

THE PRINCIPLES OF PRESERVATION: THE
INFLUENCES OF VIOLET, RUSKIN
AND MORRIS ON HISTORIC
PRESERVATION

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I.

INTRODUCTION

“The term restoration and the thing itself are both modern.”
Viollet-le-Duc¹

Modern historic preservation began in the nineteenth century due to an increase in architectural, archeological, and historical knowledge. In the latter half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, archeological discoveries such as Pompeii; the reemergence of interest in medieval architecture, literature and art; and the increasing importance of history augmented the public’s awareness of the past. The built environment became cultural heritage.²

France was the first country to begin restoring and preserving its architectural heritage. After the French Revolution and the reign of Napoleon, the government sought ways of unifying the country and instilling a sense of nationalism by creating a national memory. The idea that buildings create a sense of memory had been present since the 1790s, and the government decided that the built environment of France would induce a national memory. In addition, the revival in medieval interest and the return of a religious regime in

¹ Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc*, edited by M.F. Hearn (Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1990), 269.

² Françoise Bercé and Bruno Foucart, *Viollet-le-Duc: Architect, Artist, Master of Historic Preservation*, (Washington, DC: The Trust for Museum Exhibitions, 1987), 11-14.

the 1830s furthered the desire to evaluate France's built environment. In 1834, François Guizot, Minister of Education to King Louis-Philippe, created the Inspector General of Historic Monuments to provide for the protection of historical buildings by recording the significant buildings, determining restoration needs, and listing the local monetary resources available for restoration.³ Three years later, the Inspector General created the Historic Monuments Commission to make preservation decisions. The task was not easy. Few architects had restoration experience, and the uproar in France, due to the Revolution and Napoleonic rule, created a shortage of craftsmen possessing the skill to restore medieval buildings. The method used by these early restoration architects involved dismantling the buildings and then replacing the damaged parts; this led to very hypothetical restorations and often left the buildings in worse condition than they were previously⁴.

Meanwhile, England also experienced a revival of interest in medieval architecture. Starting in the late-1700s, ecclesiastical reformers initiated restoration programs at churches throughout England. These programs established their practice of restoration⁵. The premise was to return buildings to a specific former state by removing aspects that were not original and recreating what one thought was original if it was no longer present⁶. The leading English restorer of the late eighteenth century was James Wyatt, a prominent architect.

³ Kevin Murphy, *Memory and Modernity: Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 17-22.

⁴ Françoise Bercé and Bruno Foucart, *Viollet-le-Duc: Architect, Artist, Master of Historic Preservation* (Washington, DC: The Trust for Museum Exhibitions, 1987), 11-14.

⁵ Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (New York: Knopf Press, 1994), 377.

⁶ John Summerson, "Ruskin, Morris, and the "Anti-Scrape" Philosophy" (Washington, D.C.: National Trust Library Stacks), 4.

Between 1787 and 1797, he restored four Gothic cathedrals. His plan for each of these was to remove work he did not view as original, construct high altars in each chapel, and create uniformity in each level of the cathedrals. This resulted in significant alterations to the cathedrals, especially Durham, parts of which disappeared⁷. This type of restoration earned Wyatt the reputation of “the destroyer” by A.W.N. Pugin, an influential architect and philosopher of the early nineteenth-century⁸.

In the United States, a desire to preserve the past was also occurring. Early movements involved citizens concerned with preserving buildings tied to historical events or figures, primarily those of the Revolutionary War in order to gain a sense of a national past. For example, an early public preservation effort occurred in Philadelphia in 1816. The governor of Pennsylvania planned to tear down Independence Hall, sell the land, and use the profits to build a new statehouse. The citizens of Philadelphia rallied, bought the Hall, protected it from demolition, and attempted to restore it to the historically significant period of 1776.⁹

Of the early initiatives for preservation, only France had a federally sponsored program. In England, the United States, and other parts of the world, preservation and restoration occurred on a local, independent level. However, since the 1960s, most countries have federally aided preservation organizations, and many belong to international organizations. All have a set of preservation

⁷ Reginald Turner, *James Wyatt* (London: Art and Techniques, 1950), 73-75.

⁸ Simon Jervis, *Dictionary of Design and Designers* (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1981), 398,528.

⁹ Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000), 33.

standards, a system for listing and recording historic properties, and procedures for protecting historic properties.¹⁰

Today, even though historic preservation organizations exist nationally and internationally, a cohesive language for the practice does not exist. This is due to historic preservation being interdisciplinary. The architects, historians, conservators, lawyers, archeologists and others share the common goal of preservation, but not a common language. Establishing a uniform language for preservation has been an ongoing concern since the early nineteenth century as the definitions of terms have evolved over time. For example, in ancient and medieval times, restoration meant “to renew” and when people restored buildings, they used their contemporary styles and means of construction which usually transformed the original structure. However, in eighteenth century England, the term meant returning a building to a specific period by removing all details from other periods. In the nineteenth century, restoration architect Viollet-le-Duc termed restoration as “reinstating it [building] in a condition of completeness that could never have existed at any given time.” His contemporary, John Ruskin, called restoration “a lie from beginning to end.” Today, a cohesive definition of restoration remains elusive. The United States Secretary of the Interior defines restoration as the process of returning a building to a distinct point of time, usually to its original condition, based on historical evidence¹¹. However, the International Committee for Monuments and Sites has

¹⁰ Anthony Dale, *Historic Preservation in Foreign Countries* (Washington, DC: US/ICOMOS, 1982), 3.

¹¹ For more information see Appendix 1.

a more limited definition of “to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument [building] with the representation of all periods.”¹²

Historic preservationist and historian William Murtagh asserts that the language of preservation will continue to evolve as long as the field of historic preservation evolves. According to Murtagh, in order to stay current, the language of historic preservation needs to operate on two levels concurrently: definitions that describe not only the actions taken but also convey the concerns of people.¹³ For the purpose of this paper, the definitions set forth by the Secretary of the Interior¹⁴ form the rubric for analysis.

The four basic definitions associated with historic preservation are preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. The United States Secretary of the Interior’s definitions are as follows. Preservation is the maintenance of a building while retaining the “existing form, integrity, and material of a building.” Restoration is the process of returning a building to a distinct point in time, usually to its original condition, when evidence is available. Rehabilitation is altering a historic building for modern uses while maintaining the buildings historic character and details. Reconstruction is the rebuilding of a historic building that no longer exists by using original or replicated materials.¹⁵

These definitions have evolved since the nineteenth century; however, the basis of modern historic preservation resulted from the principles of three

¹² William Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1997), 15-16; Berce, 11; Turner, 73-75; Viollet, 269; John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1981), 280.

¹³ Murtagh, 18.

¹⁴ For more information see Appendix 1.

¹⁵ Tyler, 22-25.

nineteenth century men: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-Le Duc, John Ruskin, and William Morris. Viollet and Ruskin were contemporaries with divergent views on restoration, and Morris built upon Ruskin's principles. Through comparing the principles of Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris and studying the historic preservation movement in England and the United States, it is clear that while the preservation principles of Ruskin and Morris became the dominant foundation of modern historic preservation, Viollet's also influenced it, particularly his concepts of expertise and use. The following chapter examines and compares the theories of Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris. The first appendix lists the Secretary of the Interior's standards and the second appendix presents illustrations to provide visual aid of the buildings discussed throughout the paper.

II

THEORIES OF VIOLLET, RUSKIN, AND MORRIS

“It is better to preserve than to restore and better to restore than to reconstruct.”

A. N. Didron, French archaeologist¹⁶

The principles of Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris explain the modern premise of historic preservation. Examining them clarifies what their principles were and how they formed. Comparisons show the similarities and differences of the principles.

Viollet-le-Duc was born in Paris in 1814 to a bourgeoisie family with an appreciation for art, architecture and philosophy. At age sixteen, he graduated from the College Bourbon with an advanced high school degree.¹⁷ After graduation, Viollet decided to study with architects Jean Huvé and Achille Leclère in Paris. He then funded his own study trip in Rome instead of the traditional training at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, followed by a study in Rome as the grand prix winner. After returning from Rome in 1838, Viollet received a position within the Commission of Historic Monuments.¹⁸

¹⁶ William Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1997), 18.

¹⁷ Françoise Bercé and Bruno Foucart, *Viollet-le-Duc: Architect, Artist, Master of Historic Preservation* (Washington, DC: The Trust for Museum Exhibitions, 1987), 96.

¹⁸ Murphy, 31.

Viollet's view on French history closely matched Merimee's, the inspector general of the Commission. Both perspectives stemmed from the writings of Guizot, the creator of the Commission of Monuments, who conceived the idea that buildings could serve as a national memory for the people of France and that increasing the knowledge of history would provide cohesion in politics. Guizot's perspective aided Viollet and Mérimée by setting the precedent for a program of restoration. Viollet also contended that the Middle Ages, particularly the Gothic architecture of the period, represented the "national" style of France; thus, his focus became the Gothic buildings in France¹⁹.

Through his position at the Commission, Viollet began developing his theories of restoration and preservation. In 1854, after nearly twenty years of work, Viollet published his ten-volume *Dictionnaire raisonné*, setting forth his theories on restoration and preservation²⁰.

In the section entitled "On Restoration", Viollet addressed the practice of restoration. He stated that "restoration and the thing [act] itself are both modern" as the notion "of restoring buildings of another age" began in the early nineteenth century. Due to its newness, a clear definition of architectural restoration did not exist, so there was a need for a basic understanding.²¹

According to Viollet, the modern idea of restoration began in France in 1831 with the Inspector Generalship of Historic Monuments. Ludovic Vitet was the first architect to embrace the idea of restoration, the first to have a practical

¹⁹ Ibid., 25-31.

²⁰ Ibid., 13.

²¹ Viollet-le-Duc, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc*, ed. by M.F. Hearn, (Boston MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1990), 270.

view, and the first to chair the Generalship. He thought that restoration architects should know more than just the history of the building in order to restore it; they should also know the different forms the building possessed, and know the local and national history. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, restoration was in its infancy and architects were experimenting. These 'restorers' were not following the notions set forth by the Commission of Historic Monuments and often buildings suffered. For example, the church of St. Denis, which received restoration for thirty years, crumbled.²²

Viollet sought to rectify these mistakes by providing the knowledge needed to restore historic buildings. He recognized the need to balance the overall unity of the building, including changes made over the centuries, with the final restoration. There was no clear cut answer between restoring just the original parts and discarding later changes, or incorporating both. Instead, each building should have independent consideration and follow a set of principles.²³ These principles pertained to both the restoration architect and the restoration itself.

In regards to the architect, he should have archeological skill and be an expert builder with experience in all building practices of each period and school. In addition to being knowledgeable about the period and schools of building, a restorer should also know the structure itself, "its anatomy and temperament" because "it is essential above all things that he should make it live." Therefore, restorers must have mastered every aspect of the building. Additionally, an

²² Ibid., 270-1.

²³ Ibid., 270-8.

architect should have alternative plans for the restoration, because if one option proves futile other options should be available. Viollet compared restoration to a war, “a series of maneuvers that must be modified every day by a constant observation of the effects that may occur.”²⁴

The most important element to a restoration project, according to Viollet, was that an architect had a clear plan for proceeding before any work began. If he did not, then he was subject to hypothesis or guess, which Viollet cited as the most dangerous thing in restoration. If an architect had to hypothesize about one item, he ran the risk of altering the entire project. That was why it was essential that restoration architects know everything possible about the periods, schools, methods of construction, and materials before proceeding with the project.²⁵

Regarding the actual restoration of the building, Viollet stressed the importance of structure, materials, and usefulness. Architects should pay close attention to the structure of the building because the equilibrium or structural stability of a building must remain intact. If the restoration required new supports, they should be of the same weight as the original because if they are not then the entire structure is in danger. Replaced materials should be of better quality than the original to ensure that the replaced material last. The choice of materials was imperative to a successful restoration as buildings could face imminent ruin if inferior materials were used. He emphasized that if an older section and an addition were being restored, both should retain their own distinct characteristics

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

and not be made uniform so that the addition is apparent. It was also imperative that the restoration have a use after its completion.²⁶

The statement that Viollet is most known for in regards to restoration is “to restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness that could never have existed at any given time.”²⁷ This statement implies that Viollet’s ideas of restoration were hypothetical and created something new and different from the original. Yet, as shown in the preceding paragraphs, Viollet warned against hypothetical or unresearched restorations and insisted that restorers know every aspect of the building before proceeding. So which statement is Viollet’s actual theory? The answer lies somewhere in between and can be seen in a letter he wrote to the Minister of Justice and Religious Rites.²⁸

In this letter, Viollet discussed his plans for the restoration of Notre Dame. He recognized the daunting task before him and was fully aware that restoration could often do more damage than good; however, he felt that as a building still in use, restoration, not preservation, should occur. This is a very important distinction because for Viollet the definitions of restoration and preservation differed greatly from those today. For Viollet, preservation should apply only to ruins that would serve no purpose other than their historical significance. He said he accepted the Ministry’s conservation principles of “brace, consolidate, and replace utterly deteriorated stone with new blocks, but refrain from carving new

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 269.

²⁸ Ibid., 270-8.

moldings or sculptures.” However, Viollet stated that “they [conservation principles] apply only when it is a matter of curious ruin, a ruin without purpose and without actual utility.” Buildings that would serve a function should be restored so that the “richness and brightness” of the building remains.²⁹

Viollet declared that it was not his intention to return Notre Dame to any one distinct period. Each generation added elements that were important so each part should be “preserved, strengthened, and restored in a style appropriate to it.” He stated that the form of Notre Dame is directly tied to its structure and that “the smallest change . . . soon involves one in another, and bit by bit one is led to modify the original system of construction in order to substitute for it a modern one . . . the more real the improvement, the more flagrant the historical lie.” This statement implies that Viollet is against incorporating modern ideas into the restoration as it will result in a modern copy of the original.³⁰

Viollet planned to re-create the missing details based on the remaining ones. He would accomplish this by removing himself and his opinions from the process, and thinking and acting like the craftsman who built the church. He stressed that if he brought in his modern sensibilities and opinions, he would alter the church into a “historical lie.”³¹ According to Viollet, he and his colleagues studied every detail of the church and searched for all its “archeological character.” Therefore, they would follow the principles they established by restoring the church based on their research and existing engravings. He also

²⁹ Ibid., 279-288.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

stated that they were not attempting to complete the church because doing so would make it no longer Notre Dame.³²

Although Viollet implied he did not want to add anything, he contradicted himself. As the letter continued, he began discussing different aspects of the planned restoration, and in many cases words like “in sympathy with” and “in harmony with” show that much of the actual details were purely hypothetical (educated guesses), and although based on the existing architecture, never existed. As this letter shows, Viollet’s theory on restoration clearly allowed for hypothetical details and design, when supported with research.³³

The hypothetical aspect of his theory garners a mixed reputation among modern preservationists as Viollet’s views and actions differ greatly from those practiced today. Architectural historians Bercé and Foucart argue that Viollet’s condemned reputation of a restorer is unjustified. They claim Viollet was one of the most talented, intelligent, and versatile of the past restoration architects. Bercé insists that Viollet was a pioneer in the field and used the most modern means available to him. He researched what he could, but did use his imagination when research proved futile. Doing this, the authors dispute, was appropriate, and modern preservationists, who have a century more of knowledge on preservation and restoration than Viollet, should not condemn him

³² Ibid. “To give back to our beautiful cathedral its entire splendor, to restore to it all the richness of which it has been despoiled, such is the task imposed upon us. The building is surely beautiful enough that it would be pointless to want to add anything to it.”

