

An
Analytical Review
of the
Factors that Influence the
Public's Perception and Value
of
Underwater Cultural Heritage

A
Thesis submitted
to the
University of Southern Denmark

Authored by
Christopher John Underwood
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Abstract

Key words: Access, Archaeology, Heritage Cycle, Media, Preservation, Protection, Public, Underwater Cultural Heritage, United Kingdom, Value.

This study investigates the relationship between the public and underwater cultural heritage. To improve understanding it was necessary to examine the development of government policy from the 1980s that renewed the country's identity, regenerated much of the UK's social and built infrastructure, out of which the heritage industry emerged. It was not initially understood how heritage could be utilised, for a time languishing behind the arts and other cultural sectors, but once this was resolved heritage has played a major role in the tourism industry, and contributed to social wellbeing. Maritime cultural heritage is included with historic ships, re-purposed maritime infrastructure and underwater cultural heritage, most visibly through Henry VIII's flagship *Mary Rose* in its own dedicated museum and discreet collections dispersed in others, all featuring.

Despite these positives, archaeologists remain concerned about the lack of resources applied to many *in situ* sites around the UK. To achieve a better understanding questionnaire based surveys were circulated among stakeholders seeking opinion on public archaeology and factors that raise public awareness of UCH. Documentaries and news media were believed to be major influences among a range of factors. Further investigation revealed that the UK's most important designated sites have a low media profile and as such remain largely out of sight and out of mind. The proposition of this study is that increasing public awareness and understanding of UCH will improve its chances of attracting greater support for its preservation in the face of competition for limited resources, and to help mitigate its commercial exploitation.

Preface

This study originated during a plenary session of the Society for Historical Archaeology conference in 2010. A question to the panel raised the ethics of edutainment, specifically documentaries and programmes featuring underwater cultural heritage (UCH). The issue was whether archaeologists should get involved in such programmes and if so, how to deal with those that were not purely scientifically formatted. In essence the panellist's response was that there was nothing inherently wrong with edutainment as a concept, but much depended on the individual programmes' content being accurate as well as entertaining. This implies that archaeologists should be cautious. On the face of it such programmes raise public interest that in turn provides a platform for attracting public support. It all sounds very positive. What are the implications for the future of the discipline? The micro concern is that it will be difficult to achieve a balance between education and entertainment, with the emphasis perhaps slipping toward the latter. If this is the case is it likely that high profile projects that feature the recovery of some 'lost treasure' rather than other less entertaining non-intrusive projects that have become more the norm over recent years will be more attractive to programme makers? This concern now extends beyond traditional media formats but to the seemingly ever-growing possibilities accessible through smart TV's, computers, tablets and smart phones.

The macro concern is that if it is accepted that the media is a powerful influence on public opinion, will the public tend to support those types of projects that receive greater media coverage that may in turn shape the future of underwater archaeology and perhaps even how underwater cultural heritage is managed? This is even more of an issue when the ethical argument about what is and what isn't archaeology rumbles on unabated (Underwood 2014). One respondent to the survey suggested that the current issues of archaeologist versus treasure-hunter, represents the philosophical difference between socialism and capitalism. Does the respondent have a point?

What is clear is that heritage is inextricably linked to economic perspectives which are continuing to industrialise it, largely through tourism. This has transformed heritage as a major contributor of one the top ten economic drivers in the country. Should this economic power give heritage custodians leverage in arguments for more resources for protection and preservation?

What is indisputable is that those that believe that UCH is a public good rather than an exploitable commercial product in economic terms need to convey this principle to the public, of all ages. The message needs to be continuous, clear, consistent and conveyed in different formats. To do this

more effectively it is essential that archaeologists and heritage professionals understand the factors that influence public perception and ultimately an understanding of underwater cultural heritage. If this aim can be achieved it should be possible to be more effective in influencing the public and in turn give political legitimacy to provide greater protection for *in situ* UCH.

This aim is particularly important at a time when cultural heritage remains under threat from a range of factors, both natural and human in character. This is despite the gathering momentum of UNESCO's Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001 Convention) which at the time of writing fifty countries have ratified. France and Spain who collectively represent a significant proportion of coastal and underwater sites around the world are among them. Other nations with strong historic maritime pasts such as the Netherlands and Australia are considering ratification. It remains to be seen whether continuing advocacy will persuade the UK to follow and ratify the Convention

Although this study is written using published resources and new research, the author's personal perspective is included, having been involved in recreational diving projects, some included in this study that forged a path to involvement in the Mary Rose Project in 1978.

Further project experience led to becoming involved with the Nautical Archaeology Society, first assisting and eventually directing NAS' Training Programme, gaining valuable first-hand knowledge of many of the events described herein, including membership of the Joint Nautical Archaeology Policy Committee from the early 1990s until 2005.

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‘try and understand how maritime heritage is valued, what function it has for different groups, for science, for local divers, for national and international stakeholders and others, who in one way or another identify with it; to which uses it is put, in recreation, by the dive-touring industry, by one (or more) issue pressure groups and interest groups; what benefits – shared or unshared – it produces and finally how this all and the related perceptions change over time or get codified in laws and regulations that see or try to see to protection and/or sustainable management’ (Maarleveld 18 April 2007).

Although this study has not definitively answered these questions it is hoped that it has made a contribution to improving understanding, on which others can build.

With regard to the other acknowledgements there is a very special mention for my life-companion Dolores Elkin, for her support, advice and discussions about the themes of this thesis.

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Dedicated to my parents Bill and Dorothy
My son and daughter James and Rebecca

And

In memory of

Andy Elkerton, Glenn McConnachie,

Keith Muckelroy and Margaret Rule,

Who left a valued

Underwater Cultural Heritage Legacy

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Acronyms

AMAA	Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979
ALSF	Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BMAPA	British Marine Aggregate Producers Association
BS-AC	British Sub-Aqua Club
CABE	Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CEFAS	Centre for Environment, Fisheries and Aquaculture Science
CNA	Council (Committee) for Nautical Archaeology
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DoE	Department of the Environment
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DETR	Department of Environment, Transport and Regions
DNH	Department for National Heritage
DTI	Department for Trade and Industry
DTLR	Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions
EDM	Early Day Motion
EH	English Heritage (now Historic England)
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FTE	Full Time Equivalent
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HMPA	Historic Marine Protected Area
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
HMTMA	Hampshire & Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology (now MAT)
HM Gov.	Her Majesty's Government
IANTD	International Association of Nitrox and Technical Divers
IfA	Institute for Archaeologists
JNAPC	Joint Nautical Archaeology Policy Committee
MACHU	Managing Cultural Heritage Underwater
MCAA	Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009
MAT	Maritime Archaeology Trust (formerly HWTMA)
MAST	Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust
MCAA	Marine and Coastal Access Act

MMO	Marine Management Organisation
MALSF	Marine Aggregate Levy Sustainability Fund
MAT	Maritime Archaeology Trust
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MPBW	Ministry of Public Building and Works
MSA	Merchant Shipping Act
MoSS	Management of Shipwrecks Project
MPA	Marine Protected Area
NAS	Nautical Archaeology Society
NHMF	National Heritage Memorial Fund
NHF	National Historic Fleet
NHS	National Historic Ships
NMM	National Maritime Museum
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
NRHV	National Register of Historic Vessels
NT	National Trust
PADI	Professional Association of Diving Instructors
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
PNBPT	Portsmouth Naval Base Property Trust
PWA	Protection of Wrecks Act 1973
PMRA	Protection of Military Remains Act 1986
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient Historic Monuments of Wales
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England
RoW	Receiver of Wreck
SAA	Sub-Aqua Association
UCH	Underwater Cultural Heritage
UK	United Kingdom
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific & Cultural Organisation
2001 Convention	UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, 2001
UNWTO	United Nations World Trade Organisation

1 Historical issues – Modern circumstances

1.1 Historical issues

A little more than one hundred years after the first protective legislation for ancient monuments and historic buildings in 1882 Henry Cleere¹ published an account of the development of UK archaeology emerging from its antiquarian roots. Despite improved legislation funding was an issue, illustrated by the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, who was Major-General Pitt-Rivers. He acted in a voluntary capacity (Cleere 1984, 54-62).

The long road, even with improvements along the way, has left shortcomings in terrestrial policy. Today the UK does not have a statutory reporting provision for ‘artefacts from antiquity’ found on land (Cleere 1984, 57). Reporting of finds relies on the Portable Antiquities Scheme administered by the British Museum, introduced in 1997. There is an exception, artefacts defined as treasure trove. Although the modern definition is more expansive than in 1984, broadly speaking it is those items of gold or silver which fall under the ‘ancient Royal Prerogative of Treasure Trove’ (Cleere 1984, 57). To be declared as such the discovered objects need to have been buried with the intention of recovery. In such cases the finder is entitled to the current market value, ownership passes to the Crown and the item(s) are lodged with the British Museum. Those items where it is decided that they were ‘lost accidentally or buried without the intention of recovery’, title passes to the land owner. The terms of the most recent *Treasure Act* (1996) governs the process, although the origins date to the Romans. They called it *thesaurus* which was described as "*vetus quaedam depositio pecuniæ, cujus non extat memoria, ut jam dominum non habeat*" translated as an ancient deposit of money, of which no memory exists, so that it has no present owner. The English law dates to 11th century, the time of Edward the Confessor. Similarly maritime salvage law from at least the same epoch continues to cast its shadow over maritime archaeology.

With the introduction of the metal detector from the USA in 1964, thousands of amateurs began to hunt for missing treasure. The metal-detectorist was soon identified as a villain by archaeologists. Fifteen years later, the 1979 legislation made it an offence to use a metal detector in a protected place, sites under guardianship, (monuments voluntarily handed over to commissioners, in return for their maintenance), or scheduled monument or area of archaeological importance. For many archaeologists they remain a villain, with recreational divers seen as the equivalent in the underwater environment. The major difference is that the reporting of wreck material is a statutory obligation, finders entitled to an award for their actions in the process.

Of particular interest are Cleere's observations about public attitudes to archaeology. He noted that archaeology had been 'unsuccessful in promoting the complex scientific nature of its work', blamed partly on the 'inability of archaeologists to communicate with the general public and partly because of the media image of archaeology, with its emphasis on treasure and mysteries' (Cleere 1984, 61). He reflected on the high water mark of public standing in the 1950's and 1960's resulting from Paul Johnstone, scholar turned TV producer and archaeologists Sir Mortimer Wheeler aided by Glynn Daniels combining to present *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* The programme was a huge public success making Wheeler and Daniels household names, Wheeler becoming BBC's TV Personality of the Year in 1954. It was followed by *Buried Treasure* and later by *Chronicle* which 'paid the viewer the complement of assuming that he could deal with relatively sophisticated academic concepts' (Sutcliffe 1978).

Newspaper media were criticised for their general trivialisation and sensationalism. The issue of public connectivity with the 'raw materials' (Cleere 1984, 61) with earthworks and buried sites having less of an impact than historic buildings was also considered. A conference in London in 1979 failed to identify the root of the public's apparent indifference to their past and natural environment (Lowenthal and Binney 1981 cited in Cleere 1984).

Cleere identified two problems; first, resource management suffered from the lack of an integrated approach to heritage, with ancient monuments and buildings viewed as distinct entities protected by different legislation and secondly public attitudes to the past considered to be more problematic, because this could not be resolved by legislation or changes to administration.

The second was the education of the public, or rather the lack of it, for which blame was placed at the door of the archaeologist and conservationist, noting that the World Wildlife Fund and the Nature Conservancy Council improved public attitudes towards natural heritage. Archaeologists and heritage managers have considered marine natural heritage organisations to be several steps ahead of UCH in its lobbying of government for better protection. In 2014, over 250,000 people signed a petition telling government to take marine conservation seriously (Aldred 2007). The solution to archaeology's communication problem was envisaged to be by providing improved interpretation in museums, monuments and public historic houses together with better textbooks for schools, observations that provide a backdrop to issues which continue to face UCH in the 21st century.

His story serves as a reminder of the challenges early advocates faced in achieving the UK's first protective legislation for underwater cultural heritage in 1973. Archaeologists and heritage managers have been acutely aware of micro-issues such as the problems with recreational divers.

The situation with this particular stakeholder had improved, but in the second decade of the 21st century there is persistent anecdotal evidence suggesting that due to recent legal impositions and fewer initiatives to maintain awareness of reporting, attitudes and practices are regressing. However, despite this apparent and disappointing reversal, the recreational diver is only part of the picture. Another outstanding issue is the commercial exploitation of submerged historic wrecks that causes disquiet among archaeologists and heritage managers, but does not raise wide-spread public concern. The on-going issue of *Victory* (1744) illustrates the point.

1.2 Modern circumstances - *Victory* (1744)

The discovery of *Victory* (1744), the Royal Navy's first ship of the name lost with the loss of all but a handful of her crew off the Channel Islands in 1744 is the latest in a series of events that have caused archaeologists concern in recent decades. Others have included the warship *Sussex* (1694) discovered in 2002 and the salvage of the Post-Office Packet *Hanover* lost off the north coast of Cornwall in 1763. The regrettable outcome of the latter is recounted in two published papers, (Parham *et al* 2013; Tomenius *et al* 2013). While the issue of the *Sussex* remains dormant due to diplomatic issues between the UK and Spain, the story of the 1744 *Victory* continues.

The UK government's management approach to *Victory* raised memories of the planned recovery of the supposed precious cargo from the *Sussex*. Despite similarities and fears, the way in which the *Victory* has been dealt with has evolved. The wreck discovered by Odyssey Marine Exploration in 2008 in international waters off the Channel Islands was made public with dramatic headlines, such as 'Legendary British warship found' (BBC 2009a). Since, the media has followed salvor and archaeologists exchanging views about why it should or should not be left *in situ*. Articles like 'Fears over *Victory* desecration' (BBC 2009b) raised concerns about the disturbance of the last resting place of the crew. Those in favour of recovery claimed that 'Fishing boats damaging historic wrecks' reported in the news (BBC 20 May 2009c) and discussed on BBC 2's prestigious programme, *Newsnight* 19 May 2009. Further drama has been added as the ship could be carrying substantial quantities of bullion. An assessment by Wessex Archaeology (2009, 29-33), did not discount the possibility, but thought the evidence weak. What is confirmed is the existence of '41 bronze cannons, an array of ship-borne artefacts, iron ballast, wooden fixtures and fittings, parts of two anchors and a rudder' (Wessex 2009, i). In addition, there is a 'wider area of debris, including a number of small finds' (Wessex 2009, i). On the basis of the presented evidence Wessex confirmed that there was a high probability that the site is that of the *Victory* and overall should be considered to be of 'medium to high importance' and of 'national and international interest' (Wessex 2009, 23). If the ship had been within British territorial waters it is

probable that it would have been legally protected by UK domestic shipwreck legislation. As a flagged vessel it had sovereign immunity, but lost this status because the wreck has been gifted to a third party. This makes the site more vulnerable to illicit salvage.

In the process of developing its policy on the *Victory*, government applied its overall political imperative to reduce 'national deficit and also create the "Big Society", whereby civil society organisations are enabled to play a role in the delivery of services and outputs that hitherto have been the sole responsibility of the State' (MoD & DCMS 2010, 2). In consequence a public consultation was circulated to those bodies with an interest seeking views on the three proposed management solutions.

Option 1, was 'management of the wreck *in situ*; (essentially, monitoring and site stabilisation where appropriate) which was preferred by heritage organisations; Option 2, surface recovery of some artefacts with *in situ* management for the remainder of the site, which did not get much support from anyone and Option 3, full archaeological evaluation and excavation. This was strongly supported by the USA based organisations specialised in 'deep sea exploration, salvage or other commercial interests' who although not named are likely to have been the finders of the wreck (MoD & DCMS 2010, 6).

