:

'Considering the way the important monuments in Syria have been preserved and protected by the French, and the splendid work done by the Italians in Rhodes, I feel it a grave reflection on the Administration in Cyprus that it did not avail itself of this unique opportunity of obtaining valuable expert advice at so small a cost.'

The response to the failure of the colonial administration was the creation of the Cyprus Committee which then paid for Peers and Hill to visit the island in 1934 (when Peers had retired). Letters and articles appeared regularly throughout 1934 to 1936 (2). The content of these letters and articles is much as one would expect: British organisational failure, failure to grasp the opportunity for tourism (the monuments 'a magnet to attract less specialized visitors and a source of revenue to the island' *The Times*, 19th July, 1934) and national status ('only in Cyprus, a centre of antiquities not unworthy of its neighbours, have the British failed to do their duty, *The Times*, 19th July 1934), lack of resources, French and Italian success in Syria and Rhodes respectively, but does include suggestions that the French and Italians might have thrown too much money at their sites ('wise but lavish expenditure by the French' *The Times*, 14th January, 1936) and indulged in over-zealous repair and restoration, but there is no suggestion that a workable system of management might have been

created that could be built on. As in the earlier comments on the Famagusta walls affair, the monuments are portrayed as possessing both academic and picturesque values.

Active from 1933 to 1954, the Cyprus Committee produced detailed annual reports and contributed funds for excavation and work to historic monuments and the Cyprus Museum (SA1:494/1936; SA1:645/1937). The Committee was chaired by Lord Mersey and included both 'standard' figures such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Peers and Hill, and MPs, but also 'new' academics such as Steven Runciman, reflecting the developing interest in Byzantine studies. In 1934 Peers (Peers 1934; Peers Archive XVIII/xviii) produced a detailed report on the ancient monuments of the island which suggested the strengthening of the existing legislation, the adoption of the Office of Works structure with an antiquities service based in Nicosia, the necessity for adequate funding and the application of the principle of guardianship to the bigger monuments. Peers identified those monuments in immediate need of work and praised the work carried out by Evkaf and the Greek Orthodox Church, failing to realise the contribution of Jeffery, which was described as 'useful work...but on far too small a scale' (Peers 1934: 10).

The proposals put forward by Peers amounted to the imposition of the complete range of Office of Works practice and principles. Of the sites that were scheduled, those considered 'attractive and constructive' were to be excavated and displayed; others were to be 'cleared' and reburied. The town of Famagusta was to be considered a single monument, to be treated and maintained so that the 'unrivalled group of ancient buildings' will not be 'in danger of disfigurement from modern additions.' (Peers 1934: 10). These measures were directed towards the west European medieval and Classical: the buildings and layout of a Greek Orthodox monastery, for example, were stated by Peers to be 'seldom of architectural value' (Peers 1934: 13).

The composition of the Cyprus Committee was such that it could and did continue to apply pressure on the Colonial Office for increased government funds for Cyprus. Such was their success that in 1938 the Colonial Secretary had to assure Lord Mersey that the support of the Committee and its 'financial assistance' (SA1:554/36) was still required. Not only was this support from an outside agency necessary for

short term needs, but it was considered to be 'a very real help to Government in making its case for a contribution to the Antiquities work from taxation' (SA1:554/36) over the long term Government, and therefore public and charitable work could only function when it co-existed. However, it was also the case that the result of public appeals and creation of pressure groups was to lead to the importation of centralized approaches and the gradual distancing from those bodies, rather than the active participation they might have had in mind. It should be remembered that in Britain the Office of Works became increasingly isolated from such groups and it may be the case that they were really perceived in Cyprus as a necessary evil.

The creation of the Department of Antiquities and the involvement of charitable foundations signalled the end of the style of work undertaken by Jeffery. With the arrival of a properly structured Department of Antiquities came the association with the Office of Works in Britain and a common style of preservation and presentation. The financial assistance of the charitable trusts was used for specific projects or projects within projects, such as the restoration of the Queen's Window at St. Hilarion Castle (SA1:646/37). The castle was being consolidated by the Department and it was felt that the future restoration (anastylosis) of a particular window would be a sensible project for a charitable trust to fund, rather than 'lose' its money in the overall project budget. But just when some degree of financial stability had been achieved the war brought these initiatives to a halt.

5. Summary.

Britain acquired Cyprus as a colony almost by accident of history and throughout the colonial period it was completely under-resourced. There was no large, single pot of money to be distributed equally amongst the colonies, nor a single, dedicated parent government office to coordinate practice. The published work on imperial conservation (or conservation in an imperial context) has centred on India largely because there is a long tradition of archaeological survey beginning in the eighteenth century (Chakrabarti 1982) and because of the enigmatic character and personality of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon (Gilmour 1994; James 1994), but also because the conflict of values between west and east is perhaps more obvious and dramatic. However, postcolonial theory is now being used in archaeology and heritage management to help understand the manner in which archaeological narrative and social identity is

constructed (Byrne 1991; Said 1993; Mattingly 1996; Meskell 1998; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998; Thomas 1999; Hingley 2000b; 2001b; Gosden 2001; Meskell 2002a; 2002b) and will be further discussed in Chapter Five. But the examination of Cyprus should make us wary of making easy comparisons between imperial dependencies – conservation practice was not a single, isolated enterprise to be repeated wherever, but seemingly one which had to be related to the political realities of each colony, creating its own hybrid (Meskell 2002b: 292).

As far as historic remains were concerned, British control of Cyprus appeared to Europeans (most notably the French) to be a complete failure, but this is also because the aims of French imperialism were different. As far as the French were concerned, their aim was to recreate France wherever they colonized, and therefore their national preservation practice was imposed on each colony, along with all the other manifestations of French life (Mattingly 1996; Keay 1997). Each French colony was (and is) a department of France to be governed from Paris; so Martinique, for example, is France and its people French. The British perception of colonial responsibility was the generation, in time, of self-governing, self-reliant dependencies operating by the rule of (British) law (James, 1998: 589), with a stress on British institutions rather than the detail of British life.

If we return to consider the questions raised at the start of the Chapter, has it been possible to provide any answers?

Although British conservation principles were modified in the light of experience, it is clear that there was always a tension between what happened on Cyprus and what specialists in Britain believed should happen. The supposed failings of the 1905 Antiquities Act provoked considerable comment in Britain – particularly that framed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science – but this and later criticism was generated from contemporary and typically west European preoccupations; science and advancement, national status and the role of the specialist as 'authority' (Byrne 1991). Nowhere was it suggested that conservation practice on the island should be modified to address the particular needs and values of the island communities, nor was it ever suggested that the 'innovations' in the AA1905 - specifically grant aid and the combining of ancient monuments and historic buildings - could be applied in other countries or in Britain. In this respect, examination of the

trajectory of Jeffery's career could be instructive because it demonstrates that contemporary issues such as the conflict between 'science' and people and the conflict of opposing cultural values have been explored in earlier situations. Jeffery had to revert from 'specialist' to 'student' in his dealings with Evkaf and this experience led him into a different conservation realm – that of urban regeneration – but also into appreciation of a different community with different values. In the urban core of Nicosia, the pre-eminence of scientific enquiry and historic buildings might have seemed a long way away. It may be the case that Jeffery is not unique; only further examination of other colonial contexts may bring other practitioners to light.

The example of the Greek-Cypriot community and their growing appreciation of the significance of Byzantine art and architecture illustrates that not only individuals, but whole communities could revise their opinion of what was of value to them. However, this change only developed because new research into the subject identified the connections and significance of the material, which was then made known to the community through a number of agencies – literature and tourism being two. But rather than being merely academic research in its own right, the Byzantine material was seen to have particular applications, both in terms of generating income and in establishing political and cultural identity. In Chapter Five I will examine current ideas about the fluidity of 'significance' and the importance of 'the present' in determining how we view the past, but the example of the Greek-Cypriots and Byzantine art is a particularly clear illustration of these ideas.

The Cyprus case study can be seen to have considerable contemporary relevance. We have seen in Chapter Two and will see in Chapter Five that conservation, archaeology and politics have always been linked, and the Cyprus case study gives further evidence of that connection. One of the most pressing current questions is 'whose heritage' (Chippindale et al 1990), and many practitioners (e.g. Shanks and Tilley, 1987; 1992; Byrne 1991 and Smith, 1994) and politicians (below page 251), call for greater self-critical analysis and informed participation on the part of the specialist to address this question. The Cyprus case study provides a clear illustration of the conflict that can be generated by the automatic importation and application of a particular idea of heritage on different, living communities (Layton 1989a; 1989b; Byrne 1991), but as indicated by Jeffery, it also reveals that self-reflection and change is not new and can be achieved.

In Chapter Two we saw that political will was a necessary adjunct to popular demands for preservation. In Cyprus preservation practitioners achieved a long-held aim – the protection of ancient monuments and historic, privately-owned, occupied buildings. Although the island government had to modify the detail of this arrangement, it was only made possible by the over-arching logic of imperial 'will'. In Chapter Three we saw that political commitment to support the ancient monument acts seemed to be hesitant, but in Chapter Five we will see how heritage initiatives are being appended to contemporary political aims, but these aims require that our ideas about heritage – what it is, who it belongs to and how it is managed – must be modified. The question to be asked is, are heritage practitioners ready to accept these changes?

Notes to Chapter Four.

- (1) The Evkaf (pronounced 'wakf') and also known as 'wakf', 'vakif', 'awkaf' is a contraction of 'al wakf', meaning 'trust', an Islamic religious or charitable foundation. The trust may take two forms – a private (usually family) endowment, and a public endowment with trustees – often then endowed to an organisation, Evkaf, which administers the asset on behalf of the donor. Many 'wakf' could be specific, such as a suq whose rental was to be applied to a mosque or school. The charitable foundation was the essence of the Muslim social welfare system and in Istanbul during the second half of the eighteenth century about 30,000 persons were given two meals daily by the wakf foundations. Mosques, schools, libraries, hospitals and fountains could all be of wakf origin. (Akurgal 1980:144)
- (2) Daily Telegraph, 6/3/34; The Times, 5/5/34, 'A Neglected Heritage'; The Times, 19/7/1934 'The Treasures of Cyprus'; The Times, 6/11/34, 'Monuments of Cyprus'; The Times, 24/1/1935, 'An Appeal for Cyprus'; The Times, 14/1/1936, 'The Antiquities of Cyprus' and 'The Treasures of Cyprus'; The Times, 16/1/1936, 'The Treasures of Cyprus'; Country Life, 25/1/1936, 'Restoration in Cyprus'.

Chapter Five.

Current Directions.

'We need to regain a sense of informality. No more single-species grass carpets. The typical English grassland runs riot with species in summer and only needs to be cut twice a year. Sheep could graze on many sites. We need to look at the whole landscape, not just the isolated ruin in the centre.'

Sir Neil Cossons, Chairman of English Heritage; interview, *The Times*, April 3rd, 2000.

1. Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an outline and assessment of the current principles and theoretical paradigms behind Cultural Heritage Management (CHM), and discuss how these ideas and practices can be used to address our developing understanding of the cultural environment.

At the time of writing (2003) the principles of conservation and heritage management in England are the subject of peer review, and the heritage legislation is itself soon to be redrafted. Conservation process and practice are at a significant departure point as questions about what the heritage is and who owns it are asked more often. These developments signal changes in the status of the monument and the role of the heritage manager. Increasingly the heritage is seen as being more than a collection of monuments, whilst some heritage professionals are keen to demonstrate the suitability of the heritage industry to address social issues such as social exclusion and regeneration. For either or both of these assertions to be workable, current practice will have to change and the new practice will require its own theoretical underpinning. The individual specialist will be required to behave differently, shifting the balance from policeman and 'authority' to facilitator and advocate in a multi-cultural, multi-value, multi-past environment.

The chapter will be divided into five sections dealing with; an introductory case-study using the Whitby Abbey Headland conservation plan; theory and theory-making; the origin and principles behind the attribution of significance; Scheduling and Landscape Characterisation and finally local and community participation, which will include two further case studies based on current case work at Sutton Common, South Yorkshire and Orchard Field Roman fort, Malton, North Yorkshire. These case studies will be used to demonstrate the links between theory and practice and provide suggestions for the role of the specialist/facilitator.

2. A Contemporary Case Study: Whitby Abbey Headland Project. Introduction.

The English Heritage Whitby Abbey Headland Project was the first English Heritage project to make use of a Conservation Plan. However, the process of creating and applying the Plan was far from easy as it brought into relief the clash between two different approaches to heritage management: a traditional approach based on the pre-eminence of fabric, and a new approach based on 'place' and the management of 'value'. To understand the basis of the problems at Whitby it will be necessary to describe the principles behind the Conservation Plan.

A centrally important conservation text of recent years is '*The Conservation Plan. A guide to the preparation of Conservation Plans for places of European cultural significance*' by James Semple Kerr (1982). The text was first prepared for a series of seminars sponsored in 1981 by the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, the Australian Heritage Commission and the Commonwealth Department of Housing and Construction.

The Conservation Plan sets out a sequence of actions to enable a balance to be made between the importance of a 'place' and its 'use', wherein the understanding of the cultural significance of a place and the creation of policies for the protection or enhancement of that significance are the key elements. This understanding can only be reached following discussion and agreement with the widest possible range of participants (or 'stakeholders'). Cultural significance (the short-hand 'significance' is commonly used) is the term applied to all those qualities that make a place unique or distinctive to people today. Thus to 'assess' the cultural significance of a place is to elicit and arrive at an understanding of the totality of a place, taking into consideration

the aesthetic, historic, scientific and social values of a place and thereby understand what aspects of the place are 'valued' by one or several communities. But the understanding is that significance and value can and do change (Bowdler 1984; Schaafsma 1989). 'Place' is used in preference to 'building', 'work' or 'monument' because it means to elevate understanding of the past above the constraints imposed by the concept of 'fabric'. Thus what may be important to a 'place' is its recent or distant past, its landscape setting, associations or natural features such as a river running through the 'place'. Other values may be important and would be considered in any assessment, but the four value groups described above tend to be those most frequently included in assessments of cultural significance. Any assessment of significance requires that all those with an interest are consulted to discover what values they associate with the place. This approach is a major departure because it works on the principle that not only is value *assigned* to a place by people, rather than being an *inherent* characteristic visible only to a small group of the well-informed, but it signifies a shift in the role of the specialist from 'authority' to 'advocate' or 'enabler' (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 169). Rather than dictate what is significant, the specialist encourages the respective communities to proffer their responses to their environment and continues to consult with them during the process that gives shape to the definition of cultural significance. A Conservation Plan is a way of enabling the respective community to balance the significance of the place against current or projected use, so that the use does not impact adversely on the significance, but it also provides a means of addressing (but not necessarily resolving) the conflicts that can occur between values held by different groups.

There are a number of basic principles behind the Conservation Plan and perhaps the first, and the one that shows a radical departure from the approaches and conceits that preceded it, is that conservation and change are not mutually exclusive and should be part of a single process. 'Developments', Kerr says (1996: iv) 'do not take place in a vacuum but at an existing place'. Thus any development should take due cognisance of setting, fabric, materials and cultural significance, to ensure that what is left gives a sense of continuity, identity and stability. Change in the environment would progress in such a way that the significance of a place was first understood, then enhanced or revealed: the plan format identified a sequence of actions and thought that aimed to produce a more structured approach to the way items from the past were selected for use and actively managed in the present and

future. The assumption was that the creation of a Conservation Plan would be the first stage in any project, although it was often the case that a project was commenced and then the Plan started. The problem with this latter position was that the conclusions of the Plan could become a post-hoc justification of the existing direction of a scheme of work.

The concept of cultural significance was not created by Kerr. The term 'significance' was used as part of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) in the United States of America in the 1970s, and will be discussed in detail below (page 232). CRM sought to provide a framework for both archaeological evaluation and the identification of 'significance' for the inclusion of sites on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). The principle of CRM was imported to Australia by Australian archaeologists (where it became Cultural Heritage Management, (CHM)) and translated into the *Australian Heritage Commission Act, 1975* and the *New South Wales Heritage Act, 1977* (Flood 1989; Smith 1993: 57-58; 1996b; Pearson and Sullivan, 1995: 45). The *Australian Heritage Commission Act, 1975*, established the Australian Heritage Commission 'as a Commonwealth statutory body' (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995: 45). This body maintains the Register of the National Estate, an inventory of the places in Australia with 'aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social significance or other special value' (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 46). Between 1977 and 1979 Australia ICOMOS began to reassess the applicability of the Venice Charter of 1964 (ICOMOS 1966) to a country that had an Indigenous, non-monumental population, because the Venice Charter did not provide any rationale for identifying or managing the heritage sites of such people. As stated by Carver (1996:50-53) 'monumentality' had become an international language, but the practitioners and creators of international principles (such as the Venice Charter) failed to recognize that many cultures were non-monumental (Byrne 1991). Furthermore it was beginning to be understood that the relationship between people and the past was complex (Collingwood 1946; Carr 1961; Blythe 1969; Said 1978; Hodder 1982; Thomas 1983; Layton (ed) 1989a; 1989b) and not wholly attached to 'monuments'. The product of their deliberations was '*The Burra Charter making good decisions about the care of important places.*' (Australia ICOMOS 1977). This was rapidly adopted as the standard for conservation practice in Australia, as it provided principles and procedures that could be applied to rock paintings, mines, contact sites, buildings or archaeological sites (Australia ICOMOS 1977: 8). There were two important changes from the Venice Charter and

the prevailing, wholly Eurocentric concept of heritage; the idea of 'place' (1) as a broader concept than 'site' or 'monument', and 'cultural significance' (2) as a more complex concept than historical or art-historical value. Kerr adopted the language and process of the *Burra Charter* but specifically for those places in Australia that derived from a European cultural tradition.

It was not long before Kerr's approach was adopted in other countries. New Zealand followed Australia and then Australian architects working for the firm of Inskip and Jenkins employed the practice in England (Emerick 1997). In the mid 1990s the architect Stephen Gee (of Inskip and Jenkins) used the plan method as the basis for conservation work at Stowe in Buckinghamshire (Emerick 1997: 63-64). In English Heritage (EH), the first Conservation Plan created for a site was that for Whitby Abbey, North Yorkshire in 1996-1997, written by Kate Clark.

In Chapter Three reference was made to the 1981 essay by M. W. Thompson (page 153) and although this was produced after the *Burra Charter*, the overwhelming majority of conservation practitioners in England would have endorsed Thompson's approach to the conservation of ancient monuments. The following section will describe the creation of the Whitby Abbey Headland Project and explore the resulting confusion around the Project generated by the paradigm lag between the two approaches.

2.1 The Whitby Abbey Headland Project - A Case Study.

The Whitby Abbey Headland project was conceived in 1991 by the late Jim Lang of English Heritage in discussion with the owner of the site, Sir Frederick Strickland-Constable. Jim Lang was an Anglo-Saxon scholar of renown who felt that the existing interpretation of Whitby Abbey was seriously deficient. There were three principal reasons why it was felt necessary to improve the visitor facilities on the Whitby headland:

- i) The Abbey site receives over 100,000 visitors per year and the large volume of vehicular traffic to the Headland was eroding the surface of the existing car-park to such an extent that medieval stone buildings were beginning to appear through the surface. It was necessary therefore to find an alternative location for the Headland car-park.

- ii) There was a long-term problem presented by the erosion of the Headland itself, caused by the instability of the underlying geology.
- iii) The fame of Whitby Abbey was based on its Anglo-Saxon origins, but this aspect of the site was completely invisible, and unexplained to the visitor (above page 150 for the same realization by Charles Peers). A complete overhaul of the existing interpretative scheme was considered essential.

The inception of the Whitby Project took place against a series of changes in English Heritage in 1991 that saw its site management role divorced from its conservation role to the extent that two sections were created, Historic Properties (HP) and Conservation Division (Con).

Primarily as a result of the reduction of grant to English Heritage from the Treasury, Historic Properties was given the task of developing the income generating possibilities of the guardianship sites and it was increasingly realized that many of the sites required development in order to capitalize on and increase their income potential (English Heritage 1992). Each EH region had to create lists indicating those sites that should be 'development sites' (referred to as 'Key Sites') selected on the basis of visitor numbers, and resources were to be directed accordingly. Whitby Abbey was one such 'Key Site'. The obverse of this was that 'free sites', such as Wharram Percy Deserted Medieval Village, were intentionally starved of investment because there was no business case for continued promotion or investment in the site. The meaning and implications of this policy were never grasped. The gradual 'reawakening' of the guardianship sites referred to in Chapter Three was finally confirmed by recognition of their commercial potential, which could only be realized if development of the 'asset' was able to keep pace with public tastes and demand. Thus one part of English Heritage was embracing the idea of changing, or developing ancient monuments, whilst other sections were maintaining the repair as found principle on guardianship and privately-owned sites. This inconsistency remains in place, enshrined in the official EH categorization of scheduled monuments as 'non-beneficial' structures for grant-aid purposes, i.e. a scheduled monument has no financial value, even though the guardianship sites were actively used and developed to generate income. The majority of the Inspectorate recognised that improvement of visitor (and staff) facilities was required, but few understood how rapid change and preservation of a monument could be accommodated.

Once the possibility of improvement to the Whitby Headland had become an accepted proposition, a partnership was created of all the relevant 'neighbours' (increasingly referred to as 'stakeholders') who owned or had an interest in land adjacent to the Abbey. This group included: English Heritage, the Strickland-Constable Estate (owners of the Abbey and some of the grounds), Scarborough Borough Council (who leased some Abbey land from the Estate, owned land on the headland and had an interest in the location of car-parking) and Countrywide Holidays (who occupied Abbey House on a ninety-nine year lease from the Strickland-Constable Estate).

A programme of archaeological evaluation was undertaken to characterize the archaeology of the headland and locate those areas where the creation of a new car-park would be most acceptable. A Business Plan was produced and a notional enlarged pay-perimeter was identified, with the suggestion that a new visitor/interpretation centre should be constructed within the shell of the Banqueting House – a ruined building of the 1670s (Fig. 20) adjacent to the Abbey (Pattison 1995;1996). However, the Whitby project was to undergo a major change of scale when the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) was created in 1994.

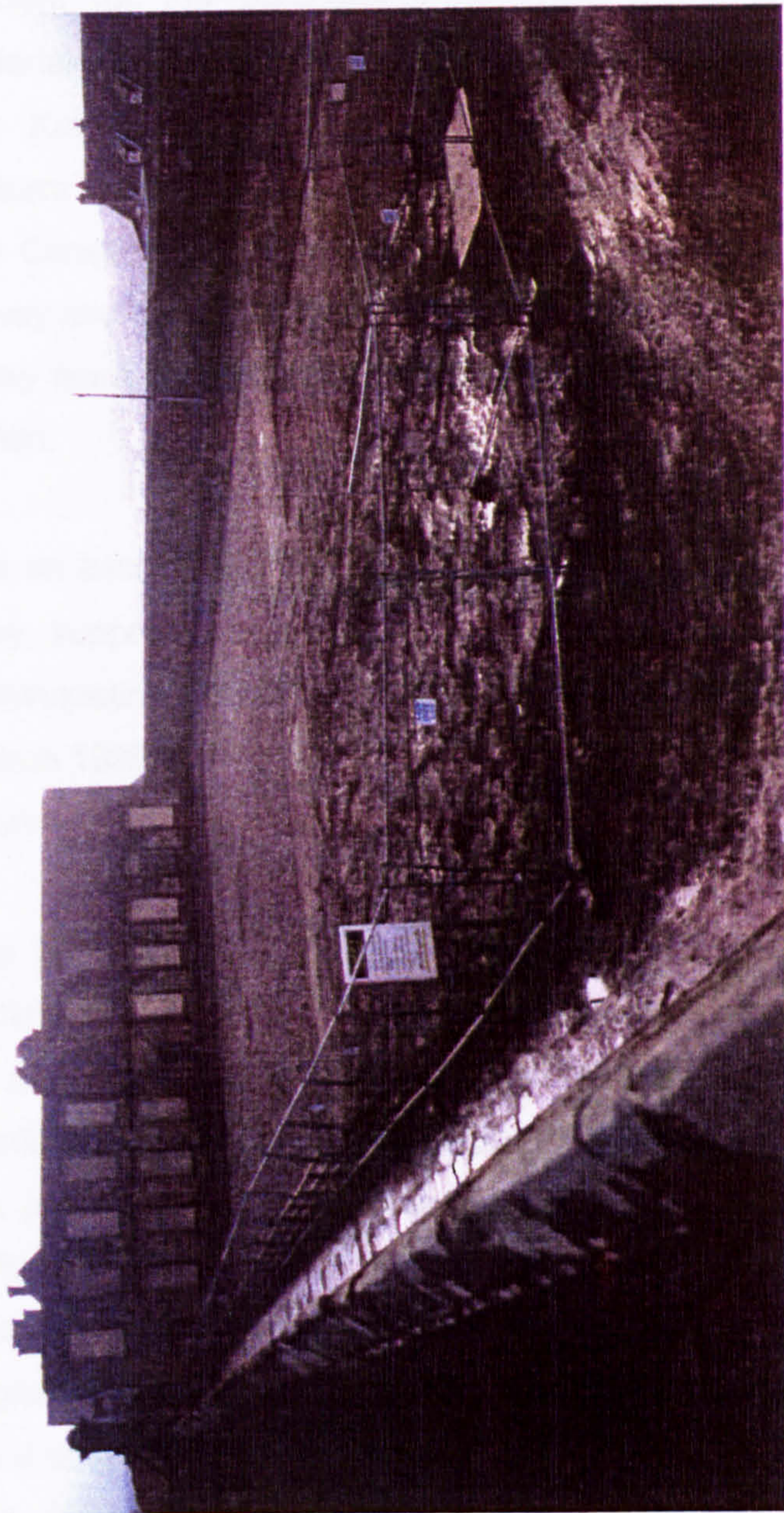
The HLF was created to provide financial resources for various categories of projects, including 'heritage' projects, using receipts from the National Lottery (Grenville 1999: 39). The HLF required that a preferred project had to have a mix of participants, both public and private, and in this respect the Whitby Headland project was considered a suitable contender. The allocation of money from the HLF was determined by its commissioners and panels of experts brought together to oversee particular types of work. The then Chairman of English Heritage (Sir Jocelyn Stevens) and members of the English Heritage Commission were keen to have active Lottery projects on the Key Sites, both for reasons of status and because the HLF provided a level of financial resource not hitherto available to English Heritage. Although conceived by a region, the Whitby Project became the first HLF-funded English Heritage project, and management of the project gradually shifted to the centre of the organisation. A project development team was assembled, managed by a full-time project manager.