³³ Ibid.

for his choices. Viollet provided the “essential and invaluable foundation” for restoration and preservation.³⁴

John Ruskin, a contemporary of Viollet and a leading art and architecture critic, differed from Viollet on the process of restoration and preservation. Ruskin, born in 1819 to a sherry importer, traveled extensively with his father during his youth. At an early age, he developed an affinity for drawing and writing, publishing his first poem at age eleven. In his teens, Ruskin became enamored with two English painters, Samuel Prout and J. M. W. Turner whose works inspired his interest in art and architecture. In 1837, Ruskin went to Oxford, but left after three years due to illness. In 1840, he met his idol, Turner, and began working on his first book, *Modern Painters*. The book met success and Ruskin became an influential art critic. Following the success of *Modern Painters*, he began writing other volumes, including *Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *Stones of Venice*. These books influenced generations of architects and artists, and solidified Ruskin’s role as a leading art and architectural critic. Ruskin was also concerned with ethics and society, and during the latter half of his life, his writings focused on these subjects.³⁵

In his book the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Ruskin examined the rise of materialism and concluded that the resulting decrease in morality was negatively affecting architecture. He wanted to preserve the core principles of architecture before the materialism of the modern age destroyed them. Ruskin viewed architecture as “art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man for

34 Bercé , 7-10.

35 James S. Dearden, *Facets of Ruskin*, (London: Charles Skilton Ltd., 1970), 11-14.

whatsoever uses that the sight of them contributes to his mental health, power and pleasure.” Ruskin continued by saying that building and architecture are not interchangeable terms, for building applied to a variety of things from shipbuilding to churches. Architecture was unnecessary additions to a building that made it beautiful. The seven lamps of architecture, according to Ruskin, were the lamps of sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory and obedience.³⁶ The lamp of sacrifice addressed historic significance. Ruskin stated that buildings were monuments to the builders because “all else for which the builders sacrificed, has passed away—all their living interest, and aims, and achievements” except for “one evidence,” their buildings.³⁷

The lamp of memory dealt most directly with Ruskin’s theories on preservation. Ruskin maintained that architecture provided a nation with memory; nations could live without architecture and worship without architecture, but could not remember without architecture. He said that in order to gain from the knowledge of the past and protect one’s own memories; one must partake of two duties to national architecture. The first was to build in a way that represented who modern man was and for what he stood. The second was that modern man should recognize the architecture of the past as modern man’s inheritance and preserve it as a living memory of the past. Ruskin argued that architecture of the past was important and deserved preservation because it

³⁶ Ruskin, John, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 8th ed., (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), 9-14.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

represented “this spirit of honorable, proud, peaceful self-possession, this abiding wisdom of contended life which is one source of ‘intellectual power’.”³⁸

Ruskin also addressed the modern architect: “when we build, let us think that we build for ever” in a manner that descendents will be proud of and will say “See! This our fathers did for us.” He stated that what made architecture important was that it outlives the men who create it and bridges the gap between what was and what is. Architecture earns the right of reverence by its unfailing ability to remain regardless of time.³⁹

Concerning restoration, Ruskin stated that few men really knew what it meant. He termed restoration as “the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered; a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed.” He deemed restoration wrong because it was impossible to recreate the original buildings since the restorers did not possess the feelings behind the original creation. Thus, any restoration destroyed the building and its integrity. This idea of feelings or spirit is a key component to Ruskin’s theory of architecture. He was

38 Ibid., 169, 172.

39 Ibid., 177. For the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones. . . It is in their lasting witness against men, in the quiet contrast with transition character of all things, in the strength which throughout the lapse of season and times, and the decline and birth of dynasties, and the changing of the face of the earth. . . maintains its sculptures shapeliness for a time insuperable, connects forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity of nations. . . and it is not until a building has assumed this character, till it has been entrusted with the fame, and hallowed by the deeds of men, till its walls have been witnesses of suffering, and its pillars rise out of the shadows of death, that its existence, more lasting as it is than that of natural objects of the world around it, can be gifted with even so much as these possess of language and of life.”

extremely religious and believed that only moral men could create moral architecture and only happy men could create good architecture.⁴⁰

The nineteenth-century practice of restoration, according to Ruskin, appeared to have two steps: “dash the old work to pieces” and “put up the cheapest and basest imitation which can escape detection.” However, regardless of the carefulness of the restorer, it was an “imitation still, a cold model.” Ruskin dismissed the act of restoration for “the thing is a Lie from beginning to end.”

He acknowledged that some people may argue that there was a need for restoration and he said that was true; however, people must realize that when it was a necessity, “it is a necessity of destruction.” Instead of restoration, Ruskin recommended tearing down the building and using its parts to create something new rather than making a copy of the original. To Ruskin, the practice of restoration was wrong because modern man has no right to alter and destroy the monuments of the past.

Ruskin viewed the modern practice of neglecting the buildings now and restoring them later as wrong. For if people “take proper care” of monuments, there would be no need to restore them. He encouraged people to “watch an old building with an anxious care; guard it as best you may, and at *any* cost from every influence of dilapidation.” He advocated the protection of buildings via stewardship by regularly cleaning gutters, repairing roofs, and supporting it as

40 Ibid., 184 “it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That which I have above insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, never can be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time, and its then a new building, but the spirit of the dead workman cannot be summoned up, and then commanded to direct other hands, and other thoughts.”

necessary. He adopted the idea of support regardless of the “unsightliness of the aid” and repairing buildings as necessary with available materials. These repairs should not be hidden, but seen for what they are.⁴¹

Ruskin concluded, “*we have no right whatever to touch them* [ancient buildings]. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generation of mankind who are to follow us.” According to him, the practice of restoration was wrong because it was not modern man’s right to alter and destroy the monuments of the past; they were the story and memory of the men who created them and belong to them and the future generations who will be able to discern their forefathers through architecture.⁴² Ruskin insisted that conservation and preservation, not restoration was the proper way to preserve the built environment for future generations.

While Ruskin’s only foray into restoration and preservation occurred through his writings, his views shaped those of many, including William Morris. In 1853, Morris entered Oxford to become a clergyman and met Edward Burne-Jones, a fellow student also planning to enter the ministry. The two friends, and a group of others, formed ‘the brotherhood’, an assembly of young men that met to discuss art, philosophy, and politics. ‘The brotherhood’ exposed Morris to the writings of John Ruskin, which Morris found as “a revelation to me”. While at Oxford, Morris also attended lectures by Ruskin, who often spoke there. The combination of Ruskin’s writings and Morris and Burne-Jones’ visit to France and Italy, convinced both men to abandon their plans of becoming clergyman. Morris

41 Ibid., 186.

42 Ibid.

decided to become an architect and Burne-Jones an artist. In 1856, Morris became an apprentice of architect George Street and worked with Phillip Webb, an aspiring architect in Street's firm. While Morris loved architecture, he decided that he did not have the talent to be an architect. He began visiting Burne-Jones who was studying with Dante Rossetti, a famous nineteenth-century painter.⁴³

Rossetti introduced Morris and Burne-Jones to Ruskin. The two became Ruskin's "dear boys," and he enjoyed visiting and listening to their ideas.⁴⁴ The chance for Morris to meet and discuss philosophies with John Ruskin greatly influenced Morris' thinking regarding art, architecture, and society. Much of this influence appears in Morris' ideas regarding ancient buildings.

From Ruskin, Morris developed his ardent objection to restoration and his belief that ancient buildings provide a tangible link to the past. According to Morris, "the strange idea of restoration of ancient buildings" began in the nineteenth century. The definition of this restoration was to remove from the building parts of its history that did not fit into the specific restoration period and to scrape away at the surface of the weathered stone until the surface is smooth. Furthermore, those who performed restoration under the guise of bringing a building to a specific time did not have a guide, or evidence, for doing so. As a result, the individual relied on ones own whims and guesses as to what was and

43 Paul Thompson, *The Work of William Morris*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 17.; Rossetti (1828-1882) was a very prolific artist and poet of 19th century. The Pre-Raphaelite Society started in 1848 by Gabriel Rossetti, William Holloman Hunt and John Everett Millais, three young artists. Their mission was to create art that 'turned the minds of men to good reflections.' They chose the name Pre-Raphaelites to indicate the early Italian Renaissance painters whom they admired. They also incorporated Ruskin's ideas that art should convey ideas. Source: Pamela Todd, *Pre-Raphaelites at Home* (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 2001), 3, 19.

44 A.D.A. Earland, *Ruskin and His Circle* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 109, 123.

destroys what is. This dual process of addition and destruction altered the entire façade, scraped away all the original portions, and replaced it with forgery.⁴⁵

Ruskin was concerned with social issues and the decline of morality but he remained conservative on social reform issues. However, Morris took an active stance and was a leading member of the Democratic Federation, a socialist party that promoted equality.⁴⁶ The socialist aspect of Morris' life became a part of his theories on preservation as well. The loss of historic buildings for economic gain greatly bothered Morris. He stated that once lost, ancient buildings could never be replaced and such buildings should be exempt from the economic market and not be "treated as if they were cattle, to be bought and sold for the purpose of accumulating money." He advocated that buildings of great architectural and historical significance should not be private but public property. Morris also viewed ancient buildings, which to Morris were those of the tenth through seventeenth century, as learning tools for society as they are "powerful aids to the happiness of human life."⁴⁷

Many of Morris' ideas foreshadowed future situations. In 1889, he remarked on the urban slums in Naples and London, noting the practice of destroying the older buildings to destroy the slums and then rebuilding modern buildings. Morris stated "it is not the existence of these buildings, raised by our forefathers, which has caused the slums, but rather the same fatalistic and

45 William Morris, *Manifesto* (London, 1877) [article online]; available from <http://www.spab.org.uk>.

46 Earland, 123.

47 William Morris, "Speech Given at the Twelfth Annual SPAB Meeting" (London, 1889) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>.

slothful ignorance which has destroyed the old buildings.” He implored that it was the government’s fault for the slums because they allowed the destruction of buildings, and prevented the growth of people by destroying the buildings that provided their heritage. The practice of destroying urban slums occurred in the United States eighty years later under the Urban Renewal program, and preservationists voiced the same message as Morris.⁴⁸

Viollet’s theories of restoration differed greatly from Ruskin and Morris. For Viollet, restoration was appropriate if a building served a modern purpose. Trained architects having knowledge of all periods, schools, and styles of architecture should do restorations. The project should not begin until all the details of the building received both research and recording. If details were unknown and needed replacement to maintain the spirit of the building, the details, while hypothetical, would be based on research. His definition of restoration rested on his theory that if a building served a modern, public function, it should have the spirit it possessed when first constructed. Viollet wanted to highlight the best representations of each period in the building, thus maintaining the history and feeling of the building. This type of restoration would create a “completeness that could never have existed at any given time.” In contrast, Ruskin and Morris viewed restoration as the destruction of a building because it removed the original spirit and beauty and replaced it with a modern forgery. Ruskin and Morris thought that modern man could neither think like those of the past, nor possess the same spirit or craftsmanship. For this reason,

48 Ibid.; Norman Tyler Preservation (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000), 33.

restoration was never an acceptable option because it destroyed the historic integrity of the building and severed the connection with those who built it. For these two, all restorations were hypothetical, regardless of research.⁴⁹

Regarding preservation, Viollet also differed from Ruskin and Morris. Preservation, for Viollet, only applied to buildings that served no purpose other than their historical significance. If a building was to serve a contemporary purpose, then both restoration and preservation should occur. Areas of the building that needed support should be “propped up, strengthened, and conserved,” or preserved, but they should also be restored to return the original character of the building for modern man. To Viollet, the best way to preserve a building was to have a compatible use for it so changes were not necessary. However, for Ruskin, people should not wait until buildings fell into disrepair before becoming concerned. Instead, people should actively engage in preservation by supporting buildings, making the support obvious, and conducting routine maintenance and thus become stewards of the buildings. Ruskin defined preservation as taking ‘proper care’ of buildings. Morris viewed preservation as the means for protecting the integrity of the building and preserving it for future generations. He thought architects and the public should be keepers of historic buildings to ensure their continuation; all levels of society should promote preservation because a loss of historical architecture was a loss to society.⁵⁰

49 Viollet-le-Duc, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc*, 270-290; John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 169-186; William Morris, “Speech Given at the Twelfth Annual SPAB Meeting”

In summation, Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris all thought that restoration could result in the destruction of buildings. However, for Ruskin and Morris destruction accompanied all restorations, and for Viollet it occurred only to those not based on research or done in the spirit of the builders. Additionally, Ruskin and Morris viewed preservation as the only option because modern man did not have the right to touch buildings as they did not belong to modern man. For Viollet, preservation only applied to ruins, buildings that did not serve a modern function, and strengthening the buildings. Viollet also promoted the idea of adaptive use to preserve buildings while Ruskin and Morris thought buildings should be preserved whether they were being used or not.

Unlike Ruskin, both Viollet and Morris put their theories into practice. For Viollet, his restoration projects, including Vézelay and Notre Dame⁵¹, served as both the formation and examples of his theories. As made clear by Kevin Murphy, Viollet did not write and publish his theories until the 1850s, almost twenty years after his first restoration project.⁵² This illustrates that his ideas evolved while restoring. Morris put his and Ruskin's theories into practice by creating the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, England's first preservation society.