The consultation made it clear government funds would not be provided, expecting financial assistance to come from the private or voluntary sector. As will be seen in this study this is consistent with how government is managing heritage and allowing the public to help prioritise what is protected and preserved. The response to the consultation shows the variety of stakeholders with an interest in the site. Of the seventy-two submissions only eleven represented archaeological interest groups, supplemented by fourteen individual historians, archaeologists or other experts. No group or individual offered financial support. There were offers of voluntary assistance in monitoring the site, and one respondent offered to create a charitable trust 'for the reclamation and exhibition of artefacts recovered from VICTORY', (MoD & DCMS 2010, 7). The government response to the consultation supported the creation of a trust. In 2012 the *Victory* was gifted to the Maritime Heritage Foundation created for the specific purpose of '...inter alia to locate, excavate, recover, raise, restore and/or preserve shipwrecks for the education and benefit of the Nation', (HMS *Victory* 1744 Timeline 2015) thus not ruling out the possibility that this trust or another created in a similar manner would be used for future projects. Publicly the policy appears consistent with the use of Trusts for the transfers of Henry VIII's *Mary Rose*² and Nelson's HMS *Victory* (1805) to not-for-profit trusts.

The transfer created significant disquiet among the UK's archaeological community because the terms of the Trust do not explicitly prevent the sale of artefacts. This action would be in breach of the terms of the 2001 Convention, referring to the commercial exploitation of UCH and in turn, the UK's own policy to utilise the Rules of the 2001 Convention in its management of UCH, reaffirmed in 2014 (DCMS & MoD April 2014, 5).

In 2014 it was announced that Odyssey Marine Exploration (OME) would be contracted by the Maritime Heritage Foundation to recover surface artefacts and those activities would be in full compliance with the Annex to the 2001 Convention. This had been the least preferred option during the consultation process. Despite the government's confirmed intentions to manage UCH according to the Rules of the Annex to the 2001 Convention, it has emerged that the contract includes the possibility of the sale of what is considered to be commercial material, rather than cultural material, normally referring to commercial cargoes of ceramics or coin. Taken from this perspective the *Victory* is a micro-picture of domestic government heritage policy.

In other spheres government has aligned itself with the Heritage Lottery Fund to support heritage sites that contribute to economic growth, education or social wellbeing. If heritage management is viewed against these strategic imperatives decisions can be understood, even if considered contrary to best archaeological practice. From this perspective government appears to have been influenced by claims that the wreck is under threat from fishing and unlicensed salvage, so has opted for the recovery of surface finds leaving the remaining part of the wreck *in situ*. In this case the preservation *in situ* – preserve for future generations model is a convenient management option.

It is possible that the future of how UCH is managed in the UK is at stake and will be decided by this project, with the possibility of a domino effect further afield. The crux of the argument is that if government is persuaded that the way forward, in absence of government finance, is to protect cultural goods with the sale of trade goods a precedent is set for future actions. From the government's perspective this appears an attractive model. There is no risk to the government's purse, can be managed through the existing salvage regime, and can apply its own interpretation of the Rules of the Annex of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage. The additional attraction is government achieves some level of protection *ex-situ*, with what remains *in situ* arguably at less risk, thereby reducing the need for a monitoring programme which decreases costs, if any. It can equally claim that it is saving treasures for the nation that can be used in touristic, educational or social wellbeing contexts, which provides longer-term sustainable economic benefits and even employment opportunities.

One scheme for the presentation of *Victory's* ordnance has been proposed to house the collection in Portsmouth Historic Naval Dockyard. This would be a logical home for the collection, standing alongside Nelson's *Victory*, the Royal Naval Museum, potentially making the dockyard more attractive; providing new employment and increased tourist revenues for the city. The story has been followed by the UK's and international press, but is among hundreds of maritime-related news events that span salvage, treasure-hunting and underwater archaeology.

The question remains as to whether the public can easily distinguish between the options and discern which management model provides best value for them. Greater public awareness and understanding are keys to this aim and are the focus of this study.

1.3 Broader economic perspectives

While the concerns expressed above are important to archaeologists, they are not necessarily of equal importance to government or the wider public. It is therefore important to consider how government heritage policy is being shaped by its political philosophy and economic necessities that has resonance in its approach to the *Victory*. This study argues that this cannot be ignored nor government expected to make exceptions where there are apparent workable solutions and precedents, and that government will only change its path as a result of large-scale public support for alternatives or objects to current policy. For this to happen, the public needs not only to be aware of UCH, but value it for other reasons than the value of its cargo and ideally understanding and actively supporting the issues. Currently the public is being carried along by events, probably interested but not actively casting their 'vote' either way. It can only be assumed that the public are passive bystanders who feel unaffected by the events, believing that their own social priorities, often employment, health and education are not suffering from what could be seen as a fanciful government adventure on a speculative treasure hunt, because private enterprise will foot the bill. The other component of this is that the management of heritage is in the hands of heritage agencies, so it would be reasonable to assume that from the public's perspective any problem perceived in the media will be satisfactorily dealt with by them.

Government's own policy directions have been influenced by international trends forcing it to look at various mechanisms for promoting growth, simultaneously cutting costs. In this economic environment heritage is effectively competing with other economic sectors for government support and philanthropic donations. The heritage industry has become a very important contributor to the UK's economic recovery, but this was not always the case. Post Second World

War governments had not recognised the potential of heritage, placing more emphasis on creating a new society that looked forward, not backwards.

Current heritage policy has in effect developed out of a re-evaluation of its role in society in the last decades of the 20th century. Though policy is well developed relative to terrestrial and maritime heritage in the form of historic vessels, and some selected elements of what was UCH, most of the UK's protected sites remain relatively under resourced, underrepresented and unknown to the public. While preservation *in situ*, and by this is meant legally protected and preserved for future generations is an aspiration, it is more realistic to describe governmental approaches as largely based on a principle of management in situ. Cleere's own summary included the issue about the public's apparent apathy for their historic past and natural environment in the early 1980's. In the past three decades this has changed at least in terms of numbers of people visiting museums, galleries, heritage and archaeological sites, which is recognised and in part, confirmation of its own policies stating:

'Levels of public participation in the historic environment are high, and are rising. Whether through visiting, volunteering, or studying, substantial numbers of people choose to access or care for heritage in their free time...' (English Heritage 2007).

To what extent this statement can be associated with UCH, beyond that which is represented in maritime museums is unclear. Measured in numbers, recreational diving has increased over the years, but to what extent shipwrecks, submerged landscapes are consciously thought to be heritage is debatable. It is equally relevant to consider how archaeologists consider how archaeology is presented to and perceived by the public and to what extent there is social value other than value of the knowledge gained by its investigation. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to investigate the relationship between the public and underwater cultural heritage.

¹ Director of the Council of British Archaeology, 1974-1991.

² *Mary Rose*, reputedly Henry VIII's favourite ship was recovered from the waters off Portsmouth, 13 October 1982 and is now on permanent display in a purpose built museum, along with almost 20,000 artefacts.

2 Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Over the past three decades, an array of initiatives has emerged that focus on raising awareness of the importance of Underwater Cultural Heritage (UCH), as well as the threats to it, whether human or natural. In parallel, innovative ways of involving the public, scuba divers and non-divers alike, have been developed, which are now established components of the heritage landscape in the United Kingdom (UK) and of course elsewhere. Public archaeology has emerged as a stand-alone aspect of archaeology and underwater cultural heritage. It encompasses the many facets of archaeology's relationship with the public and is recognised as being one of the fastest growing sectors of the field (Department for Culture Media and Sport [DCMS] 2007). There are now public archaeologists and organisations devoted to engaging with the public, such as the U.S.'s Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) and, to a large extent, the initiatives of the UK's Maritime Archaeological Trust (previously HWTMA) and Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS), with Canada's Save Ontario Shipwrecks (SOS) and the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia (UASBC) being among organisations with a strong and long-standing protection and preservation ethic. One of the acknowledged difficulties in connecting the public with underwater cultural heritage is its location (Underwood 2014).



Figure 1. The Solent (above left) contains wrecks and submerged landscape which remain invisible to the public (Underwood 2013).

Figure 2. The Solent's coastal storyboard (above right) that linked Henry VIII'S castle to the site of the *Mary Rose* has been removed and replaced by a display board showing visible watercraft (Underwood 2013).

2.2 Out of Sight and Often Out of Mind

The question, “How often are we going to see a shipwreck site?” (BDRC Continental 2009) illuminates one of the key issues that face public archaeologists. Many sites are quite literally out of sight and often out of mind (Figures 1 & 2) with very few of the UK’s protected maritime sites appearing in the news media. The quotation is taken from a report that formed part of the background research into public opinion in advance of proposed new heritage protection legislation. The statement perhaps, sums up the difficulties in presenting and interpreting underwater sites for the general public, other than for the relatively small number of recreational divers who can physically enjoy them. The issue of out of sight, out of mind extends beyond the public’s ability to enjoy underwater heritage, to include public and government attitudes towards how cultural heritage is valued, protected, and preserved. To what extent is this issue having an impact on the government’s willingness to invest in protecting and preserving UCH? A review of the UK’s broader heritage policy that extends beyond UCH is useful as it clearly shows the value that the country and the government places in it.

In the UK, initiatives to engage and include the public have largely overlapped with a government strategy to regenerate the social and economic infrastructure of the UK. This began in earnest in the latter part of the 20th century. The historic environment has benefited from this process. However, in 2015, opinions among the UK’s archaeological and heritage communities remain divided as to whether the public’s awareness of underwater cultural heritage has improved greatly over the same period. This is despite the statistics, discussed in this study showing that public interest and engagement with heritage has never been greater. Has this interest spread to include UCH? From the perspective of at least part of the archaeological community there is a need to more effectively raise awareness and understanding of the current state of some sites if their long-term protection and preservation is to be successful (Underwood 2014).

2.3 Aims of the research

The purpose of the study is to:

- Improve the understanding of the public’s perception and value of underwater cultural heritage and underwater archaeology;
- Understand what factors have and continue to form the public’s perception and value;
- Provide tools that can be utilised to raise the public’s consciousness of the importance of underwater cultural heritage as a finite resource; and as a consequence and

- Improve its preservation, protection and promote responsible access by a more informed public.

2.4 Research questions:

- Has the UK government's social policy included maritime historic environments;
- Does the government value UCH;
- Does the public value UCH;
- Is there consensus among professionals, avocational/amateur archaeologists and recreational diving community about the objectives of public archaeology programmes;
- How do media play a role in shaping the public's perception, attitudes and behaviour relating to underwater cultural heritage;
- Do well known historic sites influence the public's perception of underwater cultural heritage and
- Can economic terms be helpful in describing the value of UCH.

2.5 Definitions used

Throughout the text references are made to the public, cultural heritage, underwater cultural heritage and public archaeology.

2.5.1 The Public

For the purposes of this study public refers to, 'people who are not members of a particular heritage or archaeological organization and do not have a direct link to, or any specialist knowledge of underwater cultural heritage' (adapted from Cambridge 2011, 372). This definition assumes that this will represent the majority of the population, but that an unknown number of this group will be aware of underwater cultural heritage.

Those that do not fall into the first group are considered to possess an understanding of some or all of the issues pertinent to UCH and for the convenience of the study are divided into two groups. The first is directly connected to UCH through their occupation and are likely to be part of a recognisable stakeholder group in the public or private sector. This includes research archaeologists, lecturers in university or tertiary education, contract archaeologists, cultural heritage resource managers, materials conservators; museum officers, cultural heritage professionals, enforcement officers, divers / technicians /administrators in an archaeology team and public archaeologists. Students of archaeology or other heritage related topics are included as representing embryonic professionals.

The second group will possess knowledge of the resource, insights or opinions or understanding of pertinent issues and includes, avocational and amateur archaeologists (considered synonymous), recreational divers who volunteer on archaeological projects, recreational divers, others who might be associated with intertidal zone sites, or have a special interest in UCH, or come into contact with UCH through their professional work such as fisherpersons, offshore construction, oil, gas and mineral, and more recently wind-farm industries. For some of these individuals who are considered to have knowledge of underwater heritage it may be intuitive rather than consciously known.

2.5.2 Cultural Heritage

The definition used for cultural heritage is taken from the International Committee on Monuments and Sites:

‘Cultural Heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values. Cultural Heritage is often expressed as either Intangible or Tangible Cultural Heritage’ (ICOMOS, 2002).

2.5.3 Underwater Cultural Heritage

The definition of underwater cultural heritage is that utilised by the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage* (2001):

‘All traces of human existence having a cultural, historical or archaeological character which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years such as: sites, structures, buildings, artefacts and human remains, together with their archaeological and natural context; vessels, aircraft, other vehicles or any part thereof, their cargo or other contents, together with their archaeological and natural context and objects of prehistoric character’ (UNESCO 2001).

Maney describes the scope of its journal *Public Archaeology*, which encompasses a broad range of subjects:

‘The only international, peer-reviewed journal to provide an arena for the growing debate surrounding archaeological and heritage issues as they relate to the wider world of politics, ethics, government, social questions, education, management, economics and philosophy. As a result, the journal includes ground-breaking research and insightful analysis on topics ranging from ethnicity, indigenous archaeology and cultural tourism to archaeological policies, public involvement and the antiquities trade’ (Maney 2015).

For the purposes of this study the term ‘public archaeology’ is limited to:

‘Any event, action or initiative that involves or informs or engages with the public about archaeology’ (Underwood 2013).

2.6 Scope and limitations of the study

This study follows a progression of themes and topics that create an outline of policies from successive UK governments that eventually became recognised as the Heritage Industry. This embryonic industry includes maritime historic environments contributing to the regeneration of social and economic infrastructure. In parallel there has been continuous and vigorous advocacy aimed at improving legal protection and management of UCH. It has had a considerable impact, but has failed to persuade government to remove UCH from the salvage regime. Salvage has continued to confuse public perceptions of UCH.

Other aspects of the study examine the opinions of these issues from those more actively involved in UCH. Based on these findings the study reviews how maritime related events are presented to the public in the media.

Due to the potential wide scope of themes this study is limited to those described above, but will refer to other components of public archaeological initiatives when relevant limited to the Anglo-Saxon world and its related bibliography. Although this study has a social and economic component it is not the intention to describe, in detail, economic theory or its mechanisms. This said, terminology is introduced that is considered useful in expressing the value of heritage in terms commonly used in other sectors of the UK’s economy.

2.7 Identification of the issues

Shanks and Tilley considered the question of public interest in archaeology from a terrestrial perspective, in relationship to examining the justification of archaeology in a contemporary society. At the time the issue of public interest had arisen in the context of cultural resource management that had become critical: ‘the treasure hunting public are plundering the past, financial stringency requires archaeology to specify its value and relevance and scientific archaeology seems so irrelevant’ (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 25). An important issue was the:

‘Disconnection between professionals producing the past and a public passively consuming: isolated professionals lonely in the crowd of contemporary society and unable to cope with the subjective, experiential, practical and transformative aspects of their historic work’ (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 25).

The following question - answers arising from the same publication are useful in helping to frame this study, albeit they were from those with a 'guilty conscience' (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 26). 'Why do archaeology? Because it entertains or educates 'us' with the achievements of humanity, 'our' common roots, 'our' symbolic unity, 'our' heritage. It is 'our' past and 'we' need it. Why archaeology? Because it's natural, everybody wants to know about 'their' past. Why? Because we know and we're telling you. Whose past is it? Who are the 'we' of 'our' past? Who is speaking and writing?' The Q & A's are private to the discipline and other questions can be added. What do the public wish to do with (underwater cultural) heritage? Would their response be based on the perception of heritage? Do we ask the public directly, bearing in mind that the answer may not be the one wanted? What then?

From the public archaeologist's perspective to what extent can the public be expected to support what archaeologists consider to be the most appropriate decisions; speculating that these would be protection, preservation, participation and enjoyment, rather than commercially exploited? Is the *raison d'être* of public archaeologists to connect the disconnected?