The shift of control from the region to the centre of the organisation caused some concern to the local stakeholders, whilst external specialists involved via the HLF

Figure 20

Whitby Banqueting House with 'hard' cobble garden in middle-ground. 1994

Original in colour. K. Emerick.



began to raise questions regarding the focus of the project and the seeming lack of any heritage methodology. It was in this context that the Conservation Plan for the Whitby Abbey Headland Project (WAHP) was created.

The WAHP project development team considered the existing historical survey information insufficient for the purposes of the project and appointed an internal survey team to undertake research of the landscape and buildings. The survey team was managed by Kate Clark, an Australian archaeologist who had working experience of the Burra Charter and the Conservation Plan process. Kate introduced the concept of the Conservation Plan to the project although well aware that the project was under way and that decisions about 'use' had already been made with the partners. This survey team with the site Inspector undertook the basic research for the Conservation Plan.

The first stage was an assessment and synthesis of the existing work to establish where any gaps lay, supported by specific pieces of research. Additional surveys were made of the Banqueting Hall and associated gardens, earthwork surveys of the wider context (Pattison 1995;1996), an overview of the main historical sources and a standing building survey of the parish church adjacent to the Abbey.

The Whitby Abbey Headland Conservation Plan (English Heritage 1997b) was completed in rapid time as the development project continued alongside it. In terms of the significances and policies identified, the Plan proved to be the concise, informative and detailed supporting documentation desired by the WAHP project development team, placing the site in a broader, landscape context, although the extent of the 'significance' was greater than anticipated (both in terms of date range and geographical area). The close analysis of the Banqueting House, archive survey and the archaeological evaluation of the paddock in front of the Banqueting House revealed the survival of a hitherto unrecognised late seventeenth century complex, consisting of house, garden and more extensive designed landscape around the Abbey, made all the more important by the fact that all the elements were contemporary features and therefore an extremely rare survival. This significance was further embellished by the discovery that beneath the grass paddock, the seventeenth century garden surface survived in its entirety - in this case a 'hard' cobble and pebble surface; (see Fig. 20). Thus the focus of interest (and the project)

switched from the intended target, the Early Medieval, to the seventeenth century Banqueting House and its landscape. This new awareness of the significance of the Banqueting House reversed a pre-occupation with the pre-Conquest and medieval that had lasted for over one hundred and fifty years and had become firmly established in the documentation of the statutory assessments, illustrating how academic fashion had directed and constructed 'value'.

The Plan characterized the visual amenity, historic and ecological character of the Headland, pointing to its delicate balance of popular visitor attraction and undeveloped, semi-wild condition. Other 'values' beyond those of the Early Medieval and Medieval were recorded, including the use of the Headland in Bram Stoker's, *Dracula* (1897), an aspect of the site English Heritage had always wanted to avoid on the grounds that the Victorian novel and later films were too populist. When the proposed 'use' of the Banqueting Hall and neighbouring landscape was assessed against its significance, it was clear that the integrity of the ensemble could be compromised by the proposed design and infrastructure, thus the threat to something that appeared to be unique was considered of greater importance than the Early Medieval, which was not perceived to be under threat.

However, the Plan was to be compromised because it was never formally adopted by the various partners as the guiding text (indeed some Conservation Plans are adopted as 'supplementary guidance' in the Local Plan process). But more significantly, the project and desires and conditions of the partners had progressed to a point whereby compromise or revision of the project in line with the advice of the Plan was difficult to achieve.

The most intractable problem was that concerning the needs of the Abbey House tenants, Countrywide Holidays. Their position was that the new design denied them the use of a number of car-parking spaces, in addition to which their Business Plan required that there be direct access from the new car-park direct to a new parking space to the rear of Abbey House. They declared that unless this was done they would withdraw from the WAHP group and potentially place the project at risk. The only way to achieve the demands of Countrywide was to create a new access road in the fields to the south of the Abbey from the new car park and through the south wall of Abbey House gardens, with an associated but separate pedestrian route. The

garden to the south of Abbey House would then be converted into a car and coach park. The problem here was twofold:

- i) The Conservation Plan stressed the unique nature of the ensemble of Banqueting House, Abbey House and associated gardens. Any attempt to introduce roads, car-parking and partial demolition of walls to achieve those ends would be counter to one of the most significant aspects of the Headland.
- ii) The Conservation Plan noted the semi-wild character of the Headland, and thus the introduction of roads and additional car-parking would compromise this quality by introducing an alien and 'suburban' air to the Headland.

A number of arguments were put forward by the project development team to support the car-parking proposals, namely that:

- i) The historic elements of the Headland could only have a continued existence if they had an assured economic life.
- ii) The historic advisers were perhaps being too rigorous in seeking to retain what were in effect only two sections of two walls. After all, the Headland had developed and changed over its lifetime.

Counter arguments were put forward to the effect that for the first time in many years it was possible to redress the balance of interpretation of the Headland, switching it from monastic medieval to secular early modern. And, as an exemplar organisation it was the responsibility of English Heritage to take a broader, inclusive view with regard to the site and the new management process epitomised by the creation of the Conservation Plan. Having created the Plan, English Heritage should not and could not ignore its conclusions because part of the project development team happened to find them inconvenient. The car-parking proposals hit at two elements of significance on the Headland: the Abbey House/Banqueting House complex with its associated gardens, and the overall setting. A clearly stated objective of the Headland project was the removal of excess parking, so in many ways a decision to accept parking would have been a major compromise.

The continuation of the project was now at odds with the Plan that had been introduced to give it direction, and was finally resolved in two ways. First by the involvement of particular English Heritage Commissioners who had developed a critical interest in the project and opposed the removal of sections of walling and use

of the garden as parking space. Their position was based also on the belief that an 'exemplar' organisation had to behave in a particular way, but was informed by virtue of the fact that their status as advisors from the external realm had brought them into contact with the principles behind Conservation Plans and significance – unlike many of the in-house staff. The second was the raising of questions over the structural integrity of the garden fill and its ability to support a high specification parking space. As a consequence of this decision Countrywide Holidays withdrew from the partnership, although their withdrawal did not undermine the project bid.

Why did these problems arise? The Whitby Headland Conservation Plan was not deficient, but the arguments over the use of the site and its significance can be characterized as a clash between two paradigms. The project development team wanted to change elements of the site to sustain commercial needs and felt that the values attached to 'peripheral' elements such as garden walls and the more intangible qualities of the Headland were outside the spirit and letter of the official site designation. The survey team (who produced the Conservation Plan) were happy to see a process that gave shape to the use versus significance conflict and were keen to see the recently interpreted elements become part of the official designations – both in terms of the scheduling and inclusion on the official Register of Parks and Gardens. Some project development team members expected the Plan to deliver a definitive history of the site, whilst the conscious elevation of a definition of the significance held today, coupled with the understanding that significance might alter in five years time, struck some as relativism and incompatible with development. As it was the first English Heritage Conservation Plan there was a steep learning curve for all those involved in its preparation, but to those outside the survey team, it was seen as something more akin to a contract between the partners to be rewritten as circumstances required and as a means of extracting resources from the HLF. Once the various significances were established the several partners did not agree in any formal way the content or policy direction of the plan, so it was never truly 'adopted' and the all-important process of consultation was truncated by the exigencies of the project. The function of the plan as a long-term strategic document to be reviewed as knowledge added to the picture of significance or as values changed, was either not appreciated or ignored. There was also a reluctance to be involved with academic and philosophical points for a number of reasons, (a) that debate about 'value' and 'significance' was the province of university departments and not part of a commercial

and management project (b) that existing weaknesses and errors of the approach would be highlighted, and (c) a cultural reluctance to undertake philosophical debate, particularly on the part of 'institutions'. We have seen in Chapters Two and Three that preservation was eventually able to compete with strictly 'utilitarian' values, but although members of the Headland team could recognise the value of the Banqueting House and accept that it had architectural quality, it was harder for some to accept that the 'value' included a number of garden walls and the natural environment of the Headland. The large, the monumental and the art historical were obvious, but the contributory detail and the wider envelope beyond the Scheduled Area were less so. As stated above, the utilitarian and commercial aspects of the Project were cited as justification for opposition to the conclusions of the Conservation Plan, but it was successfully argued that any initial loss would be followed by a number of incremental changes that would erode the significance of the whole.

The Whitby Headland Conservation Plan represented a dramatic change of gear for English Heritage as it introduced Cultural Heritage Management to the organization along with the concepts of value, significance and participation, but also criticism of 'monumentality' (above page 153) and the principles of heritage management that had obtained since the 1880s. Although the creation of Conservation Plans is now a more common occurrence in English Heritage and through the HLF, some still consider discussion of value and significance a distraction from 'the monument' and the technical and practical needs of a structure, which addresses the requirement that an institution should be seen to be 'doing something'. At the moment there is little synchronization between theory and practice in heritage management, whilst the majority of theory-making is conducted by archaeologists writing about archaeology (Smith 1994: 300). This is of particular concern in England as the focus of the heritage and what it includes are in the process of 'shifting' from expressions and narratives of the 'official', objective past and 'monuments' to non-professional, associative, local, and landscape perspectives. These shifts carry with them an attendant debate on the role of the heritage professional and the relationship with 'the public' (Bauman 1987; Smith 2001). Can the professional remain a legislator and paternalist or is the professional an interpreter and facilitator – whilst the meaning of these terms has yet to be agreed – or is it even possible to separate these functions (Bauman 1987; Smith 1993; 1994; 2001)? It is unlikely that the traditional approach typified by M.W. Thompson will be able to meet the new challenges because its

rationale was based on the concerns and interests of Freeman, Scott and Peers and shaped by paradigms such as that of the objectivity of scientific endeavour, and the authority of the specialist, concepts which are now contentious if not redundant. The lack of dialogue between the theoretical and practical arms of heritage management represented by the Whitby case is of considerable concern, particularly so as the desire to continue the reawakening of ancient monuments is not likely to slacken and is now beginning to extend to sites in private ownership (the proposed conversion of the ruined Castle Tioram in Scotland to a dwelling being one example: *Press and Journal* 18th November 2002; 2nd January 2003; 23rd February 2003). It will be argued in this research that the guardianship sites may have a new role as exemplars of the combination of theory and practice, but what aspects of archaeological theory might be of concern to the heritage manager?

3. Theory and Theory-Making.

This section will present some of the current concerns in theory and theory-making. How have the changes in archaeological theory come about, how can they be characterized and what is their relevance to issues such as the role of the heritage manager, the designation and identification of sites and their presentation to the public?

Both Pitt-Rivers and Peers worked within the dominant theoretical framework of their periods, although these may not have been explicit, these changing approaches have been referred to in Chapters Two and Three. As archaeology developed through the second half of the twentieth century, archaeologists worked with new theoretical paradigms. Since the 1960s perhaps the most protracted debate has focused on two areas: how do we interpret sites, and what exactly 'is' archaeology and what does it 'do': is it history or anthropology or ethnoarchaeology? There is large-scale agreement with the principle that human behaviour can be inferred from material remains recovered from archaeological contexts (Barrett 1987: 469; Trigger 1995: 450), but there is disagreement, for example, about whether the aim is to produce general statements and cross-cultural laws (processualism) or to understand the context and meaning of individual behaviour (post-processualism). A number of theoretical paradigms have been tried and adapted to help the archaeologist: empirical, Marxist, structuralist, processualist and post-processualist (see Shanks and

Tilley 1987; Trigger 1989; Hodder 1991; Preucel and Hodder 1996b; Johnson 1999 for detailed critique of the different approaches), and these were revised or rejected if they were found insufficient to fill the gaps in what could be interpreted, but as noted by Smith (Smith 1994: 300) although these various approaches considered (amongst other things) relevance of the past to the present and the politicization of the past and archaeology, little attempt was made to 'theorize' heritage management.

Prehistorians have generated most of the theoretical work, although American historical archaeologists such as Leone (Leone 1983; Leone et al 1987; Leone and Potter 1988) have published a great deal on the use of Critical Theory to understand the rise of mercantile capitalism and the construction of the past, whereas Deetz (1967;1996) has employed structuralist approaches in his work on early colonial America.

Although archaeological debate considers the encompassing theme of what archaeology is and does, sub-themes were and are being explored to refine that larger picture, often borrowing from related debates in Social Theory, History and Literary Criticism (Hodder 1991; Thomas and Tilley 1992: 107; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Johnson 1999). Of particular relevance to heritage managers are certain related subject areas:

3.1) The inability to see the past objectively.

The proposition that people re-invent the past for their present was perhaps established by R.G. Collingwood in 1946 and E.H. Carr (amongst others) in the 1960s. It is perhaps accurate to say that in the 1980s and 1990s this supposition was now explicit; there was no objective 'truth' to be presented to the public as suggested by M.W. Thompson (above page 154;Ucko 1994:xi). Debate on archaeological theory explored this supposition in two ways, but invariably by focusing on the prehistoric. First, the school of thought often referred to as post-modern or post-processual, critiqued the processualist stance (Clarke 1968; Binford 1983; 1996) by claiming that stress on cross-cultural laws and the perception of change being solely a response to environmental factors failed to take the ideas, actions and intentions of people into account and devalued local cultures (Shanks and Tilley 1987; Thomas 1988; 1991; Hodder 1991; Trigger 1995:277; Hamilakis

and Yalouri 1996; Johnson 1999), and second that it was not possible to consider an artefact and then 'read off' a norm from that artefact. These debates often made reference to Kuhn's work (1970) on the nature of scientific revolutions and the emerging premise that science was seldom objective. To the post-modernists the products of the past were created as social acts (Hodder 1982; 1991; Thomas and Tilley 1992: 108), and archaeology and writing about archaeology are both social acts but undertaken in the present. Thus it was impossible to say anything about the meaning of 'material culture patterning' unless 'one is willing to make conceptualized interventions by means of using social, ethnographic or other starting points about the manner in which the past social totality was constituted' (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 104). The critics of this position stressed that relativism was transformed into an 'absolute principle' (Trigger 1995: 263), whilst Kristiansen (1988: 477) maintained that there must still be an empirical reality 'that resists dialogue so you cannot treat it any way you like'. Both Barrett (1987: 471) and Bintliff (Bintliff in Thomas and Tilley 1992: 111–114) argued that Hodder used generalizing arguments, whilst post-modernists generally misunderstood what it was that science could and could not do (Thomas and Tilley 1992: 112). However the essence of the arguments about objectivity and truth was that the concern for 'truth' was an academic and scientific smoke screen that served to hide the fact that there was an academic monopoly of truth that was a self-reproducing power-structure (Hamilakis 1996). The issue was one of power and knowledge not objective truth.

It will be seen below (page 239 to 241) that particular definitions of truth and objectivity continue to influence the designation and maintenance of sites, believing their value to be unchanging (Wainwright 1989; 1993; Saunders 1993; Startin 1993; 1995; English Heritage 1996), whereas we have seen (above page 155) that the belief in 'a truth' has shaped the presentation of the guardianship sites. New approaches to the mutability of value (Bowdler 1984; Schaafsma 1989; Carver 1989; 1996; Grenville 1993), the deeper understanding of landscape using Historic Landscape Characterisation (below page 241 to 248) and awareness of the complexity of the relationship between people, landscape and the past will provoke debate about the nature of the past and who controls its construction. Such debate will become a necessity because the external political drive (below page 251) is about social exclusion, participation and 'new types of significance' (Thurley 2002: 2). But

whose significance and values will they be? Will they continue to be defined by professionals and institutions or will the public create significance anew?

3.2) The characterization and reconstruction of the past.

This debate, which relates to that above, is largely a critique by post-processualists of earlier empirical paradigms, although this did include processual criticism of the post-processualists for their supposed empathising with the past (Hodder 1991; Johnson 1999). The past is portrayed as something 'other' and unknowable by the post-processualists, rather than the empirical and processualist view that the past is 'other' but somehow attainable via objects acting as a lens or window to allow the past to be seen in its exact detail (Shanks and Tilley 1987; Tilley 1989). Thus to the post-processualist, writing about the past means writing about ideas, meanings and symbols, but written in and from the present as a contemporary activity (Vinsrygg 1988: 1; Tilley 1988: 14; Thomas 1988; Ucko 1989; Tilley 1989; Thomas 1991; Thomas and Tilley 1992; Spector 1996; Johnson 1999: 25), and because meanings and symbols are open to numerous interpretations, there will be multiple texts (Trigger 1995: 264). Ideas about the past and how it was different from the present included, for example, discussion on the nature of time (Thomas 1988;1991; Bradley 1991; Gosden 1994; Duke 1996), but borrowing from the work of the historian Braudel who conceived a threefold division of time: the *longue durée*, social time and individual time. Some historians had earlier made use of attempts to recreate mental worlds: in 1969 Hobsbawn and Rudé described their aim in *Captain Swing* (an analysis of the agrarian upheavals in 1830 England) as 'reconstructing the mental world of an anonymous and undocumented body of people' (Hobsbawn and Rudé 1969: 12).

To 'read' a monument or the past in this sense is significantly different from that envisaged by Peers or Thompson, as any 'reading' can be considered as valid as the next, but also true that the non-specialist reading can be as valid as that of the specialist (Preucel 1995; Knapp 1996), but might also question the privileged status of the 'monument'. However, the idea of the site or its data as text has changed from that of a 'document' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to 'narrative' and 'discourse' (Hodder 1991; Shanks and Tilley 1992). Gosden argues however (1992) that analogies between text and understanding are essentially bourgeois and

sustain the status of the 'authority' but also fail to grasp the complexity of the connection between past and present. However, the multiple reading has remained a matter of considerable debate. The critics of the multiple narrative position suggest that it implies that 'anything goes', whereas its supporters' response is that the different accounts of the past are 'equally deserving of our scrutiny within a *critical archaeology*' (Thomas and Tilley 1992: 108; Meskell 1998: 9; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998) i.e. each interpretation is critically assessed and should be created in a self-critical manner, but this does suggest that some interpretations are 'better' than others, presumably because they make 'better' use of the material/data. Shanks and Tilley accept some form of empirical constraint (1987; Preucel and Hodder (eds) 1996: 667; Shanks 1996) when they suggest that 'we cannot afford the irrationality of subjectivism and relativism' (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 110). Knapp and Antoniadou argued (1988: 17, following Preucel 1995 and Knapp 1996) that it is only within a theoretical milieu which encourages diverse viewpoints 'that archaeology can develop its social and political stance'. Hamilakis argued (1996: 977) that the accusations of subjectivity, relativism and ultimately fascism made against the post-processualists were misplaced. The presumed shift from subjectivity to nationalism to fascism would not happen because 'a critical archaeology should deconstruct and effectively oppose nationalist narratives of the past and the present as hegemonic discourses' (Hamilakis 1996:977). Thomas had presented an earlier defence of the creative and imaginative potential of the multiple meaning approach when he stated that 'if archaeology is a discipline worth pursuing, it is because it presents us with alternative modes of reason and different ways of being human which once prevailed in the spaces which we now inhabit' (Thomas 1991: 20) a point further elaborated by Spector (1996).

Thus writing and thinking about the past requires a constant shifting of perspective between past and present which is exactly the process required in the Historic Landscape Characterisation exercises to be discussed later (page 241 to 248). In the realm of heritage management it is critical that different *living* voices are encouraged to participate in the debate about what the heritage is and how it should be managed, and it will be seen from the case studies used below (pages 259 to 274) that multiple narratives and multiple pasts were central to the discussions with the local communities. Social inclusion is now a political objective (discussed in detail below, page 251), but politicians also want heritage professionals to embark on a dialogue of

multiculturalism in order to examine both the products (museums, sites and narratives) but also the power structures of heritage management (below page 252). The encouragement of multiple voices and multiple narratives will become central to the role of the heritage manager. The idea that the heritage can be used to address social and political issues can only be sustained in a credible way if the heritage manager begins with self-critical assessment. Heritage managers and archaeologists have to accept that their status and knowledge (and the associated legislative frameworks) have created an institutionalised and privileged perspective which has shaped the way in which people see, interact and value the past, a point made by Pearson and Sullivan (1995: 145). What then is the implication for the presentation of a guardianship site? Do we dispense with the official history of dates of kings, queens, abbots and the rebuilding of the east end because that type of interpretation is somehow tainted? The issue must be that we recognize that our site narratives are constructs. Although our belief is that our interpretations of the past may be new and objective, the way we interpret the past is conditioned by what we individually and collectively believe we know about the past. We therefore have to be clear about the origin and construction of the existing site narratives, but also be critical of the origins and meanings of new narratives (Leone and Potter 1996). Thus kings, queens and abbots stay, but the use of that information will differ significantly from that employed by Peers and Thompson.

3.3) The politicization of archaeology.

The critical reassessment of what archaeology is and does has brought into focus the fact that far from being an objective science, archaeology had been used to underpin particular political ideologies and elites (Trigger 1980;1984; Wilk 1985; Fowler 1987; Carman 1993; N'doro 1994; Silberman 1995; 1999; Mattingly 1996; Jones 1997; Meskell (ed) 1998; Hingley 2000b; Bender 2001 and see Chapter Two for the example of Ireland and Chapter Four for Cyprus). It was often the case that archaeology and politics tended to come into conflict, or be used as 'evidence' to support particular ideologies, where archaeologists came into contact with other, particularly Native cultures. The core of the conflict could be excavation (Anyon 1991), repatriation (Ross 1996b) or land-rights (Fourmile 1996). However it is now becoming clear that archaeology, politics, ethnicity and identity (whether this be community or personal) have been tightly interwoven (Eller 1997; Jones 1997;

Meskell (ed) 1998; 2002b). For example, particular interpretations of the past, such as those surrounding the Roman Empire (Mattingly 1996; Edwards (ed) 2000; Hingley 2000b; 2001b; 2001c; Struck 2001; King 2001) were used as analogies to underpin ideas of national identity, a particular élite and British 'imperial discourse' (Hingley 2000b: 55). Thus because archaeology is 'used' for political ends, Shanks and Tilley argue that archaeology must be definitively political (Shanks and Tilley 1987; 1992) and archaeological interpretation should aim to disempower political and intellectual élites. However, as noted by Knapp and Antoniadou (1998), Gosden (1992) and Smith (1993: 62) the position adopted by Shanks and Tilley has itself been equated with élitism, particularly so from those who 'speak from gender, Third World, or rural perspectives' (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 17). Debate on the political uses of archaeology address issues such as knowledge and power (Leone 1983; Leone et al 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Hodder 1989b: 66; Smith 1994 and above pages 157-158 for the use of ancient monument files), the status and role of the professional (Shanks and Tilley 1987; Smith 1994; 2001; Smith et al 2003) and the structure of archaeological narrative (Hodder 1989b; 1991; Gosden 1992). These debates borrow heavily from other disciplines, particularly the work of Foucault (Foucault 1972; Gordon 1980; Smart (ed) 2002) on the principles of power, language and knowledge; Critical Theory (Leone et al 1987); reassessment of Collingwood by Hodder (1991) on the creation of texts and narrative; and the use of Bauman by Smith (1994) to illustrate the archaeologist's dual role (and Enlightenment origin) of legislator and interpreter. More recent work on imperialism and archaeology in postcolonial contexts has borrowed heavily from postcolonial theory, as in the use of Derrida and Said by Byrne (1991); Meskell (1998; 2002b), Gosden (2001) and Hingley (2000b). The desire to generate a socially responsible and ethical archaeology has been part of much of the theoretical work produced over the past twenty years (Vinsrygg 1988; Tilley 1988; Byrne 1991; Smith 2001; Smith et al 2003).

Common-sense might suggest that if a heritage manager was to become involved in political debate, objectivity would be a necessary requirement. It is argued here that objectivity is meaningless without self-reflection. The objective approach and 'truth' of the monuments referred to by Thompson (above page 155) was delivered from a particular empirical, privileged and rationalist context, and we have seen that the process which produced those monuments discarded information and meanings we would now consider significant (and in the process disempowered local use - as in the

case of the Temperance Society at Thornton Abbey, above page 43), but used other evidence from the past to support the status and interests of the élite. Thus the heritage manager has to be clear about the narratives presented on site and those dismissed, and the reasons for those choices, but beginning with the intellectual standpoint of the heritage manager, who should not be understood as above or remote from society, but part and product of it. Including politics with heritage management requires specific reference to the wider social, cultural and political world (Smith 1994: 300; Smith et al 2003: 67). However Smith argues (1993: 59) that it is a mistake to perceive CHM solely as an arena where political debate takes place as it ignores the requirement that the whole archaeological community should be involved in political debate rather than standing aloof from controversy. The recognition that politics is part of heritage management must lead us to consider not only the detail of how site narratives are constructed, but the fundamental questions of what the heritage is, what it should consist of and who it is for. We will see below (page 253) that a direct connection has been made between heritage and the delivery of political objectives, a link that we have already seen in the example of Ireland and the Cyprus case study with regard to Byzantine art and Greek identity (page 207). Can the link between heritage and political objectives be achieved at a simple, technical level, or is it inevitable that an overtly political objective must include appraisal and modification of the role and power structure of heritage management?

The link between archaeology theory and the discipline that was to become Cultural Heritage Management (CHM) was created during the 1960s and 1970s through the debates that took place on the nature of significance (Bowdler 1984; Schaafsma 1989; Blake 1995; Flood 1995; Walker 1995) and the changing political and social context in America and Australia (Anyon 1991; Smith 1993; Dobb 1995; Fourmile 1996; Greer 1996; Murphy 1996; Purvis 1996; Ross and McDonald 1996). Key to this was the conflict between scientific 'processual' archaeology and Indigenous peoples (Zimmerman 1995). Archaeology and archaeologists were keen to present their discipline as responsible, rigorous and relevant, producing 'knowledge of universal significance' (Smith 1996a: 336), but Indigenous people in North America and Australasia felt that the research and its outcomes was not of relevance to them, did not include them and failed to recognize them as living cultures (Anawak 1996). Furthermore, it was perceived that archaeological interpretations employed the concept of 'universal significance' as a sleight of hand to exclude Indigenous people

from control of their own culture at a time when their own perceptions of identity and tradition were developing (Bowdler 1988: 521–523; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Murphy 1996; Smith 1996a). The origins of significance and Cultural Heritage Management will be considered next.

4. Significance and the origins of Cultural Heritage Management.

On pages 215 to 218 brief mention was made of the concept of significance to provide a context for discussion of the Conservation Plan. This concept and the origins of CHM will now be discussed in more detail.

