

# Conservation

*bulletin*

## The First World War



The remains of the First World War are all around us, but we do not always know how to see them – or how to connect with the millions of personal stories with which they are inextricably linked.

First World War practice trenches and shell holes on Salisbury Plain in Wiltshire. Official records are largely silent about these rehearsals for the reality of the front line, but aerial reconnaissance and archaeological field survey can reveal their survival in the English landscape. © English Heritage

### 2 Editorial

#### 3 Impact on England

- 3 Drill halls
- 4 Trenches of the Home Front
- 5 Coast defence
- 7 Airfields
- 9 The first Blitz
- 10 Tank banks
- 11 Imperial War Museum
- 13 National factories
- 14 Bedford le Mere and Company
- 16 Forested landscapes
- 17 Graffiti objects to its conditions
- 18 The Fovant badges

#### 20 Beyond our Shores

- 20 Approaching the Unknown Warrior
- 22 Commonwealth War Graves Commission
- 23 Canadian National Vimy Memorial:
- 25 Archaeological research in the Westhoek
- 26 Defending the East Coast
- 28 *SS Mendi*
- 29 Surrendered and sunk

#### 31 Legacy and Remembrance

- 31 The Cenotaph
- 32 Wrest Park
- 34 Life beyond blindness
- 36 Village memorial halls
- 37 The donation of Great Gable
- 38 Rievaulx Abbey

#### 41 Towards the Centenary

- 41 Perpetual remembrance
- 42 War memorials online
- 43 The National Trust
- 45 Heritage Lottery Fund
- 46 Great War archaeology
- 47 Operation Nightingale
- 48 Legacies of the Home Front

### 50 News from English Heritage

#### 52 National Heritage Collections

#### 54 Legal Developments

#### 55 New Publications



# Editorial: Places of Remembrance

**The First World War matters deeply to people – which is why it is so important for us to understand its physical legacy.**

As the centenary of the First World War approaches, English Heritage, like many other bodies in the United Kingdom and around the world, is making preparations to help commemorate the conflict and remember those who suffered. Alongside this, it is setting out to investigate and explain the war's legacy: the sites and buildings which played their part in the greatest war the world had known.

Driving through places such as Flanders or Picardy today, few visible traces remain of the conflict despite the massive destruction it wrought. And with the notable exception of war memorials, the same is true of England. Unless one knows where to look, there is little to be seen of the camps for whole armies of men, the thousands of factories built or turned over to war production, or the coastal defences against an invasion that never came.

Compared with sites from the Second World War and the Cold War, there has as yet been relatively little investigation, either on the ground or in the archives, to identify what was built, and what remains today. If not an unknown legacy, it is certainly an under-researched one. Nowhere is that more true than in terms of the under-sea legacy – the ships and submarines lost in a theatre of war which became fundamental to the country's survival. Here, in particular, new techniques and scientific advances are making rapid advances, locating and sometimes vividly revealing the physical remains that lie around England's coasts.

English Heritage's statutory remit covers the conservation and management of tangible heritage, and *Conservation Bulletin's* role is primarily a practical one – to share best practice and new developments

in conservation technology and policy across the heritage profession and beyond. However, English Heritage has always recognised that part of the significance of historic sites, buildings and monuments is in the value ascribed to them by people – or put another way, in the emotions that they evoke. The First World War and the centenary commemorations will be emotive for many people for many different reasons, and it is already apparent that the period and its heritage – tangible or otherwise – attracts the imagination and interest of the public in a way that few others do, even as (or perhaps because) it will shortly slip from living memory.

This issue of *Conservation Bulletin* introduces some of the work that English Heritage and other conservation and community groups have already done in this field, and which will continue over the next few years. It also gives a flavour of the activities and events that will be happening at our properties, at least fifty of which had a role in the war with some, like Wrest Park, playing a very significant part. And running like a continuous thread through the issue is the matter of remembrance, which is hardly surprising. Almost a million British and Commonwealth servicemen were killed, two million wounded, and countless more left psychologically damaged. The impact on their families was often traumatic, and very long-lasting.

**Vince Holyoak**

*Head of National Rural and Environmental Advice, English Heritage*

**Paul Stamper**

*Senior Adviser, Designation Department, English Heritage*

*Conservation Bulletin* is published twice a year by English Heritage and circulated free of charge to more than 5,000 conservation specialists, opinion-formers and decision-makers. Its purpose is to communicate new ideas and advice to everyone concerned with the understanding, management and public enjoyment of England's rich and diverse historic environment.

When you have finished with this copy of *Conservation Bulletin*, do please pass it on. And if you would like to be added to our mailing list, or to change your current subscription details, just contact us on 020 7973 3253 or at [mailinglist@english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:mailinglist@english-heritage.org.uk)

# Impact on England

**The First World War may have been fought in Europe, but as the surviving evidence shows, it was prepared for here at home.**

The First World War was the first ‘total war’, involving global, industrial-scale conflict on land, sea and – for the first time – air (Watson, pp 9–10). In Britain it brought civilians, notably women, directly into the front line, as across the land factories, shipyards and plants switched over to the manufacture of war-goods or were constructed for the purpose (Fry, p 13).

As the country moved to a war footing, rural and urban landscapes were transformed, sometimes by new phenomena such as aerodromes (Lake, pp 7–9) and pill boxes (Pattison and Thomas, pp 5–6). The need to recruit a ‘citizens’ army’ to make good early losses on the Western Front, and then conscription, led to a renewed role for drill halls in towns and cities (Carmichael, pp 3–4) and in the countryside to the digging of intricate trench systems to train troops in modern, mechanised, warfare (Cocroft, pp 4–5).

At Fovant, the endless rows of barracks that filled the valley have been gone for 90 years, but the chalk badges cut by the soldiers as they waited to go to ‘the Front’ will endure for centuries (Bullard, pp 18–19). Of the ploughing-up campaign, instigated to feed a near-starving nation, little trace remains, whereas the public forestry estate represents a little known – but greatly valued – legacy of the need to secure timber supplies that had been depleted by the war (Yarnell, p 16).

Evidence of the popular enthusiasm for the war, and of the enormous drive to generate funds for its prosecution, are among the subjects captured in photographs of often stunning quality which English Heritage (Stamper, pp 10–11; Anderson, pp 14–15) and other bodies such as the British Library and the Imperial War Museum (Cornish, pp 11–12) are digitising and making available on-line as part of their contributions to the commemorations. There are, of course, alternative legacies and narratives, and a vivid reminder of those are the graffiti left by conscientious objectors in the prison cells at Richmond Castle (Booth, p 17).

## Drill halls

Katie Carmichael

*Investigator, Assessment Team East, English Heritage*

Drill halls were once a common sight in almost every town and city. A survey carried out by Mike Osborne in 2006 revealed that out of a total of 1863

documented English examples, 476 were built prior to 1900 and of these only 309 survived. They were erected from the 1860s onwards for use by volunteer military forces, but changes to the structure of today’s Reserve Forces will see a number of them become surplus to requirement. This uncertain future has prompted English Heritage to examine their history, development and significance.

The late 19th century saw a concerted effort by the authorities to create a reserve of men with military training, arranged along the lines of the regular army. Previously the preserve of landed gentlemen in the Yeomanry units, volunteer service, as opposed to a paid semi-professional militia, was opened up to the general population in 1859. This was a popular move – by the end of 1860, more than 120,000 men had signed up. The 1863 Volunteer Act set the standard for drills and the requirement of an annual inspection.

This new force needed accommodation – local barracks and depots were unable to take the strain and as the majority of the volunteer units were to be found in towns and cities, existing public buildings were often fully in use. Most volunteers were working-class labourers and the units were, in the early days, private organisations with no access to central funds. Although many of the earlier volunteer groups adapted existing buildings, such as village halls, a purpose-built drill hall was considered the most desirable option. However, as volunteers were responsible for paying for their own accommodation the building of purpose-built facilities was at first limited to those units best placed to raise the money.

Drill halls slowly began to emerge as a distinct building type. Although no two are identical, they all have three essential elements: administrative rooms such as offices, stores and an armoury; the large, open training area of the hall and associated target range; and finally accommodation for the caretaker or drill instructor. In addition, drill halls acted as focal points for events within the wider community. Many were designed with this in mind and boasted of their suitability to host concerts, dances and meals. The units were a source of local civic pride and the architecture of their drill halls often reflected that – friendly rivalry between neighbouring units often resulting in a series of improvements or extensions.

The halls were where the territorials met to be



The interior of the Grade II-listed York Road drill hall in Great Yarmouth. Built in 1867, the hall is now used as a sports centre.

© English Heritage

kitted out and mobilised – some volunteers served in Britain but most relieved regular garrisons in overseas territories or were deployed on active duty on the Western Front and the Middle East. While the war effectively put a stop to all building work, drill halls also served as recruiting offices and a number of new buildings were requisitioned to meet demand. Their construction did not begin again until the 1920s and even then only in limited numbers; most inter-war drill halls date to the 1930s and the renewed rise in international military activity.

Many of the surviving halls are significant not only architecturally but also for their commemorative associations; our latest work will help to identify those examples of greatest interest and to ensure that appropriate steps are taken to protect them. ■

### Trenches of the Home Front

Wayne Cocroft

*Senior Investigator, English Heritage*

Following the engagements of the summer and early autumn of 1914, the increasingly elaborate and opposed trench systems of the Western Front quickly became synonymous with the Great War, or to later generations the First World War.

The simple earthwork trench offered troops the most effective protection against the overwhelming might of modern artillery. Along the Western Front,

the trenches marked the centre line of a landscape devastated by shellfire. They symbolised stagnation, the helplessness of the troops, and to the contemporary public the futility of thousands of lives sacrificed to capture ground that was quickly retaken. They also represented the squalor and waste of war – ground churned by shellfire, soldiers blown to pieces, and low-lying ground rendered as a quagmire.

Mock fieldworks for training may be traced back to at least the end of the 18th century, and some early 19th century examples have recently been protected as a scheduled monument at Repository Woods, Woolwich. The growing professionalism of the British army led to the use of permanent training works such as these to instil drills for operating defensive armaments and assault techniques.

After the outbreak of war, the digging of trenches was a means of productively occupying the time of the huge influx of recruits into the army, while simultaneously imparting a valuable military skill, building up their fitness and fostering a team spirit. Most were dug on the initiative of the local commander and often without official record. Historically, they may be invisible, but many survive as archaeological features, such as the earthwork remains of trenches at Redmires Reservoir dug by the Sheffield Pals and those at Breary Banks, North Yorkshire, dug by the Leeds Pals. In Blackpool, practice trenches were dug in Watson Road Park, and for a time joined the town's other tourist attractions. At Seaford, Sussex, the remains of a camp and

Earthwork remains of First World War practice trenches dug by the Northumberland Fusiliers near Rothbury. Aerial reconnaissance and field survey are often the most effective methods of documenting these traces of war on England's landscape.  
© English Heritage



its training trenches have been plotted using aerial photography.

These trench systems were comparatively simple textbook examples. Recent research, particularly by members of the 'No Man's Land' archaeological group, is revealing large and sophisticated trench systems that were built to give troops more realistic training. At Bovington, Dorset, sections of the Hindenberg line were created to enable tanks to practice assault tactics. On the vast training camp at Cannock Chase in Staffordshire, in addition to full size trenches, approximately half-size trenches were dug adjacent to the huts as training aids. One is protected as a scheduled monument. One of the most remarkable features on the Chase is a concrete, scale model of the Messines Ridge in Belgium. The terrain model may be seen as a training aid and perhaps a tangible trophy of its capture by New Zealand troops in June 1917. Its remains were excavated during summer 2013 and have been reburied for protection.

Practice trenches are an example of a poorly documented class of First World War field monuments, for which archaeological fieldwork has an essential role to play in locating their remains. The archaeological evidence is also questioning the commonly held belief that troops were sent into battle ill-prepared; in many cases actions had been carefully rehearsed and the lessons learnt passed on to fresh intakes. ■

## Coast defence

Paul Pattison

*Senior Properties Historian, English Heritage and*

Roger J C Thomas

*Assistant Designation Adviser, English Heritage*

The British Army was evolving in the early years of the 20th century. The quickening pace of development in armaments brought bolt-action magazine rifles, quick-firing guns, breech-loading artillery, and better fire control and communications. Strategically, the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 resulted in the growing perception that Germany could be a potential enemy, culminating in 1908 with the adoption of a formal policy for defence against a German invasion.

The change of emphasis to the east coast had been anticipated and as early as 1900 new artillery batteries were being constructed. Nevertheless, until 1912 the belief persisted that any such attack would be countered by a land-based British Expeditionary Force (BEF) fighting alongside European allies abroad. But then, as the naval arms race between Great Britain and Germany accelerated, the Admiralty urged the government to establish new defended bases at Scapa Flow and Cromarty, together with oil depots at existing ports, and to consider building new defences for the Humber estuary and other key ports.

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR



Surviving First World War 4.7-inch gun towers at Centre Bastion, Sheerness, Kent at the mouth of the River Medway.  
© English Heritage



A rare First World War pillbox at East Lane, near Bawdsey on the Suffolk coast.  
Roger J C Thomas © English Heritage

By the time war arrived in 1914, dockyards and important strategic and commercial ports had each been provided with its own Defence Plan. Upon mobilisation, 31 Defended Ports were quickly established as garrison fortresses with defended perimeters comprising trench systems, redoubts, checkpoints, pillboxes and barbed wire entanglements. All armed services and civilian authorities co-operated in defence, including the Royal Naval Air Service and Royal Flying Corps, with airships and aircraft flying from new airfields and coastal bases, linking with ships at sea in the new war against the submarine.

Defence of the nation against a strong invasion force, anticipated at about 70,000 men, rested with larger forces quartered further inland. Large numbers of hutted camps were constructed in 1914–15 to accommodate a rapidly increasing army, and more were needed after the amalgamation of the Central Force with Eastern Command in 1915 and in the summer of 1916 when GHQ Home Command pushed the main defence line forward to the coast. At first, anti-invasion trenches on the coast were only dug where there was a clear risk of attack and bicycle battalions were created to provide a mobile force capable of reacting quickly.

The areas between London and the coast were given fixed defence ‘stop’ lines; to the south of the capital along the North Downs, around the Chatham fortress and on the Maidstone–Swale Line; to the north and east in three lines with the outermost north of Chelmsford. Many of these were trenched lines stiffened with pillboxes and redoubts.

At sea, the strategy adopted by the Royal Navy to

contain the German High Seas Fleet was to close off the exits from the English Channel and the North Sea, but scant consideration had been given to the possibility of nuisance raids on east coast towns. In December 1914, Great Yarmouth, Scarborough, Whitby, and Hartlepool were all attacked, but only Hartlepool had defences that fought back. These attacks spurred the construction of new coast artillery batteries to defend the Tyne, the Humber and Harwich, together with the establishment of a defended submarine base at Blyth; notably the 12-inch gun ‘Tyne Turrets’ at Roberts Battery and Kitchener Battery.

Many buildings still survive that were built just before or during the First World War. Some, like those at the Heugh Battery, Hartlepool, actually saw action; many others survive around the coastline, some adapted or modified during the Second World War, others not recognised for what they are. Blyth Battery in Northumberland is virtually complete as are two remarkable gun towers at Sheerness, Kent. A number of infantry pillboxes that survive in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent are often mistakenly taken to date from the Second World War.

The new threat of aerial warfare, initially from Zeppelin airships, prompted makeshift attempts at anti-aircraft gun defence, though some rare purpose-built gun batteries occupied coastal locations, notably the excellent surviving example at Lodge Hill, north of Chatham, Kent. Alongside them were experiments in early warning, as represented by the concrete ‘sound mirrors’ that survive on the east coast at Redcar, Kilnsea, Boulby, and Namey Hill (Sunderland). ■

## Airfields

Jeremy Lake

*Historic Environment Intelligence Analyst, English Heritage*

To the south-west of Stonehenge lies the site of an airfield, built in 1917, closed in 1921, and now only visible from the air as crop marks. It was one of 301 sites occupied by the Royal Air Force at the end of 1918, 90% of which had been abandoned by 1920. A total of 120 surviving buildings on 22 sites have now been protected through listing, the overwhelming majority as a result of the thematic survey of military aviation sites and structures undertaken in the late 1990s (Lake 2003). These include some of the earliest buildings associated with powered flight in the world, and some of the most intact suites of hangars and other buildings, which have been listed at Grade II\*.

The military training grounds of Salisbury Plain provided the perfect arena for pioneer airmen, and scattered memorials pay tribute to the steel of these first flyers and the perilous nature of early powered flight. One of them, now the site of English Heritage's new Stonehenge visitor centre, commemorates a Major Hewetson, who was killed in July 1913 while flying from nearby Larkhill, the first of a series of civilian schools where army officers received their initial flight training.

Remarkably, the hangars built in 1910 for the British and Colonial Aeroplane Company still survive, as do many of the buildings at nearby Upavon – under development from 1912 as the Central Flying School – and Netheravon, which was devel-

oped from late 1913 as a prototype flying base and has retained the layout of its flying field and separate domestic and technical areas. The latter include a complete suite of officers' and airmen's accommodation with their associated messes. The thematic survey has highlighted Salisbury Plain's global significance as one of the heartlands of military and civil aviation in its formative years.

These stations, together with other remarkable survivals from the period – the 1913 hangars at Montrose in Scotland, the 1911 HQ of the army's Air Battalion at Farnborough and the hangars built for the naval training base at Eastchurch in Kent – formed the core sites from which British aircraft were deployed for service overseas. They were also the hub of the subsequent expansion of British air power throughout the First World War.

The war witnessed a massive investment in the construction of air stations, which demanded the development of standardised temporary hutting and the adaptation of wide-span roofs used for warehouses to serve as hangars. The thematic survey identified only nine groupings of hangars (ie a cluster of three or more structures for storing and repairing aircraft) across the United Kingdom, seven of which are English. The examples span the range of infrastructure that was required to support the supply of men and machines for service overseas – Aircraft Acceptance Parks for the reception of aircraft from factories to Aircraft Repair Depots and stations for training pilots. Four groupings survive from the Training Depot Stations (TDSs) programme, which from 1917 became the greatest

Netheravon, Wiltshire, showing the airmen's barracks and institute completed before the First World War and one of the hangars designed to admit Handley Page O/400 bombers, which had folding wings and formed the cornerstone of the Inter-Allied bombing force developed at the end of the war.

© English Heritage NMR





The interior of the seaplane hangar of 1918 at Calshot Activities Centre, which now houses the only indoor banked velodrome in the south of England, tennis courts and other facilities. The hangars at Calshot exemplify better than any other site in Britain the remarkable developments in aero engine and aircraft technology in this period.  
Mike Williams © English Heritage

airfield construction project of the period.

The Grade II\* listing of the hangar group at Old Sarum, a significant addition to the Salisbury Plain group, underlines the importance of identifying the landscape context of these buildings: they comprise the most complete example of a pre-1919 flying field with its associated hangars and workshops in the United Kingdom, and as a result have been designated a conservation area. Conservation area designation has also been used to protect the wider context of the seaplane station at Lee-on-Solent and the former RAF Duxford (now the Imperial War Museum) with its intact suite of workshops and other technical buildings.

The war also saw the completion of coastal stations for the Naval Air Service (RNAS) and Home Defence stations for the Royal Flying Corps (RFC). There were four main types of operational station used by the RNAS for land planes, seaplanes and balloons; by November 1918 they totalled 89 sites. Cardington in Bedfordshire retains the only *in situ* and *ex situ* survivals of entire airship sheds from this period and East Fortune in Fife has the best surviving group of technical buildings associated with a balloon station.

Only fragments have survived of most sites, but important structures remain from those stations that played a key role in convoy protection and anti U-boat operations, including two hangars with the associated slipway at Mount Batten in Plymouth. The most important surviving group of seaplane hangars, at Calshot on the Solent, range from a small wooden flying-boat hangar built in early 1914 to an immense steel-framed hangar, now in use as a sports centre, which housed the Felixstowe flying boats used on anti-submarine patrols. Cat-terick in North Yorkshire, by contrast, is the

only example of a Home Defence station to have retained its original suite of hangars, albeit reclad and externally altered.

Reuse has been a critical factor in retaining significant fabric, even if it has entailed the substantial loss of original character. Designation is no guarantor of preservation, and the collapse in 2011 of one of the Grade II\* listed hangars at Yatesbury in Wiltshire, already unused and in poor condition when listed, testifies to the vulnerability of structures which were not intended for long-term use.

Throughout the country, however, local groups have been passionate in fighting for our aviation heritage and finding new ways of working with English Heritage and others to protect significant fabric. A future has thus been secured for the Grade II\* listed group at Hooton Park, which also played an active role in the protection of shipping during the Second World War on account of its proximity to Liverpool.