Shanks and Tilley identified other writers such as Hodder, who stated emphatically that archaeology 'must continue to play an active social role in the various cultures in which it is produced' (Hodder 1984, 111-112), asking 'how are archaeology and archaeologists viewed by the public and what is the role of the distant past in modern western society? It was suggested that in Britain at the time, archaeologists would have an understanding through tertiary education and from television and populist magazines. From the perspective of the last twenty years, *Time Team* would be first to spring to mind of most people about how the public has connected with archaeology. The programme has been referenced in government policy and in this study. Government has found a solution to the role that heritage has a place in modern society; tourism, education and social wellbeing, but one that does not necessarily fully account for the full range of heritage values.

Some have considered that archaeologists are socially not best placed to 'assess the product' (Hodder 1984, 111-112) as archaeologists represent a particular slice of society, being generally well educated with a significant proportion coming from a thin slice of society. Does what interests archaeologists, interest the rest of society? In 1984, coincident with Cleere's comments above Hodder was a part of a study group investigating public opinions. His early reflections of the results suggested that those that had greatest interest and value in archaeology were professionals with a university or tertiary level education and agreed that a financial expenditure in knowing more about the past was justifiable, and therefore considerably overlap with the

academic backgrounds of archaeologists. Those that were considered less well educated were less likely to place the same value on the past, and that archaeology is 'generally useless' and a 'complete waste of money' (Hodder 1984, 112).

An educational pamphlet supported by CBA, the Museums Association, Rescue, the Association of County Archaeological Officers and the Standing Conference of Unit Managers, called 'the purpose of archaeology' stressed that a knowledge of a common past, provided through the work of archaeologists in some way added to social stability, in effect knowledge of heritage was a rock on which everyone could depend. The results of the survey cast doubt on this assertion and it was claimed such campaigns could be detrimental to society's cohesion. At the time metal detectorists hunting for lost treasure were described 'rapists of the national heritage,' but the magazine *Treasure Hunting*, naturally expressed an alternative view:

'Professional archaeologists are university trained academics. With a few notable exceptions, they are, by preference, totally out-of-touch with the general public. During the past 20 years they have made it their business to complicate the story of Britain's ancient history...with the intention of securing the futures of their own academic careers.... The media's files are full of bumph which perpetuates the myth that every newly-qualified professional archaeologist gets a brightly polished halo with his university degree, along with a licence to "salvage the nation's heritage", whereas the crime of "people's archaeologists" is that "they have no academic qualifications and...therefore no right to an interest in British history" (*Treasure Hunting* 1982, 9).

As if to reinforce the magazine's views, in 2007 Culture Minister David Lammy 'called metal detectorists "the unsung heroes of the UK's heritage", a phrase that will cause a sharp intake of breath among some archaeologists who still regard them as little better than legalised looters' (Kennedy, 2007). The article went on to report that there was a truce between archaeologists and the detectorists who were now working with a code of practice that has resulted in:

'A spectacular increase in reported finds, with finds of "treasure", gold and silver, and bronze hoards - which, by law, must be reported - having risen by almost a fifth, from 426 finds to 506. Finds regarding voluntarily reported historic objects are also up, by 45%, from 39,933 in 2004, to 57,566 for the past year. "We now have a situation without parallel in Europe," said Neil MacGregor, director of the British Museum, which reported the finds yesterday. "Without doubt these finds are rewriting history" (Kennedy 2007).

In the maritime world the recreational diver plays a similar role in the recovery of wreck material, but unlike metal detectorists divers are yet to be declared heroes by government ministers or archaeologists.

The comments above define three key issues that can be transposed into being issues related to UCH. The first is how UCH can become a greater part of the social and economic regeneration process and second how to overcome the confusion of archaeology with salvage activities, when publicly both appear similar. Advocacy offers only part of the solution. It tends to identify the problems and offers solutions, but seldom does it have political legitimacy in the form of public support. UCH needs allies, and as this study shows the development of UCH management, while including stakeholder representatives, support has not always been transmitted to those they represent. In a terrestrial context while the situation is far from perfect, the public across a broader demographic is engaging with heritage in increasing numbers and more frequently. The results of policy are now illustrated, not just in statistics, but graphically in the Heritage Cycle, discussed below.

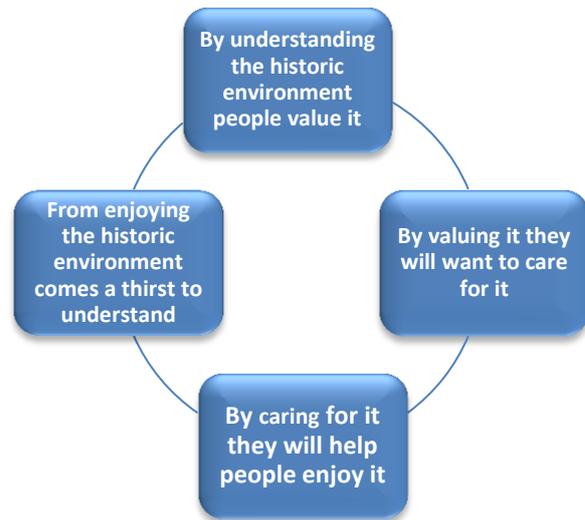


Figure 3. The Heritage Cycle shows the relationship of the public with heritage (English Heritage 2005a).

2.8 The Heritage Cycle

Although the Heritage Cycle shown in figure 3 is not considered archaeological or heritage theory in a conventional sense it provides a background for this study. It has four components that describe the public's engagement with heritage: how it is enjoyed, valued, cared for and understood. English Heritage introduced the cycle in 2005 (Thurley, 2005, 26). It was not part of UK government cultural heritage policy that began to be formed in the last quarter of the 20th century, but one that emerged as a descriptive image showing the continuous link between components of those policies aimed at increasing public engagement with cultural heritage. The cycle represents a remarkable reversal of policy as heritage did not feature to the level of the arts and their associated industries, so called cultural industries. At this time the political discourse believed, as it turns out wrongly, that the public were not particularly engaged with heritage.

Opinion polls at the turn of the 21st first century quickly demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the public cared for built heritage and clear about its protection, preservation and utility. Policies for increasing public engagement have proven to be successful, evidenced by

membership of the National Trust and English Heritage being at record highs, an estimated 2,000 local heritage groups and societies with an aggregated 200,000 participants (Henson 2012, 218), combined with an upward trend of visitors to heritage sites.

As policies evolved it became apparent that the economic value of heritage can be expressed in different ways from inflated housing values inside heritage or conservation areas and the value of heritage tourism. Although not overtly economic, heritage is valued as a contributory beneficial factor on the social wellbeing of the public that leads to a happier, more productive society that indirectly has an economic value.

If this study was restricted to terrestrial cultural heritage and the public, rather than underwater cultural heritage, it would be straightforward to demonstrate its contribution to tourism, social wellbeing, education and its sustainability that have become synonymous with the language of government policy. Another trend throughout this process has been the gradual decline in central government funding for heritage projects, which has been partially replaced by heritage lottery grants, now known to have a multiplying effect that generate larger sums through private investment, philanthropy, or voluntary public involvement.

What is striking about the cycle is that awareness is not a separate component. Is its omission because awareness in the terrestrial context is assumed, or is it considered to be a part of understanding, so there is no need to mention it? From this writer's perspective it is considered that awareness does not necessarily mean understanding, therefore to understand an issue you need first to be aware of it. For the sake of completeness it would be useful to place 'awareness' as a fifth element in the centre of the cycle, mutually linked to the other four elements. Using this reshaped heritage cycle it can be used more appropriately in the context of UCH, where it cannot be assumed that public awareness is sufficient to create the environment where the other four components are activated and perpetuated.

2.9 Awareness and heritage management

An important factor that contributes to the theoretical background applied here is summarised in the opening statements of Fourth ASEM¹ Culture Ministers Meeting in Poznań, Poland, 2010, which conveniently introduce the key themes of this study:

1. 'Awareness is often regarded as the best possible way to preserve our cultural heritage. There is much to say in favour of this. Only when we understand and accept the existence, richness, the

beauty, the historical significance and the threats to these relics of the past, we can make judgements on how to treat it. Only then the public can be mobilized helping to protect our cultural heritage.'

2. 'But what is the public and how do we need to address them? Is this a one way street? Do cultural heritage professionals have the task to create this awareness or is it the responsibility for all?'
3. 'According to the classical trinity of heritage management, the future perspective of a tangible past is determined by political commitment, public awareness and economic feasibility. Without public awareness, political commitment will lose its legitimacy and economic feasibility will lose its sustainability. For that reason the support of public awareness is of primary importance...' (4th Cultural Minister's Meeting, Poznań 2010, 2).

These three points are useful in explaining why engaging with the public is essential, but they need to be placed in the domestic context of the UK. The first point suggests that it is necessary to first understand that UCH fulfils the criteria of the 'existence, richness, the beauty, the historical significance and the threats', before the public can be mobilised and management decisions can be made. This is somewhat idealistic, but can be used as a benchmark in an assessment of an individual country's management policies. Looking retrospectively at the UK's evolution relative to UCH, government recognition of the importance of UCH did not follow this path. Although a committed group of individuals understood the potential of UCH in the preceding two decades, it was not until 1973 that government passed the first legislation aimed at protecting shipwrecks.

This legislation was considered interim, but remains in place in England, Wales and Northern Ireland². The first legislation stated that before a shipwreck could be designated it had to fulfil a minimum of three criteria based on its importance to archaeology, history or art. In the UK's history of protection, considerable damage had already been done to sites before protective legislation, but it was only in 1986 that a professional team of underwater archaeologists were involved in monitoring and advising government on sites protected by the legislation, or assessing new sites being considered for protection. There wasn't a competent authority for heritage in England until 1986 and even then, due to an oversight in the legislation, its remit did not cover English territorial waters. Hence, until relatively recently, much of the UK's UCH was in the hands of the voluntary sector. Muckelroy (1980) made this point by stating:

'In most universities, maritime studies form no part of the ordinary archaeological courses...no sponsorship for underwater work...diving archaeology remains generally unrecognisable as a profession. Indeed in many countries we may question whether the academic establishment yet fully

accepts underwater archaeologists as sub-group in the archaeological profession' (Muckelroy 1980, 23).

The second point seeks to identify the public and the philosophical question as to whether it is the responsibility of heritage professionals or everyone's responsibility. Ideally it should be everyone's, but initially it seems unlikely that those unaware or not understanding issues will have the knowledge to act as advocates. What should be considered alongside these comments is that advocacy that led to protective legislation was initiated by a more diverse group, including amateur divers and underwater archaeologists, the distinction between professional and non-professional archaeologist being largely non-existent at the time.

From the beginnings of the post-war period there were increasing numbers of recreational diving members of the public, some of whom called themselves archaeologists. These groups were sensitized to the value of UCH, as an adventurous touristic destination, source of knowledge or as a source of souvenirs or more serious salvage opportunities. Those that recognised the cultural value of UCH became partners in the advocacy in the 1960s and 1970s.

To counter the souvenir and salvage mentalities early UK public archaeology initiatives were focused on educating and training divers, with other important stakeholders being tackled somewhat later. Only after 1990 did government seriously contribute to these educational efforts. The current situation at least among stakeholders is much improved, but government action has lagged behind what others believed to be necessary to improve protection and awareness.

The third point is crucial to this study. Successful protection is dependent on 'political commitment, public awareness and economic feasibility (figure 4 below). In the context of the UK's terrestrial heritage, its position as an economic driver remains strong, but it needs to be considered in the broader economic environment to help explain why understanding and presentation of UCH needs to be improved and adjusted to match modern economic and social perspectives. A similar argument applies to this cycle, as to the Heritage Cycle, but instead of awareness being the missing link it is the component of understanding which is more likely to be converted into action than the largely passive consumer of heritage referred to by Shanks and Tilley above.

Figure 4. The figure (below) represents the three components that were outlined in the Poznań meeting showing the relationship between public awareness, economic sustainability and political commitment to provide resources.

From the 1980s UK economic policy has given greater commercial freedoms to museums, monuments, etc., to stimulate the growth of the Heritage Industry. This industrialisation of heritage coincided with the social and infrastructural regeneration of the UK. This has



included the repurposing of redundant dockyards and associated industrial areas often with historic vessels acting as decorative symbols of the original function, while the remaining UK's submerged protected sites remain out of sight, unknown and relatively under-resourced.

In the context of this study it is argued that the future protection and welfare of UCH is in direct competition for resources with all other categories of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and other cultural industries, as well as other government spending priorities. Success in receiving the same or greater support from government will depend on public support and an assessment of whether UCH is sustainable, from an economic, educational or social wellbeing perspective.

2.10 Research Methodology

2.10.1 Literature review

To understand the place UCH has in relation to broader UK policies, a literature review will follow the development of government's heritage industry, social and infrastructural regeneration, specifically focused on how maritime historic environments have been included, changes to legislation and policy improvements related to UCH and an outline of salvage history and relevant events.

2.10.2 Quantitative Research

In support of the overall aims of this study two surveys were developed and circulated to stakeholder groups. The first was for those who are professionally involved in archaeology, heritage management and students of related topics who were considered embryonic professionals. The second survey was distributed to those who are not professionally involved, which included avocational archaeologists and recreational divers or those otherwise interested or involved.

There are two distinct aims that were shared by both surveys. The first is to better understand the opinions on a range of UCH issues to determine to what extent there were significant differences or similarities in opinion between professional and non-professionals. To help achieve this both surveys contained broadly similar questions to enable comparison of opinions. A significant difference in the design of the surveys is the addition in the non-professional survey of a section that explores opinions on protection, preservation, access and reporting of underwater cultural heritage.

The second aim was to use the surveys to help refine additional research strands relating to raising public awareness and understanding of the value of UCH to society. In so doing it was helpful in fulfilling the overall aims of this study.

A commitment was made to respect respondent's anonymity.

2.10.3 Objectives of the professional survey

The objectives of the professional survey were to:

- Establish the respondent's profile;
- Understand the profession's views on the main aims of a public archaeology programme;
- Understand to what extent the profession is committed to public archaeology;
- Understand the initiatives that they deliver and to what age groups;
- Understand the profession's views on public awareness of UCH and whether it has changed over time, or altered public behaviour and
- Understand views on whether the public confuses archaeology, salvage and treasure hunting and the factors that influence this confusion.

2.10.4 Objectives of the non-professional survey

To help achieve the overall research aims of this study the objectives of the non-professional survey were to understand:

- The profile of respondents, identifying relevant qualifications, experience and involvement in underwater archaeology;
- The factors that first motivated and continued their involvement;

- Opinions about the objectives of public archaeology programmes;
- To what extent the public can distinguish underwater archaeology from salvage or treasure hunting;
- The attitudes towards the principles of protection, preservation, reporting and access to underwater cultural heritage and
- Opinions about the availability of government policy and information about UCH.

2.10.5 Additional supportive checks and balance of the survey outcomes

The surveys were used to develop more specifically defined themes that are more closely examined during subsequent interviews. These consisted of a number of predetermined questions about future directions of heritage policy related to public archaeology: opinions on effective mechanisms for raising awareness, understanding and value of underwater cultural heritage among the general public and government; what had led to their own involvement in underwater cultural heritage, and their motivation for participating in public archaeology initiatives in their own time. Interviewees had the choice of discussing the questions in a live discussion or by written response.

2.10.6 Quantitative Research – Databases

To estimate the public's exposure through the media databases of maritime related events and other information outlets have been developed. The aims of these is to help understand the type of news item, quantify the frequency and type of news measured against criteria such as, identity of an historic site, or vessel, historic time period and activity.

For this purpose the *BBC's online news 1997-2013*, *Guardian Newspaper online news 1997-2013* and *The Complete National Geographic 1889-2009* have been utilised. The data has been subdivided into separate Excel 2010 worksheets covering the following themes: All BBC News events excluding *RMS Titanic (1912)*, *HMS Victory (1805)* and *Mary Rose (1545)*, which are recorded on individual worksheets, Children's BBC (CBBC) *Guardian Newspaper* and *National Geographic Magazine*.