The United States of America experienced a profound social and political upheaval during the late 1950s and 1960s with the emergence of the Civil Rights movement (Bodnar 1992; Weyeneth 1995). Whereas limited improved rights and conditions for Black Americans was secured, a later incarnation of this movement was created by the Native American community and its supporters to demand improved political rights, recognition and social equality for native peoples (Cornell 1988; Anyon 1991; Wilmer 1993). During the 1970s and 1980s in America a debate about research and preservation versus salvage excavation produced a new term and discipline, 'cultural resource management' or CRM (Glassow 1977; Cleere 1984a: ix; McGimsey III and Davis 1984) Although this debate produced something of a split between 'academic' archaeologists and what became known as CRM archaeologists (Adovasio and Carlisle 1988: 72), the crux of the debate turned on 'significance', as applied to archaeological deposits and 'significance' as applied to eligibility for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

In 1971 the NRHP was strengthened by an Executive Order that required Federal agencies to nominate to the National Register all properties under their jurisdiction or control 'which appear to qualify, that is, which are significant' (Tainter and Lucas 1983:709). This order was followed by instruction under the *Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act* (Department of the Interior 1974) which mandated 'recovery, preservation and analysis for "significant" data impacted by Federal projects or programs' (Tainter and Lucas: 1983: 709). A further condition was added to the NRHP (although the text is extremely vague), which established four eligibility criteria by which sites achieve National Register significance. The fourth criterion

(item d) identified sites 'that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history' (Tainter and Lucas 1983: 709; Carver 1996). Whereas criteria a to c apply to the historic period and the built environment, item d placed Native archaeology firmly in the significance and National Register orbit for the first time. But the problem faced by American archaeologists, preservationists and developers was determining how the significance of a deposit was to be recognised and how was it possible to make an accurate assessment of sites that 'may be likely' to yield important information. The issues surrounding these problems have been discussed by several authors (Tainter and Lucas 1983; Glassow 1977; McGimsey III and Davis 1984; Schaafsma 1989; Leone and Potter 1992), but a number of points are of particular importance. Before the introduction of the revised eligibility criteria the whole thrust of the concept of significance in America in terms of choosing which sites to preserve had been geared towards European and built heritage values and famous individuals (Bond 1904; McGimsey III and Davis 1984; Brown Morton III 1987; Andrews 1987), but with the application of criterion d, Native American sites and archaeology became part of the archaeological resource to be dug or preserved on the National Register (Tainter and Lucas 1983) but this happened at a time when Native Americans had only just begun to debate Native issues and they were not part of any CRM dialogue. Earlier NRHP criteria conceived significance as an inherent quality, but this was clearly unacceptable with regard to native issues (as there was no dialogue to discover Native values) and became increasingly untenable with regard to the assessment of historic and European-style sites, because 'traditional' approaches had not considered 'other' histories such as black or gender history (Leone et al 1987; Leone and Potter 1988; Deetz 1996; Spector 1996). Significance assessments generated their own methodology, and university courses began to deal with this area of activity in both practical and theoretical terms. The fact that excavation inevitably leads to the recreation of research strategies was raised by many commentators (Tainter and Lucas 1983; Leone and Potter 1992; Carver 1996) to argue that if the principle of future significance was agreed, it would be difficult to design research strategies in the present, but would also suggest that significance was a fluid concept: theoretically sites could move on and off the National Register as research dictated, or everything was significant until proven otherwise (Schaafsma 1989).

In an attempt to address the requirement to identify sites that 'have yielded or may be

likely to yield information important in prehistory or history' (Tainter and Lucas 1983:709), great stress was laid on the creation of regional research agendas and exhaustive project designs, all part of the New Archaeology (Smith 1993). In practical terms CRM archaeology looked at the total area of a proposed project, evaluated the total site in advance of works and then using significance criteria, determined mitigation policies. Some supporters of CRM assessment also suggested that any assessment should express the notion that culture, 'is more than archaeology, and it is more than historic sites and structures' (King et al 1977:9) and should include the intangible. Thus the archaeological record came to be perceived as a resource to be quantified, assessed and exploited and this perception was to exacerbate the confrontation with Native Americans for whom culture was something that was universal and continuous from the past to the present, not a bounded entity in the landscape (Ross 1996: 9). Thus there developed two heritage management titles (with slight variations) that represented two ways of perceiving the past: Cultural Resource Management and Cultural Heritage Management, the latter coined to reflect the belief that heritage included the tangible and intangible.

CRM archaeology recognised that sites and cultural resources were non-renewable and hence worthy of protection and thus not only was the concept of stewardship fostered, but there also developed a closer relationship between those who sought the protection for the natural and historic environments. In the mid-1970s British academics and practitioners 'imported' the tenets of the New Archaeology into Britain (although not meaningfully adopted until the early 1980s; Carver 1989; 1996; Fowler 2001: 608), whilst in Australia CRM was adopted by Australian archaeologists and translated into the *Australian Heritage Commission Act* of 1975 (above page 214) which established the Australian Heritage Commission as a Commonwealth statutory body (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 45). This Act includes important elements of the natural or cultural environment, including places of significance to Aboriginal, European and Asian cultures in Australia. Similarly Native Australians took up the political initiatives and dialogues introduced by the Native Americans. The outcome was that the management of cultural resources or of the cultural heritage became a distinct field of expertise, based on the principles of significance and value, although closely allied to archaeology and often seen as the 'public face of archaeology' (Byrne 1991; Smith 1993; 1994:300). As noted by Smith (1993; 1996b) legislation that protected archaeological resources was introduced to Britain, the USA and Australia

at about the same time and was promoted by archaeologists as a response to the threats of development and 'uncontrolled' excavation, which ranged from the looting of native sites, metal detecting or excavation by 'non-professional'. This returns us to the ideas expressed in 1882 (above page 66) about the desirability and definition of archaeological research and who should do it.

Is it possible then to arrive at a definition of CHM? Essentially there are two definitions, based on the different perceptions of what constitutes the heritage, here summarised by Kate Clark in a recent review,

'A clear divide is beginning to emerge. On the one hand there is the traditional European model of heritage as a centralized, bureaucratic activity whose values pivot on the old, the monumental, the aesthetic, with an emphasis on attribution, connoisseurship, style, and national values. On the other hand, a newer model is emerging from the experience of the third world, Australia, Africa, and the USA that acknowledges that heritage is multi-vocal, contested, and difficult. The latter model incorporates cultural diversity, and works with communities, emphasizes places rather than monuments and has more in common with environmental conservation than the conservation of works of art.'

(Clark 2000: 52).

The traditional European model is typified by Thompson (1981) and Saunders (1989: 152), and is based on 'monuments' and fabric, whilst the other model is a broader definition based on diversity and community and managing the 'conflict over the meanings given to the heritage and the past and how those meanings are used in the present' (Smith et al 2003: 67), typified also by Clarke and Smith (1996: 3–4); Ross (1996: 11–12). Smith et al make the further point (2003: 67) that when 'managing conflict over the meanings given to the heritage' the heritage manager becomes a 'participant in wider social, cultural and political conflicts and debates', thereby connecting management back to developing theoretical positions (above page 229).

What has happened in England and how have the debates on theory making been translated into cultural heritage management and the presentation of ancient monuments? The following section will consider the management strategies of scheduling and Historic Landscape Character Assessment (HLCA) as these two

processes illustrate the prevailing theoretical paradigms of their time, although seldom revealed in an explicit manner. The adoption of HLCA, by no means a definite policy, marks a considerable change of approach in our understanding of the historic environment, but also indicates changes in the role of the specialist which will be further pursued below (pages 256 to 258).

4.1. Scheduling and Landscape Characterisation.

In England the decision about which sites to schedule has remained firmly within the academic sphere and in a notionally objective, functionalist paradigm. Initially scheduling was driven by personal academic interest, but has broadened as archaeology developed as a distinct discipline and as knowledge and expertise expanded to permit sites to be identified, or new categories of monument to be appreciated. This evolution can be illustrated by reference to two scheduling proposals.

Appendix One contains the supporting documentation for a 1979 scheduling proposal – prehistoric enclosure, Coulton, Hovingham, N. Yorkshire – and is typical of the documentation provided at the time. However, the justification for adding this monument to the schedule reveals the almost arbitrary way in which national importance could then be judged,

‘The whole is most peculiar, and perhaps a little too regular for confort [sic]; but the similarity which this has with the so-called ‘banjo’ enclosures of further south leads to the assumption that it is of Iron Age date, and curious enough to warrant scheduling.’

Also of note is the peremptory tone of the advice note to the owner and the fact that the AMCAA 1913 is still referred to in the preamble. However, it is clear that the feature in question is considered to be a ‘monument’, something that was separate and definable during its use, and remains distinct and definable, but also self-evidently more important than the spaces around it. In legal terms the feature identified is such that an administrative and legal ‘boundary’ can be drawn around it.

Appendix Four consists of the documentation for the 1997 scheduling proposal of Steeton Hall magnate’s residence, South Milford, Selby, North Yorkshire. Again the

contents and organization of the information is typical of this period. In the 1997 example the proposal is that the Scheduled Area be enlarged to include the wider remains of the medieval manorial centre. It should be immediately apparent that the documentation is of a completely different character; the paperwork consists of a more complete site description and an assessment of the importance of the site, which contains both academic and statistical justifications and is illustrative of the impact of the New Archaeology and its relationship to scientism, objectivity and legislation. The breadth of the justification is striking in comparison to that of Coulton, and is indicative of increasing academic rigour, both in terms of the current state of knowledge, but also its potential to provide more information. However, the increasing scientific exactitude was confined to one particular form of academic rigour, and merely continued the approach based on an empirical paradigm.

The dramatic change in justification for designation came about in 1984 when it was confirmed that the Schedule of Ancient Monuments no longer coincided with the consensus of 'informed opinion as to the monuments which were of most archaeological and historical interest' (Darvill 1987: 395; Wainwright 1989; 1993; Startin 1993; 1995; Cooper 1995; English Heritage 1996; Grenville 1999). Following a rapid assessment of the county Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) set against the contents of the Schedule, four areas of concern were identified: only 2% of known sites were scheduled (approximately 1 in 50 of the sites thought to exist), their distribution by county and period was imbalanced and analysis suggested that the Schedule contained 'an inaccurate reflection of the width and depth of monument types in the national archaeological resource' (Darvill 1987: 395). Only Cooper (1995: 6) has suggested that this programme of designation was inspired by CRM driven designations to the National Register in the United States (above page 235). However the outcome was still the generation of 'monuments', bounded entities in the landscape. There was an awareness that past activities (prehistoric ritual, monastic or industrial) had taken place on a landscape scale (Beresford 1954; Hoskins 1955; Aston 1997), but it was felt that scheduling of landscapes could not be defended, nor scheduling extended to include associated space (Startin 1995: 138; Fairclough 1999: 30-39). Although a henge (for example) may represent one activity, other activities (flint knapping, animal husbandry, preparation of hides) might have taken place immediately outside the site, these other activities could not be given a definitively legal 'boundary' in the same sense that a henge or line of sight between

henges has such a 'boundary'. This approach continues to give a bias to the monumental in the belief that the monumental must be more important, supported by the administrative rationale that a flint scatter would be excluded from the schedule because it would be difficult to draw a line around it, and also because of the ephemeral, unmanageable nature of the deposit (Schofield 1994).

Both of the examples of scheduling rely on particular ideas of truth and objectivity (above page 155) and return us to the idea of 'monumentality' (above page 153). In the Coulton case the designation was based on the experience and authority of an individual, but one operating from a particular ideological context. The attempt to introduce science, and objectivity into the more rigorous selections for designation (typified by Steeton Hall) through use of tables and check-lists was nevertheless grounded in positivist and functionalist approaches that perceived the 'monument' as the defining element in the landscape and the value of which was self-evident and immutable. Both approaches elevated and sustained the idea of the 'monument'.

The failure of scheduling to address landscape issues has led to an interest in Historic Landscape Characterisation (Startin 1995; Fairclough 2002a: 1). Debate about terminology in archaeology and heritage management occurred at the same time as a similar debate in natural heritage issues and these two tracks have only just begun to converge. The debate in North America over CRM saw the gradual extension of archaeology into the environmental field (above page 237), further cemented by the relationship between processual scientific archaeology and environmental science. Indeed, there was a developing analogy in that environmentalists initially sought to protect individual species - such as the tiger or bald eagle - but then realised that there was no use protecting such animals if they had no surviving habitat. It is now realised that a healthy and sustainable habitat needs bio-diversity. Similarly the protection of the individual site provided nothing if it was denuded of its context, and this context - the historic environment, or the cultural landscape - was the product of countless cultural processes, some of which remain visible, but there is as yet no cultural equivalent of bio-diversity.

The developing appreciation of landscape by the larger archaeological community followed on the heels of changes in the environmental lobby (Lambrick 1977; Macinnes and Wickham-Jones 1992). In the 1940s Land Utilisation maps were

produced by the Ministry of Agriculture to record land use (Scott 1942; Stamp 1946). These were continually refined by the various government-funded countryside organisations such as the Countryside Commission, which produced Landscape Assessments in the 1970s and 1980s, finally resulting in Countryside Character maps most recently produced by the Countryside Commission (now the Countryside Agency or CoAg; Countryside Commission 1998; Cooke 1999; Potter 1999). The purpose of these various maps was to 'characterise' or describe the British rural landscape, initially to identify those areas where farming was practised and those areas of land that could be 'improved'. Subsequently 'characterisation' was used to identify the 'character areas' that comprised England, (e.g. limestone upland, chalk downs) for the purposes of targeting environmental grant-aid. The Countryside Character map (see Fig. 21) identified 159 character areas that were dictated by soil and geology as opposed to historic or cultural considerations (DoE 1994a; 1994b; 1997; Cooke 1999).

The coming together of historic and environmental considerations through characterisation was prompted in large measure by political and economic considerations underpinning environmental concerns, particularly at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit (Quarrie (ed) 1992; DoE 1997; English Heritage, *Conservation Bulletin* 42, March 2002). In the early 1990s UK governments produced papers on planning (DoE 1990a) and sustainability and bio-diversity (DoE 1994a), both of which noted the historic component of the landscape. The former paper reflected the increasingly common view that the historic landscape was receiving insufficient attention in planning circles when compared to the protection afforded to 'single' sites such as Listed Buildings or Scheduled Ancient Monuments (Fairclough 1999:1). Additional pressure on the need for landscape assessment came from two Council of Europe documents (1995; 2000) both of which discussed sustainability, analysis of the cultural landscape and its evolution (Déjeant-Pons 2002; Fairclough 2002b).

The initial request from the UK government was that English Heritage and the Countryside Commission should draw up a register of historic landscapes that would be, in effect, a second Schedule of Ancient Monuments but with each element on a larger, landscape scale. The response of the two agencies was to undertake a different approach but one based on the characterisation method used by the

Figure 21

Countryside Character Map. 1994.

Courtesy of Countryside Agency. Original in colour



Key to Countryside Character Map.

1	North Northumberland Coastal Plain	80	The Broads
2	Northumberland Sandstone Hills	81	Greater Thames Estuary
3	Cheviot Fringe	82	Suffolk Coast and Heaths
4	Cheviots	83	South Norfolk and High Suffolk Claylands
5	Border Moors and Forests	84	Mid Norfolk
6	Solway Basin	85	Breckland
7	West Cumbria Coastal Plain	86	South Suffolk and North Essex Clayland
8	Cumbria High Fells	87	East Anglian Chalk
9	Eden Valley	88	Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire Claylands
10	North Pennines	89	Northamptonshire Vales
11	Tyne Gap and Hadrian's Wall	90	Bedfordshire Greensand Ridge
12	Mid Northumberland	91	Yardley-Whittlewood Ridge
13	South East Northumberland Coastal Plain	92	Rockingham Forest
14	Tyne and Wear Lowlands	93	High Leicestershire
15	Durham Magnesian Limestone Plateau	94	Leicestershire Vales
16	Durham Coalfield Pennine Fringe	95	Northamptonshire Uplands
17	Orton Fells	96	Dunsmore and Feldon
18	Howgill Fells	97	Arden
19	South Cumbria Low Fells	98	Clun and North West Herefordshire Hills
20	Mercambe Bay Limestones	99	Black Mountains and Golden Valley
21	Yorkshire Dales	100	Herefordshire Lowlands
22	Pennine Dales Fringe	101	Herefordshire Plateau
23	Tees Lowlands	102	Teme Valley
24	Vale of Mowbray	103	Malvern Hills
25	North Yorkshire Moors and Cleveland Hills	104	South Herefordshire and Over Severn
26	Vale of Pickering	105	Forest of Dean and Lower Wye
27	Yorkshire Wolds	106	Severn and Avon Vales
28	Vale of York	107	Cotswolds
29	Howardian Hills	108	Upper Thames Clay Vales
30	Southern Magnesian Limestone	109	Midvale Ridge
31	Mercambe Coast and Lune Estuary	110	Chilterns
32	Lancashire and Amounderness Plain	111	Northern Thames Basin
33	Bowland Fringe and Pendle Hill	112	Inner London
34	Bowland Fells	113	North Kent Plain
35	Lancashire Valleys	114	Thames Basin Lowlands
36	Southern Pennines	115	Thames Valley
37	Yorkshire Southern Pennine Fringe	116	Berkshire and Marlborough Downs
38	Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire Coalfield	117	Avon Vales
39	Humberhead Levels	118	Bristol, Avon Valleys and Ridges
40	Holderness	119	North Downs
41	Humber Estuary	120	Wealden Greensand
42	Lincolnshire Coast and Marshes	121	Low Weald
43	Lincolnshire Wolds	122	High Weald
44	Central Lincolnshire Vale	123	Romney Marshes
45	Northern Lincolnshire Edge with Coversands	124	Pevensey Levels
46	The Fens	125	South Downs
47	Southern Lincolnshire Edge	126	South Coast Plain
48	Trent and Belvoir Vales	127	Isle Of Wight
49	Sherwood	128	South Hampshire Lowlands
50	Derbyshire Peak Fringe and Lower Derwent	129	Thames Basin Heaths
51	Dark Peak	130	Hampshire Downs
52	White Peak	131	New Forest
53	South West Peak	132	Salisbury Plain and West Wiltshire Downs
54	Manchester Pennine Fringe	133	Blackmoor Vale and Vale of Wardour
55	Manchester Conurbation	134	Dorset Downs and Cranborne Chase
56	Lancashire Coal Measures	135	Dorset Heaths
57	Sefton Coast	136	South Purbeck
58	Merseyside Conurbation	137	Isle of Portland
59	Wirral	138	Weymouth Lowlands
60	Mersey Valley	139	Marshwood and Powerstock Vales
61	Shropshire, Cheshire and Staffordshire Plain	140	Yeovil Scarplands
62	Cheshire Sandstone Ridge	141	Mendip Hills
63	Orwestry Uplands	142	Somerset Levels and Moors
64	Potteries and Churnet Valley	143	Mid Somerset Hills
65	Shropshire Hills	144	Quantock Hills
66	Mid Severn Sandstone Plateau	145	Exmoor
67	Cannock Chase and Conk Wood	146	Vale of Taunton and Quantock Fringes
68	Needwood and South Derbyshire Claylands	147	Blackdowns
69	Trent Valley Washlands	148	Devon Redlands
70	Melbourn Parklands	149	The Culm
71	Leicestershire and South Derbyshire Coalfield	150	Dartmoor
72	Mease/Sence Lowlands	151	South Devon
73	Charnwood	152	Cornish Killas
74	Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire Wolds	153	Bodmin Moor
75	Kesteven Uplands	154	Hensbarrow
76	North West Norfolk	155	Carnmenellis
77	North Norfolk Coast	156	West Penwith
78	Central North Norfolk	157	The Lizard
79	North East Norfolk and Flegg	158	Isles of Scilly
		159	Lundy

Countryside Commission. Between 1992 and 1994 English Heritage carried out the Historic Landscape Project (English Heritage 1999a and 1999b) to explore the methodology of Historic Landscape Characterisation. It was hoped that this approach would provide a method of reconciling the visible difference between the aspiration and practice of heritage management by recognising landscape concerns.

Consultation was held with archaeologists, conservationists, landscape practitioners, planners and others with land-owning and countryside interests on five broad topics:

- the scope of the term 'historic environment' or 'historic landscape'.
- the need for landscape to be allowed to continue to change.
- appropriate methodologies for identification of the historic landscape.
- the practicality of evaluating relative importance of components.
- the need and desirability for any new specialised designation.

Other desired outcomes were the necessity to improve the relationship between academics and practitioners with regard to heritage management, and the encouragement of UK practitioners to catch up with their North American and Australasian counterparts (Fairclough 2002a: 1).

A comprehensive reassessment of the nature of the historic landscape soon produced advice notes for Local Authorities endorsed by central government - most notably PPG 15 (*Planning and the Historic Environment*, DoE 1994c, paras 6.2 and 6.40, see Appendix Five). The Historic Landscape Project produced a number of guiding principles many of which relate directly to the current concerns of archaeological theory, particularly that of the role of the heritage professional and the importance of other, particularly non-professional values, but this relationship has not yet been made explicit (Fairclough 2002b: 25). These guiding principles include the following contentions: that the landscape is a historic artefact which everywhere in England is culturally shaped; that landscape belongs to everyday life, as part of every citizen's culture; its evolution has been complex; its present appearance reflects thousands of years of historic processes, human decisions and changes in land use; the landscape is the product of dynamic change and further change is inevitable; landscape conservation is about managing future evolution; future change and evolution will create new landscapes; the landscape is a living artefact; landscape can be understood in archaeological terms, but also as a subjective, ideational construct

or the product of perception, i.e. not objective, 'scientific' or material (English Heritage 1999b: 8). In short, landscape had to be democratized in terms of identifying why it was valuable and how it was going to be used (Fairclough 2002b: 25–26) and thereby suggesting a direct link with the current debates in theory and theory-making (above page 230). Although these principles became part of the *Helsinki Declaration: Sustainability and the environment* (Council of Europe 1996) and were made more publicly available in *Sustaining the Historic Environment* (English Heritage 1997), their exploration via county level case study is still continuing (Darlington 2002; Fairclough et al 2002).

What does an Historic Landscape Character Assessment (HLCA) consist of and why are they undertaken? The first point to make is that there is no set methodology; several case studies have been undertaken (Darlington 2002; Fairclough et al 2002), all using slightly different approaches, but all are map based and should consist of a two-stage process. The first stage is the mapping process, the second is the critical appraisal. Any landscape can be characterised, National Park or urban backland, single field or single county. The underpinning principles are that landscape is everywhere; it is produced by process and defined by the interaction of people and nature through time.

An HLCA looks at the present-day landscape and seeks to draw out the pattern of human activity and the processes that have led to the existing spatial and territorial patterning, whether this is represented by visible archaeological features, fields, quarries, urban streets or steel foundries. This may sound straightforward but the reality is that its execution requires a very sophisticated approach whereby the assessor continually shifts perspective from the present to various pasts in order to discard or select the defining attributes in order to create the mapping information. We have seen above (page 230) that a key element of post-modern thought is the creation of the past in the present, but this should also be understood to include the creation and 'testing' of a variety of pasts (Thomas 1991: 20).

A series of broad-brush, functional categories is defined for the mapping exercise that may include pre AD1600 enclosure, military (some assessments include Roman forts and castles in this category, others make it specific to the 19th and 20th centuries), exchange (commerce and transport) and industry. The landscape is then assessed

using those categories. This assessment is value-neutral; an area of agricultural barns is given the same weight as an Iron Age hill-fort. The intention is that the mapping exercise should be rapid (often 18 months duration) and not become bogged-down in textual analysis, thus the very rapidity introduces, or elevates 'perception', to a level consistent with the 'factual'. This is intentional, as 'landscape is as much about perception and therefore doubly cultural' (G. Fairclough pers. comm. March 2002) as it is about fact, which relates it directly to many elements of post-modern theory (above pages 229 to 230). Although detailed landscape survey may identify attributes of both the medieval and 20th century landscapes within a character area defined as Post Medieval enclosure, the broad character of that area will be one that was either created or substantially changed during the period AD1600 to 1850 (Darlington, 2002: 100-101).

The second stage of the HLCA, a critical appraisal of the mapping exercise based on public participation, is more problematic and has raised the question of how characterisation specifically assists in management, as this second stage has not always been conducted. The principles behind HLCA accept that landscape will continue to change and therefore the whole process is intended to be an aid to management in that it can be tied directly to Local Plan policy, has a use in strategic and local planning issues and can be a predictive tool. However a mapping exercise also requires critical appraisal in order for those elements of cultural significance to a community to be identified rather than lost in a welter of relativism. A problem may be that a developer with a hidden agenda is as much a 'stakeholder' as any member of the community and both are placed on a level playing field in open discussion, whilst the desire to be involved in planning issues may be limited to the enthusiastic middle-class unless consultations are carefully constructed.

The principle of HLCA as a basis for planning has not been accepted across all government regions, nor has it been universally accepted as a heritage management tool for a number of reasons. A considerable paradigm jump is required to accept the significance of the perceptual and intangible above the legal certainty of designation, when the scientific and legal basis of archaeology has been so carefully constructed. The coming together of natural and cultural agencies has been of benefit, although a major problem remains in that natural environment agencies continue to consider the landscape as 'aesthetic', whereas the cultural

agencies see landscape as historic or cultural. The implication of this is that concerted responses to planning applications can be difficult to achieve. In defence of the process it should be stated that the HLCA is a new tool and its full-range of applications is not yet realized, however a process that just produces maps of larger 'scheduled areas' merely perpetuates an older paradigm.

We have seen above (page 242) that there was a rationale behind the introduction of HLCA. Site-specific designations were now understood to be far from effective as a means of protecting what was important as they omitted much that was significant at academic, popular and emotional levels; that specialists had sought to understand the past at a landscape scale; that landscape continued to evolve. Characterisation aims to allow a wider understanding of the landscape than that offered by a focus on isolated monuments, in order to provide the basis for better and more apposite conservation and mitigation decisions and as part of a larger process of inclusive and participatory planning control that is still in evolution. In many parts of the world similar phrases are being repeated: community, community participation, community heritage, local decision-making and 'bottom-up' approaches (e.g. Daher 1996 on Jordan, and the Asian and West Pacific Network for Urban Conservation (AWPNUC) (www.awpnuc.org) last consulted 19th June, 2003). In England these changes can be found in processes such as Local Agenda 21, (Local Government Management Board 1993a; 1993b; Wilkes and Peter 1995; Morris and Hams 1997) Village Design Statements, Planning For Real and Quality of Life Capital exercises, where people and communities are encouraged to identify what is important about their environment and participate in the creation of strategies of land-use which can then be enshrined in Local Planning Guidance (Allen 1999; Wates 2000). However there is a political dimension to the increase of HLCA work, related to the desire of the present Labour government to accelerate and simplify the process of urban and rural regeneration. Planning and other statutory conditions are perceived by government to be slow, obstructive and cumbersome tools (*Planning Green Paper, 2001* produced by the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions), whereas HLCA offers the prospect of change and progress with public participation, but without red-tape. This change from a bureaucratic to a multi-vocal system will be difficult for the heritage manager if the manager continues to think in terms of 'monuments' and 'authority' as the rationale of a two-stage HLCA is in explicit contrast to that view of the past and its

material remains created, shaped and made familiar by Charles Peers.