50 Ibid.

51 See Appendix 2, illustrations 1 and 2.

52 Kevin Murphy, *Memory and Modernity: Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 35.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND'S MOVEMENT: THE SPAB AND NATIONAL TRUST

“Most mistakes we make we may retrieve, but here is one thing we cannot get back if we once lose the ancient buildings we are here to protect.”
William Morris, Twelfth Annual Address of the SPAB

Restoration in England during the nineteenth century focused on ecclesiastical buildings, particularly medieval churches. The practice began in the 1700s, and by the 1870s the type of restoration promoted by James Wyatt, returning buildings to one specific time, remained the norm. Architects including George Street and William White adopted the idea that medieval buildings would be improved through reconstruction and the placement of new materials (stained-glass and woodwork) that were “in the spirit” of the original. Other Gothic Revival Architects saw the dangers in this practice. For example, Sir Gilbert Scott knew that “a barbaric builder, a clerk of works, or an over-zealous clergyman” could wreak havoc on buildings. In 1864, Scott stated that all architects were guilty of unnecessarily altering historic buildings and pointed out the need for a society to protect them from “over-restoration.” Paradoxically, Scott’s plans to restore Tewkesbury Abbey⁵³ in 1876 spurred William Morris to create such a society.⁵⁴

53 See Appendix 2, illustration 3.

54 Paul Thompson, *Work of William Morris*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 66-67.

On 4 March 1877, William Morris responded to the announcement of Scott's plan in a letter written to the *Athenaeum*, a London newspaper that had repeatedly denounced the practice of restoration. Morris stated the need for a society, which would "keep watch" over old buildings, protest against any restoration that involved more than "keeping out the weather," and "awaken a feeling" that the ancient buildings are "sacred monuments." By the middle of March 1877, Morris had formed the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB).⁵⁵

The first meeting of the SPAB was 22 March 1877. The initial members included Morris' close friends Edward Burne-Jones and Phillip Webb; fellow Pre-Raphaelites George Boyce, Henry Morris, and Frederick Stephens; and associates of Morris including William De Morgan and Thomas Wardle.⁵⁶ At the meeting, Morris became Honorary Secretary. He, Phillip Webb, and Frederick G. Stephens received the charge of writing the manifesto of the society and presenting it at the next meeting. Once agreed upon, the society would make the manifesto available to the public and "ask the world in general to join."⁵⁷ The initial aims set forth at the first meeting were to inform clergy officials and other "custodians of ancient buildings" about the organization, recruit members, and establish connections with other preservation-oriented societies, such as the Commons Preservation Society, founded in 1865 by George Shaw-Lefevre to

55 William Morris, *Letters of William Morris to His Family and Friends*, ed. Phillip Henderson (London: Longmans Press, 1950), 85.; William Morris, *Collected Letters of William Morris* vol. 1 ed. Norman Kelvin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 357.

56 MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*, ((New York, Knopf), 376.

57 William Morris, ed. Kelvin Vol 1, *Collected Letters of William Morris*, 357.

protect the commons, areas of land owned by aristocrats that were open to the public.⁵⁸ The SPAB was the first preservation society concerned with protecting buildings.

Immediately following the meeting, Morris began recruiting members for his society. In April 1877, he wrote to Rossetti asking him to join. Morris stated that the society was “an attempt to put a spoke in the wheel of ‘restorers’ who have so grieved my soul.”⁵⁹ In June of 1877, Morris wrote Ruskin seeking his approval for the Society to use portions of his Seven Lamps of Architecture in its leaflets. Morris claimed that the words were “so good” and “completely settle the whole matter.” Morris also admitted that he was not sure how successful the SPAB would be since so much had already been lost, but that he must try anyway.⁶⁰ Morris had reason to doubt the Society’s success as between 1877 and 1885 over 2500 churches received restoration.⁶¹

In the *Manifesto*, Morris addressed the question of what characteristics make a building worth protecting by stating that any building that can be “looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial” warrants protection. These buildings are of all times and styles, and the owners should “stave off decay by daily care . . . and resist all tampering with either the fabric or

58 MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* 376.

59 William Morris, ed. Kelvin Vol 1, *Collected Letters of William Morris*, 359

60 William Morris, ed. Henderson, *Letters of William Morris to His Family and Friends*, 93.; the passage that Morris is referring to is: “Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them. A few sheets of lead put in time upon a roof, a few dead leaves and sticks swept in time out of the water-course, will save both roof and walls from ruin. Watch an old building with an anxious care; guard it as best you may, and at any cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would jewels of a crown . . . do this tenderly, and reverently, and continually, and many a generation will still be born and pass away beneath its shadow.”; Ruskin agreed.

61 Thompson, *Work of William Morris*, 70.

ornament of the building.”⁶² Personally, Morris was partial to Medieval buildings; however, he realized that he could not limit his term ancient to only Medieval buildings as that would underscore his Society. Instead, the term ancient as used by the SPAB, encompassed ancient Roman buildings, Medieval buildings, and fifteenth-century buildings.⁶³

In his first annual SPAB address, Morris discussed the purposes and successes of the organization. Its two main objectives were to guard “the life and soul of ancient monuments” and to inform architects, the public, and property owners of the importance of preserving ancient buildings by teaching them that their artistic and historical value depends upon maintaining their genuine condition. The other goals were to provide information on the proper way to preserve buildings, to curb the practice of restoration, to document the churches of Great Britain that have not received restoration and try to prevent restoration from occurring, to increase membership, and to facilitate and aid other preservation societies in England and Europe. The successes of the society in the first year directly related to these goals. The public showed an interest in preserving the buildings by writing letters to the SPAB asking for advice on how to protect their buildings. To inform the public, the Society printed pamphlets and members gave lectures on the importance of preservation and methods for doing so. The SPAB also protested forty restoration cases and successfully curbed many. In order to document the unrestored buildings, particularly churches in

62 William Morris, *Manifesto* (London, 1877) [article online]; available from <http://www.spab.org.uk>.

63 John Summerson, “*Ruskin, Morris, and the “Anti-Scrape” Philosophy*”, (Washington, D.C.: National Trust Library Stacks), 5.

England, the Society printed a form so that members and the public could record ancient buildings in their area. As a result, the Society received records of 749 churches, of all denominations, in England and Wales, and planned to extend this list to Ireland and Scotland the next year.⁶⁴

By the end of its second year, the SPAB continued to grow in influence. The press showed an increased interest in the Society by publishing anti-restoration articles and positive reviews of the Society's lectures and pamphlets. The work increased, resulting in the creation of sub-committees to handle the load. SPAB created a foreign committee which established communications with archeological societies in Germany, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and France with the purpose of evaluating the status of each country's ancient buildings and translating the SPAB's manifesto into these languages in hopes of creating corresponding members in each country. The Society assisted in fifty-four cases of preservation in 1878, successfully halted the restoration of St. Mary Hill and aided in the preservation of Blundell's School.⁶⁵

In the following year, the SPAB continued to prosper. The inquiries from the public and the successes of the previous three years indicated to the Society that its principles were beginning to sway the public toward supporting preservation and influencing architects to reconsider the prevalent restoration practices. Morris congratulated the local correspondents, members of the SPAB

64 William Morris, "Speech Given at the First Annual SPAB Meeting" (London, 1878) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>.

65 William Morris, "Speech Given at the Second Annual SPAB Meeting" (London, 1879) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>.; See Appendix 2, illustration 4.

who kept watch on significant buildings, for their successes. He stressed, however, the need for more correspondents as in many cases the Society did not receive word of possible restorations until after the decisions occurred, and all the Society could do at that point was protest.⁶⁶

The SPAB also became more involved in foreign affairs. Monsieur Guillon of France, an honorary member of SPAB, established a similar society in France. Additionally, much of the Society's resources went toward protesting the proposed demolition and rebuilding of the west front of St. Marks Cathedral⁶⁷ in Venice, Italy. The SPAB, while cautious of appealing to a foreign minister, was compelled to protest the proposal. The Executive Committee of the SPAB drew up a petition against the rebuilding and by conducting numerous meetings on the subject throughout England, it garnered two thousand signatures. Many Italians took the petition as an assault upon their country and the matter drew attention in the press, particularly the *Times*. In a letter to the *Times*, the Italian Ministry declared that the proposed plan was under reevaluation, that the matter had been removed from the local authorities and placed under the central Ministry of Ecclesiastical Buildings, and that the Ministry recognized the failure of the restoration of the south front of the church and the restoration of the west front would be different and less invasive. After this publication, the Society thought

66 William Morris, "Speech Given at the Second Annual SPAB Meeting" .

67 See Appendix 2, illustration 5.

the matter settled; however, several months later, the Italian government revealed that the earlier plan to rebuild the west front would proceed.⁶⁸

Two years later, Italy remained a top concern for the SPAB. Morris noted that Italy possessed more buildings of artistic and historic value than anywhere in the world and that the continued practice of restoration was destroying these important buildings. The Society, while having little success in preventing restoration in Italy, planned to continue printing pamphlets in Italian that explained the SPABs principles in the hopes of garnering more support for preservation of Italy's historic buildings.⁶⁹

By the eighth year of its existence, Morris began to evaluate the Society. He acknowledged that enough time had passed for both the pessimistic and optimistic members to realize that the need for such an organization was great, regardless of any setbacks. Members, he argued, should continue with the Society and consider it a business instead of just an idealistic organization. Morris commented that the members should realize that they are "in a race between the carelessness and ignorance of people and the amount of influence we [SPAB] can bring to bear on public opinion." He stressed that their Society was necessary because neither the English government nor public paid much attention to preserving England's national monuments.⁷⁰

68 William Morris, "Speech Given at the Third Annual SPAB Meeting" (London, 1880) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>.

69 William Morris, "Speech Given at the Fifth Annual SPAB Meeting" (London, 1882) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>.

70 William Morris, "Speech Given at the Eighth Annual SPAB Meeting" (London, 1885) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>.

Morris divided the cases of the SPAB into three groups: failed protests; possible influence or “mixed cases”; and definite successes. As an example of success, Morris cited Filey Church⁷¹. The rector asked the Society to provide a structural and evaluative report on the church. Thanks to the report, the church avoided “virtual destruction.” A mixed case was Peterborough Cathedral⁷² which was receiving restoration. The restoration committee of the cathedral stated that the original tower would be rebuilt with no changes made to it. However, as the Society predicted, the architect attempted to incorporate his own design into the rebuilding and that met criticism from the Canons of the cathedral. The Canons insisted that the old tower be rebuilt as it was without any embellishments from the architect. It appeared that the Canons had won the contest and that the tower would be rebuilt like the original. However, Morris commented that it was a mixed success as the original tower had been unnecessarily lost. A lost cause was the Staple Inn⁷³, an example of ancient London architecture. According to Morris, the owners, a quasi-public organization, sold the Inn and “divided the money and pocketed it.” Morris was certain that the buildings would disappear so the new buyer could make a profit from the land. The only solution Morris saw for retaining the structure was to have a rich Englishman put forth the money to buy it from the new owner, but he did not think that would occur. Lamented Morris, “it is too bad to think that anything like serious beauty which exists in

71 See Appendix 2, illustration 6.

72 See Appendix 2, illustration 6.

73 See Appendix 2, illustration 7. Even though Morris thought it was a lost cause, Staple Inn was spared and is currently home of the Institute of Actuaries. Source: www.wikipedia.com.

London should be looked on as a matter to be bought and sold, simply for the value of the site, and whatever there is charming, or beautiful, or historical about it should be treated as if it were worth nothing at all.” Morris insisted that buildings like Staple Hall, which are invaluable, should be exempt from commercialism and not considered private property.⁷⁴

In his twelfth annual address, Morris reiterated the purposes of the Society: to prevent the destruction of “valuable monuments of art and history” and to thwart the “ignorant, injurious attempts” to preserve these buildings. He stated that these two aims may appear to be a paradox, but that they are not because inaccurate or insufficient preservation of a building is just as injurious as restoration or demolition.⁷⁵

It should be noted that Morris did not possess the technical knowledge for actually repairing the buildings so he turned to his friend and fellow founder, architect Phillip Webb. Webb took Ruskin’s proposals of “prop up and brace regardless of the unsightliness of the aid” and made them feasible. Webb also possessed a love and knowledge of ancient crafts and made practical the principles of Morris.⁷⁶ For example, to strengthen a shaky wall, Webb would leave the exterior walls or “outer skin,” start at the base of the wall, and remove the core of the wall bit by bit, replacing it with new material, usually brick or concrete. This was a very slow and costly process. Webb used this process in

74 Ibid.

75 William Morris, “Speech Given at the Twelfth Annual SPAB Meeting” (London, 1889) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>.

76 John Summerson, “Ruskin, Morris, and the “Anti-Scrape” Philosophy”.

his repairs to St Mary's in Wiltshire⁷⁷. The project took one year and cost one thousand pounds. His assistant, Detmar Blow, recalled that a parishioner had stated that he "could not tell where the money had been spent." By repairing the walls in this fashion, Webb applied the principles of Ruskin and Morris by using modern means and materials to repair the buildings; since Webb took such serious care to maintain the original wall surface, he successfully repaired buildings instead of restoring them.⁷⁸

Morris lamented that after twelve years of the Society, members may have hoped that people would have realized the importance of ancient buildings and done more to prevent their destruction as they were a "benefit to society". However, Morris pointed out that the majority of the public had no knowledge as to the history and art of the buildings; in order to address this ignorance, members should place themselves in the public's shoes. Even though most of the public were thus deemed ignorant, many protested destruction because they saw old buildings as pretty and romantic. Morris insisted that this view was not wrong because beauty is a source of pleasure. Due to the public's interest in aesthetics, there must be a very strong public reason for destroying the beauty of ancient buildings. Morris claimed that no private reason could be strong enough to demolish historic buildings because private concerns always involved money and these buildings of beauty were priceless. Morris averred it was "degradation

77 See Appendix 2, illustration 8.

78 W.R. Lethaby, *Philip Webb and His Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935; reprint, London: Raven Oak Press, 1979), 107.

and not progress to destroy and lose those powerful aids to the happiness of human life for the sake of a whim or the greed of the passing hour.”⁷⁹

Morris affirmed that the Society had to “prevent sordid destruction of these ancient buildings at the hands of private persons for gain” and “prevent ignorant restoration of the poor remains of our forefathers that are left to us.” Morris stated that it was far better for people to repair properly, care for old buildings, and let them slowly decay at the hands of nature than for their quick destruction to come from the “folly of man.” He encouraged his fellow members to continue doing their work and let the next generation do its part. He hoped that this next generation would appreciate the work his Society.⁸⁰ By the turn of the century, Morris and many of the other founding members of the Society had died, but the Society continued in the next generation just as Morris had hoped.

In 1896, the year Morris died, the SPAB sponsored a conference on the preservation of ancient buildings, those from the tenth through seventeenth centuries, in London. It also assisted in the formation of a new organization, the National Trust for Places of Beauty and National Interest, an organization that differed from the SPAB in that it could purchase and hold property and sought to protect buildings and landscapes. The conference met to discuss ways of decreasing the destruction of ancient buildings and decided to create a register of ancient buildings that would lessen the threat of destruction. The National Trust implemented the Society’s principles regarding conservative repair. In

79 William Morris, “Speech Given at the Twelfth Annual SPAB Meeting”

80 Ibid.

1913, the two organizations introduced the first effective historic buildings law to Parliament.⁸¹

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Secretary of the Society was Albert Reginald Powys, an architect and architectural historian. Powys, in keeping with the principles of Morris, viewed ancient buildings as possessing the beauty and integrity of his forefathers. However, Powys expanded Morris' reason for the Society. For Powys, it existed not only to protect buildings from ignorant restorations and destruction, but also because "man thinks in phrases and not in facts." That is, people focused on either "tradition" or "progress" instead of seeing the contemporary value of ancient buildings which "bring across the passage of time virtues that they give freely and yet still hold to give again." Powys stated that the restoration movement of the nineteenth century occurred because people allowed the socially elite to believe that culture only belonged to them. Therefore, the public gave the restorers free reign in applying their skills to the restoration of ancient buildings which resulted in the mutilation of the real, ancient architecture. The SPAB formed to enlighten the public to the virtues of the ancient buildings and insure their continuation through proper treatment. Powys noted that after fifty years, the SPAB had gained acceptance from the public.⁸²

Fifty years after its founding, the principles and purposes of the Society remained true to Morris' ideas. It still promoted the belief that ancient buildings

81 SPAB, "An Extract of a Tiny Portion of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Building's Work over the Last 125 Years" [online]; available from <http://www.spab.org.uk>.

