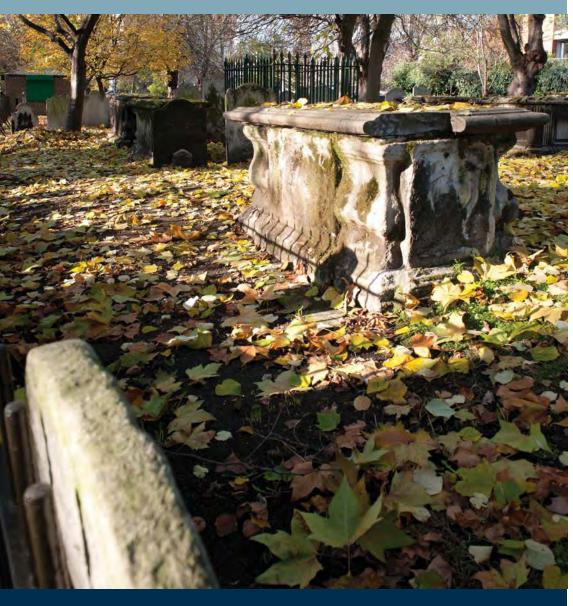
Conservation bulletin

The Heritage of Death



In an uncertain world people value their past – and especially their memories of the men and women who inhabited it. Churchyards, tombstones and war memorials are the under-appreciated part of our heritage that keeps those memories alive.

Bunhill Fields - an oasis of calm and a reservoir of memory on the very edge of the City of London. Established in 1665 as a Nonconformist burial ground, its illustrious occupants include John Bunyan, William Blake and Daniel Defoe. © Derek Kendall English Heritage

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Editorial: Bringing the Dead to Life

Without death there can be no history. Our duties of remembrance, and our need to find out just who we are, bring us back again and again to the physical remains of our forebears.

England is renowned for its churchyards, its melancholy, its elegiac traditions. Its churches have an unsurpassed array of funerary memorials, inside and out, and monuments to martial honour from the Napoleonic Wars onwards fill city and village alike. Above ground, memory reigns: below ground, it is the physical reality of the dead that is directly confronted. If ever there was a forum to show how utterly inter-dependent the disciplines of archaeology and history are, it is that of death.

This issue of *Conservation Bulletin* does more than dust down some best-left-alone bones. It looks at a range of issues, from the display of human remains and the heated repatriation debate, to the rescue of tombs and the commemoration of Commonwealth memory. English Heritage has a central role in promoting research, protection and celebration.

England's earliest preservation decree was 'A Proclamation against breaking or defacing monuments or antiquities' of 1560. It forbade 'the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any Monument, or tomb, or grave, or other inscription ... or to breake any image of kings, princes, or nobles estates of this realm, or any other'. Sepulchral respect appealed greatly to Elizabeth I's sense of decorum. It also formed one of the foundation stones of antiquarianism, and our study of the past.

Julian Litten's survey tells us how far studies of death and burial have come over recent decades. We now look at mortality full in the face, and our lives are enriched as a result. Meeting the ancestors becomes increasingly plausible. Simon Mays surveys the recent scientific advances that bring the bones to life. Just how they are treated has become an emotive issue; Emma Carver discusses their display, and concludes that the public relishes a direct encounter with physical remains.

Outdoor burial grounds – an English speciality for centuries – still have splendours awaiting discovery, as the item on assessing Bunhill Fields so readily shows. Family history provides a huge spur for engagement with our cemeteries, and Gillian Darley's essay on St George's gardens shows what local engagement can deliver. War memorials, too, have been benefiting from a new wave of care.

Against these gains must be set the breakdown of cultures of maintenance and upkeep: something English Heritage's guidance on tomb conservation is hoping to overcome. Tombs protect the dead, and try to ward off oblivion. But the pressures – neglect, clearance for development, natural decay, vandalism – remain daunting. Solace may be found in accepting the inevitable: Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* (*c* AD 170) remind us repeatedly of the universal law of mutability and corruption. Our belief in physical resurrection may be on the wane, but, through investigation, analysis and celebration, life can be breathed back into the remains and tombs of the dead.

Roger Bowdler

Head of Designation, 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

Discovering our Ancestors

The dead have so much to tell us - not only about themselves but about our own way of thinking about life and death.

The dead offer windows into past lives in several different ways. Julian Litten explains how the study of death has developed in recent decades, and in particular how rigorous analysis of burial modes has widened our appreciation of undertaking, and injected greater respect into our approach to grave disturbance. Simon Mays offers an overview of recent developments into the insights afforded by forensic archaeology, and hints at the importance of maintaining accessible collections of human remains if scientific analysis is to go on advancing. If we can understand their lives better, their rest will not have been disturbed in vain.

Just how much work remains to be done in assessing our sepulchral heritage is outlined by Linda Monckton. The National Heritage Protection Plan is a major initiative - not just for English Heritage, but for the sector as a whole. Targeted research, involving communities, academic bodies and amenity societies, will work to increase understanding as well as securing tangible protection outcomes. Involving others is particularly appropriate in the area of commemoration: these are our very ancestors we are dealing with, and closer study of their ways of death and remembrance can be highly rewarding. The dead are not so very distant from us after all.

The resurrection monument of Constance Whitney (d 1628), formerly in St Giles Cripplegate, City of London but lost in the Blitz. Attributed to the Christmas family of masons, it is one of a number of such tombs that embody Anglican faith in the resurrection of the body. The NMR possesses the best collection of photographs of church monuments in England

© English Heritage.NMR

From death to life: post-Reformation burial vaults

Iulian W S Litten

Once considered as the pastime of the curious and the pursuit of the antiquarian, funerary archaeology only established itself as an identifiable discipline in the 1970s as a result of the large number of Anglican churches being internally re-ordered following the introduction of Series 3 liturgical reform, the clearance of town and city Nonconformist burial grounds for the sake of high street superstores, and the emptying of church crypts to provide facilities for the living.

Few archaeologists had more opportunity to develop funerary or 'thanatological' studies than Sir William Henry St John Hope (1854–1919), the archaeologist of so many abbeys and priories. That he chose not to do so was probably because he was more interested in monastic architecture than the monks themselves. Similarly, while pre-Christian human remains excited much interest from the 18th century onwards it was not until the 1970s that the pioneering work of Robert Janaway, Theya Molleson and Philip Rahtz instilled in their students the contributions that post-Reformation human remains could make to our understanding of early modern life. The greatest breakthrough, however, came in 1984-6 with the detailed study of more than 1,000 individuals of the period 1729 to 1852 from the crypts beneath Christ Church, Spitalfields.

On the other side of the coin was a wider band of antiquaries, art historians and ecclesiologists a more desk-bound faculty of researchers - such as Paul Binski, Frederick Burgess, James Stevens Curl, Eamon Duffy, Clare Gittings, Vanessa Harding, Nigel Llewellyn, Harold Mytum and Ruth Richardson, who pushed the boundaries further. They incorporated burial vaults, cemeteries, churchyards, funerary monuments, social etiquette and funeral customs into the scheme of things so that by the late 1990s the jigsaw pieces of death at last revealed the larger picture of post-medieval death, burial and commemoration.

In the spring of 1971 rebuilding work at St Mary's, South Woodford, Essex, provided an opportunity for its burial vaults to be examined. Post-excavation research revealed that nothing had previously been published on post-Reformation coffins and coffin furniture, let alone on the

THE HERITAGE OF DEATH

vaults themselves. However, vault examinations conducted in a number of churches undergoing re-ordering between 1972 and 1981 revealed that there was indeed a history and sequence relating to the subject.

In the early days of burial-vault examination little equipment was needed apart from a hard-hat, overalls, gloves, steel-toed shoes, a torch, notepad, pencil and a measuring-tape. Nothing was understood about lead-levels in vaults, dangerous patho-gens, spores, anthrax or smallpox, and the archaeologist literally took his or her life in their hands. Today, greater attention is paid to health and safety issues.

Because of the nature of the funeral trade – a discipline which came into being during the second half of the 17th century, when carpenters, joiners, cabinet-makers, heraldic painters, mercers and upholsterers 'undertook' the provision of funerals – there was no single trade guild to sustain them, consequently there are no records outlining its development. Furthermore, it was a trade long by-passed academics; the three 18th-century trade catalogues of coffin furniture in the National Art Museum at the V&A were, until the early 1980s, catalogued as 'miscellaneous designs for metalwork'. Fortunately, we are now much wiser as a result of the examination of thousands of examples of coffin furniture recorded during burial vault clearances in the last quarter of the 20th century.

While funerary monuments had long attracted notice (with Mrs Katharine Esdaile's legion studies in the vanguard), burial had been less studied. Barbara Jones's Design for Death (1967) assembled the visual delights of funerary art in a pioneering way. This was followed by John Morley's lavish Death, Heaven and the Victorians (1971) and James Stevens Curl's The Victorian Celebration of Death (1972), which drew attention to the 19th-century English garden cemetery movement and led to the foundation of 'Friends' organisations at Highgate, West Norwood, Kensal Green and elsewhere. The customs associated with early modern English funerals were first brought to public attention by Clare Gittings in Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England (1984), followed by The Victoria and Albert Museum's The Art of Death exhibition catalogue (1991) and The English Way of Death (Litten 1991). The subject was then much helped by the publication of the two-volume report on the Christchurch, Spitalfields, project in 1993 and the proceedings of a Bournemouth University conference entitled Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700-1850 (1998), while Harold



The velvet-covered coffin of Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester (d 1759) in his mausoleum at Tittleshall, Norfolk. The motif at the head end of the earl's coffin was applied inverted. Whilst the earl would have been mortified, mistakes such as these only come to light as the result of vault examinations. © Iulian Litten

Mytum's handbook on Recording and Analysing Graveyards (2000) introduced a methodological approach to their recording.

Of course, amidst all of these successes were the failures. The wholesale clearances of the unrecorded contents of the vaults of 53 City of London churches between 1866 and 1965 are to be regretted, as are the commercial clearances of the vaults beneath St Marylebone parish church in 1982 and St Anne's, Soho in 1988. But against this sits the successes of the archaeological recording of the graveyard clearances at the Cross Bones Burial Ground, Southwark, between 1991 and 1998, of All Saints, Chelsea Old Church in 2000, and of St Martin's-in-the-Bull Ring, Birmingham, in 2001.

In terms of organisations the Church Monuments Society and the Mausolea and Monuments Trust offer a focus for those with an interest in

Recording the Poulett Vault at Hinton St George, Somerset in 1981. In the early years of vault examination, protective clothing was limited to a white gown. Photo source: Julian Litten



church monuments and mausoleums; the National Federation of Cemetery Friends brings together independent organisations interested in conserving England's Victorian garden cemeteries, while the Society for Church Archaeology has done much to promote funerary archaeology and the study of human remains. English Heritage itself has continued this progress, through its funding of research, its involvement in archaeological clearances, and in its increased designation work in churchyards and cemeteries (English Heritage 2007). The academic study of post-medieval funerary archaeology and cemeteries has advanced considerably, giving it the status for which so many had been striving since 1971. It is due to English Heritage and Joseph Elders of the Cathedrals and Church Buildings Division of the Archbishops' Council, that the Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Burials was established in 2010.

Above the entrance to Tutankhamun's tomb is an inscription in hieroglyphics which, roughly translated, reads: 'To speak the name of the dead is to make them live again'. To some extent this can be said of those individuals whose burial vaults, graves and remains have been subjected to scientific and antiquarian research. We must be profoundly grateful to them, named and unnamed, and it is to be trusted that they have always been treated by the archaeological fraternity with the respect they deserve, for by their deaths much has been learnt to instruct us as how to live, and those who merely treat these issues as items of curiosity have left the path of reason.

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The scientific study of human skeletal remains

Simon Mays

Archaeological Science, English Heritage

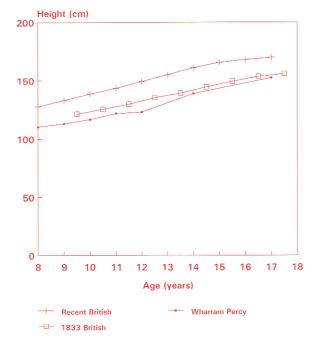
Human remains are the most direct source of evidence we have for people in the past. Their study is therefore a central component of archaeological enquiry.

Determining the age and sex of skeletons can tell us about the demographic composition of early populations. It used to be believed that life expectancy in the past was low, but re-evaluation of the methods for ageing skeletons has shown that this was not usually so. For example, at the deserted

medieval village of Wharram Percy in North Yorkshire nearly half of burials were of adults over 50 years of age. More detailed analysis of ages at death can offer other insights. Study of newborn infants from some Roman sites, for example, showed their age profile did not equate with natural mortality patterns but suggested the deliberate killing of unwanted babies, most probably to limit family size.

We know from documentary sources that height-for-age in children has increased during the last 150 years, but archaeological studies show that this trend may have begun much earlier. It is also possible to study some diseases from the traces they leave on the skeleton. For example, infectious diseases were much more common in skeletons from medieval York than from the nearby village of Wharram Percy, showing that even 800 years ago cities had an adverse effect on health.

It used to be thought that osteoporosis was exacerbated by aspects of modern lifestyles, such as cigarette smoking and sedentary habits. However, measurements of bone density now show that post-menopausal losses due to osteoporosis were no less among medieval women than now. Skeletal



Stature (estimated from bone size) plotted against age (estimated from the dentition) for children from medieval Wharram Percy. Stature figures for modern children and from a height survey of children employed in factories in the 19th century are also shown for comparison. As well as being much shorter than their modern counterparts, the medieval children are a little less tall than 19th-century subjects. This suggests that health and nutrition may have been even worse at Wharram Percy than among the children of the poor in the Industrial Revolution. © English Heritage

evidence can also shed light on medical history. For many years it was believed, largely on the basis of documentary evidence, that Columbus and his crew were responsible for introducing syphilis into Europe. However, recent osteological work suggests that it was present in England as far back as the early Anglo-Saxon period.

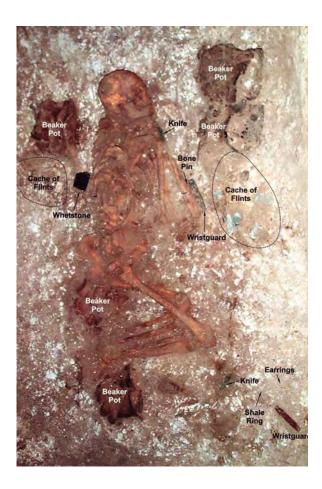
Skull shape is strongly influenced by genetic factors, so it can be used to study relationships between populations and population movements in the past. On a European-wide scale, cranial data support the idea that the arrival of farming in the Neolithic was accompanied by active dispersal of people from south-west Asia. Closer to home, crania from Yorkshire support the idea that Scandinavian migrants made a substantial contribution to the population of medieval York, but suggest that this was not the case in surrounding rural areas.

Just as strenuous activity builds muscle mass, so it also results in stronger bones. By studying aspects of bone strength we can shed light on people's activity in the past. For example, the arm bones of medieval monastic brethren were found to be less robust than those from a lay population, consistent with the idea that a cloistered life was less physically demanding.

In recent decades, important advances have also been made in biomolecular archaeology. Isotopic comparison of the diets of Mesolithic and Neolithic populations shows that in some parts of Europe (for example, Britain, Denmark) the transition to a Neolithic diet was abrupt rather than gradual. In other regions the picture was more complex. For example, in southern Sweden, Mesolithic diet persisted unchanged in hunter-gatherer groups who lived alongside Neolithic farming communities for nearly a millennium after the arrival of agriculture.

Strontium and oxygen isotopes in tooth enamel give clues as to where individuals spent their childhoods. Studies at the cemetery at West Heslerton in North Yorkshire, which dates from the 5th to 7th centuries AD, suggested that about one-sixth of the population were first-generation migrants to the region, most probably from Scandinavia. Isotope work is also starting to show that prehistoric people travelled far more than previously suspected. For example, a Bronze Age man excavated from Wiltshire, termed the Amesbury Archer because of the arrowheads and archer's wristguards buried with him, grew up somewhere in continental Europe, most probably near the Alps.

An increasing amount of research on ancient



Analysis of the oxygen isotopes in the teeth of the Amesbury Archer, buried in c 2425–2300 BC near Stonehenge, show that he grew up somewhere in continental Europe, most probably near the Alps.