It is now clear that the current British government and perhaps successive governments want to see cultural diversity and community participation (Newman and McLean 1998), so it is inevitable that there will be a clash between a traditional European conservation model and the multi-vocal approach identified by Clark (above page 238). There will be an impact on heritage organisations, the heritage professional and the public as they become familiar with the new direction, different methods of working and the creation of a new agenda. The fact that the heritage is something greater than a single organisation can control or manage was recognised by English Heritage as early as 1996 and 'trailed' by the then Chief Executive, Jennie Page, in her parting lecture at the Society of Antiquaries of London (Page 1995). But as we have seen in Chapters Two, Three and Four, public support for conservation had to be accompanied by political will: we now have a political will for social change (although we cannot make judgements about its longevity), but can archaeologists and heritage managers accept that their knowledge and authority may no longer be privileged?

The following section will consider the impact and implications of a new political agenda that seeks to promote community and social inclusion, followed by two case studies to examine how case work could be made to respond to these changes.

5. Community, Locality and Participation

Outside English Heritage broader political change has been taking place (certainly in the UK, but also internationally (e.g. UNESCO *Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, 2002)) as successive governments attempted to come to terms with multiculturalism (McBryde 1995; Eller 1997), social exclusion, European integration, economic change (from heavy engineering to service economies), inner city decay, and agricultural and rural change. For many parts of the civil service and non-governmental organisations the most pertinent aspect of these changes was considered to be stress on refining management processes to secure 'value for money'. This led to a culture of process based management training to the exclusion of all other aspects of the changes taking place.

Reference has been made (above page 242) to the Government paper *This Common Inheritance* (DoE 1990a) which signalled the start of government concerns with regard to sustainability and bio-diversity. This was not the only key government document, as all government departments were instructed to produce strategy papers identifying problems and the solutions to be put in place to address those problems considered endemic. The two government departments principally involved in this task were the (new in 1997) Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and (the then) Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) now re-formed as the Department of the Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), although planning issues are now dealt with by the ODPM. The changes to government office organisation did not benefit the heritage agencies as the separation of heritage and planning remains a key problem area, compounded by the 'junior' status of the DCMS which means that it has a low priority in the Treasury pecking-order. This division of responsibility is in contrast to the position of the Office of Works and its successors, but comparable to the lack of coordination between Foreign and Colonial Offices with regard to Cyprus (Chapter Four).

In July 1999 the House of Commons Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport recommended that,

'the Department for Culture, Media and Sport establish a Heritage Forum to develop a new heritage strategy. This body should be established in close co-operation with the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions to ensure that integrated consideration is given to the relationship of heritage policy to urban and rural regeneration and to environmental sustainability.'

(Sixth Report, 26th July, vol. 1, para 50)

The Select Committee recommendation was rejected by the Government, which instead confirmed English Heritage as the lead body for the historic environment. Nevertheless, the principle that there should be links between departments was accepted, as was the belief that there was a relationship between the use of heritage and the improvement of social issues (Newman and McLean 1998; English Heritage 1999c). The heritage lobby argued that identity and belonging were valid heritage issues, and thus heritage bodies could help address the problems of exclusion and regeneration. How this was to be done was unclear. On the one hand 'social' and 'economic' problems could be addressed quite simply: historic buildings could be re-

used, repair was often cheaper than building from new, gave an area character, could encourage tourism and had a beneficial effect on property prices (English Heritage 1999c). Social exclusion and identity could be addressed on a simple level by improving interpretation at museums and guardianship sites, whilst physical access could be improved by building ramps for the disabled, but none of those responses envisage a change in the status of the specialist or a reliance on new critical thinking with regard to the structure of individual and institutional authority. To an extent there was a re-use of the premise contained in the quotation at the head of Chapter Two – the past was political, but only with a small ‘p’ whereas the ‘real’ political past was something to do with land rights, legitimacy and native peoples (Byrne 1991; Carman 1993), not intellectual or physical access.

A cornerstone of government policy was (and remains) the issue of social exclusion (DCMS 2002). In relation to the objectives of the DCMS, combating exclusion is about enlarging access to those traditionally left out of cultural activities - whether physically, intellectually, financially or in terms of race and gender. In relation to the (then) DETR objectives, it was acknowledged that involvement and empowerment were essential to successful community and economic regeneration in the urban and rural spheres. Both departments acknowledged the importance and recognition of, and respect for, cultural diversity.

Following the publication of the report on the Stephen Lawrence inquiry (Macpherson of Cluny 1999) it was asked that agencies specifically consider implementing community and local initiatives aimed at promoting cultural diversity and addressing racism. To help deliver some of these initiatives the Labour government extended the existing Department of the Environment regional planning offices by creating regional government offices in an attempt to make decision-making and participation more locally based. The government regions were charged with creating inter-linked planning guidance documents and rural development plans and ensuring that agencies adopted targets for inclusion, diversity, regeneration and sustainability.

Individual government ministers spoke on issues of heritage and identity, stressing the need for fresh thought. In November 1999 Chris Smith, then Secretary of State at the DCMS presented the opening address at a Museums Conference in Manchester

entitled "Whose Heritage?" (see Appendix Six for complete text). His speech was on the subject of the need for heritage professionals to address cultural diversity and the ways in which government initiatives were supporting that drive:

'We can make a difference through, for example, the funding agreements we are putting in place between DCMS and its sponsored bodies. We should be ensuring that those bodies have strategies in place to enable everyone to understand and appreciate their own culture and heritage, and to experience that of other people.'

(DCMS, 2nd November, 1999. Extract from speech by the Rt. Hon. Chris Smith).

This meant that agencies would not receive any government subsidy if they failed to put the desired strategies in place. Other initiatives were reported by the Minister: the delegation of grant aid by the Arts Council of England to Regional Arts Boards; positive discrimination in favour of people from ethnic minorities putting their names forward as museum trustees; the Public and Commercial Services Union 'black challenge' to promote the idea of a career in museums and galleries among black and ethnic minorities; regional devolution in Scotland and Wales, the new Regional Cultural Consortiums and local government cultural strategies.

One of the first products from the government departments were agreed (by the government) 'indices of poverty'. This document ranked all the English local authorities in terms of the deprivation of the respective community and therefore was a means by which authorities and agencies could target their spending. There was a belief that Heritage Lottery Projects were benefiting affluent middle class areas, whereas the majority of lottery tickets were being purchased by those in deprived areas. Thus the HLF Trustees undertook an analysis of the lottery grants and found that HLF grant per head, nationally, was £22.58. In Yorkshire and Humber this equated to £14.02 per head. But when this sum was broken down into the number of Yorkshire and Humber region local authorities, the variation in grant received between those authorities ranged from £37.00 per head to £3.07 per head, with the higher sums being received in York and North Yorkshire and the lower end in South and West Yorkshire (Ray Taylor, HLF, pers. comm., March 2000). Such work supported the anecdotal evidence and the indices of poverty are now used by the HLF and other agencies, including English Heritage: the pre-determination check-list for individual grant-aid projects now includes questions on whether the project will aid

regeneration.

Is it the case that the government considers the historic environment a priority? In a sense it does not. There are two considerations: first, and this has been referred to above (see page 248), there is a desire that existing planning and statutory legislation should not be a barrier to change and regeneration, and second, it was the supporters of the historic environment who successfully argued that a healthy and dynamic historic environment had a positive effect in terms of sense of belonging, community identity, education, tourism and sustainable development (English Heritage, 1997a; English Heritage *Conservation Bulletin* 41 (September) 2001). In March 2001, the then Minister for the Arts, Alan Howarth, addressed the Institute of Field Archaeologists, saying,

'Moreover, the preservation and enhancement of our historic environment can promote confidence in the future of an area and act as a focus for regeneration. An attractive historic environment of definite character can draw in investment and tourism, and can encourage sustainable development. It can also help maintain not only a sense of community, but also a community in touch with its roots.

We recognise the contribution the historic environment can make to our wider objectives - such as the modernisation of the economy, the enhancement of educational opportunity, urban regeneration, sustainable development and social inclusion. In short we see the historic environment as an opportunity, not a constraint.'

(DCMS 14th, March 2001. Extract from a speech by the Rt. Hon. Alan Howarth. See Appendix Seven for complete text).

To try and make sense of these two seemingly opposing drives, change and conservation, in February 2000 the government announced its intention to undertake a review of current historic environment policy (English Heritage, *Conservation Bulletin*, 37, March, 2000). English Heritage was given the role of coordinating the exercise in consultation with the public, other funding bodies, local authorities and as full a range of interested groups as was possible (630 groups responded). The process was managed by a Steering Group with five Working Groups covering the historic environment - conditions, trends and future contexts; public involvement and access (intellectual and physical); tourism; regulation, statutory procedures, protection and characterisation; sustainability and economic and social growth.

The principal aims and objectives were, a long term vision (at least 25 years); a shorter term agenda (with broad targets for the next 10 years); a broad, holistic and comprehensive definition of the historic environment (integrated with concerns such as biodiversity and countryside character); more efficient and effective instruments to protect and enhance the historic environment; ways to allow economic growth; a framework of new research; further access. It was inevitable that the five working groups would discuss similar themes, so a number of overall themes was identified: holistic definition of the environment; cultural diversity and inclusion; subsidiarity (from European to local levels); the balance between public and private involvement; the role of community and interest groups; closer integration of the historic and natural environment; improved databases; improved working connections between organisations.

As a starting point the historic environment was defined as:

knowing no chronological limit; knowing no thematic limit, knowing no geographic limit; knowing no limit to scale (the locally-distinctive as worthy of consideration as the internationally significant); knowing no limits of culture or ethnicity.

In December 2000 English Heritage published and distributed *Power of Place (PoP)* (English Heritage 2000e), the conclusions of the Steering and Working Groups. This document formed the core of the submission to the DCMS, but was challenged by many of the contributors as soon as it was published. *PoP* consists of three short parts, with the bulk of the text contained in Part Two. This part contains sections on conservation-led renewal, reinvestment, prevention and maintenance, people and places (widening values), managing change and enhancing character, the need for increased knowledge to inform conservation work, and leadership - specifically at the local level.

Many felt that its conclusions were not a fair summation of the Working Group discussions and were convinced that the document in its final form had been hastily written by senior staff of English Heritage (3). *PoP* had to be endorsed by the various English Heritage committees before it could be submitted to DCMS and further discussion took place about the veracity of the report and its vision of the historic environment. The principle of fully-fledged support for Characterisation before other necessary aspects of the planning system were adopted was questioned, as was the

seeming urban focus of the document and an apparent lack of reference to archaeology. The new Chairman of English Heritage (Sir Neil Cossons) stated that in his opinion the single greatest threat to the historic environment was that to the urban, built environment and therefore the greatest support had to be given to the discipline of 'buildings archaeology' because unlike 'pure' archaeologists, buildings specialists lacked coherence as a group, training and any underpinning methodology (Sir Neil Cossons pers. comm. January 2001). Perhaps the majority of commentators have accepted this view but few have suggested that such a presentation of the problem merely recasts it in traditional language rather than looking at a more holistic view of the historic environment that was the intention of the document.

Executed in parallel with the work of the Working Groups was a survey of attitudes towards the historic environment undertaken by MORI for English Heritage (English Heritage 2000b). It was hoped that the results of the survey would provide the first clear indications of public perceptions about the historic environment that could then serve as underpinning data for the *PoP* exercise. Because the expectation was one of support for *PoP*, the conclusion must be that the questions were such that certain answers were expected. In the region of two thousand six hundred people were interviewed (using representative quota samples) and the results were not surprising: 98% thought the heritage is important to teach children about our past; 95% thought heritage is important for giving us places to visit and things to see and do. However, many people associated the word 'environment' with natural rather than historic concerns and there was substantial support for the growing realization that people from the various ethnic communities do not feel any connection with heritage sites or heritage debates which were perceived to be wholly white issues. Another important strand to be detected was a substantiation of the increasing stress on the local, personal and associative qualities of the past.

In December 2001, the DCMS set out the government response and its vision for the historic environment, entitled *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future* (DCMS 2001). Accepting the conclusions of *PoP*, the government, in short, maintained commitments to continue public funding for the care of the historic environment; maintain an effective framework of statutory protection; include the historic environment in the remit of Green Ministers in all departments. The principal action points from the document covered leadership; realizing educational potential

and access; increased community participation; the extension of protection, to include marine archaeology, redefinition of Treasure Trove and a review of the case for integrating the several heritage controls into a single regime and optimising economic potential. Thus the mechanisms for realizing a change were not proposed in the documents and indeed have been left to the various heritage organisations to discover, albeit without the resources to 're-educate' professionals and their managers.

So, although central government, local government and the various representatives of the heritage sector appear to have signed-up to a new definition of heritage that emphasises the local, the all-embracing extent of the cultural environment and the need for community involvement (and there is a committee in DCMS monitoring the implementation of *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future* (J. Burke, DCMS pers. comm. April 2002)) there has yet to be an explanation of 'how' this revision is to take place. An intellectual and methodological argument is beginning to be put in place as archaeological theory is converted into theoretical approaches to cultural heritage management (Smith 1994), but there is as yet no comparable work on how to turn theory into practice, nor any suggested training programme for heritage specialists introducing them to these new theoretical approaches. The role of the heritage specialist is now unclear as documents such as *PoP* and *A Force for our Future* suggest that the specialist should no longer be a policeman and authority, but an advocate and facilitator encouraging engagement with the wider historic environment. In addition, the skills required to fulfil this new role are unfamiliar to the majority of specialists.

The commitment to partnership and participatory projects was (and is) a financial necessity, but they raise the issue of role of the professional. In such a group what does the heritage professional do? Does each partner have an equal voice (Habermas 1970) and do the public have the deciding vote over what to keep or lose? It is interesting to note that with the coming of the Millennium a large number of communities - village, town and city - have turned to the heritage as a way of marking the calendar change. The idea of 'heritage' as 'civic pride' is again an emotive force almost one hundred years after similar experiences in the Victorian period - as at Kirkstall Abbey. Numerous community groups have approached the HLF and English Heritage asking, for purposes of community identity and potential educational and

tourist benefit, to rebuild x or excavate and reconstruct y. When the answer suggests that this is not possible for various specialist reasons the answer is invariably 'but it is *our* heritage' and there then follows bitter public debate about heritage professionals who are out of touch, want to fossilize the landscape and are only concerned to promote the activities of fellow professionals rather than local people. This conflict is illustrative of the way in which the monument has been institutionalized, but also indicates how far the heritage professional has to 'travel' to de-monumentalize the cultural environment and the dialogue with the public. It may be the case that communities champion designated sites because they have been conditioned to believe that a designated site will always be the most important structure in their community. However, this growth of local involvement has come at a time when national organisations are attempting to link their own guidelines with international practice, some of which further privileges the monument. Recent UK examples include the adoption of the Conservation Plan process, acceptance of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (the illicit art and antiquities trade), ratification of the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (the Valletta Charter) (4) and the English Heritage guidance note on 'Reconstruction on archaeological sites', the express intention of which is to bring practice in England into line with advice set out in the Lausanne Charter for Archaeological Heritage Management of 1990 (Annex 2 and Article 7 of that document; O'Keefe 1993) and the UNESCO Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (para 24(b)(I) of that document published annually).

Thus the heritage manager in England is being pulled in several directions: having to respond to local desires and initiatives, redefining their own role, their relationship to the identification of value and exploring new types of significance (away from designated sites) addressing national legal frameworks but attempting to deliver national, political objectives, but also remaining consistent to agreed international professional principles, which can themselves be contradictory, and are invariably about 'sites', whilst encouraging local participation. How then does the specialist 'facilitate' and what might it involve?

What is beyond question is that acting as a facilitator means a change of role. Smith

argues (2001) that it means becoming a 'commodity', and what then becomes important to a project is the knowledge and skills possessed by the commodity/facilitator. The consequences of facilitation, or advocacy or commodity status is that advice and decisions have to be justifiable and open, completely contrary to the instinct and paternalistic manner of the Office of Works and successor bodies. The facilitator cannot present and shape the past they are familiar with (that based on monuments) and say that it is the community's past (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 145). This does not mean that all members of a project are of equal status (Habermas 1970); becoming a commodity does not also mean that the position of the facilitator is less than that of other project members, for the facilitator can be (and is in the case of the IAM) acting on behalf of the external legal framework – the legislator and the interpreter (Smith 1993; 1994).

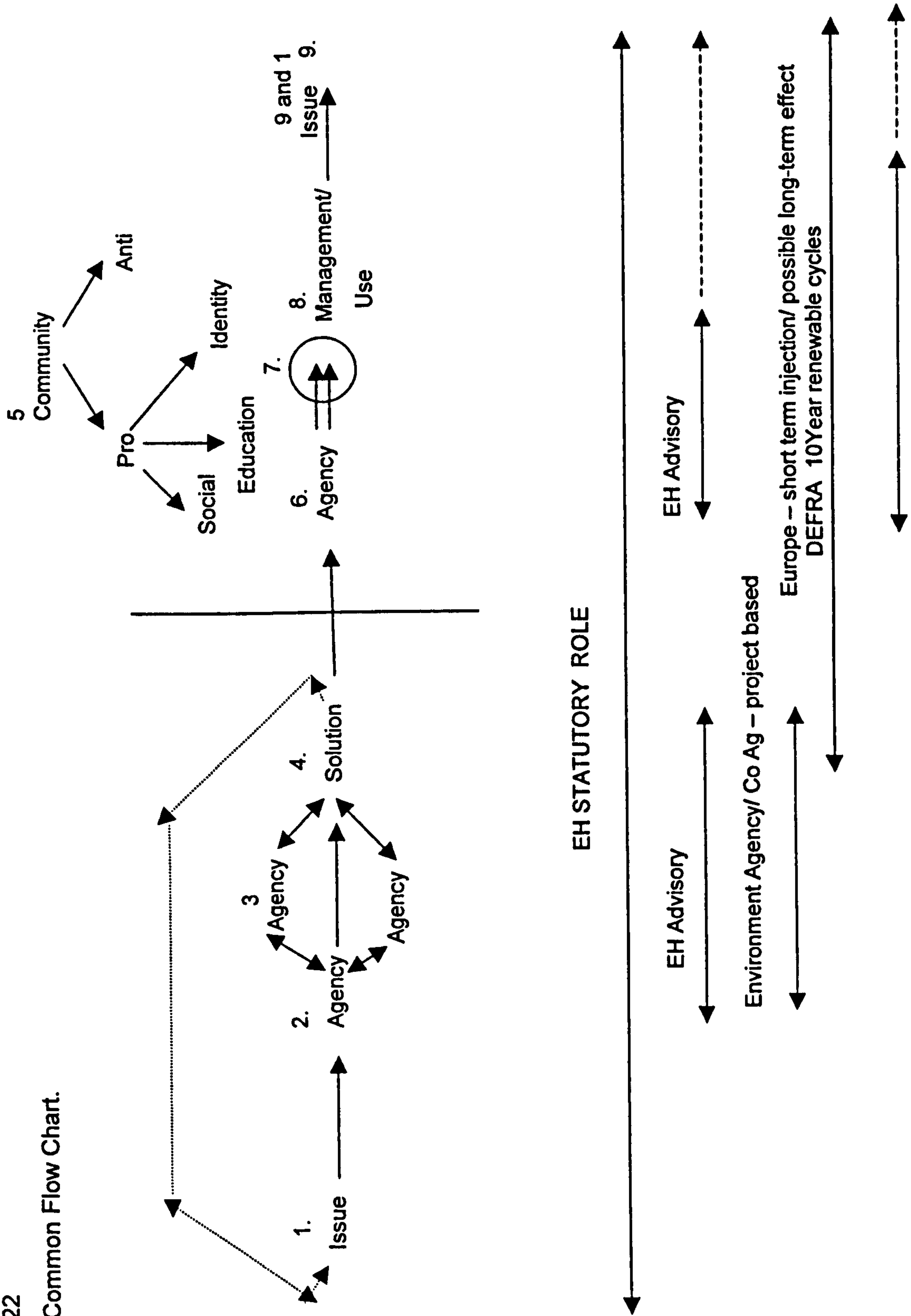
An examination of some current projects that have a community dimension and the manner in which they have developed might offer insights into how facilitation could work: are there places along the project trajectory where the IAM can enter or leave the process? How quickly and convincingly can an IAM, or English Heritage generally, cease to be a paternalist after one hundred years of centralized control and how is the 'authority' of the IAM constructed? There are few examples or models on which to base a new approach to case-work: Leone (1983); Leone et al (1987) and Leone and Potter (1996) present the case-study of a site tour of Annapolis which is intended to teach people how to challenge those who create, present and interpret the past, but the intention to do that is present from the start and consists of the specialist addressing the visitor and they then responding, whereas it might be more interesting (and creative) if the community tell me what they want, although there is often a disparity between what people say they want to an 'official' and those aspects of their communal past they discuss with each other. Again this disparity has been conditioned by constant reinforcement of the pre-eminence of the 'monument' above any other expression of cultural heritage, and the authority of the specialist as 'interpreter'. It is essential that the facilitator should be able to see beyond these preconceptions and provoke further response. The case studies reported by Smith (2001) and Smith et al (2003), although apposite were presented after my case work research. To aid my understanding of how a project develops and how my role might develop, I attempted to present certain projects in graphical form to arrive at a better understanding of the interactions between various groups and the trajectory of the

project(s). The following descriptions should be read in conjunction with Figs. 22 and 23.

5.1 Sutton Common, Askern, South Yorkshire. (See Fig. 22)

Sutton Common is an area of agricultural land, open ground and earthworks around Askern, South Yorkshire. The open ground contains a Scheduled Ancient Monument of Iron Age date, best described as a low-land equivalent of a hill-fort. During the Iron Age period the low-lying common and its wider landscape consisted of wetland with occasional fortified islands. In more recent years Askern was home to one of the many coal-mining communities in South Yorkshire and with the demise of that industry Askern is severely disadvantaged economically and socially. The entire county of South Yorkshire is in receipt of Objective 1 funds from Europe (a funding stream aimed at regenerating the most economically and socially disadvantaged areas of Europe) to regenerate the infrastructure and communities of the county. The archaeological deposits contained within Sutton Common are waterlogged and therefore of particular archaeological significance. Continued ploughing and ditch digging has reduced the earthworks and caused the partial desiccation of the deposits confirmed by monitoring. Thus, for English Heritage there is an Issue ((1) on Fig 22) of the gradual destruction of the above and below ground aspects of the site, so as an agency ((2) on Fig. 22) charged with the conservation of the historic environment EH has to find a solution or the site is lost. By bringing several agencies together ((3)) and their respective money, skills and knowledge, EH, the Environment Agency, Countryside Agency, the then MAFF and the charitable group the Carstairs Conservation Trust were able to devise a solution to this particular problem ((4)). The project could end at this point and serve as a model of the paternalistic and reactive approach to heritage management, as one issue is solved to be followed, later, by another. However the activities of a number of agencies aroused the interest of a large part of the Askern community and they asked if they could become involved in the site ((5)). The Askern community is not a fixed group and some were keen on participation, others less so and some hostile. Within those who were keen on participation opinion was divided about the potential of the project although there was some degree of unanimity that the community of Askern would benefit from a project that had the potential to reaffirm their fractured local identity. Moreover it was felt that a heritage-based project offered particular advantages in confirming local identity,

Figure 22
Sutton Common Flow Chart.



when viewed against the collapse of the coal-industry in the recent past. This was an illustration of the disparity referred to above (page 258): although the prehistoric site generated the contact, what people actually discussed was the coal-mining activity. It was also felt that an active community heritage project increased the likelihood of receiving European money and made it possible to apply for small grants towards specific community projects (under the Local Heritage Initiative (LHI) element of the Heritage Lottery Fund). Thus representatives of the Askern community approached one of the agencies and expressed their interest in the site ((6)). The combined agencies helped put together educational projects with local schools and life-long learning institutions and were able to attract other agencies with different (to the conservation lobby) social and educational remits and different money, skills and knowledge. This then resulted in the community being able to follow one or several of a number of options ((7)), including increased management of the site by the community ((8)). Use of the site by the local community will inevitably lead to other issues being generated ((9)) and ((1)) which will then require the services of one or more agencies. These issues could range from a requirement for more information about the site which could be gathered by pooling the results of monitoring exercises, archaeological evaluation or proof-reading of local publications, or prolonged use leading to erosion of some features, or declining interest. However, the life of the site and its management regime has changed from wholly reactive to largely proactive.

Looking at the trajectory of the project it is far from obvious where the IAM might enter or leave the process. Because of the statutory demands on the IAM, leaving the project process is an impossibility: if nothing happens to the site it changes, if something happens to the site it changes and therefore a management response is always required. But it is fair to say that the contribution of the IAM is on two levels, one as the agent of the DCMS and the permanent legal framework and second as heritage commodity offering advice and knowledge at particular stages of the project to help clarify options and make plain the consequences of certain actions, so the potential for influencing the course of a project remains high. Advice could be divided into categories, such as impact on the archaeological resource of various options, their impact or potential of community accessibility, cultural or economic regeneration and the likely cost (both capital and maintenance cost) of each proposal. The heritage manager has to be clear that there are (possibly) a number of options permissible under the legislation, although the choice of which option or combination of options

belongs to the user of the site. The commitment of other agencies to the project trajectory is invariably project based, although any one of the agencies could assist the community to draw up a Management Plan for the site in which the aims, objectives and conditions of involvement would be documented. All the groups and agencies would be signatories to this Plan. For example, the solution to the agricultural damage could be a Countryside Stewardship agreement between the farmer and DEFRA whereby the farmer is paid an annual grant for ten years to undertake environmentally sustainable farming practices, but it would be agreed in the Plan that grant aid would be tied to increased access and interpretation. European Objective 1 money would be a substantial short-term injection (although with long-term effects) with some monitoring of the way it is used. Both the Environment Agency and Countryside Agency have their own strategic and regional objectives and it just so happened that in this instance and at this time there was a congruence of corporate interest on the future of wetland landscapes. Clearly such mutuality is not always possible.