82 Albert Reginald Powys, *From the Ground Up*, (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 169-179.

were an asset to the country and accordingly deserved proper upkeep and maintenance from either public or private entities. In addition, the reproduction and replacement of original details based on hypothetical research was harmful. Keepers of ancient buildings should use modern materials, such as steel, as well as ancient materials of stone and brick if the use of the modern materials prolongs the buildings' upkeep. Most importantly, the greatest way to preserve ancient buildings was to continue to use them for modern purposes, the exception being buildings with great historical or architectural significance which should remain untouched. Powys stated that in order to enact these principles, the SPAB had created technical measures for preserving ancient buildings, and that architects had accepted and further developed them.⁸³

Today, SPAB carries on the principles of William Morris. The Society provides a variety of resources to educate and assist the public including a homeowner course entitled "An Introduction to the Repair of Old Buildings" held throughout England. It also hosts a toll free technical assistance line that aided 2500 people in 2000. The Society continues to be a volunteer organization with 120 regular volunteers and only twenty full time employees.⁸⁴

While the SPAB was successful in achieving its goals, it was limited in its scope as it could not obtain or purchase buildings as a means to preserve them. Another organization that incorporated the principles of Ruskin and Morris, particularly Ruskin, was the National Trust for Places of Historical Importance

83 Ibid.

84 SPAB, "An Extract of a Tiny Portion of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Building's Work over the Last 125 Years"

and Natural Beauty. Its three founders were Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter, and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley. These three combined their interests of landscape or commons preservation (Hunter), social reforms (Hill), and building and landscape preservation (Rawnsley) into one organization.⁸⁵

Robert Hunter, born in 1844 to a wealthy merchant family, developed a love for nature at an early age. At University College, he received degrees in logic and moral philosophy. After graduation, an uncle convinced him to enter a writing contest about the preservation of commons, areas of land owned by a large land owner who granted access to land by 'commoners.' He did not win the contest, but he met George Shaw-Lefevre, founder of the Commons Preservation Society (CPS) of which both Ruskin and Morris were members. Hunter's idea that commoners had the right to contest landowners' rights matched those of the CPS. In 1868, Hunter, now a lawyer, became honorary solicitor for the CPS and worked to prove commoners rights to commons and open spaces.⁸⁶

Octavia Hill was born in 1838 to a family actively involved in public service. Her father owned and operated a radical newspaper, and her mother was a teacher. After her father had a nervous breakdown, she moved with her mother and siblings to the outskirts of London where she developed a love of nature and open spaces. At age thirteen, Hill moved to Marylebone when her mother became director of the Ladies Guild, a workshop for unskilled women.

85 Jennifer Jenkins, *From Acorn to Oak Tree: The Growth of the National Trust, 1895-1994*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1994), 1.

86 *Ibid.*, 2-5.

Hill met Ruskin at the Guild and began doing sketches for him. Hill became concerned with the poor living conditions of the women and people in Marylebone, and in 1865, Ruskin, also concerned with social reforms, loaned her money to buy two blocks of slums. She intended to clean them up, charge weekly rents, and provide decent housing. Her effort was successful and she continued to increase her social reforms by advocating that trained housing managers could improve housing conditions for the underprivileged. In 1875, she met Robert Hunter and began campaigning for the protection of open spaces because she believed all humans had a right to, and needed, air, grass, and nature.⁸⁷

Hardwicke Rawnsley, born in 1851, developed his love of nature, particularly the Lake District, while attending Uppingham, a secondary school. In 1870, he went to Oxford, met Ruskin, then a Professor of Art, and received a degree in natural science. After graduation, he became a minister and became involved in different projects that sought to protect natural areas, including the Lake District.⁸⁸

The Trust began in 1895, but the idea for such an organization occurred a decade earlier. In 1884, Robert Hunter addressed the National Association of the Promotion of Social Science. He discussed the efforts of the Commons Preservation Society, of which he was a member, and campaigned for a “special body, under the Joint Stock Company Acts that could purchase and hold land and buildings of special interest.” The function of such an organization was to

87 Ibid., 5-9.

88 Ibid., 9-13.

exist “primarily for the purpose not of putting money into the pockets of the shareholders but of advancing object they have at heart.”⁸⁹

Nothing occurred following his speech, but in 1885, Hunter found an ally in Octavia Hill, a social reformer and supporter of the Commons Preservation Society. Hill also developed the phrase “the trust” to describe the organization. Even with the support of Hill and a name for the proposed organization, another decade would pass before the Trust came into being. The reason for the delay was a lack of support from both the public and George Shaw-Lefevre, president of the CPS. Public interest was not as great as Hill and Hunter hoped, and Lefevre feared the Trust would detract support and money from the CPS. The help Hunter and Hill needed to start the organization ultimately came from Hardwicke Rawnsley, an acquaintance of Hill’s via Ruskin. Rawnsley was fighting to protect the Lake District, an area of beaches and lakes, from railroad development. In 1893, several important Lake District areas, including Falls of Ladore⁹⁰, were for sale. Rawnsley realized that even if the public could buy the property, no organization existed that could hold the property in perpetuity. Rawnsley enlisted the help of Hunter and Hill. In the fall of 1893, the three printed a notice entitled “National Trust for Historic Sites and Natural Scenery.” They sent it to possible members, inviting them to a meeting to discuss forming an organization “to act as a corporation for the holding of lands of natural beauty and sites and houses of historic interest to be preserved intact for the nation’s

89 Robin Fedden, *The Continuing Purpose: A History of the National Trust, Its Aims and Work*, (London: Longmans Press, 1968), 3.

90 See Appendix 2, illustration 9.

use and enjoyment.” The meeting received support from the press. The *Daily News* said “Mr. Ruskin would have been spared many a mournful page” if such an organization had previously existed.⁹¹

Several organizations influenced the formation of the Trust. Two English organizations were the SPAB and the Commons Preservation Society (CPS). The SPAB welcomed the Trust because SPAB did not have the power to acquire buildings, and the CPS thought that the Trust could aid in preserving the commons. The United States also had an impact on the formation. Hunter was aware that U.S. Congress had established Yellowstone National Park in 1872 and that local historical and conservation societies bought and protected buildings and natural sites. Hunter was especially impressed with the Trustees of Public Reservations in Massachusetts (1891), which had the ability to acquire (via grant, gift or purchase), hold, and open to the public areas of natural beauty or historical significance. This influenced Hunter when he wrote the Trust’s constitution.⁹²

One of the early supporters was Henry Lupus Grosvener, Duke of Westminster, a philanthropic landlord. The Duke offered his home for the first official meeting of the Trust held on 16 July 1884. Its purpose was to accept the constitution, written by Hunter, Hill, and Rawnsley. The group ratified two resolutions that solidified the existence of the Trust. The first was Hill’s motion to “provide means by which landowners and others may be enabled to dedicated to the nation places of historic interest or natural beauty, and that for this purpose, it

91 Ibid., 4-5.

92 Jenkins, 15-23.

is expedient to form a corporate body capable of holding land, and a representative of national institutions and interests.” The second resolution was Robert Hunter’s statement that the group approve the proposed constitution and authorize “the necessary steps to be taken to procure the legal incorporation of the Trust.” Hunter reorganized the resolutions of the meeting into the Memorandum and Articles of Association which the Board of Trade approved. The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty became a government recognized non-profit organization on 12 January 1895. The Executive Committee of the Trust met for the first time in February of 1895. It consisted of Robert Hunter, chair; Duke of Westminster, president; Hardwick Rawnsley, honorary secretary; and Harriet York (a friend of Octavia Hill), honorary treasurer. Hill attended but did not hold an office. The public’s response was almost immediate.⁹³ Within months, the Trust acquired its first two properties: a natural landscape and ancient building. Dinas Oleau⁹⁴, a four-and-a-half acre cliff top overlooking Cardigan Bay became the first land the Trust received. Mrs. Fanny Talbot, a friend of Rawnsley, donated the land. She was happy to donate the land to “a society that would not vulgarize it” and so the public could enjoy it. The first building acquired was the fourteenth century Clergy House in Alfriston, Sussex⁹⁵. The SPAB informed the Trust about the property, one of the few fourteenth-century domestic buildings left in England.

93 Ibid., 5-9.

94 See Appendix 2, illustration 10.

95 See Appendix 2, illustration 10.

In hopes of generating support, the Trust published its first promotional pamphlet in 1897, entitled “Its Aims and Its Works.” Author Robert Hunter outlined the Trust’s goals. He stated “it [the Trust] is the only association that can take it upon itself to preserve for posterity historic sites and buildings that may be handed to its keeping. It is thus the friend alike of historian, painter, and poet.” The goals of the Trust were to acquire property and aid in the preservation of historically significant sites and places of natural beauty. The motivation of the Trust, Hunter stressed, was “purely patriotic” in the desire to preserve important places that faced the threat of disappearance due to business growth, agricultural downturn, and negligence.⁹⁶

While the main goal of the Trust was to acquire land and buildings for perpetuity, it also served as a guardian for the nation. Threatened properties that did not, and probably would not, belong to the Trust still garnered action and protest.⁹⁷ An example of this was Stonehenge⁹⁸. In 1895, the Trust asked the owner of Stonehenge if he was willing to support a public fund to provide structural support for the stones. The owner did not reply and shortly afterward two stones fell. The Trust then pressed for Stonehenge to become public property. The Trust and CPS joined forces to make Stonehenge national property, and in 1915, the Office of Works bought Stonehenge and opened it to

96 Ibid., 28-29.

97 Fedden, 11.

98 See Appendix 2, illustration 11.

the public. The Trust later acquired the land surrounding Stonehenge so the landscape remains undeveloped.⁹⁹

Of the three founders, Robert Hunter made the greatest contribution. He wrote the first National Trust Act which became law in 1907. This allowed the Trust to draft by-laws and declared its property inalienable. This meant a party, including the government, had to have Parliamentary approval in order to remove property from the Trust. This guaranteed the organization's continued success because donors knew that properties would remain with it.¹⁰⁰

By 1914, both Octavia Hill and Robert Hunter had died. The Trust had 735 members and held sixty-two properties, totaling five thousand acres. The Trust's budget remained low at only two thousand pounds. During the First World War, the work of the Trust slowed. The small, volunteer staff had other duties and concerns, and the Trust postponed its appeals for properties. After the war ended, the sixty-two properties were in need of upkeep and maintenance, yet there were fewer members, and the Trust lacked funds. A major goal, therefore, was to generate funds by increasing membership. By 1923, membership reached 835, only one hundred more than in 1914. The lectures and articles given by the Trust failed to increase membership significantly. One reason was the prevalent idea that the founders, a "small band of devoted workers," had already accomplished a great deal, so the current group should be able to do the same without forming a large, impersonal organization. In 1924, the members

99 Jenkins, 29.

100 Ibid., 30-31.

remained a small, elite group who shared common interests, outlooks, and personal funds to aid the Trust.¹⁰¹

The Trust began needed reform in 1923 when John Bailey became chairman. Bailey, an original member of the Trust, knew the aims well. He reaffirmed that the principle focus of the Trust was preservation and that it must come before public access. He said “preservation may always permit of access while without preservation, access becomes forever impossible.” Under Bailey’s leadership from 1923-1931, membership tripled and the average number of properties acquired a year increased from five to ten. There were several factors behind this. First, Bailey placed stricter control on expenses and required that the sub-committees (the Estates and General Property Committee) submit estimates for each upcoming year which had to be approved by the Executive Committee. The sub-committees, upon approval, could spend the approved sums without further action. Another was the appointment of an assistant secretary in 1929 to aid in organizing and coordinating the local committees who oversaw the upkeep of properties. Last was the publicity committee, formed in 1928. The lack of such a committee prior to 1928 stemmed from a distrust in formal publicity and the desire to spread the message on a more personal basis. However, the increase in duties and properties demanded that membership increase. The publicity took form in members giving organized lectures, writing pamphlets, and hosting public dinners. It also included radio exposure on the BBC weekly broadcast, a *Weeks Good Cause*, which featured the Trust as a

101 Fedden, 16.

good benefit for the nation. As a result of the publicity committee, membership increased to two thousand by 1930.¹⁰²

The influence of Ruskin and Morris on the Trust is varied and deep. Of the three founders, Hill and Hunter knew Ruskin personally and shared his views on social reform and protecting the legacies of their forbearers. C. M. Trevelyan, a famous writer and member of the Trust, showed the influence of Ruskin in his 1929 article “Must England’s Beauty Perish?” In it, he outlined the goals and works of the Trust and stated that it was the nation’s keeper of spiritual values. He feared that if the Trust failed to reach its goals the “happiness, souls, and health” of the English people “would be in danger” and that “without vision the people perish, and without natural beauty, the English people will perish in the spiritual sense.”¹⁰³ This directly relates to Ruskin’s views.

Also during Bailey’s chairmanship, the government was beginning to realize the importance of preservation and enacted several pieces of legislation relating to preservation. These included the Town and Country Planning Bill which sought to curb suburban development and protect open spaces and the Finance Act which waived death duties on properties given to the Trust.¹⁰⁴

In 1934, John Bailey died and S. H. Hamer, secretary since 1911, resigned. The new chairman was Lord Setland. Under his influence from 1934 to 1945, the Trust underwent three significant improvements: the launching of the

102 Ibid., 20-21.

103 Jenkins, 57.

104 Fedden, 27-28.

country house scheme; the presence of the National Trust as a major land owner; and the provincial administrative organization.¹⁰⁵

From 1870 to 1940, the British gentry, the four hundred wealthiest families at the top of the social system, had lost most of their wealth due to several factors including the industrial revolution, agrarian decline, and World War I. As a result, the families no longer had the funds to manage their country houses and estates. Many properties were sold piecemeal or fell into severe disrepair. This development became a growing concern within the Trust.¹⁰⁶ In 1934, at the Trust's Annual Meeting, Lord Lathian suggested that the Trust extend its protective measures to include the best examples of country houses. He stated that these houses faced death in the form of taxation and estate duties. He made four suggestions on how the Trust could protect them. These were to survey the properties, list the best examples of architectural periods or historical significance and provide fiscal relief such as exemption from death duties, find alternative uses for house if no longer family residences, and find a way to extend Trust's funds so the contents of the houses could remain intact. Lathian's speech marked a turning point because he suggested action from the Trust and the government; his scheme set the stage for future legislation and made the two aims of the Trust, natural landscapes and buildings, of equal importance.¹⁰⁷ In early 1936, the Trust invited Duc de Noailles of France's Demeure Historique to talk about the tax easement provided by the French government regarding

105 Fedden, 27-28.

106 Jenkins, 75.

107 Fedden, 28-29.

historical chateaux.¹⁰⁸ This tax easement allowed owners of historic buildings to deduct fifty percent of annual expenditures on upkeep, repairs, improvements, and wages of caretakers and or managers. If the building was opened to the public for at least fifty days a year, the percentage rose to 100 percent. The French government also offered grants to owners who needed funds to maintain their historic buildings.¹⁰⁹ Soon after, the Trust established a special committee to see how the Trust could alter France's practices to England's country houses. The Trust anticipated the government would be interested in assisting the cause. By the end of the year, the Trust began talking with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, outlining its plan to give country house owners tax breaks in exchange for a limited public viewing of the house for a small fee. The pre-World War Two government was uninterested in the scheme and it was not until later that the country house proposal became government policy.¹¹⁰

During Lord Setland's tenure, the Trust became one of the largest landowners in England. New acquisitions included three villages and several large estates in England and Wales, including Sir Richard Acland's, a member of the Trust, in Somerset and Devon. The total for these properties was over twenty-one thousand acres of land. This increase, combined with the eighteen thousand acres obtained through three donated country houses, tripled the

108 Fedden, 29-30.

109 Robert E. Stipe, ed. *Historic Preservation in Foreign Countries* (Washington, DC: United States National Committee of the ICOMOS, 1982), 17-20.