2.10.7 Case studies included:

To illustrate the impact of government regeneration policy and heritage tourism, case studies featuring Portsmouth and Chatham Historic Dockyards were used.

2.11 Application of the Research

Many countries continue to be plagued by the commercial exploitation of their heritage and in addition face the impact from other underwater activities including recreational diving and cultural tourism. Domestic and tourist divers bring with them the problems experienced by other countries, not least an increase in the physical impact on an already vulnerable and finite resource. These countries would benefit from knowledge of how public perception is shaped, what public archaeology initiatives can be shown to have worked and for what reasons and thereby provide value for the resources that will be inevitably invested. Without this knowledge what would be recommended to countries wishing to include public archaeology in their management framework?

Green highlights the problem of public involvement while discussing the development of cultural resource management programmes. He is clear about the importance of preserving what remains of UCH, stressing the need for a 'public desire that such a site should be protected' (Green 2012, 369), which remains a major objective of public archaeology. To fulfil this aim managers and by implication archaeologists need to take a 'proactive stand' (Green 2012, 369), stating that academics can no longer concentrate on research and ignore the public who fund their work, nor can managers make access to heritage difficult. The UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* is clear about its commitment to the public, manifested in its preamble, noting the 'growing public interest and public appreciation' of UCH, specifically upholding the public's right to 'enjoy the educational and recreational benefits' with Article 9 and Rule 7 stating that public access 'shall be promoted' (UNESCO 2001). Article 9 of the *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage* is similarly committed to public access (European Union 1992).

Green's list of components of a cultural management plan includes, 'education to create attitudes that understand the need for protection of sites' with archaeological research programmes including, 'education, which is a process of communicating the archaeological information to as wide a group as possible including the general public, divers, local people, the tourist industry and professionals, with a range of options explained. Green deals with interest groups, but it is the 'general non-diving public' that raises special interest in the context of this study, with his comment about the commonality of hearing a 'practitioner in the field lamenting the fact that a treasure hunter has managed another piece of good publicity (Green 2012, 369), yet the practitioner does not like the media' made worse by the reality that '...[the public] understanding of the subject is likely to be limited' (Pokotylo & Guppy 1999, 400; Green 2012, 376). The two

comments are linked, and the solution is for the discipline to find more effective ways of engaging with the public, with media being an important part of this due to the scale of its availability in diverse formats.

The reflective approach to the study allowed an improved understanding of the public's views and values and the influences on it, combined with learning from the experiences, knowledge and opinion of various stakeholders. This will be particularly useful for those at the beginning of the process of developing a management framework for UCH.

¹ 'The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) is an informal process of dialogue and cooperation bringing together the 28 European Union member states, 2 other European countries, and the European Union with 21 Asian countries and the ASEAN Secretariat. The ASEM dialogue addresses political, economic and cultural issues, with the objective of strengthening the relationship between our two regions, in a spirit of mutual respect and equal partnership.' Available from: <<http://www.aseminfoboard.org/about>>. [12 February 2015].

² Scotland is using the Marine (Scotland) Act 2010 to enable the creation of Historic Marine Protected Areas.

3 Development of the UK's Cultural Heritage Policy

3.1 Introduction

Although this study is not specifically aimed at achieving a critical review of the United Kingdom's (UK) government cultural heritage policy or the party politics that drive it, it is important to understand policies that in one way or another, directly or indirectly affect cultural heritage including that which is located underwater. This is after all the broader social environment within which cultural heritage has to contribute and to compete for resources. The presentation and implementation of these policies has an impact on the public's perception of heritage and therefore ultimately how it is valued, cared for, protected, preserved and enjoyed.

A review of government cultural heritage policy sheds light on the political realities and priorities that relate to how heritage, as an inherited past and all that invokes, has evolved. During almost three decades, the development of cultural industries has constituted a major change in policy direction. It was based on the realisation that heritage could be put to work, both economically and socially. What actually constitutes heritage has often been debated, but what is clear is that there has been a shift away from value and importance being determined by experts on behalf of society, to one where there is a much broader public involvement in deciding what society values and chooses to preserve (Hewison & Holden, Demos¹ 2004, 5).

Over the past 30 years or so these policies have been driven by the views of the prevailing political parties of the time. The evolving policies have been influenced by global trends that have forged a clear path aimed at generating economic growth. Where it is deemed appropriate in assisting this goal, financial support is provided for developing cultural industries and regenerating heritage assets, as discussed in the next chapter. The drive for economic growth in the heritage sector has and continues to be achieved largely through tourism and its associated supportive industries.

In 2013 the World Trade Organisation published figures that revealed year on year increases in 'international arrivals', which had grown from 530 million in 2003 to over one billion in 2012 (UNWTO 2013). This upward trend continued in 2013 showing an increase of 5% to 1.087 billion (UNWTOa 2014), with a forecast that this growth trend would continue and reach 1.6 billion international arrivals by 2020 (UNWTOb 2014). Countries are continually competing for a larger share of this economic growth, with the UK being no exception. Tourism now represents 5% of global GDP², 'employs 1 out of every 12 people in advanced or emerging economies'...

'international tourism 'ranks fourth, after fuels, chemicals, and automotive products in global exports' (United Nations Environment Programme: Facts and Figures about Tourism 2014).

The consequences of these policies include improving the personal wellbeing of the population, with sense of place being an important component. Increasing educational opportunities at all ages are also embedded and valued. This political ethos permeates widely both internationally and in the UK's government departments. The economic benefits derived from heritage activities have increased in importance since the world's economic failures became apparent in 2007 (Kingsley 2012). The chronic global urbanisation trend and unfolding and deep economic recession are impacting on the legal protection and physical preservation of cultural heritage, a threat that is recognised in many parts of Europe (Manders, *et al* 2009, 14 & European Foresight Platform 2012, 13). The impact of this crisis is manifested in cuts to central government funding and increased reliance on private sources, philanthropy and in the case of the UK grants from the Heritage Lottery Fund, which in effect are donations from the public.

3.2 The Emergence of the Heritage Industry

'From Boom to Bust' the second in a series of lectures by Dr Simon Thurley, historian and current chief executive of English Heritage³, focuses on the changes in policy priorities over the past thirty-five years that were introduced by the respective Conservative⁴, [New] Labour⁵ and since 2011, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat⁶ coalition governments that saw the creation of the heritage industry (Thurley 2009). The same period saw the emergence of the professionalization of terrestrial planning driven commercial archaeology, management of underwater cultural heritage in England by a competent authority and in parallel, public archaeology initiatives, mainly initiated by the voluntary sector, aimed at raising awareness of UCH discussed in chapter five.

From 1979, eighteen years of Conservative governance under Prime Ministers, Thatcher⁷ and Major⁸ made legislative changes that enabled the industrialisation of heritage. The Thatcher government passed the *National Heritage Act 1983* (HM Gov.1983). It did not overtly focus on heritage protection and preservation, but on the creation of a corporate framework (Wright 2009, 171). This included the Victoria and Albert Museum, Science Museum, Armouries, Royal Botanic Gardens (Kew) and Armed Forces Museums, which contributed to the creation of the 'heritage industry' (Wright 2009; Thurley 2009) that began to unfold in the following years. The first use of the phrase 'heritage industry' is commonly attributed to Robert Hewison, who authored a book with the same title in 1987 and is also credited with giving a new phrase to the nation, whereas

Wright (2009, xxiii) recounts that Colin Ward, an environmental campaigner and anarchist writer had first spoken of the term in a critique of Wright's first edition (1985) of *Living in an Old Country*, published in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1985.

The 1983 Act laid the foundations of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, more commonly known as English Heritage.⁹ It should be noted that the remit of the new body did not include responsibility for underwater cultural heritage, an oversight that was not corrected until the passing of the *National Heritage Act 2002* (HM Gov. 2002) (see chapter five). The new heritage organisation was tasked with three main duties:

‘to secure the preservation of ancient monuments and historic buildings situated in England; promote the preservation and enhancement of the character and appearance of conservation areas situated in England, and promote the public's enjoyment of, and advance their knowledge of, ancient monuments and historic buildings situated in England and their preservation’ (HM Gov. 1983).

The ethos of the New Labour government, elected in 1997, was to look forward as a nation rather than at the country's history or inherited heritage. It acknowledged that in effect the UK needed to redefine itself. This was not to say that the country's heritage was to be abandoned altogether, but that there was an identified need to find a way of giving it a new direction. Those institutions such as the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Department of Trade and Industry, British Tourist Authority and British Council that had the role of promoting the UK, had to change from being un-strategic and presenting the country as a ‘nation of heritage’ (Leonard 1997, 2). The perceived issues that were damaging the UK's international perceptions were outlined in a strategic policy document, *Britain*TM [Trade Mark]: *Renewing our identity*.

3.3 United Kingdom: A Need for a New Identity

The document espoused the notion that Britain was a country in flux, with poor overseas perception, its products seen as low-tech, suffering from poor labour relations that left foreign business with little confidence in investing in the UK. The report commented that ‘Spain to Ireland and Australia to Singapore’, among other nations had concerted efforts to renew their identities with Ireland emerging as the *Celtic Tiger*, with Dublin seen as one of Europe's most ‘exciting cities’ (Leonard, 1997, 3 & 37). The Thatcher government was considered ‘too nostalgic’ (Leonard, 1997, 60 & 69) and as a country the UK was stuck in the past with a confused identity. Thatcher, although a modernist who as Wright (2009 xiii) comments had little love for history, other than a place to consign political adversaries, did combine her economic policy with ‘rhetoric of national

recovery' (Wright 2009 p. xiii) seeking to re-establish the UK's identity focused on the Palace of Westminster.

The UK's New Labour government created the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), a move that in effect eradicated eighteen years of Conservative policy. As a result heritage as a word diminishes from the language of New Labour politics, reflected in the Government and English Heritage policy documents that followed. It was believed that the term heritage carried 'cultural and political associations from the 1980s' (Leonard 1997, 2). Ministers were reluctant to use the word, as exemplified in the personal essay by the Secretary of State, *Government and the Value of Culture* (Jowell 2004) that discusses museums and galleries without reference to heritage throughout, and it is mused that Tony Blair's (New Labour) cabinet were reluctant to be photographed in the context of an old building (Wright 2009 p. xvi). The actions and change of terminology may even have some reverberations for the protection of underwater heritage and the UK government's reticence to fully embrace the language of the proposed UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* that has continued to the present day.

In 1994, the UK's Minister of State for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport stated in his opening remarks of *A New Cultural Framework* that quite closely reflects inspirations found in the Australian model quoted below:

'We believe that enhancing the cultural, sporting and creative life of the nation is a vital part of Government. The activities that we sponsor and support as a Department have a fundamental impact on the quality of life for all our citizens. They provide enjoyment and inspiration. They help to foster individual fulfilment and wellbeing. They help to bind us together as a community. They are important for the quality of education. They assist with the work of social regeneration. And in themselves, and with the allied importance of tourism, they form a crucial part of our nation's economy' (DCMS 1994, 1).

Australia's equivalent *Creative Nation*, laid out proposals for, among others, the support for the development of cultural industries:

'...this cultural policy is also an economic policy. Culture creates wealth. Broadly defined, our cultural industries generate \$13 billion [Australian] dollars a year. Culture employs around 336,000 Australians who are employed in culture-related industries. Culture adds value...the level of our creativity substantially determines our ability to adapt to new economic imperatives. It is a valuable export in itself...it attracts tourists and students. It is essential to our economic success...'

(Commonwealth of Australia 1994 Department of Communications and the Arts [now Office for the Arts] 1994).

Recognition of, and support for Australia's Maritime Museums including Western Australia's Maritime Museum was included within the proposals, focusing on projects that had a national significance.

'...the Government will assist the Western Australian Maritime Museum to continue work on these projects of national significance, including collaborating with Queensland on the Pandora¹⁰ project, and will investigate the establishment of the Museum as a national centre of excellence in marine archaeology...' (Department of Communications and the Arts [now Office for the Arts] 1994.

A European footnote to this is that *Towards a New Cultural Framework Programme of the European Union* was produced in 2003 which promoted similar objectives stating that...'the cultural sector should become an integral part of European policy, and that 'Cultural policies for the European Union are required and should now be developed' (Arkio *et al* 2003, 5). Pan-European projects relating to UCH emerged under the *Culture 2000* program such as the *Monitoring, Safeguarding and Visualizing North-European Shipwreck Sites (MoSS)*¹¹ (Manders & Lúth 2004) and *Managing Cultural Heritage Underwater (MACHU)*¹² (Manders, Oosting & Brouwers 2009).

The new millennium was seen as an opportunity to progress this redefinition, reflected in the diversion of funds from other sectors, discussed below. Infrastructure projects were proposed that would include new airports and the channel tunnel (UK-France), all designed to have a positive impact on visitors with additional emphasis placed on creating state of the art websites to host information about the UK and its arts, and touristic attractions (Leonard 1997, 15).

The government statement delivered by the Secretary for State of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport stressed the importance of cultural, sporting and creative life in helping social regeneration and linked tourism as an important part of the economy. Finance would be linked to outcomes that would have four central themes 'access, excellence and innovation, education and the creative industries' (DCMS 1997, 1). A combination of the 'extensive financial resource of the National Lottery combined with new government funding would provide the foundations' (DCMS 1997, 1). The relevance of how UCH can be related to these strategic goals will be addressed later.

3.4 Adjustments to Heritage Policy

Within the speech referred to above it was announced that the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) would merge with English Heritage. This would create a single body responsible for heritage that would become the competent authority with responsibility for underwater archaeology in the territorial waters off England, a change that would rectify the omission mentioned above. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport would transfer responsibility for the Advisory Committee on Historic Wreck Sites (ACHWS) to English Heritage, with additional arrangements being anticipated for the devolved administrations¹³ of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (DCMS 1997, 9).

The role of the advisory committee, a non-statutory departmental public body, was to provide advice to United Kingdom bodies responsible for the 'protection of shipwrecks sites which are of historical, archaeological or artistic interest and which lie in territorial waters' (DCMS 2007).¹⁴

It is this new ethos that began to dominate and within which the protection and preservation of the UK's underwater cultural heritage has been managed. The resultant funding from the responsible departments and bodies has reflected these priorities.

'Between 1997 and 2002 funding for contemporary art increased by 53%, museums by 36% and sport 98%, while heritage received a mere 3%. In celebrations of the new millennium new visitor attractions opened throughout the country. National museums in London became free [in 2001], seen by some as the high water mark for the heritage industry' (Thurley 2009).

The policy equated to a year on year increase of 2.7 million visits to 7,031,722 from December 2001-June 2002 (Martin 2003, 1). Control of budgets and the auditing of the results was centralised, exemplified by the by Social Exclusion Unit's Policy Action Team 10, on the role of culture in renewing deprived neighbourhoods:

'Art . . . can not only make a valuable contribution to delivering key outcomes of lower long-term unemployment, less crime, better health and better qualifications, but can also help to develop the individual pride, community spirit and capacity for responsibility that enable communities to run regeneration programmes themselves' (Department for Culture, Media and Sport 2001; Hewison & Holden 2004, 15; Holden 2004, 15).

In *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value*, (Hewison & Holden 2004) it was stated that 'because of the complex institutional relationships and conceptual ambiguities associated with heritage,' the New Labour government was dissatisfied with how the heritage sector was

organised. The report highlighted that the Heritage Lottery Fund had redefined heritage, while commenting that actually its first trustees had concluded that they ‘could no more define heritage than we could define, say beauty or art’ (Hewison and Holden 2004, 2). Subsequent trustees have declined to offer a precise definition, choosing instead to challenge the public to contribute to what constitutes heritage by identifying what it values. Therefore, at least as the Heritage Lottery Fund was concerned, there was no real fixed definition other than what the public has suggested as being valuable in its applications for lottery support.