© Wessex Archaeology

DNA (aDNA) structures is now addressing major archaeological questions. Recent work Neanderthal remains suggests that up to 4% of DNA in modern European and Asian populations comes from Neanderthals, implying that a small amount of interbreeding between Neanderthals and early modern humans did occur in the Palaeolithic. Study of Mesolithic and Neolithic human DNA suggests that some early Neolithic European groups share affinities with modern south-west Asian populations and genetic discontinuities have been found between Mesolithic hunter-gatherer and Neolithic farming groups. These results seem consistent with craniometric data in suggesting a spread of farming to Europe from a centre in south-west Asia involving at least some migration of people. The technical challenges of working with aDNA mean that these studies are as yet based on just a small number of skeletons, but they nevertheless illustrate the enormous potential for the future.

The DNA of micro-organisms can sometimes survive in human remains, and this provides another way of studying ancient disease. aDNA work, particularly on the bacteria responsible for tuberculosis and leprosy, is helping microbiologists understand the evolution and spread of these

pathogens. It can also help address archaeological questions. There are two forms of tuberculosis, one acquired from animals (particularly cattle) and one transmitted human to human. DNA analysis of skeletons showing tuberculosis at Wharram Percy indicated that these people were suffering from the human type. TB is a disease that thrives in large, crowded settlements; it may be that regular contact with large urban centres helped maintain the disease, even in thinly populated countryside.

In recent decades Britain has become an international centre for the scientific study of human bones, due largely to the extensive collections of excavated remains curated in our museums. Only as long as those collections are maintained and augmented will this world-class research continue to thrive.

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Many of the studies mentioned in this article are discussed in more detail in the following works, which also provide useful introductions to human bones in archaeology:

Mays S 2010. The Archaeology of Human Bones (2nd edn). London: Routledge Roberts, C 2009. Human Remains in Archaeology: A Handbook. York: Council for British Archaeology

Burial grounds: a strategy for enhanced protection

Linda Monckton

Head of Research Policy (Places of Worship), English Heritage

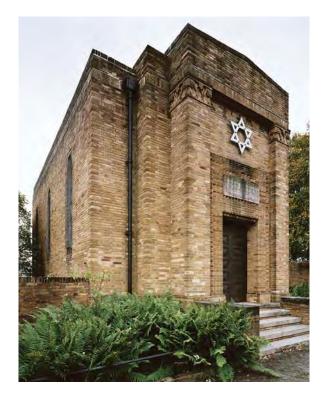
Burial grounds are highly significant places for individuals, local communities and faith groups – especially with regard to people's sense of collective identity and experience. They are also important as historic records that can tell us so much about the way in which attitudes to living and dying have changed over time. Today, many of them face a range of threats, while the full significance of their monumental, aesthetic and archaeological heritage values is often poorly understood.

Existing provision for their protection and management is complex. At present 108 entire cemeteries are included on the Register of Parks and Gardens. Two more are identified as scheduled ancient monuments in their own right, and a significant number of others fall within an area that is scheduled. It should be noted that places still in active use for religious activity are exempt from scheduling as a result of successful lobbying by the Church of England in the period leading

up to the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act 1913.

In addition to these overarching area designations, individual elements of burial grounds can be separately identified as listed structures. Most commonly this will be a building (such as a chapel or lodge building, house or columbarium) or a monument (a mausoleum, tomb or gravestone). At least 537 structures fall into the former category and no fewer than 9622 into the latter. While this may sound impressive, it has to be remembered that the 10,000 burial grounds, cemeteries and churchyards in England and Wales between them contain literally hundreds of thousands of individual funerary monuments. It is therefore inevitable that their overall protection cannot rely on statutory designation alone. Policy is the responsibility of the Ministry or Justice or Church faculty system; management can rest with a faith group, a charitable trust or a burial authority. The nature of that management will in turn depend on whether the cemetery is open or closed for further burials.

The protective mechanisms currently in place owe much to society's developing attitudes towards burial and religious practice during the late 19th and 20th centuries. That these remain very sensitive issues is shown by the passion of the recent debates surrounding the excavation and investigation of human remains. If we want historic burial grounds to be protected, whether through designation or management systems, we first need a clearer



The ohel (prayer hall) at the Sheffield Jewish Cemetery, designed by Wynyard Dixon and built in 1931. Cemetery chapels form significant architectural entities in their own right as well as making a contribution to the overall values associated with many cemeteries. © Bob Skingle, English Heritage.NMR

articulation of what makes them significant.

It has long been recognised that significance is dynamic; something that will change over time in response to advances in historical understanding as well as the shifting values of individuals and society. It is for this reason that English Heritage has recently published its National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) - a new framework for understanding what makes historic places and structures important and how they can best be protected for the future. One particular benefit of the NHPP is that it has provided us with an opportunity to assess cemeteries, burial grounds and churchyards as a single cross-cutting theme. Our first priority is to gain a much more accurate picture of the range and degree of threats that are currently facing burial grounds so that we can address the most pressing needs. The second is to find out where there are still

gaps in our understanding of what it is that makes them significant.

The most important issues facing burial grounds are summarised in the table below, accompanied in each case by an outline of the steps being taken by the NHPP to address the problem.

By the time that the NHPP reaches the end of its first phase in 2015 this work will have provided us all with a sounder appreciation of the enduring value of cemeteries and burial grounds as part of a shared cultural heritage. It will also have told us much more about the kinds of care and management they will need if they are to continue to provide a vital focus for the communities of today and tomorrow.

To find out more about the National Heritage Protection Programme at www.english-heritage.org.uk/nhpp

| ISSUE • Management issues and the potential for neglect and/or vandalism. • Threats from urban development pressures, especially to graveyards spatially separated from places of worship. | NHPP PRIORITIES Preparation of national guidance on assessing significance and threat, including a review of current policies and practice and research into the significance of a range of sites, focusing on defining their integrated heritage values. |
|--|--|
| Pressure to re-use grave space within operational cemeteries and to re-open closed burial grounds. | Publication of guidance on the planning and implementation of re-use, including advice on how to achieve the consensual agreement of those affected. |
| • Lack of agreed understanding between management authorities, heritage experts and local communities about the significance and communal values of burial grounds. | Initial focus on vulnerable or poorly understood historic cemeteries, especially those belonging to faith groups outside the Established church. |
| • Lack of a consistent national overview of funerary heritage assets, especially at the level of individual monuments | Review of those cemeteries on the Register of Parks and Gardens, with particular emphasis on enhancing the designation of individual monuments; further designation guidance. |
| Need to promote burial grounds as open green spaces and a means of engaging local communities | Production of toolkits and an on-line database to encourage voluntary groups to record and monitor their burial grounds to consistent national standards. |

Showing Respect

People want to get close to the remains of their forebears – but in doing so they must also respect the dignity of the dead.

Whose bones are they? What right do we have to disturb their rest? Christian belief in the resurrection of the flesh could lead, in the past, to the summary treatment of mere human trash: burial could be a cramped and short-lived affair in the pre-Victorian age. Jane Sidell sets out rather different modern approaches to burial ground assessment, while David Garrard gives a case study in assessing the significance of one very special London cemetery.

Sebastian Payne discusses the recent debate about the treatment of human remains, and demonstrates a high level of public support for their scientific study. Recent repatriation debates have highlighted the sensitivity of display, with some faith groups attaching particular importance to the location of skeletal remains. Few areas of our heritage are richer for the study of diversity as that of death and burial, as Rachel Hasted sets out.

Museums have long shown skeletons: but the epoch of the antiquarian freak-show is over. Emma Carver explores the delicate topic of displaying the dead. Recent market research finds that 91% of respondents felt that museums should be able to display human bones, but only half (55%) felt that such displays helped us come to terms with our own mortality. 'Remember, thou art mortal' applies to us all; yet death brings out our differences too.

Reburial and repatriation: whose bones are they?

Sebastian Payne

Chief Scientist, English Heritage

Most people in this country, including those to whom their religion is important, have no problems with museums keeping human bones for research purposes as long as they are reasonably old and not of known identity. (Source: BDRC 2009)

Each year, archaeologists in this country — mainly working in advance of development — excavate human burials dating from deep prehistory to the early 19th century. The remains that they unearth and study are an enormously important source of knowledge about our past, and it is important to be able to retain them for further examination and analysis when new methods are discovered and

new questions can be asked.

Viewing figures for TV programmes like Meet the Ancestors show that there is great public interest in this research and what it tells us. A recent opinion survey carried out on behalf of English Heritage (BDRC 2009) shows very clearly that more than 90% of the general public in this country think that museums should be able to keep excavated human bones for research purposes provided that they are more than 1,000 years old and treated sensitively. Nine out of ten people agreed that keeping human bones in museums for research purposes 'helps us to find out more about how people lived in the past', and 78% that keeping human bones for research purposes 'helps us to find out more about disease and find better treatments or cures', with over half agreeing strongly. Only a minority felt that keeping human remains in museums 'shows a lack of respect to the dead' and 'does not produce any useful knowledge' (15% and 14% respectively), with high levels of disagreement with both of these statements. Interestingly, 86% of people who said that their religion was important to them also agreed with keeping human remains in museums – as compared with 96% of those who say that they have no religion.

This approval is not, however, without caveats. In particular, only just over half (53%) of those surveyed thought that human bones of named individuals should be kept in museums. As this underlines, human remains are not just another kind of excavated find – they are the remains of people; and civil and church law both require that they are treated with appropriate respect. Many living people feel close links with particular human remains - links of kinship, of association, of place, of culture or of religion – and may feel that it is wrong to disturb and study them, especially using techniques that may require destructive sampling for analysis. Some oppose all excavation and study of human remains because they believe that it is always wrong to disturb the dead.

So how should we try to balance and where possible reconcile general public interest with these feelings and beliefs?

A recent request by a Druid group that we re-bury prehistoric human remains kept in the Avebury Museum, which were excavated in the 1920s and 1930s, has led us to look at the issues more closely. This coincided with the production



One of the skeletons that a Druid group wished to re-bury: this child was buried around 5000–5500 years ago (Early/Middle Neolithic) at Windmill Hill in Wiltshire and is kept and displayed at the nearby Avebury Museum.

© Sebastian Payne, English Heritage

by DCMS of guidelines to help museums dealing with requests from indigenous groups in Australia and America for the repatriation of human remains collected during the colonial period.

While the Avebury request was rather different, most of the same basic principles apply - to try to establish the different options, the harms and benefits that each would cause, and whether particular people or groups have rights to special consideration. In the Avebury case, it was clear that the remains had considerable future research potential, and that most people thought they should be kept and displayed in the museum. While English Heritage respects Druid and Pagan beliefs, modern Druidry is a relatively recent creation with no real continuity with Iron Age Druidry, let alone with Neolithic religious practice, and there is therefore no basis for giving special rights to the claimants that would outweigh the wider public interest. We went out to public consultation on these conclusions, and found that 80-90% supported them and thought that the prehistoric human bones should be kept in the museum, which is what was finally decided.

The medieval Jewish cemetery at Jewbury in York, excavated in the 1980s, provides a converse case where clear close links of religion and orthodox beliefs about the importance of not disturbing Jewish burials led to very rapid re-burial of what

would have been a very interesting group of skeletons from a research viewpoint. Whether, in this case, the right solution was reached is unclear; arguably it would probably have been better either not to disturb and excavate the burials at all, or, once they had been excavated, to study them fully — research and publication is another kind of respect.

Often compromise solutions are available, and offer the best balance. The 3000 human skeletons from St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, are of great interest as they provide a relatively well-dated series of skeletons from c AD 800 to 1800 . Together they allow us to look at changes (surprisingly few!) in the people of a small market town over the course of a millennium. When excavated, back in the 1960s, the intention was to re-bury them; however, the increasing rate at which new methods are found made it important to find a way to make sure that they remained available for future research. In this case there were clear and close links both with the residents of the town, whose forebears they are, and with the church in whose keeping they have been; it was therefore right that they should have special consideration. Fortunately we were able to agree an arrangement by which the human remains were returned to the church to be housed in a specially converted organ chamber; research access is controlled by a committee that



St Peter's, Bartonupon-Humber: the important assemblage of human remains from this church and churchyard, documenting the history of the community from AD 800 to 1800, now rests in the church and is still accessible for research. © English Heritage Photo Library

includes a member representing the parish.

When personal identity is known - as is the case for some of the more recent burials at Bartonupon-Humber – it is clearly particularly important to consider the views and feelings of surviving relatives. The 18th and 19th-century burials from the crypt at Christ Church, Spitalfields, in East London, have given remarkable insights into life and death in a period that is often less well documented than we think, not least because many of the burials are of known identity, sex and age, which is in turn very important for the development and testing of new scientific methods. However, when the relatives of one of the people buried there asked that she be re-buried, there was no doubt that this was the right thing to do.

Whose bones are they? As I hope this short essay illustrates, they have value and interest for all of us - not only as an important source of information about our shared heritage but also as a potentially valuable resource for medical research. At the same time, and especially in the case of more recent human remains, they may have a much more personal significance for particular individuals and communities, whose wishes and beliefs will sometimes be more important than those of archaeological science.

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(www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/importeddocs/k-o/opinion-survey-results)

The public display of excavated human remains

Emma Carver

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People are interested in people. We know this from personal experience but there is plenty of evidence to endorse the statement - indeed the framework within which we work as interpreters encourages us to make our exhibits relevant to our visitors by highlighting and reinforcing the human connection. The presence of human remains in an exhibition makes an undeniable and memorable link between the viewer and the story of that individual. And yet for some people the case for display is not so clear-cut. This short article looks at the recent formal guidance and, in conjunction with feedback from audience research, attempts to summarise the factors that need to be taken into account when devising an exhibit.

Formal guidance and legislation

With the advent of the Human Tissue Act (2004) many museums redefined their guidelines relating to the retention and display of human remains. These documents are underpinned by the subsequent Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums published in 2005 by DCMS (www. culture.gov.uk/publications). This encourages the display of human remains on the understanding that 'the museum believes that it makes a material contribution to a particular interpretation, and that contribution could not be made equally effectively in another way'. We are also advised that 'those planning displays should consider how best to prepare visitors to view them [the human remains] respectfully and that they [the human remains] should be displayed in such a way as to avoid people coming across them unawares' (Section 2.7). This point has proved controversial and has been adopted by some practitioners and not by others; for an alternative view see Jenkins (2010).

The Human Tissue Authority (HTA) (set up in conjunction with the new Act) has now published Code of Practice 7: Public Display, which came into force on 15 September 2009 (www. hta.gov.uk/publications.cfm) The Act introduces the principle of consent, ie 'anyone removing, storing, or using material, whether from a dead person or from a living person, for the purpose of public display must be satisfied that consent is in place' (29). The HTA licenses organisations that display any bodies of deceased people, or any tissue that has been taken from their bodies which is less than 100

years old and will seek evidence that consent has been sought.

English Heritage and the Church of England's Guidance for Best Practice for Treatment of Human Remains Excavated from Christian Burial Grounds in England published in 2005 (www.english-heritage. org.uk/publications; www. helm.org. uk/guidance) highlights the importance of a clear educational purpose in any display (79) and that such a display should aid public understanding of the site, ie it must be accompanied by sufficient explanatory material (80).

What people say

In 2009 English Heritage commissioned BDRC to carry out research into public attitudes to human bones in museums; this survey expresses the views of a nationally representative sample of 864 adults (BDRC 2009):

91% of the respondents agreed that museums should be allowed to display human bones. The interviewers went on to explore any sensitivities within this total. Some 52% agreed regardless of how old the bones are, 27% agreed but with the caveat that the bones should be at least 100 years old and a further 12% felt that bones should be

1000 years old. Further questioning revealed a potential issue in relation to the display of named people with 42% (of the 91%) happy only if the bones are of unnamed people.

87% of respondents agreed with the statement that displaying human burials and bones 'helps the public understand how people have lived in the past'. Of this total, 25% agree with the statement that human burials and bones in a museum 'appeal to sensationalism rather than intellectual curiosity', with 16% feeling that these displays 'show a lack of respect to the dead'. Finally, it should be noted that there is some evidence to suggest that those who do not belong to a religion are less likely to oppose the display of human bones (5% as opposed to 10%).