110 Fedden., 29-30.

amount of land owned by the Trust. Its position as a major land owner increased the Trust's responsibilities and reorganization became necessary.¹¹¹

In 1940, the Trust had to decide on how to meet the increasing demands and reorganize. The two options were either to pay local firms to manage the properties or to employ a larger Trust staff via agents. The Trust decided against outsourcing and instead kept control of the properties by increasing the number of Trust employees, because members would better appreciate the aims and principles of the organization. The new organizational system was the agent system. The Trust divided the country into eight sections, each with one deputy agent who would manage the properties in that region. These agents were under the direction of the chief agent. The agent system did not go into effect until after World War II, but it proved successful. By 1967, the Trust subdivided the nation into sixteen regions with twenty-four agents overseeing the properties.¹¹²

After World War II, the Labor Party came into power and the Trust viewed this change with expectation and trepidation. The Trust hoped that the new government would start a National Parks system, but feared that it would place the National Trust under state control. Fortunately, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hugh Dalton, a strong supporter of the Trust, allowed country house owners to give their estates to the Trust as payment of death duties and helped pass three pieces of legislation. The first was the introduction of the National Land Fund in which Dalton deposited fifty million pounds for the Trust to use in

111 Ibid., 33-34.

112 Ibid.

maintaining current properties and obtaining future ones. Dalton stated that the government considered non-profit preservation organizations, such as the Trust, as “friends of public interest and we desire to help them.” The Land Fund allowed the Trust to receive funding from the government while keeping autonomy. In 1947, the Town and Country Planning Fund went into effect; it mandated land use and nationalized development rights. This aided in restricting development into the country side, thus containing cities and assisting the Trust in protecting open spaces. The Act also specifically named the Trust and created a closer relationship between the Trust and local planning authorities who through the Act had control of planning the preservation of properties. This close association created an increase in properties given to the Trust. The third act was the National Parks and Access to Countryside Act of 1950. The Trust had advocated for National Parks since the 1890s. As written, the Act allowed for areas within the Trust’s inalienable lands to become National Parks, so the Trust remained active in preserving the areas.¹¹³

In regards to country houses, the legislation of the Labor Party made the Trust a viable option for underprivileged owners. Before the legislation, only three country houses became part of the Trust. However, after the allowance of donated estates as payment of death duties, the number of donated homes significantly increased. In 1940, the first house obtained was Lord Lathian’s, who first proposed the country house scheme. Lathian inherited Blickling Hall¹¹⁴ in

113 Jenkins, 75, 135-140; Fedden, 56-64.

114 See Appendix 2, illustration 12.

Norfolk upon his brother's death. Due to the high death duties, the family had to sell some rare books from the family's extensive library. Lathian did not want the estate to lose more property upon his death so he donated the entire estate to the Trust which included the Jacobean House, its entire contents, and forty-five hundred acres. In his bequest, he allowed for public visitation on a regular basis but insisted that the house should remain "as a family residence to a person who will love, appreciate, and respect Blickling Hall."¹¹⁵

The legislative measures of the Labor Party also reinforced the need for the Trust and ensured its continued growth. In 1945, the Trust possessed 112,000 acres, 93 historic buildings and 7,850 members. By 1965, the numbers had increased to 328,502; 200; and 157,000, respectively. This created a need for reorganization within the Trust, resulting in a larger, more impersonal organization than a small group of likeminded individuals.¹¹⁶

In 1967, the organizational structure of the Trust fell under criticism. The major critic was Commander Conrad Rawnsley, grandson of Trust founder Hardwicke Rawnsley. To the press, Rawnsley protested that the Trust was an elitist organization, out of touch with its members. Because of Rawnsley's accusations, the Council formed an advisory committee to make recommendations on possible restructuring. The resulting Benson Report recommended that the Trust give more responsibility to the regional agents and

115 Fedden, 31.

116 Fedden, 39-40.

eliminate unnecessary sub-committees. The Council enacted these measures.¹¹⁷

Since 1970, the Trust has continued to grow in membership, properties, and scope. In 1970, the Director of Public Relations started National Trust Enterprises, which sells items such as tea towels at historic houses. By 1990, the Trust had two million members and advisory members in India and the Far East. In 2001, its publication “Working in Urban Areas” revealed that two thirds of the Trust’s properties were within twenty miles of England’s fifteen largest cities. This prompted the Inner City Project in Newcastle and the London Links project which worked to bring a larger, varied sector of the public to the Trust’s properties. In 2003, the Trust acquired Red House¹¹⁸, William Morris’ home designed by Phillip Webb.¹¹⁹

The continued expansion of the Trust warranted further reorganization, and in 2002, the Council appointed a Review Group to examine its governance and make suggestions for improvement. The conclusions of the Review Group were that all the problems resulted from too many internal decision-making bodies within the Trust, which made the chain of command too long and complicated. The Review Group recommended the reorganization of the organization with fewer decision making bodies. These went into effect in 2005.¹²⁰

117 National Trust, History, [online]; available from <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk>.

118 See Appendix 2, illustration 13.

119 National Trust, History, [online]; available from <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk>.

120 Ibid.; National Trust, “New Governance Structure,” [online]; available from <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk>.

The new governance system consists of a Council, a Board of Trustees, Country and Regional Committees, and an Advisory Panel. The Council contains fifty-two members, twenty-six elected by members of the Trust and the other twenty-six appointed by organizations, collaborating with the Trust, such as the SPAB. This combination provides a span of experience and expertise to ensure that the Trust works efficiently as both a charity and a large business. The duties of the Council include overseeing the activities of the Trust. The Board of Trustees contains twelve members, comprised of the Council Chairman and Deputy Chairman, six members of the existing Council, and four non-Trust members. The Board of Trustees is the main decision making body of the Trust. The Country and Regional Chairmen serve as figureheads of the Trust and provide leadership, maintain connections with important contacts, and represent the Trust in meetings and the media. The Advisory Council consists of experts such as architectural historians and engineers who advise the Trust on preservation and conservation.¹²¹

The finances of the Trust derive from five sources: membership subscriptions; interest from the General Fund; free legacies and donations; admission fees from visitors; and property endowments from investments and rents. In 2004, the income from membership dues was 84.2 million pounds, from National Trust Enterprises 16.6 million pounds, from the General Fund 3.9 million pounds. The expenditures of the Trust totaled 60.4 million pounds.¹²²

121 Ibid.

122 Fedden, 177.; National Trust, "Annual Report and Accounts 2003/04" [online]; available from <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk>.

The success of the Trust is undeniable. In 2005, membership totaled three million and the Trust controlled six hundred thousand acres, two hundred historic houses, and forty-nine industrial sites and mills. The original aims of the Trust in 1896 remain in 2006, as the Trust continues to acquire properties in perpetuity and provide public access to them. The Trust's mission is to provide current and future generations the cultural heritage of the past. In the publication "History and Place: Informing the Future" the Trust states "historic places provide a rich archive available to everyone who wants to explore how the past can inform and illuminate the present and the future." The influence of Ruskin's principles and philosophy is unmistakable and recognized by the Trust. In the *Centenary Souvenir*, Margaret Willes notes that the "strongest source of inspiration" came from John Ruskin who knew both Octavia Hill and Hardwicke Rawnsley, and shared their desire for an organization like the Trust.¹²³

In conclusion, both the SPAB and National Trust used the principles of John Ruskin and William Morris as the basis for their organizations. The relationship between the SPAB and the Trust dates back to 1896 when the SPAB and Trust worked together to protect Alfriston clergy house. The relationship remains strong today as SPAB members serve on the Trust's Council and the Trust implements the SPABs conservation and preservation methods. The scope of the Trust exceeds that of the SPAB by including landscapes. The central aims of the two also differ. The SPAB's are to educate the public and the Trust's are

123 National Trust, *History and Place: Informing the Future* (London: Centurion Press Ltd., 2004), 23.; Margaret Willes, *The National Trust: Centenary Souvenir* (London: National Trust Enterprises, 1995), 6.

to protect buildings and landscapes for perpetuity. Even with these differences, both continue to follow the principles of John Ruskin and William Morris.

When forming the National Trust for Historic Places and Natural Landscapes in 1896, Robert Hunter was inspired by America's private preservation organizations. Fifty years later, England's National Trust served as the inspiration for the creation of America's National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP). As a result, the organizational structure and principles of both organizations were similar. However, differences existed between the two. For one, social class played a much larger role in Britain, resulting in a powerful national organization (National Trust), while in the United States the NTHP served a diplomatic role between local, regional, state, and national preservation movements. As a result, the NTHP serves as a clearing house for private preservation organizations and a litigator between the federal government and private organizations, while the National Trust remains autonomous from government and promotes education through tourism of its properties. The next chapter discusses the NTHP in detail.

IV.

AMERICAN MOVEMENT: THE NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

“If America forgets where she came from,
if the people lose sight of what brought them along,
if she listens to the deniers and mockers,
then will rot and dissolution begin.”
Carl Sandburg, *Remembrance Rock*¹²⁴

The preservation movement in the United States began in the early nineteenth-century and occurred among two separate groups: the private sector and the federal government. Citizens were concerned with preserving buildings tied to historical events or figures. The federal government focused on creating national parks and preserving natural landscapes.

Patriotism fueled early preservationists, who sought to protect buildings tied to important historical figures or events. The first preservation group in the United States was the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, founded in 1853. The purpose of the organization was to save Mount Vernon¹²⁵, George Washington’s home, from dilapidation. The founder, Ann Pamela Cunningham, raised funds to purchase the property and enlisted in each state the aid of other

124 Elizabeth Mulloy, *The History of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1963-1973* (Washington, DC, The Preservation Press, 1976), xi.

125 See Appendix 2, illustration 14.

women interested in preserving the estate. The Association served as the basis for future private preservation organizations with the intent of protecting historical landmarks and set the trend for preservation in the nineteenth century. Typically, individuals, mainly women, headed private preservation organizations concerned with preserving buildings for patriotic reasons. This began to change in the first decade of the twentieth century with the preservation and restoration of the Paul Revere house¹²⁶ in Boston. While historically significant due to its association with Paul Revere, the house also had architectural significance as it was the city's oldest surviving frame building. William Appleton, an architectural historian and supporter in the Revere restoration, founded the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities in 1910. This organization was less concerned with the patriotic connotations of buildings and instead focused on aesthetic, architectural significances. This set the precedent for architectural significance being a criterion in preservation. One reason for this was the influence of John Ruskin and William Morris on Appleton and others. The writings of the two were widely published and read by Americans in the later half of the nineteenth century. Their ideas that architecture served as a historical link to the past and should be preserved as part of national heritage, affected Americans who had previously seen buildings as only serving a utilitarian purpose.¹²⁷

The role of private initiative continued in the early twentieth century. One episode that would specifically affect the future of preservation in the United

126 See Appendix 2, illustration 15.

127 Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practices* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2000), 33; William Murtagh, *Keeping Time* (Pittstown, New Jersey: Main Street Press, 1988), 31-32.

States first was Colonial Williamsburg¹²⁸. In 1923, W. A. R. Goodwin, a rector at a church in Williamsburg, Virginia, asked millionaire John D. Rockefeller to assist him in restoring colonial Williamsburg. Rockefeller accepted and the two began the first attempt to restore an entire city. The problem with the restoration was that many of the original structures had disappeared and required reconstruction. Reconstruction can never replace the original so the historical authenticity of most of Williamsburg is false. However, Williamsburg became the most popular historic site in the country and increased the public's interest in preservation. After Williamsburg, new preservation organizations with board members having academic knowledge and experience in history and architecture began surveying and protecting places of historical and architectural significance in their area.¹²⁹ Ruskin and Morris would have viewed the reconstruction of Williamsburg in abject horror and considered it wrong because it produced a false history. They would have argued that the archaeologists and historians, regardless of skills and knowledge, did not possess the spirit of the original builders and that Williamsburg should have been left as it was. Viollet, on the other hand, would have applauded the efforts in Williamsburg for its research and for bringing back the spirit of the past. The significance of Williamsburg was that more people recognized the intrinsic value of their built environment and increasingly sought to protect it.

128 See Appendix 2, illustration 16.

129 Tyler, 37-39; Charles B. Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of VA, 1981), 183-4.

In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the federal government also began to value America's resources and initially focused on preserving natural landscapes. Its early involvement in preservation began in 1870. The first action of the federal government was establishing Yellowstone as the first national park in 1872. In 1906, the Antiquities Act passed Congress and allowed the President to reserve public land that had pre-historic and historic significance to protect against vandalism. In 1916, the creation of the National Parks Service further protected historic and pre-historic landscapes by creating national parks. The next wave of governmental preservation activity occurred during the Great Depression and addressed the built environment. In 1934, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), which employed architects and historians during the Depression, began. This was the first recording of American historic buildings. The following year, Congress passed the National Historic Site Act of 1935. The Act had three provisions: it provided for the continuation of HABS; gave the National Parks Service the power to buy, preserve, and operate historic land for public benefit; and authorized the National Parks Service to conduct a national survey of historic sites in the United States.¹³⁰

With the outbreak of World War II, the government's involvement in preservation slowed as other issues took precedence. As a result, the bulk of preservation occurred in the private sector. During the war, preservationists

130 Tyler, 33-49.

began to realize the need for a national organization that could establish long-term goals and coordinate the various independent preservation organizations.¹³¹

In 1946, members of several preservation-oriented organizations, including the president of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society and an historian of the National Park Service, met with David Finley, the Director of the National Gallery of Art. The men discussed the creation of a national preservation organization that would protect buildings and sites of architectural and historic interest. This meeting led to the creation of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings in 1947. The preservationists who formed this council wanted to secure a federal charter because it would provide national prestige and make the preservation organization permanent. Alexander Hamilton, chairman of the preparatory committee, suggested using the National Trust of England as the organizational template and namesake of the United State's organization. In 1949, the organization received a federal charter and created the National Trust for Historic Preservation, a non-governmental organization comprised "of national, regional, state and local societies, and interested individuals" to advance preservation in the United States. The fundamental purpose of the NTHP was to preserve and interpret "sites and structures significant in American history and culture" by either arranging for the acquisition of property by preservation organizations that would provide preservation and interpretation, or acquiring the property if other options were not available. The NTHP sought to preserve buildings and sites in numerous ways.