Therefore what is considered heritage and valued is subject to change and considered to be fashionable. This is a factor that could affect the support of UCH, in so far as, although its scientific endeavours to underwater adventure to treasure hunting, is relatively popular today, only a small part of the population are directly involved in the research, management or enjoyment of sites *in situ*. *Ex situ* is a different issue, but is focused on very few sites such as the *Mary Rose*. This realisation and new approach significantly changed the previous Conservative political party’s notion of what constituted heritage, such as ‘great houses’ or ‘works of art’ to a more socially inclusive one that includes intangibles such as ‘language and customs’ (Hewison & Holden 2004, 12).

The debate, ‘What is heritage?’ (Fawbert 2000) reached the media in 2000. The question was posed as to whether it [heritage] was stately homes, noting that English Heritage had just listed¹⁵ forty ‘picture palaces’¹⁶ dating from the forties, or was it events within living memory? (Fawbert 2000). An English Heritage Inspector was quoted as saying that ‘heritage is not just about sticks and stones. It’s about ‘people’s memories’ (Fawbert 2000), raising the issue of intangible heritage, which has subsequently become integrated into the ambit of the Heritage Lottery Fund. Later unattributed comments in the report pointed to the belief that ‘attitudes towards heritage are changing’ (Fawbert 2000). It wasn’t long ago that people thought there was little point in saving anything after 1950. But while attitudes may be changing, they have yet to include everybody’ (Fawbert 2000). The notion of inclusivity became an important and fundamental aspect of subsequent policies, ranging from age, economic social level to ethnicity, the engagement with each category being meticulously monitored in the quarterly *Taking Part* surveys (DCMS 2014a) highlighted in more detail in chapter three.

3.4.1 Power of Place

Following the changes outlined above a strategic plan was developed, the first phase of which was the publication of *Power of Place* (Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS] &

Department of Environment, Transport and Regions [DETR] 2000) which was based on the research initiated by English Heritage. It laid out the scope, reasoning and motives behind the proposals to regenerate the historic environment, noting that the word 'heritage' was barely mentioned.

The main strand of the report was the historic environment's contribution 'to the cultural and economic wellbeing of the nation' (DCMS & DETR, 1) echoing the quotation taken from *A New Cultural Framework* above and unlocking the 'full potential of our historic assets' (DCMS & DETR 2001, 5). Statistics were used to support the proposed economic regeneration with the UK's £22 billion per annum tourism industry being at the heart of the process. Market research that contributed to *Power of Place* found that almost all respondents (98%) thought that heritage was important as a conduit to educate children about their past, with slightly less support for adult education; that heritage was important for its touristic potential (95%), and for creating new employment; that there should be public funding for its preservation (88%), with a strong majority disagreeing that too much heritage was already preserved, with the same percentage (76%) agreeing that heritage contributed to their wellbeing. Three quarters believed that Black and Asian heritage was under-represented (DCMS & DETR 2000 2.4, 23).¹⁷ The inference was that there was strong public support for heritage protection and preservation of heritage places.

Power of Place recognised that despite the country's affinity with the sea the underwater and coastal zones remained the least understood (DCMS & DETR 2001, 14). Maritime and coastal archaeological interests were represented on two of the working groups and had the opportunity to contribute to *Power of Place* (Roberts & Trow 2002, 2). Among the recommendations that came out of the publication was that the management of underwater heritage should be transferred to English Heritage and to use existing legislation more effectively, although the transfer had previously been stated as a goal in 1997 (DCMS 1997, 9).

Shortly after the release of *Power of Place* it was introduced to the House of Lords by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, who had been the first chair of English Heritage from 1983 until 1991. He commented that few of the eighteen action points needed legislation and that the report presented the results of the MORI survey (MORI 2000) representing all interests and walks of life and their reactions to heritage. He went on to note that there had been political resistance to fully engage with heritage:

'Over the years, politicians of all parties have been a little ambivalent to the heritage, fearing that if they promoted it too much they would be accused of elitism and favouring certain classes. On the

other hand, there was a general assumption by others that the people were not really interested. Unfortunately, recent teaching, or rather lack of teaching, of history in our schools was hardly designed to give pupils an interest in their past. So the general objectives of the MORI research were to establish the general perception and attitudes towards the heritage and what it meant to people and to assess the people's participation in heritage activities and not least the attitude towards the heritage by people from newly arrived ethnic minorities' (HM Gov. 2000).

The various contributions during the debate commented on these themes, acknowledging the value of the MORI survey that confirmed the population's interest and value of the Historic Environment, its potential economic value, educational value and the need to connect with ethnic minorities. Of equal or greater relevance to this research was a further contribution by Lord Renfrew¹⁸ (archaeologist), who lamented that... 'few references appear in the document to the archaeology of England... it forgets that there has to be a balance between, on the one hand, the ancient monuments and, on the other, historic buildings' (HM Gov. 2000). Renfrew questioned whether there was even a possibility that archaeologists within English Heritage had had little opportunity to contribute to the report, and further highlighted the need for a Central Record Centre (HM Gov. 2000).

3.4.2 Force for our Future

Force for our Future, reacted positively to *Power of Place* and contained the main strands of the proposed policy: governance, a vision for the historic environment, develop the educational benefits, protection and sustainability and optimising the economic benefits. This *New Vision for the Historic Environment*, which excluded museums and galleries, collections, industrial and transport heritage, and natural heritage, described the perceived benefits of providing a sense of identity, national or locally; the role of the physical remains represented by 'iconic buildings, historic landscapes, the rich legacy as a magnet for tourists is massive in economic terms'. The popularity TV programmes such as *Time Team*¹⁹ were recognised along with visits to historic properties, noting that membership of the National Trust²⁰ had reached 2.7 million, as well as wider educational benefits of historic sites (DCMS & DTLR 2001):

'The Government looks to a future in which: public interest in the historic environment is matched by firm leadership, effective partnerships, and the development of a sound knowledge base from which to develop policies; the full potential of the historic; environment; as a learning resource is realised; the historic environment is accessible to everybody and is seen as something with which the whole of society can identify and engage; the historic environment is protected and sustained for

the benefit of our own and future generations, and the historic environment's importance as an economic asset is skilfully harnessed' (DCMS and DTLR 2001, 9).

These aims were subsequently recognised by English Heritage (Roberts & Trow 2002, 3) as being equally applicable to underwater cultural heritage and would form an action framework for English Heritage. Building on the brief references made in *Power of Place*, UCH (and other archaeological heritage noted as being largely missing from *Power of Place* by Renfrew) was acknowledged as forming part of the scope within the Historic Environment, with the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology²¹ (HWTMA) being recognised for its work in 'characterising UCH' (DCMS & DTLR 2001, 14).

The cross-departmental nature of the policy was reflected by the instruction contained within *Power of Place* that the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, as the lead department would involve Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions [DTLR] and the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs [DEFRA] in discussions about the strategic direction of English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund. This instruction included identifying funding priorities, with Department for Culture, Media and Sport being tasked with maintaining contact with the devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland to ensure that the UK's overall interests in international *fora* were properly represented. The Historic Environment was to be included in the remit of the Green Ministers so that the impact of government policy on sustainable development was monitored and measured.

3.4.3 The Historic Environment

What is meant by the Historic Environment has often been encapsulated in minister's opening remarks or introductions to policy reports in one form or another, but it has become to be defined as:

'all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged, and landscaped and planted or managed flora' (EH 2014a).

The scope of what is meant by heritage is evolving. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) had suggested a narrow definition, 'properties and artefacts of cultural importance handed down from the past' (Brinkley, Clayton, Levy, Morris & Wright 2010, 12). In the same report, a forward looking strategy document for the Heritage Lottery Fund the authors suggested that:

‘heritage is a fundamental cornerstone of everyday experience, culture and sense of place, encompassing the physical (historic buildings, landscapes, museums, galleries and archives) as well as the intangible attributes (memory, recollection, stories and ways of life) that are embedded within society, economy and politics. It is urban and rural, built and natural, tangible and intangible’ (Brinkley, Clayton, Levy, Morris & Wright 2010, 12).

The report suggested that the components of heritage include: ‘industrial heritage; scientific heritage; conservation, preservation and archaeology; natural heritage; built heritage; intangible heritage; cultural heritage and sporting heritage’, noting that heritage of ethnic groups form part of the UK’s framework (Brinkley *et al* 2010, 13). The definition found within the *Valletta* (1992) and *UNESCO Conventions* (2001) are also useful as they provide additional detail relating to the scope of the tangible characteristics of underwater cultural heritage. Although intangible heritage falls outside of the scope of the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage specifically deals with it (UNESCO 2003).

3.4.4 Heritage Counts

The report titled *2002 State of the Historic Environment* was the first of what has become an annual report titled *Heritage Counts* that tracks the progress of government policy that evolved from *Power of Place* and *Force for Our Future*. A succession of reports quantified the nation’s interest in the historic environment, with series of statistics providing baseline data on which subsequent reports have continued to measure change. Each of the annual reports has a theme that forms part of the broader policy. One of the outcomes of the *2002 State of the Historic Environment* report was a need to learn more about ‘who participates in the historic environment, which communities and sectors of society and continue to be excluded, and identify the current barriers preventing greater access and participation’ (English Heritage 2002, 6).

3.4.5 Understanding Public Engagement

Once the case had been made and accepted that heritage could be a significant driver in the process of social regeneration with resultant economic benefits and improvements in the country’s social fabric, a range of further studies emerged that focused on the better understanding of public engagement and how to utilise the urban, rural and coastal environment more efficiently (Martin *et al* [MORI] 2003, English Heritage [Regeneration of the Historic Environment] 2005b; Driver Jonas 2005).

This challenge was at least partially remedied by a research project *Making Heritage Count* (Martin *et al* [MORI] 2003). Three questionnaire-based surveys were carried out in three locations around the UK: Bradford, which has no direct connection with the sea, although the county of Yorkshire in which it is a part has strong connections to historical industrial heritage and associated exports; West London connected to the sea by the River Thames, which has strong economic connections both domestically and internationally for centuries and Camborne in Cornwall, a county that has a strong independent identity, with a closer affinity to the sea and coastal mining industrial heritage, and is part of the South West region of England²² that contains 30% of England's 19,700 National Monuments (English Heritage 2007, 30).

A summary of the findings is considered indicative, but not definitive, concluding that heritage is associated with historic buildings, stately homes, historic parks and gardens with local history being mentioned as the most relevant to around 50% of respondents in each of the three surveys; regional differences revealed that Bradford residents are more associated to industry and its built infrastructure, countryside, old documents; whereas in Cornwall archaeology (43%) and language are highlighted, with shops, public houses and residential houses and modern buildings featuring as the main connections in London. Following the questionnaires, focus group discussions revealed that values, traditions and cultures are important, with heritage connections being provided by buildings. Community values were strongly associated with old buildings. A minimum of 40% of respondents had visited a historic building or a historic garden or park in the past year, with more than 90% believing that it was important to include heritage in children's education (Martin *et al* [MORI] 2003, 5-7).

3.5 Cultural Heritage Planning Legislation

A strong component of the associated policies encompassing the historic environment is the planning process. The inclusion of heritage and archaeology as part of the planning process has become a sustainable aspect of the UK's economy. A series of planning guidance policies followed from 1990 beginning with the publication of *Policy Planning Guidance Note 16*.

3.5.1 Policy Planning Guidance Notes 16 & 15

Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG16) which focused on archaeology and planning was published in November 1990 by the Department of the Environment (DoE). In 1994 *Planning Policy Guidance: Planning and the Historic Environment*, otherwise known as PPG15 provided

advice to local government planners and other public authorities. The latter was intended to complement the former. It was sponsored by the Departments of Environment and National Heritage. Existing planning directions were cancelled and amendments were made to the *Town and Country Planning General Development Order 1988 (GDO)*, and to the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Regulations 1990* (HM Gov. 1994a, 4) A strong statement which reflected the government's policy to protect and therefore show how the historic environment was valued is made in article 1.1:

'It [the historic environment] is fundamental to the Government's policies for environmental stewardship that there should be effective protection for all aspects of the historic environment. The physical survivals of our past are to be valued and protected for their own sake, as a central part of our cultural heritage and our sense of national identity. They are an irreplaceable record which contributes, through formal education and in many other ways, to our understanding of both the present and the past. Their presence adds to the quality of our lives, by enhancing the familiar and cherished local scene and sustaining the sense of local distinctiveness which is so important an aspect of the character and appearance of our towns, villages and countryside. The historic environment is also of immense importance for leisure and recreation' (HM Gov. 1994, 6).

While the statement shows cultural heritage being valued for its own sake, the evolving reality has a strong parallel strand in that wherever possible heritage should have a component of economic value. The prime function of this aspect of planning was to ensure that the public's interest was included, and that such actions would take into account the concept of sustainable development, thereby taking into account the contribution of heritage to future generations.

Included in *PPG15* is the caveat that choices would have to be made, but stated that conservation and sustainable economic growth should not be seen as in tension with one another. Reference is also made to the English Tourist Board's *Maintaining the Balance* published in 1991 and to *PPG 21* that specifically dealt with tourism, ensuring that such development was 'compatible with proper long-term conservation' (HM Gov. 1994b, 6). The role of the public as stewards is mentioned with the need to educate the public to increase levels of support and understanding for the protection of the public.

In a report for English Heritage in 2002, *PPG16* was described 'as a critical moment in the history of archaeological research in England' and that it 'provided strong government endorsement for the emergent integration of archaeological resource management within the town and country planning system' (Darvill and Russell 2002, 6). The same authors considered that combined, *PPG16* and *PPG15* provided a further and important component in the preservation, management

and investigation of archaeological remains and established itself alongside legislation such as the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Act 1979* and an encompassing additional pillar that included ‘museums, university departments, amateur societies, and interested individuals whose work over many years has made fundamental and important contributions to our growing knowledge of the past’ (Darvill and Russell 2002, 5). These policies were superseded by *Planning Policy Statement 5*, and served to continue the government’s commitment to valuing the Historic Environment.

3.5.2 Planning Policy Statement 5

The government published *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment*, which replaced *PPG15* and *PPG16* on 23 March 2010. It set out the government’s ‘national policies on different aspects of spatial planning in England’... and ‘sets out planning policies on the conservation of the historic environment’ (HM Gov. 2010, 1).

The requirements were considered alongside other heritage consent schemes under the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990*. The statement reaffirmed the government’s acknowledgement of the role that the historic environment made to the cultural, social and economic wellbeing of the country and recognition that heritage is a non-renewable resource. In relation to this research that focuses on UCH, policy *HE9* makes it clear that there will be a presumption ‘in favour of the conservation of designated heritage assets’ (HM Gov. Planning for the Historic Environment 2010, 11). The listed assets include protected wreck sites, noting that indirectly some historic ships are listed and some wrecks are scheduled monuments (see chapter five). The statement adds that where a planning application would involve a significant impact on or a ‘total loss’ of a protected site the application should be refused unless there would be a resultant high level of public benefit that would be higher than the loss of the heritage. If the specific characteristics of the heritage made its use unviable, or alternative funding from grant funding or charitable source could not be found then consent could be given.

3.5.3 Preservation by Record

In circumstances where a heritage asset would be lost, developers should be required to ‘record and advance understanding of the significance of the asset before it is lost’ (HM Gov. 2010, 14). Any recorded information should be passed to the relevant historic [Annual Report] environment record, and be made publicly accessible. Preservation by record is acknowledged as

being less valuable than the asset. It is noteworthy that the guidance uses 'should' rather than 'must' which makes the process of recording an asset, prior to its destruction non-mandatory.