The most significant recent development has been a re-evaluation of the Home Defence station at Stow Maries in Essex, from which aircraft flew in the defence of London from Zeppelins and, after June 1917, Gotha bombers. The thematic survey had confirmed its survival as a substantially intact group, albeit without its hangars and in a largely dilapidated condition. At first it seemed that designation as a conservation area would be the best way of protecting the flying field and its 24 workshop and barracks buildings, but the activities of the Friends of Stow Maries and the Grade II\* listing of the site have since opened the door to a new and sustainable future ([www.stowmaries.com](http://www.stowmaries.com)). At its heart lies the purchase of the site by the Stow Maries Aerodrome Trust with the help of grants from English Heritage and the National Heritage



Memorial Fund and loans from Maldon District Council and Essex County Council.

One important achievement of English Heritage’s thematic survey of First World War airfields was to introduce the all-important issue of international context; another was to set a baseline for identifying sites of national significance. It also highlighted the challenges of protecting wartime fabric intended to only ‘last for the duration’, a problem shared with fabric of the Second World War.

Since the completion of the survey, initiatives like those at Stow Maries have shown the potential of integrated approaches to the long-term conservation of entire sites. At the same time, new techniques of conserving temporary fabric are providing enthusiastic local groups with the practical means to identify and protect these highly significant but challenging sites for the benefit of future generations. ■

REFERENCE

Lake, J 2003. *Thematic Survey of Military Aviation Sites and Structures*. London: English Heritage ([www.helm.org.uk/guidance-library/historic-military-aviation-sites/aviation-sites.pdf](http://www.helm.org.uk/guidance-library/historic-military-aviation-sites/aviation-sites.pdf))

**The first Blitz**

Harvey Watson  
*Battlefields Trust*

The Battlefields Trust is setting up a project to collect information on the largest battle of the Great War fought on, and over British soil. The German aerial campaign against the United Kingdom was the first strategic aerial bombing operation in history. For the first time in centuries, British civilians

were in the front line of a war against a foreign power.

The air-war over the UK was an important catalyst for military aviation technology and methods. The comprehensive air-defence system developed in the Great War was the precursor to the one that protected Britain during the Second World War. The world’s first independent air force, the Royal Air Force, was founded as a result of this campaign. The countermeasures by the Royal Navy would result in the world’s first naval-based air operations, using seaplanes, and the first aircraft carrier-based air strikes against German air bases.

The aim of the project is to protect, interpret and present this story to the public, engaging with communities across the UK. It will do so by focusing on approximately 200 air raids launched by Germany, and the countermeasures taken by the British. The scope of the project includes the following:

- Working with the War Memorials Trust to restore memorials recording the damage and casualties from air raids, many of which are in a poor condition.
- Identifying locations associated with the campaign including airfields, crash sites, bomb sites, gun and searchlight emplacements, and associated industries. All of this information will be input to the Council for British Archaeology’s Home Front project, and to local Historic Environment Registers.
- Collecting and collating historic information about the air raids, and their impact on Britain and the British public, including evidence from official documents, the press and oral testimony.



The wreckage of Zeppelin L33, brought down at Little Wigborough, Essex, in September 1916. Photo courtesy of David Marks

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR

- Raising awareness of the aerial campaign and its impact on the civilian population.

The project is part of the 2014–18 Centenary First World War programme. We seek to involve people within their own localities, including local museums, archives, schools, local history societies and other bodies. We will also be working with national and international organisations with a common interest in the field, including the RAF Air Historical Branch, the Western Front Association and Cross and Cockade International: The First World War Aviation Historical Society.

The Battlefields Trust is looking for volunteers from anywhere in the country. We need help from people willing to offer their time in historic and archaeological research, project management, fund raising, IT support and administration. More information is available at [www.battlefieldstrust.com](http://www.battlefieldstrust.com) and the project can be contacted at [greatwarblitz@battlefieldstrust.com](mailto:greatwarblitz@battlefieldstrust.com). ■

### Tank banks

Paul Stamper

Senior Adviser, Designation Department, English Heritage

The first appearance of the tank – on the Somme in September 1916, and en masse with about 437 tanks at Cambrai in late November 1917 – had a considerable impact on the battlefield, both tactically and psychologically. And when two Mark IV tanks lumbered round London as part of the Lord Mayor's Show in November 1917, 'Vehicles never before seen' according to a reporter, they

understandably fired the public's imagination.

Despite America's entry into the war in April 1917 war finances remained precarious. The National War Savings Committee therefore spotted the opportunity to use tanks as a promotional device for selling £5 War Bonds and 15s 6d War Savings Certificates (with purchasers being entered into a prize draw). Over the next year, six tanks – *Egbert, Nelson, Julian, Old Bill, Drake, and Iron Rations* – were brought back from the Western Front to tour the country with skeleton crews, acting as sales points for Bonds during Tank Weeks and putting on demonstrations.

While no overall total seems to be recorded, the sums raised in individual towns and cities were often impressive. Tank Weeks were followed in November 1918 by 'Feed the Guns' week, and *Egbert* itself – a Cambrai veteran – was offered as a prize to the place which raised most money per head of population through the sale of War Bonds. With £31 9s 1d invested per capita in under four months (equivalent to about £1,300 today) West Hartlepool – then a wealthy shipbuilding town – easily claimed the tank, which was presented to it in front of the Municipal Offices.

At the war's end a further 264 'war battered' tanks were distributed across the UK to recognise other fund-raising efforts. Most (like Russian guns from the Crimea sixty years before) were installed in public parks and gardens or on commons, sometimes flanked by captured German field guns or other war paraphernalia and surrounded by railings to repel small boys. But whatever any initial enthusiasm for a tank's arrival, by the later 1920s the mood was changing. R. C. Sherriff's play *Journey's*



A postcard of *Nelson* putting on a show in Hartlepool, in February 1918.

Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

This Mark IV tank, now a Grade II-listed monument, was presented to the town of Ashford in recognition of the people's generous response to the National War Savings Appeals. Wikimedia Commons © Peter Trimming



*End* with its unflinching, if poignant, characterisation of life in the trenches, was first performed in 1928, and this was followed by memoirs such as Robert Graves's *Goodbye to All That* (1929), which for the first time brought home to those who had not fought in the Great War its horror and essential futility.

Across the land the appropriateness of the triumphal display of rusty tanks and guns came into question, and the King ordered the removal of war mementoes from Windsor Castle. In West Hartlepool *Egbert's* fate was debated by the Town Council in 1937. Retention was favoured by some, whether on grounds of sentimentality or because – with the prospect of a further European conflict looming – it was 'an object lesson to coming generations of the horrors of war'. But for other councillors it was 'a relic of barbarism', and by 20 votes to 12 the decision was taken to scrap it.

Hastened by the national scrap-drive, what happened at Hartlepool was mirrored across the land, and by the end of the Second World War – as far as is known – just a single trophy-tank remained, in Ashford in Kent, and this because it had been converted in 1929 to serve as an electricity sub-station! Listed at Grade II in 1976, it is not only a rare example of a First World War tank, but a reminder of the Tank Banks fund-raising campaign. ■

## The Imperial War Museum

Paul Cornish

Senior Curator, Imperial War Museum

The Imperial War Museum (IWM) in London is currently undergoing a transformation. The aim is to offer the visitor a much-improved experience, with greatly enhanced facilities and new galleries. Central to it will be a completely re-designed and expanded atrium, which will present a fresh interpretation of conflicts since 1914, based around iconic large objects. The transformation will be completed in the summer of 2014. The date is significant, as it will herald the centenary of the outbreak of the war to which the museum owes its existence.

The IWM was actually founded while Britain was still deeply engaged in fighting the Great War. A number of influential individuals began to press for the establishment of a 'national war museum'. Their initiative seems to have chimed with the recently installed Lloyd-George government's desire to keep the public united behind the war effort. On 5 March 1917, with a very modest Treasury grant of £3000, a National War Museum Committee was constituted (the name was altered to 'Imperial War Museum' by the year's end).

Sir Martin Conway, the art historian and mountaineer who was made Director General designate, circulated the following statement of intent to the armed forces:

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR

It is the purpose of the Museum to be a place which they [war veterans] can visit with their comrades, their friends, or their children, and there revive the past and behold again the great guns and other weapons with which they fought, the uniforms they wore, pictures and models of the ships and trenches and dug-outs in which weary hours were spent, or of positions which they carried and ground every yard of it memorable to them. They will be glad to recall also the occupations of their hours of leisure.

But this was not all; the museum was to bear witness to the whole Empire's efforts during the war, including those on the home front. This would be a completely new type of museum, and it would have to develop new methods of collecting to fulfil its mission.

Soon the nascent IWM had growing collections, but no premises in which to display them. Conway attempted to secure the necessary funding by promoting the museum as a memorial. He suggested that, although the public might consider heavy expenditure on a museum an extravagance, they would 'insist' that a memorial institution 'should be costly in sacrifice, splendid in character, and central in position'. This initiative failed, and the IWM was never officially invested with the role of memorialisation.

When it finally opened in 1920, the museum found itself in the unsuitable surroundings of the Crystal Palace. Nevertheless, both there and in its subsequent homes, it did find a place for remembrance within its walls, particularly on Armistice Day. The museum's collections even featured the top of the original wooden Cenotaph in Whitehall – rescued when the permanent memorial was about to be constructed. Since the 1930s, however, memorialisation has not been explicit. Attitudes to the Great War were changing, and by the 1940s it seemed likely that the Second World War would sweep away any interest in the First. As it turned out, the new war, and the Korean War that followed, simply prompted an extension of the IWM's terms of reference to cover all post-1914 conflicts.

As 2014 approaches and now that the veterans, whom Conway expected to be his principal audience, are no longer among us, it is perhaps fitting that the IWM's efforts should be focused once more on the First World War. A major feature of the transformed museum will be a huge, completely new, permanent First World War gallery. Its task will be to explain the war and its context to a new generation. To do so it will juxtapose objects and items from the IWM's rich archives with the voices of those who lived through and participated in this world-changing event. ■



The Army Gallery at the Imperial War Museum, seen shortly after the museum was opened to the public in 1920 at the Crystal Palace. © Imperial War Museum

## National Munitions Factories

Seb Fry

*Designation Adviser, English Heritage*

The MP David Lloyd George had observed at an early stage of the First World War that it was to be ‘an engineers’ war’ fought in the workshops of Great Britain as well as on the battlefields themselves. The war led to a sharp increase in demand for munitions. However, the existing factory system was soon found to be too dependent on private armament firms, as well as unable to meet urgent and overwhelming requirements. The situation came to a head in spring 1915 with the ‘Shells Scandal’, when *The Times* reported that poor supply of high explosives for the big guns meant soldiers were dying in vain. The government was forced to resign and a new coalition was formed. One of its first acts was to establish a Ministry of Munitions under the leadership of Lloyd George.

The new Ministry created ‘national factories’ that would manufacture aeroplanes, machine guns, explosives and shells under government control. A total of 218 were established during the course of the war. They were often built on greenfield sites and exhibited the regularity of layout associated with a scheme created at a single point in time. One of the architects was Frank Baines, who temporarily moved from consolidating ancient ruins for the Office of Works to designing factories. Elements of modern industrial design emerged, such as the concept of the logical flow of materials and

a production line through a building or group of buildings.

At Holton Heath, Dorset, pioneering work was carried out on the production of acetone for explosives. This was the first purpose-built plant in the United Kingdom designed for the application of a biotechnology, in this case one that involved a special fermentation process. One of the more unusual requests of the war was for schoolchildren nationwide to collect acorns and horse chestnuts to be used to make acetone at this factory.

National Factories applied principles of ‘scientific management’ to the labour force, including the process of ‘dilution’ whereby skilled work was broken down into individual repetitive tasks that could be performed by unskilled or semi-skilled workers. This usually meant that women with little or no previous manufacturing experience were employed; female labour exceeded 90% of the workforce in some factories.

The new establishments could be built on a huge scale. Gretna, a cordite factory in Cumbria, covered 3600 hectares and employed nearly 20,000 people at its height in October 1917. It had a projected capacity of 40,000 tons of cordite per year and consumed 10 million gallons of water a day. Not surprisingly, these factories required a developed infrastructure that included national rail links, sometimes their own electricity station, adequate security and administration. After the Armistice most factories were demolished or converted to other uses; the National Machine Gun Factory at Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, became the home of Branston Pickle while the National Cartridge Factory at Blackpole in Worcestershire made chocolate bars.

A research project to record the National Factories in England has recently been completed; its results are lodged in the National Record of the Historic Environment and are accessible online via the PastScape website: [www.pastscape.org.uk](http://www.pastscape.org.uk). It used contemporary sources to determine how, when and where these factories were constructed, as well as current survivals. In due course it will be used to underpin a survey of factory sites potentially meriting designation. The vast majority of national factories have been demolished or heavily altered and less than a fifth remain, of which about a handful are currently designated. ■

Female workers testing the dimensions of shell casings at the Cunard Shell Works in Bootle, August–September 1917.

Bedford Lemere Photographic Collection, reproduced by permission of English Heritage



## Bedford Lemere and Company and the War Effort

Founded in London in 1861 by Bedford Lemere and his son, Harry, the company became one of the finest photographers of the architecture of 19th and early 20th-century England. A collection of *c* 23,000 glass plate negatives held at the English Heritage Archive provides a detailed visual record of industrial and social developments until just after the Second World War.

On these pages are shown a selection of photographs from the collection that document the adaptation of manufacturing sites across England to the First World War effort.

From September 2013 the collection of Bedford Lemere and Company photographic material will be available in its entirety to search on the English Heritage Archives website, [www.englishheritage.org.uk](http://www.englishheritage.org.uk)

For further information about the holdings of the English Heritage Archive, please contact: [archive @english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:archive@english-heritage.org.uk)

Jennie Anderson

*Cataloguer, English Heritage Archive*



Women and boys painting aircraft wings at Waring and Gillow's furniture factory in Cambridge Road, Hammersmith, which was used for making aeroplane components during the First World War (1916; BL23701/012).

Reproduced by permission of English Heritage



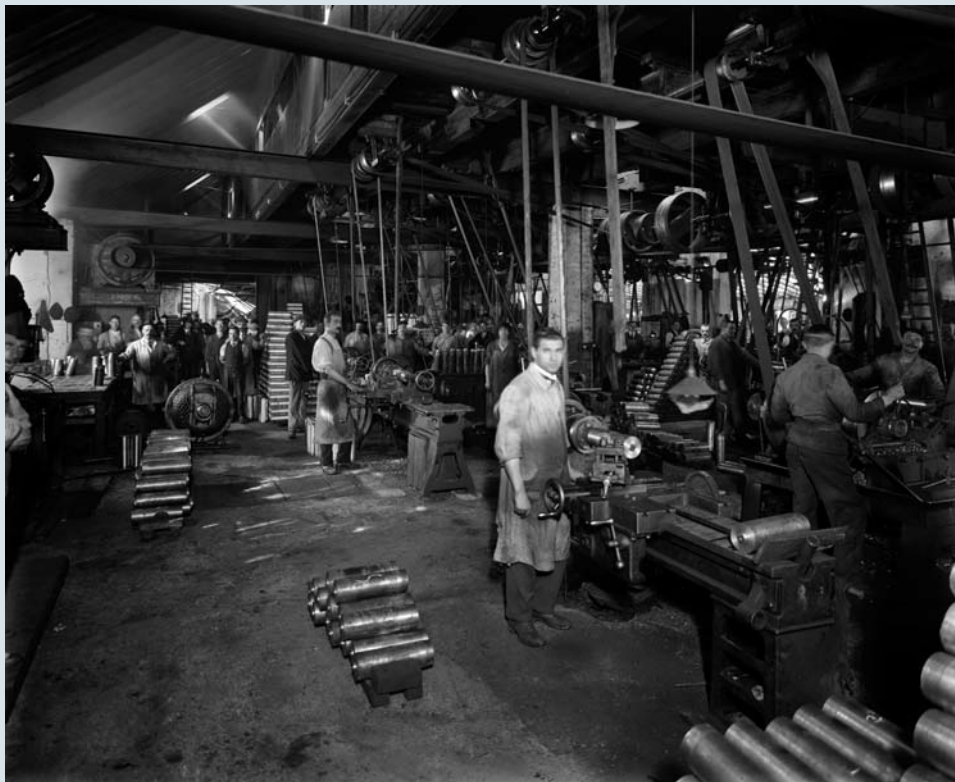
Munitions manufacture on belt-driven machinery in Machine Shop One at the Birmingham Small Arms Company factory in Small Heath. The firm produced rifles, Lewis guns, shells and military vehicles (1917; BL23720/004). Reproduced by permission of English Heritage



Workers testing and packing canvas military tents at one of the department store Maple and Company's premises in north-west London, adapted into a munitions factory during the First World War (1918; BL24240/046). Reproduced by permission of English Heritage



Men and women shaping wooden propeller blades for military aircraft at the factory of construction company Dove Brothers Limited, in Cloudeley Place, Islington (1918; BL24379/003). Reproduced by permission of English Heritage



Belgian refugee workers manufacturing artillery shell and grenade components at the Belgian Munition Works, also known as the Pelabon Works, a munitions factory in Clevedon Road, Richmond upon Thames (1918; BL24380/008). Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

### Forested landscapes: origins in war

Tim Yarnell

*Heritage Adviser, Forestry Commission England*

‘The modern army is useless without wood’. These words, written by an American army officer in 1919, may seem surprising today but represented the reality of the time. The conflict consumed vast amounts of timber for many purposes, including trench revetments, telegraph poles, huts and the packing of munitions. Crucially important was wood for railway sleepers and pit props. All allied armies had large Forestry Corps in France.

In 1913 a little under 5% of England was wooded. Today the figure is 10%. The expansion, which brought about quite dramatic changes in the landscape, originates in political decisions taken to address economic, social and technological concerns about the nature and extent of forestry experienced during the First World War.

Prior to the war only 8% of the wood used in the United Kingdom was domestic in origin. The tonnage of shipping used to import timber, nearly half of it from Russia, equalled that for grain. Because food shortages were leading to rationing it was hoped that increased use of domestic timber could free up vital cargo space. This was not straightforward. Many members of the small skilled forestry workforce that existed among the Crown Forests and private estates prior to the war had already joined up and existing saw mills were not capable of meeting demand.

To meet the need for extra labour, forestry workers were recruited from many quarters, including prisoners of war. Two groups are of particular interest. The Canadian Forestry Corps had several thousand men working in Britain, including a large contingent based in Windsor Great Park.

The Women’s Land Army, meanwhile, had established its own Forestry Corps in 1917, the two thousand members of which divided their work between survey and general forestry operations.

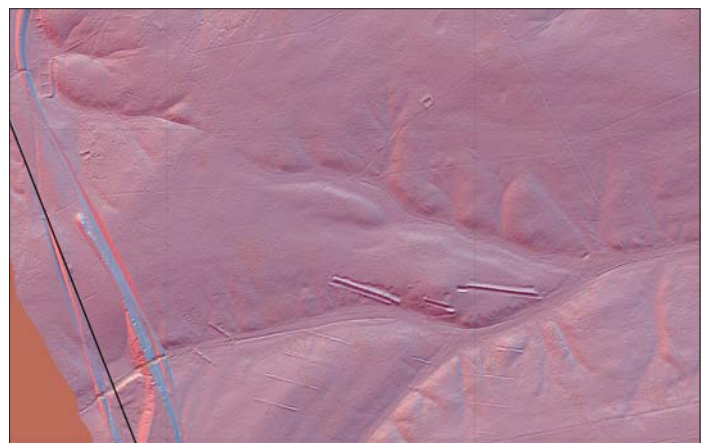
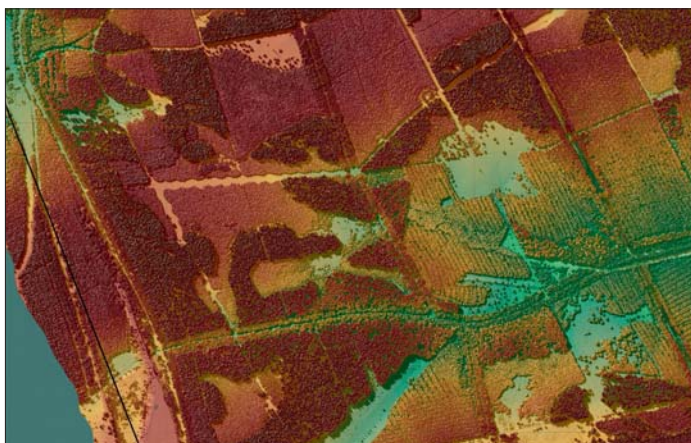
Woods were worked robustly. Parkland and ornamental trees, often in designed landscapes, were felled, as were areas of what we would now classify as ancient woodland. This process was not entirely detrimental and few areas were totally cleared for other land uses; woods recorded as devastated were not necessarily destroyed.