A small survey of 100 people carried out in 2007 in the British Museum's Prehistoric Europe and Ancient Levant galleries drew similar overall conclusions. In addition, comments were invited on what factors should be considered when displaying human skeletal remains – the highest scoring of these were 'display as found' (23%), 'demonstrate a clear purpose' (21%) and 'show cultural sensitivity' (11%). Only 5% of respondents agreed that visitors should be warned beforehand (72% had expected



A grandfather with his grandson examining the Merovingian burial from the Battieux necropolis at Serriéres (Neuchâtel) at Laténium, Switzerland.
© Emma Carver



The female human skeleton from Staines Road Farm, Shepperton (3640 to 3100 BC) in the 'London before London' gallery at the Museum of London. © Emma Carver, repro-

duced by courtesy of the

Museum of London

to see human skeletal remains on display).

We can conclude from these surveys that people in England strongly support the display of human bones and skeletons in museums. We should note, however, that the age of the skeleton matters to them, as does whether the individual is named or not. In the BDRC survey only 55% agree that 'displaying human burials and bones in a museum helps us to come to terms with our own mortality'. Further research into these responses might prove fruitful.

The factors to be considered

It is clear that any exhibit containing human remains is going to require careful planning, particularly in relation to what is considered respectful (both to the living and the dead). English Heritage carries out this exercise through the interpretation planning framework we have been using since 2004. This process facilitates the research, discussion and consideration that are required with exhibits of this kind. Using the formal guidance and the results of audience research as a starting point, the factors that would need to be taken into account are:

The character of the remains - consideration should be given to the age of the remains, whether they are from a named individual or not, whether there are likely to be living descendants and whether the person had a known cultural affiliation. Depending on the answers, consent might be required (eg in a recent exhibition at The National Army Museum, the frost-bitten fingers and toes of Major 'Bronco' Lane were displayed with the major's consent) or further consultation

with interested parties might be desirable (eg consultation with the community of St Peter's Barton as described above by Sebastian Payne, pp 10–11).

A sense of purpose – the display must have a clear and well-defined place within the overall exhibition, ie it will make an important and considered contribution to the story that you are telling.

Presentation - the remains will need to be presented in a well-made, conditioned and lit display case. How the remains are displayed (eg as excavated or reassembled) will depend on both the character of the remains and their role in the exhibition.

Interpretation – this can be approached by emphasising the individuality of the person. For example, if enough detail exists it might be possible to reconstruct the face of the person shown (see illustration left). Equally important is to ensure that all that is known about that person is presented with them, including where they are from, where they were found (if excavated), any grave goods or belongings buried with them and any scientific research which might throw light on their health and way of life.

Advance warnings – this will depend on the character of the remains and the museum in which they are housed. Given the audience research available and the few displays of human remains in English Heritage's collection we have not provided warnings.

A useful insight into how some of these factors have been addressed in practice is provided by the experiences of the Museum of London in mounting their 'London Bodies' exhibition in 1998 (Swain 2002).

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A record of diversity

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Most of the people who ever lived in England have no buildings or monuments to commemorate them. Thomas Gray speaks in his *Elegy* of the 'short and simple annals of the poor' and uncounted numbers have left little physical trace of their lives. Burial sites do, however, offer extraordinary evidence of the diversity of those who have lived here in the past. The most basic forms of burial are eloquent of the conditions under which people have lived and they are an increasingly valued resource for a generation hooked on *Who Do You Think You Are*?

The plain, numbered ceramic grave-markers provided for the deceased inmates of Cane Hill Hospital, Croydon, who were buried in the hospital grounds between 1884 and 1950, tell us much about the isolation and low status of people with mental illness over that period. It is interesting to note that Croydon Council have now put up a memorial to the patients within a local public cemetery, to which the cremated remains of patients were transferred in 1981. This was partly in response to requests from relatives for a place of remembrance to which they could relate.

The re-evaluation of grave sites is an unfolding part of our history, and the degree of importance attached to them by contemporary society changes constantly over time. During the last two decades the rise of popular interest in family history has led to an enormous increase in interest in the burial places and memorials of ordinary people.

Identifying our personal connection to the past, whether through family history or membership of some other kind of social grouping, is an important part of our sense of identity – who we are and where we have come from. It is not surprising, therefore, that respondents to a recent English Heritage survey identified cemeteries and burial grounds as the third most important class of heritage site after places of worship and monuments to conflict and defence. These are sites where our personal values and sense of belonging find their deepest engagement.

For this reason, the memorials associated with minority groups are especially precious. Gravestones commemorating African people in Britain, whether from the Roman period or much later during the rise of the British transatlantic slave trade, provide rare tangible evidence of a continuing presence. Such memorials are found in every

corner of England, indicating the widespread impact of the slave trade. In 2007, English Heritage published 'Sites of Memory', a website guide that identifies early examples of such memorials stretching from Cornwall to Shropshire and the Lake District (www.english-heritage.org.uk/abolition).

Different faith groups have brought their own funeral customs when settling in England. Surviving Jewish burial grounds date back to the 17th-century resettlement, which brought an end to the 350-year absence that followed the expulsion of all Jews from England in 1290. One of the oldest was opened in 1657 off the Mile End Road, London, by Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Many of these sites are recorded in *Jewish Heritage in England: An Architectural Guide* by Dr Sharman Kadish (English Heritage 2006).

Muslims who settled in England during the 19th century were usually buried in unconsecrated ground or places provided for members of nonconformist communities. Later it became common for Muslims to be buried in separate sections of public cemeteries. Brookwood Cemetery, near Woking, being fairly close to the first purpose-built mosque in England, has memorials to well-known Muslim pioneers, such as Abdullah Quilliam, and a number of war graves transferred from the nearby Horsall Common burial ground. The Gardens of Peace near Ilford (www.gardens-of-peace.org.uk) now



Numbered ceramic markers are all that showed the graves of the inmates of the Cane Hill Hospital at Coulsdon in Surrey – a chilling reminder of the lack of respect once shown to the mentally ill. Reproduced by kind permission of Croydon Museum and Heritage Service



The gateway of the Muslim Burial Ground, Horsell Common, Woking, in about 1917.The figure in the foreground is thought to be Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, first Imam of Woking. © English Heritage.NMR

claims to be the largest Muslim burial ground in Europe.

For those faith groups which prescribe cremation rather than burial, such as Hindus, Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs, memorial sites are less frequently found although some are now beginning to appear, such as the Hindu memorial in the City of London Cemetery and Crematorium.

Some of the most significant 'sites of memory' associated with death are war memorials. The Brighton chattri marks the site of the burning ghat used during the First World War for Indian Army soldiers who had died of wounds in Brighton Pavilion, then in use as a hospital. Muslim war dead were buried at the specially created Muslim Burial Ground at Horsall Common near Woking in Surrey. This site was chosen because it was close to the only purpose-built mosque in England. It was created in response to German war propaganda, which sought to alienate Muslim troops on the British side by claiming that the British did not respect Muslim burial customs.

The graves from Horsall Common were removed to Brookwood Cemetery in the 1980s, where the headstones still tell the story of the extraordinary journey to the Western Front taken by soldiers from the Indian subcontinent.

Equally important are the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) memorial at Hollybrook Cemetery, Southampton, and the graves of the 650 members of the South African Native Labour Corps, who drowned in the SS Mendi disaster in 1917, which are scattered along the south coast of England. Their troop transport ship was rammed in the Channel on a foggy night by a British merchant ship and among the dead was the chaplain, the Revd Isaac Wauchope Dyobha. Survivors reported his address to the men as the ship went down:

Be quite and calm, my countrymen, for what is taking place is exactly what you came to do. You are going to die, but that is what you came to do. Brothers, we are drilling the death drill. I, a Xhosa, say you are my brothers. Zulus, Swazis, Pondos, Basothos and all others, let us die like warriors. We are the sons of Africa. Raise your war cries my brothers, for though they made us leave our assegais back in the kraals, our voices are left with our bodies.

This story of incredible bravery in the face of death is central to national history in South Africa, where the Queen unveiled The Mendi Memorial with President Mandela in 1995; sadly, it remained almost forgotten here in Britain until the CWGC issued an educational CD to mark the 90th anniversary in 2007. The wreck of SS Mendi was identified off the coast of the Isle of Wight in the 1970s and has more recently been surveyed by Wessex Archaeology with support from English Heritage (www.wessexarch.co.uk/projects). It has since been designated by the Ministry of Defence under the Protection of Military Remains Act, thus confirming its status as an important maritime 'site of memory'.

Community burial grounds, public monuments and individual memorials give treasured clues to the lives of our forebears and the roots of diversity in Britain over many centuries. They are now increasingly seen as an important heritage for those alive in England today. The value placed upon the 'short and simple annals' has changed markedly over time, and it is not just the 'storied urn' or 'animated bust' marking the burial places of the élite that we should be seeking to preserve.

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The challenges of burial-ground excavation

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The life of a man, as Hobbes declared in his Leviathan (1651), is nasty, brutish and short. This description can also apply to some earlier exhumations and excavations on post-medieval burial grounds. Fortunately, a more informed appreciation of the wealth of data present within post-medieval cemeteries and skeletal assemblages is now flourishing.

In the roughly 800,000 years that people have lived, and more specifically, died in Britain, the overwhelming preference of burial has been individual inhumation, often with grave goods. And while the flesh decays (usually), the skeleton will survive in the right conditions; the dead of Britain may therefore be present below ground in astronomical numbers.

While prehistoric and Roman skeletons fire the imagination and generate huge interest, excavating and studying more recent skeletons is a challenge, no matter how much they contribute to understanding the human past. In the first place post-medieval populations are close, familiar and not as 'other' as prehistoric remains. What is more, they often contain clothes, rings, even dentures and coffin plates that give personal identity to the dead. Objects of this kind create uncomfortable feelings, reminding us of our own mortality. Once the dead become clearly recognisable people, 'ethics' come into play as a means of creating emotional distance.

Should the dead remain undisturbed, and, if not, how they are to be treated? The vast majority of post-medieval skeletons excavated in England are from Church of England burial grounds, and as such, were consigned to the perpetual care of the Church. Yet many individual churches have to be adapted to meet modern needs - ramps, lifts, lavatories and extensions for meeting spaces. A tension is automatically created: archaeology can seem an unnecessary expense when the needs of the living conflict with those of the dead, particularly if the parish deem that the dead should rest in peace. At the same time, for archaeologists the skeleton can be a fundamental key to understanding past society, whether through the evidence of burial rites or the delicate traces of disease and injury. Properly examined, human remains can shed a light on the past that is sometimes beyond the reach of the



Unconventionally arranged coffins found during archaeological excavation of a post-medieval burial ground in South London.

© Adrian Miles, Museum of London Archaeology



Site supervisor, lan Hogg demonstrates the exceptional quality of coffin plates and furniture from a 19th century burial ground in East London.

© English Heritage, courtesy AOC Archaeology

very best of written parish records.

The Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Christian Burials in England was convened in 2005 to provide comprehensive guidance on working with human remains. Legal, scientific and ethical issues were debated. A key finding of the ethical group, led by a senior Church of England cleric and including English Heritage, was that skeletal integrity is not required for the resurrection; nothing in the Christian canon precludes reverential excavation and study. One important outcome was the publication in 2010 of Archaeology and Burial Vaults: A Guidance Note for Churches by the Association of Diocesan and Cathedral Archaeologists (www.britarch.ac.uk/adca/projects-issues.html). In addition, a research strategy for post-medieval funerary archaeology is being written, identifying research to date, and lacunae in knowledge under key themes such as human osteology, funerary rites and monuments, grave goods and coffin furniture.

Many post-medieval burial grounds are no longer associated with places of worship, and development pressures often led to their being built over – a number of inner London schools and playgrounds were built on top of crowded graveyards that had been closed for burial in the 1850s. Perhaps the greatest challenge when dealing with large cemeteries, other than overcoming the emotional response of many interested parties, is the sheer scale. Over time, it has become clear that many 18th and 19th-century cemeteries contain tens of thousands of skeletons, often at a density of four individuals per cubic metre, and more if the coffins are tightly placed or stacked. The time and cost associated with full archaeological recording

has caused developers, including the Church of England, to question again whether this is a justifiable area of archaeological endeavour. The guidance documents demonstrate clearly that this is the case, and that burial grounds should not be cleared without first gathering an understanding of the past populations that they represent; nevertheless it is time-consuming, particularly in waterlogged areas, where human tissue survives alongside bone.

At the medieval cemetery of St Mary Spital at Bishopsgate more than a year was spent excavating 10,516 medieval skeletons. No exercise on this scale had ever before been conducted at a British postmedieval cemetery: inevitably compromises have had to be sought, focusing on the shortest time archaeologists need to spend on site. Archaeological sampling strategies have also focused on statistical significance - what is the minimum numbers of skeletons needed to address particular research questions? The number of burials selected was thus intended to reflect the size of the original population, and the rarity and importance of specific groups within it – for example, does it contain the only Nonconformist population in the region? Is there an immigrant group such as Huguenots? Might there be evidence straddling the onset of the industrial revolution?

A better approach is to ensure that a specific area within the cemetery is completely excavated from top to bottom. The advantage of this method is that it portrays the complete 'life' of a defined part of the cemetery, especially the variations between who is buried at the bottom and who at the top. Another thing it has shown is the way in which children are often tucked into the edges of open graves and also buried relatively shallowly. This may help to explain why children have traditionally been poorly represented in studies of past populations – a shortcoming that needs redressing because rates and forms of child mortality tell us a great deal about how society functioned, or failed to function - as do the poignant forms of burial rite associated with children.

Huge strides have been made in demonstrating the importance of studying our recent past, but the cost can still be considered prohibitive. Cemetery clearance is more expensive than other kinds of excavation, body for body, and the costs of analysis push up the archaeological bill still further. Yet careful archaeological work can tell us things about our ancestors and their burial practices that we could never learn from any other historical source.

Listing Bunhill Fields: a descent into dissent

David Garrard and Hannah Parham Designation Department, English Heritage

An early 19th-century visitor to Bunhill Fields wrote in her diary:

[In] the burial ground ... we found a worthy man, Mr Rippon by name, who was laid down upon his side between two graves, and writing out the epitaphs word for word. He tells us that he has taken most of the old inscriptions, and that he will, if God be pleased to spare his days, do all, notwithstanding it is a grievous labour, and the writing is hard to make out by reason of the oldness of the cutting in some, and defacing of other stones. It is a labour of love to him, and when he is gathered to his fathers, I hope some one will go on with the work.

The writer would be happy to learn that someone has. In 2010, English Heritage's Designation Department surveyed England's foremost Nonconformist cemetery grave by grave, recording inscriptions and locating the tombs mentioned by previous antiquarians. The fruits of this labour are thankfully more manageable than Dr John Rippon's: in place of the two great manuscript volumes of his unfinished opus we have produced a slender sheaf of statutory designation records, including a Grade I entry on the Register of Parks and Gardens and 75 listings at Grades II and II* for

the most important tombs, along with the boundary walls, railings and gates.

Lying just outside the medieval walled City of London, Bunhill's funerary associations go back at least to 1549, when cartloads of human remains from the charnel house at St Paul's Cathedral were deposited here – hence its earlier name of 'Bone Hill'.

In the plague year of 1665 the southern area was enclosed for use as a mass grave; it never served this purpose, however, and from 1666 the land was leased out as a private, subscription-based cemetery. Not tied to any Established place of worship, this was one of the few sites where funerals could be conducted without the use of the Anglican prayer book, and it soon became the standard burial place for London's various communities of Protestant Dissenters.

The 1660s were a hard time for such groups. Tolerated under Cromwell – several of whose inner circle are buried at Bunhill – they suffered heavy penalties under the Restoration government. Many lost their livelihoods, and some were imprisoned for their beliefs: John Bunyan, whose much-restored tomb stands at the centre of the burial ground, wrote *The Pilgrim's Progress* while serving an 11-year prison term for unlicensed preaching.

Legal sanctions were gradually relaxed in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and the Non-conformist churches steadily grew in numbers and influence, especially among rising middle-class families like that of the self-made plutocrat Joseph Denison, whose huge neo-Grecian monument is



The great
Nonconformist
burial ground
at Bunhill Fields
survives as a
tranquil public
memorial garden
on the fringe of
the City of London.
© Derek Kendall,
English Heritage

one of the most impressive in the cemetery. At the same time, the tradition of Dissenting radicalism continued unabated: Dr Richard Price, buried in a far more modest tomb near the eastern gate, was a champion of the American and French revolutions and a friend of Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin and Mary Wollstonecraft.