131 Elizabeth Mulloy, *The History of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1963-1973* (Washington, DC, The Preservation Press, 1976), 10.

These included trusteeship where the owner maintains the title, donation, purchase via individual or group funding, and transfer of properties from government agencies. The two conditions regarding acquisition were that funding exist, in the form of endowments or donations, to maintain the property and that the public have access to the building since educating the public is a key goal. The basis for both conditions was the English National Trust.¹³²

The organizational structure of the NTHP was similar to that of England's. It consisted of a Board of Trustees comprised of the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Director of the National Gallery of Art. It has had at least six General Trustees and officers including a Chairman, two Vice Chairmen, a Secretary, Treasurer, Director, and General Counsel. The Board of Trustees duties were to administer, preserve, and protect the property of the NTHP. The Chairman had general supervision of the organization and the power to enforce the provisions with assistance from the Vice Chairmen. The Director was the chief officer in regards to "all matters of history, culture, research, education, techniques and methods of preservation of historic sites, buildings and objects, and corporate policies." The General Counsel served as the law advisor for the organization.¹³³ In England, the organization of the Trust also consists of a Chairman, Board of Trustees, and an Advisory Council. However, the role of government differs. In England, members of the Labor and Conservative parties are usually members of the Trust but the government is not a partner of the Trust.

132 Finley, 54-60.

133 Mulloy, 226-229.

One of the reasons for forming the National Trust for Historic Preservation was to curb the post war boom. After World War II, the nation experienced an unprecedented economic expansion due to the increase in factories and manufacturing during the war years. This boom resulted in the rise of the suburbs, an increase in leisure time, and the almost bedrock belief that newer was better. As a result, many historic buildings were lost in the name of progress. The early preservationists who formed the NTHP recognized the dangers in such thinking and sought to curtail the demolition of buildings, and loss of American heritage, due to suburban sprawl and city growth. They hoped to instill in Americans an appreciation of their heritage through preservation of their built environment.¹³⁴

An early example of the success of the NTHP was the acquisition of their first property in 1951, Woodlawn Plantation¹³⁵ at Mount Vernon, Virginia. The house was historically significant for several reasons, including being designed by William Thornton, architect of the Capitol and being the home of George Washington's family. In 1949, a church organization bought the house with the intentions of turning it into a boy's school. In reaction, local preservationists formed the Woodlawn Public Foundation and purchased the property. The Foundation then offered the estate to NTHP, which through grants and donations, was able to take financial responsibility and organization of the property. This led to the establishment of the estate as a house museum. The success of preserving Woodlawn Manor allowed the public to see that a quasi-

134 Mulloy, xi.

135 See Appendix 2, picture

government organization could bridge the gap between public and private preservation efforts.¹³⁶

In 1953, the National Trust joined forces with the National Park Service, the Library of Congress, and the American Institute of Architects to re-establish the Historic American Buildings Survey Inventory. The purpose of the inventory was to supplement the work begun by the earlier version of the Historic American Buildings Survey, which had documented in the form of measured drawings, photographs, and narrative histories, some six thousand structures between 1934 and 1941. The organizations realized that many significant buildings and sites needed such documentation. They decided on a recording project consisting of a one page form that was less detailed than in the 1930s in order to record more historically significant areas faster. In 1954, local chapters of the American Institute of Architects and volunteers used the form to gather information with the purpose of creating a pool of information of historically and architecturally significant buildings and sites that preservationists could access.¹³⁷

By 1956, the membership of the NTHP consisted of 1500 individuals, two corporations, and 182 private preservation organizations. The NTHP was also recognized as a leader in preservation by the Aanestad report commissioned by the New York Community Trust to discern the status of preservation in America. The report stated, “the fact that this agency now receives two-thirds of its income

136 Finley, 7-9.

137 Mulloy, 18-20.

from member organizations and individual members is substantially indicative of the widespread feeling of need over the country for some form of central planning and advisory service.” The Board of Trustees organized a committee to review the status of the National Trust programs and recommend reorganization so programs did not overlap. The main finding was that education should become the central focus of the NTHP. Proposals on how to implement this included sponsoring university courses and fellowships to train preservation architects, organizing seminars and lectures, increasing the scope and influence of the NTHP quarterly *Historic Preservation*, and increasing support to national and local inventory programs. These recommendations were able to be enacted due to a 2.5 million dollar endowment in 1957 from the Old Dominion and Avalon Foundations. The chairman of the Avalon Foundation stated that “a special need exists for an expanded private preservation agency. The National Trust is the single voluntary organization at the national level devoted exclusively to the broad fields of cultural preservation and merits the support of foundations and individuals.”¹³⁸

During the 1950s, the NTHP enjoyed numerous successes including the acquisition of properties such as Woodlawn, the introduction of the historic inventory, an increase in members, the wider recognition of the organization, and the increase in funding by private foundations. However, the Trust also faced several setbacks as the threats to historic properties increased during the 1950s. Urban Renewal Projects, the process in which towns across America demolished

138 Ibid., 25-27.

older, depreciated areas to make room for new parking lots and businesses, and the Interstate Highway System, which destroyed historic properties if they were in its path, caused the threat.¹³⁹ NTHP members compared their work to going up a down escalator moving at a high speed because for every building and site protected, hundreds of others were threatened and destroyed.¹⁴⁰

By the early 1960s, the NTHP sought ways to combat the increasing destruction. In 1961, it organized a traveling photograph exhibit entitled “Preservation: Heritage of Progress” which depicted in photographs the loss and preservation of buildings in America and Europe and included an illustration of the *Four Horsemen of Destruction*¹⁴¹, an adaptation of Gustave Dore’s *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*. The four horsemen were war, disaster, fire, and man. The purpose of the exhibit was to show that destruction of cultural heritage by natural disasters was unavoidable but that the majority of destruction, caused by man, was preventable. The exhibit proved successful and traveled over the next four years to twenty-three cities.¹⁴²

The NTHP and other preservation organizations decided to meet in order to determine ways of improving the effectiveness of historic preservation in the United States. The Special Committee on Historic Preservation headed the 1965 Williamsburg Conference. The purpose of the Committee, chaired by Albert Rains, was to “develop a program to encourage federal, state, and local government, private agencies and individuals to preserve communities, areas,

139 Tyler, 40.

140 Mulloy, 32.

141 See Appendix 2, illustration 17.

142 Ibid., 32-33.

structure, sites, and objects significant to architectural, cultural, social economic, political and military history which contribute to the quality and meaning of American life.” In order to do so, the Committee received advice from various sources including governmental agencies involved in areas such as urban renewal and housing that affected preservation. European preservation organizations were examined also to see what practices could be incorporated into America’s preservation practices. The Committee found that in Europe historic preservation is a role of government, except in England, and that the role of America’s federal government in supporting historic preservation efforts needed to increase. The resulting recommendation for increased federal involvement included the call for a legislative act that would establish the role of the federal government in historic preservation. Its provisions would consolidate existing historic preservation programs, create a National Register within the National Park Service to establish standards and criteria for preservation, and provide an economic incentive for preservation.¹⁴³

The direct result of the Special Committee, or Rains Committee, was the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The Act incorporated most of the recommendations of the Rains Committee. It contained two titles. Title I gave the Secretary of the Interior the responsibility of expanding and maintaining the “National Register of districts, sites, buildings’ structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture.” The Secretary of the

143 Special Committee on Historic Preservation, *With Heritage So Rich* (New York: Random House, 1965), xv, 203-207.

Interior also had the duty of encouraging states to establish state historic preservation offices, and providing the states with matching funds to offset the cost of surveying properties and developing preservation plans that met the Secretary of the Interior Standards.¹⁴⁴ It also specified that grants-in-aid be available to states that were preserving properties for public benefit and to the National Trust for Historic Preservation to accomplish its preservation goals. Section 106 of Title I stipulated projects of federal agencies, or any private organization using federal funds, that involved properties either on or eligible for the National Register must undergo a review by the Advisory Council on how their project would impact the historic property before the funds became available.¹⁴⁵

Title II created the Advisory Council composed of the administrator or an assistant from the Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Secretary of Commerce, Administrator of the General Services Administration, Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney General. It also included the National Trust chairman and ten members of non-profit organizations appointed by the President. The duties of the Advisory Council included approving or declining Section 106 actions; directing the executive and legislative branches on preservation related matters; promoting private and public participation in preservation; formulating studies of federal, state, and local preservation policies; providing guidelines to assist state and local preservation

144 See Appendix 1

145 Mulloy, 259; James Glass, *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957 to 1969* (Nashville TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1990), 19-20.

agencies in writing preservation legislation; and encouraging preservation education and training.¹⁴⁶

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was significant for several reasons. First, it solidified the federal government's involvement in historic preservation. The Act also strengthened the National Trust for Historic Preservation's role in federal preservation policy by making it the only non-profit preservation organization on the Advisory Council. In addition, Section 106 encouraged that federal departments that either directly or indirectly affected the built environment or cultural heritage of the United States make preservation a priority. Finally, the Act insured that the public would place preservation victories and defeats in a national context.¹⁴⁷

Due to the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act and its positive effects on the historic preservation movements in the United States, the principles and guidelines of historic preservation needed reevaluation. In 1967, the NTHP and the federal government sponsored the Second Williamsburg Conference to revise the principles and guidelines of the First Williamsburg Conference. The meeting forum consisted of four panels: Objectives and Scope; Planning; Survey; and Education.¹⁴⁸

The Objectives and Scope panel stated that the public no longer viewed preservation as a few individuals interested in creating house museums.

146 Mulloy, 259; James Glass, *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957 to 1969*.

147 Tyler, 45; Mulloy, 91.

148 Special Committee on Historic Preservation, *Historic Preservation Tomorrow* (Washington DC: Preservation Press, 1967), 1-34.

Instead, they recognized preservation as a part of the larger concern for conserving the natural and cultural resources of America. The panel stressed that while the governmental role regarding preservation had increased, the success of preservation still rested in the private sector. The tasks assigned to the private organizations included facilitating collaborative programs with local, state, and federal government and serving as a model for other preservation organizations. The panel instructed the NTHP to maintain its leadership in preservation and continue educating and informing governmental bodies on preservation matters.¹⁴⁹

The Planning panel emphasized that historic structures should be a part of viable neighborhoods and promoted the act of adaptive reuse, using historical buildings for modern purposes. The panel also stated that to be successful, the plan must take into consideration extant factors such as surrounding buildings, open spaces, streets, and parking.¹⁵⁰

The Survey committee dealt primarily with the National Register and noted the need for strict survey and documentation guidelines and an accessible archive of listed properties. In addition, nominated National Register properties should receive publicity to garner public support for preservation if the property later becomes threatened.¹⁵¹

The Education panel focused on the need for qualified architects and craftsmen that could properly restore and preserve historic buildings. It proposed

149 Ibid.

150 Ibid.

151 Ibid.

that universities should offer degrees in specialized preservation fields such as historical architecture, restoration, and historic preservation planning. The panel also commended the NTHPs historic preservation publications and suggested that states adopt similar publications to further public support. Most preservation organizations, at all levels, incorporated the recommendations of the Special Committee.¹⁵²

A major component of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was the Congressional authorization of money to the Secretary of the Interior for grants-in-aid to state preservation offices, the National Park Service, and the NTHP. The authorization was for thirty-two million dollars over a three year span. However, since the Act originally stipulated that the organizations match the requested amount, most of the money remained unclaimed, and by 1969, Congress had appropriated only 1.34 million. This made state preservation offices look for other sources of federal funds. An alternate source included the Economic Development Administration, authorized by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, and provided funds to communities bringing jobs to economically depressed areas. The Department of Housing and Urban Development's Section 109 Program matched funds to local governments that were acquiring and restoring historic properties for income producing purposes. Funding by these federal programs, along with the National Historic Preservation Act, garnered state success. By 1969, twenty states had established state preservation offices, 144 cities had established historic districts, and eight states

152 Ibid.

had created state registers of their historic properties. In 1970, Congress renewed funding of the National Historic Preservation Act. Hoping to win a greater appropriation, several preservation organizations, and two members of the NTHP, testified. The groups implored Congress to maintain the growing momentum of historic preservation by increasing funding. Congress complied by amending the bill to include a three-year funding period resulting in 32 million dollars, divided into 7 million the first year, 10 the second, and 15 the third. Preservationists worried that funds might not be made available, but the new funding proved successful. In 1971, the Secretary of the Interior distributed 6.95 million to preservation organizations, including the NTHP.