The only other known long-term commitment was from the Carstairs Trust who added Sutton Common to their portfolio of environmentally 'improved' sites, but also assisted the Askern community with the day-to-day management of the site. Should the local community lose interest the Carstairs Trust would provide the necessary long-stop for the management of the site, although the loss of a partner could provoke the reconvening of the agencies to address this new issue.

As stated above this case work project could have concluded with the discovery of a solution to the archaeological problem, but it was recognised that the site was important to the local community in the present and their interest could be translated into partnership and management responsibility. The initial interest was not related to what the site was in archaeological terms, but related to funding opportunities, access to open space and a general interest in the past that could be translated to the present ('people have lived and worked here for thousands of years'). Through advocacy about the site, school children took part in practical experiments (e.g. burial of school dinners, lunches and objects in different parts of the site which were later re-examined to consider the effects of hydrology and conservation). This then led to consideration about why their village and homes were where they were, the changes in agriculture, the impact of industry and coal-mining and subsequent closure of the

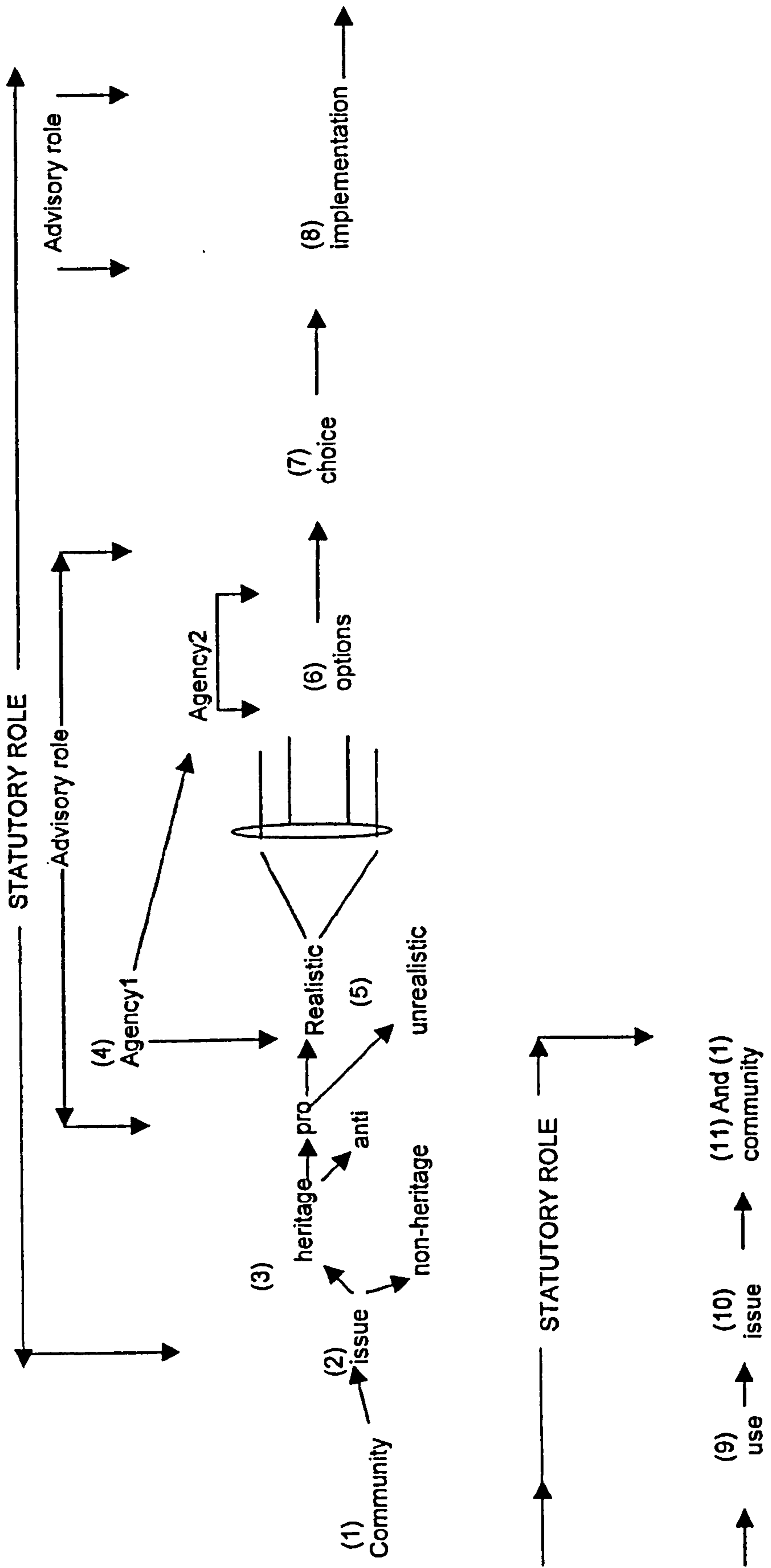
coalfields. Other work was generated in schools and also among all age groups. The potential now is to extend the educational participation to oral history and community generated histories. However, the image of the community that was built up was one derived from a continually contested past where parallels were frequently drawn with and from the present, whilst the scheduled site itself still retains its archaeological identity and amenity value but is recognised as the generator of, and gateway to, new articulated pasts in other locations.

4.2 Orchard Field Roman Fort, Malton, North Yorkshire. (See Fig. 23).

Malton is a small market town in a prosperous and largely agricultural part of North Yorkshire, although the town itself is experiencing something of a decline with many commercial properties vacant and little opportunity for employment, or low cost housing for local people. Malton has been affected by the changes that have taken place in the farming industry with the reduction of opportunities for local people and by the recent Foot and Mouth epidemic. Much of the land around the town and many large properties within the town are owned by the Fitzwilliam Estate; an estate manager is based locally although the estate owner is absent. Malton is separated by the river Derwent from the neighbouring town of Norton, although there are bridges connecting the two centres. Historically Malton was the site of one of the earliest Roman forts in Yorkshire whereas Norton was the location of the *vicus* and much of the Roman industrial activity (Wilson 2000 unpublished).

Malton contains the headquarters of the local authority - Ryedale District Council - and this has been one of many causes of dispute between the communities of Malton and Norton. People in Norton feel that they are ignored and disadvantaged through preferential treatment given to those in Malton. This feeling of discrimination extends to past and current initiatives, such as open space and play area schemes, as well as a general feeling that Malton is more well-to-do than Norton. Because the two towns appear to merge into one and are geographically very close together, there is a tendency for people, both in Malton and from outside the two communities, to say 'Malton' when they are actually referring to something in Norton. Malton and Norton are currently in receipt of grant aid from the Countryside Agency from their Market Towns Initiative. Grant aid from the Countryside Agency acts as 'seed corn' bringing in money from other agencies such as English Heritage through its Historic

Figure 23
Orchard Field, Malton. Flow Chart.



Environment Regeneration Scheme (HERS) and the Countryside Agency through its 'Doorstep Greens' scheme.

The Roman fort at Malton lies in an open field called Orchard Field, a terrace above the present day town of Malton in a district known as Old Malton. The fort is classified as a Scheduled Ancient Monument. Most of the fort survives as earthworks in Orchard Field (Fig.24), with ploughed farmland to the north-east containing access roads of Roman date and the early *vicus*. To the south-west of Orchard Field approximately one quarter of the fort is buried beneath a seventeenth century garden, the Fitzwilliam Estate office buildings (dating back to the eighteenth century) and a seventeenth century Grade II* Listed Building. Those parts of the fort beneath these structures remain part of the Scheduled Ancient Monument. Immediately outside this Scheduled Area to the south-west is a second Scheduled Area, the site of a post-Conquest castle. Orchard Field contains some site interpretation panels and picnic tables. The open space is used extensively by local people for walking, dog-walking, a through route to one of the local schools and for general amenity purposes.

In 1998 there was a proposal to seek funds from the Millennium Fund to build a new bridge between Malton and Norton that would give the people of Norton access to Orchard Field and the adjacent sports fields. Donations were collected from prominent townspeople and the Local Authority to provide the start of any matched-funding that would be required by the Millennium Fund. An external consultant was appointed to put a proposal together, but the scheme collapsed as it became impossible to assemble a representative group from Malton and Norton.

In 2000 several of the more prominent citizens began to suggest that the earlier bridge scheme could be added to a scheme to re-excavate and display the Roman fort. Thus, in terms of Fig. 23 we have a two-town community ((1)), riven by disagreement, but conscious of the fact that regeneration is required for both communities ((2)). It was felt in some quarters that a historic attraction would provide employment, an economic boost to the towns in the form of tourism, would be an educational resource for the two towns and was a way of affirming the identity of the two towns. The first stage of their desired regeneration was to be a heritage project based on Orchard Field ((3)), which was widely reported in the local press who also sought comment from organisations such as York Archaeological Trust and South

Figure 24

Orchard Field, Malton. 2001. Original in colour. K. Emerick.



Shields Heritage who had experience in archaeology, reconstruction and tourism.

At this stage an approach was made to EH to attend an open meeting both as a representative of the DCMS and as a heritage advisor ((4)). Those present would discuss options and seek a way forward. The range of options was extensive, ranging from complete excavation and display of the fort with built reconstructions on site and chariot racing, to re-excavation of early excavations, excavation and display of a large mosaic known to be on site, and leave the site as it was but improve the interpretation. Thus the options ranged from unrealistic to realistic in heritage terms ((5)), but within the 'realistic' field there were a number of options worth pursuing. It was at this and subsequent open meetings that debate concerning what would be deemed permissible by statute, what was wanted by local people and assumptions made by one group about the position and aims of other groups became (and remains) controversial.

The ensuing debates focused on three areas: why excavation and display were not desirable to EH when they were an 'archaeological' organisation; why was on-site reconstruction not desirable to EH when it was clearly practiced in other parts of the world and EH was reconstructing a garden at Whitby and had restored Brodsworth Hall, (reconstruction therefore was only for certain agencies, not local communities and their monuments); and what were the perceived limits on heritage tourism?

Each of these points was discussed in considerable detail, as it was the first opportunity for people to debate the practice and principles behind conservation work. EH stated that it was not opposed to excavation, but in terms of the current national research agenda, the research community already knew a great deal about Roman forts, but less so about the areas around forts, therefore excavation within the fort could be limited to the re-excavation of trenches dug in the late 1920s and 1930s to clarify their results (Corder and Kirk 1928; Corder 1930). In research and community terms a great deal could be done with field-walking, geophysics and targeted seasonal excavation in the fields around the Scheduled Area, and much of this work could use local people and school groups and feed into the school curriculum. The cost of excavation and post-excavation was discussed and an indication made of the likely (and prohibitive) sums that would be required to excavate the whole of Orchard Field. Similarly, the earlier excavations were discussed, particularly the observations

that the stone used in the construction of the fort was of poor quality and when re-exposed began to disintegrate within a matter of weeks (Corder and Kirk 1928; Corder 1930). Therefore excavation and display of the entire fort in the style of a guardianship site was an unlikely option as maintenance costs could be in the order of £30,000 per annum and within a relatively short space of time much of the original fabric would have to be replaced with new stone, leaving the people of Malton and Norton with an expensive carbon copy monument. Consent would not be given for such an undertaking, not least because the Local Authority would not sanction such an annual outlay.

The discussions surrounding reconstruction were similarly detailed; covering the origins of the conservation movement, early practice in continental Europe and current philosophy and practice including the recent EH guidelines on reconstruction on archaeological sites, the Lausanne Charter (above page 257) and the possibilities for virtual reconstruction in any interpretation facility. Again this subject also generated considerable interest. Discussion took place about the problems of presenting one phase from a multi-phase site (unlike the situation at Whitby Banqueting Hall and Brodsworth Hall) which resulted in the formation of different groups supporting different intervention strategies. However there was a general feeling that 'something' ought to be reconstructed and it was agreed that as it was difficult to understand the site an elevated position would assist understanding, therefore a scale-model corner tower could be constructed of timber within the yard of the Fitzwilliam estate buildings, adjacent to the fort [the estate offered to move out of the buildings and give them to the community to be used as an interpretation and education centre should it be desired].

The question of creating a sustainable heritage attraction related to the two preceding points and the discussion above (page 219) on the inconsistency of developing guardianship sites, but categorizing other scheduled sites as 'non-beneficial'. If the project was not sustainable in conservation terms it would not be sustainable economically. Likewise it was not necessarily the case that a heritage attraction would answer all the social failings of Malton and Norton. The groups were asked to consider the value the site already had as amenity space and whether they were prepared to lose it, but also to reflect on those other aspects of the two towns that contributed to their identity.

Thus out of the number of realistic options it was then necessary to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each; a representative Steering Group was elected from the open meetings and given the task of taking the project forward. The money previously collected for the Millennium Bridge project was then used to appoint and pay for a heritage consultancy to undertake an options appraisal to a brief drawn up by English Heritage, the Museums Council and Dr. Peter Addyman ((6)) and agreed by the Steering Group – an example of specialists acting as a commodity. The brief required that the viability of a heritage attraction centred around Orchard Field should be tested against existing intra and inter-regional heritage attractions, a number of options given and an outline business plan prepared with sources of funding. The first stage of the project proper was to be the compilation of a Conservation Plan for which EH promised a contribution of £15,000. The heritage consultants produced their report and at a further open meeting particular options were adopted as the way forward ((7)). Implementation ((8)) has not yet taken place, but other agencies bringing their skills, knowledge and money have been drawn into the project. Implementation will result in 'Use' ((9)) 'use' will generate 'Issues' ((10)) and these 'issues' can only be addressed by discussion with the 'Community' ((11)).

As with the case of Sutton Common there is little indication of there being any stages within a project where it is possible to enter or leave the project; again the emphasis is on the different roles one has to play within the process. The statutory responsibility of the IAM remained constant, whereas the facilitation aspect was intermittent but intense. Indeed it would appear that 'facilitation' requires considerably more time and involvement (certainly until such a time when the public is familiar with conservation practice) than has been appreciated. Communities, groups, cannot create and manage heritage projects without specialist advice and this advice although it does not need to be constant, needs to be delivered in a way to ensure that issues familiar to specialists (disabled access, stone decay, soft mortar, erosion control, maintenance costs, conflict of values etc.) are not re-invented or discovered anew by each group.

Considering the assumptions and preferences first voiced by the people of Malton and Norton, did they feel cheated by the final range of options on offer? On visiting a site the first comment is, invariably, 'what will you let us do'; my response is 'No, you tell me what you would like to do, it's your site.' This does take people by surprise

because they have never felt that options for use were in their hands, but I know that in my statutory role I will have to say 'no' to some options, which suggests that the choice I am offering is illusory. The greatest cause of disappointment initially was the seeming reduction in the amount and location of archaeological excavation, but once the scale of costs was known and the current research targets appreciated there was a general sense of support that Malton and Norton could contribute to the generation of 'new' knowledge and research. Again, the issue of maintenance had not been appreciated by the community, nor the potential millstone that this could become. However, the greatest cause of concern and discussion (and it has to be said, interest) between specialists and the public groups centred on the principles governing on-site reconstruction. Some of this concern may be related to a desire to have something 'concrete' and physical as a focus and indicator of forthcoming activity, but was also about wanting to leave a mark of their own on the landscape. In this sense the 'site' had become symbolic and represented the recreation of a lost sense of community and this became a major part of later discussions. At the open meeting many people made comments about the sites they had seen on their holidays and believed that somehow the people of Malton and Norton should be able to have their own walls and towers, but at the same time the walls and towers had to be 'real'. The perception was that the guardianship sites were 'real' and their idea of what a site should be, and what they should want was based firmly on that example. When we discussed the activities of the Office of Works and the choices made by Peers and his successors concerning issues such as the removal of elements later than the zenith of the site, or the removal of a roof to make a structure use-less (as at Wharram Percy) the reaction was one of surprise, but also annoyance because the subject had not been aired or presented in interpretation schemes on the monuments themselves. Many of those attending the open meetings felt aggrieved about the manner in which their expectations had been created and confined by a particular idea of the past and the 'monument', but also with regard to the role of the specialist in denying past use. The Malton/Norton example is a clear illustration of the Pearson and Sullivan assertion (1995: 145) that 'heritage specialists have formed/guided the public's awareness of its past, and hence may actually mould the way in which society values heritage places'. The response to the Options Appraisal was extremely positive and amounted to a rejection of the guardianship site model: the preference was for limited work on and around the fort, but concentrating mostly on the *vicus*, and making improved interpretation of the fort the spur to other thematic work in and

around Malton and Norton. This will include local exploration of the brewing and race-horse 'industries' (still essential parts of the local economy), research into the broader industrial heritage of the two towns and the restoration of forgotten gardens behind the Grade II* Lodge for the local population. Thus the Roman fort has generated interest and commitment to 'other' pasts – particularly the value of recent pasts, which can in turn lead back to the Roman past.

Although the current drive is for inclusivity in the management of the historic environment, the public comment and expectation of the Orchard Field group suggests that until organisations such as English Heritage are specific about how the presented past has been constructed and the way in which expectations have been subtly modelled by Peers and his successors, community groups will continue to generate proposals that are both anachronistic and generate conflict. If communities and specialists fail to challenge the primacy of the 'monument', conflict will always be generated because the 'monument' in its current form will never be able to address the wider social concerns that are now current. This is particularly the case with regard to the belief that heritage and tourism tied to local, designated sites (such as Orchard Field) will provide the answer to issues of regeneration and community identity. The problem with the 'frozen ruin' and its closely-cropped lawn is that it is too remote from all but academics and a small number of enthusiasts. When community groups ask how they can make connections to their monuments, they are faced by a considerable and puzzling distance between the present and the supposed zenith of the monument. If later structures had been kept (such as the farmhouse at Rievaulx, or barracks at Scarborough, page 147) the spaces between past and present would be surmountable. And if all the ancient monuments were considered 'beneficial' (above page 219) specialists might actively promote and encourage new uses, allowing connections to be made, but they need application and creativity. The most profitable outcome of the discussions and open meetings was the creation in 2001 of a Malton and Norton Archaeological and Historical Society that has already undertaken field-walking and building surveys in both towns and will act as the sponsor body for all grant applications. Their meetings are open to the public and dissemination of their research has now commenced.

Has examination of the two case studies generated a clearer understanding of what 'facilitation' might involve or any underpinning principles?

Although the roles of 'legislator' and 'interpreter' (to borrow the terminology from Smith 1994) could not be suspended, they could be operated in a self-reflexive manner, that is, understanding that the roles exist, that they have been used in the past to shape a particular type of interpretation and could be used to perpetuate a particular response to the past. It was made clear to the Malton/Norton community that I could not stop being a 'legislator' and allow them to do whatever they wanted with 'their' site, because the legislative role had a function in ensuring that the scheduled site survived into the future. However, I could do as much as possible to shift the managerial responsibility to the representative groups and use various processes (such as the Conservation Plan) to extract their values and significances, which would then provide them with a document to guide their day-to-day decision-making. The requirement to preserve the site for a future constituency (Carver 1996) or to respect international charters can be used to quash change, but once the community was involved in the site and had begun to make their own connections with the past, the site developed a value in the present that the community itself wanted to perpetuate. However it was also the case that once discussion began about how value had been constructed the focus of interest changed to other pasts and the more widespread understanding that the past was dynamic and reflected in the buildings, townscape, landscape and employment. Both Baldwin Brown and Peers recognised that the support of the public was the best method of protecting ancient monuments, but the product of that support was a collection of assets that had less and less relevance to people's understanding of the past, but more and more to do with scholarly interest. By taking a step back in the management of a site and allowing others to be actively involved in both the management and the creation of other narratives is a challenge for both sides, but one that modernizes the earlier principle of public support.

It was discussion about the site that generated broader responses and an interest in the way history was constructed. Using the case work examples, being an 'advocate' for the historic environment meant looking at the legally defined site, but encouraging connections to be made: interest in Sutton Common as a piece of ground was a response to political exclusion, this led to questions about the parliamentary enclosures, discussion of nineteenth century radicalism, the origins of the conservation movement and back to the recent past and the role of women during the 1984 miners' strike. This does not mean that what was discussed has to find its way

onto site interpretation panels, because this would lead to proliferation and confusion; the range of values can be represented in Conservation Plans and thereafter in site Management Plans, which will themselves evolve on a regular basis and reflect any changes in significance, and can be used as a quarry by whoever wishes.

The two pieces of case work generated interesting conflicts of values. Some members of both communities do not see the relevance of a heritage site and have not become involved. At Malton and Norton people were aware of the Roman site and wanted to use it enhance their communities; they understood that the site had value, but they did not see that the recent past also had value that could be used. Thus they were always in a position where they struggled to see how connections could be made from the present to the distant past. A solution was to recognize the value of the recent past (brewing, race horses) and use those features as a thematic route back to the Roman period. At Sutton Common the local people were not aware of the site, but saw the activity and recognized the potential for their community and this has led them to look at other pasts which might in turn lead them to the prehistoric site. But all the communities were motivated by contemporary concerns. Further conflict is still possible, so the management of conflicts of meaning will continue to be tested. Even when there is no open conflict there is still a multiplicity of values and this places a considerable burden on the heritage manager to ensure that the different values are respected or that there are mechanisms in place for the new managers to appreciate that such conflicts may develop. The majority of heritage managers want to see a greater range of use and meaning on heritage sites - more than is presented on a typical guardianship site - but in a society where archaeological knowledge and legislation is based on testability and scientific clarity there is a fear that different responses to heritage sites equals inconsistency and introduces the possibility of legal challenge if those in other cases feel aggrieved, but it has to be recognised that the consistency lies in the management approach, not the outcome (above page 17).

Thus if facilitation and advocacy mean anything, they mean encouraging people to engage with the historic environment and discover their own connections to the past, but the heritage manager is likely to find that this exploration will lead away from familiar monuments and the traditional location of their authority into provinces where they become the student to help recover lost values and meanings.

What EH wanted for the survival of the scheduled sites has been achieved, but with the added benefit of engaging local communities who want to take a greater share in the management of sites and the many aspects of their past, which according to *PoP* is what EH and the current government wants to see. However, these projects should be understood as merely a first step in defining new roles and new significances

5. Summary.

My training as an Inspector was in the 'repair as found' tradition; the main tenets were explained as:

- whatever is done has to be reversible
- do not use untried techniques or materials
- whatever you do must not change the site narrative
- material should only be replaced where failure to do so would result in greater structural loss.
- every letter and every piece of case work has to be carefully considered because it has the potential to be used in a public inquiry.

Not only is the site based aspect of the work a response to the preoccupations of the nineteenth century, but the defensive and conservative nature of civil-service institutions is distinctly visible. Consistency of decision-making, not correctness or the most apposite decision is the desired aim. This training placed me firmly in the European tradition of heritage management, but as has been indicated above, little of this tradition had a theoretical grounding (page 154) and, in connection with site presentation work, has been characterised by post-modernists as 'the language of cultural capitalism' (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 24). Most Inspectors consider the statutory functions of their post to be the core of their work; this is essentially a 'passive' role or at most 'reactive'. At its simplest this can be described as policing the consent procedure, ensuring that Scheduled Monument Consent applications are correct and fully supported by mitigation documentation and financial statements. Although statutory procedure forms the core, the bulk of inspectorial work concerns itself with case work, only some of which is related to the statutory role. Case work is invariably project-based and team-driven; once the content and execution of the project is agreed, then consent can be given. However, all Inspectors interpret the

same principles in a different manner and the detail of various projects can vary from case to case. Projects can be items of original research, archaeological research synthesis; regional, intra- and inter-regional studies; small and large schemes of consolidation and repair, interpretation and mitigation measures related to development (Thomas, R. 1993). All of this has been learnt by example (Thompson 1981: 33) and is geared to the needs of a particular and limited idea of the historic environment. Significance and characterisation offer the possibility of broadening both the perception of the historic environment and its rightful constituency, but the heritage manager should be critical in such a change, in terms of being prepared to embrace a radically different intellectual rationale for the understanding of the historic environment and in the role of advocate/facilitator.

Why is it necessary to revise the role of the heritage manager? Change is coming from two directions; internal and external.

Within the discipline of archaeology we have seen that there had been 'a long sleep' in archaeological theory. The paradigm obtaining from 1900 to the 1960s was built upon with new approaches in understanding, both in terms of what archaeology does and how we understand the past, which have themselves been succeeded, leading from a strictly academic, authentic, scientific and site-based approach to one that looks at landscape, perception, subjectivity and alternate pasts. These changes have also generated a new discipline, that of Cultural Heritage Management which can now be understood as having two functions, a technical and practical function geared towards the use of structures or 'works' and an arbitration function, responding to notions of a contested past and geared towards the management of conflicts of meanings (Smith et al 2003:67), but encouraging the participation of local communities in the definition and management of local heritage. This is perhaps one area where we have returned to an earlier paradigm – the regional and local approaches of Baldwin Brown and Murray – except for the fact that there are now understood to be different pasts and different communities.

Externally, Conservative and the current Labour governments acting alone and in concert with other nation states began to consider issues of sustainability, urban and rural regeneration and social exclusion which has resulted in the creation of government initiatives and specific policies (DCMS 2002). Heritage agencies

responding to decreasing budgets argued that heritage had a part to play in addressing social issues (both English Heritage (English Heritage, *Conservation Bulletin* 43 (October) 2002: 2) and the National Trust (McKean 1996) presented such arguments), and thus once the claim was made it was then incumbent on the heritage organisations to demonstrate this relevance (English Heritage 2001) – or face the possibility of being side-lined.

Some archaeologists and heritage managers accept that the past and the use of the past is a political issue (above page 232) and examples from Ireland and Cyprus have been presented. The coincidence of internal and external 'drives' mean that a change in role is inevitable, but cannot be limited to the discovery of technical solutions to 'political' problems. However, the idea of what Fairclough calls 'socially-embedded archaeology' (Fairclough, 2002b: 31) is far from being adopted, whilst the paradigm gap represented by the two models of heritage management proposed by Clark (above page 238) and the implications of remaining with the traditional European model, adopting the New World/ Australian model or creating our own version of a 'contested past' model needs to be debated collectively by theorists and practitioners. The cumulative effect of the changes and new directions mentioned in this chapter have been to place 'people' at the centre of conservation. Peers and the Office of Works understood sites as either living or dead, but the increasing use of the guardianship monuments by people led to a 'reawakening', leading to continued development as visitors demanded more and different facilities. This has led in turn to an expectation that all monuments could be so used but without appreciating how and why the guardianship monuments came to look the way they do.