Bunhill has long been a place of pilgrimage as well as of interment. After burials ceased in the 1850s the ground was laid out by the City of London as a public memorial garden, with spreading trees and serpentine paths among the graves. The tombs of important figures such as Daniel Defoe and the hymnodist Joseph Hart were replaced with imposing obelisk monuments erected by public subscription. The poet Robert Southey described Bunhill as 'the campo santo of the Dissenters', an impression reinforced by the dedication of an early 20th-century guidebook to 'the memory of the many saints of God whose bodies rest in this old London cemetery'.

The motives of today's pilgrims are more varied. The tomb of Susanna Wesley is still visited by Methodists from all over the world, but the most visible signs of devotion are the heaps of buttons, beads, coins and other offerings left on and around William Blake's headstone (a 1927 replacement for a long-lost original) by his contemporary 'New Age' disciples. Some high-profile acts of secular piety have helped raise both publicity and funding: in 1986 a wreath was laid at Bunyan's tomb to mark the founding of the Independent newspaper, while more recently a New Jersey-based investment company restored the tomb of the statistician, the Revd Thomas Bayes, upon whose 'Doctrine of Chances' (1763) their financial models are based.

Although not a designed unity like the great 19th-century cemeteries at Highgate and elsewhere, Bunhill is an outstanding historic landscape, and richly deserves its newly conferred Grade I Register entry. Its exalted status saved it from the wholesale clearance suffered by other London inner-city graveyards; the close-packed rectilinear pattern of the early plots is still the dominant visual characteristic, overlaid by the picturesque informality of the Victorian layout and the more formal elements introduced during the 1960s' remodelling by Bridgewater and Shepheard.

Centuries of pollution and decay, as well as severe bomb damage during the Blitz, have meant that many of the 2,000-odd surviving memorials are now broken, eroded or illegible. In choosing individual monuments for listing we had to strike a careful balance between design quality, the historic importance of the person commemorated and the degree to which original carvings and inscriptions survive.

It is hoped that the latest batch of designations will focus conservation efforts on the most important monuments, and also help protect the



The tomb of John Bunyan (restored by E G Papworth in 1862), one of many that have made Bunhill Fields a place of pilgrimage and a monument to Protestant Dissent. © Derek Kendall English Heritage

immediate setting from further development pressure: the cemetery is already overlooked by two tower blocks, and another large housing complex is now proposed immediately to the north-west. Our project has also raised the profile of a site whose significance is unknown to many of those who live and work in the area. With the help of the Archaeological Survey team we have given each of the listed tombs a precise set of co-ordinates, allowing anybody with a GPS device (or a smart phone) to locate any one to within 30 centimetres. Setting out significance, and keeping the designation base up to date with our ever-developing appreciation, remain priorities for English Heritage. We like to think that Dr Rippon - buried here in 1836 and whose own monument is one of those newly listed would approve.

To see the all the site's designated monuments visit the new National Heritage List for England webpage (http://list.english-heritage.org.uk) and key in 'Bunhill Fields'

Re-using old graves

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If the public are to continue to have access to affordable, accessible (local) burial in cemeteries fit for the needs of the bereaved, there appears to be no alternative to grave re-use. (Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs, 2001)

So where are we 10 years on? Research has shown that the public are likely to accept the re-use of older graves if the practice is well regulated and a period of 100 years has lapsed since the original burial took place (Davies and Shaw 1995). The Ministry of Justice has used a series of consultation documents to sound out opinion, but has so far failed to take any direct action in terms of amending burial law, launching pilot schemes, drafting codes of practice or securing further public support.

Re-use is crucial to the sustainability of our cemetery heritage. Without new burials or cremation memorials more and more cemeteries will fall out of use and there will be no new sources of income for their general management, let alone conservation of their older monuments. The values of landscapes and buildings are easily obscured or lost if management is discontinued and closed cemeteries clearly illustrate the changes in historic character that inevitably happen. On top of this

we have in this country a 30-year backlog of damaged memorials to repair after the era of health-and-safety 'topple-testing', and numerous ruinous chapels and degraded landscaping to be brought back in hand. Work being carried out as part of English Heritage's 'Heritage at Risk' programme is already beginning to quantify the scale of the task. Meanwhile, only a fraction of cemetery heritage assets are protected by any form of statutory designation.

Cemetery managers, especially in urban areas, are urging the government to look at re-use again. MPs' concerns are reflected in the number of briefing notes that have been deposited in the House of Commons Library (Fairburn 2009, 2010). The historic environment sector needs to help to define how re-use could be creatively integrated with the objectives of conservation. In particular, conservation management plans have a key role to play in working out re-use opportunities in a reasoned and systematic way. Reinvigorated by re-use, and perhaps supported by the next generation of Heritage Lottery Funding, these ornamental landscapes could once again become the places that people choose as their last resting place and in the process add to this country's rich monumental heritage.

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Catastrophic burials: the study of human remains from sunken warships

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Cemeteries contain the bones of people who died over long periods of time and from different causes. By contrast, human remains from sites of shipwrecks belong to individuals who all died at once and for the same reason – 'catastrophe samples' in the impersonal language of the archaeological laboratory. The closest land-based parallels to

These double-depth burial chambers have iust been installed in Westminster's Hanwell Cemetery, a registered park and garden and conservation area that no longer had space for entirely new graves. Conserving the historic character of cemeteries is challenging. Design, density, colour, materials and setting all need to be considered when planning new graves or memorials. © Jenifer White, English Heritage



skeletal remains from wreck sites are those that come from plague pits or battlefields (Mays 2008).

While the provisions of the 1857 Burial Act extend offshore, the Act appears to refer to bodies that were *deliberately* buried. As such, human remains from wreck sites, even if they lie within England's territorial sea, do not fall under the provisions of the Burial Act (although deliberately buried prehistoric human remains in submerged landscapes would).

For survivors and families a wreck may represent the last resting place of those that perished in the sinking, even if it does not form a legally recognised burial. At what point, then, is it acceptable to consider human remains from wreck sites as being of archaeological or evidential interest?

In March 1665, the Second Rate warship *London* suddenly blew up off Southend, with the loss of more than 300 sailors, crew and guests. Wreckage was scattered over a wide area and prompted Samuel Pepys, in his diary entry for 8 March, to write that the ship's Admiral 'hath a great loss in this of so many good chosen men, and many relations among them'.

In 2008, the *London* was designated a Protected Wreck Site and licensed investigations last year resulted in the recovery of a small number of human bones associated with a large section of wooden hull and other organic material. These

turned out to belong to three adults (two of whom may be female; the presence of a single female survivor following the explosion was noted by Pepys), aged between 20 and 40 years old.

On 2 November 1943, the armed merchant ship *Storaa*, operated by the Ministry of War Transport, was sailing in convoy CW 221 in the English Channel under Royal Navy escort *en route* from Southend to St Helen's Roads, Merseyside. At 00.35, she was hit amidships under the bridge by a torpedo fired by *schnellboot* (E-boat) *S*-138. She sank within thirty seconds off Hastings with the loss of 22 merchant and naval seamen.

Archaeological survey of the *Storaa* in 2006 identified not just elements of its cargo, but also the presence of exposed human remains. As a result of the involvement of the two daughters of Petty Officer James Varndell, who died when the *Storaa* sank, the wreck has now been designated a protected place under the Protection of Military Remains Act 1986.

The loss of the *London* and *Storaa*, separated as they are by almost 280 years, provide the opportunity to briefly consider the evidential interest of human remains associated with sunken military vessels.

The 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage

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allows nations to protect and preserve their submerged archaeological sites. Article I of the Convention asserts that all traces of human existence under water (including human remains) become of cultural, historical or archaeological interest when they have been submerged for at least 100 years (though this is not a legal requirement in the UK). Clearly, this encompasses the *London* but currently excludes the *Storaa*. Losses from the First World War will become eligible for protection in July 2014, however, and those from the Second World War in September 2039.

Rule 5 of the 2001 Convention notes that the unnecessary disturbance of human remains should be avoided during archaeological investigation. In that case, why does it seem acceptable for us to recover and study human remains from the *London* yet morally wrong to do the same for the *Storaa* lost in the recent past? As with older and more recent terrestrial burials, the answer seems to lie in the length of time that has passed since a ship was lost.

The 100-year limit provided by the 2001 Convention is not scientifically based; it is purely an administrative device for excluding material of more recent date (O'Keefe 2002). However, opening the doors to archaeological interest after the equivalent of just three generations can present emotional difficulties for the families of those lost at sea. For any of us, three generations back takes us to our own great-grandparents. I did not know my great-grandparents (my paternal great-grandfather fought in the infantry in the First World War) and do not have a strong emotional tie to them but for their children (ie my grandparents) it was very different. The same principle applies to Petty Officer Varndell's daughters. While formally discouraged by UNESCO, the excavation, recovery and study of human remains from two, or even



A staged arrangement of artefacts on the Gilstone Ledge, Isles of Scilly, most probably derived from the warship Association lost in 1707 with her entire crew and salvaged in 1967. Source: private collection, used with permission

three, generations ago becomes more directly objectionable to the surviving relatives who knew those lost.

As losses from the Second World War pass from memory into history, perhaps now is the time to suggest that at least four generations have to pass before our ancestors from submerged warships become of archaeological interest as 'catastrophe samples'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With thanks to Peter MacDonald, Head of Navy Command Third Sector, Ministry of Defence.

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Human remains on the starboard aft deck of the SS Storaa, observed in 2006. © D M McElvogue

Protecting their Memory

Burial grounds and monuments are places of enduring memory – but they will only remain so if they are properly cared for.

Protection comes in different guises. After a legal overview, we look into recent guidance into the conservation of tombs: a practical approach to their care. With outdoor monuments numbering in the millions, realism is needed as to which demand bespoke care. The Burton Mausoleum is a spectacular example of what can be achieved.

Monuments may be privately owned, but two groups in particular carry huge responsibility for the upkeep of burials: the Church of England, and cemetery managers. Joseph Elders discusses recent developments in churchyard care, showing how excavation and respect are reconciled. Cemetery managers have a hugely delicate task as it is: how conservation considerations are placed higher up their agenda is explored by Sarah Green. Former burial grounds are often public open spaces: Gillian Darley tells the tale of community involvement in St George's Gardens, Bloomsbury, and shows how much partnership can achieve. War memorials are especially sensitive places of local loss: protecting these tributes to world conflict is now enjoying greater support, as the War Memorials Trust sets out, as does Philip Davies' international survey. And just what archaeology can tell us about death in battle is hinted at by Glenn Foard.

Monuments will one day need their own memorials: David Lambert banishes complacency with a reminder of how great the challenges remain for cemetery conservation, while Ian Leith explores the challenge of understanding our public monuments. In these straitened times, the living compete with the dead for funding. Both respect and history demand that we remember the latter. It is a matter of life and death.

Death and the law

Helena Myska Legal Adviser, English Heritage Richard Morrice Heritage Protection Reform Team, English Heritage

Somewhat surprisingly, given its inevitability, there is a relative dearth of law relating to death (as opposed to that other inevitability – taxes), and that which does exist is both rather old and somewhat unclear.

Ownership and statutory duties

There are certain presumptions that always apply. In general, the law will take the view that human remains are sacred but, beyond that general presumption, the matter gets more confused. Under common law it has been held that 'a dead body by law belongs to no one and it is therefore under the protection of the public . . . whether in ground consecrated or unconsecrated, indignities offered to human remains in improperly and indecently disinterring them are the ground of an indictment' (Foster v Dodd 1867). Local authorities have discretionary powers to provide burial grounds but there is no statutory duty on them to do so, and there is no central record of burials. Furthermore, there is no statutory duty to dispose of the dead, although the controls under the Public Health (Control of Disease) Act 1984 are probably sufficient in this regard.

Graves, cemeteries and churchyards

Leaving aside pre-Christian burial sites, the majority of burials prior to the 19th century took place in churchyards. Cemeteries came into being from the 1820s onwards as a result of the increase in population and concern about the impact on health of unrestricted burials in confined urban areas. Cemeteries are often owned by statutory authorities and are not always consecrated. Most cemeteries are still in operation, in part due to the acknowledged practice of reusing older burial spaces (see White above, p 20). Most cemeteries are undesignated, and hence have little legal protection in relation to their upkeep. Public consultation has also revealed that there is no great appetite for making maintenance of existing cemeteries and crematoria a statutory obligation.

Undesignated monuments can be removed and replaced by kerb sets. In 1988 the Audit Commission encouraged this as a way of reducing maintenance. In parallel, some over-zealous local authorities have caused controversy by knocking down those gravestones seen as a safety risk; while the risks seem to have been small, the upset caused to families can be great. More recent government guidance (2009) says that the stones shall only be taken down as a matter of last resort. Legally, the stone belongs to the descendants of the relatives who raised it but, if it topples causing personal



Dereliction in Tower Hamlets Cemetery, London. The law relating to death and burial grounds is both old and unclear. © David Lambert

injury, the local or ecclesiastical authority is liable. Consistory court and local authority guidance now restricts the force that can be used in a 'toppling test' and requires that relatives must be consulted before action is taken. Further, before a stone is laid flat, it must be recorded for posterity (Ministry of Justice 2009), but for many this has come too late.

The major Christian denominations in England are exempt from listed building and conservation area controls in relation to designated church buildings and structures in churchyards. Care of their churchyards is instead regulated in a number of other ways. Any significant undertaking, including repair or removal of burials and memorials as well as building work, drainage, landscaping or the laying or alteration of paths, will require permission from the appropriate ecclesiastical authorities. In the rare event of the churchyard being scheduled, then scheduled monument consent from English Heritage is also required. Finally, any works likely to affect trees that are subject to Tree Preservation Orders will require permission from the local authority. Most denominations have published rules about the decent and orderly care of their churchyards, though tastes differ and the definitions of decent and orderly can provoke disagreements between families and the relevant church authorities.

Reuse of grave spaces and re-burial

In England one does not buy the freehold of a grave plot. Instead you can either be buried in a 'public grave' belonging to a local authority or in a 'private grave' in which you buy a right to burial in a particular grave plot. The duration of such a right is defined by the burial authorities themselves. Originally this was 'in perpetuity', but now it is 100 years (or possibly less in London).

If the site from which human remains need to be excavated falls under Church law, the permission will normally stipulate that the bones are re-buried in consecrated ground as near as possible to the place where they were excavated.

In the case of a disused burial ground, redevelopment cannot go ahead if relatives or friends object to the disturbance of burials made in the last 50 years. There is no such clear cut-off point when sites come under Church law. However, the Church always accords strong weight to the feelings of relatives and representatives when it makes its decision about whether to allow the disturbance of remains.

It is the Ministry of Justice that administers the excavations of earlier burials that are governed by secular law. The Ministry is at present in consultation as to the way in which applications for excavation of ancient remains should be considered in future.

Exhumation

Once someone has been buried their body can only be exhumed in the following limited circumstances:

- in the interests of justice
- for personal reasons by next of kin
- for scientific purpose (but with caveats)
- to allow reuse of old graves

The authority to exhume rests solely with central government. If human remains are excavated from disused burial grounds then normally it is secular law that determines what happens, specifically the Disused Burial Grounds Act 1981. If the remains are in burial grounds that are under Church of England jurisdiction, then both ecclesiastical and secular law will apply.

The Human Tissue Act 2004 regulates activities relating to the removal, storage, use and disposal of human tissue, including those recovered in the course of archaeological excavations. Different consent requirements apply when dealing with tissue from the deceased or living and these are administered by the Human Tissue Authority. Failing to obtain the appropriate consent is a criminal offence. However, the Act does not apply where a person died before the Act came into force and has been dead at least 100 years.

Future legislation

The last government entered into consultation as to whether it was desirable for all these diffuse pieces of legislation to be reconsidered and standardised. While there was widespread support for this, it does not appear to be a priority at present. Possible legislative change is therefore on hold though the intra-governmental Burial and Cemeteries Advisory Group, with a membership drawn from across government and related bodies with an interest in these matters, continues to meet and issue advice.