Further success followed President Nixon's Special Message to Congress proposing the 1971 environmental program. In it, Nixon spoke of the need for national land use policy and planning to prevent suburban sprawl and inner city blight. He noted preservation as a key factor to consider in attacking these problems. He also proposed ways of protecting historical structures, including the establishment of federal tax incentives to make historical properties economically viable. Another recommendation would allow the buildings that the federal government owned and donated to preservation organizations become income producing properties, not just public places such as museums. Both of these proposals ultimately occurred in the 1980s. They and Nixon's statement "I am taking action to insure that no Federally-owned property is demolished until its historic significance has first been reviewed," gave preservationists hope. In May 1971, Executive Order 11593 or the Protection and Enhancement of the

Cultural Environment stipulated that all federal agencies nominate possible historically significant properties to the National Register by July 1973 and refrain from making any changes to them. To implement the order, federal agencies worked with the Secretary of the Interior, Advisory Council, and state historic preservation officers. The order was very significant to preservationists because it protected federally owned buildings not listed but eligible for National Register and formally recognized historic preservation as a federal concern.¹⁵³

Even with the gains in preservation through the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, assistance from federal programs, grant appropriations, and Nixon's executive order, the NTHP and other preservation organizations faced setbacks that reiterated the need for preservation. Such a setback was the Stock Exchange Building in Chicago¹⁵⁴. In February of 1970, Chicago developers decided to tear down this early skyscraper designed by Dankmar Adler and Lois Sullivan, leading architects of the Chicago school (the term applied to architects involved in early skyscraper development). Thus, the building clearly had architectural and historical significance. It was also in good condition and still used as an office building. When the Chicago Commission on Historical and Architectural Landmarks discovered the plan, they proposed placing the building under a city preservation ordinance as a designated landmark and thereby protecting it from demolition or alteration. The owners of the Stock Exchange, however, found the cost of getting the designation too high. Instead, they sold the building to the developers who applied for a demolition

153 Mulloy, 107-108.

154 See Appendix 2, illustration 18.

permit. The Chicago Commission turned to the Committee on Cultural and Economic Development, part of the City Council, to cover the cost of designating the building as a landmark. The Committee decided that Chicago could not afford another landmark and refused to consider the preservationist's suggestion that development rights of the Stock Exchange be transferred. The Commission proposed that the Illinois state legislature adopt the New York City transfer method. This would allow owners of historic buildings, which did not meet maximum height allowance, to sell the unused height development rights of their building to an adjacent lot or building owner. By July of 1971, the proposal was gaining support and the legislature asked for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to comment on the significance of the Stock Exchange. The Advisory Council determined that the building was of national architectural and historical significance due to its association with the Chicago school and being an example of early skyscraper construction. In late August of 1971, the Illinois legislature approved the transfer method. However, the city council refused to designate the Stock Exchange as a historic landmark or historic building. In early October, the city council approved the developer's demolition permit. The combined efforts of the Chicago Commission, Advisory Council, NTHP, Chicago Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and other preservation organizations failed. Demolition began in late October, and while architectural details such as cornices and molding were removed, the nation lost a significant part of its cultural heritage. The loss spurred Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton to propose the creation of a National Cultural Park in Chicago funded and

operated jointly by the federal government, the city, and private preservation organizations. Using the transfer program, the federal government would acquire the unused development rights of buildings in the Chicago loop area to form the Park and preserve Chicago's architectural landmarks of the Chicago school.¹⁵⁵ This plan never garnered acceptance. The loss, however, resulted in the formation of the Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois (LPCI). The Council is a non-profit organization that seeks to list and protect architecturally and historically significant structures, buildings, and sites throughout Illinois. The goals of the organization are to promote preservation by facilitating efforts and educating the public. Currently, the LPCI has easements on 341 properties and 2000 members.¹⁵⁶

Demolition of Chicago's Stock Exchange served as a glaring example of the conflict between tangible profit and intangible architectural and aesthetic significance. This spurred the Trust to realize that as long as Americans valued profit over cultural heritage, preservation would remain a defensive movement. Members of NTHP concluded that the best way to promote preservation was to increase public support and prompt them into action. It did this by increasing its reach in the form advertising and publication. In 1972, the NTHP produced a television announcement. The sixty-second commercial, entitled *Your Heritage*, showed clips of wrecking balls demolishing historic buildings and made the plea for Americans to prevent continued destruction. The NTHP also published two

155 Ibid., 116-119.

156 Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois, About Us [online] available from <http://www.landmarks.org>.

periodicals, *Historic Preservation* and *Preservation News*. The monthly *Preservation News*, an eight page newspaper, recognized preservation efforts throughout the nation by private individuals and organizations in hopes of inspiring others and uniting disparate preservationists into a national force. *Historic Preservation*, a quarterly magazine, supplemented *Preservation News* and included articles on subjects such as federal grant recipients, work of famous architects, and interpretive techniques. In 1972, the format of *Historic Preservation* changed, and while it remained scholarly in nature, it broadened public appeal by insisting that preservation benefited people of all cultural backgrounds. In the October 1972 issue, the Trust expressed its philosophy of the fundamental importance of preservation in the article "Preservation Is People." It stated, "Historic preservation is people. It is not just the cataloguing of historic landmarks; preservation means action and it is realized by the people involved." People included the young and old, the rich and poor, and volunteers and professionals of all races. The article insisted, "if it should evolve that preservation is not people, it will be a symptom that our movement has faded and passed. It will mean that America is progressing . . . without regard to past and future." The article affirmed that creating a national Utopia had been the dream of Americans since the beginning and historic landmarks serve as basis for achieving Utopia by connecting the nation. The advertising and publications of the NTHP increased public awareness and membership rose. In 1966, total Trust membership - - comprised of individuals, organizations, corporations, and members of Congress and the media - - was 10,668. By 1973, the number had

increased to 40,270 with the most significant increases occurring in individual and organization memberships.¹⁵⁷

The NTHP also recognized that the best way to preserve historic and architecturally significant buildings was to make them available for modern uses. Buildings should either be used for their original purpose, i.e. historic houses lived in as houses (not as house museums) and office buildings retaining their function, or adapted to a new use. The NTHP and other preservationists had advocated adaptive use in the Second Williamsburg Conference in 1966 and the NTHP had been assisting individuals in the process. In 1973, the NTHP began providing aid to owners of historic properties who wanted to sell their property to buyers who would use the building and preserve it. In 1973 alone, the NTHP assisted in the transfer of forty historic properties and sites.¹⁵⁸

While these measures were successful, the preservation and adaptive use of historic buildings lacked economic incentive. Tax breaks for demolition were greater than any for rehabilitation. This trend began to change in 1978 with the passage of the Rehabilitation Investment Tax Credit which gave developers a 10 percent tax credit for the cost of rehabilitating registered historic structures that would be income producing. This Act required that the National Park Service review and approve rehabilitated buildings as a certified historic structure in order to be eligible for the tax credit. This meant they met the Secretary of Interior Standards of Rehabilitation, a set of guidelines to maintain the architecturally

157 Ibid., 125-128, 139-140, appendix 9.

158 Ibid., 149, 171.

significant details when altering a building to a contemporary use. The Act was successful and later expanded into the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. This new law gave a 25 percent tax credit to owners rehabilitating income producing registered historic buildings, 20 percent tax credit to income producing properties more than forty years old, and 15 percent tax credit to income producing properties thirty years or older. These tax credits made utilizing historic buildings economically viable so that developers and business owners began using them as opposed to new construction. Between 1981 and 1985, the tax credits resulted in eleven thousand buildings receiving rehabilitation representing an investment of 8.2 billion dollars. In 1986, an amendment to the Act scaled back the tax credits to 20 percent for income producing registered historic structures and 10 percent for income producing structures fifty years or older. Even though the cutback slowed the investments, adaptive use or rehabilitation remained a strong force in development and preservation. These tax acts altered the preservation scene as developers and preservations, who previously were opponents, joined forces as both benefited.¹⁵⁹

In the 1980s, the NTHP broadened its preservation efforts. In 1980, it started, in full scale, the National Main Street Program with the intent of revitalizing main streets and downtowns in towns and small cities across the United States. The program combined preservation methods with economic development to revitalize the areas using a four point approach of design, economic restructuring, promotion, and organization tailored to each

159 Tyler, 192-194.

community's needs. The NTHP provided the communities with technical assistance, research, and training to implement the four points. In 2005, there were 1,200 Main Street communities in forty states. Another effort was the start of a yearly publication *America's Most Endangered Historic Places* starting in 1988. The publication served as a successful way to center attention on threatened properties and gain support to protect them. The 2004 listed places ranging from the state of Vermont, threatened by retail development, to Nine Mile Canyon in Utah, home to ten thousand Native American petroglyphs endangered by oil and natural gas explorations.¹⁶⁰

In 2003, the NTHP started a strategic campaign entitled "Next Trust." It sought to involve one million people in preservation through the NTHP. The NTHP enlisted the help of the Ad Council and Home and Garden Television to provide the advertising and reach a larger audience. The Ad Council produced public service announcements for television, radio, and newspapers that explained historic preservation and encouraged public support. (HGTV) and the NTHP formed the "Restore America: A Salute to Preservation" initiative in which the cable channel promoted preservation and highlighted twelve historic sites needing restoration. In 2004, HGTV donated one million dollars to aid in the restoration of the twelve sites.¹⁶¹

160 National Trust for Historic Preservation, About the Main Street Center, [online] available from <http://www.mainstreet.org>; National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2004 Annual Report [online] available from <http://www.nationaltrust.org>, 9-12.

161 National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2004 Annual Report [online] available from <http://www.nationaltrust.org>, 9-12.

Fifty years after its formation, the National Trust for Historic Preservation continued to fulfill its leadership role in promoting preservation in the United States. In 2004, it had a quarter of a million members, three hundred employees, regional offices across the country, and offered a variety of programs and services to aid communities in protecting their cultural heritage. The organization had become what the founders wanted: a vital leader in America's preservation movement by providing leadership, education, and resources.¹⁶²

The NTHP incorporates the principles of Ruskin, Morris and Viollet. In the promotion of adaptive use as a means for preserving buildings, the NTHP is embracing the principle of Viollet. The strict standards for documenting and researching prior to restoration projects are also indicative of Viollet. The impact of Ruskin and Morris exists in the promotion of education as a means of producing preservation advocacy, as well as the ideals that buildings promote national awareness and represent the builders. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, due to the influence of England's National Trust, follows the principles of Ruskin and Morris by design. The principles of Viollet were more indirect but became apparent with the rise of economic incentives for preservation.

162 National Trust for Historic Preservation, History [online], available from <http://www.nationaltrust.org>.

V.

Conclusion

“For the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones. . .
it is in their lasting witness against men”
John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*¹⁶³

Historic preservation occurs worldwide. Prior to the twentieth century, the preservation of architectural and cultural heritage remained a national issue. Preservation organizations such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings had contacted other European nations and provided assistance in preservation cases. However, a concerted international preservation and conservation movement did not exist. The ravages of the World Wars made evident the need for increased communication between countries and the reestablishment of each country's identity. The establishment of the United Nations after World War II promoted international political, social, and cultural contact. This resulted in the formation of numerous international preservation organizations.¹⁶⁴

An example is the United Nations, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) formed by thirty-seven countries in 1945. The purpose of UNSECO, according to its charter, was “to contribute to peace and security by

163 John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture* 8th ed., (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), 177.

164 ICOMOS, Historic Background [online], available from <http://www.international.icomos.org>.

promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms for the peoples of the world.” UNESCO viewed the preservation of nations’ built environments as a key feature to promoting culture. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), founded in 1964, was one such collaboration.¹⁶⁵

ICCOMOS was the result of the Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings, which recommended the creation of an international organization of historic preservation specialists and architects. The Congress adopted two resolutions: the Venice Charter, or International Restoration Charter, and the creation of ICOMOS.¹⁶⁶

The Venice Charter served as the basis for ICOMOS principles and practices. The charter’s definition of a historic monument included not only the building but also its surroundings in both urban and rural areas. It further stipulated all conservation (preservation) and restoration projects should employ the most advanced techniques to prevent damage, and the protection of historical monuments should be for both artistic (architectural) and historical evidence. In regards to conservation, monuments should receive constant maintenance; serve a modern function; remain unhindered from demolition, alteration, or additions; stay in its original location; and retain its original moveable details such as paintings, furnishings, and sculptures. The Charter defined restoration as a “highly specialized operation [that] aims to preserve and

165 UNESCO, “History” [online], available from <http://www.unesco.org>

166 ICOMOS, “History of the Venice Charter” [online], available from <http://www.international.icomos.org>

reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument based on respect for original material and authentic documents.” It stated that restoration should not continue if conjecture became necessary and replacements of original details should blend with the whole but be distinguishable (stamped with date). Restoration should also respect all valid periods of the monument, as unity of style was not an aspect of restoration. In addition, all acts and aspects of preservation and restoration should receive detailed documentation via a critical report that included every stage of the work, illustrated drawings, and photographs.¹⁶⁷ The objectives of ICOMOS included creating a forum for conservation specialists; collecting, assessing, and distributing information regarding the principles, techniques and policies of conservation; providing the international community with the expert advice of conservation specialists; and offering training programs for conservation.¹⁶⁸ The definitions and principles set forth in the Venice Charter show a clear break with Viollet’s “in the spirit of” restorations, but do embrace his emphasis on research.

Differences exist between the different preservation organizations. For example, in England, the largest preservation organization, The National Trust, remains autonomous from the government while the government plays an integral role in other European countries and the United States. In addition, the definitions of preservation and its related terms in the Venice Charter differ from those of the United States’ Secretary of the Interior. Each country also has its

167 ICOMOS, *International Charters for Conservation and Restoration* (Munich, Germany: Lipp Gmbtt, 2001), 13-14.

168 ICOMOS, “ICOMOS’ Mission” [online], available from <http://www.international.icomos.org>

own set of procedures.¹⁶⁹ While differences exist, Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris have influenced all, to some extent. Comparing the preservation theories of Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris - - and researching their impact on the SPAB, National Trust, National Trust for Historic Preservation and International Commission of Monuments and Sites - - results in three conclusions.

First, the principles of Ruskin and Morris became more widely accepted in modern historic preservation organizations. This occurred because two of the leading preservation societies, England's National Trust and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, adopted their principles. However, Viollet's idea regarding adaptive use is accepted and his theory that restorations evoke the spirit of the original is occasionally used. For example, after World War II, much of Poland lay in ruins due to the bombardments and Nazi occupation which sought to destroy the representation of Polish culture. The main issue facing Polish officials was what to do with the historical monuments. Should they remain in the post war state or receive restoration and reconstruction? They chose to restore and reconstruct because the people of Poland would rather have a restoration that was "in the spirit" of the original than a ruin. The most detailed restoration occurred in Warsaw's Old Town.¹⁷⁰ It was possible because detailed plans of the area existed thanks to architects who were drawing Warsaw during the war. Poland serves as an example of how

169 Robert E. Stipe, ed., *Historic Preservation in Foreign Countries* (Washington, DC: US/ICOMOS, 1982), 3.

170 See Appendix 2, illustration 19.

Viollet's principles remain viable and show the need of nations to maintain their cultural heritage.¹⁷¹

Secondly, the modern consensus assessment of Viollet is unfair and inaccurate. Most modern preservationists view Viollet's restoration theories and practices as "overzealous," and think that he epitomizes the 'wrong' way to do restoration. In *Keeping Time*, William Murtagh expresses these views by stating Viollet-le Duc's "reputation for creating whole cloth out of fragments or imagination is well known in preservation circles." Two sentences later, Murtagh comments that the accuracy of restorations depends on the research available.¹⁷² Actually, research was the basis of Viollet's restoration theory; however, the information available in his time was not of the quality or quantity available today, and the fields of archeology and restoration were new. Therefore, Viollet made the best decisions he could with the information available. As architectural historian Françoise Bercé makes clear, modern preservationists should not view Viollet through a contemporary lens, but in his own time.¹⁷³

Third, modern historic preservation organizations formed in response to social, economic, and cultural change. In each country, historic preservation became a way to create or retain cultural identity in the face of change. In France, the Committee of Historic Monuments formed to create a national

171 Jan Zachwatowicz, *Protection of Historical Monuments in Poland* (Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House, 1965), 46-52.

172 William Murtagh, *Keeping Time* (Pittstown, NJ: The Main Street Press, 1988), 18.

173 Françoise Bercé and Bruno Foucart, *Viollet-le-Duc: Architect, Artist, Master of Historic Preservation* (Washington, DC: The Trust for Museum Exhibitions, 1987), 11.

identity to regain stability after successive revolutions; in England, the SPAB and National Trust were responding to the negative effects that the industrial revolution had on society. In the U.S., early preservation organizations sought to create a national identity after the Civil War and the NTHP formed to combat the negative effects of the post-World War II boom; international organizations, primarily UNESCO and ICOMOS, established to improve international relations and cultural awareness to avoid another world war.