Once the war was over, the priorities were to replant felled areas and expand forestry into areas that were regarded as little better than waste. Work would be created for demobilised soldiers. No arable or land that could be reclaimed for permanent agricultural purposes should be planted with trees. These policies, implemented by both the state and the private sector, meant that most of the expansion occurred in the uplands or on lowland heaths, especially in Surrey, Dorset and East Anglia.

It is this post-war expansion that created today’s challenges and opportunities for conserving heritage assets within woods. Many lowland forests contain earthworks representing prehistoric and later features that have otherwise been lost to intensive cultivation. Some areas under tree cover today were military training camps during the First World War and their surviving features are now being studied and conserved.

Nearly a century on, the aims and objectives of forestry policy have changed. Instead of being focused exclusively on timber production our managed forests are now expected to deliver multiple benefits for society – from the conservation of nature and the historic environment to providing recreational space and helping adapt to a changing climate. ■

Lidar images of the tree canopy in Sherwood Forest (left) and the same location (right) with the vegetation digitally removed to reveal First World War rifle ranges and other features.  
© Forest Research





## Graffiti objects to its conditions

Kevin Booth

Senior Collections Curator, English Heritage

In May 1916, 16 conscientious objectors were interned in a 19th-century detention block at Richmond Castle, North Yorkshire, which is now in the care of English Heritage. Conscriptio had been introduced in March of that year but these men were ‘absolutists’, opposing any contribution to the war effort and refusing on moral grounds even to take non-combatant roles. During their short stay the men recorded their treatment, beliefs and the names of their loved ones on the cell walls. Over the next 40 years others held in the building added their own voices to what was to become an internationally important epigraphic and artistic record.

The graffiti were written in pencil and pen on fragile lime-washed surfaces and depend for their survival on the maintenance of a stable, sympathetic, environment within a building that was never designed for the purpose. Built in 1855, the detention block is a two-storey structure containing four cells and a corridor on each level. The medieval curtain wall forms its north-western side, the other three being of coursed sandstone blocks. The roof and internal floor are formed with large sandstone slabs, and a stair at the southern side replaces an earlier earthed ramp. Internally the walls are rendered in hard, though not cementitious, mortar.

The delicate internal surfaces have progressively deteriorated since active recording commenced in the 1970s. Water ingress through the roof and external stair, and through fissures in the east wall face, produces high levels of condensation on the

internal walls. Variable humidity levels are exacerbated by the building’s unchecked ventilation, resulting in surface salting and instability in the graffiti’s lime wash grounding. Loss has inevitably also occurred through mechanical damage from people entering the cells. Since the early 1990s a number of steps have been taken, based on limited environmental monitoring, to stabilise the aggressive environment. This work has been accompanied by emergency consolidation to re-apply and strengthen flaking lime wash.

Entering the cells and seeing the graffiti at close quarters is a sobering and moving experience, but one few people can have. To limit accidental abrasion and unsustainable humidity levels English Heritage has for many years had to restrict access to the cells. Despite this, the graffiti has continued to deteriorate, making it increasingly hard to explain the reasons behind the no-access policy.

The 100th anniversary of conscription will inevitably throw a spotlight on the actions of the Richmond 16. This will in turn require English Heritage to demonstrate a robust evidenced-based strategy for the asset. Building on data gathered across the past two decades, we intend over the next three years to implement a new programme of monitoring and physical intervention across the structure. At every stage, the impact of targeted works will be carefully assessed and informed by an understanding of the environment within the cells, the factors which create variation in that environment and the mechanisms required to adequately buffer the interiors. Only at the end of that project will an informed judgement be possible about the safe level of public access that can be allowed. ■

One of several drawings made by JH Brocklesby on the wall of his cell in Richmond Castle in May 1916.

© English Heritage



### The Fovant badges – memorials in the landscape

Richard Bullard

*PR and Newsletter Editor, Fovant Badges Society*

The Fovant badges are a series of military insignia cut into the chalk hillside that overlooks the village of Fovant in Wiltshire. The first were cut in 1916 by troops stationed in Fovant Camp during the First World War; more were cut after the Second World War and the last in 1970. To give some idea of scale, the tallest badge is over 52m high. The badges were restored in 2002/3 and are designated as scheduled monuments and registered war memorials. They are maintained by the Fovant Badges Society, a registered charity.

Fovant was among the 20 or so new military camps constructed in 1915 to house the one million volunteers who answered the call of Lord Kitchener. The camp provided final training before the troops were sent to France and it is thought that around 20,000 men were stationed there, including many Australians. They had some free time, though, for they cut about 20 military badges on the hillside, as well as many smaller images that constituted military graffiti in the landscape.

We don't really know why the badges were cut; no written accounts seem to have survived, but it is interesting to speculate. The troops would have been proud of their regiments and one can imagine British and Australian rivalries playing a part. Some of the troops may also have been inspired by the white horses and other carvings that already adorned the downlands of Wessex. It is also important to remember that by 1916 the reality of total war had begun to bite. The troops at Fovant would have known about the forthcoming 'big push' that would become The Somme. So perhaps the cutting

of the first badges in April 1916 was also a desire to make a mark that 'we were here'.

After the war, regimental associations paid local workers to maintain the badges. In particular, the Australian Government made an annual contribution for work on the ACMF (Australian Commonwealth Military Forces) badge. While some badges continued to be maintained, contemporary photographs show that many of the other carved features had returned to pasture by the 1930s.

From September 1939 all the badges were allowed, by official edict, to become overgrown so that they could not serve as landmarks for enemy aircraft.

Within days of the Home Guard being stood down on 3 December 1944, the Fovant detachment formed an Old Comrades Association and started to consider how they might restore the badges. Work started in 1948 and they went on to cut two new Wiltshire Regiment badges. In 1961 the association was renamed the Fovant Badges Society, charged with maintaining the badges. As before the war, maintenance was carried out by local people funded by the society. Despite these efforts, by the end of the 20th century many of the 12 surviving badges were in poor repair.

During 2000, the society arranged for a complete survey of the badges. This estimated that £30,000 was required to restore each badge or a total expenditure of £300,000, which was many times more than the society's annual income. As a result it was reluctantly decided to restore and maintain just eight badges, including the five survivors from the First World War. The Heritage Lottery Fund was among those who provided the funding, encouraged in part by the badges' status as scheduled monuments.

The badges were originally constructed by cutting



Fovant Camp with British and Australian soldiers in view.

Fovant Local History Group

The eight Fovant regimental badges after their restoration in 2003.  
© Fovant Badges Society



outlines through the rough tussocks of grass into underlying soil but not as deep as the underlying hill chalk. The outlines were then filled in with clean chalk extracted from deep borrow pits close to the badges.

In 2002 restoration began with the London Rifle Brigade badge and involved working on a hillside that sloped at between 20 and 40 degrees. Once the old chalk had been removed to a depth of 100–150mm, the slope was stabilised where necessary with geo-textile materials pinned with one-metre-long metal rods. The excavated areas were then re-covered with 150mm of compacted new chalk. On a large badge this required the removal and replacement of some 50 tonnes of chalk. As each badge was restored, it was fenced to prevent cattle damage. By 2003 the restoration

was complete, after which each badge will be re-chalked every 3 years or so.

The Society has found that the use of local labour for the maintenance of the badges is not really viable. Aside from people seldom having the time or the skills, the situation is complicated by health and safety requirements. The employment of a good contractor has helped us to introduce improved techniques, including the use of powered tracked barrows to transport chalk from the storage site to the badges.

As we approach the Centenary of the First World War and of the Fovant badges, the Society is considering how it might mark these important dates. Our approach is twofold; firstly we plan to construct a new chalk feature alongside the surviving badges for completion on the centenary of the first day of the Somme. Secondly we will expand our Educational Programme by distributing an educational CD ROM in Wiltshire schools, 200 of whose children visited the badges in 2012.

We believe that the badges provide a unique ‘prism’ through which to view national and international events of the 20th century. We are therefore working with Professor Neil Gregor of the University of Southampton to devise and fund a PhD research project into War, Landscape and Memory. Lastly we hope to construct a centre to house our expected visitors. All plans subject to funding! ■

Maintaining the steeply sloping badges is made easier by the use of powered tracked barrows.  
© Fovant Badges Society



# Beyond our Shores

**The fragile heritage of the Great War is not confined to the mainland. It also survives beneath the sea and the battlefields of Flanders.**

The First World War was a global conflict. Britain and France in particular relied heavily upon their Empires for support. In a post-colonial world these contributions and sacrifices have become central to shaping national identities. The adoption of 'ANZAC Day' by the Australians and New Zealanders as their national day of remembrance is one example. The ongoing debate over the tragic sinking of the *SS Mendi* is another (Scott, Gane and Gribble, pp 28–9).

But at the time, one of the most pressing needs for those serving overseas was simply to adequately record the dead. The formation of the Imperial (today Commonwealth) War Graves Commission in 1917 was one response (Reddy, pp 22–3). Recent archaeological work in Belgium (De Decker and Dewilde, pp 25–6) and the remarkable story of the identification of the body of Private Mather of the 33rd Australian Division (Brown and Osgood, pp 20–2) shows how this mission continues today.

Juxtaposed with a duty to remember was a wish to forget, and to resume normal life. As refugees returned to their homes and farms on the cessation of hostilities they took pride in eradicating all signs of war, returning the land to agriculture. These conflicting emotions are reflected in the heritage of the war that remains today, abroad as well as in Britain. The Canadian memorial park at Beaumont Hamel (Doyle and Sarkar, pp 23–5) represents both commemoration and national pride, but in preserving the battlefields in these areas – with warren-like trenches and shell-scarred lunar landscapes between – it also provides an opportunity to understand what life was like for the combatants of all nations.

## Approaching the Unknown Warrior

Martin Brown and Richard Osgood

*Co-directors, the Plugstreet Project*

Although 2014 will see the commemorations of the centenary of the start of the Great War, the fields of northern Europe still yield the earthly remains of some of those killed in the 'war to end all wars'. Advances in scientific techniques have increased the chances of confirming the identity of those casualties and providing them with named graves as part of their re-interment.

One such case involves an Australian soldier, Private Alan James Mather, who was reburied on

22 July 2010 at Prowse Point Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Belgium. The process began with the recovery of a skeleton in 2008 by archaeologists from No Man's Land, an international group of archaeologists and military historians investigating sites from the Great War 1914–18. The discovery came as part of the Plugstreet Project ([www.plugstreet-archaeology.com](http://www.plugstreet-archaeology.com)), its name derived from the British Tommies' mangled pronunciation of the Flemish place-name Ploegsteert.

The part of the line where the discovery was made featured in the Battle of Messines, which began on 7 June 1917 with the detonation of 19 large mines set in tunnels dug beneath the German lines. According to Lloyd George's diary the explosions shook the windows in southern England, but they also devastated the Germans, breaking their front line, smashing defences, collapsing dug-outs and cracking their morale.

The Australians then attacked near 'Plugstreet' Wood, assaulting German trenches and bunkers before creating strongpoints on the lip of one of the craters and preparing the battered German trenches for the inevitable counter attack. Contrary to some of the myths of the Great War, the troops had received excellent training for this. Archaeological deposits and historical documents had



Private Alan Mather, who was enrolled in the 33rd Australian Battalion in 1916, at the age of 36.

Source: Mather Family



The Mather family standing beside the headstone to Private Alan Mather at the Prowse Point Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Belgium.

already showed how the Anzacs had prepared for their role while on Salisbury Plain, where at least one mine crater survives within an extensive network of practice trenches on the current military training area.

The skeleton was uncovered in one of these battered German trenches, which required the site directors to immediately inform both the local police and Commonwealth War Graves Commission. With permission from the Belgian authorities, a team led by a forensic archaeologist was formed from amongst the wider group. Meanwhile, the project conservator was warned that material would be coming into the lab and that it should take priority. Careful excavation began with all finds and events logged, drawn, photographed and filmed throughout. Furthermore, a round-the-clock guard was organised for the remains, partly to make sure that nothing was removed from site but also because of a feeling among group members that the soldier should not be left alone.

The skeleton was lying face down on the collapsed rear wall of the German Front Line trench. It was still wearing the full equipment he had when he went 'over the top' and still holding his Lee-Enfield rifle. The skeleton was in good condition, apart from the skull, which had suffered some plough damage, and the left side ribs and *humerus* (upper arm), all of which were missing. As we discovered later, this damage was due to the shell blast that killed him.

The equipment confirmed his being a British Imperial soldier, while other finds revealed his nationality. The Australian uniform tunic included

brass 'Australia' shoulder titles, one of which was found by his scapula, the other held in his pocket to avoid it being snagged on webbing. Brass badges, depicting the Rising Sun with Imperial crown and the words 'Australian Infantry Force' were worn on the collar, while his epaulette button was decorated with the map of Australia. Further work revealed his helmet, which should have been worn in action, beneath his left hip. Was it possible he was not wearing it and had slung it on his pack, preferring the iconic Australian slouch hat, as a badge of unit identity?

Once the Australian origin of the soldier was confirmed, the group's historians began to seek possible identities. Although other Australian units had been in the region at different times, the summer equipment largely ruled them out. In addition, the Order of Battle for Messines in 1917 suggested that he was equipped for an assault, and that he was from C or D companies of 33rd Battalion, 3rd Australian Division. Our efforts were thus focused on this unit. Scrutiny of the lists of men missing after the battle produced a list of potential identities for the body. Osteological examination of the remains showed him to be between 35 and 40 years and that he had lived a physical life; the casualty list included miners and farmers. Leuven, Cranfield and Oxford Universities carried out isotope analysis to identify his place of birth and early life. The results suggested that he was from the Sydney Basin or Hunter Valley in New South Wales, ruling out a number of potential candidates, including several Britons and a Swede who had all enlisted while in Australia. This information on his origins, taken with the age data, reduced the number of possible soldiers to just five men. The Australian Army then traced possible descendants and commissioned DNA tests. The result was that the skeleton was that of Private Alan James Mather of Inverell, New South Wales.

Private Mather was born in 1880 to Thomas Mather, the mayor of Inverell. His family were prosperous and Alan went to the local grammar school before enrolling at Hawkesbury Agricultural College to learn viticulture. His wine won a number of prizes before the family took a lease on a large area of grazing land which he managed until he enlisted. Despite being 36 years old, he joined up during a recruiting drive in 1916 that resulted in the formation of a unit known locally as 'The Kurrajongs', after the tree that grows profusely in the area.

His loss has continued to affect the family, some of whom had visited the battlefields only weeks before his discovery. While there they had seen his

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR

name on the Menin Gate Memorial to the Missing in Ieper (Ypres). When asked how it felt to get the news of his identification his great niece Kim Blomfield said it was 'like winning the lottery'. The Mather family have joined subsequent archaeological endeavours at Ploegsteert, becoming firm friends with the digging team; one experiences a proximity with the archaeology of the Great War which is rarely present with sites of an earlier epoch. They are also clear that Alan's rediscovery has served to draw the family closer together. It has acted as a catalyst for contact, with Alan seen as an active agent in family relations.

When the panel on the Menin Gate that commemorates the missing of the 33rd Battalion of the Australian Imperial Force is next renovated, Private Mather's name will be removed. His identification and the stories about him are not only the result of painstaking excavation, historical research and cutting-edge forensic science, but also the fact that he came from a family that truly did Remember. ■

### The Commonwealth War Graves Commission and perpetual remembrance

Jackie Reddy

*Publications Coordinator, Commonwealth War Graves Commission*

With the centenary of the First World War imminent, the fundamental work of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission remains unchanged – and soon, our task will be carried forward into a new era.

The cemeteries and memorials in the Commission's care commemorate the sacrifice made by 1.7 million Commonwealth men and women in two world wars. Operating in 153 countries, our reach is global and our mission to maintain the fabric of remembrance perpetual.

More than tranquil havens of commemoration, the cemeteries and memorials in our care are the physical expression of the Commission's core principles. These principles, established as war raged on the Western Front, are owed to the diligence of a single man. Too old to enlist at the outbreak of conflict, Fabian Ware arrived in France in 1914 to command a British Red Cross unit. Struck by the lack of any organisation responsible for registering the graves of fallen soldiers, Ware undertook the task himself. Through his persistence, the War Office realised that the proper care of war graves would both console grieving relatives and boost troop

morale. On 21 May 1917, this diligence was recognised through the establishment by Royal Charter of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission, with Ware as Vice Chairman.

After the Armistice, a report on the treatment of war dead was compiled by Sir Frederic Kenyon of the British Museum. At the heart of the Kenyon Report was the principle of equality of treatment, which led to the practice of burying the dead where they fell rather than allowing individual families to pay for their repatriation. One important bi-product of this policy is the way in which the line of often small cemeteries stepped across the landscape, often in the middle of fields, is a ghostly reminder of where the front line had been. The report also recommended that war graves be marked with permanent, identical headstones of secular shape. These egalitarian principles ensured that men who had fought together at the front would remain together in death.

With so many killed and missing as a result of the First World War, the Commission built numerous cemeteries and memorials between 1923 and 1938. Just one year later, war would again engulf Europe and the process of commemoration would begin anew.

From ANZAC cemeteries at Gallipoli to isolated graves in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific, our geographic commitment reflects the global nature of the conflicts we commemorate. However, more than 300,000 war dead are buried or commemorated in 13,000 locations across the United Kingdom – the highest number of commemorations in any country, other than France. As the largest Commonwealth war cemetery in the UK, Brook-

King George V and Sir Fabian Ware (holding papers) inspecting graves at Tyne Cot Cemetery, 1922.  
© Commonwealth War Graves Commission



wood Military Cemetery commemorates over 8,500 casualties and is directly maintained by Commission staff. But this is an exception, and individual graves are scattered in every type of burial ground.

Egalitarianism remains to this day the bedrock of the Commission's work, and every grave, plot, cemetery or memorial is maintained with identical care. It has been nearly a century since the Commission's founding, but time has not diminished our vigilance and we work to preserve the fabric of remembrance for today, tomorrow and forever. ■

### Canadian National Vimy Memorial: Parks Canada's role

Mary Lou Doyle

*Senior Policy Adviser, Heritage Conservation and Commemoration Directorate, Parks Canada*

Allison Sarkar

*Historian, Heritage Conservation and Commemoration Directorate, Parks Canada*

When Britain declared war on 4 August 1914, the British Empire, including the self-governing Dominions of Canada and Newfoundland, was also automatically at war. By war's end, roughly 650,000 Canadians and Newfoundlanders had served, this from a population of only 8 million. They saw service in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, Royal Canadian Navy and Merchant Navy, as well as in all branches of the British armed forces. On the Western Front, the Canadian Corps largely fought as a distinct unit within the British Expeditionary

Force and repeatedly proved their mettle on the battlefield, earning a reputation as an elite fighting force. Some seventy Canadians were awarded the Victoria Cross for their valour in battle. However, this impressive battlefield record came at a tremendous cost. Over the course of four years of battle, more than 60,000 Canadians and Newfoundlanders were killed, while another 170,000 were wounded. Overall, the First World War claimed the lives of more than one million British and Empire servicemen.

Following the war, remembering and honouring those who had fallen took on immense importance. While in towns and cities across the country, monuments were erected in honour of local war dead, the act of commemorating the sacrifice and achievements of those who served also became a national concern, reflecting the huge impact the war had on society and the strong national feelings aroused by the war. In addition to domestic national memorials, the federal government also sought to mark those battlefields in Western Europe that were the sites of Canadian military achievements and sacrifice. After a national competition, Walter Allward's modernist design, with its soaring pylons, heroic, allegorical figures, and evocations of noble sacrifice and mourning, was chosen as the national memorial for Canada.

Vimy Ridge, a Canadian victory that was seen as a defining moment in Canada's participation in the war and which has been imbued with nationalist meaning, was selected as the site for the national memorial. The land around the monument, which included intact battlefield vestiges, was proposed as a memorial park. Fortunately, the land had been singled out for acquisition and reforestation by the French government, and through careful negotiation, in 1922, the free use of 250 acres (101 hectares) of land was granted to Canada in perpetuity by France.

The Canadian National Vimy Memorial, located on the highest point of Vimy Ridge, was unveiled in 1936. It consists of a stone monument, carved with the names of 11,285 Canadian soldiers who were killed in France and whose resting place was then unknown, and a landscaped memorial park. Reforestation at the site was carried out by the French government in the 1920s and 1930s, and on part of the site, the black Austrian pine was pruned to reveal the battlefield landscape beneath it. Also in the 1920s, lengths of Canadian and German tunnels and trenches were rebuilt in a permanent reconstruction.