REFERENCE

Ministry of Justice 2009. Managing the Safety of Burial Ground Memorials: Practical Advice for Dealing with Unstable Memorials. London: Ministry of Justice

Caring for graveyards and cemetery monuments: new guidance

Chris Wood

Head of Building Conservation and Research, English Heritage

Burial grounds, graveyards and cemeteries are places of huge significance to people and communities. They provide tangible links to deceased relatives and past generations and, in most cases, visitors can enjoy quiet contemplation in a tranquil setting. They are also important for historical reasons; they hold a unique local record of a place or dramatic events and contain monuments of undoubted architectural and historical interest. In recent years, though, many have suffered damage from neglect, vandalism or inappropriate repairs. So, English Heritage has produced guidance for those who care and are responsible for them (English Heritage 2011)

The guidance note

The guidance note, prepared for English Heritage by David Odgers, includes advice about the typical causes of deterioration and methods of treatment. It distinguishes the work that can be done by individuals from what should be left to professional architects and engineers to specify, and experienced conservators or contractors to carry out. A vital part of this process is carrying out inspections and condition surveys and then prioritising work; all of this is covered, together with the legal framework that surrounds the care of funerary monuments. An extensive list of contacts and further reading is also included.

The advice covers all types of outdoor monuments, which include memorials, sculptures, marker stones, headstones, ledger slabs and tomb chests. Most of these are carved from stone and incorporate styles reflecting wealth, fashion and attitudes to death; these are also evident in the inscriptions.

The approach to conservation

The aim of conservation is to slow down the natural rate of deterioration and remove any causes of instability, while preserving as much of the historical significance and original material of the monument as possible. Natural weathering is inevitable and often attractive, so the objective is not to restore to a pristine state. Restoration is usually only justified where inscriptions are of particular historical interest or where decay has totally disfigured the monument.

The main areas of practical treatment tend to be emergency interventions and routine repair and/or

cleaning. All of these will need professionals to inspect and analyse the problems and experienced conservators, stonemasons or contractors to carry them out. However, volunteers also have a very useful role to play.

Volunteer help

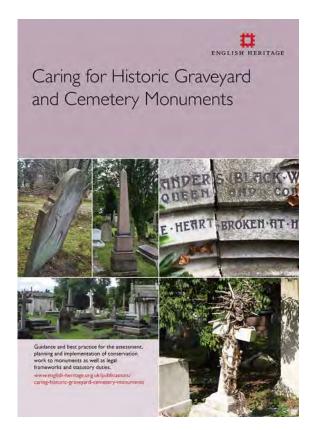
Routine maintenance and the updating of condition assessment reports are vital if more costly and invasive works of repair are to be avoided. If paid staff are not an option, as will usually be the case with parochial churchyards and burial grounds, then suitably trained volunteers can be an invaluable alternative. The most important benefit comes from regularly inspecting and reporting anything that does not look right or that has changed. The condition survey will therefore cover everything from open joints or cracks to signs of movement or the effects of plant growth.

Maintaining a cemetery or graveyard usually involves regular grass cutting. It is tempting to use power mowers or strimmers, but these can cause damage to stone monuments so great care will be needed in close proximity. Shears and secateurs are a much safer option. Cuttings should be removed from the surfaces of monuments to discourage further plant growth. Large and invasive plants will need to be managed. While these do have some romantic appeal and are important if burial grounds are managed as wildlife areas, they need to be controlled to prevent damage and allow periodic inspection. Ill-managed overgrowth will sometimes give the impression of a lack of care, which can in turn encourage vandalism.

More substantial plants should be cut back with secateurs and their roots removed without disrupting the monument. Diseased trees and dead branches must be reported if they pose a hazard to monuments or visitors. Any tree work or scrub clearance should avoid the nesting season for wild birds. It is also extremely helpful to note any changes in soil levels as subsidence and drainage problems affect most burial sites and can be very expensive to put right if not dealt with straight away. Early alerts about thefts, vandalism or graffiti can be invaluable. Stealing or removing parts of monuments can quickly lead to more extensive, and expensive, damage. Graffiti is easier to remove if it is tackled as soon as possible after it is applied; this also helps to deter repeat attacks.

Professional work

Work that includes taking emergency measures, repairing, cleaning or replacing parts of monuments



should be left to professional specifiers and experienced contractors, masons or conservators. Anything identified as being unsafe will need to be professionally assessed and suitable measures taken. Laying unstable monuments flat is seldom necessary except as a temporary measure in response to urgent safety concerns. Re-setting fallen monuments, repointing open joints or undertaking other structural repairs involves skilled practical methods and the use of materials compatible with the original.

Cleaning is not encouraged on most historic fabric unless the contaminant is causing damage. While the occasional removal of algae with soft brushes and water can be done by volunteers, other treatments utilise different techniques and materials and should only be carried out by experienced operatives.

Legal issues

There are important legal issues covering burial sites, for which responsibility lies with the owner and management, usually a local authority, parochial church council or a faith group. The danger to the public from potentially hazardous headstones and monuments needs to be mitigated by periodic inspections and risk assessments. Repairs or other works are the responsibility of the owner of a monument, who is usually the lineal descendant of the deceased. Practitioners are liable for the repairs they carry out and are also

Fractures in headstones being rejoined using a combination of resins for the larger stones and lime mortar for smaller pieces. This is skilled work that needs to be carried out by an experienced mason or conservator. © Monument Conservation Collaborative

A well-maintained

churchyard with 18thcentury headstones.

The inscriptions are

enough to record.

© Chris Wood, English

still just legible

Heritage



responsible for the safety of those who could be affected by their acts or omissions.

Various statutory designations are applied to burial sites to help protect their historic buildings, monuments, landscapes, wildlife habitats or general amenity value. In any of these cases consent may be required for significant repair works, as well as a faculty (the equivalent of planning permission) in the case of Church of England sites. Other denominations have their own legal procedures to follow in addition to the statutory consents.

Alongside the other more detailed publications cited in its reference section, we believe that this new guidance provides the essential information needed to look after these important sites and monuments. Ultimately, though, it is the dedicated individuals who care for them on whom their future really depends.

REFERENCE

English Heritage 2011. Caring for Historic Graveyard and Cemetery Monuments

(www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications)



Caring for cemeteries: the HELM cemetery conservation workshops

Sarah Green

Regional Landscape Architect (London), English Heritage

English Heritage started HELM (Historic Environment, Local Management, www.helm.org.uk) in 2004 to give colleagues working in local government and other sectors information and training to help them manage change in the historic environment. A good example of this programme in action has been a series of workshops on the conservation and management of cemeteries, especially those owned by local authorities, which have been held since 2007 in different places across the country: Birmingham, London, Brighton, Liverpool, Reading and Ipswich, so far.

Many different professionals and others concerned with all types of cemeteries have benefited from the workshops. Participants have included cemetery and bereavement managers, conservation officers and planners, members of volunteer cemetery friends groups, landscape architects and archaeologists.

There were many reasons why this series of workshops was felt to be timely. The majority of England's cemeteries and burial grounds are municipal public cemeteries dating from the second half of the 19th century, when they were set up under the Burial Acts by local burial boards in response to a rapid increase in urban population and the deplorable inadequacy of existing burial arrangements. These cemeteries still exist, managed now by local authorities.

While the older private or commercial cemeteries, such as Manchester General Cemetery (1837) and 'the magnificent seven' in London, which included Kensal Green (1832), West Norwood (1837) and Highgate (1839), have deservedly attracted much attention, they are not typical of most 19th-century cemeteries. The fact that no one is sure exactly how many burial grounds there are in the country is just the first problem! A survey in 2007 came up with a minimum of 9747 in England and Wales, including churchyards (www.justice.gov.uk/publications/statisticsand-data/coroners-and-burials/burial-groundssurvey.htm) and within this total the number of municipal cemeteries is thought to be at least 1819.

Many of these cemeteries have almost run out of burial space, and many are suffering from neglect and underfunding, yet they often have huge potential as local assets of deep historic significance, as a natural resource and haven for wildlife, and as green



An overgrown and neglected commercial cemetery of the 1840s; both heritage and biodiversity are suffering.

© Sarah Green, English Heritage

open spaces. Although many were laid out originally on the edge of a town or city, urban growth has since spread around and beyond them, leaving them all the more valuable as green oases and public amenities. As space for new burials becomes critical, radical expedients have had to be adopted to find space, many of which are eroding the historic character and significance of our cemeteries.

Planting was always an important aspect of the Victorian design and layout, but trees and plants require systematic upkeep and appropriate replanting as well as understanding of the original design concept of these special places. Much care and expense was frequently lavished on burial monuments, and these are often now dilapidated, overgrown and unstable, and have to be made safe. The buildings in a cemetery were designed and constructed with great care; the briefest inspection leads to the conclusion that many are in a poor state, frequently now disused or dilapidated. A visit to almost any burial-board cemetery of the 1850s to the 1880s will show a well-designed ensemble of boundary walls, gate and gate lodge, an Anglican and a Nonconformist chapel, and sometimes a small detached mortuary, set in a carefully laid-out landscape with specially selected planting in which evergreens are prominent. Often a local architect worked with a local surveyor and nursery, influenced by such practical pioneers of national repute as J C Loudon and Joseph Paxton.

So far 108 cemeteries of every kind have been

designated as heritage assets by being added to the English Heritage Register of Historic Parks and Gardens, and others have been designated as conservation areas by their local authority. Even so, many of the buildings and structures in cemeteries that might well deserve protection by statutory listing have not yet been considered for this. For instance, there are (as of February 2011), only 232 listed cemetery chapels, which seems small in relation to the estimated minimum total number of cemeteries and their origins.

In the 19th century cemeteries were usually intended to be dignified, educational and pleasant open-air green spaces for people to visit, and the burial-board cemeteries were generally a statement of communal identity and civic pride, among the highest achievements of Victorian municipal endeavour. In the 21st century it is possible to stand back and see all these older cemeteries as a culturally and historically specific phenomenon, representing a kind of 'golden age' of cemetery creation and use from perhaps the 1830s to the 1950s. And for the future they have tremendous potential value as a public resource contributing to the green infrastructure of our urban areas, where both humans and wildlife will need a space.

English Heritage and Natural England jointly published *Paradise Preserved* in 2007 in order to raise awareness of cemetery conservation management in its wider sense. This document, with its up-to-date supplements on designation criteria



Sedum flowering in kerb sets – an encouragement to wildlife that does no harm to the historic value of a cemetery. © Sarah Green, English Heritage

and designated assets, provides, as its subtitle states, an introduction to the assessment, evaluation, conservation and management of historic cemeteries (available on-line at www.helm.org.uk).

The HELM workshops addressed all these questions by means of presentations and discussions, site visits incorporating practical exercises - for instance drafting conservation statements and treerecognition exercises - and gave participants the opportunity to network and exchange information. The Institute of Cemetery and Crematorium Management represented the professional view and the promotion of best practice in cemetery management. Feedback from the days was especially valuable and positive outcomes have included the development of partnership working at Key Hill Cemetery in Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter. The Friends, The City of Birmingham, English Heritage and developers working on the regeneration of the area have all contributed to a bid to the Heritage Lottery Fund, which will include a conservation management plan as well as further repairs and restoration of the site.

England's parish churchyards: a national treasure

Joseph Elders

Cathedral and Church Buildings Division, Church of England

Churchyards can be liminal places, peaceful and serene; places in which to wander or sit and think, and perhaps muse upon one's own mortality among the monuments to past lives. They are, like

the churches within them, almost always open for visitors of any faith or none, and the paths through them are rights of way used by the community to get from A to B. Churchyards are cared for by the volunteers from the community, for the benefit of the community; every parishioner has the right to be there and be buried there, if there is still space.

It is a great shame that this freedom has been increasingly abused of late, with the calamitous rise in metal theft, particularly lead from roofs; the suggestion by some police officers that the Church locks down its churchyards and festoons the walls with razor wire is, however, not a price the Church is willing to pay, except in extreme circumstances.

Interest in them goes beyond the aesthetic and amenity value, considerable though this is; at any one time there may be amateurs or experts recording the monuments for what they tell us of our ancestors, or the work of artisans and artists. Or they may be interested in the rare lichens growing upon them, the ancient yew trees that shade them, some many thousands of years old, and all the other flora and fauna of this undeveloped. It has been said that England's churchyards, taken together, constitute a National Park, an ecological reservoir and reboot facility for their surrounding environment, even in the most urban locations.

And, of course, there will be archaeologists, who are interested in more than just the bones under the uneven turf (though they are interested in them a great deal, as will be discussed below). The shape of the churchyard, the position of the church within it, the location of the lychgate in relation to the tower openings and the doors, the level of the ground, any sign of earlier lost parts of the church or other earlier buildings, or even previously existing earthworks, all these can provide information. There may be traces of markets, of industry, bellcasting pits, or of vaults and voids, which can be a health and safety hazard as well as a research resource. The study of the location of the church and churchyard itself in the land- or townscape can also bear fruit. In some cases the churchyard may remain where the church itself has long since disappeared. These ruined sites present their own set of challenges and are the basis for recent research and guidance produced by the Church in association with the Council for British Archaeology (www.churchcare.co.uk).

Above all, of course, churchyards are the resting place of the dead, and this is the Church of England's main responsibility in this regard. Many date back a thousand years, or even longer, and a typical historic parish churchyard will contain



Examining lichen on an old tombstone. Aside from their aesthetic and amenity value churchyards can be havens for nature, even in the most urban locations.

© Alys Tomlinson/CABE

many thousands of burials. The Church of England's attitude is that these human remains, regardless of age, should be treated with respect and reverence. The phrase 'laid to rest' used in the Anglican Funeral Service, being common parlance for burial, implies that remains should not be disturbed.

In accordance with this approach, the law of the Church of England, which applies to many thousands of burial grounds in England (mostly in churchyards), is protective. Church Law encompasses a principle that any remains entrusted to the safe custody of the Church should lie undisturbed, unless authority is granted for a good and proper reason in response to special circumstances, and that they should eventually be re-interred.

However, the safe custody of the Church does not mean that human remains may never be disturbed. Church Law recognises that the living, including church congregations, also have rights that may come into conflict with this principle. When human remains are under the protection of the consistory court of a Church of England diocese, no disturbance of human remains (whether corpse or cremated remains) may take place without lawful permission in the form of a faculty.

The Church also recognises that ancient human remains and the archaeological evidence for the rites that accompanied their burial are important sources of scientific information and of legitimate academic and public interest. Analysis of human remains, including (within reasonable limits) destructive analysis – for example, the taking of

DNA samples – is therefore acceptable provided that research aims are clearly and adequately justified, and that permission is given by the relevant authorities and the living close family of the individual involved, if known.

To achieve consensus on these issues, the Church collaborated with English Heritage to produce the so-called 'Purple Book', properly known as Guidance for Best Practice for Treatment of Human Remains Excavated from Christian Burial Grounds in England (2005). The Association of Diocesan and Cathedral Archaeologists (www.britarch.ac.uk/adca) also produced guidance on this area with their Guidance Note 1 (2004) and Guidance Note 2 (2010), the latter dealing specifically with burial vaults, and written in collaboration with the Advisory Panel for the Archaeology of Burials in England (APABE, www.britarch.ac.uk/apabe).

This panel was formed out of the group who compiled the Purple Book, and is supported by the Church, English Heritage and the Ministry of Justice. APABE has now produced guidance on *Sampling Ancient Human Remains for DNA Analysis*, out to consultation at the time of writing. APABE is able to offer advice, free of charge, on individual cases. This has provided a useful independent source of advice for the sector, and a means of creating new guidance with wide acceptance. The number of disputes has dropped markedly due to these recent initiatives.

The care of our churchyards is a joint venture, but is mostly in the hands of volunteers. The Church's environmental campaign Shrinking



The care of our churchyards is a joint venture, but is mostly in the hands of volunteers.

© Church of England

the Footprint (www.shrinkingthefootprint.org) and groups such as Caring for God's Acre (www.caringforgodsacre.org.uk) support them and campaign for recognition of England's church-yards for what they are – a unique, non-renewable resource, places of great aesthetic, environmental, evidential, historical and communal value. We would do well to cherish them.