An exclusive focus on monuments has delivered a particular image of the past and a particular level of expectation, but now both the monument and the image are being critiqued and reassessed (Carver 1989;1996; Fairclough 1999; 2002b; Hingley 2000b). The bias towards the monument has meant that, in a situation such as that described in Malton (above page 263) only the monument is perceived to be of value and its potential to rebuild communities and community identity has become exaggerated. When discussing the site with the local community in Malton/Norton they feel that their defining characteristic is their Roman fort, but are not clear about how they connect with the site and in the course of conversation talk about horse-racing, brewing, farming, their stock of listed buildings and the Reverend Sydney

Smith (an eighteenth century cleric and humourist who lived locally). The suggestion that *all* these things have value, expand the idea of the monument and help create their local identity is often met with amazement as is the suggestion that the excavation and reconstruction of the fort might be a red-herring.

Any meaningful response to the internal and external drivers of change (above page 275) will require that the heritage institutions, the heritage manager and the public must reassess 'value' and the way and by whom value is created and ascribed. Failure to respond, particularly when heritage practitioners have made claims for conservation to assist in the delivery of political aims, will result in heritage becoming an irrelevance. There are examples of methodological change, from site-specific designation to HLCA and from authority and policeman to advocate and facilitator (Smith 2001; Smith et al 2003), but there are as yet relatively few case studies to provoke and sustain the necessary debate between the public and the different sections of the heritage profession. Case work offers an opportunity of debate with the public and the case work can become case studies for debate within the profession.

Notes to Chapter Five.

- (1) For the purposes of the *Burra Charter*, 'Place' meant 'site, area, building, or other work, group of buildings or other works together with associated contents and surrounds.'
- (2) For the purposes of the *Burra Charter*, 'cultural significance' meant 'aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for the past, present or future generations'.
- (3) As a member of Working Group Two (Improving Intellectual and Physical Access) I found it difficult to recognise the content of our meetings in the final document.
- (4) The purpose of the Convention is to ensure that contracting parties institute a legal system for the protection of the archaeological heritage and to devise supervision and protection measures. Each Party is to promote an integrated policy for the conservation of the archaeological heritage, provide financial support for research that will lead to the promotion of public awareness and the pooling of information.

Chapter Six.

Conclusion.

'The past is never dead. It's not even past.'

William Faulkner, 1960 *Requiem for a Nun*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

The starting point for this research was a personal need to understand why the guardianship monuments look as they do. It soon became clear that ideas about ancient monuments, their use and meaning, the cultural environment and the role of the heritage manager were changing and therefore it was unrealistic to concentrate solely on guardianship sites. Although Sir Charles Peers did not create the idea of preservation, he and the Office of Works inherited a particular concept of the monument that they developed and which has remained with us until the present day. This idea of the monument was translated into practice and has survived as an image of what a monument should look and be like, determined what it was that heritage managers should do and deliver and created a particular expectation in the minds of the public. Such was the confidence of the successors to the Office of Works that Brian O'Neil, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in 1952 was to comment,

'we hear no criticism of our proceedings, except occasionally from dilettanti who worship ruins as such, without valuing them for their historical value. These people are sometimes vocal but they cannot be many in number.'

(Page 1995: 23)

Increasingly over the past ten years the guardianship sites have begun to look more and more like islands, isolated from the mainland of their context by theoretical currents increasing in strength. But it is not only the monuments themselves, but also the ideas and perceptions they represent that now appear isolated.

To look at the quotation used at the opening of Chapter Two (page 30) there would appear to have been a complete about face from a time in 1882 when the care of ancient monuments was avowedly a 'non-political' subject, to today where use of the historic environment is promoted as a tool for addressing social issues. However, this

thesis has demonstrated that in reality the past and evidence of the past were as political in 1882 as they are today, the only difference being that we have a better understanding of our and our predecessor's motivations. We have seen in Chapter Two that particular sections of Irish society recognised the role of the past in contemporary political movements, whilst some English MPs who were able to take the simultaneously contradictory view of seeing the English past as non-political yet lamented the disturbance engendered by research into the Irish past. Similar naiveties were translated to other parts of the Empire, and here they were mixed with assumptions about Britain's role as a civilizing power and competition with other European powers as to their Imperial status. The Cyprus case study (Chapter Four) showed that the British discovered that preservation was neither straightforward or isolated from political demands.

In Chapter Five we have seen that social inclusion and identity are on the political agenda and the heritage lobby has responded to this by claiming that the historic environment can be used to alleviate social and economic problems, whether this be as part of the 'product' of a tourist economy, a partnership project, or the reuse of buildings to assist the regeneration of community and personal identity. The belief therefore is that the historic environment and its curators can help people in the present and once such claims are made for the historic environment it follows that people, politics, the heritage manager and theory become linked, not least by the questions that flow from such a linkage. The key questions remain those posed by Greene (1999: 44); what sites, which public and who decides?

Which sites? The range of sites and places considered suitable for designation has expanded from the original wholly prehistoric category, but the basis of selection for designation remains based on an idea of scientific, objective and empirical criteria. However, there is considerable methodological distance between the quirkiness of earlier schedulings, typified by the political necessities of designating sites owned by the Duke of Devonshire (page 62), the justification for the Coulton designation (page 239) and the rational, tabulated Steeton Hall justification. However, in the case of those sites chosen for guardianship, there was a problem in that they had a tendency to emerge from the process looking the same: a structure at its perceived zenith, unencumbered of later additions, stripped walls and close-cut grass. The value of such a monument lay in education and improvement, an object lesson in national

identity. Because the range of values attached to a monument was narrow, the relationship between the public, the monument and the past was thought to be direct and uncomplicated, but characterisation, the concept of cultural significance and increased understanding about the complexity of how people interact with places have elevated landscape, perceptual, associative and intangible values, both nationally and internationally (*ICOMOS News* 10 July 2000 'The intangible heritage and the World Heritage List'). This means that a place of cultural significance need not be synonymous with the old, the monumental and the art-historic. However, recognising, protecting and enhancing these different sites and values remains a problem when combined with the hesitation and unfamiliarity of the heritage managers with those aspects of the cultural environment and the lack of a suitable process to shape new practice.

Does this mean that the idea of guardianship and designated sites is now redundant, and if not how do they relate to this wider historic environment? I would argue that as in 1911 the guardianship monuments have an exemplar role, but one geared to illustrating how we can better understand and engage with the past, whether in terms of broadening interpretation, identifying 'value', developing management strategies, adapting the fabric or combining cultural and natural environments. We have to accept that the guardianship sites are fully 'awakened' and through Conservation Plans we have the means to understand the extent of past interventions and thereafter balance their significance and potential use. A change in the exemplar role would include a more determined effort to link sites (e.g. connecting Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys, Helmsley Castle, but also the town of Helmsley and Duncombe Park) and present the relationships between sites, the communities and the landscapes of which they form part. The presentation of the narratives hitherto ignored must be an essential part of any developing strategy. Both of these, and additional aims, could be achieved quite easily by instituting a programme of research (including conservation history) for all the guardianship monuments, building on the existing platform of knowledge to introduce new approaches to understanding the past and the present. Similarly the theoretical discourse should not be hidden from the public; the fact that some of the monuments are familiar to the public might make it easier to introduce and discuss new ideas, but might also generate positive debate. The new research and approaches should be organised on a cyclical basis keeping each monument 'fresh'. Thus the guardianship and designated sites will become similar to knots in a

length of string, not fixed points, but reference points giving access to the surrounding spaces and meanings.

The 'new' heritage of the Cold War (for example) requires exemplar sites to illustrate best practice and demonstrate that such sites are worthy of conservation. This may require a considerable volte-face for an organisation such as English Heritage as it suggests that acquisition of sites (which has largely been discontinued as a policy) is again an issue to be debated. For some years there has been a recognition that the portfolio of guardianship sites is not representative of the cultural environment or the wider community and new additions were to be considered. Alternatively new management regimes could be considered whereby English Heritage might enter a partnership agreement with a privately-run site, or take a monument into guardianship and immediately place its management in the hands of a local trust.

How we 'use' sites is the critical issue and related to 'use' are the concepts of 'significance' and 'value'. Although there seemed to be an evolutionary development in the adoption, understanding and use of the concept of 'significance' (above page 235), it is clear that in England this has not extended to the identification and designation of sites. As we have seen (above pages 239 to 240) official designation remains reliant on well-defined academic criteria and check-lists, whereas the concept of significance remains the most productive way to discover the values people attribute to a place, although, as discussed in Chapter Five significance should not be understood as another form of scheduling. Significance changes and although it is likely that it is initially recorded as text in a Conservation Plan this is not meant to imply that the original definition of significance remains fixed. Conservation Plans are to be revised at regular intervals which means that significance must also be revised.

We have now reached a point at which the cultural environment in England can be defined as having no chronological limit, no thematic or geographic limit, no limit to scale and no limits of culture or ethnicity (above page 251). Government priorities (urban or rural regeneration, for example) can be seen to have implications for the cultural environment and thus the agenda of English Heritage and other heritage bodies will be redefined on a regular basis to match an inevitably developing political agenda. The government urban agenda, for instance, includes sustainable cities,

regeneration, quality public spaces, removal of eyesores and dereliction, transformation of brown field sites, all to provide investment and belief in the urban contribution to modern civilization (1). A heritage response to such an agenda (English Heritage 2001) will require considerable changes to current working, in addition to theoretical underpinning. In terms of the changing definitions of 'heritage' and 'monumentality' such an agenda would require from the heritage specialist assessments of urban areas - which urban areas, which part of which urban areas, condition surveys, condition of the historic environment reports, characterisation and significance appraisals, recognition of diversity, creation of research agendas for the medium and long term and strategies for dissemination and communication. All of these imply an emphasis on cross-team working, the recognition of 'shifting' significance, pro-active multi-disciplinary and multi-agency projects, but there must also be an understanding that in order successfully to address a specifically political agenda there must be dialogue with the respective communities to discover and enhance their values and meanings, which may be counter to those of the specialists. Once the heritage specialists have packed away their theodolites and project designs, communities will have to live with the consequences of specialist assessments and any succeeding architectural responses.

Which public? As with the other categories, this group changes over time. In Chapter Two we saw that the 'public' was the specialist, (often an aristocrat and land-owner) and the local societies, themselves made up of the educated middle class. Lubbock understood archaeology to be about ethnology, human origins, science and progress – leading to explanation of the pre-eminence of European, but principally British culture. Historic buildings were important, but did not help address the question of origins: local people, and here he meant local, educated people, could deal with such structures. Nationalism, the nation and national identity became important motive forces towards the end of the nineteenth century (Hobsbawm 1987: 142-164; Macmillan 2001). Populations moved, new state formations were conceived, or reconceived, (e.g. Ireland, Wales, Finland, Macedonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (Macmillan 2001)), whilst the state itself began to intrude into the private realm, consolidated the machinery of government and took on the functions formerly delivered by charitable or local foundations – principally education, pensions and poor relief (Hobsbawm 1987: 142-151). Archaeological research shifted from origins of human society to the definition of cultural groups (typified by Childe's chart of 1929

showing the correlation of archaeological cultures of Central Europe, reproduced by Trigger, 1989: 171 and numerous others) and what was to become culture-history. It is at this time (approximately 1880–1914) that academics such as Baldwin Brown (page 77) stressed the belief that monuments belonged to the nation and told the story of national identity and achievement. This was echoed in the regions (as at Kirkstall, page 46) where local monuments were perceived to confirm national progress, but also the position of the local élites who set about conserving those buildings. The Office of Works saw the guardianship sites as exemplars and recognised the potential of their role in national education (page 86), but the state also saw preservation and the exportation of preservation practices to the Empire as indicators of national and international status.

However, in all this flurry of activity the local people who used local monuments were forgotten about, and continuing social use was never cited as a justification for protection, but the clashes between local, national and international value remain. Pearson and Sullivan argue (1995: 169) that the traditional, narrowly based empiricist approaches to significance with their focus on external form and the aesthetic destroy 'the love of the place that is the basis of the heritage movement, and will effectively remove heritage from the rightful owners – the people'. The more recent approaches, characterisation and cultural significance, aim to elevate participation and popular and subjective values, but many people may not necessarily understand, because it is unconscious, how they are interacting with a place. A person working on a regular delivery route in Huddersfield might make it a habit to park and eat lunch at Castle Hill, Almondbury, where there are spectacular views over that part of West Yorkshire. They may or may not be aware that the site is a prehistoric hill-fort, medieval castle site and failed medieval urban plantation; they may be aware that the Victorian tower on the hill forms part of the badge of the local football team which has its own distinguished past, but should the opportunity to use the site in that casual manner be lost, that loss would have an impact. On the one hand it could be argued that it is unnecessary to explain past uses and be content that modern use is continuing, or like Thomas (1991: 20) we could give people the opportunity to relish the fact that there were 'alternative modes of reason and different ways of being human which once prevailed in the spaces we now inhabit' which could give greater delight and value to the ephemeral use described above.

At Malton/Norton and Sutton Common (pages 259 to 274) local communities have embarked on the management of their monuments, through interest in the monument itself and because of the doors that interest opens on other aspects of the past, but also on the communities today. Once such initiatives are begun they can act as the catalyst for other projects and can attract other sources of aid. We have seen that heritage specialists have argued that use of the historic environment can help address national issues such as social exclusion and regeneration – some of which issues are acute in particular areas. To some extent government has agreed with this assertion and expect to see results. Successful local projects can be taken as models, but there is often a suspicion (as was the case of Whitby Headland Project becoming an HLF project) that local initiatives could be subverted for national aims. Thus there is always a tension between central and local 'drivers' of which the heritage manager must be aware: once a local project becomes a national model, other agendas come into play, not least those of a heritage professional who might recognize an opportunity to make a national, academic reputation. There are archaeological and political examples of this dilemma: local and Indigenous issues have often been given international significance which has thereafter effectively removed control from local people (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Lowenthal 1988 on the international use of Classical Greek antiquities, philosophy and building form; Bowdler 1988 on the issues surrounding the repainting of Aboriginal art; Mulvaney 1991 on the Kow Swamp burials (arguing for their international significance, *contra*, and citing, Bowdler 1988). Again, the role of the heritage manager is critical in such cases, acting either as a filter on external demands or providing a network of contacts to organizations such as Common Ground, the HLF or more distant examples of similar initiatives in order for groups to share information and experience.

Who decides? It could be argued that the same people have always done the deciding, from the specialist academic and antiquarian in the nineteenth century to the Inspector in the twenty-first century, the only difference being that a larger team propose, debate and confirm designations, whilst the owner of a site still has the right of appeal. As we have seen, early designations were steered by personal, academic interest and political necessity, although the management of the sites was frequently seen to be a local matter, but one for 'educated' local groups. Individual research projects can still shape designation programmes: the interest in industrial archaeology and World War Two material remains was driven largely by a small

group of enthusiasts who argued for the significance of the rapidly disappearing fabric. Official designation followed on. The formulation of Conservation Plans, introduction of participatory local planning schemes and Local Heritage Initiatives present opportunities for people to say what is important to them. These examples illustrate what has always been a difficult issue. Peers and Baldwin Brown recognised that conservation can only succeed when the public support it, and thus an official response to conservation follows public/popular approval. Designation of industrial and World War Two archaeology followed public interest, but the listing of post-war architecture, particularly domestic buildings, remains one area where popular and academic justifications are out of step (Powers 2001). In the former case (industrial and World War two structures) academic values have been met and complimented by the popular and emotional. There has been no such amalgamation of values with regard to post-war architecture, and this is where the problem lies. The values held by architectural historians have been poorly expressed and (in the case of tower-blocks) directed towards an élite – not residents, but they have also raised expectations about the implications of designation that were never going to be met. Specialists must be clear about the values they are seeking to conserve – are they tied specifically and wholly to the fabric or do they relate to a concept that will continue, allowing the structure to be adapted? The issue comes back to self-reflection and awareness that people have to live with the consequences of decisions made by specialists. The suggested three stage approach (above page 17) of first understanding; second, assessing significance and the impact of 'use' on that significance; and third, implementation would help explore the many facets of 'value' and thereby, potentially, discover common ground.

The case of Malton Roman fort presents an interesting conflict in that the local people appear to value the fort to the exclusion of other elements of the past in Malton and Norton and have to be reminded of other values. However, their 'selectivity' and expectations have been conditioned by years of contact with English Heritage and its predecessors who have told them that the site is so important that it cannot be touched. The site is important, but in terms of what the citizens of Malton and Norton want to do it is in reality only one part of a greater picture. It will take time to create an environment in which local people volunteer places and aspects of the past that are of value to them, because they have been devalued against the supposed 'real' heritage of frozen ruins. An increase in cases like Sutton Common and Malton/Norton

will demonstrate that such projects can be the norm and are not isolated cases of delegation. However, the greater problem is that to be faced by the institutions: are they ready to accept changes in the decision-making process? Perhaps the current debate represented by *Power of Place* is not yet old enough for the implications to have been recognised and debated, but the concern must be that a swift response to satisfy political aims will fail to address these underlying problems.

If we return to the questions posed in Chapter One (pages 2 and 18) we can see that only some of them have been answered. The first of the two research questions posed on page 18 (how was the concept of the ancient monument created and sustained) was answered in Chapter Three (page 158). The second question on page 18, how will it be possible to shift to a new management paradigm is less easy to answer. We have seen in Chapters Four and Five that change is possible; for individuals such as Jeffery and for communities such as those in Sutton Common and Malton/Norton, but it is less clear if institutions are willing to change. There is a financial incentive to change, linked to a political agenda (page 252) and there are new processes and models for community participation and facilitation for specialists to discover and adopt. But these will require training, and one has to ask if it is in the self-interest of an institution to restructure its position of authority.

Has it been possible to answer those research questions phrased on page 2?

It is perhaps the case that ancient monuments fall into two categories: those that are open to the public as heritage assets and those yet to have a 'use'. The use and presentation of those ancient monuments open to the public continues to be determined by those who conserve them, although our ideas of 'use' are becoming broader and there is a desire that those who conserve and present monuments must be open to new and different types of significance and management. Possibly our accessible monuments will look different in coming years, both in terms of the material added to existing structures, and the type of structure considered to be of heritage significance, or it may be the case that an increasing number of those monuments not currently of significance will acquire uses and values beyond the academic. But it is certainly the case that our ancient monuments look the way they do because of the intentions and preferences of those who initially preserved them: monuments have been shaped by individuals acting on the values held in *their*

present. Once this and the scale of past intervention is understood, we will see that our frozen ruins are more adaptable than has been thought.

Our intentions are less clear, as is the role of the heritage manager. The existing European heritage management paradigm is powerful, even though most managers accept that the past and use of the past is more complex than material alone suggests. We need more case studies in order to generate debate and counter-debate between all forms of heritage managers and from such debate develop theoretical approaches to the generality of CHM, but also to the specifics such as social exclusion or the conflict of values. This sounds anodyne but there is a real reticence on the part of heritage managers – particularly those that are civil-servants – to suffer scrutiny, as the suggestion may be that ‘they have got it wrong’, particularly at a time when they are over-stretched and under-resourced. The ever-present threat of the public-inquiry is a formidable straitjacket. Heritage managers must be given time to turn case work into case studies and present and read papers, whilst senior managers must recognise that professional, academic training is an essential requirement and refrain from trimming training budgets as the first step in cost-cutting. Solicitors, architects, doctors (and their managers) accept continuing professional development (CPD) without demur, and it may be the case that there is a continuing, unresolved issue of professional identity at the heart of this dilemma. Archaeologists perceive themselves as ‘scientists’ and thus part of an ‘academic’ élite with all that implies with regard to objective competence and ‘standing’. However, they also recognize their ‘practical’ place in the planning system, but are wary of translating the true cost of their ‘profession’ onto the developers who finance the ‘polluter pays’ principle, because archaeology is still perceived as an unreasonable additional cost. The ‘cost’ of an architect to a project (for example) reflects the totality of their professional standing: skills, experience, past and future training. The ‘cost’ of heritage management is at a further remove from that of archaeology. What form should this training take?

Training should be focused on two distinct but related areas: community engagement and heritage management theory. The current approach to community engagement is perhaps best taught by aid agencies and their ‘trainers’, such as the Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU), York University. In recent years aid agencies have had to learn conflict resolution, community empowerment and

facilitation skills and aid during this period has been transformed from something that was wholly an expression and extension of imperial conceits to something that has had to learn the realities of political engagement and the complexities of national and community identity.

If we accept that the role of the heritage manager is not to define what is culturally significant but to help communities define those things that are of cultural significance to them, there is nothing in current archaeological degree courses (or as CPD) that gives students the skills to negotiate with, or between communities, such that they can provoke discussion to draw out discussion of value. However, should such discussion get underway it is unmistakable that a community might have several, sometimes conflicting views about the same place. In this situation conflict resolution skills are absolutely vital and underscores that aspect of the definition of the role of the heritage manager as one who 'manages the conflicts of meaning' (Smith et al 2003:67). Such a major revision of role leads us directly into the necessity for training in heritage management theory. If the current government and heritage agencies both agree that facilitation and advocacy are essential components of the heritage agenda it should then follow that training is required in the theoretical basis of what facilitation is and means, but also in its implications for the position of the heritage manager.

Much of what we have done as heritage managers has relied on earlier practice and tutorship, but this cannot be the case if the landscape and content of heritage management has changed in the fundamental ways suggested above. There are good starting points, with perceptive definitions of heritage management provided by Ross (1996a: 11-12), Clark (2000 and above page 235) and Smith et al (2003: 67). We need debate and theory to help explain *why* we conserve, *why* and *how* the past is meaningful and help develop the rationale behind our choices about which things to conserve and reuse. However it is essential that the people doing the thinking are in discussion with the people whose case work brings them into contact with the public. Ideally the theorists and practitioners should be one and the same.

The final word must go to the Office of Works. Their commitment to and impact on the ancient monuments of Britain and the Empire was profound. Sir Charles Peers and his staff received many monuments of the first importance into state care at a

time when budgets were slight and the monuments themselves in a condition close to collapse. The buildings were secured, conserved, made accessible to the public and interpreted. The reputation of the Office of Works was international. Many can recognise the closely cropped grass, mowing margins and weed-free walls without necessarily understanding how or why the monuments got that way, or recognize it as a particular 'style'. There was not one aspect of ancient monument work ignored by the Office. In July 1949 the Area Superintendent for Yorkshire, N. Digney, made a visit to Kirkham Priory; three days after his visit he wrote to the Area Technical Officer (Mr. J. Wright),

I visited Kirkham Priory on 11th July with the Deputy Secretary. The general condition of the monument was satisfactory but the Custodian had a four days growth of beard. I do not think this calls for serious disciplinary action but I should be grateful if you would find some opportunity of suggesting that our Custodians should shave daily.

Below this text is a hand written note from Wright to Digney stating, 'Superintendent of Works has been instructed accordingly' (Work 14/357).

Notes to Chapter Six.

(1) *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, report of the governmental Urban Task Force, 1999, HMSO.

Appendix One.

**Coulton, North Yorkshire,
Scheduling Description.**

1256511

SITE REVEALED BY AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Department of the Environment

YES PLAN SER 2/1/

RECEIVED SECRETARIAT 8 FEB 1979 SCHEDULING SECTION

ANCIENT MONUMENTS - RECORD FORM

COUNTY: YORKSHIRE (N)

Name of Monument Prehistoric Enclosure

Parish Coulton Ordnance Sheet Number 92

Category: C + S

6 inch SE 67 SW York 1 122 SE

Local Authority Rydale 25 inch 1/P

County Number of Monument 1241 1:50,000: 100

National Grid Reference

92/SE 621731

Name and Address of Owner MR. C. N. ROBINSON

POTTER HILL FARM

COULTON HOVLINGHAM MALTON N. YORKS

Short description of Monument and its condition

PL

Enclosure revealed by aerial photography in the Howardian Hills, SW of Coulton. The shape of this enclosure is its most unusual characteristic; it is double ditched the inner ditch on the whole having a more position crop-mark than the outer, and describing a bag-shaped outline which appears on the ground to be almost symmetrical about a central axis. At the south-western end the enclosure is finished off with an almost straight length of double ditch, and the SW portion of the site is divided into two equal subrectangular enclosures, again divided by a ditch down the central axis. It lies on a natural high point, on a promontory.

The whole is most peculiar, and perhaps a little too regular for comfort; but the similarity which this has with the so-called 'banjo' enclosures of further south leads to the assumption that it is of Iron Age date, and curious enough to warrant scheduling.

Amis 8b

Reference to principal works dealing with the Monument

St Joseph AP' MZ 79

Recommendation for an acknowledgment payment leaflet to be sent to occupier

YES/NO

Visited by J. S. JOHNSON

Date Aug 78

Signed J. S. JOHNSON

Date 20/10/78

AM7

DJ 8/11/78

DUPLICATE

AA 12565/1

13 MAY 1979

In the Matter of the Ancient Monuments Acts, 1913 to 1953

To:

The owner/occupier of the Monument known as "Prehistoric Enclosure
Coulton, North Yorkshire" (county monument 1241)
.....
situated on or under the land as shown outlined in red on the enclosed map.

In accordance with the provisions of Section 6 of the Ancient Monuments Act, 1931, the Secretary of State for the Environment hereby gives you notice that it is his intention to include the Monument above specified in a list of monuments to be published by him under Section 12 of the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1913.

Your attention is drawn to section 6(2) of the Ancient Monuments Act 1931 under which you are now required to give three months' notice to the Secretary of State of any works which would affect the monument. Notice is necessary both where you are proposing to carry out the works yourself and where you are proposing to permit another person to carry them out. A copy of the relevant sections of the Acts is printed on the back of this Notice.

Dated this 28 day of May 1979

By order of the Secretary of State

J K Brown

The Secretary,

Mrs J K Brown

Department of the Environment, Fortress House, 23 Savile Row,
London W1X 2HE

I acknowledge receipt of your letter enclosing a notice, of which the above is a duplicate.

Signature *C. N. Robinson*

Date *8/6/79*

*The name and address of the occupier of the land upon which the monument is situated are

(Name)

(Address)

.....
*This information should be given if the person signing above is not the occupier.

AM23 (formerly DOE 18901)

Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1913.

Section 12 (as amended by the Ancient Monuments Act, 1931)

12—(1) The Commissioners of Works shall from time to time cause to be prepared and published a list containing:-

- (a) such monuments as are reported by the Ancient Monuments Board as being monuments the preservation of which is of national importance; and
- (b) such other monuments as the Commissioners think ought to be included in the list.