3.5.4 National Planning Policy Framework

In March 2012, the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) introduced the *National Planning Policy Framework*. The opening statement reiterated the key aims, which were to achieve 'sustainable development' (DCLG 2012, i) aimed at improving living standards for everyone without jeopardising those of future generations. The framework incorporates the natural and historic environments, with both recognised as contributing to the population's wellbeing with the historic environment being allowed to thrive to enhance a location's spirit of place (DCLG 2012, i). The three components listed as contributing to sustainability were, economic, social and environmental and that they should be 'mutually dependent' (DCLG 2012, 2). Specific to the historic environment is Section 12 that deals with the conservation and enhancement of the historic environment. The policy makes it clear that local government should adopt a 'positive strategy for the conservation and enjoyment of the historic environment' (DCLG 2012, 30) and that the following factors should be addressed:

'the desirability of sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage assets (including protected wreck sites) and putting them to viable uses consistent with their conservation; the wider social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits that conservation of the historic environment can bring; the desirability of new development making a positive contribution to local character and distinctiveness; and opportunities to draw on the contribution made by the historic environment to the character of a place. Heritage assets should be conserved 'in a manner appropriate to their significance' (Dept. Communities and Local Government 2012, 6).

With regard to coastal aspects of the historic environment it is emphasised that shoreline management plans should be used to contribute to planning in such areas and that in the marine environment there should be cooperation with the Marine Management Organisation to fulfil the requirement that there is integration between local government (non-marine) plans and Marine Plans into Integrated Coastal Zone Management protocols.

3.5.5 Industry Profile of the Archaeology Labour Market

The inclusion of heritage as a material consideration in the planning process led to the initial growth of employment relating to archaeological services. The current state of the sector is outlined in *Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence: Profiling the Profession 2012-13* (Aitchison

and Rocks-Macqueen 2013), the fourth in a series of reports that began in 1990s. Figures extracted from the report reveal that the approximate number of people employed in the archaeological work force was 4,792 compared with 6,895 in 2007/8, which coincides with the global economic crisis, a reduction of 30%, and a 12% reduction from the estimated 5,712 workers in 2002/03. This latter figure predates the economic crisis that led to a slowdown in the economy and construction within which archaeological mitigation forms a component. The figures represent a worrying downward trend with the majority of respondents reporting a downward trend since the previous report (2007-8) and it was noted that thirty-one organisations were no longer involved in archaeology. Despite this there was some cautious optimism that employment would improve over the years after the report (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013, 61).

An additional 1,148 ancillary workers work in a supportive role providing an estimated total of 5,940. The work force is distributed in different sectors. Of the 4,792 UK archaeologists estimates placed 2,684 involved in field investigation and research; 1,198 providing historic environment advice; 96 provide museum and visitor services; 815 provided education and academic research; with 545 working in government agencies; 485 in local government; 690 in universities; 2,812 in the commercial development sector, with 260 in other organisations such as museums and civil society.

Most worked in London or the south east of the country and from a more detailed survey of 888 archaeologists they are defined by a high degree of diversity in job descriptions, 389 jobs with 236 different titles. Those working in the sector remain very well qualified with 20% holding a post graduate qualification, rising from 12% in 2007/08 (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013, 11-13). This high level of education is similarly reflected in the results of the Professional Survey discussed in chapter seven.

3.6 Funding Heritage

Beyond the commercial revenues created by the statutory planning regulations described above, funding is provided by government, private sources and the proceeds of the National Lottery for the development of heritage as a contributor to the economic growth of the country.

3.6.1 UK Central Government Funding

In common with other international economies the UK is not immune from the impact of global austerity that evolved from 2007. Year on year budget and grant cuts are in parallel with

culture and heritage organisations being given greater commercial freedoms in an attempt to compensate for the depletion of government funding. As is customary the responsible government department, in this case the Department for Culture, Media and Sport wrote to English Heritage outlining the results of the *UK's HM Treasury Spending Round 2013* (HM Gov. 2013). In July 2013 English Heritage received its letter outlining its future funding.

It stated that due to the difficult economic situation and in common with other government ministries, that the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's budget would suffer an overall reduction of £62 million for 2015, representing a 7% reduction from the previous year (>£885m), with English Heritage receiving a greater proportional reduction of 10%, which is in addition to the 30% reduction in real terms suffered between 2002/3-2012/13 (DCMS 2013, 19). Although there was a reduction of 5% to DCMS's 'core capital budget', EH's capital grant expenditure was maintained at the 2014-15 rate (DCMS 2013a). EH's total income for 2013-14 was £186.55 million, £99.85 million from DCMS and self-generated funds of £86.7 million (EH 2014b, 15).

The Minister's letter indicated that the situation could have been worse, had it not been for the 'strong English Heritage business case' which indicated the potential for economic growth with the aim that the National Heritage Collection was to be 'self-financing and self-sustaining' (DCMS 2013a). English Heritage's contribution to economic growth was acknowledged, stressing the need to focus on cultural tourism, promotion of sustainable development and to continue to seek efficiencies in its planning and, designation systems. The organisation was expected to continue generating its own revenues.

Some aspects of English Heritage's role remained protected. These are related to planning, heritage sites considered to be at risk, and for the maintenance of sites for which it was responsible. Improving the efficiency of the designation system through the National Heritage Protection Plan was encouraged (DCMS Spending Review 2013b). Subject to the business case for the 'New Model' being positive, part of which would see EH becoming a trust, it would receive an additional grant of £80 million in 2014-15, with an additional £83 million targeted to be raised from third parties. This new model for EH would aim for the new trust to be self-financing by 2023 (DCMS 2013b). Since, the grant has been augmented by a further £5 million announced in December 2013 (HM Gov. 2013b).

This significant change in policy and structure of English Heritage was reported by the BBC with the headline, 'English Heritage given £80m in charity status move' (BBC 26 June 2013a). At first glance it provides a very positive outlook. The article goes on to state that the four hundred and

twenty sites that constitute the National Heritage Collection including Stonehenge would be run by the new trust. Following the seemingly positive news, it was further stated that the new body's funding would begin to taper downwards from 2015 and that it was expected to be self-sufficient at some undetermined point in the future.

The *Spending Round* recognised that the UK's museums and heritage institutions made a 'vital economic and social contribution'. To help compensate them for the loss of funding in the sector the government would 'pilot' a scheme aimed at providing 'new operational freedoms' on such decisions relating to 'pay and procurement and to access finance'. These steps are reminiscent of the corporate freedom given to a selected number of major museums to form companies in the *National Heritage Act 1983*, (HM Gov. 1983 s. 3; 11; 18A; 25; 35) while making culture and heritage less dependent on central government support. The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), see below, would continue to have a significant role in partially compensating for the decreasing central government funds, relying on other sources of private funding to provide for the remaining shortfall. Philanthropy was mentioned as being an important component in order to contribute to the overall growth strategy. English Heritage's other functions including the administration of England's protected underwater sites would continue to be supported by central government funding (HM Treasury 2013).

These cuts to heritage were reported by the media that acknowledged the positive role that heritage had had as part of the country's regeneration (Slocombe 26 June 2013) discussed in chapter four. In the same article the point was made that heritage was a soft target and that while the Arts suffered a 5% cut, inevitably if an overall cut of 10% was to be achieved this needed to be balanced by larger proportional cuts in heritage funding. It was also stated that the savings would be relatively small compared to the potential scale of damage caused by the policy to the country's heritage.

3.6.2 The National Lottery

The Major government created the National Lottery in 1993 (HM Gov. 1993). The lottery's original aims were to help fund the Arts; National Heritage; Charities; Millennium Projects and Health, Education, and Environment, with each section receiving 20% of the available funds. This was amended to 16.7% between 1997-1999, when it was dramatically reduced to 5%, with the 11.7% being transferred to the broader category of Charities; Millennium Projects and Health, Education, and Environment, returning to 16.7% in 1999. Notably the Millennium Fund (20%) and

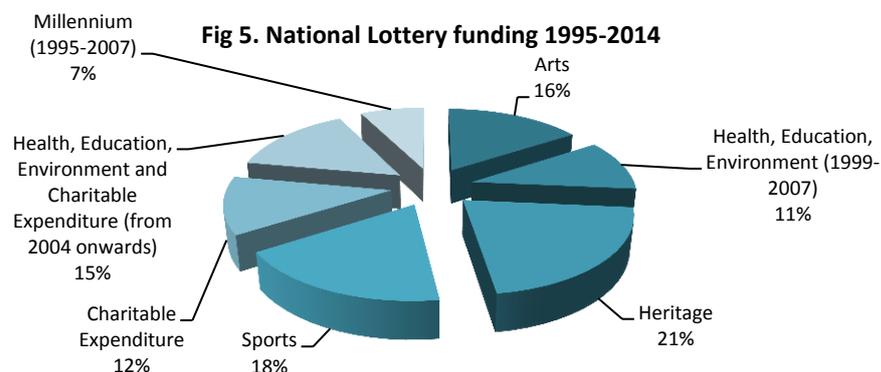
Charities (16.7%) were merged with Health, Education and Environment with 50% of the funds (HM Gov. 2009, 9).

Despite the government's commitment not to use lottery monies to subsidise public services, in 2006 the *Telegraph Newspaper* revealed that £3.2 billion (Kite, Melissa Telegraph Newspaper 30 July 2006) had been used to fund health and education projects, which had led to an estimated £800 million loss of funding for the Arts and Heritage. The principle activities of the grants authorised by sections 3 and 3a of the 1980 Act:

'for the purpose of acquiring, maintaining or preserving: a) any land, building or structure which in the opinion of the Trustees is of outstanding scenic, historic, aesthetic, archaeological, architectural or scientific interest; b) any object which in their opinion is of outstanding historic, artistic or scientific interest; c) any collection or group of objects, being a collection or group which, taken as a whole, is in their opinion of outstanding historic, artistic or scientific interest' (HLF Annual Report March 2014).

The quoted heritage aim was to 'sustain and transform our heritage through projects which make a lasting difference for heritage and people. Working with partners, we speak up for and demonstrate the value of heritage to modern life' (HLF 2014). Since the first grants were awarded in 1995, as of the 1st August 2014 there have been 454,730 individual grants, totalling £30,107,588,134 (DCMS 2014b).

Figure 5. The chart shows the apportionment of funding provided to each of the nominated recipient sectors by the UK's National Lottery from 1995 to December 2014. Source: DCMS Lottery Awards 2014.



The current apportionments are: 40% Health; Education, Environment and Charitable Causes: Sports 20%; Arts 20% and Heritage 20%.

3.6.3 National Heritage Memorial Fund

It is important to understand the role of the *National Heritage Memorial Fund* (NHMF), the parent body of the more publicly well-known *Heritage Lottery Fund* (HLF), as an increasingly influential funding provider, and strategic partner in implementing and developing government cultural heritage policy.

In the fourteen years from the establishment of the *National Heritage Memorial Fund* (NHMF) in 1980, £175 million pounds, averaging more than £11.5 million per annum, was awarded to approximately one hundred successful annual applications. The NHMF was often seen as saving great houses for the nation. The fund could not solicit applications for funding. Following the creation of the HLF in 1994, the existing NHMF became a distributor of lottery funds, as well as retaining its own endowment fund, but the amount available for this fund was reduced and it became a fund of last resort.

3.6.4 Heritage Lottery Fund

As of December 2014, the HLF had disbursed £6,372,763,844 (DCMS 2014b), averaging over £300,000 per annum to more than 28,000 projects (DCMS 2014b)²³. The funding is planned to increase to £375 million per annum and will include tangible and intangible heritage projects such as:

‘people’s memories and experiences (often recorded as ‘oral history’ or spoken history); histories of people and communities (including people who have migrated to the UK); languages and dialects; cultural traditions such as stories, festivals, crafts, music, dance and costumes; histories of places and events; historic buildings and streets; archaeological sites; collections of objects, books or documents in museums, libraries or archives; natural and designed landscapes and gardens; natural heritage, including habitats, species and geology; and places and objects linked to our industrial, maritime and transport history’ (Heritage Lottery Fund strategic framework 2013-2018 HLF July 2013).

In many instances HLF grants and other sources of public funding have been supplemented by equal or greater investment from private business sources, either directly or in related developments. Private investments in heritage organisations amounted to £225 million in 2008-2009, accounting for more than 50% of individual giving in the UK’s cultural sector (HM Gov. 2010, 17).

The same report stated that in 2002 the number of people employed within the heritage sector had increased by almost 26% from 67,854 in 1998 to 85,445 Full Time Equivalent (FTE). These figures were divided into library and archives activities, 32,723 to 42,859; museum activities 28,358 to 34,650 and botanical and zoological activities 6,774 to 7,937' (Hewison and Holden 2004, 39).

Research on the impact of investment (English Heritage 2002-3) demonstrated how there was a multiplying effect. Using more than twenty case studies revealed that £10,000 resulted in £46,000 matching funding from the 'private sector and public sources', which as an average, equated to, '41 square metres of improved commercial floor-space, plus 103 square metres of environmental improvements, plus one new job, plus one safeguarded job, plus one improved home' (EH 2002.3 cited in Hewison and Holden 2004, 40). A news story covering this theme (Kennedy 1999) appeared in the *Guardian Newspaper* in 1999, with broadly similar conclusions.

3.6.4.1 More Factors Involved in the Value of Heritage than an Economic Valuation

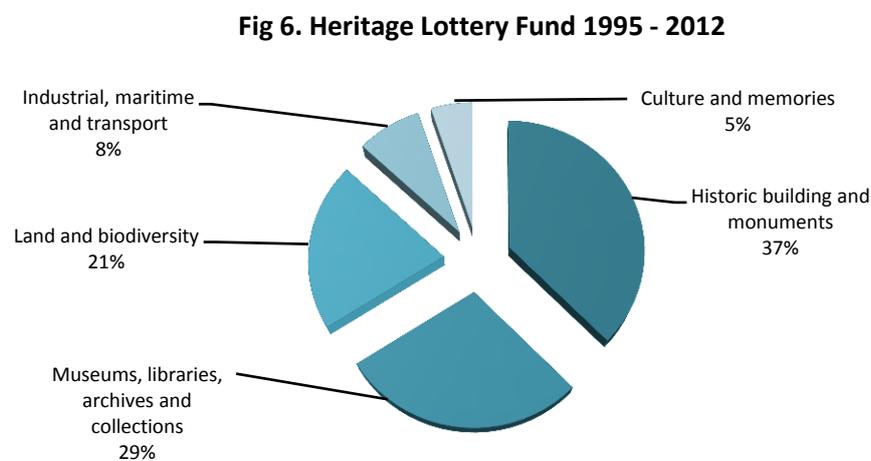
Hewison and Holden (2004, 39) drew attention to the risk of heritage being valued only by economic parameters, going on to suggest that 'a more balanced view is provided through the Cultural Value analysis that takes into account long-term sustainability of heritage, especially through skills and jobs, and the role of regeneration in 'pump-priming' economic benefits to deprived communities.

This point has significant resonance for how UCH is often valued. In too many cases, particularly with respect to shipwrecks, valuation is based only on the commercial value of a shipwreck's cargo, rather than on its wider cultural and social value. In addition this valuation should include its scientific value, nor is it usually discussed as to whether there is any value of a site if left *in situ*, only that preservation *in situ* should be considered as the first or preferred option. The rationale for this prime principle is explained in the publication, *UNESCO Manual for activities directed at Underwater Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2013, 20). Rarely, if ever is there an economic evaluation of why preservation *in situ* should be the preferred option, other than the site is being preserved for future generations. Naturally this is perfectly justifiable, but for those making long-term important policy decisions, it would be advisable to quantify a site's economic 'value *in situ*' a theme discussed in greater depth in chapter nine.

3.6.4.2 Disbursement of Funds 1995 - 2012

The distribution of the funds during this period was divided into several categories: Historic building and monuments, £1,883 million (37%); Museums, libraries, archives and collections, £1,432 million (29%); Land and biodiversity, £1,049 million (21%); Industrial, maritime and transport, £400 million (8%) and Culture and Memories, £258 million (5%).