In the 170 years since the founding of France's Commission of Historic Monuments, historic preservation has become global. The practice of historic preservation is ever-changing as new techniques are developed and new challenges arise. In many ways, historic preservation has become a profession instead of a movement. This has both benefits and pitfalls. An advantage is that the professionalism provides a higher level of expertise among preservationists and their associates, and communication between nations is greater than ever. In the 1960s, John Summerson commented that no one really followed the principles of William Morris in the sense of the first generation of SPAB members because the fervor that encompassed the organization in the early years had waned into a "study of the past as doctors rather than as lovers."¹⁷⁴

The need for a passionate movement still exists because regardless of the success of historic preservation, the threat of destruction faced by historic buildings, monuments, and sites continues at an ever increasing pace. This is

174 Max Page and Randall Mason, ed., *Giving Preservation a History* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 313.; John Summerson, "Ruskin, Morris, and the Anti-Scrape Philosophy," 1966 (?) (photocopy) National Trust Library Stacks, Washington DC.

not due to a lack of public support, for some, preservation organizations have membership in the millions, like England's National Trust. However, most members of preservation organizations are amateur preservationists, less concerned with the historical significance of a building and more concerned with what William Morris termed sentimentality, the emotions and pleasure that the buildings provide. The key problem with professionalizing historic preservation is that the language associated with it becomes more technical and narrow and less geared toward emotions and social complexities. In order to continue being successful, historic preservation needs to reaffirm its commitment to the feelings that historic places evoke.¹⁷⁵ Thus the underlying theme of Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris: that buildings represent the past and give people their heritage remains as significant to preservation in the twenty-first century as it was in the nineteenth.

175 Page, 314.; Murtagh, 18; William Morris, "Speech Given at the Twelfth Annual SPAB Meeting" (London, 1889) [online]; available from <http://www.marxists.org>

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APPENDIX

Standards for Preservation

PRESERVATION IS DEFINED as the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction. New exterior additions are not within the scope of this treatment; however, the limited and sensitive upgrading of technical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a preservation project.

STANDARDS:

1. A property will be used as it was historically, or be given a new use that maximizes the retention of distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships. Where a treatment and use have not been identified, a property will be protected and, if necessary, stabilized until additional work may be undertaken.
2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The placement of intact or repairable historic materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Work needed to stabilize, consolidate, and conserve existing historic materials and features will be physically and visually compatible, identifiable upon close inspection, and properly documented for future research.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.
6. The existing condition of historic features will be evaluated to determine the appropriate level of intervention needed. Where the severity of deterioration requires repair or limited replacement of a distinctive feature, the new material will match the old in composition, design, color, and texture.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.

8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

Standards for Rehabilitation

REHABILITATION IS DEFINED as the act or process of returning a property to a state of utility and of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions which makes possible an efficient contemporary use while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.

STANDARDS:

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.
2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.
6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work will be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.

10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

Standards for Restoration

STANDARDS:

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use which reflects the property's restoration period.

2. Materials and features from the restoration period will be retained and preserved. The removal of materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize the period will not be undertaken.

3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Work needed to stabilize, consolidate and conserve materials and features from the restoration period will be physically and visually compatible, identifiable upon close inspection, and properly documented for future research.

4. Materials, features, spaces, and finishes that characterize other historical periods will be documented priority to their alteration or removal.

5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize the restoration period will be preserved.

6. Deteriorated features from the restoration period will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials.

7. Replacement of missing features from the restoration period will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence. A false sense of history will not be created by adding conjectural features, features from other properties, or by combining features that never existed together historically.

8. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.

9. Archeological resources affected by the project will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measure will be undertaken.

10. Designs that were never executed historically will not be constructed.

Standards for Reconstruction

STANDARDS:

1. Reconstruction will be used to depict vanished or non-surviving portions of a property when documentary and physical evidence is available to permit accurate reconstruction with minimal conjecture, and such reconstruction is essential to the public understanding of the property.

2. Reconstruction of landscape, building, structure, or object in its historic location will be preceded by a thorough archeological investigation to identify and evaluate those features and artifacts, which are essential to an accurate reconstruction. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

3. Reconstruction will include measures to preserve any remaining historic materials, features, and spatial relationships.

4. Reconstruction will be based on the accurate duplication of historic features and elements substantiated by documentary or physical evidence rather than on conjectural designs or the availability of different features from other historic properties. A reconstructed property will re-create the appearance of the non-surviving historic property in materials, design, color, and texture.

5. A reconstruction will be clearly identified as a contemporary re-creation.

6. Designs that were never executed historically will not be constructed.

APPENDIX 2

ILLUSTRATIONS



Illustration 1: Notre Dame Cathedral the details such as the gargoyle are Viollet's design. Photographs courtesy of www.pha.jhu.edu and www.camt.usyd.edu.au.

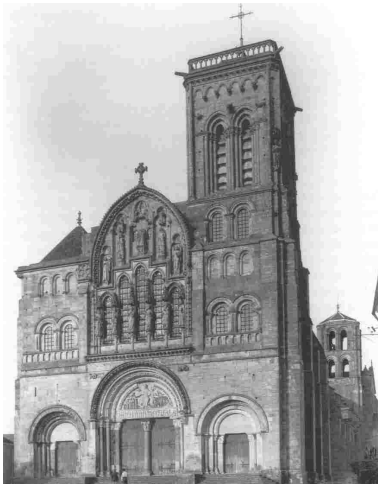


Illustration 2: Vézelay Cathedral after Viollet restorations. The middle photo shows Viollet's incorporation of two periods: the Romanesque arches and Gothic arches. The staircase was an addition of Viollet's that did not exist prior to restoration. Photographs courtesy of Kevin Murphy, *Memory and Modernity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

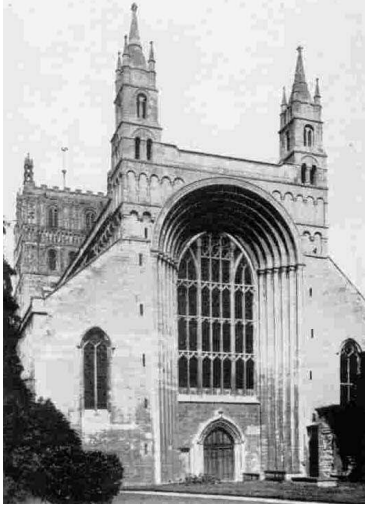


Illustration 3: Tewksbury Abbey after Gilbert Scott's restoration. Photograph courtesy of Martin Briggs, *From Goths to Vandals* (London: Constable Press, 1954).



Illustration 4: Blundell's School and St Mary's Hill Church, two properties the SPAB protected its first year. Both are still in operation today. Photographs courtesy of www.isc.co.uk and www.stpetersnottingham.org.



Illustration 5: St Mark's Cathedral, Venice. Photos of the west façade after restoration. Photographs courtesy of www.historylink102.com.



Illustration 6: Engraving of Filey Church from 1858 and west façade of Peterborough Cathedral. Photographs courtesy of www.motco.com and www.petersborough-pics.org.uk.



Illustration 7: Staple Inn. Drawing from 1886 and photo from today. It was not destroyed as Morris feared, but it was greatly damaged following World War Two and underwent restoration. Photographs courtesy of www.wikipedia.com.



Illustration 8: St Mary's Church, Wiltshire. One of many churches in which Philip Webb incorporated the theories of Ruskin and Morris into actuality. Photograph courtesy of W.R. Lethaby, *Philip Webb and His Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935. Reprint London: Raven Oak Press, 1975)



Illustration 9: Falls of Ledore, Lake District. This was one of the Lake District areas that Octavia Hill and Hardwick Rawnsley were concerned about prior to the formation of the National Trust. It became Trust property and then a National Park. Today it remains a National Park and is open to the public for camping. Photograph courtesy of www.nationaltrust.org.uk.



Illustration 10: The Trusts first properties. To the left is Dinas Oleau the first landscape donated to the Trust. Alfriston Clergy House was the first property obtained by the Trust. The middle photograph shows members of the National Trust and SPAB shortly after acquisition in 1896. The photograph on the right is the building after restoration. Photographs courtesy of www.nationaltrust.org.uk and Robin Fedden, *The Continuing Purpose: History of the National Trust, Its Aims and Work* (London: Longmans, 1968).



Illustration 11: Stonehenge. It is owned and managed by English Heritage, but the surrounding landscape is owned by the Trust to prevent development. Photograph courtesy of www.nationaltrust.org.uk.



Illustration 12: Blickling Hall. The first country house donated to the Trust by Lord Lathian in 1940. Photograph courtesy of www.nationaltrust.org.uk.



Illustration 13: Red House. Designed for William Morris by Philip Webb in 1856. It serves as an early example of Arts and Crafts architecture. The Trust obtained it in 2003. Photograph courtesy of www.nationaltrust.org.uk.

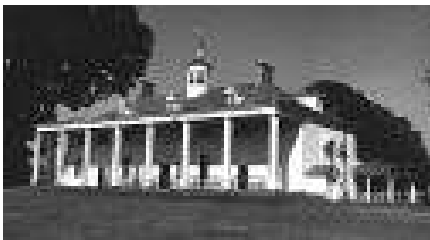


Illustration 14: Mount Vernon. George Washington's plantation preserved by the first organized preservation movement in the U.S., the Mount Vernon Ladies Association. The organization still owns and operates the property today. Photograph courtesy of www.nationaltrust.org



Illustration 15: Paul Revere House. The acquisition of this property led to the creation of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities in 1910. Photograph courtesy of www.americanrevolution.com.



Illustration 16: Colonial Williamsburg. This photographs show reconstructed Colonial Williamsburg. Photographs courtesy of www.computer-chair-traveler.com.



Illustration 17: Woodlawn Plantation. This was the first property obtained by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Photographs courtesy of Elizabeth Mulloy, *The History of the National Trust 1963-1973* (Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1976).

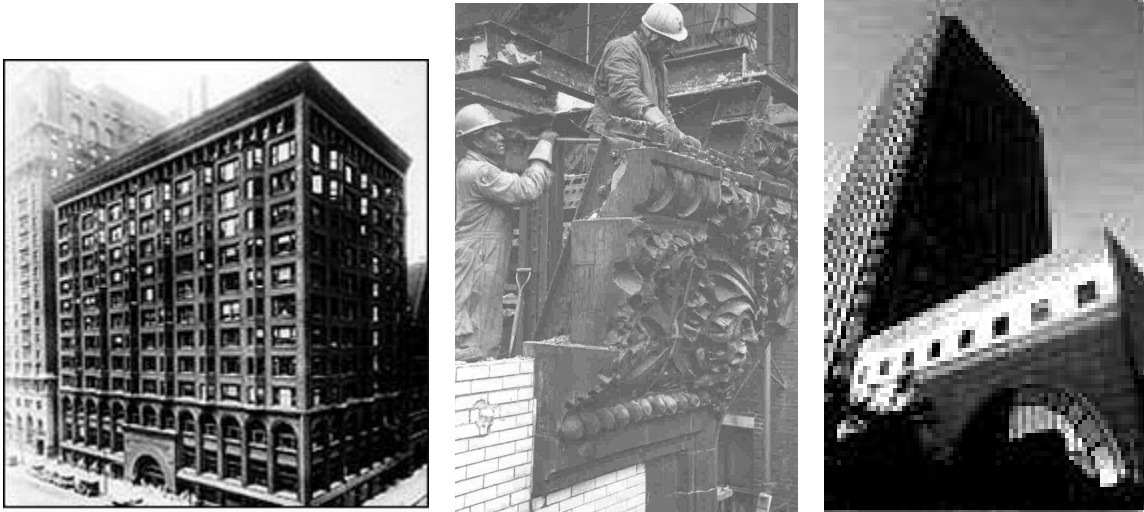


Illustration 18: The Chicago Stock Exchange Building. As it was prior to demolition (left), removal of cornice during demolition (center), new Chicago Stock Exchange (right). Photographs courtesy of www.nationaltrust.org and Elizabeth Mulloy, *The History of the National Trust 1963-1973* (Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1976).

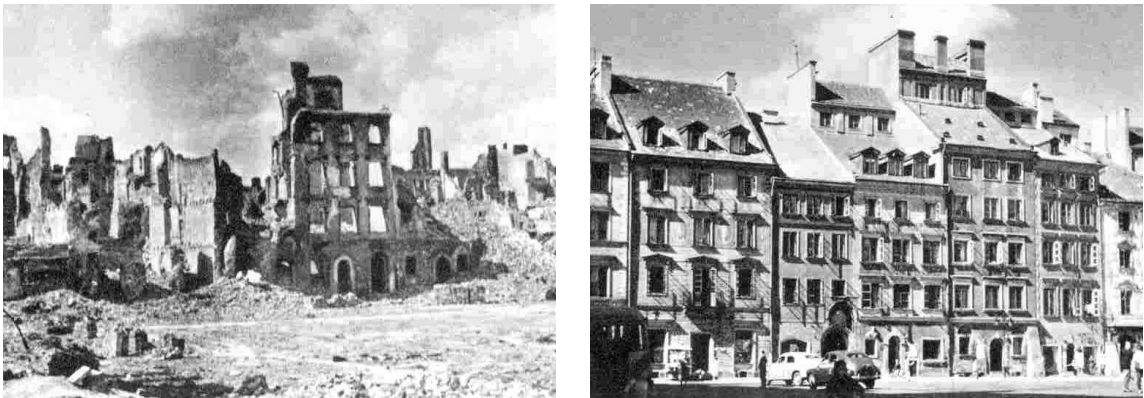


Illustration 19: Warsaw's Old Town. After destruction of Nazi occupation during World War II (left) After reconstruction after World War Two (right). Photographs courtesy of Jan Zachwatowicz, *Protection of Historical Monuments in Poland* (Warsaw, Poland: Polonia Publishing House, 1965).

VITA

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Thesis: THE PRINCIPLES OF PRESERVATION: THE INFLUENCE OF
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Pages in Report: 104

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Scope of Study: The purpose of this study was to determine the extent of influence the nineteenth-century preservation theories of Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, John Ruskin, and William Morris had on modern historic preservation by examining each man's theories and the history and principles of various modern preservation organizations.

Findings and Conclusions: Modern preservation organizations have built upon the principles of Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris. Some organizations have followed only the principles of Ruskin and Morris. These include England's Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the National Trust. Others have combined the differing theories of Ruskin, Morris and Viollet into a more encompassing preservation ideal. These include the United States' National Trust for Historic Preservation and the International Council for Monuments and Sites. The principles of Ruskin and Morris have dominated. This largely occurred due to the contemporary negative views of Viollet's restoration practices. While the practical aspects of historic preservation have changed since the nineteenth century, the need for a passionate movement still exists. Therefore, the emotional and passionate words of Viollet, Ruskin, and Morris can still inspire preservationists today.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: _____

Dr. William Bryans