St George's Gardens: the tomb of Esther Offty who died at the age of nine in 1770. By the time the burial ground closed in 1855 more than 50,000 people had been interred in this one-hectare space, most of them in unmarked graves.

© Mr Peter Fuller, English Heritage.NMR

Caring for St George's Gardens

Gillian Darley

Trustee, SPAB and former chair of the Friends of St George's Gardens

St George's Gardens began life as the first Anglican burial ground in London to be deliberately sited away from the church it served; confusingly enough, it formed a cemetery for two churches of the same name, St George the Martyr, Queen's Square, and St George's Bloomsbury – the latter yet to be built when the ground was purchased in 1713. After a slow start (burying your dead out in the fields was thought to be a bleak prospect) as London crept up to meet it, burials came thick and fast, to such an extent that by 1855, when it was closed, around 50,000 burials had taken place in its hectare of space. In the 1880s the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association and the Kyrle Society, probably advised by their landscape architect, Fanny Wilkinson, laid the gardens out as an archetypal Victorian public pocket park. Now, Grade II* registered, it is a jewel in the crown of Camden's open spaces.

When we came to live in Holborn in the late 1980s, I discovered that St George's Gardens, tucked out of sight behind Mecklenburgh Square, had been one of Octavia Hill's 'outdoor sitting rooms'. I was working on her biography so it was a happy discovery. I remember talking to the proud resident gardener, Arthur Murphy, as he carefully set out the beds of bright summer annuals. Not long afterwards Arthur was nowhere to be seen. With the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) the gardens were at the mercy of roving bands of contract operatives and within months went into a downward spiral of decline.

By 1993, the situation had become acute. A group of locals, chaired by Jane Monahan, set up a Friends group (FoSGG). Membership subscriptions were set low, a constitution was adopted but not charitable status (FoSGG has always operated under the 'umbrella' of the local Marchmont Street community association). Action began with the practical. A distinguished retired scientist watched the contractors like a hawk and compared their obligations against their actions. They were immediately found wanting and the council notified. Monthly meetings took place in the Chapel of Rest at the Handel Street entrance. Within the limits of time and money it was decided to hold a handful of regular events in the Gardens, in particular an annual St George's Party, an afternoon of free entertainment, tea and cakes funded by

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Corporate Members, a small and (mostly) faithful core of local firms and organisations. It has become a fixed high point in the local calendar, the first event of the season and, in the words of one supportive Camden official 'the most innocent' of them all.

From the beginning FoSGG has drawn its members from the immediate vicinity. We (I joined the committee quite early on) were still struggling with the rundown state of the place when the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) Urban Parks programme came into being. Camden, heavily nudged by the Friends, put in a successful application for the renovation of St George's Gardens. In addition to high-quality work on the listed walls and several of the most important chest tombs and monuments, a redesign of the planting and resurfacing of paths were included. St George's Gardens suffered from being the guinea pig, the first grantaided HLF scheme in the borough. Flaws included a badly run contract, atrocious 'resurfacing' work, which had to be entirely redone subsequently, and an inadequate maintenance regime. Few plants survived. Eventually, as other schemes progressed and higher-quality work became the norm, lessons were learned and most things rectified.

Each of us brought our own expertise to the party. Jane Monahan's successor was Peter Avery. He worked in the theatre and directed a memorable performance of St George and the Dragon by the Over-Sixties Drama Group from the Mary Ward Centre. During my own time as chair, I raised funds and organised the repair and reinstatement of railings around the important Robert Nelson memorial, the great urn on the southern side, which commemorated the churchman whose burial was intended to allay fears of being left out in the distant countryside. Then we turned our attention to the broken-down 'community greenhouse'. No longer used by the gardening club it had become a 24-hour drug refuge. We raised the money (largely from the Land Tax scheme through Veolia), employed Ian Kitson, a highly experienced landscape architect and, engaging the help of local cadets and members of the Putting Down Roots programme of St Mungo's (a charity for the homeless), we brought the small corner back to life as a Sensory Garden for people with impaired sight or other disabilities. Frank Dobson MP opened it in June 2007.

Satisfyingly, it is now hard to imagine the gardens without it, the seats, the paving and the simple but tough planting, are entirely integrated.

Lessons? Lots of them; none of the above could have been done by a group of locals on their own.



St George's Gardens: the St George's Day Party has become a fixed high point in the local calendar and, in the words of one supportive Camden official, 'the most innocent' of them all. © Diana Scarott

This is not a party political point but simple common sense. The support of Camden and the employment of a Parks Liaison (now Engagement) Officer has been the difference between night and day. Communication is now swift and efficient. Our website, a place of memory as well as announcements and information, has been an invaluable tool (www.friendsofstgeorgesgardens.org.uk).

Meanwhile, on the ground, FoSGG has been the 'eyes and ears' of the park, not to mention its voice throughout innumerable planning applications major redevelopment has been proposed for virtually every site around the entire circumference. As a Committee we have been careful to pass the baton and there have been 5 chairs in 17 years. The gardens are cherished and appreciated. For the last 10 or so years we have had regular gardeners, shared with one or two other local open spaces. They, too, have been invaluable 'eyes and ears' of the gardens. We achieved a Green Flag in 2010. St George's Gardens are often described as our local oasis. The balance between the responsibilities of the local community and the local authority is excellent long may it last. On close examination it might even prove to be quite economic.

Empire and memory

Philip Davies

Heritage consultant and former Planning and Development Director (London and South East), English Heritage

For not in quiet English fields,
Are these our brothers, lain to rest
Where we might deck their broken shields
With all the flowers the dead love best.
For some are by the Delhi walls
And many in the Afghan land,
And many where the Ganges falls
Through seven mouths of shifting sand!

Oscar Wilde, Ave Imperatrix

The price of Empire was never cheap. There are more than 2 million European graves in India alone. Until well into the 19th century, life for many was just two monsoons. The constant repetitive misery of losing friends and family etched itself deep into the Imperial subconscious.

As a consequence, across the world from Somaliland to Sarawak, and from Bengal to Barbados, lies a spectacular collection of buildings, sculpture and funerary monuments that bears eloquent testimony to the Pax Britannica. In the post-colonial world these monuments are increasingly being appreciated as an important aspect of national identity as well as forming part of a wider shared heritage.

Many host countries have shown remarkable sensitivity and maturity towards their conservation, even where they mark traumatic episodes in Imperial history. Baron Carlo Marochetti's mournful seraph, for instance, still stands sentinel at

Cawnpore, the scene of the horrific massacre of British women and children during the Indian Mutiny in June 1857. Inscribed with the doleful words 'These are they who come out of great tribulation', the memorial was carefully relocated from its original site to the town gardens in 1948 after Independence. In nearby Lucknow the hallowed ruins of the British Residency – the site of the epic siege – remain beautifully tended and respected by the Indian authorities, while in Calcutta there is active debate about reinstating Victorian British statuary as part of a conservation-led strategy to enhance the city's historic townscape.

In Canada, close to Niagara, a huge column commemorates Sir Isaac Brock – the saviour of Canada during the war of 1812 – one of the forgotten heroes of Empire, whose tomb lies in St Paul's Cathedral.

Carved forever into the barren sides of the Khyber Pass are the arms of British regiments, where, after three Afghan Wars in 160 years, British troops are once again in action fighting Islamic fundamentalism.

Today, in spite of a new relationship with the former Empire and Commonwealth, there are still many across the world who are keen to celebrate and reaffirm this shared legacy. The British Association for Cemeteries in Asia (www.bacsa.org.uk) is a voluntary organisation that keeps a benign watch over decaying British cemeteries and funerary monuments across the region, and channels funding towards their repair and restoration — a very practical model of the Big Society in action on the international stage. Prevailing anglocentric attitudes mean that the



The ruins of the British Residency in Lucknow, still carefully tended by the Indian authorities as a memorial to the siege of 1857.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

THE HERITAGE OF DEATH

Heritage Lottery Fund is currently unable to offer support for Britain's overseas architectural heritage – an insular policy that perhaps deserves to be reviewed.

Britain and its Empire and Commonwealth was the only power to fight two world wars from beginning to end and emerge victorious, but at a huge cost in blood and shattered lives. More than I million men from Britain and the Empire died in the First World War. The monuments that were raised to this sacrifice and the values they enshrine – Duty, Fortitude, Courage and Patriotism – triggered the greatest outpouring of public art ever seen in Britain and the Commonwealth at a time when British sculpture was at its height.

The Imperial (later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission is one of Britain's greatest institutions. Here the memory of those from across the Empire who sacrificed their lives in a just and shared cause is enshrined for the enlightenment of future generations. Some of the most magnificent monuments ever created were executed by the leading architects of their time, such as Sir Edwin Lutyens, Sir Herbert Baker and Sir Robert Lorimer: a programme of public architecture that has never, perhaps, been surpassed.

Much less well-known are the memorials raised across the Commonwealth which are imbued with deep symbolic meaning.

In Melbourne the colossal Shrine of Remembrance, modelled on the mausoleum of Halicarnassus, is a proud symbol of nationhood. In Sydney, the art-deco Anzac memorial by C Bruce Dellit contains a poignant bronze figure of a nude youth by the sculptor Rayner Hoff. Draped backwards across a sword of sacrifice he is held aloft on his shield by three mourning female figures depicting his mother, wife and sister within a marble chamber strewn with poppies.

In New Zealand, the national war memorial dominates the city of Wellington – a huge art-deco carillion tower by the architect William Gummer soaring above a Hall of Remembrance and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In Christchurch, beside the now shattered Cathedral, is one of the finest Antipodean sculptural groups, completed in 1937 to the design of Richard Trethewey, crowned by an Angel breaking the Sword of War, mercifully unscathed by the recent earthquake.

In New Delhi, at the mid-point on the great axis of Kingsway (now Rajpath), is the All India Memorial Arch completed in 1931 to the design of Sir Edwin Lutyens. It commemorates the 60,000 Indian losses in the First World War and the 13,516



Sacrifice: Rayner Hoff's sculptural centrepiece to the Anzac memorial in Sydney – a powerful expression of national grief. © Philip Davies

British and Indian officers and men whose bones lie scattered across the barren hills of the North West Frontier, one of the great fault lines of history. Only 14 years after its completion, at the end of the Second World War, the multicultural British Indian army of British, Gurkhas, Jats, Rajputs, Dogras, Sikhs and West Africans swept through Burma to inflict the greatest defeat ever suffered by a Japanese land army in the field.

Grief is a profound human emotion, which affects us all. Our response is conditioned by the environment in which we were raised, and many look to memorials as a tangible focus for grief. Today we choose to memorialise victims rather than heroes, and there tends to be a prejudice against figurative sculpture in favour of the abstract, but the desire to raise memorials to those who have passed remains undiminished.

In the past 10 years the quiet transformation of Hyde Park Corner into a focus for Commonwealth commemoration in London with the superb Commonwealth Gates, and the overtly contemporary Australian and New Zealand memorials, bears witness to the diversity of expressions of Imperial and Commonwealth ties, and the potent power of collective memory.

Echoes of Empire: The Architecture and Monuments of the British Empire and Commonwealth by Philip Davies will be published in 2014.

Recording public monuments

lan Leith

Deputy Chairman, Public Monuments and Sculpture Association

The Public Monuments and Sculpture Association (www.pmsa.org.uk) was founded as a charity in 1991 to provide information and advice about all types of commemorative or sculptural structures accessible or visible to the public. Its remit extends far beyond statues in public places to include collective monuments in cemeteries and churchyards. Since its foundation the prime focus has inevitably been on the thousands of 19th and early 20th-century constructions that were the product of the 'statuemania' that began in the 1840s. However, the PMSA also covers more recent public works of art and commemoration – indeed, we have become aware that post-war sculptures are actually some of most prolific and vulnerable.

Because freestanding monumental structures fail to fit neatly within a single coherent typology, we have had to adopt an inclusive policy to what we record. Architectural and 'applied' sculpture has always been seen as relevant but our collective knowledge has always been partial and the identification of designers and craftsmen often remains unknown. In cemeteries and churchyards the PMSA has had to adopt a selective approach to monuments erected by public subscription. However, the high risk of vandalism means that a better overall understanding of the heritage assets in these rich areas is an outstanding priority.

Given the range and diversity of public monuments and sculpture, the bibliography of national surveys remains curiously short, most monographs and local history sources providing little more than basic contextual information. Assessing the significance of individual monuments therefore depends on detailed research among more specialised sculptural, architectural and biographical sources – for example, Ingrid Roscoe's *The Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain 1660–1951* (Yale University Press 2009) or the Mapping Sculpture website (http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk). As well as publishing the *Sculpture Journal* the PMSA has since 1997 produced a series of 12 volumes in its *Public Sculpture of Britain* series in association with

Antony Salvin's
Grade II* monument
(1844) to the famous
Grace Darling in the
churchyard at
Bamburgh,
Northumberland,
was saved from
imminent collapse
with the aid of grants
from the Heritage
Lottery Fund and
Nationwide Building
Society.
© PMSA/Mark Pinder



Liverpool University Press – the first covered the city of Liverpool and the latest, on Bristol, was published in January 2011.

What these publications consistently reveal is how little we have previously known about the designers and makers of many of these monuments, even though most of them have been erected within the last 150 years. Those responsible rarely fall into conventional 'professional' categories, so it instead becomes necessary to search for them among contemporary art workers, art manufacturers and masons. What is more, most of this information still exists only at a local level, often buried in simple but prolific sources such as local newspaper reports of un-veiling ceremonies. Until all of this hidden information has been properly incorporated within a central database, it will remain impossible to provide the most significant of our public monuments with the listing and conservation actions they deserve.

Establishing a better context for PMSA sites brings with it new levels of understanding. Among these is an awareness of the enormous proportion of post-war sculpture that was commissioned for the public domain: a renaissance in public art has taken place in the decades since 1951 yet there have been very few systematic attempts to assess its importance either locally or nationally.

Another new area of understanding concerns the risks that public sculptures and monuments face from theft and criminal damage, especially when they are located in isolated places away from the public gaze. In recent years the PMSA has found that an absence of adequate security measures is due directly to a lack of awareness about how to assess the significance of these important public assets and the kinds of risk that they face. Happily, this problem should from now on be reduced as a result of the formation in February 2011 of the Alliance to Reduce Crime against Heritage (ARCH) – a new voluntary national network spearheaded by English Heritage that will take forward a range of initiatives and galvanise local action against heritage crime (www.englishheritage.org.uk/professional/advice/advice-bytopic/heritage-crime).

England's 10,000 public monuments and sculptures make an enormous contribution to the places in which we live, but until now we have lacked the awareness and reference tools to properly care for them. With the help of English Heritage, the HLF and others, the PMSA is at last unlocking that vital knowledge and understanding.

The Cemeteries Select Committee Inquiry revisited

David Lambert
Director, Parks Agency

In 2001, a House of Commons Select Committee held an inquiry into cemeteries. Its report was damning: 'unsafe, littered, vandalised and unkempt cemeteries ... shame all society in their lack of respect for the dead and bereaved'; 'the almost complete failure on the part of public authorities to take the action necessary to address the problems faced by cemeteries is inexcusable'. How much has changed in the last 10 years?

In many ways, the answer is disappointing. Data on numbers, cost, condition have not been collected, a lack that will continue to dog attempts to establish national policy. Estimates of burial space suggest a looming crisis, which has already arrived in major urban areas: at least three London boroughs have simply stopped providing for burials. Provision of burial space is not a legal obligation; the only statutory duty concerns health and safety, which generally means laying down or demolishing monuments.

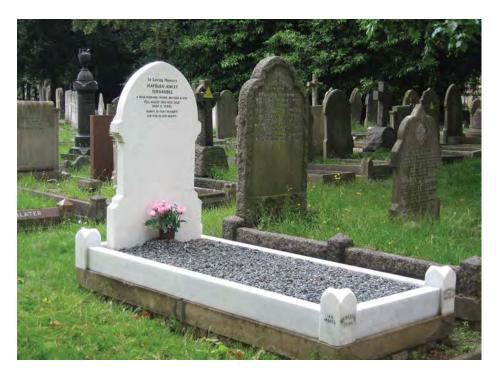
Evidence suggests that cemeteries are managed best under a dedicated Bereavement Service, but responsibility for cemeteries tends to remain with local authority leisure services, where they are subject to the same relentless budgetary pressure as parks. Worse, because their amenity potential often seems obscure, they can be off a park manager's radar. There are very few local strategies for burial. And while parks have benefited from the work of CABE Space and the HLF, neither body has paid the same attention to cemeteries.