* * * * *

(3) This section shall not apply to any structure which is occupied as a dwelling house by any person other than a person employed as the caretaker thereof or his family.

Ancient Monuments Act, 1931. Section 6 (as amended by the Land Charges Act, 1975)

6—(1) Before including any monument in a list published under section twelve of the principal Act after the commencement of this Act, being a monument which was not included in a list published under that section before the commencement of this Act, the Commissioners shall, instead of informing the owner as required by subsection (1) of that section, cause to be served upon the owner of the monument and upon the occupier thereof (if any) a notice in writing of their intention to include the monument in the list.

(2) No person served with a notice under the last foregoing subsection shall, unless and until the monument to which the notice relates ceases to be included in any such list as aforesaid, execute or permit to be executed, except in a case of urgent necessity, any work for the purpose of demolishing, removing or repairing any part of the monument, or of making any alterations or additions thereto, until the expiration of three months after he has given to the Commissioners notice in writing of his intention to do so, and any person acting in contravention of the provisions of this subsection shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, or to both.

(3) Where the owner of any monument has been served with a notice under subsection (1) of this section, then every person subsequently becoming the owner of the monument shall, for the purpose of the last foregoing subsection, be deemed to have been so served.

(4) Subsection (2) of section 12 of the principal Act shall cease to have effect, and for the purpose of subsection (2) of this section the person who, at the commencement of this Act, is the owner of any monument included in any such list as aforesaid which was published before the commencement of this Act, and every person subsequently becoming the owner of the monument, shall be deemed to have been served with a notice under subsection (1) of this section.

(5) The Commissioners may at any time cause to be served upon the occupier of a monument which is included in any such list as aforesaid, whether published before or after the commencement of this Act, a notice in writing that the monument is so included, and after the service of such a notice upon any such occupier the provisions of subsection (2) of this section shall apply with respect to him as if he had been served with a notice under subsection (1) of this section.

The powers and duties of the Commissioners of Works under the above-mentioned Acts were transferred to the Minister of Public Building and Works by the Ministry of Works (Transfer of Powers) (No 1) Order, 1945, as amended by the Minister of Works (Change of Style and Title) Order, 1962 and as regards ancient monuments in England the functions of the Minister under the said Acts were transferred to the Secretary of State by the Secretary of State for the Environment Order 1970.

C N Robinson Esq
 Potter Hill Farm
 Coulton Hoveringham
 MALTON
 North Yorks

AA 12565/1

23 February 1979

Dear Sir

1. It is one of the duties of the Secretary of State for the Environment under the Ancient Monuments Acts to schedule monuments whose preservation is considered to be in the national interest. The object of scheduling is, in the first instance, to protect the monument from destruction, or, if that is not possible, to ensure that it shall not be destroyed without an opportunity first being given for it to be examined and recorded. The effect of the scheduling of a monument is that no action may be taken to demolish, remove, repair, alter or add to it without 3 months' notice being given to the Secretary of State, nor may archaeological excavation be carried out within the scheduled area until such notice has been given. The granting of planning permission for any development of the site in no way cancels this requirement. Scheduling gives no right of public access nor does it impose any additional liability for maintenance.
2. The Secretary of State is advised in this matter by the Ancient Monuments Board for England, which is a statutory advisory body constituted under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Acts, and he is bound by the Board's recommendations on whether to schedule. They are to consider shortly whether the monument known as "Prehistoric Enclosure, Coulton, North Yorkshire", (County Monument 1241) as marked in red on the enclosed map, should be scheduled. This monument is understood to be in your ownership, and I should therefore be glad to receive, as soon as possible within the next 28 days, any comment you may wish to make on the proposal.
3. Where sites or monuments have been revealed by aerial photography as in this case, and are situated on or under land which is in use for agriculture, certain farming activities, including light ploughing, are not classed as notifiable under the Acts, but any that entail levelling or a disturbance of the soil to a depth of more than 7-9 inches could damage a monument and would have to be made the subject of 3 months' notice.
4. If the above explanation is not clear let me know and I will try to clarify the points you do not understand. If, however, you do not think this necessary and the proposal to schedule is confirmed by the Board, I shall send you a formal notification in due course.

5. Should the information as to ownership be incorrect I would be most grateful if you could let me have the names and addresses of the present owner and occupier.

Yours faithfully

MRS J K BROWN

ENC

Appendix Two.

The Times, 16th December, 1900.

RUINED CITIES IN CYPRUS.—"Spectator" writes from Rome:—"Famagusta and Rhodes are probably the most wonderfully preserved of medieval cities. Nothing in Europe can be compared with them. Both contain examples of the very finest Gothic architecture in their old cathedrals, churches, palaces, fortifications. It is a pity they are not more known to the travelling public; perhaps if they were some effort might have been made for their preservation. Famagusta is fast disappearing, thanks to the enterprise of the few natives who still inhabit its ruins. Port Said may be said to be built out of its stones, carried across to Egypt in little two-masted lighters at a very profitable rate. In Famagusta the stones are sold at the rate of 15 Cyprus piastres, or 1s. 8d. the hundred. The priceless old carvings of angels, saints, lions, and what not are roughly knocked off to render the stones square, and perhaps to avoid alarming the good people of Port Said. The Turk who keeps the general shop of the place and speaks a little French acts as agent. The more complete destruction of the city now contemplated is another matter. It is proposed to build a small harbour for coasting steamers within the shallow rocky port of ancient times. To effect this the great walls of the city, which still stand in the most perfect preservation, as if abandoned but yesterday by the martyred Bragadine and his brave companions of 330 years ago, are to be utilized. That is to say, their materials are to be taken for the purpose of forming a new quay wall for the tramway to run upon, and connect the landing-stage beyond the northern extremity of the city with the village of Varosha, which lies about a mile and a half to the south. From this latter a tramway to Nicosia is to be commenced. It indeed seems a terrible evidence of poverty, both material and sentimental, that a country like Cyprus should be unable to afford to retain such a marvellous medieval monument as the old city of Famagusta, a possession which in the future must certainly attract the art-loving tourist and the artist. The beautiful old sea-castle associated with the story of Othello and Desdemona, with its four round towers, on which the lion of St. Mark still stands sentinel, with the proud inscription of the Foscarini giving a date which seems almost incredible, considering the absolutely intact condition of the buildings, must be blasted away as ballast for a dock tramway by English engineers. The Tower of London might as well be demolished to make way for a new Thames-side dock!"

"
Times
Dec 16th
1900

Appendix Three.

SPAB Document on Cyprus.

THE BETTER PRESERVATION OF THE ANCIENT BUILDINGS OF CYPRUS.

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in making the following appeal to the Moslem and Christian inhabitants of Cyprus feels that it is not only giving expression to the conclusions of numerous students of historic art but also consulting the interests of the Community.

CYPRUS in addition to considerable remains of classical times possesses a unique series of buildings both civil and ecclesiastical of the Byzantine Period and the Middle Ages. It is to these latter that the attention of their custodians is more especially directed.

It will not be contested that practically every building of this antiquity that has come down to us is by reason of its historical or artistic interest worthy of preservation and it is in order that this may be done in the best way that the Society would make the following observations:-

- (1) The primary aim should be to ensure the stability of the buildings, and to protect them from avoidable disintegration, by means of structural repairs and by precautions against the inroads of the weather. All work done to this end should be at once as strong, as lasting, and as direct as possible. It should be neither ornamental, nor needlessly disfiguring, but ~~should~~ should lengthen the life of the fabric without unduly asserting itself.
- (2) Any attempt to renew purely decorative features is to be deprecated. Thus it is not recommended that carved stonework that has decayed or suffered injury should be restored. The value of such work lies largely in its authenticity, and for this reason it would be undesirable to mix the new with the old, even were it possible, which the Society denies, to recapture the spirit in which the old was done.
- (3) The advice of the Society's representative in Cyprus will be given free of charge.

Throughout Europe the historical buildings of Cyprus are justly celebrated and every year a greater number of visitors bring prosperity to the Island because of them. If the interest of these buildings is

destroyed either by their being made as new from misdirected zeal or by their being allowed to fall into ruin from neglect - they will cease to form the chief attraction to visitors.

The Society would be very grateful for the help and opinions of the dignitaries and religious representatives of the Moslem and Christian Communities and especially for that of the delegates of Ergat in whose hands the custody of the most important buildings naturally rests.

In conclusion the Society would wish to make it clear that its interest in the Ancient Buildings of Cyprus is purely historical and artistic. It aims at preserving the buildings regardless of the creed to which their owners belong. It does not aim at obtaining any control over the buildings or their uses but is only anxious that future generations should see the historical buildings of Cyprus in the same condition in which their Fathers saw them and that when they stand or pray in Mosque or Church they may know it for the very same in which their Ancestors worshipped.

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings

20, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.

March, 1907.

Appendix Four.

Steeton Hall, North Yorkshire.
Scheduling Description.

INSPECTOR'S REPORT

MONUMENT: Steeton Hall medieval magnate's residence and manorial centre

PARISH: SOUTH MILFORD

DISTRICT: SELBY

COUNTY: NORTH YORKSHIRE

NATIONAL MONUMENT NO: 28240

NATIONAL GRID REFERENCE(S): SE48363142

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT

The monument includes the site of the magnate's residence and manorial centre of Steeton Hall and the upstanding medieval gatehouse. Included in the scheduling are earthwork remains of the precinct wall, which surrounded the manorial complex and further earthwork remains of structures and garden terraces, both within the precinct and immediately adjacent to it. Upstanding garden and field walls within the precinct area are also included. The monument lies on the southern side of shallow valley with the hall and gatehouse lying on level ground and the precinct extending into the surrounding fields. Part of the medieval Steeton Hall still stands, but has been added to and altered, particularly in the 19th century. It is Listed Grade I and is not included in the scheduling, although the ground beneath it is included.

Steeton Hall stood at the centre of a complex of domestic and agricultural structures lying within a large enclosure known as a precinct which was defined by a wall. A gatehouse providing access into the precinct still stands and is Listed Grade I and is also in the guardianship of the Secretary of State. Within the precinct was a smaller inner enclosure which contained the hall itself and the immediate domestic buildings such as staff lodgings and kitchens. In the outer precinct a range of structures associated with the wider agricultural and economic functions of the manorial centre such as stables, workshops, stores and barns would have been located.

In the north western section of the precinct are a series of stone revetted terraces orientated north to south which are interpreted as remains of garden terraces. These would have included formal and informal flower beds and may have housed plinths for statues and structures such as stands and summerhouses.

The precinct wall survives as a low bank extending eastward from the gatehouse for 100m, turning south for 110m then westward for 270m then northwards towards the stream. In some places stone footings for the wall are visible along the bank and in one place east of the gatehouse 3 courses of stonework survive above ground level. At the northern end of the precinct the stream occupies a deep moat-like cutting, interpreted as an artificially enhanced natural stream bed. This served as a precinct boundary along this side. Further building platforms survive as slight earthwork features to the north east of the gatehouse. Within the north eastern corner of the monument an earthen bank crosses the line of the stream forming a small, now dry, fishpond. The stream has been channeled by stone revetting and a stone abutment on the edge of it are the remains of a sluice for controlling water flow. Within the south eastern section of the precinct are earthwork remains of building platforms.

A low wall to the north east of Steeton Cottage has a series of 17th century

(Continued ..)

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT (Continued.)

arched bee boles built into it. These were alcoves to protect bee hives from the weather. This wall, along with others on the site of the 17th century or earlier date, are included in the scheduling.

The gatehouse still stands complete. It dates to c1360 and is a two storey rectangular structure with a central archway and a small side passage. There are two chambers on the first floor, the larger of which is reached by a spiral staircase and the smaller by an external stair on the south east side. The top of the gatehouse is crenellated and decorated with gargoyles and coats of arms and crests carved onto stone shields.

Steeton Hall is a complex building the core of which dates to the 14th century. The 14th century building is thought to have been much larger than the fragment surviving today and buried remains indicating the full extent and nature of this medieval building will survive beneath and adjacent to the later additions. The latter are 17th century and later in date. The range of stone farm buildings north of the hall were constructed in the late 17th century and may have been built on the footings of earlier structures. They are Listed Grade II and are not included in the scheduling. The core of Steeton Cottage is also thought to date to the 17th century and was altered in the 19th.

Steeton manorial centre was one of the manors of the barony of Sherburn and was purchased by the Reygate family in 1261. The hall and the gatehouse were built in the 14th century probably by William de Reygate who was Escheator to the king for the county of York and it was during this time that the manorial centre flourished. The site was then neglected for many years until 1642 when it was occupied by the Foljambe family. The site was substantially re-modelled in the 17th century when the hall was added to, the farm buildings and bee bole wall were constructed and the gardens rebuilt. Much of this activity reused the existing earlier features.

The gatehouse and adjoining walls and Steeton Hall are Listed Grade I and the barn, granary and cartshed north east of the hall are Listed Grade II.

Steeton Hall, the farm buildings, the modern barns, garages, Steeton Cottage, fences, surfaces of paths, tracks and yards and the bridge are all excluded from the scheduling, although the ground beneath these features is included.

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE

Magnates' residences are high status dwellings of domestic rather than military character. They date from the Norman Conquest (in some cases forming a continuation of a Saxon tradition) and throughout the rest of the medieval period. Individual residences were in use for varying lengths of time; some continued in use into the post-medieval period. Such dwellings were the houses or palaces of royalty, bishops and the highest ranks of the nobility, usually those associated with the monarch. They functioned as luxury residences for the elite and their large retinues, and provided an opportunity to display wealth in the form of elaborate architecture and lavish decoration. As such, these palaces formed an impressive setting for audiences with royalty, foreign ambassadors and other lords and bishops.

Magnates' residences are located in both rural and urban areas. Bishops' residences are usually in close association with cathedrals, and all residences tend to be located close to good communication routes. Unless constrained by pre-existing structures, magnates' residences comprised an elaborate series of buildings, usually of stone, that in general included a great hall, chambers, kitchens, service rooms, lodgings, a chapel and a gatehouse, arranged around a single or double courtyard. As a consequence of the status of these sites, historic documentation is often prolific, and can be of great value for establishing the date of construction and subsequent alterations to the buildings, and for investigating the range of activities for which the site was a focus.

(Continued ..)

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE (Continued.)

Magnates' residences are widely dispersed throughout England reflecting the mobility of royalty and the upper echelons of the nobility. There is a concentration of sites which reflects the growing importance of London as a political centre, and the majority of magnates' residences tend to be located in the south of the country. Despite their wide distribution, magnates' residences are a relatively rare form of monument due to their special social status. At present only around 236 examples have been identified of which 150 are ecclesiastical palaces and 86 are connected with royalty. Magnates' residences generally provide an emotive and evocative link with the past, especially through their connections with famous historical figures, and can provide a valuable educational resource, both with respect to the organisation and display of political power, and wider aspects of medieval and post-medieval society such as the development of towns and industries and the distribution of dependent agricultural holdings. Examples with surviving archaeological potential are considered to be of national importance. In common with other medieval complexes, magnates' residences would also have a range of formal and ornate gardens by or near the house often falling within the curtain wall. Gardens were both functional and decorative. There would be a kitchen garden for producing food and a herb garden which had a medicinal as well as a culinary use. In the formal and decorative garden there may be terraces and walled enclosures which contained raised beds and pedestals for plant holders and statues, linked by pathways and, in larger gardens, rides. Within the pleasure gardens of the wealthy a wide range of ornamental but functional buildings would exist depending on the size and style of the garden. In early gardens these seem to have been limited to galleries and elaborate entrances but by the 16th century the buildings included, pavilions, summerhouses, stands, grottoes, belvederes, grandstands, kennels, gazebos, banqueting houses and prospect mounds. Gardens at high status secular buildings were positioned so they were overlooked by private chambers and rooms of relaxation within the building and in some cases it seems that the house and garden would be designed and planned in tandem. As with the architecture of their houses, gardens of the wealthy were created for prestige and as status symbols.

High status medieval centres worked as agricultural units for domestic consumption. A common element of which was the fishpond. These were artificially created pools of slow moving freshwater constructed to cultivate, breed and store fish. Fishponds were maintained by a water management system which regulated water supply by sluices and leats.

The remaining structures and earthworks at Steeton Hall survive well and significant buried archaeological remains will be preserved throughout the monument. The gatehouse survives particularly well and important information about the architectural details are preserved within the fabric. The fishpond as well as the earthworks in the outer precinct offers important information about the wider economic functions of the monument and the development of a high status domestic complex in the medieval and post-medieval periods.

NOTE ON THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE SCHEDULED AREA

Monument North Yorkshire 135 has been reviewed and it is now considered that the protection be amended to include the wider remains of the medieval manorial centre at Steeton Hall.

MAP EXTRACT

The site of the monument is shown on the attached map extract outlined in black and highlighted in red. It includes a 2 metre boundary around the archaeological features, considered to be essential for the monument's support and preservation.

(Continued ..)

Continued from previous page ..

NATIONAL MONUMENT NO: 28240

SCHEDULING HISTORY

Monument included in the Schedule on 17th December 1929 as:

COUNTY/NUMBER: Yorkshire 135

NAME: Steeton Hall gateway

Monument placed in Guardianship on 8th January 1948 as:

COUNTY/NUMBER: North Yorkshire 135

NAME: Steeton Hall gateway

Scheduling amended on 1st April 1974 to:

COUNTY/NUMBER: North Yorkshire 135

NAME: Steeton Hall gateway

PROPOSAL SUMMARY

MONUMENT SUMMARY

Monument Number: 28240
Name: Steeton Hall medieval magnate's residence and manorial centre

SCHEDULING STATUS

Sched. Category : New Incorporating
Sched. Origin : Monuments Protection Programme
AMAC Submission : Normal

File Reference: AA 20041/1

ANCILLARY FILES
AA 20041/1

INSPECTION VISITS

Visit No.	Name of Officer	Officer Status	Date
12442	Pritchard D	MPP ARCH	14-SEP-95
12443	Nieke Dr	MPP IAM	14-SEP-95
12444	Ette J	IAM	14-SEP-95
12445	Mitchell T	EH HBIAM	14-SEP-95

CONSTRAINT AREA SUMMARIES

Monument No/Area Suffix: 28240/01
National Grid Ref: SE48363142
Area: .00 Hectares

County: NORTH YORKSHIRE
Local Authority: SELBY
Parish: SOUTH MILFORD

STATUS OF AREA AND ENVIRONMENT

File Reference :
Qualifier Desc. : CONTAINS
Status Desc. : LISTED BUILDING GRADE I

File Reference :
Qualifier Desc. : CONTAINS
Status Desc. : LISTED BUILDING GRADE II

File Reference :
Qualifier Desc. : CONTAINS
Status Desc. : PUBLIC RIGHT OF WAY

OWNERS/OCCUPIERS

Owner/Occupier Name	Date End of Involvement
Owner Explosive Developments Limited	

Management Statement
The medieval hall is partly ruinous and the remainder has been converted to offices. There are proposals to convert the entire building to residential use and it is considered that such adaptive re-use would be the most

PROPOSAL SUMMARY

Constraint Area Summary continued ..

appropriate form of management for the building and as it is Listed Grade I adequate control over such development already exists. It is therefore excluded from the scheduling. Similarly the 17th century farm buildings are subject to development proposals and are Listed Grade II.

The monument is a currently disused farm and offices. There is a planning application soon to be submitted for conversion of buildings to domestic accomodation. The architects dealing with the scheme are Brooks Thorp Partners, 25 Austhorp Avenue, Leeds, LS15 8QA. Tel 0113 2601536.

The farm land adjacent to the hall is grazed on an informal basis by a local farmer, or rather by his stock.

By January 1997 the owners were considering sale of the site rather than its re-development.

CONSTRAINT AREA LINE DESCRIPTION

The area has been defined to include the whole of the area defined as the outer precinct at Steeton Hall. Additionally an area immediately north east of the gatehouse and precinct wall including the earthwork remains of the building platforms and the fishpond is also included. The gatehouse which is also Listed is managed as a monument and thus is scheduled. Steeton Hall itself is Listed and remains in use and is therefore not included in the scheduling.

Garden and field walls within the precinct area are included in the scheduling as they are thought to be 17th century or earlier in date. Despite their listed status, they are identified to be vulnerable to any development proposals and it is thus thought appropriate that they be scheduled. See MND for exclusions.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ITEM SUMMARIES

Item Number: 143724

Title: Steeton Hall magnates residence and manorial centre

Classification: MANOR

Period: MEDIEVAL

National Grid Ref: SE48393142

Height O.D. m.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

See MND for details. [1][2][3]

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE

Group Value (association).....high
Survival.....medium
Potential.....medium
Documentation (archaeological)....
Documentation (historical).....low
Group Value (clustering).....high
Diversity (features).....low

PROPOSAL SUMMARY

Archaeological Item Summary continued ..

Amenity Value.....medium

MANAGEMENT ZONES

Form : FLAT - ACCUMULATED
Land Use : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :
Land Use Around : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :

SOURCES

Type : DESC TEXT
Author : Kitson SD
Title : Steeton Hall

Type : DESC TEXT
Author : Ryder P
Title : Medieval Buildings of Yorkshire

Type : PERS COMM
Author : Ette J
Title :

PARENT CONSTRAINT AREAS

Monument Number Area Suffix
28240/A 01

Item Number: 143725
Title: Steeton Hall medieval gatehouse

Classification: GATEHOUSE
Period: MEDIEVAL

National Grid Ref: SE48393142 Height O.D. m.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION
See MND for details.[1][2]

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE

Group Value (association).....high
Survival.....medium
Potential.....medium
Documentation (archaeological)...
Documentation (historical).....medium
Group Value (clustering).....high
Diversity (features).....low
Amenity Value.....medium

PROPOSAL SUMMARY

Archaeological Item Summary continued ..

MANAGEMENT ZONES

Form : BUILDING - BONDED
Land Use : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :
Land Use Around : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :

SOURCES

Type : DESC TEXT
Author : Kitson SD
Title : Steeton Hall

Type : DESC TEXT
Author : Listed building entry
Title : Gatehouse to Steeton Hall

PARENT CONSTRAINT AREAS

Monument Number Area Suffix
28240/A 01

Item Number: 143726
Title: Fishpond at Steeton Hall

Classification: FISHPOND
Period: MEDIEVAL

National Grid Ref: SE48453156 Height O.D. m.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

See MND for details.

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE

Group Value (association).....high
Survival.....medium
Potential.....medium
Documentation (archaeological)...
Documentation (historical).....
Group Value (clustering).....low
Diversity (features).....low
Amenity Value.....medium

MANAGEMENT ZONES

Form : EARTHWORK
Land Use : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :
Land Use Around : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :

PROPOSAL SUMMARY

Archaeological Item Summary continued ..

PARENT CONSTRAINT AREAS

Monument Number Area Suffix
28240/A 01

Item Number: 143727
Title: Bee boles at Steeton Hall

Classification: BEE BOLE
Period: POST MEDIEVAL

National Grid Ref: SE48313142

Height O.D. m.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

See MND for details.[1]

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE

Group Value (association).....high
Survival.....medium
Potential.....medium
Documentation (archaeological)...
Documentation (historical).....
Group Value (clustering).....medium
Diversity (features).....low
Amenity Value.....medium

MANAGEMENT ZONES

Form : BUILDING - BONDED
Land Use : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :
Land Use Around : GRASSLAND, HEATHLAND 4 - REGULARLY IMPROVED GRASSLAND
Detail :

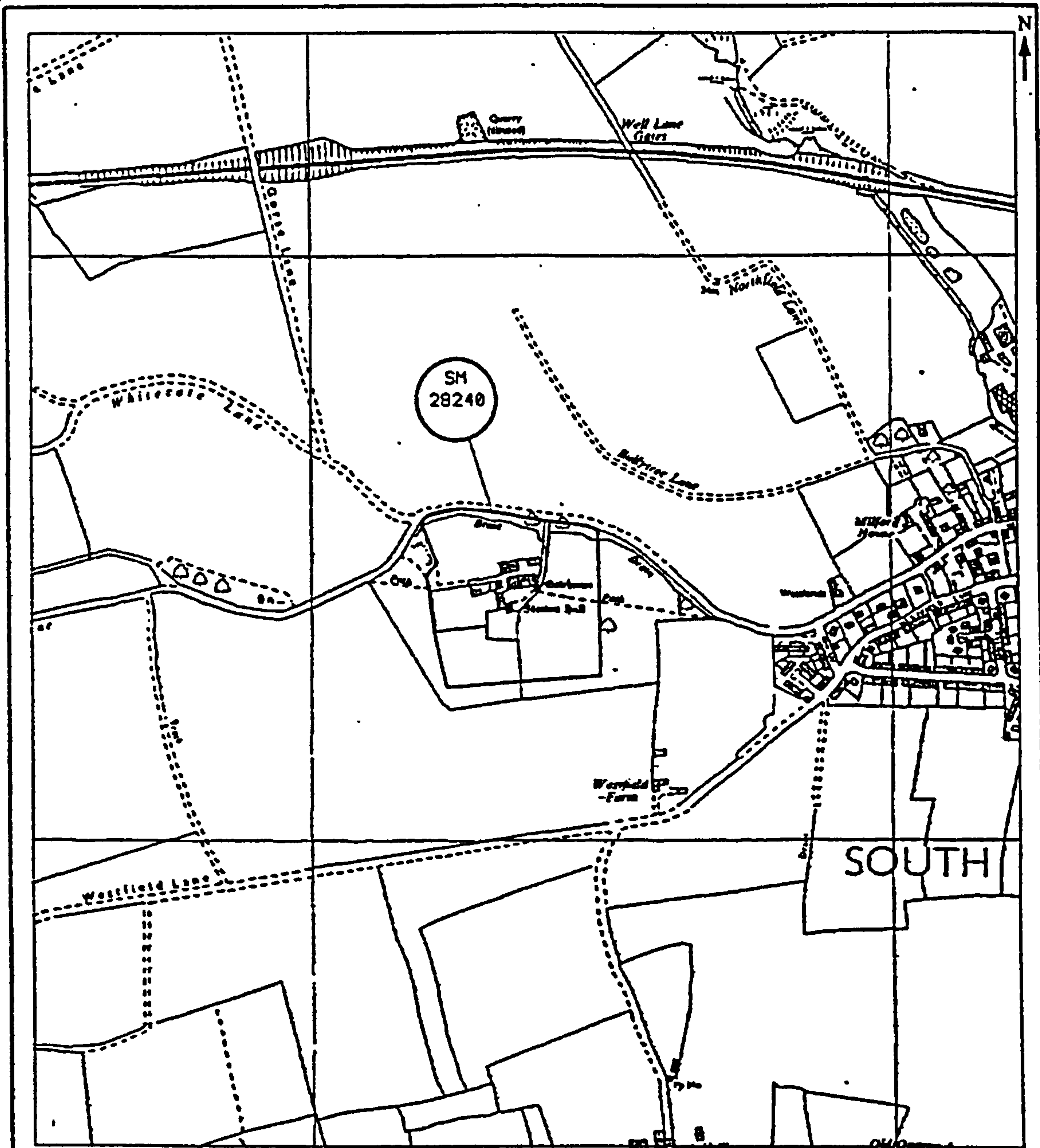
SOURCES

Type : DESC TEXT
Author : Foster AM
Title : Bee boles and Bee Houses

PARENT CONSTRAINT AREAS

Monument Number Area Suffix
28240/A 01

Scheduling Proposal



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For identification purposes only

Site Name: Steeton Hall medieval manorial centre & gatehouse

County: Yorkshire, North

District: Selby

Parish: South Milford

Notes:

For exclusions - see text record. Part Guardianship
Site contains listed buildings grade I & II

Key: Monument No. Location/extent of site



Scale: 1:10000 Derived from: 1:10000

Centred on NGR: SE48363142

Extract from OS sheet: SE43SE

Date: 17.10.96

Monument No: SM28240

English Heritage

Fortress House 21 Savile Row London W1X 1AB Telephone 071-973 3000 Fax 071-973 3001

Appendix Five.