Following the memorial's dedication, the Canadian

The undulating topography of the battlefield landscape is preserved under the pruned trees.  
© T J Hammer, Parks Canada





90th Anniversary commemorations at the Canadian National Vimy Memorial.  
© Parks Canada

government did not hand over the completed site to the Imperial War Graves Commission, as other countries had done with their national memorials, such as Australia's at Villers-Bretonneux, South Africa's at Delville Wood and India's at Neuve Chappelle. Instead, the government wanted to ensure an ongoing Canadian identity at the site, and proposed the site be run directly by Canadian personnel. Since that time, except for a hiatus during the Second World War, the Canadian government has managed the site. Responsibility for the memorial was initially held by the Minister of National Defence, and was then transferred to Veterans Affairs Canada (VAC) in 1951. Since then, it has formed part of the overseas battlefields memorial programme of this government department.

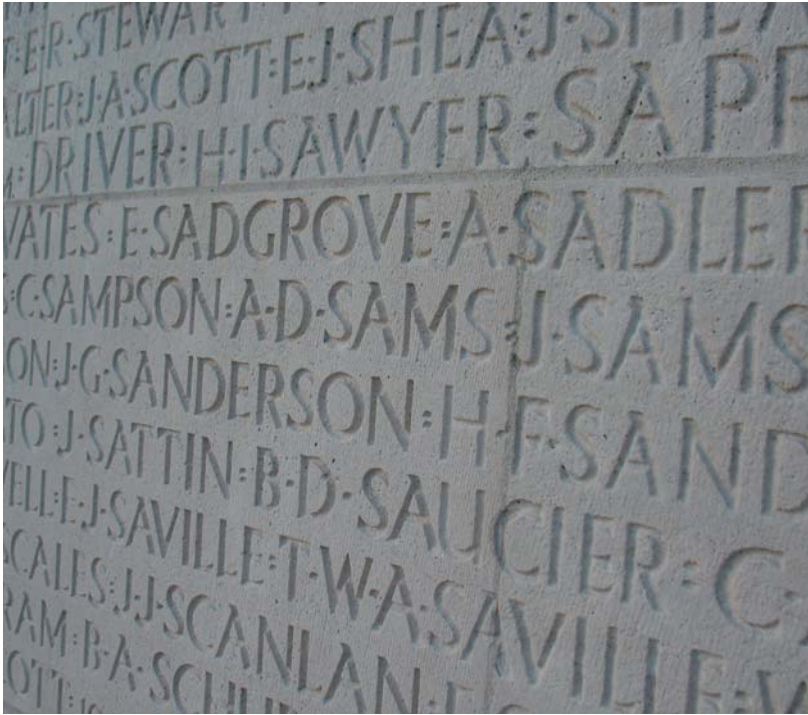
Parks Canada has responsibility for national commemorations and is the Canadian government lead for matters related to heritage conservation. Thus, Parks Canada's role in the management of the Canadian National Vimy Memorial began in the 1990s. By this time, VAC had identified a number of concerns with the memorial, including a need for serious conservation work on the monument, and requested the assistance of Parks Canada in the areas of historical research,

conservation, cultural resource management and presentation and interpretation.

Parks Canada became further involved in the site when, in 1996, Vimy Ridge was declared a National Historic Site by the Minister responsible for Parks Canada, based upon the recommendation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. This designation initiated a values-based approach to the management of the historic site, and led to the development of a Commemorative Integrity Statement in 2005. Created by Parks Canada in consultation with VAC, this document identifies the core values of the site and the resources that embody and sustain those values, and helps set priorities in conservation projects and site management.

This was followed immediately by a major conservation project on the memorial. The restoration raised serious conservation issues and presented unique technical challenges, which were addressed through careful consideration of the history of the monument's construction and the vision of its creator. Construction and restoration of the Canadian National Vimy Memorial took place over a two-year period and was completed in 2007. The work included dismantling and rebuilding stone





Many of the names on the Vimy Memorial needed to be re-carved during the its restoration.  
© Parks Canada

structures in the monument's platform and vertical walls, replacing and re-engraving damaged stone, repointing the two massive pylons, cleaning the twenty statues that adorn the monument, and improving the drainage and lighting systems. In 2008 a site development plan was created for VAC as a guiding framework for protection and presentation at Vimy Ridge, in keeping with the Commemorative Integrity Statement prepared by Parks Canada.

As the centenary of the First World War approaches, the Government of Canada is prioritising the commemoration of the war as part of the 'Road to 2017', the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Canada's Confederation in 1867 and other significant historical events that helped shape the nation. VAC anticipates significant celebration and commemoration for the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, in light of the centennial of the Battle of Vimy Ridge in 2017. To support these celebrations, it plans to replace the visitor centre, built as a temporary measure several years ago, with a permanent facility. Parks Canada is assisting in this project by providing advice on visitor experience, historical research, exhibit design, commemorative integrity and archaeological assessment. The challenge at the Canadian National Vimy Memorial is to balance the protection of the physical vestiges of Canada's military accomplishment with the remembrance and telling of the cost of those accomplishments in a manner that is relevant to all who visit the site. ■

## Archaeological research of the First World War in the Westhoek (Belgium)

Sam De Decker and Marc Dewilde

*Flemish Administration, Flanders Heritage Agency*

In the autumn of 1914, the advancing German forces were halted in the western-most corner of Belgium (the 'Westhoek'). For the next four long years both sides attacked each other relentlessly from their steadily improving trenches and dugouts.

Today, nearly one hundred years after the start of the First World War, physical relics are found on a daily basis in the soil of the Westhoek – not just military structures, such as trenches and hideouts, but also the bodies of fallen soldiers and large amounts of ammunition (see Doyle, pp 46–7).

Handling these relics is a challenge involving many actors. The area is not only very large (the war front on Belgian territory was about 65km long and dug out over a distance of more than 10km) but it is full of people living, working and building houses.

For some time now, underground structures and relics from the First World War have been classified as archaeological heritage, because they are regarded as significant sources of information. Large building projects are automatically subject to a preliminary study to detect any surviving war structures recorded on aerial photographs and trench maps. If relevant remains are located, a preliminary excavation is carried out. That choices have to be made is inherent to research within the soil archives of the First World War. The density of structures is such that it is neither feasible nor desirable to completely excavate every trench. Parameters such as location, intactness, representativeness and rarity are deciding factors in this selection.

In addition, unexpected relics are found on a regular basis, especially on smaller building projects. In such cases there is an obligation to report any find immediately, so that a team from the Flemish administration can carry out a basic registration. However, there is still a great deal of work to be done because, unfortunately, nowhere near all the finds are reported. Raising awareness is of key importance in this context.

The bodies of fallen soldiers are a special category of unexpected and unpredictable finds to which special rules apply. Excavation takes place under the supervision of the police and the Institute for Veterans, after which the body is transferred to the country of origin. Currently, this procedure does not automatically require bodies to be



Dangerous relics from the war: large amounts of unexploded ammunition.

Kris Vandevorst © Flanders Heritage Agency

recovered in accordance with archaeological methods, nor for a physical-anthropological examination, which could help with the identification of the individual. However, the departments concerned are working on this.

Archaeological research in war contexts differs from mainstream archaeology, not just because of the nature, density and intactness of the structures, but also because the large amounts of ammunition found. Amongst other things, this has required field workers to develop a methodology that integrates geophysical scanning and ammunition detection. It is striking that ammunition scans are rarely performed outside of archaeological research, simply because they are not legally compulsory, even in areas known to have been heavily bombarded for four years. It is therefore somewhat surprising that there are so few accidents involving people working the land.

Research on dozens of war sites over the past years has shown that archaeology rarely gives any startling new insights into the First World War, but does sometimes provide important details that complement the information from pictures, diaries and letters. Each of these sources sheds light from a specific angle on the war front. In particular, archaeology makes daily life at and behind the front tangible and, in consequence, gives an extra dimension to our understanding of the First World War. ■



An unknown German bunker, found at Mesen. Kris Vandevorst © Flanders Heritage Agency

### Defending the East Coast – investigating England's forgotten war channels

Mark Dunkley

*Maritime Designation Adviser, English Heritage*

In February 1915, Germany declared the waters around the British Isles to be a war zone, with merchant ships – Allied and neutral alike – subject to attack. New research commissioned by English Heritage is showing the way in which important trade lifelines were defended on England's east coast.

By September 1915, U-boats had sunk 480 merchant vessels in British waters, as well as the Cunard liner *Lusitania*, which was torpedoed off the Irish coast in May 1915 with the loss of 1,201 men, women and children. Anti-submarine measures employed by the Royal Navy initially relied on crude weapons, patrols and Q-ships (armed boats disguised as merchant or fishing vessels). Convoy systems were introduced from April 1916 as the Allies were losing an average of 65 merchant ships for every U-boat sunk (a figure which rose to 167 in April 1917).

During the First World War, as in the Second, the

Issued in February 1917, this Wills cigarette card recognised the contribution of the mercantile marine in ensuring Britain avoided defeat and, eventually, achieved victory. At the time, the flag of Britain's mercantile marine flew over two-thirds of the world's shipping.

Source: author's collection



UK depended on merchant shipping to avoid defeat and, eventually, to achieve victory. Within the inshore waters of the east coast between the Thames and Berwick the maritime conflict took place within a seascape that was constructed and maintained in the interests of defence. This seascape had terrestrial and aerial components, and came about through military activity by both sides. Some of its physical remains survive both in the water and on land, in areas that are heavily used today.

The war channels along England's east coast consisted of a relatively narrow band of sea that was swept for mines to enable the safe passage of merchant shipping throughout the First World War. Its seaward side was formed initially by minefields laid by the German Navy, but these were subsequently augmented and extended by defensive minefields, and the channel was buoyed. The minefields were cleared following the war, though it is likely that some evidence still survives in the form of moorings for mines and buoys.

Most prominent, however, are the remains of the ships lost in and around the war channels. These include merchant ships and also a wide range of other vessels involved in maintaining the channels and defending the ships on the one hand, and in

attacking (and counter-attacking) on the other. Aircraft were also employed on both sides and in both wars; their remains are also to be found under water, as well as in terrestrial airfields and off-shore anti-aircraft forts.

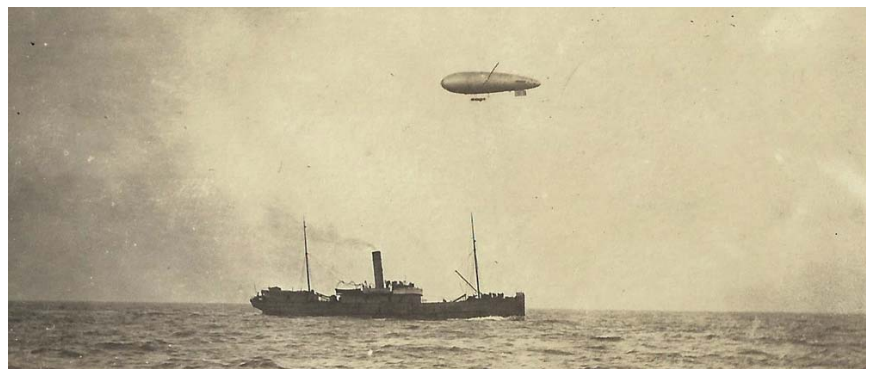
In the air, the channels were protected by aircraft like the Felixstowe F2A Flying Boat, which operated out of Felixstowe and Yarmouth. The F2As frequently engaged German seaplanes in an attempt to maintain control of the air in the southern North Sea. In addition, naval airships (based at places like the Grade II-listed Moat Farm complex at St Mary Hoo, close to the Kent shore of the Thames estuary) provided aerial observation of German submarines threatening shipping and convoys in the North Sea and the Channel. Also to be found on land are harbours and shore establishments, their defences, and a wide range of other infrastructure involved in watching, listening and communicating in support of the maintenance of merchant shipping.

English Heritage recently commissioned Fjordr, a specialist consultancy, to research the war channels seascape in detail and identify what still survives, how its continued survival might be facilitated in the light of current and planned marine activity in the region, and how its significance might be harnessed both economically and socially by focusing attention on this overlooked aspect of the national story. The research is to be undertaken over a 6-month period and will include information from mariners' associations, local museums and heritage centres with the results being made available online.

The east coast channels constituted a key arena of the First World War that deserves to be better known. By investigating their wrecks and marine and onshore infrastructure we will not only gain a clearer understanding of their place in history but also interpret their multiple resonances with people today. ■

*With thanks to Antony Firth, Fjordr marine and historic environment consulting*

Coastal airship escorting the mail ship *SS Magic* to Liverpool.  
Photo courtesy of Tony O'Mahoney



### The SS *Mendi* and the South African Native Labour Corps

Graham Scott and Toby Gane

Wessex Archaeology

John Gribble

Sea Change Heritage Consultants

Before daybreak on a foggy winter's morning in February 1917, the Liverpool West Africa steamer *Mendi* was accidentally rammed by the mail steam packet SS *Darro* off the Isle of Wight. The cold waters of the English Channel and the terrible failure of the *Darro*'s captain to render assistance to the sinking ship resulted in the loss of more than six hundred of the *Mendi*'s passengers and crew. Bodies continued to be washed up on both sides of the Channel for several weeks.

The First World War had been raging for over two years. In Britain the fate of the *Mendi* was just one more instance of terrible loss of life at sea; one of many soon to be forgotten. Sea captains were in such short supply that the master of the *Darro*, described during the investigation of the sinking as a 'standing menace to seamen', soon returned to sea.

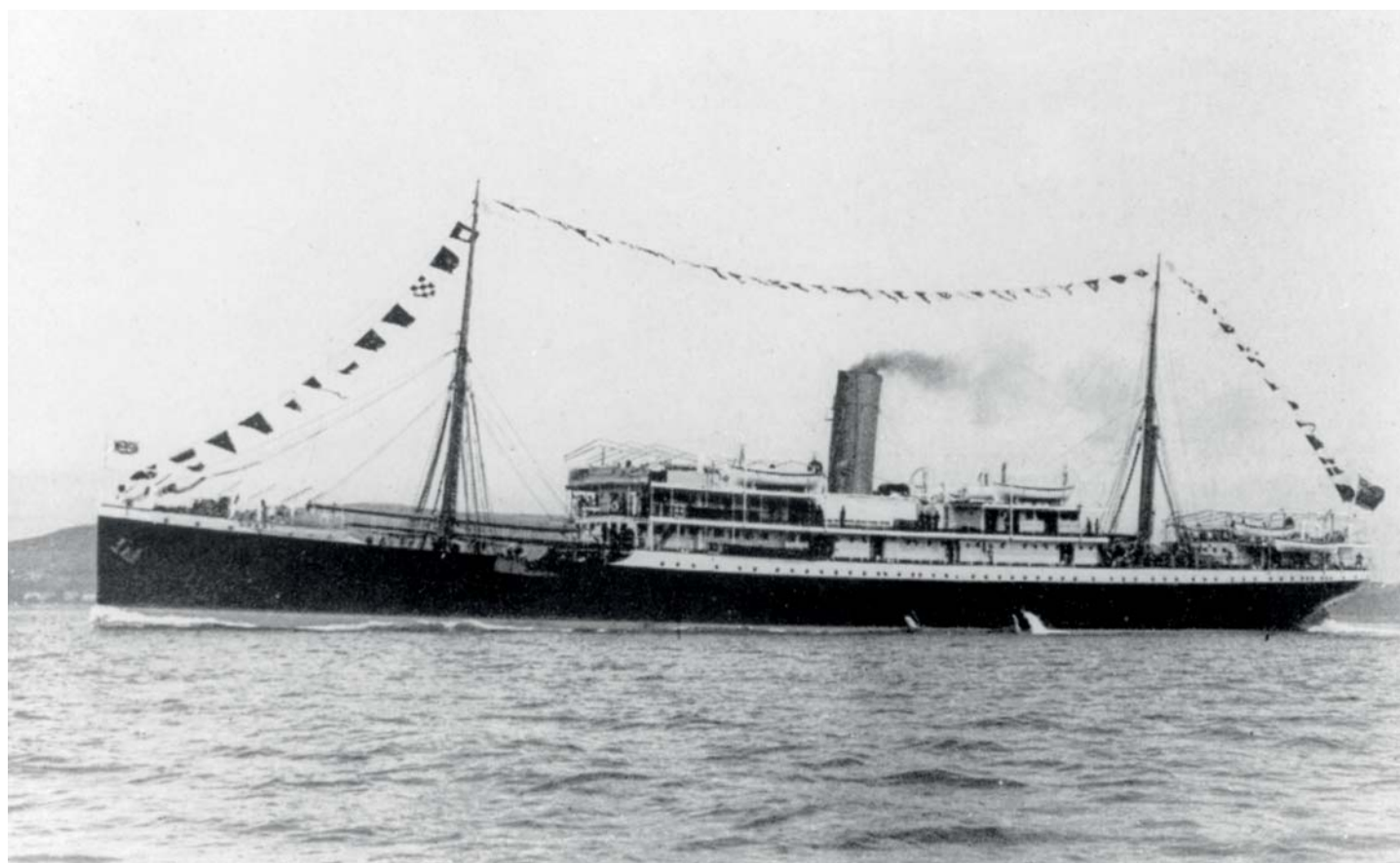
But the *Mendi* was different. It had been carrying

more than 800 men of the South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC), bound for the Western Front. There they were to have become part of a huge but poorly treated multinational labour force that built the railways, trenches, camps and roads upon which the Allied war effort depended.

The new Union of South Africa was a British Dominion at the time. The white population had recently fought a bitter war against the British and was initially reluctant to join in a conflict that was not theirs. In contrast, against a background of increasing racial inequality and oppression, many black South Africans believed that supporting the war effort and undertaking wartime service offered the opportunity to gain fairer treatment after the war. Despite the sacrifices made by the men of SANLC and their families, the aspirations of the black population were to be dashed by their prejudiced masters, who 'considered it politically imprudent to acknowledge publicly that whites had required the services of blacks during war-time'. South African members of SANLC were even denied the opportunity to receive the British War Medal, issued in its millions to survivors of the war by the same British King who had appealed for their support.

Launched in 1905, the SS *Mendi* was under charter to the British government as a troopship when she sank off the Isle of Wight in 1917.

Source: Wiki Commons





More than 800 members of the South African Native Labour Corps were on board the *Mendi* at the time of the disaster.

© Imperial War Museum

After the war, the loss of the *Mendi* was commemorated by the communities from which the victims and survivors came. These annual commemorations quickly became a focus for wider, national, black political activism against white minority rule, and later apartheid. Although never banned outright, the government actively discouraged these commemorations during the apartheid years and the memory of the *Mendi* and its wider political and social story dwindled, until by the end of the apartheid era its memory and significance was preserved only in the townships and communities which had a direct link with the tragedy. Since the end of apartheid, the story of the *Mendi* has been rediscovered and is now increasingly commemorated all over modern South Africa, including in the names of two ships of the South African Navy which are named for both the ship and one of the leaders of those lost in the tragedy.

The resting place of the vessel was discovered in 1974 by local diver Martin Woodward and has since become a focus of not only South African commemorations but also those of a reawakened British interest. Vulnerable to uncontrolled salvage, the wreck site has been protected by designation under the Protection of Military Remains Act 1986 for a number of years.

The story of the *Mendi* is extraordinary in that much of its great international significance lies in what has happened since the loss rather than what happened before. Furthermore, desk-based assessment and geophysical survey work undertaken in the last few years for English Heritage by Wessex Archaeology has resulted in a new and

more comprehensive understanding of the wreck site as a monument. It has also helped place archaeology at the heart of our understanding of the *Mendi* story.

With the approaching centenary commemorations there is a desire on the part of both British and South African archaeologists to build on the progress that has been made to use archaeology to further our understanding of the *Mendi* and the sacrifice made by those on-board. Much remains to be discovered about the archaeology of the wreck site and it is hoped that further targeted interventions in the run-up to February 2017 will help bring it and its significance to an even wider audience. ■

### Surrendered and sunk: post-war U-boat losses

Serena Cant

Projects Team Officer, Heritage Data Management, English Heritage

The archaeological legacy of the First World War at sea is not confined to the years of formal conflict. The dramatic scuttling of the German High Seas fleet in June 1919, following their surrender at Scapa Flow, has overshadowed the subsequent fates of surrendered German submarines. In November 1918 114 U-boats slipped into Harwich harbour and out of history.

Most were consigned for scrap, with others being allocated to the French Navy as part of the war reparation package. Scrapping took place at naval dockyards, but components were recycled where possible. Engines, for example, found a peacetime use in powering English industrial output.