Progress on the key question of re-use of older graves has stuttered. The select committee supported it as the only realistic way to fund cemeteries properly and to continue to make proper provision locally, but discussion then dragged on as a succession of ministers felt 'sensitive' about the issue. Eventually, in 2007, Harriet Harman announced legislation to enable London authorities to re-use graves. This established a procedure to extinguish unexercised burial rights after 75 years, to open up the grave, rebury any surviving remains at the bottom of the grave, and use it for new burials.

So far there has been little take-up, possibly because the powers, dependent as they are on extinguishing burial rights, are restricted to purchased graves, while most burial space is occupied by unpurchased graves. It has also effectively been discouraged by government, which failed to set up

A reclaimed grave at City of London Cemetery, with the headstone reversed and re-used.

© David Lambert



its promised pilot studies and draft guidance. With burial space disappearing, authorities have resorted to cramming new graves into landscaped areas, verges and disused paths; or even importing soil to create new raised areas for new graves. The impact on the historic character of cemeteries that are still providing for burials is grim and almost entirely bypasses the planning system. Registered cemeteries have suffered similarly from this approach.

An alternative route is being pioneered at the City of London Cemetery, using Church law to allow the removal of remains from consecrated ground providing they are re-interred in consecrated ground, using a 'dedicated grave' at the end of the row. This approach has the advantage of applying to unpurchased graves and thus has the potential to release far more space. More than 270 graves have now been re-used without any public complaint. It goes without saying that clear protocols need to be established for schemes of this kind and a conservation management plan is essential to balancing operational and heritage needs.

Cemeteries that have become inactive face an uncertain future. It is hard to imagine a park being abandoned to nature but that is what has happened to many cemeteries, sometimes, under the banner of nature conservation, where it translates as either a managed or, at worst, a headlong retreat. The voluntary sector, however, has recently shown some positive results, with local trusts taking on major sites and securing substantial grant-aid towards conservation programmes, as at Arnos Vale in Bristol or the General Cemetery in Sheffield.

For those of us interested in the historic character and fabric of cemeteries, the key question is conservation. How is the maintenance of cemeteries — so much more onerous than that of parks because of their buildings and monuments — to be funded unless by re-establishing the revenue stream which paid for them originally? An overgrown cemetery may be appealing, but being overgrown is not a stable state: under tilting monuments, tree roots are writhing and heaving.

Cemeteries have long been undervalued as sites of historic importance. English Heritage has done quite well: in 2001, there were only 26 cemeteries included on the *Register of Parks and Gardens*; by 2005 that number had been increased to 105. Since then, however, it has risen only to 108, still just a fraction of the total number of historic cemeteries that deserve recognition — even as early as 1994, Chris Brooks proposed registering some 300 on the basis of his thematic study of cemeteries. Cemetery structures also remain underrepresented in terms of listing, which means that too few of them have the chance to appear in national and local registers of buildings 'at risk'.

Heritage Lottery Fund has in the past made a small number of grants to cemeteries but from 2013 proposes to include them in its new Parks for People programme. In 2007 CABE Space published a guidance note on cemeteries, *Cemeteries, Churchyards and Burial Grounds* (www.cabe.org.uk/publications) but otherwise treated them as a type of green space and never tackled their specific needs. More encouragingly, Cemetery Heritage



Week has been announced by the Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe (ASCE) (www. significantcemeteries.org), and a new Council of Europe Cemeteries Route has been established. As yet only eight UK cemeteries have joined ASCE, but this promises at least some welcome promotion and education about cemeteries.

So progress has not been good, and a huge amount remains to be done - and urgently. Conservation is critical to the management of cemeteries, but so is provision of a decent service to the bereaved: the two are complementary rather than mutually exclusive.

In 2001 the author and Dr Julie Rugg of the Cemetery Research Group acted as advisers to the House of Commons Select Committee inquiry on cemeteries. The views expressed above are those of the author.

In place of graves -England's war memorials

Frances Moreton, Amy Davidson and Emma Nelson

War Memorials Trust

Historically, few of our military personnel who died overseas were repatriated. They lie buried near to where they fell, some in beautifully kept Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) cemeteries, some in unmarked graves, others never found. Following the Boer War, and

even more so the First World War, in the absence of graves at which to grieve, the nation embraced the community war memorial. Across the country communities raised money and created their local memorials. After the Second World War this trend continued with names added to earlier memorials or to new, often more utilitarian, memorials in places ranging from hospitals to bus shelters. Today, even when those who fall are brought home to be buried, names continue to be added.

There are estimated to be 100,000 war memorials across the UK. Many are local landmarks in the community, central to Remembrance services. Others are forgotten, discarded in cupboards or neglected and deteriorating. While people often think of a war memorial in terms of a village cross, there is actually a huge diversity of forms. Memorials may be cenotaphs, statuary, plaques, lychgates, buildings, parks, clocks, church fittings, organs and many more. Some are humble in design, others the work of some of the most noted British architects and sculptors of the 20th century.

Since 1997 War Memorials Trust (WMT) has been working to protect and conserve our warmemorial heritage in the UK. A registered charity, WMT provides advice and information on warmemorial issues and administers grant schemes that support the repair and conservation of war memorials. With just two Conservation Officers it is a big challenge. WMT has no statutory power and there is very little legislation covering war memorials; they remain the responsibility of the community and WMT has to co-operate, encourage and facilitate to achieve its objectives.

For many war-memorial custodians conservation principles are not necessarily central to their approach and regular and appropriate maintenance is sometimes neglected. To combat this WMT has been developing its proactive work. Its website, www.warmemorials.org, is designed as a central



After 90 years the names on the Grade II Longhope war memorial in Gloucestershire had become almost illegible.

A monument tilting picturesquely is

ment in the process

actually a monu-

of falling down.

© David Lambert



Longhope,
Gloucestershire:
advice and a grant
from the War
Memorials Trust have
allowed the original
lettering on the
name plaque to be
saved and the entire
monument given a
new lease of life.
© Longhope Parish
Council

point for information. Our Conservation Officers provide advice free of charge to anyone; we have a wide range of helpsheets and our conferences for custodians and contractors give WMT the opportunity to speak to those directly involved with memorials. In November 2010, the charity approached local authorities and so far a quarter have identified a 'War Memorials Officer' on their staff – an individual who is the first point of contact for war-memorial issues.

Managing expectations of the results of conservation work is vital. The rigorous approach of the CWGC can lead people to desire a clean, pristine war memorial, an outcome only achievable through methods often at odds with conservation practice. The inscriptions, dedications and names on war memorials are their raison d'être. Often people feel re-cutting should take place as soon as they start to weather. Despite the fact that heritage organisations generally recognise the exceptional nature of these inscriptions and the need to ensure they remain legible, it is often an issue of great debate; while re-cutting is intrusive, names do need to be readable. WMT has to be clear what it will support and why.

An example is Grade II-listed Longhope memorial in Gloucestershire. Initially, the project's

conveners discussed replacing the inscription plaque (itself a later addition) on this sandstone and limestone memorial with a new granite plaque because of weathering. WMT gave a grant of £650 towards more appropriate works to improve the legibility of names on the original plaque. On completion of the project the applicants noted how pleased they were to have worked with WMT. Following our conservation advice the stone was cleaned, and where required the letters re-cut by hand. This meant the original materials were unchanged and the memorial retains the elegance of its original, and unusual, design.

With the forthcoming centenary of the First World War, interest in war memorials, already stimulated by current conflicts and genealogy, will grow. WMT wants to ensure that in the next few years awareness of the charity is increased so that when communities suddenly wonder if their memorial is in a fit condition for commemorative events, their decisions will be guided by conservation best practice and principles. We hope that those in the sector involved in centenary events will consider the role of the local war memorial. War memorials are a tangible part of our heritage; they are accessible to everyone. When explaining to young people what they represent, a wellmaintained memorial which respects its age gives them a touchstone to their past; it ensures that as the World Wars fade from living memory we continue to remember the sacrifices made on our behalf as well as protecting this unique aspect of our historic, social, military and architectural heritage.

For further information about War Memorials Trust please visit www.warmemorials.org or call 0300 123 0764.

Remembering England's battle dead

Glenn Foard

University of Huddersfield

Excavation in 1996 of a mass grave at Towton in North Yorkshire showed the insight that can come through the study of human remains from well-preserved burial sites associated with historic battlefields. They can provide detailed information on the troops that fought and, from the trauma, the effects of the weapons in use. Yet the Towton grave, from 1461, remains the only example excavated in England in modern times – and it was not on the battlefield itself but lay beside the battle chapel in Towton village. There it had escaped the impact of modern agriculture.

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The problem is that mass graves are relatively small features covering a few square metres, but they have to be looked for in sites that can extend across 5 or 10 square kilometres. While tradition may occasionally provide a clue - as with the 'Scot Pits' field names at the site of the Battle of Northallerton, fought in 1138 – such evidence can prove spurious. The scatters of unstratified metal artefacts left by the action, by providing an indication of the intensity of the fighting, may suggest where some mass graves may lie - at Edgehill in Warwickshire (1642) the traditional grave site is associated with just such a concentration. But even then one will need to search many hectares and currently we lack effective prospecting techniques to pinpoint these elusive features. Geophysical survey does not always work - as the failure of intensive survey in the heart of Towton battlefield has shown - while geochemical prospecting has hardly been used, so we do not know what potential that may hold.

Not surprisingly then, the few sites that are located have been discovered by chance. One is from a battle in 1487 at East Stoke (Nottinghamshire), found in a watching brief on road widening. The other is from the heart of Towton battlefield. The latter shows the vulnerability of such graves to the effects of cultivation – for it was discovered when teeth and bone fragments were found on the surface. It is likely that the mass graves on many of our battlefields are being actively destroyed in this way, for arable cultivation is by far the most common land use on English battlefields. So, unless we locate these graves and give them appropriate protection, their enormous potential will be lost. And there are mechanisms that can achieve effective management; unlike the metal artefact scatters, mass graves can be scheduled. Perhaps even more important is the potential of agri-environment grant schemes, which can help persuade farmers to convert from arable to pasture or adopt minimum tillage regimes.

Towton provides another warning – not all these graves will be of equal value. The recently discovered grave at Towton contains just a scatter of bones. This and a number of other mass graves on medieval battlefields were cleared in the decades following the action, the major bones being re-buried in consecrated ground. At Bosworth (Leicestershire, 1485), for example, they were transferred to the new chantry in nearby Dadlington village.

Ironically it is these and other monuments to the dead, not the remains of the dead themselves,



The medieval cross said to mark the location where Lord Audley was killed at Blore Heath in 1459. It is possibly the earliest surviving memorial on an English battlefield to an individual who died in action.

© Glenn Foard

which are the protected sites today. They vary from the great abbey built by William I on the Hastings battlefield, to the single standing cross on Blore Heath where Lord Audley fell in 1459.

Yet even monuments such as these can be poor guides as to where the action was fought and where the fallen were buried. If they were constructed within living memory, or soon after, then the locations may be meaningful - as with the elaborate monument to the royalist commander Sir Beville Grenville, who died leading a desperate charge at Lansdown (Somerset) in 1643. However, others were erected centuries later - mostly in the 19th and 20th centuries - and may not even be on the battlefield itself. The classic example is the obelisk monument at Naseby in Leicestershire, built in 1823 on a disused windmill mound more than a mile from the action - it was just a prominent position on a piece of unused ground owned by the lord of the manor.

This article is based upon the book by Glenn Foard and Richard Morris, *The Archaeology of English Battlefields*, Council for British Archaeology, forthcoming.

Restoring the Burton Mausoleum

After years of neglect and inclusion on English Heritage's Register of Buildings at Risk, the unique tent-like mausoleum of the Victorian explorer and adventurer, Sir Richard Burton, has been recently repaired and restored.

Located in the burial ground attached to St Mary Magdalene's Catholic Church, Mortlake, the Grade II* Burton Mausoleum is one of the country's most extraordinary memorial structures. Constructed from Forest of Dean stone in 1891, the design of the mausoleum was closely based on a tent used by Burton on his travels in the Middle East. The surfaces were modelled to simulate the canvas and guy-ropes of a tent and carry both Christian and Islamic symbols, reflecting aspects of Burton's life.

Its rescue was led by the Friends of Burton and the Environment Trust for Richmond upon Thames, and funded by individual donations and grant support from English Heritage and the Heritage of London Trust. The work was carried out by Holden Conservation under the direction of the HOK architectural firm and Stand Engineering.



© Alexa Bailey

When work was completed in November 2010, the door to the mausoleum was permanently sealed shut. Visitors can now view the interior through a glass panel set in the roof at the back of the structure, which originally contained a stained glass window picturing a white dove of peace flying towards the sun. A mirror has now been added to the interior enabling visitors to view a small altar and other features at one end of this very singular mausoleum.

© Philip Vile



News from English Heritage

Historic Environment: Local Authority Capacity (HELAC)

Budget reductions mean that historic environment services will have to work in new ways to achieve the same outcomes. To support authorities as they respond to these challenges, a joint initiative, HELAC, has been developed by English Heritage and the Local Government Group, in partnership with the Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers, the Institute of Historic Building Conservation, and the Planning Officers' Society. Its aim is to help authorities to focus on strategic heritage outcomes, reduce unnecessary and costly bureaucracy and process, pool resources across public bodies, and engage civic societies and communities more effectively in the task of protecting the heritage.

The first phase of the initiative seeks to support a number of groups of partners – councils, English Heritage, civic societies, the voluntary and private sector – who have the ambition to adapt the way services are provided in order to meet the new pressures. These groups were selected from those who responded to a call for expressions of interest during April.

Contact: owain.lloyd-james@english-heritage.org.uk

The National Heritage List for England

The National Heritage List for England, the new online database, is now live at www.english-heritage.org.uk/list. The launch marks a major step towards a more streamlined and transparent designation system, one of the main aims of Heritage Protection Reform.

For the first time, information on all nationally designated heritage assets is available in one place. As well as listed buildings, scheduled monuments, registered parks, gardens and battlefields, protected wreck sites and World Heritage Sites, the new system includes Certificates of Immunity and Building Preservation Notices. Each entry will describe the asset and show its location on a map. Users will still be able to use the existing download spatial data pages on the English Heritage website and further improvements should be available later this year.

Users of the system will also be able to submit their own nominations for designation directly into English Heritage's casework management system. It is also possible to cross-search List data alongside other national and local historic environment datasets on the Heritage Gateway website, www.heritagegateway.org.uk.

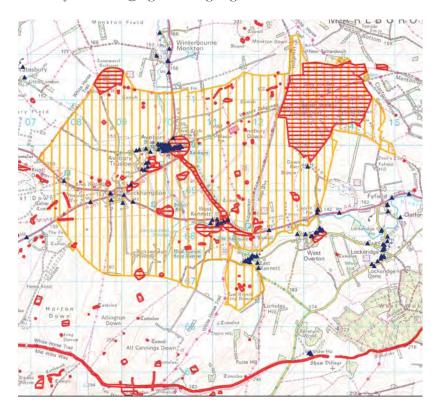
Contact: rachael.mcmillan@english-heritage.org.uk

English Heritage Corporate Plan

Alongside the National Heritage List for England, the English Heritage Corporate Plan and the National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) were both launched by John Penrose MP, Minister for Heritage and Tourism, on 23 May. The Corporate Plan demonstrates continuity in English Heritage's core aims and sets out the organisation's priorities and how it will use its resources through to 2015. See www.english-heritage.org.uk/corporateplan. The NHPP re-aligns the full range of English Heritage's expertise and resources and provides the framework for conservation and protection activity. It will increasingly build in relevant work by other partners within the sector. See www.english-heritage.org.uk/NHPP

Research on developers

English Heritage is managing a project into policy changes that could encourage developers to invest in historic buildings. The work, which is being undertaken by the consultancy Colliers, will focus on former industrial buildings and explore in particular the conditions that facilitate their successful reuse. Based on interviews with developers, tenants, planners, surveyors and heritage professionals, the study will also involve an analysis of listed buildings' investment performance, using information from the Investment Property Databank (IPD) Contact: john.davies@english-heritage.org.uk



High Speed II

English Heritage will be responding to the Government's consultation on a new high-speed rail line between London and Birmingham (HS2). Our aim is to make sure that the government clearly understands the impact of the proposals on the historic environment. We will be investigating which historic places could be affected, in terms of both demolition and effects on the setting of heritage assets.