Figure 6. The chart shows the apportionment between the different categories of the Heritage Lottery Fund from 1995-2012. Source: Heritage Lottery Fund Strategic Framework 2012, 5.



3.6.4.3 Grants to Maritime Heritage Sites

The figures above include capital grants for the restoration of historic vessels or new facilities, such as the clipper *Cutty Sark*²⁴. The vessel was reopened to the public in April 2012 following its six-year restoration, during which the hull had suffered a serious fire in 2007. £25,051,000 (DCMS [National Lottery] 2014) of the total cost of £58 million came from the HLF, with private funding providing a very significant proportion of the balance. This included a £3.3 million donation from an Israeli shipping tycoon who had served in the Royal Navy during the First World War (Sears, Neil Daily Mail 24 June 2008) that followed £20 million (BBC 27 March 2008) from the same donor, for the development of the National Maritime Museum.

Since the recovery of the *Mary Rose* in 1982, the administering Trust has received £33,830,325 (DCMS [National Lottery] 2014), of which £25,205,000 of the total project costs of £35 million was granted to construct a new museum, the remaining part from other grant and public fundraising activities. The new museum opened in 2013 resulting in a dramatic increase in visitor figures for

Portsmouth Historic Dockyard that lifted the dockyard up the league table of popular visitor attractions.

Brunel's ship *Great Britain* has also been a recipient of £15,455,600 (DCMS [National Lottery] 2014), including, £9,205,000 million in 2000 towards a major conservation programme. All have significant associated tourism, economic, and social benefits for London, Portsmouth and Bristol respectively.

3.6.5 Policy Adjustments

The way in which the funds are granted has fundamentally changed. The *National Heritage Memorial Fund* was originally only responsive to submissions for support and maintained a distanced relationship with government. The organisation was not required to have a strategic plan, or even to have fundamental aims. Although funds supported tourism, the benefits of this support were not quantified in terms of their contribution to tourism or other social benefits. Over time this relationship has evolved to one where there is a much closer synergy with government strategic objectives and how the HLF support is quantified.

As directed under the terms of the *Heritage Lottery Act 1998* the HLF's governance was tightened and included new policy directions:

‘the scope for reducing economic and social deprivation at the same time as creating heritage benefits; the need to promote access, for people from all sections of society, to heritage, objects and collections; the need to promote knowledge of and interest in the heritage by children and young people and the need to further the objectives of sustainable development’ (HM Gov. 1998, Hewison & Holden 2004, 16).

The same report stated that the main policy themes of the HLF were to be interrelated, namely ‘environmental, social (including education) and economic’ (Hewison & Holden 2004, 16), all of which were to be utilised within the context of sustainable development. While the natural environment had been to the forefront since the inception through initiatives such as the *Biodiversity Action Plans* initiated in 1994, the terms of the original 1988 Act included the ‘living and social environment’ (Hewison & Holden 2004, 16). The report implied that greater effort should be aimed in this direction.

Further points reiterated that educational activities were taken as read, but more effort should be devoted to providing access to social and ethnic minorities, and that educational activities in this theme had been given greater support. The economic contribution of heritage projects was

restated as being a fundamental component of government policy, with the aim being to ‘reduce economic and social deprivation’, a policy since 1998 (HM Gov. 1998; Hewison & Holden 2004, 16).

The first strategic plan, 1999 to 2002 created four key aims: heritage conservation; national heritage; local heritage and heritage education and access. Utilising heritage for the regeneration, provision of access and education aimed at enhancing life qualities are clearly stated objectives, with programmes such as, *Joint Places of Worship Scheme*, the *Urban Parks Programme* and the *Townscape Heritage Initiative* were refocused, ‘to give priority to applications from areas of economic and social deprivation’. The recurrent themes in the policies are noted. Grant application guidance has been developed to help applicants identify their social and economic benefits, and help with the criteria that are used to establish success or failure to grant applications (Hewison & Holden 2004, 16).

HM Government’s own report from 2009 draws comparison with the relative under-utilisation of the country’s built heritage in the 20th century with the current situation (HM Gov. 2009) which had seen a renaissance of inner cities with new iconic attractions such as the *London Eye* and others from around the country’s regions. The HLF was thanked for its contribution in the renaissance of the historic environment (HM Gov. 2009). Such has been the growth and influence in the role of the HLF that prior to 2004 consideration had been given to the merger of the HLF with English Heritage (Hewison & Holden 2004, 16 & 21).

3.6.6 Heritage Lottery Fund: Future Strategy

In 2013 it was announced that the share of funding for heritage available from the HLF would increase to 20% from its level of 16.7% rising to £375 million in 2014-15 from its previous £180 million in 2009. Government analysis had calculated that it was necessary to reduce ‘central and local government funding cuts of between 25% and 40% would mean a reduction in public spending on heritage of £600 million to £950 million pa across the UK (HM Gov. 2010). The impact of this was that HLF would have even more influence. The organisation stated the key challenges that heritage now faced, namely that heritage organisations needed to be more closely connected with local communities; business plans needed to be evaluated or re-evaluated, with the aim of combining increased incomes with greater volunteer involvement and private support; increasing digital programmes and take into account environmental changes (HLF 2013a).

3.6.7 Stakeholder Consultation Survey

In the light of this new economic environment the HLF sought the input of its stakeholders and the public regarding its three stated aims. They are: ‘to conserve and enhance the UK’s diverse heritage for present and future generations to experience and enjoy; help more people, and a wider range of people, to take an active part in and make decisions about their heritage; help people to learn about their own and other people’s heritage’ (HM Gov. December 2009, 12).

In order to do so the HLF commissioned a questionnaire based survey that included: members of the public; voluntary groups; local; regional and national agencies, heritage and non-heritage agencies. It was divided into two, a longer version for stakeholders with seventy-two questions and a shorter version for the general public that had six questions.

The stakeholder survey was in three sections: ‘Section 1 asked for views on HLF’s strategic aims, how it works, the balance of its funding, and what it funds; section 2 asked for views on HLF’s current funding programmes and what it might change in future and section 3 asked for views on some suggested new directions and measures to react to opportunities and challenges facing heritage organisations in the coming years’ (Opinion Leader 2011, 10).

The general public questionnaire focused on the: ‘breadth of HLF funding; locally specific heritage issues; balance of funding between large and smaller projects and any other comments about heritage lottery funding in the future (Opinion Leader 2011, 10). In the context of this research some of the survey results have been extracted to illustrate the public’s priorities and place maritime heritage in context with the broader cultural heritage landscape.

3.6.7.1 Relevant Outcomes of the Survey

Of the 1,068 responses twenty four, representing 2%, were from the industrial and maritime community, compared with 24% from historic buildings groups who unsurprisingly provided strong support for the funding of buildings deemed to be at risk and came out top of the rankings as shown in Table 1 below.

The response to the question about the mergence into a single strategic objective, ‘making a positive and lasting difference for heritage and people’ (Opinion Leader 2011, 20) received the following support: strongly agreed 29%; tended to agree 39%; neither agreed, or disagreed 7%; 17% tended to disagree; 7% strongly disagreed and 1% had no opinion or didn’t know. Additional comments suggested that a single statement offered greater clarity of the HLF’s purpose, with

20% broadly believing that a single statement was less clear. The results extracted from the report reveal the full list 'ranked by significant funding needed'. They show that 'Archaeology' received 24% and 'Ships and maritime heritage' receiving 17% support, but there should be some caution as the various heritage sectors were not equally represented which could distort the results.

Table 1 Results of a Heritage Lottery Fund survey aimed at understanding customer priorities. Source: Opinion Leader 2011, 29.

Table 1. Ranking on 'significant funding needed'	%
Historic buildings and monuments	54%
Wildlife and nature conservation	39%
Places of worship	37%
Industrial heritage	37%
Landscapes	37%
Museums and collections	33%
Archives	31%
Parks	26%
Archaeology	24%
Culture and memories, languages and dialects	23%
Ships and maritime heritage	17%
Library collections	17%
Transport heritage	15%

A question that would raise interest among those archaeologists/maritime heritage professionals, who believe much of the UCH is at risk, was the strong support for priority funding for 'heritage at risk'. 30% strongly agreed; with 44% tending to agree, with 9% tending to disagree and only 1% tending to strongly disagree.

From the comments regarding the reasoning for the respondent's choices, 52% stated that this was the heritage most in need of protection (Opinion Leader 2011, 28). The sector of heritage thought to be the priority was 'historic buildings and monuments' (Opinion Leader 2011, 28). 84%

agreed that there was some level of funding requirement, with only 1% with an opinion against any level of funding.

Another significant question dealt with the balance between sustainability of existing supported projects and new projects. Responses revealed strong support (81%) for a balance between the two goals. Although support for both sounds like a logical ideal the reality will be that the more projects that are added will add to the long-term sustainability costs of maintaining a steadily increasing portfolio of projects. Without significantly additions in contributions from one or all of the available funders (government, lottery, business and public sources) there will inevitably be competition for resources. This could have an impact on the number of UCH sites being considered for designation or scheduling in the future.

3.6.8 Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund

The concept of a levy, or environmental tax as it can be considered, on the primary extraction of aggregates was first suggested by Gordon Brown (UK's Finance Minister) during the 1997 financial budget (Seely 2011). A primary aim of the levy was to:

‘ensure that the environmental impact of aggregates extraction are more fully reflected in prices and encourage a shift in demand away from primary aggregate towards alternatives such as recycled construction and demolition waste and china clay waste. It will also encourage the more efficient use of all aggregates, greater resource efficiency in the construction industry, and the development of a range of other alternatives including the use of waste glass and tyres in aggregate mixes’ (Seely 2011).

After negotiations with the industry sector, it was confirmed in 2000 at an initial rate of £1.60 per tonne and implemented in 2002. The *Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund* was expected to contribute £200 million per year to the UK's Treasury²⁵. Subsequent increases in the levy raised £334 million in 2008-9 reducing to £275 million in 2009-10 to help cushion the economic downturn (Seely 2011).

In the first phase £29.3 million was disbursed through the Countryside Agency, English Heritage, English Nature, Waste Resource Action Programme (WRAP), Dept. of Trade and Industry's Construction Innovation and Research Management Programme, DTLR's Clean Up programme and Freight Facilities Grant, with further phases contributing approximately £35 million per year (Seely 2011). ‘Tackling the causes and consequences of climate change and securing a healthy

natural environment’ were the original strategic aims, (EH & DEFRA 2006). These were subsequently amended to:

‘develop and use seabed mapping techniques to improve the evidence base of the nature, distribution and sensitivity of marine environmental and archaeological resources relevant to marine aggregate activities; increase understanding of the effects of aggregate extraction activities, including noise, and their significance; develop monitoring, mitigation and management techniques where applicable, underpinned by scientific research; research and understand socio-economic issues associated with aggregate extraction activities and promote co-ordination and establishment of sustainable archives for the dissemination of research related to these aims to a wide range of stakeholders’ (DEFRA, *et al* 2010, 3).

Although the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) was the lead government department, English Heritage and The Centre for Environment, Fisheries and Aquaculture Science (Cefas) were the agencies responsible for the administration of the fund.

English Heritage established a number of specific priorities to the historic environment:

‘identification and characterisation of the historic environment in existing or potential areas of aggregate extraction; research and development of practical new techniques to locate seabed historic environment assets; to improve our understanding of direct and indirect impacts of extraction on such conservation and management of the resource; marine historic environment training, dissemination and communication. The aims included four strands: understanding the Marine Environment; engaging with stakeholders; marine historic environment protection and education, outreach and community (DEFRA *et al* 2010, 23).

Projects were supported that targeted improving understanding of the impact and thereby helping to mitigate the impact of mineral extraction on the historic environment. The ALSF project and associated funding covered several phases from 2004 through to the final phase in 2011. During the course of phase one English Heritage (EH & DEFRA 2006) distributed £7.5 million to over 100 projects, with the projects awarded funds that would match the national priorities established in 2005 defined above. Over £1 million was directed towards marine and coastal projects which led to a greater understanding of the marine environment. Projects included, Bournemouth University’s *Enhancing our Understanding of Shipwreck Importance*, and the Hampshire and Wight Trusts for Maritime Archaeology’s *England’s Historic Seascapes* (EH & DEFRA 2006, 25) and an extensive research project managed by Southampton University was published in 2013; *People and the Sea: A Maritime Archaeological Research Agenda for England*, (Ransley, *et al* 2013).

As well as those research projects identified above, a large component of the aggregates levy was spent on public outreach, aimed at raising public understanding and value of the historic environment, as well as the public's involvement, all of which matches the government's strategic goal of broadening public access.

'A key aspect of the ALSF in the context of the historic environment has been its ability to reach out to large numbers of people through a wide variety of approaches. These can include the restoration of accessible monuments, events, exhibitions, signage, lectures, hands-on sessions, broadcast media (television and radio), and a wide range of web-based and hard copy publications. The impact of these various activities has been considerable and has helped to introduce archaeology, historic structures and our maritime heritage to an enthusiastic public' (Richards 2008).

One such project was delivered by Wessex Archaeology that aimed to raise awareness among marine stakeholders. The project developed a finds reporting protocol (Wessex Archaeology 2006) for the marine aggregates industry. The project included a series of site visits to commercial wharves and ships to discuss and exemplify identification of finds, finds handling and to explain the reporting procedures.

In the results published in 2010 an assessment of levels of understanding revealed that there was an intermediate level of understanding of the significance of submerged landscapes. The Mesolithic landscape colloquially named Doggerland was noted as being of 'international importance' (DEFRA *et al*, 7) and that funding to enhance other areas should be made available. In addition, levels of understanding within the dredged areas were considered to be good²⁶, noting that only 0.15% of the UK's continental shelf area was licensed for mineral extraction.

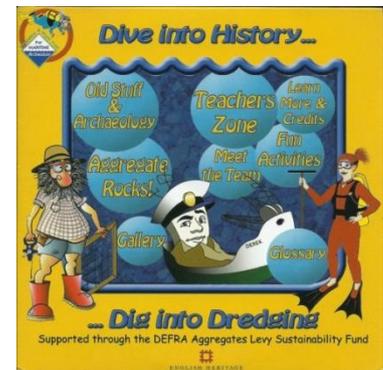


Figure 7. Derek the Dredger designed to raise awareness among a younger audience.

Public outreach activities were noted in the final report, with *Derek the Dredger* (DEFRA *et al*, 24) being shown as an example that brought the industry to the younger public with levels of awareness stated as good for schools and intermediate in the wider community. Further funding for this theme was recommended.

On completion of the ALSF project, 31,560km² of the UK's seabed had been surveyed and mapped, providing base-line data against which the original two strategic aims of 'effects of climate change' and sustaining a 'healthy marine environment' mentioned above could be measured in the future.

3.7 Chapter summary - Development of the UK's Cultural Heritage Policy

This chapter has summarized the UK government's strategic policy aimed at rebranding the country, as related to culture and heritage that was so clearly outlined in *Britain™ Renewing our Identity* published in 1997. The report commented that during the Conservative years the government was too often looking backwards at the country's own glorious or in some cases not so glorious history, using history and its heritage as a platform to create new glories and new histories. By pursuing such perspectives the UK's world status had diminished (Leonard 1997, 12). The reflective and creative intellectual thinking brought about a revolution, not just about how the UK saw itself or how it was perceived from beyond its shore. It fundamentally changed the way in how culture, first encapsulating the arts, museums and galleries followed by heritage, could help to create a society that felt better about itself with an increased sense of wellbeing which became aims outlined in *Heritage Counts: Sense of Place* (English Heritage 2009).

During the early part of this process, heritage languished behind the evolution of cultural initiatives until the 'heritage penny dropped' (Thurley 2009). This epiphany was attributed to John Preston, Deputy Prime Minister during the Blair New Labour government, who concluded that heritage could be a very important component in the drive to creating a new forward thinking country, one that not only recognised its past, but embraced its future economic potential.