Many U-boats were thus broken up completely, with their remains disappearing anonymously into the English landscape. Between 1919 and 1921, however, thirteen met other fates with a different impact on the English coastline. One was stripped internally, but her hulk left abandoned in a creek off the Medway. She remains to this day as a recognisable U-boat, although her precise identity is unclear.

In this she is typical. At the time, the symbolism of their scrapping was more important than questions of identity, which even now remain live in some cases. Losing their engines meant that the U-boats had to be towed to other yards for the completion of breaking. In six cases the sea did what the yards had been commissioned to do: in heavy weather a number broke tow and sank or drifted ashore. In this the U-boats matched the fates of a handful of British submarines destined to be

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR

scrapped as obsolete either before the First World War (*Holland No.5*) or in the inter-war period.

*U-118* became a tourist attraction opposite the Queen's Hotel over the 1919 holiday season at Hastings, and was scrapped in situ. *UB-121* was destined for the French Navy in 1919 when she also slipped tow. Although her French escort requested permission to sink her by gunfire, she drifted ashore between Cuckmere Haven and Beachy Head, Sussex. However, *UB-113* was successfully scuttled when she broke tow in 1920 en route for Falmouth.

The remaining six, also destined for Falmouth, seem only to have got as far as the Castle Beach off Pendennis Point. Their U-boat numbers and locations were known at the time of stranding, but subsequently only three have been located and identified with any certainty.

If the wartime U-boats and the victims they sent to the bottom were a collective legacy of war, the

accidental disposals form a discrete and relatively accessible post-war inheritance. More may come to light as part of the Strategic Assessment of Submarines in English Waters that is being carried out as a contribution to the National Heritage Protection Plan.

Ultimately it is hoped that all the lost U-boats can be not only identified, but through research linked with their wartime victims within English waters to reveal discrete landscapes of war. The record for *UB-112* shows what can be achieved: the story of each of these wrecks can be followed in further detail on the English Heritage *PastScape* database ([www.pastscape.org.uk](http://www.pastscape.org.uk)), which shows their full wartime as well as post-war context. ■

*Serena Cant is the author of the English Heritage publication England's Shipwreck Heritage: from logboats to U-boats, published in July 2013.*



The hull of an unidentified First World War German U-boat, abandoned in a creek off the River Medway in Kent.  
© English Heritage

# Legacy and Remembrance

Some of the most powerful memories of the Great War are the ones that are preserved in places at the heart of our contemporary lives.

The Cenotaph – the national focus for remembrance – was only intended to be a temporary monument, an empty tomb paying homage to those who fell overseas. However, the popular outpouring of grief saw it adopted permanently (Bowdler, pp 31–2).

Across the land war memorials were erected by almost all communities: most were stone monuments, but not all. Village halls (Burchard, pp 36–7) and playing fields provided a positive legacy for the future, as did the donation of land and historic properties for public enjoyment to bodies such as the National Trust (Westaway, pp 37–8) and English Heritage's predecessor, the Office of Works (Hann, pp 32–3). The death in action of Lt Antrobus of the Coldstream Guards in October 1914 began a chain of events which led to Stonehenge being gifted to the nation. A similar occurrence brought Rievaulx into the hands of the state (Emerick, pp 38–40).

The commemoration of the dead is part of our nation's ongoing repayment of its debt not just to the Fallen, but to those who have suffered in subsequent conflicts. Another aspect is the rehabilitation of those damaged in some way by their service. St Dunstan's (now Blind Veterans UK) was established in 1915 (Anderson and Baker, pp 34–5) and continues to provide help to the present day.

## The Cenotaph

Roger Bowdler

*Designation Director, English Heritage*

*Cenotaph* derives from the Greek for 'empty tomb'. British and Empire Great War dead numbered over 1.1 million: half have no known grave at all, and few of the rest were buried in the home country. Our dead lay elsewhere, strewn across the globe and over the ocean floors. Repatriation of remains was ruled out early on: 'there's some corner of a foreign field that is forever England', as Rupert Brooke (who died on active service in 1915) would write.

Their absence was a profound issue for the grieving nation, and a temporary structure of wood and painted canvas, erected during the Peace Day Celebrations of July 1919, helped to become a focus for mourning – a shrine to the memory of the lost and distant dead. This is a function the Cenotaph continues to perform every Remembrance Sunday, and throughout the year too.

Among all of English Heritage's guardian responsibilities, it is among our most solemn.

Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) remains one of Britain's outstanding architects. His vision, range and subtlety found fitting outlets in his designs for the Imperial War Graves Commission (established 1917, see Reddy pp 22–3), which constitutes one of the finest programmes of state-funded commemoration ever. Compared with his mighty monument to the Missing of the Somme at Thiepval, and given its imperial function, the Cenotaph is a modest design. It is a pylon, some 10 metres high, in the classical manner. No lines are quite straight: *entasis*, the tapering of verticals for visual effect, is here given a curving horizontal counterpart.

Much of the power of the design lies in its bleak restraint. Ornamentation is slight: wreaths are placed on top and at either end, while the powerful words THE GLORIOUS DEAD, and dates for the World Wars, make explicit its dedication. The falling fabric flags of the three services represent living homage, and contrast with the silent severity of the Portland stone masonry. Above, the top stage consists of an empty tomb. The design was conceived as a staging post for the Peace Day parade, marking a point of homage to the Fallen. Calls soon arose to erect a permanent version. Other more grandiose visions of a national memorial (such as a



Dr Andrew Murrison, MP (left), the Prime Minister's Special Representative on the First World War commemoration, and English Heritage's Dr Paul Stamper inspect the recently cleaned Cenotaph. © English Heritage

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR

monumental hall hung with paintings) yielded to this eloquent yet modest structure, erected in the heart of government. Unveiled in November 1920, the final stone version was finished just in time to mark the procession of the Unknown Warrior into Westminster Abbey.

English Heritage has been overseeing a careful programme of gentle cleaning and repair. After 93 years standing in Whitehall, the Cenotaph is showing some signs of weathering, but overall it retains its dignity and intactness. A recent opportunity arose to show the works to Dr Andrew Murrison, MP, Defence Minister and the Prime Minister's Special Representative on the First World War commemoration. Next year we will mount an exhibition at the Wellington Arch on the other London memorials to the Great War that English Heritage is proud to care for. ■

### The First World War hospital at Wrest Park

Andrew Hann

*Properties Historians Team Leader, English Heritage*

At the outbreak of war in 1914, the country was relatively well prepared for the mass casualties of trench warfare due to the reorganisation of the Army Medical Service by Sir Arthur Keogh, its Director General from 1905 to 1910. Through his foresight a Territorial Force had been established to supplement the small body of regular medical officers, and public buildings had already been earmarked for hospital use in the event of hostilities.

Nonetheless the War Office substantially underestimated the number of war casualties. Thinking only 50,000 hospital beds would be required they took over some public institutions as military hospitals and encouraged voluntary hospitals to set aside some of their beds for the armed services. By the end of the year, however, 73,000 wounded men had been brought back to England, and it was clear that more beds would be needed. This led to a scramble for additional hospital accommodation, with a great assortment of country houses and other premises pressed into service as auxiliary hospitals. By 1918 there were 1,484 such hospitals providing 84,689 beds, plus a much larger number of convalescent homes where wounded soldiers were sent to recuperate.

The auxiliary hospitals were staffed largely by volunteers, many of them supplied by the British Red Cross and Order of St John of Jerusalem. At



The Drawing Room became A-Ward when Wrest Park was covered into a hospital in 1914. Walls were covered over and chandeliers bagged up to protect them.

© Private collection

the beginning of the war these two bodies had combined to form the Joint War Committee to co-ordinate the administration of their wartime relief work. Since 1909 they had been training up units known as voluntary aid detachments (VADs) to provide supplementary nursing and first aid to the Royal Army Medical Corps in the event of war. By 1914 there were 46,000 VADs, two-thirds of them women, and drawn mostly from the middle and upper classes. Over the course of the war 38,000 VADs worked in hospitals and convalescent homes around the country, others served overseas. Though their relationship with the professionally trained hospital staff was at times uneasy, the VADs performed a vital role in enabling the rapid expansion of hospital and nursing provision at a time of great need.

Some auxiliary hospitals, like Wrest Park in Bedfordshire, now in the care of English Heritage, operated independently under the direct supervision of the War Office. They sourced their nursing and other staff privately from the dwindling band of trained or semi-trained doctors and nurses. For instance, Nan Herbert, the sister of Wrest's owner Lord Lucas, frequently complains in her diary about the difficulty of recruiting suitable staff in her role as matron.

There were several categories of auxiliary hospital. In the top tier were large auxiliary general hospitals capable of taking stretcher cases straight from the front. Other smaller hospitals graded as Class B took only walking wounded or convalescing patients. Clustered around these hospitals were groups of convalescent homes taking in recovering patients to free up bed spaces. There were also units specialising in the treatment of amputees, shell-shock, typhoid and venereal disease.

Servicemen preferred the auxiliary hospitals to



Nan Herbert caught smoking in her matron's uniform. A supporter of the Theosophist movement, she had helped set up a school in Cuba before becoming the wartime matron at Wrest Park. © Private collection



military hospitals because they were less crowded, more homely and less strictly administered. In military hospitals, for instance, convalescents had to wear a distinctive blue uniform reflecting the continued imposition of army discipline. At Wrest Park convalescents appear to have worn what they pleased.

In August 1914 Auberon Herbert, 9th Baron Lucas wrote to Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty offering his country house, Wrest Park as a hospital for naval ratings. The offer was accepted, and work started immediately to convert the house into a hospital. Furniture was cleared from the rooms and stored in the basement, 100 hospital beds were acquired, temporary electric lighting was installed and Sister Martin of the Metropolitan Hospital in London engaged as matron. Dr Sidney Beauchamp, a family friend, agreed to act as resident surgeon. Another friend, J M Barrie, author of *Peter Pan*, gave £1,000 to support the venture. He would later be a regular visitor to the hospital, where he organised games and entertainment for the convalescents.

By September it had become clear that the hospital at Wrest would not be needed, and Lord Knutsford asked if the house could instead be used as a convalescent home for wounded soldiers from the General Hospital, Whitechapel. Some 66 convalescents duly arrived, but by early October the last of them had departed and Wrest hospital was closed. With casualties on the Western Front continuing to mount Wrest was reopened a month

later as a base hospital, run jointly with nearby Woburn Abbey, receiving wounded soldiers directly from the frontline. The first 100 patients arrived on 20 November, brought by ambulance from Ampthill station.

Conversion from convalescent home to hospital had been achieved in a week. The ground-floor reception rooms became A-Ward, housing the most serious cases. B-Ward was in the large first-floor bedrooms on the south side of the house, whilst C-Ward was hidden away in the Bachelors' wing. Rooms for the medical officer, X-ray equipment and operating theatre were provided on the north side of the first floor, and a Stripping Room for delousing in the stable yard. The 24 nurses occupied servants' rooms on the second floor.

We know a good deal about the running of the hospital because of a detailed diary kept by Nan Herbert. In February 1915, following an intensive course of training at the Metropolitan Hospital, she took over as matron from the ineffectual Sister Martin. Over the next two years this formidable woman ran the hospital with military precision. She recruited the nurses, arranged provisions and managed the throughput of patients. When beds

Hectic day. Long round in C-Ward. At 12.15 emergency operation; Kirkwood took off man's arm . . . Have never seen anything like it – up to the elbow the arm was rotten and blue (gas gangrene).  
*Nan Herbert's diary, Mon 17 July 1916*

were vacated a telegram was sent to the War Office stating how many spaces were available, and a few days later new cases arrived by ambulance. Officially Wrest had 150 beds, though on occasion there were 200 patients in residence. Once well enough they were moved on to a ring of small convalescent homes that had been set up in the vicinity, thus freeing up space for new arrivals. In all 1,600 men passed through the hospital's wards.

The end of the hospital came abruptly on 14 September 1916 when a chimney fire caused serious damage to the upper floor of the house. All the patients were safely evacuated and transferred to Woburn and elsewhere, but the damage was such that reopening was out of the question. Indeed, Lord Lucas had already made plans for the sale of Wrest and its contents when he was killed in action on 3 November. ■

### Life beyond blindness: buildings for the war-blinded

Julie Anderson

*University of Kent*

Rob Baker

*Blind Veterans UK*

In February 1915 a Blinded Soldiers' and Sailors' Hostel opened in London. Initially numbers were small, but it soon became clear that the quantity of men blinded in the war would continue to grow. Otto Kahn, an American businessman, loaned his house in Regent's Park with its 6 hectares of grounds to Sir Arthur Pearson, himself recently blind from glaucoma, as a place to train the newly blinded men. Although accommodation was provided in other locations including Brighton and Torquay, it is the house in Regent's Park that became closely associated with the blind men from the wars and gave the organisation the name of St Dunstan's, by which it would remain known until the change in 2012 to Blind Veterans UK.

St Dunstan is not, as is often presumed, the patron saint of blindness. The name instead came about through an association with a popular architectural feature, which had originally been located in another part of London. The Church of St Dunstan's in Fleet Street had a projecting clock, and the public would go to see the small wooden men strike the quarter hour with their clubs. In 1830, the Marquess of Hertford bought the clock when the church was demolished and installed it in the

house built for him in Regent's Park. From then on the house, designed by Decimus Burton, was known as St Dunstan's Villa and later St Dunstan's Lodge.

As the space was not purpose-built, modifications had to be made to accommodate the blind men. They were simple, yet ingenious ways designed to improve the men's confidence as they 'learned to be blind.' Throughout the house, handrails were installed along the walls with knobs to indicate turns, which provided assistance with negotiating the wide hallways. In the large rooms, paths of linoleum ran across the carpets to help the men move from one side to the other without having to skirt round their perimeters. In the large rooms, visitors were warned to stay on the carpets as the men gained confidence and rapidly walked thorough the rooms. For the unwary visitor or a newly blinded man, collisions on the pathways were a common occurrence.

Outside the house, guide pathways strung from wire provided the men with the means to cross the wide expanse of terraces and lawns around the house. Wooden boards let into the gravel at the tops and bottom of steps and in front of walls ensured that the number of falls were limited. A slope in the garden meant that the man was approaching Regent's Park lake.

The proximity of the lake to the house provided a recreational space for the men to take up sports such as rowing, and the grounds allowed them to take up activities such as walking and



A Braille class taking place in one of the temporary classrooms constructed in the grounds of St Dunstan's original headquarters in Regent's Park, London.

By permission of Blind Veterans UK

The present headquarters of St Dunstan's at Ovingdean in West Sussex. Opened in 1938 and now listed Grade II, the six-storey art deco building used large amounts of glass to catch sunlight and heat.

By permission of Blind Veterans UK



running. St Dunstan's location within a public park meant that the men were exposed to an audience who marvelled at their sporting prowess as they participated in competitions that included running, rowing and climbing.

Covered walkways with handrails were built to guide the men to temporary buildings erected in the grounds. These housed classrooms and workshops that were designed by Pearson in an E shape, possibly to facilitate ease of movement. The men were taught a range of skills including Braille and were also trained for a diverse range of jobs including masseur and telephone operator.

The end of the First World War inevitably saw a decline in the numbers of men admitted and requiring training, although new cases of blindness continued, some as a result of delayed effects of exposure to gas. As a result training and rehabilitation activities moved in 1927 from Regent's Park to West House in Brighton, which was still caring for those who required longer-term convalescence and providing holiday breaks for those who had completed training. By 1935, however, it was apparent that West House could no longer cope with all these functions. The decision was taken to move to a new, larger and purpose-built centre.

The new building was on the outskirts of Brighton, at Ovingdean. Its design was influenced by knowledge of the successes and deficiencies of the previous buildings at Regent's Park, West House and elsewhere, and by those who would be using it: the Chairman, Ian Fraser, wrote to all members to ask for their thoughts and practical suggestions. The responses ranged from broad practicalities such as the number of lavatories to more particular elements of design and layout – for example, requests for the use of rugs rather than linoleum strips in the bedrooms.

The architect was Francis Lorne of the Burnet,

Tait and Lorne partnership. He designed a striking six-storey art deco building (now listed Grade II) of fireproof steel and brick, which from a distance looked like an aeroplane. A large amount of glass was used, in order to catch sunlight and heat. Each floor was almost identical, with straight passages and rounded corners. The stairs had self-closing swing gates. A scale model of the building was placed near the entrance, so that newcomers could learn the size, shape and relative positions of the rooms and corridors. As Fraser later wrote: 'Ovingdean was designed to meet the specific needs of the blind more completely than had been done anywhere in the world'.

The centre opened in 1938 and would soon also be needed for a new generation of war-blinded men and women. The grounds, whilst not comparable with the expanse of Regent's Park, nevertheless afforded space for a wide variety of sporting activities. Some of these were also pursued indoors, especially after an extension in 1975 added facilities including a swimming pool and a bowling rink.

Ovingdean has catered not only for the Second World War generation but also the smaller but still significant numbers blinded in subsequent conflicts up to and including the current Afghanistan campaign. Following a change in constitution in 2000 it can also now help those who have lost their sight for reasons unconnected with military service, such as macular degeneration. Those who had served in the First World War continued for decades thereafter to join the charity, several hundred of them during the Second World War. The last of all was Henry Allingham, who joined in 2004 at the age of 108, became a permanent resident at Ovingdean, and died there at the age of 113 in 2009. Now one of three regional centres of Blind Veterans UK, the building celebrates its 75th anniversary this year. ■

### Village memorial halls

Jeremy Burchardt

*Department of History, University of Reading*

Among the more distinctive architectural legacies of the First World War are village memorial halls. These were built in large numbers across Britain in the decade or so after the war. They reflected, on the one hand, the desire of rural communities to commemorate the fallen and, on the other, the growing need for indoor public leisure space in the countryside after the First World War.

Many of those who returned to the villages after the war, servicemen and women and munitions workers among them, had become accustomed to urban standards of leisure provision and were no longer prepared to accept the stunted horizons of pre-war rural leisure. Prior to the war, few villages had halls, most making do with unsatisfactory alternatives such as school rooms, pubs and reading rooms. Associative leisure based around huts had been important for soldiers during the war and this carried over into the post-war period. New village organisations such as the WI, the British Legion and youth groups also needed space to meet.

It took a long time to generate sufficient funds to construct halls. Many landowners took advantage of a brief window of high land prices to divest themselves of an asset the value of which was in long-term decline, and often disengaged from rural social and cultural life as they did so. They were less inclined to invest in community resources such as halls than they had been before the war, although they did sometimes provide the land on which halls could be built. Generous donations were occasionally forthcoming from wealthy incomers but most of the finance came from the Carnegie UK Trust, the government (through the National Council for Social Service) and, especially, from ordinary villagers.

One of the reasons fund-raising proved difficult was that memorial halls were controversial. There was a class dimension to this. The gentry and clergy tended to prefer non-utilitarian war memorials, above all stone crosses placed in the churchyard or at prominent road junctions. However, more plebeian inhabitants, especially ex-servicemen, often felt that something which served the needs of the living was a better tribute to what those who died in the war had fought for. It seems to have been in larger villages, especially where rural trade unions were strong, that utilitarian memorials such as halls were most common.

Due to the straitened financial circumstances in

which they were built, most memorial halls were architecturally quite unpretentious, certainly compared with some of the elaborate, landowner-funded pre-war halls such as Nettlebed (Oxon) and Kemsing (Kent). However, memorial halls do not lack architectural interest. Partly due to the influence of the National Council of Social Service, traditional building materials and styles were often used (oolitic limestone in the Cotswolds; weatherboarding in the South East and so forth). In other places such as Shiplake (Oxon) and Tempsford (Bedfordshire) a modernist idiom was adopted. More humbly, numerous wooden or corrugated iron ex-military huts were often dismantled, transported and reassembled as village halls (or smaller rooms for sectional organisations such as the WI and the British Legion).

First World War memorial halls remain important expressions of community identity. While they constitute only a small proportion of village halls (in Berkshire, for example, about 15% of the total), they played a critical role in accelerating the provision of halls and in normalising them as one of the central institutions of village life. In not a few villages, memorial halls were the first indoor public spaces under full public control. They fostered democratic participation and inclusivity, especially with respect to gender, class and religion.

However, memorial halls are a threatened aspect of rural heritage. Because they were often cheaply built out of non-durable materials such as wood and corrugated iron, they are now aging rapidly. They have rarely been recognised or valued for their aesthetic or heritage significance: they are too recent, too plain and (ironically) continue too much in use to be seen as part of village history.