Extracts from Planning and Policy Guidance Note No. 15
(PPG 15), paragraphs 6.2 and 6.40.

Paragraph 6.2.

There is growing appreciation not just of the architectural set pieces, but of many more structures, especially industrial, agricultural and other vernacular buildings that, although sometimes individually unassuming, collectively reflect some of the most distinctive and creative aspects of English history. More than this, our understanding and appreciation of the historic environment now stretches beyond buildings to the spaces and semi-natural features which people have also moulded, and which are often inseparable from the buildings themselves. For example, the pattern of the roads and open spaces and the views they create within historic townscapes may be as valuable as the buildings. In the countryside, the detailed patterns of fields and farms, of hedgerows and walls, and of hamlets and villages, are among the most highly valued aspects of our environment. England is particularly rich in the designed landscapes of parks and gardens, and the built and natural features they contain: the greatest of these are too important, and indeed international, to be regarded as our greatest buildings.

Paragraph 6.40.

Suitable approaches to the identification of the components and character of the wider historic landscape are being developed by the Countryside Commission (see its *Landscape assessment Guidance*) and English Heritage (as part of current research on methodology for historic landscape assessment). Appraisals based on assessment of the historic character of the whole countryside will be more flexible, and more likely to be integrated with the aims of the planning process, than an attempt to define selected areas for additional control. It is unlikely therefore to be feasible to prepare a definitive register at a national level of England's wider historic landscape. The whole of the landscape, to varying degrees and in different ways, is an archaeological and historic artefact, the product of complex historic processes and past land-use. It is also a crucial and defining aspect of biodiversity, to the enhancement of which the Government is committed. Much of its value lies in its complexity, regional diversity and local distinctiveness, qualities which a national register cannot adequately reflect.

Appendix Six.

Full Text of Speech by the Rt. Hon. Chris Smith.

SPEECH BY THE RT HON CHRIS SMITH, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CULTURE, MEDIA & SPORT

SUBJECT: CULTURAL DIVERSITY

"WHOSE HERITAGE?" CONFERENCE, MANCHESTER, 2 NOVEMBER 1999

As delivered

Opening

- Grateful to Peter and colleagues for taking the initiative to address issues of nation, culture and heritage in this conference.
- Pleased to be in Manchester, which is not only a city of great cultural diversity, but at the forefront in using culture as a tool in regeneration. Its cultural diversity plays a significant part in that achievement.
- Whose Heritage? is a great name for the conference: Really sums up what it's all about. We need to examine what the implications are of multiculturalism in the arts and heritage fields. Hope conference will address how these implications can be engaged with in a practical way.
- When we ask the question 'Whose heritage?', and reply 'ours', we need to define who 'we' are. Need to look at that heritage, and how we report it, through more than one pair of eyes.
- Culture is not something that is narrowly defined. If we have a national identity - and I am sure that we have - then that presupposes that we have developed - and are aware that we have developed - a common cultural heritage and history. In representing and reporting that heritage, we need to look closely at how it has been done in the past, who has done it, and how we can do it better in the future.

The social memory

- Official history is inevitably a selective interpretation of the facts. Some things are given a higher or lower profile; others are left out altogether.
- History should ideally piece together many strands of life, from many perspectives of the social memory: The working class view of labour history is inevitably different from the view of the landed gentry. An understanding of both is necessary for an understanding of history as a whole.
- The historical place of diversity in British culture and social development is another area where perspectives differ. The interconnections and relationships that were particularly strong in Empire are frequently narrowly interpreted from a mainstream traditional British point of view. But for society to know that there is more than one interpretation of particular events or periods of history, we must be shown them. We need to give a proper place to those interpreters, while encouraging more socially inclusive research in the future.
- It's not just a black and white issue either: the views of British Caribbeans and British Asians on Empire will vary from each other, as well as from the white British view of that period. However, race equality issues are relevant not only to life today, but also to how we define and report the art, culture and events of the past.

The truth

- It is said that truth is the first casualty of war, but how does truth fare in the face of ignorance? Without a recorded history, nothing else can follow - no celebration of achievement, no development of a common cultural heritage.
- This results in immigrant populations looking outside these shores for their history and cultural points of reference. By recording their contribution and place in history, we give people their roots

and give their cultures proper recognition and an appropriate stature within and beside the traditional Anglo-Saxon and Celtic cultures.

- Cultural professionals should be aware of how narrowly based their own interpreters of history can be. If we talk in terms of bilingualism and the desirability of bilingualists in society, the interpreters are still, as a body, largely monolingual. They need both to employ people with a wider vision and undertake projects that focus on "missing" history.

- As Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, I want to see organisations working in those fields *'providing a more complete version of the truth'*. They must seek to encourage greater participation from all parts of society in achieving this.

- We can make a difference through, for example, the funding agreements we are putting in place between DCMS and its sponsored bodies. We should be ensuring that those bodies have strategies in place to enable everyone to understand and appreciate their own culture and heritage, and to experience that of other people.

- It's a matter of looking at the whole picture: building bridges of understanding and knowledge.

Today's way of life : tomorrow's history

- Having the right structures and procedures in place now will help us tell tomorrow the truth of history today.

- They will be based on professionalism, partnerships, support and equity. They should be available across the board, and I am committed to ensuring that progress is made in all areas. We have made a start:

-The Arts Council of England is delegating responsibility for over £122m of grant in aid and lottery cash to the Regional Arts Boards. This effectively places the decision-making much closer to the communities being served and better enables communities to make their voices heard.

- We are keen to encourage more people from ethnic minorities to put their names forward for appointment as museums trustees; indeed, those serving on the boards of all public bodies should be as representative of society as possible, and we are taking action to encourage women, people with disabilities and younger people, as well as those from an ethnic minority background, to play a full part in public life;

- The Public and Commercial Services Union has issued a "leadership challenge" to promote the idea of a career in museums and galleries among Black and ethnic minority communities. It is helping too to build a better perception of their constructive role in Britain's history;

- Our heritage and culture need to be reflected from the perspectives of different communities, particularly where conflict and misunderstanding persist, such as in Northern Ireland. Devolution in Scotland and Wales is providing new opportunities to re-examine how history is told. And there are some lessons to be learnt from how countries such as South Africa have looked at their past.

- Our heritage and culture need to be reflected too from a regional perspective. That is why we have created Regional Cultural Consortia in each of the English regions outside London to provide a strong voice for culture in the regions. These new bodies, which will be holding their first meetings in the coming weeks, will be charged with drawing up a regional cultural strategy to identify agreed cultural themes and priorities for the region and to make the most of the regional distinctiveness and rich diversity of our culture.

- And local government is developing local cultural strategies to ensure that effective and innovative cultural opportunities are available to all parts of the community, as well as encouraging local authorities to think more about cultural diversity.

- Libraries have an important role to play, involving local communities in their representation of

history.

- The Social Exclusion Unit's Policy Action Team has reported on the important role that sport and the arts play in breaking down barriers in society and combatting social exclusion. Culture has to be central to regeneration plans, and allow communities to participate in the events that reflect their interests and heritage.

- In May, I announced the creation of a Skills Investment Fund to boost training opportunities in the film industry. Ensuring that ethnic minority communities are adequately represented in the film and television industry is important - both in front of and behind the camera, given the direct impact their involvement will have on how the media portray them and the issues they face. The Community Media Association is already working to provide training and advice in the field of community radio.

- I was pleased to hear that, thanks to a National Lottery award, the Black Cultural Archive will be expanding its work. It plays an important role in dispelling stereotypical views on Black people's contribution to our history and culture.

- Black people are more involved in the creative industries now than ever; and we need, therefore, to reflect this in tomorrow's interpretation of today.

Conclusion

- I want to make it clear that much has already been achieved. But nowhere near enough.

- Funders, organisations and venues working in the cultural field have made a good start in engaging with the issues. However, I want to see clear evidence of progress.

- This does not mean necessarily a uniform interpretation in the arts and heritage powered by political correctness; but a clear desire to examine old history and conditioning; to welcome the opportunity to rethink passages of history and received wisdom; and to open out our understanding.

- If organisations wish to speak for all society, then they **MUST** be providing '*a more complete version of the truth*'. They must reflect on the words: "To treat me equally, you may have to treat me differently."

- They must find out how communities want to have their history reflected and told. Be careful: "Don't assume you know what the community wants: prepare to be surprised."

- By the year 2002, in which Manchester is hosting the Commonwealth Games, I want to see us involving diverse communities in the organisations and venues that are the spine of society. They are the standard bearers of the nation's cultural identity and history.

- Culture helps us to grow people - and to grow understanding through the process of culture.

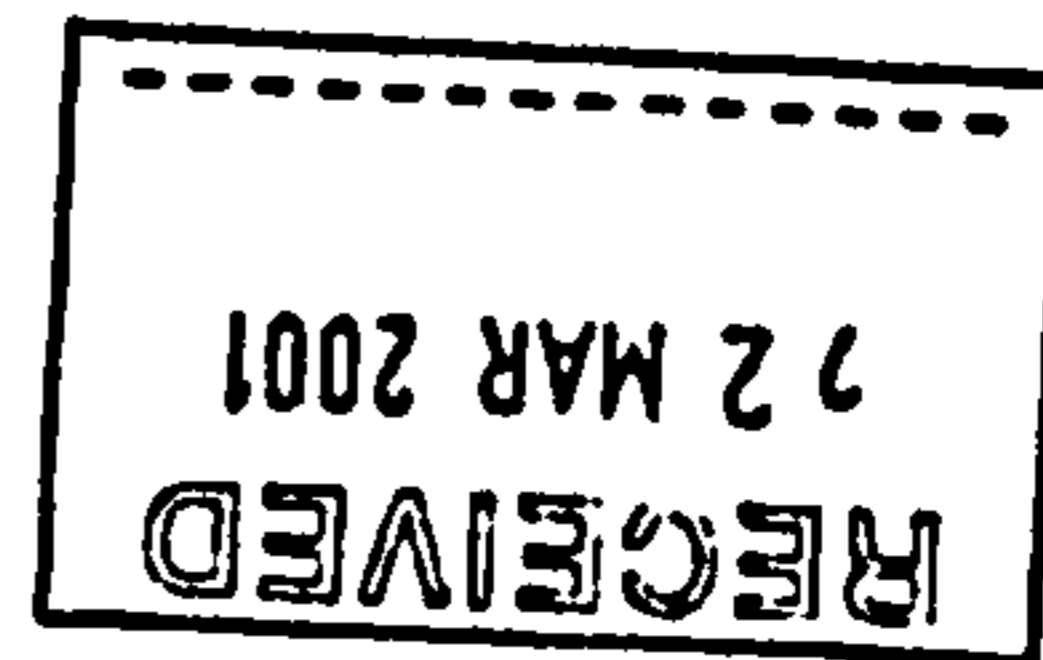
- Let's aim for One Nation, but one that *takes on board* difference, rather than comfortably tolerates it.

1600 words

Appendix Seven.

Full Text of Speech by Rt. Hon. Alan Howarth.

Introduction



1. It was a great pleasure to be invited to address you today.
2. Chairman, in time-honoured tradition, at the outset of this speech I should declare an interest. I should reveal that, as the Minister with responsibility for the historic environment, I enjoy certain perks. Not, I hasten to add, of a pecuniary kind. Rather, the rewards are in terms of intellectual stimulation and interest. Indeed, one of my greatest perks is that, under the pretext of working, I get to visit lots of wonderful buildings, places and sites.
3. I find the historic environment a fascinating subject. And, paradoxically, it is one that never sits still. Scarcely a day goes by without some reference in the media to a new archaeological discovery, or a threat to a historic building or archaeological site, and that invariably unleashes a rush of public interest and correspondence. The widespread public interest in archaeology, for example, is reflected in the coverage the subject is now given by peak time television. Programmes such as *Time Team* and *Meet the Ancestors* regularly attract huge audiences.
4. The environment in which we grow up and live is, of course, crucially important in establishing a sense of who we are, both as individuals and as a society. I think it was Virginia Woolf who said that "the past, like some immense, collective ghost, is here beyond all possible exorcism." Historic buildings and the historic environment are corporeal, tangible manifestations of that past. They stand as a record of daily life, and of artistic and technical achievement through the ages. They not only provide a source of continuing pleasure, but they represent a finite resource and an irreplaceable record which contributes through archaeological and architectural research, through formal education and, perhaps most importantly, through our daily experience, to our understanding of the past - and therefore of the present.
5. The widespread international horror at the shocking destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan and other relics in Afghanistan brings home just how precious the physical manifestations of the past are to us all. While acts of vandalism on such a scale are thankfully rare, they serve to remind us of the fragility of the historic environment, and how vulnerable it is to unsympathetic treatment.
6. The Government fully accepts its responsibilities towards the historic environment. We continue to build on a proud tradition of protection and preservation which began to secure legal sanction in the late nineteenth century. In 1882 Parliament gave protection to 50 sites, including Stonehenge and Hadrian's Wall. Now, 119 years and five Acts of Parliament later, statutory protection is given to over 33,000 archaeological sites and some 500,000 buildings. And the legislation is complemented by *Planning Policy Guidance Notes 15 and 16*, which provide sound guidance on the heritage aspects of planning decisions.
7. Moreover, the preservation and enhancement of our historic environment can promote confidence in the future of an area and act as a focus for regeneration. An attractive historic environment of definite character can draw in investment and tourism, and can encourage sustainable development. It can also help maintain not only a sense of community, but also a community in touch with its roots.
8. We recognise the contribution the historic environment can make to our wider objectives - such as the modernisation of the economy, the enhancement of educational opportunity, urban regeneration, sustainable development and social inclusion. In short we see the historic environment as an opportunity, not a constraint.

Heritage Review

9. I am glad to say that our views have been reinforced by the overwhelmingly positive response to the Government's decision - which I announced in November 1999 - to review our policies for the historic environment. Such is the demand for *Power of Place*, English Heritage's report on the review, that a further 8,000 copies have had to be printed. I should like to take a few moments bringing you up-to-date on this.

English Heritage's role-consultation /MORI survey

10. The policy review is perhaps the most fundamental one on this subject ever undertaken, and represented a process of discussion and participation that one suspects is without parallel in the context of such exercises. Those of you who have contributed to the debate will know that it takes into account issues such as social inclusion, education, tourism and the role of the voluntary sector, which are all important in determining how we develop our policy.
11. English Heritage rose to the challenge of leading stage one of the Review. The consultation elicited a large number of well informed contributions, both from within the heritage sector and from elsewhere, as well as some very interesting results from a MORI survey, carried out in parallel. These revealed, amongst other things, that 87% of those questioned agreed that it is right to deploy public funds on preservation of the historic environment. And 88% agreed on the importance of the historic environment in the creation of jobs and stimulating the economy. I'm sure you will agree that these were illuminating and encouraging results.

Next steps

12. But *Power of Place* is not the end of the review. Rather, it marks the end of the first stage. The Government now intends, as promised, to produce a major statement on our vision for the historic environment and the policies we propose to adopt to realise that vision. Whilst we will obviously bear mind what is said in *Power of Place*, our statement will be free-standing, and will not necessarily offer a line by line response to each individual recommendation.
13. We are working hard to produce our statement as soon as possible. However, our overriding concern is to ensure that the review's conclusions are fully developed and credible, and agreed within Government. If there is a spring election - and I must add that I know no more about that than you - I would anticipate publication of the statement being a high priority for the incoming Administration.

Archaeology

13. If there has been one particular criticism of *Power of Place* it has been that it did not devote enough attention to archaeology. I have some sympathy with this view. Let me assure you that the Government and English Heritage attach great importance to archaeological work. Indeed, from my own visit to the Spitalfields excavation in East London, the site of the discovery of the famous Roman sarcophagus - and incidentally a marvellous example of developer /archaeologist co-operation - and discussions with archaeologists at major conferences, I know that it is a potent and fascinating science, and how passionately many people feel about it. I can assure you that our statement will acknowledge the importance and relevance of archaeology to the understanding and preservation of the country's historic fabric.
14. There are of course challenges facing the archaeological community. Finite resources mean that we cannot achieve all we would wish, but this should not undermine the great achievements that continue to be made in this area, not only in this country but overseas as well. Archaeologists from University College London, for example, are currently assisting the Moroccan authorities with research and restoration work at the marvellous World Heritage Site at Volubilis. We would like to see the UK's international role increased further, and that is why the Culture and Recreation Bill aims to change the rules that currently prevent experts from English Heritage from contributing their expertise abroad.

14. Many of you will know that Amendments to the Bill have been tabled in relation to archaeology - indeed, one or two of those present today have been personally instrumental in doing just that! Perhaps the most significant is the proposal to place a duty on local authorities to maintain Sites and Monuments Records. We are giving serious consideration to that and to all the amendments. But our present view is that, rather than make piecemeal and modest changes to the legislation, it would be more useful to take a comprehensive look at how we can improve the current arrangements, and to produce some proposals in our formal statement. We have noted the recommendation in *Power of Place* that legislation should at an appropriate time be introduced to require the establishment and maintenance of Historic Environment Record Centres, and this is certainly something we are examining constructively.

Archaeology - links with agricultural issues

16. *Power of Place* also referred to the need for agricultural practices to take archaeology into account: after all, English Heritage's much acclaimed *Monuments at Risk Survey* showed how ploughing and other agricultural activities can be a major cause of damage. As we said in the Rural White Paper, the Government is committed to pursuing further reform of the Common Agricultural Policy with the aim both of reducing subsidies linked to production and strengthening measures to promote appropriate rural development, of which agri-environment schemes form a part. MAFF has a number of archaeology aware schemes and our statement will say more on these.

Maritime archaeology

17. We should not forget that in Britain we also have a wealth of archaeological sites and materials not only in and under the ground but also under the sea around our coast. Like millions of other visitors I have marvelled at the remains of the hull of the *Mary Rose*, and the associated museum display selected from over 190,000 objects recovered from the site. Maritime archaeologists have also drawn my attention to many other sites on the seabed where vessels and their contents lie in a remarkable state of preservation and whose study will provide a rich harvest of archaeological knowledge. We are anxious to be as supportive as possible. One measure to assist this lies in the Culture and Recreation Bill, which will enable English Heritage to extend its remit to cover maritime as well as land based archaeology. Furthermore, wrecks and remains of British ships from all periods of our history are to be found beneath the sea across the globe. We are therefore actively participating in the negotiations to produce a UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage which will extend legal protection and best archaeological practice to maritime archaeological sites worldwide. I recently held discussions on this complex subject with the Secretary-General of UNESCO, Koichuro Matsuura.

Accession to UNESCO Convention - Announcement

18. Mention of UNESCO, brings me to an important announcement.
19. I am pleased to be able to tell you today that the Government has taken the decision to accede to the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.
20. Britain has the second largest art market in the world, and within it the market for antiques is important. The market generally operates in an honourable way. However, last spring, in response to calls from archaeologists and concerned members of the public, I set up an advisory panel under the chairmanship of Professor Norman Palmer to advise the Government on, firstly, the extent of the illicit international trade in art and antiquities, and the extent to which the UK is involved in this; and secondly, how most effectively the UK can play its part in preventing and prohibiting the illicit trade.
21. The Panel had a distinguished membership drawn from the worlds of archaeology, museums and the trade. Their Report was published in December and marks a very significant landmark

in developing public policy in this area, not least because it represents for the first time a consensus between all those groups interested in the trade in cultural objects on practical measures to improve the current situation.

22. The Panel's report showed a disturbing level of trafficking occurring in this country, with 132 cases dealt with by London's Interpol unit in 1999, and approximately 30 seizures of cultural goods every year by Customs and Excise. The Culture Select Committee, in their important report on cultural property last year, also expressed serious anxiety about this situation.
23. I have given Professor Palmer's Report a broad welcome and my officials are now working with the Panel and colleagues in other Government departments in taking its 14 recommendations forward. I am also glad to say that Professor Palmer has agreed that his Panel should continue in existence so that he will be able to advise us on how to implement his recommendations. Amongst other things, we will be taking steps to monitor the export licensing system more closely, as the Panel recommended, and we have agreed that a sub-committee of the Reviewing Committee for the Export of Works of Art should be established to supervise the export licensing system. We are also working with the Home Office which has set up a working party to examine the feasibility of establishing a database of stolen and illegally removed cultural property. I shall add that the Government welcomes the recommendation in the Palmer Report that a new criminal offence should be created, and we are now considering exactly how far the Palmer Report's proposal is not covered by existing law.
24. Acceding to the UNESCO Convention was one of the recommendations of the Panel, and the Government agrees that it is the right course. I am delighted that we will now implement this recommendation once the normal Parliamentary and other formalities have been completed. This news will send out a powerful signal - both to those who do so much damage to the world's cultural heritage and to those in the international community who share our anxieties - that the UK is determined to play its full part in the international effort to stamp out the illicit trade.

Treasure and Portable Antiquities

25. I should also like to mention the excellent progress we have made under the Treasure Act and the Portable Antiquities scheme.
26. The Treasure Act has achieved its primary aim of ensuring that more finds of important archaeological objects are offered to museums for public benefit, resulting in a ninefold increase in cases of treasure.
27. The latest Treasure Annual Report contains details of no fewer than 373 cases, of which over half have been acquired by museums. And the number of reported finds continues to grow. Indeed, you may also have seen a report in last Saturday's *Times* of a find by two metal detectorists in the Milton Keynes area, of five items of solid gold jewellery dating from the Bronze Age. At a weight of five pounds, it is the heaviest hoard of Bronze Age gold that has ever been found in Britain. It was therefore doubly pleasing to note that one of the two men involved was the aptly named Gordon Heritage.
28. A Review is currently looking at the definition of Treasure and at the system of administration and final recommendations will be made to Ministers in the Summer.
29. Although the Treasure Act has led to a substantial increase in the numbers of reported finds, these still represent only a small proportion of all archaeologically significant objects that are being found by members of the public, especially metal detector users. In recognition of this, for the last three years the Government has been funding, with the invaluable support of the Heritage Lottery Fund, a series of eleven pilot schemes to promote the voluntary reporting of all archaeological finds.
30. The Scheme has enjoyed considerable success in starting to prevent the haemorrhage of information on finds lost every year, by actively recording archaeological finds made by

being found by members of the public, especially metal detector users, in recognition of this

members of the public. And I am delighted at the recognition the Scheme received when it won the top prize as the best archaeological initiative at the British Archaeological Awards last November. All the Scheme's activities are focused on raising public awareness of the importance of our archaeological heritage, helping to develop new audiences for the heritage in the process. The information about finds is being made available on the Scheme's website and is also being passed on to Sites and Monuments Records.

31. There is now a need to expand the network of finds liaison officers across the whole of England and Wales and a consortium of the Department's bodies, led by Resource, the British Museum and English Heritage is looking at ways of achieving this.

Concluding remarks

26. I am constantly impressed by the passion, enthusiasm and dedication which so many people - both professionals and amateurs - bring to this subject. I very firmly believe that the historic environment - both in terms of protecting the best of the past and creating a heritage for the future - is of profound value to us as individuals, to local communities and to society as a whole. I can promise you that we in the Government will do everything we can to ensure that the policies we pursue now and in the future will benefit the historic environment and support the aims I know we all share.

Abbreviations.

AA 1905	Antiquities Act 1905.
AMAC	Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee.
AMCAA 1913	Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act 1913.
BAR	British Archaeological Report.
CAARI	Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute.
CfA	Centre for Archaeology.
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management.
CMAS	Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites.
CRM	Cultural Resource Management.
CRP	Charles Reed Peers.
DAC	Diocesan Advisory Council.
DAMHB	Department of Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings.
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
DEFRA	Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions.
DNH	Department of National Heritage.
DoE	Department of the Environment.
DoH	Department of Housing.
EH	English Heritage.
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund.
HMOW	His Majesty's Office of Works.
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
IAM	Inspector of Ancient Monuments.
ICA 1869	Irish Church Act 1869.
ICAHM	International Charter for Archaeological Heritage Management.
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property, Rome.
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites.
IFA	Institute of Field Archaeologists.
IJHS	International Journal of Heritage Studies.
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association.
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology.
JRIBA	Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

JSCR 1912	Joint Select Committee Report 1912.
JSRAI	Journal of the Society of the Royal Antiquaries of Ireland.
KAS	Kilkenny Archaeological Society.
LGMB	Local Government Management Board.
LHI	Local Heritage Initiative.
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food.
MORI	Market Opinion Research Institute.
MoW	Ministry of Works.
MP	Member of Parliament.
NPS	National Park Service.
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places.
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.
OED	Oxford English Dictionary.
OoW	Office of Works.
PPG 15	Planning and Policy Guidance Note No. 15.
PPG 16	Planning and Policy Guidance Note No. 16.
PRDU	Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit.
PRO	Public Record Office.
Proc. SoA.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.
RAI	Royal Archaeological Institute.
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects.
RSAl	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
SC	South Carolina.
SoA	Society of Antiquaries.
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record.
SPAB	Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings.
SPNEA	Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.
TAG	Theoretical Archaeology Group.
Trans. KAS	Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
VCH	Victoria County History.

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