Our response will be given in the context of national planning policy, especially Planning Policy Statement 5, which sets out the need to weigh harm to the historic environment from building the new line against the public benefit that would result. Our submission is due to be agreed by our Commissioners in July, after which we will publish it. In the meantime we will continue to work with the team developing the new line to ensure that changes to these historic places and their setting are properly understood and the harm is minimised.

Contact: jenny.frew@english-heritage.org.uk

Government review of UK World Heritage Tentative List

Heritage and Tourism Minister John Penrose announced the new UK Tentative List on 22 March. The 38 applications received in June 2010 were reviewed by an independent expert panel chaired by Sue Davies, OBE, Deputy Chair of the UK National Commission for UNESCO. The Panel's report is available at www.culture.gov.uk/publications/7964.aspx.

The Panel recommended 11 sites for inclusion on the Tentative List, 4 of which are in England:

Chatham Dockyard and its Defences Creswell Crags, Derbyshire/Nottinghamshire England's Lake District Jodrell Bank Observatory

Two sites already being considered by UNESCO will also join the Tentative List:

Twin Monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow Darwin's Landscape Laboratory

The government will shortly submit the new Tentative List to UNESCO and will announce in due course the process for making new nominations to the World Heritage List. There will not necessarily be a new nomination every year. Contact: christopher.young@english-heritage.org.uk

Opposite: The
National Heritage
List online: scheduled
monuments (red),
listed buildings (blue)
in and around the
Avebury World
Heritage Site
(yellow) in Wiltshire.
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Knowing Your Place: Heritage and Community-Led Planning in the Countryside

During 2010 English Heritage commissioned research from Grover Lewis Associates on the historic environment content of rural community-led plans, with the intention of producing guidance.

In March 2011 English Heritage in partnership with Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) released *Knowing* Your *Place: Heritage and Community-Led Planning in the Countryside* to help communities consider the historic environment aspects of community-led planning. The guidance is available in PDF format at www.helm.org.uk/communityplanning and complements ACRE's own work on a community planning 'toolkit'. *contact: sarah.tunnicliffe@english-heritage.org.uk*.

West Dean College



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

9–12 May Conservation and Repair of Masonry Ruins

31 May-3 June Conservation and Repair of Plasters and Renders

6–9 June Managing Wildlife on Historic Monuments

12–15 September Conservation and Repair of Stone Masonry

Course fee: £473 (10% discount to English Heritage employees)

In addition, the Professional Conservators in Practice programme will be offering:

16–19 May Conservation of Leather

16–19 May Conservation for Horologists

27–30 June Reinterpretation of the Historic Interior

5–8 **September** Conservation of Historic Wallpapers

Course fee: £363

For further information on all the courses in this programme, please contact Liz Campbell at West Dean College, West Dean, Chichester, West Sussex, PO18 oQZ

tel: 01243 818219 or 0844 4994408; fax: 01243 811343; e-mail: cpd@westdean.org.uk; web: www.westdean.org.uk/college

The National Monuments Record

News and Events

New exhibition Recording the New:The Architectural Photography of Bedford Lemere & Co

1870-1930

4 June to 30 October 2011 at the V&A/RIBA Architecture Gallery, London.

Bedford Lemere & Co took photographs at a time of extraordinary change; their photography reflects the exuberance of British building at the height of the nation's prosperity.

The exhibition covers the architectural side of their work, but English Heritage Archives website, www.englishheritagearchives.org.uk, provides access to more than 8,000 images covering all aspects of their work with many links to local and social history.

Details of the new book *The Photography of Bedford Lemere & Co* by Nicholas Cooper are included in the New Publications section (see p48)

Improvements to English Heritage Archives website – www.english-heritagearchives.org.uk

When we launched English Heritage Archives last April we asked users for their opinions on what worked well and what we could improve. Following feedback we have now made some major improvements to the site. These include:

- simplifying the ordering process
- improving the information you receive so you now get all the results for any given search term in the one place, in more detail
- re-designing the key pages to make them clearer and easier to use.

Thanks to everyone who sent their feedback through; you have helped us improve the site for the benefit of all users.

Latest acquisition Knoop family photograph album

This new acquisition casts a fascinating light both on one of the 19th century's most important industries and on the ease with which entrepreneurs moved between countries at the time. This beautiful album includes a binding with high-quality filigree silver panels engraved with names and dates on the front and back. We believe it celebrates the silverwedding anniversary of Julius and Theodora Knoop



This photograph of the Midland Grand Hotel, which was reopened on 5 May 2011 as the St Pancras Renaissance London Hotel, was taken by Bedford Le Mere and Co in 1881, eight years after Sir George Gilbert Scott's masterpiece was first opened as the frontispiece to William Henry Barlow's great railway station.

© English Heritage.NMR BL01101

in 1872. Although both were born in Germany, Julius moved to Manchester around 1840 to work with his uncles and brother in the firm of De Jersey & Co. The firm specialised in the processing and export of cotton and was soon prospering greatly. Their business empire stretched from New Orleans to the depths of Russia.

The album contains 30 large photographic prints. The first group shows the Manchester business premises associated with De Jersey & Co – warehouses in Lower Mosley Street and Blackfriars Street, Salford, and the Hamer and Townhead Mills in Rochdale. Among these prints is a view of a palatial corridor in the 'New Warehouse', emphasising the role that such buildings had in impressing clients, as well as acting as stores.

The second group shows the houses in the Manchester area in which Julius and his family lived during their time in England, beginning with a bleak lodging house and progressing to ever-larger and more luxurious homes. There is particularly good coverage of Regent House in Rusholme, with its conservatory, stables, and comfortable, upper-middle class rooms.



The drawing room of Julius and Theodora Knoop's prosperous Manchester home, photographed around the time of their silverwedding anniversary in 1872.

Reproduced by permission of English Heritage.NMR AL2366/024/01

A mid-19th-century view of a sumptuous corridor in De Jersey and Co's New Warehouse at 14–16 Blackfriars Street, Salford.
Reproduced by permission of English Heritage.NMR AL2366/005/01



NMR Services

The NMR is the public archive of English Heritage, holding more than 10 million photographs, plans, drawings, reports, records and publications, covering England's archaeology, architecture, social and local history.

Find out more online at:

www.english-heritage.org.uk/nmr
Or contact: Enquiries & Research Services,
NMR,The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue,
Swindon SN2 2GZ

Tel: 01793 414600, fax: 01793 414606 or email: nmrinfo@english-heritage.org.uk

English Heritage Archives

www.englishheritagearchives.org.uk
Descriptions of more than 1 million historical
photographs and documents

Heritage Gateway

www.heritagegateway.org.uk National and local records for England's historic sites and buildings

Viewfinder

www.english-heritage.org.uk/viewfinder Historic photographs of England

Images of England

www.imagesofengland.org.uk Contemporary colour photographs of England's listed buildings from the turn of the 21st century

PastScape

www.pastscape.org.uk England's archaeological and architectural heritage

Heritage Explorer

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, **www.english-heritage.org.uk**. 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

Demolition: the impact of the Mitchell's Brewery decision

Ceri Pemberton, Head of Legal Department, English Heritage

A recent judgement of the Court of Appeal has wide implications for the planning controls affecting the demolition of buildings.

Lancaster City Council had authorised the demolition, without prior approval, of the historic Mitchell's Brewery in Lancaster. The building was subsequently listed but SAVE Britain's Heritage sought a ruling on whether the demolition constituted development that would have significant effects on the environment and therefore require an Environmental Impact Assessment.

The Town and Country Planning Act 1990 defines demolition as building operations and consequently development which requires planning permission. However, the Town and Country Planning (Demolition – Description of Buildings) Direction 1995 (Demolition Direction) excluded certain types of buildings from the definition of development, including listed buildings, buildings in conservation areas, scheduled monuments and non-residential buildings. Planning permission is not required for their demolition even though a separate form of consent such as listed building or conservation area consent may be necessary.

Permission to demolish residential property or buildings adjoining them was usually granted as permitted development rights by Part 31, Schedule 2 Town and Country Planning (General Permitted Development) Order 1995. However, the developer would need first to apply to the relevant planning authority to see if prior approval of the method of demolition and any proposed restoration of the site was required. Demolition of commercial buildings or unlisted buildings outside conservation areas did not constitute development and did not require planning permission at all.

Under European law (Environmental Impact Assessment Directive) any development project which is considered to have a significant effect on the environment requires an environmental impact assessment (EIA) to be completed by the developer. Since demolition of such buildings was not considered to be development under UK law an EIA was not required before demolition.

SAVE argued that the government was wrong to exclude certain demolitions from the ambit of the EIA Directive, particularly of buildings that are part of the cultural heritage.

The Court of Appeal held that demolition could be a project under Article 1.2 of the EIA Directive saying that 'if it is accepted that works are capable of having significant effects upon the environment, the definition of "project" in Article 1.2 should, if possible, be construed so as to include, rather than exclude, such works'. The Court explained that the list of projects provided in the Annexes to the EIA Directive should be read as 'sectoral categories' and not as descriptions of precise works so that demolition works can constitute 'urban development projects' and consequently require an EIA.

The Court accordingly granted the declaration sought by SAVE and stated that paragraph 2(1)(a)–(d) of the Demolition Direction, which covers listed buildings, buildings in a conservation area, scheduled monuments and any building other than a dwelling house or adjoining one, 'is unlawful and should not be given effect'.

The effect of the Court of Appeal's decision is that most proposals for demolition will now be 'development' requiring planning permission, which could be granted as permitted development under Part 31. However, under the conditions to Part 31 the local planning authority must be asked whether the method of demolition and proposed restoration will require prior approval. The planning authority will need to consider whether the demolition is likely to have significant effects upon the environment as permitted development rights will only apply if a screening opinion or direction has been made that EIA is not required.

Anyone proposing to demolish a listed building, scheduled monument, building in a conservation area or building other than a dwelling house will now have to consider whether they will first need a screening opinion that an EIA is not required. It may be that the quality or prominence of an unlisted building will be such that the planning authority may decide an EIA is required.

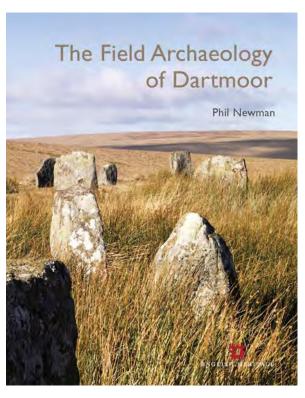
The Chief Planning Officer has already written to local planning authorities (31 March 2011) instructing them about the extended range of demolition projects which will now require determination of prior approval under Part 31 and also the need to consider the likely environmental effect of demolition proposals and whether an EIA is required. The government is still considering the outcome of the case and its next steps.

Meanwhile, the Housing Minister Grant Shapps has already asked Liverpool City Council to consider whether an EIA will be required before they grant permission for the demolition of terraced homes in the Welsh streets district of the city. This will considerably delay the demolition of Ringo Starr's childhood home amongst others.

New Publications from English Heritage

The Field Archaeology of Dartmoor

Phil Newman



Dartmoor is southern England's largest upland tract, often promoted as 'England's last wilderness'. Nevertheless it is a landscape that has been managed and maintained from the Neolithic to the present day.

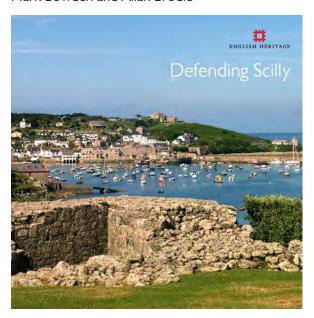
The Field Archaeology of Dartmoor describes Dartmoor's landscape history from 4000 BC to the present, analysing and summarising archaeological and historical studies from the 19th century onwards.

Its geology, prehistoric settlement, Romano-British organisation, medieval character and early tin industry are described in turn. Next are accounts of Dartmoor's 19th and 20th-century industrial landscape and heritage (tin, copper, silver-lead and china clay), and how they coexisted with traditional forms of upland farming. Subsidiary industries (peat, gunpowder mills, ice works and tramways) and the moor's use for military training bring the narrative up to the present.

PUBLICATION DATE: June 2011 PRICE: £30.00 ISBN: 978 | 848020 33 7 Paperback, 204pp; 209 illus

Defending Scilly

Mark Bowden and Allan Brodie



The Isles of Scilly are renowned for their natural beauty, wild flowers and temperate climate, but there is another reason to visit these paradise islands. Since the 16th century they have been in the frontline of this country's military defences and successive generations of fortifications have survived in Scilly, unmatched in any other location around Britain.

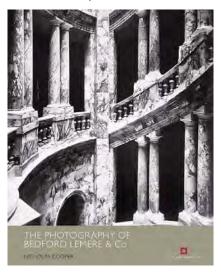
This unrivalled survival was due to the lack of pressure to develop the islands and, happily, because the feared enemy rarely attacked. However, there is another threat to this precious heritage, the power of the sea. William Borlase in the mid-18th century recorded how much of the islands' history had succumbed to rising sea level, and today increasingly turbulent weather patterns may be accelerating the process of coastal erosion.

This book celebrates the unique survival of military fortifications on the islands, but it also serves to illustrate the value and vulnerability of the whole country's coastal heritage. Like King Canute, we cannot turn back the sea, but we can celebrate these precious survivals from the colourful history of our island nation.

PUBLICATION DATE: March 2011 PRICE: £9.99 ISBN: 978 | 84802 043 6 Paperback, 108pp; 120 illus

The Photography of Bedford Lemere & Co

Nicholas Cooper



Bedford Lemere & Co was the pre-eminent English firm of architectural photographers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At a time of extraordinary change and optimism, its customers were leading architects, designers, industrialists, estate agents, hoteliers and retailers.

Today the Bedford Lemere collection, held by the National Monuments Record, is an important source of images of English architecture and life from 1870 until the Second World War. As well as stunning images of the rebuilding of London around 1900 the book includes evocative photographs of those – mostly women, old men and children – involved in war work between 1914 and 1918.

PUBLICATION DATE: June 2011

PRICE: £25.00

ISBN: 978 | 84802 06 | 0 Paperback, 288pp; 270 illus

SPECIAL OFFER

Until 31 October 2011 all of the titles featured above can be obtained free of postage, through English Heritage Postal Sales at the address below (please quote CONBULL 66).

Publications may be ordered from English Heritage Publishing Mail Order Sales, c/o Central Books, 99 Wallis Road, London E9 5LN. tel: 0845 458 9910; email: eh@centralbooks.com. Please quote the appropriate ISBN and make all cheques payable in sterling to Central Books. Publications may also be ordered from www.english-heritageshop.org.uk Prices and postage charges may differ on the website

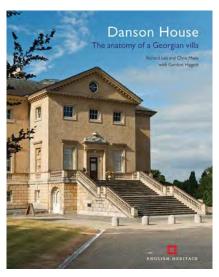


Please remember to recycle this publication when you no longer need it.





Richard Lea and Chris Miele, with Gordon Higgott



Danson House in Bexley Heath is one of the finest surviving villas by the architect Robert Taylor. Restrained, compact and ingeniously planned, it was built for the City merchant John Boyd, who had made his fortune in the West Indies sugar trade.

This book tells the story of the house, the estate, its owners, and its restoration by English Heritage between 1995 and 2004 after a long period of neglect. Restoring these interiors to their appearance when the house was finished in the late 1760s has revealed Danson House as one of the glories of Georgian domestic architecture.

PUBLICATION DATE: April 2011 PRICE: £25.00 ISBN: 978 | 87359 275 5 Paperback, | 12pp; | 152 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: 51699

Subscription enquiries and changes of address: tel: 020 7973 3253;

email: mailinglist@english-heritage.org.uk

Additional copies: customers@english-heritage.org.uk

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Layout: Libanus Press Ltd

Printed by: Pureprint

Web version: www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications Copyright: © the authors or their employing institutions (text) and English Heritage (typography and design) 2010. The views expressed are those of individual contributors and not necessarily those of

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

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