The Shiplake Memorial Hall and Institute in Oxfordshire. The cost of its construction was privately donated by a family whose son had been killed in France, but its endowment fund was raised by public subscription.  
© Jeremy Burchardt



Nevertheless, they represent an important moment in the history of the village, while their diverse but distinctive architectural idioms deserve more attention than they have received. Where possible, memorial halls should be refurbished rather than rebuilt, and funders such as the HLF should give careful thought to how the architectural character of memorial halls can be retained when updating them to suit modern needs. ■

### The donation of Great Gable to the National Trust

Dr Jonathan Westaway  
*University of Central Lancashire*

During the Great War the surge in pre-war climbing activity came to an abrupt halt as young men joined up. The fells of the Lake District remained largely silent and the playful atmosphere of bygone Bank Holiday climbers' meets at the Wastwater Hotel had already begun to be remembered with nostalgia. As the death toll mounted, each issue of the journal of the Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District (FRCC) recorded the deaths of club members. The psychological toll on those that remained became increasingly unbearable. In 1916 the editor of the journal reflected on the fate of the nation and the sacrifices being made by club members:

Yet, in this hour of gloom and pain, one cannot but think again and again of the Eternal Fells, of the great sympathies we have found there,— and one looks forward even to the great day when, with Victory, the remnant shall meet again in the shadows of the mighty rocks

*Journal of the FRCC, 1916, 77*

Here the text ends and a new authorial voice interjects the final words of that issue of the journal, signed by the editor's wife: 'At this point my husband has completely broken down', noting that the strain of 'his Recruiting Office duties' and 'the memories of brave climbers' had caused him 'to lay aside his pen in tears'.

The issue of how to memorialise fallen club members became an increasingly urgent issue as the war drew to a close. The strong conservationist tendencies of the FRCC meant that it was reluctant to allow the construction of physical memorials in the hills. A heated correspondence over memorials broke out in the letters pages of the *Manchester Guardian* in early 1919 when it became known that a proposal had been received to erect 'dugout' shelters in the Lake District and to 'improve' the traditional howffs (meting places) at Scafell and Dow Crag, providing them with a concrete floor, corrugated-iron roofs and memorial tablets. One irate correspondent described the proposal as the 'intrusion of the work of the plumber



Great Gable viewed from Broad Crag – 'they have found an eternal monument among the everlasting hills'.  
© Jon Sparks



This bronze tablet on the summit of Great Gable commemorates the members of the FRCC who died in the First World War. The FRCC Remembrance Service on Great Gable is attended by the public and members of the outdoor community in increasing numbers. The placing of poppies at the memorial is indicative of a growing popular need to take part in symbolic acts of remembrance but is strongly discouraged by the club and the Lake District authorities as the poppies get scattered across the fellside by the strong winds. Despite the conservationist message from the club and the authorities and the symbolic intentions of the memorial's founders that the land donated to the National Trust was sufficient as a memorial, for many people today these performative acts of memory resacralise the landscape in ways both tangible and ephemeral.

Flickr Creative Commons © Summondbybells

and the bricklayer upon those solitary places’.

By early 1919 a faction in the club had begun to pursue the idea of purchasing a tract of fells in the central Lake District and donating it to the National Trust. In the autumn of 1919 Lord Leconfield created a memorial to the fallen of the Lake District by declaring commoners rights on all land over 3000ft on Scafell Pike, the symbolic summit

of England, donating it to the National Trust. The idea had been at the instigation of Canon Rawnsley, an FRCC member as well as one of the three founders of the National Trust.

Eventually in March 1923, the FRCC succeeded in purchasing all the land on the Row Head Farm estate over 1500 feet for the sum of £400, incorporating the summits of Kirk Fell, Great Gable, Great End and Broad Crag and adjoining the National Trust land on Scafell. The call went out to club members for donations and in October 1923 the title deeds of 1200 hectares of high mountain fellside were handed over to the National Trust. A small bronze tablet was unveiled on the summit of Great Gable on 8 June 1924, listing the club's war dead and containing a map of the land that had been donated. In donating the land to the nation the club repeatedly asserted that landscape itself was a sufficient memorial, given to future generations, a ‘realm of mountain earth, in their honour, free’.

If our friends died there is a corner of their own dear land which will for ever bear witness to the memory of them, and of the work they did – ‘they have found an eternal monument among the everlasting hills’ . . . They gave their lives to save a heritage, and in their deaths they have secured that something of that heritage shall remain inviolate from vandalism.

*Journal of the FRCC, 1923, 240.*

*This piece draws on research contained in the following recently published article: Jonathan Westaway, ‘Mountains of Memory, Landscapes of Loss: Scafell Pike and Great Gable as War Memorials, 1919–24’, Landscapes, 14 (2) October, 2013 (jwestaway@uclan.ac.uk)*

## Rievaulx Abbey and the Great War

Keith Emerick

*Inspector of Ancient Monuments, English Heritage*

Rievaulx Abbey is one of the most familiar monuments in Britain – but it is also one of the best for demonstrating the impact of the Great War and its aftermath on private estates and society in general.

In the 19th century the village of Rievaulx, its abbey and terrace passed into the possession of the Duncombe Estate (Earl of Feversham). The site was already an established tourist destination but there were no programmes of repair or rebuilding until repair work started on the south transept in the

1870s. From 1900 the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the Society of Antiquaries suggested to the owner that repairs, clearance and survey work should be undertaken across the whole site, which was finally commenced in 1908.

Charles Peers, later Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the Office of Works, who had been encouraging repair in his capacity as secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, formally visited the site in December 1912 and made a report on its condition. The preparations for the passage of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act encouraged the Office of Works to become more involved with the site, which in 1915 was placed on the list of monuments to be scheduled for guardianship.

The start of the First World War brought the preparations for work at Rievaulx to a halt. 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 himself, were killed. The impact of the tragedy was dramatic – the new Earl was still in his minority and the surviving family members had to find a way of managing the various properties without an in-house labour team. Part of the solution was to transfer the abbey into the

guardianship of the state, which was done in July 1917.

The response in the Office of Works was one of excitement. Lionel Earle (the First Secretary) wrote in a memo of 4 May 1917, 'This is the greatest offer that we have yet had and I strongly recommend acceptance'. 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. Hitherto all 'good' timber was being sent to the Western Front.

But who was going to carry out the work? Numerous large, complex and nationally important ruins in poor repair came into state care immediately after the First World War. This presented a huge preservation task for the Office of Works because the structures needed consolidation of the standing fabric and the clearance of the accumulated deposits that had built up when the buildings fell into disuse.

There has always been a link between conservation and social value; in the early 20th century the preservation of monuments, landscapes and the introduction of preservation legislation were already understood as a 'public benefit' and 'good' for the nation. However, social value went deeper and could include what we might now understand



Site clearance in progress at Rievaulx Abbey in about 1921. Such was the scale of the works that a light railway system was used to transport spoil from the site.

© English Heritage

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

as social welfare. Although personnel records of the staff employed on the monuments is now hard to find (most were destroyed in the 1960s and 70s) a set does survive from Rievaulx.

Britain suffered a very sharp economic slump immediately after the First World War and the clearance and consolidation work on the newly acquired ruins offered a useful means of providing employment to veterans, particularly in the north of England. The work included the full range of Office of Work techniques, from invisible repair and rebuilding to removal of earlier preservation work and the clearance of deposits.

Photographs of the works at Rievaulx and adjacent sites show the use of small rail networks snaking across the monuments, running along which are mining trucks used to transport the accumulated deposits.

Research has shown that the tracks and trucks used at nearby Helmsley Castle were purchased from recently collapsed ironstone industry mining sites in the North York Moors. What is more, the Office of Works employed the unemployed ironstone miners to undertake the clearance work, many of whom would also have been ex-service men. It is likely that men were shared between Rievaulx and Byland abbeys and Helmsley Castle, depending on the particular tasks being tackled on those sites at any one time.

The surviving portion of the staff register for Rievaulx was probably compiled in 1932. It is divided into columns giving the name, age, address,

date taken on and rate of pay (1s 1d for a labourer and 1s 5½d for a mason) for each man.

The register also records whether they were ex-servicemen and whether or not they were disabled. Given the scale of enlistment in the First World War it is not surprising to see that half of the personnel were ex-servicemen. It can also be seen that a number of those identified as ‘disabled’ were employed as ‘masons’, although the nature of their disabilities is not recorded. Additionally the list records whether employees had been in receipt of the Unemployment Relief Programme – a consequence of the 1929 American Stock Market crash whereby the National Government in Britain of 1931 introduced a means-tested unemployment benefit scheme rather than have people rely on Poor Law relief.

Technical papers and speeches produced between 1922 and 1931 show that the consolidation and presentation of Rievaulx was considered the crowning achievement of the Office of Works. What is less well known is the role of the Office in providing local employment. Interestingly, Britain was not the only country to be doing this. Roosevelt’s New Deal saw the creation of both the Historic American Buildings Survey (providing work to unemployed architects, surveyors and draughtsmen and women) and the Civilian Conservation Corps, a body of up to 300,000 young unemployed men who constructed much of the infrastructure of the newly expanded network of National Parks. ■

No.	Name	Age	Date Taken On	Rate of Pay	Address	Other Info
1	John ...	49	18-2-31	1s 1d	...	...
2	...	31	18-9-36	1s 1d	...	...
3	...	30	13-9-31	1s 1d	...	...
4	...	39	3-6-32	1s 1d	...	...
5	...	36	4-6-34	1s 1d	...	...
6	...	33	28-2-33	1s 1d	...	...
7	...	41	2-3-33	1s 1d	...	...
8	...	25	10-11-33	1s 1d	...	...
9	...	40	3-9-33	1s 1d	...	...
10	...	27	14-4-33	1s 1d	...	...
11	...	26	26-10-31	1s 1d	...	...
12	...	43	18-4-33	1s 1d	...	...
13	...	36	23-8-34	1s 1d	...	...
14	...	32	16-4-33	1s 1d	...	...
15	...	36	18-6-34	1s 1d	...	...
16	...	30	23-10-30	1s 1d	...	...
17	...	50	18-8-34	1s 1d	...	...
18	...	49	20-6-31	1s 1d	...	...
19	...	31	17-8-33	1s 1d	...	...
20	...	49	8-6-31	1s 1d	...	...
21	...	51	31-1-33	1s 1d	...	...
22	...	58	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
23	...	42	19-6-30	1s 1d	...	...
24	...	35	9-12-35	1s 1d	...	...
25	...	23	18-12-33	1s 1d	...	...
26	...	43	23-7-33	1s 1d	...	...
27	...	33	16-4-33	1s 1d	...	...
28	...	28	23-10-30	1s 1d	...	...
29	...	31	25-7-30	1s 1d	...	...
30	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
31	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
32	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
33	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
34	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
35	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
36	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
37	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
38	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
39	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
40	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
41	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
42	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
43	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
44	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
45	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
46	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
47	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
48	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
49	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...
50	...	31	1-4-34	1s 1d	...	...

The register of staff employed at Rievaulx records whether they were ex-servicemen and whether or not they were disabled.

© English Heritage



# Towards the Centenary

**Remembrance takes many forms – but always it is about people and the places where they served, died or are commemorated.**

While Remembrance will culminate on 11 November 2018, it will be a recurrent theme from August 2014 onwards. Across the land towns, villages and corporate bodies will seek to put their war memorials into the best of repair (Reddy, pp 41–2; Holborow, pp 42–3; Jarvis, pp 45–6). An important and symbolic start was made in summer 2013 as English Heritage cleaned and repaired the Cenotaph (Bowdler, pp 31–2), while across the country the National Trust is using its portfolio of properties to reawaken the human stories of the Great War (Garnett, pp 43–5).

Although all who served in the First World War are now dead, interest in the war seems to grow year on year. Part of this is undoubtedly due to the increasing popularity of genealogy, as people seek to recover a grandfather's or great-grandfather's service history. And from the interest in the personal may well flow a curiosity about the places where a relative trained and fought (Doyle, pp 46–7), how a local community responded to the impact of war (Oldnall and McMillan, pp 48–9) or how an earlier generation of servicemen lived and died (Osgood pp 47–8).

## **Perpetual remembrance: the practical challenges**

Jackie Reddy

*Publications Coordinator, Commonwealth War Graves Commission*

It is our honour to maintain the fabric of commemoration. Over the next four years, the cemeteries and memorials cared for by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission will serve as the focus for events marking the centenary of the Great War. These commemorations will not only bring the sacrifice made by the men and women of the Commonwealth forces into sharp relief, but will highlight the practical challenges faced by the Commission in ensuring that the task of remembrance is carried forward into the future.

We commemorate the war dead of the Commonwealth by name, on either a headstone marking a grave or, if the location of the grave is unknown, on a memorial. The inscriptions on these memorials and headstones preserve the sacrifice of the fallen forever. Recent work at two of our memorials – the Menin Gate and the Thiepval Memorial – exemplifies the vigilance with which

our sites are maintained. In June 2012, the bronze rings in the roof of the Menin Gate were painstakingly renovated and in summer 2013, essential cleaning work was undertaken on the exterior of the Thiepval Memorial.

Our approach to conservation and maintenance is interdisciplinary. Our horticultural department, for example, confers with our architectural team to select plant varieties that serve as bulwarks against erosion, a major threat to the legibility of our headstones and memorial panels. In 2011, 33,000 headstones were identified for immediate replacement, with another 80,000 earmarked for replacement in the next five years.

In France and Northern Europe, the headstones and panels that require replacement are composed of Portland stone, a limestone susceptible to erosion. As Portland stocks are not available in the quantities required for mass replacement, another limestone – Botticino – and an additional Bulgarian stone have been sourced as more durable alternatives. Our Technical Services department – responsible for the Commission's architectural, horticultural and structural work – has collaborated with our Information Technology team to increase the production process at our workshop in Arras, France from 6,500 headstones per year to 25,000.

This replacement programme takes place within the centenary period, a time when we expect an increase in visitors to all of our locations. Thankfully, our unified approach to maintenance enables us to preserve our sites and also provides an opportunity to engage with a generation for whom the Great War is not even a distant memory. In that vein, visitor information panels equipped with



Re-engraving a headstone at St Symphorien Military Cemetery.  
© Commonwealth War Graves Commission

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR

mobile technology are being installed at 500 locations during the centenary period. These panels provide personal stories about the casualties buried or commemorated at these locations, enabling us to make remembrance relevant to a younger, technologically savvy audience.

The names inscribed on our graves and memorials are, in many cases, the last tangible reminders of the Great War. As an organisation, our coordinated approach to maintaining the physical fabric of commemoration allows us not simply to honour the sacrifice made by so many, but ensures that their memories are kept alive and accessible for generations to come. ■

### War Memorials

Will Holborow

*National Engagement Manager, English Heritage*

There are estimated to be 100,000 war memorials in the UK. They include everything from free-standing monuments and sculpture to commemorative plaques and buildings. Around 85% of the total are believed to be in England. Two thirds of memorials in the UK are thought to be associated with the First World War. However, the number of free-standing memorials that are protected through listing is rather less than might be expected – in England just 1,319. Of these, just two are listed at Grade I (the Cenotaph in Whitehall, and the memorial in Victoria Park, Leicester, both designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens); a further 38 are listed Grade II\* and the remainder are Grade II. Many more are eligible for listing, and English Heritage is preparing for an anticipated increase in the number of requests for designation over the next five years.

The Imperial War Museum's War Memorials Archive (formerly known as the UK National Inventory of War Memorials, [www.ukniwm.org.uk/server/show/nav.23](http://www.ukniwm.org.uk/server/show/nav.23)) holds historical information on around 64,000 war memorials across the UK, and their research is ongoing.

War Memorials Online ([www.warmemorials.org.uk](http://www.warmemorials.org.uk)) is a new, crowd-sourced website which seeks to understand and record the condition of Britain's war memorials. Members of the public are invited to enter information about their local monuments including history, condition and photographs. War Memorials Online will also help to identify monuments which might need assistance with repair and conservation. The site is run by the War Memorials Trust with the support of English Heritage. At present there are around

10,000 structures listed on War Memorials Online and the number is growing every day.

In the run-up to the 1914–18 centenary, many communities are looking to undertake conservation and repairs to their war memorials. The War Memorials Trust offers advice and grants for war memorials across the whole of the UK ([www.warmemorials.org](http://www.warmemorials.org)). The Trust administers two grant programmes in England. One of these, Grants for War Memorials, is funded by English Heritage and the Wolfson Foundation and can help with the repair of any free-standing war memorial in England. The maximum award is 75% of eligible costs or £30,000 (whichever is the smaller). The other – 'Small Grants Scheme' – is funded by donations and is open to all memorials throughout the UK. It can offer grants based on 50% of eligible costs up to a maximum of £2,500.

English Heritage grant-aids part of the staff and overhead costs for the War Memorials Trust's conservation programme, which includes the Trust's advisory service and the management of its grant scheme. English Heritage has also worked with the Trust on two guidance publications: *Advice on*



A war memorial at Woodford Green, Essex, which received funds under the Grants for War Memorials scheme for repairs in 2010 © Alan Clark

*Maintenance of War Memorials* (2006) and *Conservation and Management of War Memorial Landscapes* (2012). The first of these will be replaced by an updated version in early 2014.

The Heritage Lottery Fund launched a grant programme in May 2013 to help communities and organisations mark the centenary by exploring, conserving and sharing the heritage of the First World War – from memorials, buildings and sites to photographs, letters and literature (see Jarvis, pp 45–6 and [www.hlf.org.uk/firstworldwar](http://www.hlf.org.uk/firstworldwar))

The cumulative effect of these various grants will be to ensure that the nation's war memorials are better appreciated than ever before, and in a condition befitting their status. What better way to mark the nation's respect for the sacrifices made by those that served and fell in the Great War? ■

## The National Trust and the First World War

Oliver Garnett

*Property Publisher, National Trust*

In a letter written a fortnight after the outbreak of the First World War, Virginia Woolf described how her friends 'talked and talked, and said it was the end of civilization, and the rest of our lives was worthless' At the time Woolf thought that they were exaggerating, but she and her Bloomsbury friends soon came to view the war as a pointless waste of human life. However, the great majority of her contemporaries (whatever the suffering they had endured) took a different view. The survivors wore with pride the six million Victory medals

struck by the British authorities, which declared that the war had been fought, and won, 'FOR CIVILISATION'. As the historian Hew Strachan has concluded, 'It was emphatically not a war without meaning or purpose'.

The National Trust's huge range of properties in England, Wales and Northern Ireland provides an unparalleled opportunity to examine the impact of the First World War on the Home Front. Through its buildings, landscapes, collections and archives, the Trust will explore the many ways in which young and old, soldiers and civilians, men and women came to understand the Great War.

Most of the events held at National Trust properties will be on a modest, local scale – remembering the dead and the injured and those who grieved. These will also be publicised and recorded via the National Trust's website. In addition, there will be at least three flagship projects:

### The Sandham Memorial Chapel, Burghclere

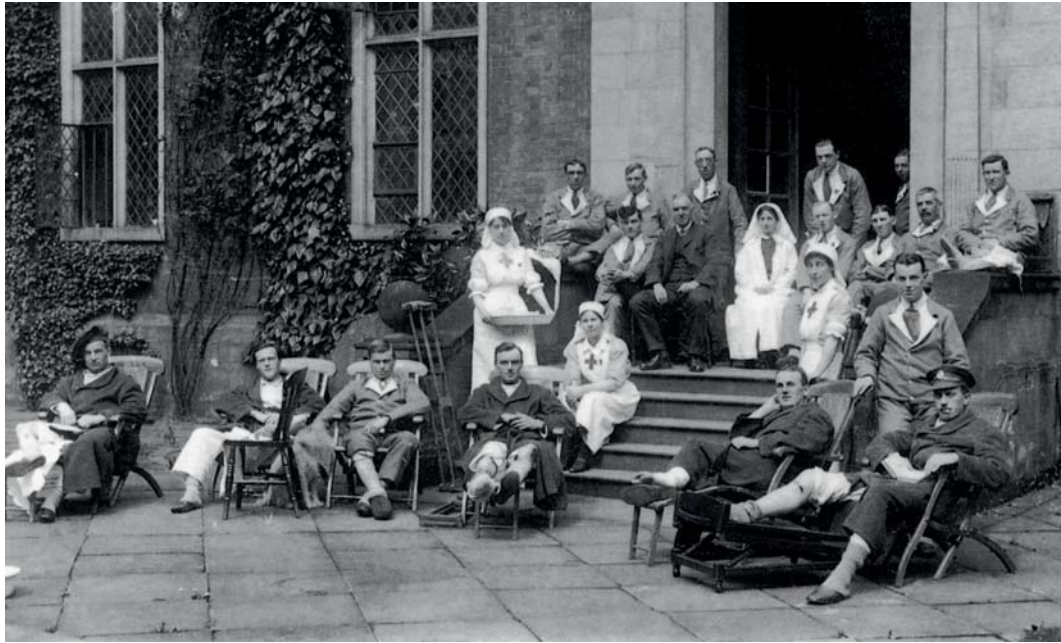
Stanley Spencer's Burghclere murals are considered by many to be the single greatest response to the First World War by a British painter. They were commissioned in 1923 by John Louis and Mary Behrend in memory of the latter's brother, Henry Sandham, who had died from an illness contracted while serving on the Salonika campaign.

Spencer drew on his wartime experiences as a medical orderly at the Beaufort War Hospital near Bristol and as a stretcher bearer in Macedonia. However, he focused not on the drama of combat, but on the more mundane routines of hospital and army life: sorting laundry and kit bags, making jam sandwiches and digging trenches. Essential repair

Making sandwiches – one of the scenes of everyday army life portrayed by Stanley Spencer on the walls of Sandham Memorial Chapel at Burghclere in Hampshire)

© The estate of Stanley Spencer 2013. All rights reserved DACS





Casualties convalescing in the inner courtyard at Dunham Massey in Cheshire – one of the many country houses that served as wartime hospitals.  
© National Trust Images

work to the chapel building has provided a rare opportunity to display the 16 panels from the side walls of the chapel at Somerset House in London (from 7 November 2013 to 26 January 2014). They will be exhibited with preparatory studies and related works, and will subsequently be shown at Pallant House in Chichester.

### **Dunham: Sanctuary from the trenches – a country house at war**

Dunham Massey in Cheshire was one of many country houses that served as hospitals during the First World War. For the 2014 and 2015 visitor seasons, the National Trust will turn the house back into the Stamford Military Hospital. Drawing on a rich family archive, it will tell the story of the 286 soldiers who passed through the doors of Dunham, where they came from, and what happened to them whilst they were here and afterwards. Remarkably, much of the hospital furniture survives in storage at Dunham, enabling us to recreate many of the rooms in their hospital guise. Live interpretation will fill the house with the sounds, sights and smells of that era.

Among other National Trust houses that served as hospitals are Attingham Park, Basildon Park, Clandon Park, Cliveden, Morden Hall, Overbeck's and Polesden Lacey.

### **Contemporary responses to war**

The artist Alec Finlay has been inspired by the Second World War writer Hamish Henderson's poem 'Elegies for the Dead in Cyrenaica' to explore the ambiguous nature of conflict. The

project is still in development, but is likely to comprise displays of poems, workshops and memorial walks at 20 National Trust properties.

### **The great and the Great War**

The Trust owns many houses that were home to key political and literary figures of the period. They range from Winston Churchill (Chartwell) and T E Lawrence (Clouds Hill) to such writers as Virginia Woolf (Monk's House) and Thomas Hardy (Max Gate), Bernard Shaw (Shaw's Corner) and Rudyard Kipling (Bateman's). Kipling had greeted the outbreak of war with enthusiasm and bullied his son into joining the Irish Guards. When Jack Kipling went missing in action in 1915, Kipling was tormented by grief and guilt, and devoted much of his later life to ensuring that the victims of the war were properly remembered.

### **A lost world**

The First World War is widely thought to have sounded the death knell of traditional country house life, and so, ultimately, to have delivered many great houses into the care of the National Trust. Displays at the relevant houses will explore these themes, and consider how true this was.

The heirs to a number of great landed estates were killed in the war. Harry Hoare of Stourhead in Wiltshire died in 1917. His mother never got over his death, keeping his room just as he had left it. There seemed to be no future for Stourhead in family ownership, and so in 1938 the Hoares began negotiations with the National Trust. Tommy Agar-Robartes of Lanhydrock in Cornwall was another

Tommy Agar-Robartes, the heir to Lanhydrock House in Cornwall, who was killed by a sniper on 30 September 1915 after rescuing a wounded comrade under heavy fire.

© National Trust  
Images/John Hammond



heir to die in the conflict, but he had brothers who could inherit, although they were scarred by the war in various ways.

There were also broader economic and social factors at work. Lanhydrock and many other landed estates could no longer support a traditional country house establishment, and had to be pruned. It was also difficult to find domestic servants. Those male staff who had survived the conflict and those female staff who had taken up factory work were often reluctant to return to their old roles. An exhibition has already opened at Castle Drogo in Devon that remembers the stonemasons who built the house and marched off to war never to return. It is the first of many. ■

## The Heritage Lottery Fund and the centenary of the First World War

Anna Jarvis

*Programme Manager, First World War: then and now, Heritage Lottery Fund*

In May this year, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) launched a new small grants programme: *First World War: then and now*. By making at least £1million available for each of the six years until 2019 the scheme will enable communities to explore, conserve and share their First World War heritage. In addition to this, HLF is continuing to support centenary projects through its other grant programmes – indeed, since April 2010 we have awarded more

than £15 million to projects focusing on the First World War. As public interest in commemorating the war increases, this amount is expected to rise significantly.

HLF is able to fund the full breadth of First World War heritage, from places, objects and literature, through to the stories of men, women and children. The long-term impacts of the war mean that its history is not confined to the events of 1914–1918, but includes commemorations, memorials, films and artworks, as well as the technical or social changes it brought about. In many cases, this heritage is not easy to explore or conserve, and its many layers of complexity provide opportunities to consider why and how it is relevant to us today. Over the coming years, a broad range of perspectives and interpretations will come forward, and our understanding of the war will undoubtedly be richer as a result.

Perhaps the most visible legacy of the First World War in the UK is our memorials. With the help of HLF funding, communities are restoring and learning about these in preparation for their centenary commemorations (see also Holborrow, pp 42–3). In Worcester, volunteers and local crafts people have restored the St Paul's war memorial, adding names that were missing and putting in place a maintenance plan to prevent its deterioration in the future. In Walsall, the Barr Beacon memorial has recently been brought back to its former glory and is now protected from the copper theft it has suffered from in the past.

An important outcome of these projects is that war memorials, many of them listed, are protected for the future. This protection can come from a better understanding of their maintenance needs, or from the changed behaviour of local people. In Derry, Northern Ireland, the Diamond War Memorial had traditionally been viewed by the Nationalist community as 'belonging to the other side'. It

Young visitors at Derry–Londonderry's Diamond War Memorial. Traditionally viewed by the Nationalist community as 'belonging to the other side', the monument is now the focus for a shared sense of remembrance.

© Pacemaker Press  
International





was often vandalised and the gated space surrounding it was kept locked. Research into the stories behind the names on the memorial showed that the dead of both communities were represented in almost equal numbers, leading to an acknowledgment of the contribution of both communities to public life and the difficult period of the First World War. The gates to the memorial area are now unlocked and the space is used regularly by local people. This outcome not only demonstrates the relevance of the First World War to communities today, but also the value of focusing on more than just the conservation of the war memorial.

In many of the centenary projects HLF has funded, communities have chosen to explore the First World War stories associated with local places. There has been great interest in wartime hospitals for example – in Bedford, volunteers are researching the stories of the ‘Bedford Girls’ who tended the war wounded in their college. In Leeds, archaeologists, army personnel and local history societies are coming together to explore the physical impact of the war on the seemingly untouched landscape of the Yorkshire Dales. These physical reminders of the war are helping communities consider its local impacts and gain a deeper understanding of the conflict as a result.

While a number of projects have focused on memorials, buildings or landscapes, many are delving into the archives in order to look afresh at their communities’ involvement in the First World War. A project in Leicester has brought to light the contributions of various social and cultural groups to the war, including the story of Kulbit Thapa, a Gurkha who received the Victoria Cross. Stories of conscientious objectors and Leicester suffragettes who served in medical units in Serbia have also been explored. Projects like these show that there is public appetite for learning about the untold stories of the First World War, and a desire to look

afresh at how it is understood.

Whether projects focus on the physical heritage of the First World War or its stories, all of them demand that communities consider what they wish to pass on to future generations. HLF’s new grants programme calls on communities to consider the impacts of the war ‘then’ and ‘now’, but their cumulative effect, and their legacy, will be to shape how it is understood in the future. ■

To find out more about HLF’s funding for Centenary projects, please visit [www.hlf.org.uk/FirstWorldWar](http://www.hlf.org.uk/FirstWorldWar)

### Great War archaeology: what can it really tell us?

Peter Doyle

*Peter Doyle Military History*

Images of the Great War are familiar to us all. Photographers and cinematographers created a remarkable legacy of striking photos that have informed our view of the conflict. Helmeted men are silhouetted on a skyline as they step over barbed wire; soldiers struggle along sand-bagged trenches carrying wounded men; in a landscape that is cratered and muddy, haunted faces peer out from shell holes. These images are joined by an extraordinarily rich diversity of documents: official war diaries; trench maps; aerial photographs; and personal testaments. With all of this documentary information, what can archaeology *really* add?

In what was once the battlefield of France and Flanders, there is now increasing industrial development pressure (see De Decker and Dewilde, pp 25–6). In Belgium alone, in recent years the expansion of the city of Ieper (Ypres to the British), and its connection to the popular Belgian coastal resorts has led to conflict between development and heritage. In the late 1990s, at Boesinge, the bulldozers uncovered an amazing labyrinth of trenches and dugouts. It was evident that less than a metre under the Flanders topsoil, the damp clay had the propensity to preserve timber, uniforms and other material.

A huge amateur-led rescue excavation ensued – with much of the focus attached to the discovery of at least 120 sets of human remains. Now an industrial estate, this rescue excavation suffered from limited professional engagement, and much that could have been learned was lost. But this opened the way to more considered archaeology – an approach first applied in response to a proposed extension of the A19 road through the Ieper battlefields.

Wounded soldiers at Kempston Hospital for whom the women students of Bedford College Physical Training College provided physiotherapy – one of the images identified by volunteers researching the history of the First World War in Bedford.

© Bedford Physical Training College



Excavations at 'Forward Cottage' in the Ypres Salient in 2005, provide a fascinating insight into the development of trench warfare – inverted A frames in a British trench, designed to provide a dry and stable platform for wooden duckboards. This shows a level of detail beyond that which could be gleaned from documents

© Peter Doyle

At Pilkem, Flemish state archaeologists in consortium with an international team of historians set about a comprehensive and considered examination of both British and German lines at a number of excavation sites. Using modern GIS technology, geophysics and careful hand excavation, the team uncovered a system of trenches that showed the evolution of positions over the period 1915–1917. Each trench showed the variability of revetment that was designed to keep the trench slopes intact. Tools found *in situ* told of the need to cut down the grass in front of the parapet. Officer's letters from family archives explained how trenches were constantly moved and improved; this tallied with the actual trenches observed on the ground. With the A19 project, Great War archaeology came of age in Flanders.

The existence of extensive archival material does

not negate the value of archaeology. With each trench subject to the vagaries of ground conditions, it is possible, for the first time, to examine what life was like outside of the conditions of the offensive. Here, the everyday lives of the soldiers, so starkly picked out in the high-contrast photographs of the day, can be demonstrated. With all participants of the Great War now gone, the conflict has passed directly into history – and to archaeologists, who seek to excavate, interpret and record for the benefit of future generations. And with increasing development pressure, this has never been more important. ■

## Operation Nightingale

Richard Osgood

*Senior Archaeologist, Defence Infrastructure Organisation*

Sitting in front on the main gate to the Royal School of Artillery at Larkhill in Wiltshire stands the listed monument to the Afghan War. It dates from the late 19th century and it is perhaps a curiosity that veterans of the 21st-century British presence in Afghanistan are finding the examination of cultural heritage components to be beneficial to their own post-service lives.

Because Larkhill lies at the northern end of the Stonehenge World Heritage Site and within the hugely important archaeological landscape of Salisbury Plain, archaeology is omnipresent. The uppermost elements of the historic panoply are particularly fascinating to participants in Operation Nightingale. Initiated by the Defence Infrastructure Organisation (DIO) and The Rifles, the programme uses archaeology to provide recovery opportunities for veterans of the recent Afghan



German 15-pounder quick-fire artillery pieces under trial on Salisbury Plain in 1914.

Source: Library of Congress



and Iraq conflicts. Those upper elements include a Battle of Britain Spitfire and a First World War artillery piece.

Early in the 20th century the British Army needed to examine the lessons of the Boer War and to establish just why the Boer artillery they had faced had been so effective. To this end, 108 of the 15-pounder quick-fire artillery pieces were purchased surreptitiously from Germany. These were evaluated, re-carried and eventually fired back at the Central Powers in the Great War – indeed, some splendid images of the training undertaken by the Honourable Artillery Company with these guns at Fargo on Salisbury Plain (erroneously entitled Aldershot) exist in the Library of Congress in the United States. Eventually, techniques in gunnery evolved to render these guns redundant and they finally became range targets for use in training.

DIO, the Ministry of Defence's property and services provider, worked with the Rifles and other partners to draw together a project team to examine historic components on the Plain. Participants re-discovered the guns in late 2012, with excavation taking place in spring 2013. The team was composed of serving and veteran soldiers who had been wounded in recent conflicts, alongside new

artillery trainees to enable the latter to learn about their service ethos. The soldiers once more worked in a team, in the open air and built upon their digging, surveying and project-planning skills. Additionally several have now moved from the army to study archaeology at university and three have gained paid employment within the profession.

The sites of air crashes or of artillery firing can sometimes be seen as traumatic, threatening places. Yet with the passage of time they can be transformed into locations of catharsis, elements of which need proper excavation, recording and remembrance within Historic Environment Records. ■

### Legacies of the Home Front 1914–18

Lucy Oldnall and Rachael McMillan

*Volunteers, The Home Front (1914–1918) and its Legacies*

In spring 2013 a pilot study was completed for a project to record the surviving evidence of the First World War Home Front. The aim of this joint venture between the universities of Bristol and York, supported by funding from English Heritage, was to pave the way for a full-scale national public archaeology project to coincide with the centenary of the conflict.

The extent, survival and condition of the physical remains of Britain's First World War heritage are poorly understood, a situation that deserves to be remedied in the light of the impending centenary. The pilot study concentrated on two areas; the Lea Valley in north-east London, and the hinterland of Stoke-on-Trent in Staffordshire. Both areas played key roles during the war and preliminary research indicated the likelihood of a rich diversity of surviving evidence. The Lea Valley was a major industrial and innovation zone and one that also experienced the world's first Blitz; Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent supported key industrial facilities and military training grounds.

Volunteers were recruited to undertake the initial surveys and test out the use of standard recording sheets. As volunteers based in north London, we were surprised to discover the variety of sites we uncovered in a fairly small area around Stoke Newington in the London Borough of Hackney. The project was focused on the built environment – places that were created, re-used and adapted during the First World War – but we were also encouraged to look for sites where particular events occurred, such as the explosion of a bomb or gathering places for recruitment drives and fundraising.

A veteran soldier excavating one of the Boer War-period German 15-pounder guns recently re-discovered in the Salisbury Plain Training Area.

© Richard Osgood



A rapid search of the on-line records provided us with a healthy list of sites to visit and record what remained of these structures, the majority of which could be tracked down using an A–Z. Following the site visits we continued our research in the Hackney Archives, studying reports from the time in the local paper and viewing their photographic collections. Our findings provided a fascinating insight into war-time Hackney and the daily lives and concerns of its residents under war-time conditions.

There were a number of hospitals and convalescent homes in Hackney during the War, one of the best survivals of which is the Mother's Hospital, on Lower Clapton Road. This hospital was set up by the Salvation Army to provide maternity services for poor and destitute women. During the war it began to care for the large number of pregnant women whose husbands were serving in the army or navy. It provided a place of refuge and shelter for these women and later the hospital also opened its doors to unmarried women affected by the war.

Stoke Newington claims the dubious honour of receiving the first bomb dropped on London. At 31 Nevill Road, formerly the Nevill Arms public house, a 169 pound (76 kg) bomb fell into the garden on 31 May (some reports state 30 May) 1915. No one was killed but some people were injured and substantial damage was caused to the surrounding properties. A plaque on the building erected by Hackney Borough Council commemorates the event.

The Nevill Arms in Stoke Newington was the first building on London to be damaged by aerial bombing.

Source: Hackney Archives (right)

© Lucy Oldnall (below)



A review of the headlines in *The Hackney and Kingsland Gazette* at the time of this event, provide interesting snippets of information on daily life on the Hackney home front and give an idea of the impact of the bombing on the community. One eye-witness statement from 7 June 1915 provides an evocative account of the first bombing raids:

I heard the loud hum of propellers overhead. I had no sooner opened the window than there was a long-report followed by a sudden flash of flames a few hundred yards away. The baby killers had come, London was experiencing its first air raid in history.

The article states that the location could not be named because of press censorship.

Our rapid survey of a small area has shown that there is a surprising amount of physical evidence remaining. We only scratched the surface of this and there is plenty more waiting to be discovered. ■

*The Council for British Archaeology is developing a toolkit for people wanting to record the physical legacies of the First World War. More information may be found at: <http://new.archaeologyuk.org/the-physical-legacy-of-the-first-world-war-and-its-home-front-in-the-uk>.*



# News from English Heritage

## National Planning Practice Guidance

In August the government issued the National Planning Practice Guidance that supports the National Planning Policy Framework released in March 2012. Combined into a single document, the web-pages of the new guidance would run to some 400 printed pages. Compared with the previous 10,000 pages this should make it much easier to navigate, especially for the non-specialist.

The guidance was published in a 'beta version', which has given stakeholders an opportunity to make submissions to the Department for Communities and Local Government about how it could be improved. A 'final version' is expected to appear later this autumn. Initial indications are that the heritage section does its job. More important, therefore, will be to make sure that parallel sections on design, local plans and minerals also take proper account of the historic environment.

*Connect to:* <http://planningguidance.planningportal.gov.uk/blog/guidance>

## The Enterprise and Regulatory Reform (ERR) Act 2013

Clauses 60 – 63 and schedules 16 and 17 of the Act introduce a number of changes to the legal framework that protects heritage in England. Aimed at making designation more efficient and effective, they will not reduce protection for the aspects of historic buildings and sites that the public value. Amongst the key reforms are:

- Listed building entries will be more precise
- Certificates of Immunity from listing can be sought at any time
- New Heritage Partnership Agreements will allow local planning authorities and owners to agree various matters concerning the management of a listed building
- Conservation Area Consent will be replaced with a requirement for planning permission
- Local Listed Building Consent Orders will replace Listed Building Consent (LBC) for defined classes of works affecting heritage assets
- Listed Building Consent Orders will replace LBC for certain specified works that cross local authority boundaries
- Certificates of Lawfulness of Works to Listed Buildings will provide written assurance that LBC will not be required for proposed works to a listed building

Changes affecting listing and Certificates of Immunity from Listing are now in force. The merger of Conservation Area Consent and Planning permission may come into operation later in 2013, while for the other changes the law is expected to come into effect in spring 2014.

*Connect to:*

[www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2013/24/contents/enacted](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2013/24/contents/enacted)

## UNESCO World Heritage Committee

The 37th Session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee was held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, from 17 – 26 June. This year, the UK had no nominations for decision and our major interest was in State of Conservation reports on the Giant's Causeway, Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape, Liverpool, and Westminster. In the event, these cases were not opened for discussion and the draft decisions were adopted by the Committee without debate.

The World Heritage Committee adopted 196 Statements of Outstanding Universal Value for properties already on the World Heritage List, including 17 from the UK. All sites in England, apart from Hadrian's Wall as part of the larger Frontiers of the Roman Empire, now have agreed definitions of their Outstanding Universal Value which will be the basis for their future management.

*Connect to:*

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/37COM/documents>

(the full text for Liverpool is in WHC-13/37.COM/7A; the rest are in WHC-13/37.COM/7B.Add)

## The Changing Face of the High Street: Decline and revival

Following on from last March's seminar on retail high streets and town centres and with a foreword from our Chair, this new report by Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners and Strutt & Parker shows that though seismic changes are occurring in retail, there are signs for some optimism. Its good-practice case studies show what can be achieved and will hopefully encourage communities to raise their aspirations for the future of their much-loved high streets.

*Connect to:* [www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/changing-face-high-street-decline-revival](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/changing-face-high-street-decline-revival)

### **Building in Context**

English Heritage and CABE developed *Building in Context* to help local authority elected members and planning officers to better understand context issues on development sites, particularly in sensitive historic areas. Maintained since 2010 by Kent Architecture Centre (KAC, [www.architecture-centre.org](http://www.architecture-centre.org)), this important web-based toolkit has recently been updated with funding from English Heritage. The aim has been to augment a smaller number of pages with a growing body of practical case studies. KAC is also keen to offer training in Building in Context to local authorities.

Connect to: [www.building-in-context.org](http://www.building-in-context.org)

### **Neighbourhood Planning**

English Heritage regularly updates the website pages it uses to inform everyone working on neighbourhood planning about how to understand and use the historic environment within the plan local area. While the local authority should be the first port of call for a community group, our own local offices welcome the opportunity to comment at an early stage about the presence of any heritage issues in a neighbourhood area.

Connect to: [www.english-heritage.org.uk/caring/get-involved/improving-your-neighbourhood](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/caring/get-involved/improving-your-neighbourhood)

### **Agri-environment negotiations**

Discussions continue between Defra and English Heritage about the new Environmental Land Management Scheme for farmers that will begin in January 2016. Securing recognition of the value and potential of heritage within the new Rural Development Programme will be important, not just to ensure that there are opportunities to manage the historic environment in appropriate ways, but so that it can also contribute to Defra's priority for boosting rural economic growth. Defra expects to issue a public consultation on its proposals in the autumn.

### **Your Home**

A major re-working of the 'Your Home' (currently 'Your Property') section of the English Heritage website is almost complete. Following detailed user testing we have made improvements to existing sections and added new ones. While aimed at a general audience of home owners, the pages provide links to more technical material elsewhere on the English Heritage website. Additional detailed content will be added in the coming months.

Connect to: [www.english-heritage.org.uk/your-property](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/your-property)

### **Making the Most of Your Heritage Assets: The future of local historic environment services**

Produced jointly by the Local Government Association and English Heritage, this new report shows how local historic environment services are responding to the pressure of working within greatly reduced budgets. It presents several case studies of innovative practice through which local authorities are ensuring that their historic environment delivers wider benefits for their communities, often by working in partnership with local businesses and encouraging the involvement of the local community.

Connect to:

[www.local.gov.uk/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=5607c46f-1dc8-4f69-86cf-b81d0905751d&groupId=10180](http://www.local.gov.uk/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=5607c46f-1dc8-4f69-86cf-b81d0905751d&groupId=10180)

#### **West Dean College**



Between January and June 2014, West Dean College will be offering the following courses in its English Heritage-validated Building Conservation Masterclasses programme:

- 20–23 January Specifying Conservation Works
- 3–6 February Conservation and Repair of Architectural and Structural Metalwork
- 31 March – 3 April Stone Masonry: Conservation of Architectural Detail and Surfaces
- 14–17 April Conservation and Repair of Plasters and Renders
- 28 April – 1 May The Structural Repair of Historic Buildings
- 6–9 May Conservation and Repair of Brick and Flint Masonry
- 12–15 May Managing Wildlife and Working with Bats on Historic Monuments
- 2–5 June Practice and Theory: Managing Change in Historic Buildings
- 9–12 June Conservation and Repair of Timber
- 23–26 June Conservation and Repair of Masonry Ruins

For more information please contact the CPD Coordinator at West Dean College, 01243 818219 or [cpd@westdean.org.uk](mailto:cpd@westdean.org.uk) website: [www.westdean.org.uk/college](http://www.westdean.org.uk/college) and click on CPD

# National Heritage Collections

## News and Events

### First World War images

Over recent months staff at the English Heritage Archive have been collating information about our holdings relating to the First World War. The images contained within the Bedford Lemere and Company collection are described elsewhere in this issue (pp 14–15), but there are many other items within the collections which illustrate the home front, industry and the war effort, convalescence and rehabilitation, and military and defence architecture.

The image below shows the snow-covered wreckage of Brunner, Mond and Company's Venesta Works chemical factory in Silvertown, East London. The factory, originally built in the late 19th century by Brunner Mond to produce caustic soda, was used during the First World War to manufacture explosives for the war effort.

In the early evening of 19 January 1917, around 50 tons of TNT exploded at the factory, killing 73 people and causing widespread damage to the local area.

This photograph is one of 21 taken soon after the explosion to document the wreckage of the factory, presumably for insurance purposes.



Venesta Works, Silvertown, 1917.  
Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

### The John Laing photographic collection

The second half of the 20th century saw the face of Britain transformed by a host of major developments, from motorways to new towns and nuclear power stations. The construction company John Laing plc played a central role in that transformation, and their contribution is a roll-call of such iconic projects as Coventry Cathedral, the M1



Helicopter and paver on site during construction of the M1 c 1958–59.

© English Heritage  
(John Laing Collection)

motorway, the Birmingham Bull Ring Centre, the Barbican, and Berkeley Nuclear Power Station.

In 2012 the John Laing Charitable Trust donated the photographic archive of the company to the English Heritage Archive, and with the generous support of the Trust a project officer has been carrying out an initial assessment of the collection and its finding aids. This has already helped us to improve access to the wealth of images contained in the archive, and we hope to build on this with a major cataloguing and digitisation project.

In the meantime 1000 sample images have been catalogued and scanned to provide some idea of the riches available, and these are available on the English Heritage Archives website.

### New Acquisitions

Recent English Heritage Archive acquisitions include two interesting groups relating to mid-Victorian London – both with question-marks over the identity of photographers and commissioners.

A mounted ambrotype or tintype shows workmen outside the Prince Edward public house in Wick Road Hackney, with one man standing on a decorator's platform repainting the landlord's



The Prince Edward,  
Wick Road,  
Hackney.

Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

name over the door. We can date the photograph to 1878–81 because Henry Cuthbert, whose name is being painted in, took over the pub between those dates. Ambrotypes and tintypes, like daguerreotypes, are positive images and unique – unlike negatives they could not be used to create multiple prints. Only further investigation will establish which format this image is: an ambrotype would be rare at this late date, while tintypes are not usually mounted in such an ornate case. However, tintypes were favoured by street photographers because of their speed and cheapness – perhaps here the photographer was passing and seized the opportunity to make a sale to the proud new licensee!

The second collection comprises more than 100 large-format prints which are in effect a survey of Victorian London made around 1875. It covers the City and the West End and there are only two clues which help further interpretation. Firstly the vantage points are almost identical to those used by Frederick York (1820–1903), some of whose negatives survive at the English Heritage Archive. Secondly, a hoarding visible on one image of the Mansion house advertises the improvement of city streets undertaken by the Metropolitan Board of Works – possibly the cutting through of Queen Victoria Street from the Mansion House towards Blackfriars. The lack of pedestrians and traffic looks like a conscious plan to record contemporary London. The images include both new buildings and demolitions, perhaps suggesting that the Board may have commissioned this series.



The Royal Alhambra Palace, Leicester Square c 1874. The Alhambra was one of the most important music halls in London and acknowledged as the inspiration for the Folies Bergere in Paris. After a disastrous fire in 1882 it was reopened in a less spectacular manner and demolished in 1936 when it was replaced by the Odeon, Leicester Square. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

## Services and on-line resources

The English Heritage Archive collections comprise around 12 million items relating to England's historic environment, 70% of which are photographs dating from the 1850s to the present day, as well as reports, drawings, and plans.

To find out more go to:

<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/archives-and-collections>

Or contact: Archive Services, The English Heritage Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon SN2 2EH  
Tel: 01793 414600, fax: 01793 414606 or email: [archive@english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:archive@english-heritage.org.uk)

### English Heritage Archive

[www.englishheritagearchives.org.uk](http://www.englishheritagearchives.org.uk)

The Archive Catalogue includes descriptions of more than 1 million photographs and documents

### Portico

[www.english-heritage.org.uk/portico](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/portico)

In-depth histories of English Heritage sites

### Heritage Gateway

[www.heritagegateway.org.uk](http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk)

National and local records for England's historic sites and buildings

### PastScape

[www.pastscape.org.uk](http://www.pastscape.org.uk)

England's archaeological and architectural heritage

### Heritage Explorer

[www.heritageexplorer.org.uk](http://www.heritageexplorer.org.uk)

Images for learning; resources for teachers

The following **Designated Datasets** held by English Heritage are available for download via the English Heritage website,

<http://services.english-heritage.org.uk/NMRDataDownload/>. The data are suitable for use in a Geographic Information System:

- Listed buildings
- Scheduled monuments
- Registered parks and gardens
- Registered battlefields
- World Heritage Sites
- Protected wreck sites

# Legal Developments

## New Law and Clarity for Listed Building Entries

Mike Harlow, *Governance and Legal Director, English Heritage*

### Goodbye Conservation Area Consent

On 1 October government switched off the requirement for conservation area consent for demolition and switched on a new requirement for planning permission in the same circumstances.

The change was simply to make processing consents more efficient. It should have no impact on the protection of conservation areas.

Failure to apply for conservation area consent when it is needed was a criminal offence. This was a necessary deterrent when the effect of demolition is usually impossible to properly reverse. We now have a new offence of failing to apply for planning permission for demolition in a conservation area.

Sadly the change did not address the 'Shimizu' court case interpretation of what is 'demolition'. Therefore what does and does not require permission remains the same.

There is no fee for applying for planning permission for demolition alone in a conservation area, just as there was no fee for conservation area consent. If the application includes new development as well, then the usual fees will apply to that aspect.

One interesting nuance, to me at least, is the way law and policy will bear on the replacement planning decision. The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) does not distinguish between the type of consent being sought when it suggests how decisions should be made. So moving from conservation area consent to planning permission should create no difference as far as the NPPF is concerned.

The application of policies within local and neighbourhood plans is slightly different. A planning decision must accord with the plan unless material considerations indicate otherwise. This formula did not apply to conservation area consent.

However, local plans were always a possible material consideration in those decisions – and in any event local plans should conform with the NPPF. So the technically altered manner in which planning policy applies to the new decisions appears to be a distinction without a difference.

The ever-present requirement in law to pay special attention to the desirability of preserving or enhancing the conservation area will also apply to the replacement planning decision, of course. Well, I say 'of course', but this supposedly unavoidable requirement can seem to go absent without leave ...

### Common fault in heritage decisions

And now for a rant – sorry. I read a lot of heritage planning cases. The good news is that generally I am unsurprised by the decisions. On the whole they give appropriate weight to heritage and consider how we can achieve truly sustainable development that makes best progress on all fronts: economic, social and environmental, the latter including heritage conservation of course.

The not-so-good news is that the reasoning is often unsatisfactory. It is not the worst thing to happen if the decision-maker ends up in the right place through fuzzy logic or professional instinct alone, but the reason planning law and policy exists is to stop decisions being matters of personal preference. To achieve transparent consistency, the boring thing of showing that each relevant decision-making requirement has been covered has to be done.

In heritage conservation there are two inescapable legal requirements that apply to decisions concerning listed buildings, their settings and conservation areas. To paraphrase crudely, they require special regard to the desirability of conserving them. See ss16, 66 and 72 of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 for their full terms.

When I recently read three successive planning decisions that failed to even mention these requirements when they unarguably applied on the facts of each case, I worried – not just that these decisions may successfully be challenged by judicial review, but also that conservation was not being given proper weight.

The courts have said that these statutory requirements operate as 'a paramount consideration'; 'the first consideration for a decision maker'.

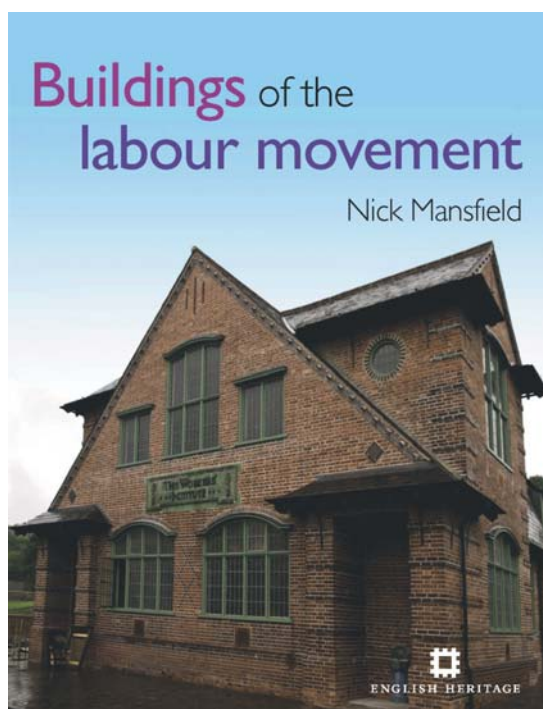
Planning decisions are all about balanced judgment, but in that exercise there must be a sense of the weight society, through parliament, wishes to place on an objective like heritage conservation. The protection of listed buildings and conservation areas is clearly regarded as highly important, and that obviously should not be forgotten, out of respect for the democratic will as well as the law.

For more detail on how to ensure all the decision-making principles are adhered to, please see our online Guide to Heritage Protection ([www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/advice/hpg](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/advice/hpg)). For casework decisions and news on our new online planning case database follow @EH LegalDirector.

# New Publications from English Heritage

## Buildings of the Labour Movement

Nick Mansfield



This richly illustrated book focuses on the built culture of the labour movement, constructed or funded by workers whose history has until now been largely forgotten.

The survey ranges from the communal buildings of the early 19th-century political radicals, Owenites and Chartists, through Arts and Crafts socialist structures of the late Victorian and Edwardian period to the grand union 'castles' of the mid-20th century.

There are also chapters on co-operative architecture, long-forgotten socialist holiday camps, and memorials associated with the hidden story of radical ex-servicemen and their remembrance of war dead. The countryside is not forgotten, with its rural labour buildings, as well as the clubhouses of idealistic socialist cyclists. The book is not just about bricks and mortar but uncovers the social history of the men and women who worked so hard locally to achieve their goals.

Though many buildings have been lost over the years, the book outlines the recent struggle for their preservation and details many that can still be visited.

PUBLICATION DATE: July 2013

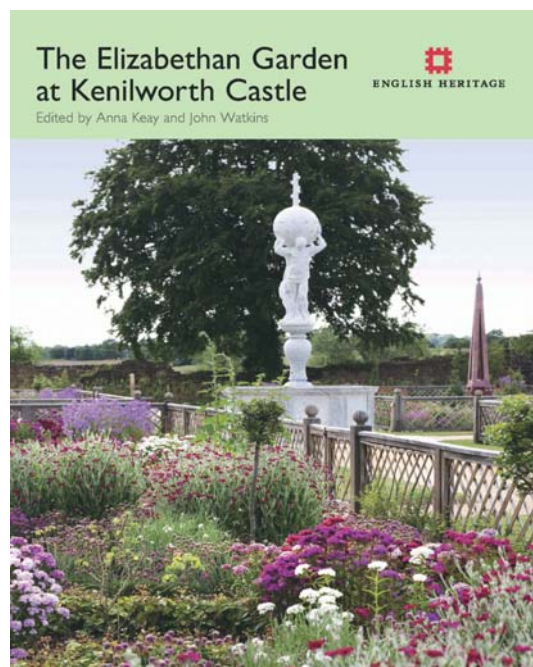
PRICE: £30

ISBN: 978 | 84802 | 29 7

Hardback, 164pp; 220 illus

## The Elizabethan Garden at Kenilworth Castle

Edited by Anna Keay and John Watkins



The garden created by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth Castle was one of the wonders of Elizabethan England. It is also the best-documented of all the great gardens of its age, providing the starting point for English Heritage's ambitious re-creation in 2009. This beautifully illustrated book presents the extensive research that informed the scheme and describes the process by which the new garden was designed.

Seventeen chapters, written by experts in the field, range widely, covering: the place of Kenilworth in garden history; the Earl of Leicester as a cultural patron; the results of the excavation of the garden site; detailed consideration of key aspects of the Elizabethan garden, including the fountain and the aviary; and important new work on the early Elizabethan flower garden. The overall philosophy of re-creating the garden and the practical aspects of doing so, are also considered. This book represents a major addition to the study of English garden history.

PUBLICATION DATE: September 2013

PRICE: £40

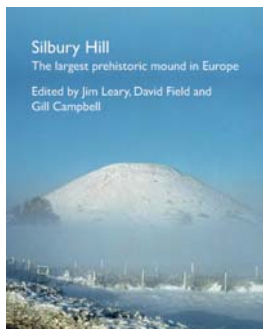
ISBN: 978 | 84802 034 4

Hardback, 224pp; 163 illus

## Silbury Hill: The largest prehistoric mound in Europe

Edited by Jim Leary, David Field and Gill Campbell

Silbury Hill, the largest prehistoric mound in Europe, has long been an enigma. Set within the chalk downlands of the Stonehenge and Avebury World Heritage Site, it was first investigated in 1776. Successive archaeological interventions culminated in Professor Richard Atkinson's televised campaign in the late 1960s.



Detailed surveys following the collapse of the 1776 excavation shaft at the summit of the Hill in 2000 revealed that voids associated with the earlier excavations existed deep within the mound. In 2007 the decision was taken to re-enter the Hill using Professor Atkinson's tunnel and backfill all the voids. These remedial works were accompanied by full archaeological recording.

This book discusses the resulting stratigraphical and palaeoenvironmental evidence, as well as new radiocarbon dates. In addition to offering a re-interpretation of the construction of the Hill it details the later history of the site and the conservation measures undertaken.

PUBLICATION DATE: November 2013

PRICE: £100

ISBN: 978 1 84802 045 0

Hardback, 432pp; 210 illus

### SPECIAL OFFER

Until 31 December 2013 all of the titles featured above can be obtained free of postage through English Heritage Postal Sales at the address below (please quote code 7220130019 when ordering).

Publications may be ordered from Orca Book Services Ltd, Order Department, 160 Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4SD.

Tel: 01235 465577; fax: 01235 465556; email: [direct.orders@marston.co.uk](mailto:direct.orders@marston.co.uk).

Please quote the appropriate ISBN and make all cheques payable in sterling to Orca Book Services. Publications may also be ordered from [www.english-heritageshop.org.uk](http://www.english-heritageshop.org.uk) Prices and postage charges may differ on the website.



Please remember to recycle this publication when you no longer need it.



**Mixed Sources**  
Product group from well-managed forests and recycled wood or fiber  
[www.fsc.org](http://www.fsc.org) Cert no. SCS-COC-0620  
© 1996 Forest Stewardship Council

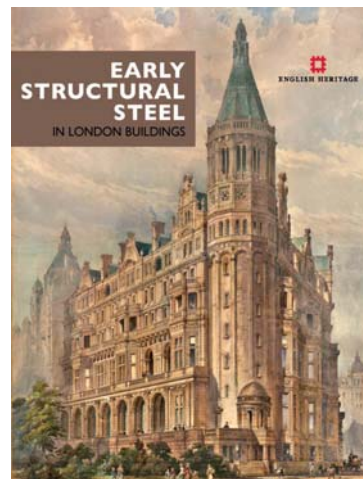


## Early Structural Steel in London Buildings: A discreet revolution

Jonathan Clarke

In 1909, one of the world's great cities, London, finally sanctioned steel-frame architecture. For the previous quarter century, a new structural material – steel – had been discreetly changing the anatomy and physiology of the capital's new buildings, and shifting the professional dynamics between architects, engineers and contractors. Contemporaries called it 'The Age of Steel'.

This richly illustrated book takes a refreshing new look at Victorian and Edwardian architecture, examining how mild steel – which superseded cast and wrought iron – was put to use in theatres, hotels, clubs, offices and many other types of building. Interwoven are chapters examining technological developments, Continental and American cross-currents, legislative and philosophical precepts, and constructional and architectural consequences. This compelling narrative is about much more than rivets and girders; it embraces architectural and constructional history in one of its most exciting periods.



PUBLICATION DATE: December 2013

PRICE: £65

ISBN: 978 1 84802 103 7

Hardback, 416pp; 357 illus

*Conservation Bulletin* appears twice a year. It is printed on paper made from chlorine-free pulp sourced from sustainable managed forests.

ISSN 0753-8674

Product Code: 51830

Subscription enquiries and changes of address: tel: 020 7973 3253; email: [mailinglist@english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:mailinglist@english-heritage.org.uk)

Additional copies: [customers@english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:customers@english-heritage.org.uk)

Guest Editors: Vince Holyoak and Paul Stamper

English Heritage contract manager: Sarah Tunnicliffe;

tel: 07711 491752; email: [sarah.tunnicliffe@english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:sarah.tunnicliffe@english-heritage.org.uk)

Editorial and project management: Whimster Associates Ltd; tel: 01672 521525; email: [r.whimster@eclipse.co.uk](mailto:r.whimster@eclipse.co.uk)

Layout: Libanus Press Ltd

Printed by: Pureprint

Web version: [www.english-heritage.org.uk](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk)

Copyright: © the authors or their employing institutions (text) and English Heritage (typography and design) 2012 The views expressed are those of individual contributors and not necessarily those of English Heritage.

English Heritage is the Government's lead body for the historic environment.

English Heritage, 1 Waterhouse Square, 138-142 Holborn, London EC1N 2ST



If you require an alternative accessible version of this document (for instance in audio, Braille or large print) please contact our Customer

Services Department:

Telephone: 0870 333 1181

Fax: 01793 414926

Textphone: 0800 015 0516

E-mail: [customers@english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:customers@english-heritage.org.uk)