The new millennium provided an opportunity that saw new attractions including the celebrated London Eye and public entrance to London's National Museums became free; a move that Thurley (2009) believed represented the high water mark for heritage. The 2012 Olympics provided London in particular and the UK as a whole, with a global marketing opportunity. The opening ceremony celebrated the agrarian and industrial revolutions that for many would epitomise the country's historical roots, but perhaps more significantly, the closing ceremony reflected the changes in the UK's attitude to itself, focusing more on the global attractions of its pop-culture and the future that would be different, brighter, more technological place in which to live. This was another giant step in the rebranding of Britain. And if there remained doubt about the political leadership then the 2012 Heritage Counts report is subtitled the *Big Society - in action*, a

signature policy of the current Liberal Democrat / Conservative Coalition government (Heritage Counts English Heritage 2011).

A trend that developed through this period is the funding of heritage shifting from central government to independent sources, supported by the HLF, a move that appears geared to creating a self-sustaining heritage industry with limited and diminishing government support. Allied to this is a policy of encouraging the public to, effectively, make choices about what to support, a clear expression of differential value. The HLF provides a link to the public from government that has its own criteria for ensuring that requests for funds are as far as possible to predict, will be sustainable and provide educational or social benefits.

Although UCH has increasingly been acknowledged as a component of the UK's historic environment and admittedly is included in the relevant reports, many archaeologists and heritage professionals would agree that underwater heritage has yet to fully receive the recognition of being of equal importance to terrestrial heritage. There are notable exceptions such as the conservation and museum display of the *Mary Rose*, but as will be revealed in the following chapter this museum was not necessarily driven by its own historical importance, but by being part of a strategic initiative to regenerate the country, increase tourism, and considered to have had a role in forging a sense of national identity. However, it does serve as a rare example of a once underwater heritage site receiving substantial funding that matches the most outstanding terrestrial heritage sites, such as Stonehenge²⁷ with its new £27 million visitor centre.

As will be demonstrated there are reasoned suggestions to explain why this is the case, a reasoning that underpins the rationale and aims of this study. There will also be a more detailed analysis of the way maritime historic environments have been beneficiaries of the policies.

¹ Demos is an independent think tank committed to considering radical thinking on the long-term problems facing the UK and other advanced industrial societies.

² GDP represents the value of a country's overall output of goods and services at market prices, excluding net income from abroad. Available from: <<http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/gross-domestic-product-GDP.html#ixzz34KjnmBt>>. [Accessed 15 April 2015].

³ From 1 April 2015 English Heritage became Historic England and a new charity English Heritage Trust will be formed known as English Heritage. The official name is the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England created in 1984.

⁴ The Conservative Party (officially the Conservative and Unionist Party) was founded in 1834 and is currently the UK party with the most Members of Parliament.

⁵ New Labour refers to the period of the British Labour Party between the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s under the leadership of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown.

⁶ The Liberal Democrat Party is a British Political Party formed in 1988 by a merger of the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party. It currently forms the government of the UK in partnership with the Conservative Party.

⁷ Dame Margaret Thatcher (deceased) was the UK's Prime Minister from 1979-1990.

⁸ The Rt. Honourable John Major was the UK's Prime Minister from 1990-1997.

⁹ English Heritage is a non-departmental public body, funded by Department for Culture, Media and Sport and through donations, membership and commercial activities.

¹⁰ HMS *Pandora* was lost in 1779 on the Barrier Reef, Queensland, Australia and is best known for the connection with the mutiny on HMS *Bounty* in 1790. The ship has been researched by Queensland Museum since the 1980s.

¹¹ The MoSS project partners were, The Maritime Museum of Finland, The Mary Rose Archaeological Services Ltd. from the Great Britain, The National Service for Archaeological Heritage: Netherlands Institute for Ship- and Underwater Archaeology from the Netherlands (ROB/NISA), National Museum of Denmark/Centre for Maritime Archaeology, The Department for Preservation of Archaeological Sites and Monuments / Archaeological State Museum of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern from Germany, Södertörns högskola (University college) from Sweden.

¹² The MACHU project partners were Belgium, VIOE (The Flemish Heritage Institute), Germany RGK (Römisch-Germanische Kommission (RGK) Landesamt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege, England English Heritage, University of Southampton, Nautical Archaeological Society, Netherlands RCE (Cultural Heritage Agency) RWS (Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management), Poland (Polish Maritime Museum) Polish Geological Institute (PGI), Portugal DANS (Portuguese Centre for Underwater and Nautical Archaeology, integrated in the IPA – Portuguese Institute of Archaeology), Sweden (The National Maritime Museums of Sweden).

¹³ The devolved administrations of the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly of Wales and the Northern Ireland Assembly were created by law in 1998.

¹⁴ It was replaced in 2011 by the Historic Wrecks Panel.

¹⁵ A building listed as a Grade I building are those classed as of exceptional interest, sometimes considered to be internationally important; Grade II* buildings are particularly important buildings of more than special interest; Grade II buildings are nationally important and of special interest.

¹⁶ These were the motion picture venues built during the 1930s to accommodate the growth of the 'talkies'.

¹⁷ MORI (2005 became IPSOS – MORI) was then the UK's second largest market research company.

¹⁸ Lord Renfrew studied archaeology at University of Newcastle, an acclaimed academic and ex-Professor of Archaeology at Southampton University.

¹⁹ *Time Team* is a TV programme that features archaeology. It is characterised by a team of archaeologists conducting the investigation of an historical site over a three-day period. It ran for twenty seasons from 1994 to 2013, with a series of 'special' programmes planned for 2014.

²⁰ The National Trust is a not-for-profit organisation established in 1895. It protects and opens to the public 350 historic houses, gardens, and ancient monuments, as well as open spaces.

²¹ Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology (now Maritime Trust for Archaeology)

²² The South West region in this context refers to English Heritage's regional structure that includes the counties of Bristol, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Isles of Scilly, Somerset, Wiltshire, with a total landmass representing 18% of England.

²³ From total ticket sales of £6,730.9 million, in the year ending 31 March 2014, £1,751.1 million was raised for National Lottery Projects, while £3,524.4 million was paid to players in prizes. Over the same period, £807.7 million was paid to the Government in Lottery Duty and £309. was paid to retailers in commission.

²⁴ *Cutty Sark* is a clipper-ship dating from 1869 located in Greenwich, London, UK.

²⁵ English Heritage received finds from the Aggregate Levy Sustainability Fund from 2002 to 2011.

²⁶ A basic level of understanding equated to a 'very limited information available; an intermediate level of understanding equated to: 'some information available but further work required to support management of the Industry and good equated to 'detailed information available allowing a firm evidence-base for management and regulation of the Industry.' (DEFRA, CEFAS, Marine Aggregate Levy Sustainability Fund (MALSF) English Heritage 'Achievements and Challenges for the Future 2010, 24).

²⁷ Stonehenge is one of the world's most famous pre-historic archaeological remains dating between 3000-2000BC.

4 Regeneration of the Historic Environment

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed how UK political processes brought about a fundamental change in how cultural heritage formed part of its social fabric. These policies led to culture and heritage being blended to form an increasingly powerful driver for contributing to the UK's economy, education and the wellbeing of the population. This re-evaluation led to a growing realisation within central government that the Historic Environment, labelled as such since the beginning of the 21st century, had a crucial role in the future direction of economic and social policy.

Sustainability is a key component from the perspective of attracting funds from government sources, although funds from this source are decreasing, or investment from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), which is a growing influence, providing some relief from the diminishing central government budgets for heritage. Tourism is at the core of this policy, an economic trend that was not necessarily initiated by the UK, nor remains its sole domain, but is part of a global shift to which its strategy is aligned.

4.1.1 Power of Place and Force for our Future

Power of Place (DCMS & DETR 2000) and *Force for our Future* (DCMS & DTLR 2001) presented the government's intentions to regenerate the historic environment with a number of central tenets: to promote inclusivity, social wellbeing, education, economic contribution and sustainability.

Government remained focused on promoting the heritage's inherent qualities of contributing to these objectives, largely through tourism. This was and remains to be achieved by increasing the numbers of domestic and international visitors,¹ with heritage remaining 'the most cited reason for people to visit Britain from abroad' (English Heritage 2011, 23). The policy spans the regeneration of the country's historic environment, coastal town seafronts (English Heritage & Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment [CABE] 2003), museums, and historic ships, although some ships and collections considered as having archaeological origins are beneficiaries.

These places include Portsmouth and Chatham Historic Dockyards, which are examined in more detail later in this chapter. Although both dockyards are in the south and south east of the UK

there is a national spread to the policy, not just centred in the more affluent south. These policies continue to gain more importance in the first decades of the 21st century, due to the current international economic imperative to increase existing sources of income, or generate new sources of fiscal growth. A strategic relationship between central government and the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) has developed with the latter providing partial financial support to many thousands of heritage projects. The lottery's own definition of heritage has been deferred to the public, who in their grant applications are encouraged to identify heritage that is important to them and therefore help to justify what is worthy of protection, restoration, preservation and enjoyment.

The regeneration of historic places in urban, rural and coastal environments has evolved, but it is the development of coastal environments that feature most prominently, referring to terrestrial examples with a maritime link where believed relevant. The regeneration process has incorporated the previously identified important components; economic, mainly through tourism and supportive businesses; social wellbeing, in so far as the regeneration provides a better living environment often referred to as a heightened sense or spirit of place, education and sustainability. The successful maritime historic environment developments that are discussed below combine them in one form or another, with each locale free to identify and utilise its own particular strengths. This is defined by location, the development and enhancement of existing historic infrastructure, opportunity and investment from public and private sources.

4.2 Social and Economic Benefits of Regeneration

In 2003 English Heritage and the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) jointly produced *Shifting Sands* that outlined the potential of coastal towns, noting that CABE's mission statement is to create places which 'work better, feel better, are better' (CABE 2003). The report identified that many of them had been in decline for years and as a consequence were facing a range of social problems, such as 'high levels of unemployment, low income levels, poor levels of education skills and training and housing problems more associated with those in inner city areas' (CABE 2003). These findings confirmed the earlier conclusions in *Sea Changes* (2001) produced by the English Tourism Council's that recorded a decline in popularity of English coastal tourism, stating that visits had fallen from 32 million to 22 million domestic visits per annum. Among the reasons given was the availability of more attractive international destinations. The incidence of coastal holidays had fallen from 75% of all holidays in 1968 to 44% by 1999 (EH & CABE 2003, 5) and the lack of employment had led to young workers opting to find employment elsewhere, leaving aging populations that increased the stress on social

programmes. Understanding how coastal areas could be utilised in the regeneration process was urgently needed.

The case for the use of heritage assets² in the policy of regeneration is explained in *Heritage Works – A Practical Guide to the Role of Historic Buildings in Regeneration: Final Report - Working Papers* (Drivers Jonas 2005). The report focuses on buildings in socially and economically deprived areas. A list of factors were considered relevant, acknowledging that not all historic buildings would share all of them: they act as a landmark providing a sense of place; valued to the extent that communities would save them; their historic construction and form gives a special identity as part of a regeneration scheme; possess historical and cultural characteristics and contribute positively to sustainable objectives and sustain and maintain the public's connections with their local heritage. Through case studies and a literature review the report suggested that there was a strong case for the contribution that heritage could make to regeneration; financially directly through increasing property values and tourism. In-direct values were accrued through job creation, building and refurbishment trades as well as creating a sense of place and thereby creating a better social environment (Drivers Jonas 2005, 3).

Further reports were produced such as *Regeneration and the Historic Environment Heritage as a catalyst for better social and economic regeneration* (English Heritage 2005). This report outlined the impact that the regeneration of 'landscapes, parks and other green spaces, historic streets, areas and buildings, and archaeological sites' (English Heritage 2005) could have on creating better places to live. It focused on industrial areas and urban areas, but historic buildings with a maritime connection feature such as a Royal Naval victualing yard in Plymouth. Following the yard's conversion into residential properties, the subsequent sale of all of the refurbished apartments was agreed on the first day they were offered for sale. Various studies have concluded that historical property, or property in a conservation area is considered to generally have more than a 20% higher value than the equivalent modern building, and that it was 40% to 60% less expensive to refurbish an existing building than to build a new one. There are fluctuations in value depending on whether they are located centrally, or on the edge of such environments, or where a conservation area is considered at risk (Ahfeldt 2012; English Heritage 2005; HM Gov. 2009; Maeer & Killick 2013). Investment in the regeneration of old buildings included those associated with historic maritime environments, using tourism and social wellbeing as principal drivers, which has been extended to many maritime and coastal areas, a trend in many developed and developing world economies.

4.3 Regeneration of Historic Maritime Environments

In 2007, English Heritage and Urban Practioners (2007) reiterated similar challenges as *Sea Changes and Shifting Sands* mentioned above, stressing that the situation was not without hope. The publication included success stories such as the regeneration of Hartlepool in the north east of England, which includes HMS *Trincomalee* claimed to be ‘the oldest British warship afloat’ (HMS Trincomalee 2014) launched in 1817, Falmouth in the south west of England includes the National Maritime Museum Cornwall and Pembroke Dock in South Wales. An outstanding example of the transformation of a once more prosperous area has seen the City of Belfast, Northern Ireland, create the *Titanic Quarter* on the site of what was previously the Harland and Wolf shipyard, where RMS *Titanic* was built. It includes the sole surviving White Star Line vessel SS *Nomadic*, which serves as a floating and poignant reminder of *Titanic*, in absence of the wreck that remains on the seabed of the North Atlantic.

Among the most outstanding cases in England has seen the regeneration of Portsmouth Historic Dockyard and its surrounding harbour environs. The historic area is a segregated portion of the Royal Naval Dockyard, which houses a collection of historic ships amid the dockyard’s Georgian architecture.

4.4 Renaissance of Portsmouth Harbour: a Maritime Historic Environment

4.4.1 Economic Decline of Portsmouth – 1980s & 90s

Since the 1980s when the city was more heavily dependent on the Royal Navy and its associated economic infrastructure there has been a considerable transformation. Portsmouth now has a more diverse economy, including growing tourism and an extensive increase in its retail outlets. Despite the change the city has not abandoned its maritime past, describing itself as ‘Portsmouth the Great Waterfront City, it is the home of the Royal Navy and the Historic Dockyard and is world-famous for its historic ships, especially Nelson’s flagship HMS *Victory*, which is undergoing refurbishment’ (Daily Mail 2013).

Portsmouth’s dependence on the Royal Navy began to change following the *United Kingdom Defence Programme - The Way Forward* (HM Gov. 1981), the consequences of which led to the closure of a number of defence properties around the UK, a legacy of the Cold War peace dividend. In Portsmouth and Gosport, those military assets affected were HMS *Vernon*³, Priddy’s Hard⁴ and the Royal Clarence Yard⁵. Faced with the loss of a large number of jobs, Portsmouth and the surrounding area needed to find new employment solutions.

The consequences of the closure of the naval establishments led to a sharp decline in Portsmouth's fortunes leading to it acquiring a 'hard edged image' (Holman 2007, 13) with general unemployment rising to 10% with some areas over 80%, becoming the fourth most deprived area in the South East of England. Mr Stoneham managing director of the locally based newspaper *The News* is credited with being the prime motivator of the Portsmouth and South East Hampshire Partnership, formed in 1992, that aimed to 'kick start the local economy' (Holman 2007, 14). Various local dynamic personalities including voluntary organisations came together and worked towards the renaissance of Portsmouth. From this initiative the regeneration process of Portsmouth began to take shape.

4.4.2 Regeneration of Portsmouth Harbour 1990-present

In 1994 the 'full potential of Gunwharf Quays was realised' (Holman 2007, 17). This area centred round the naval facilities of what had been HMS *Vernon* that had joined with the existing shore base HMS *Nelson* (Gunwharf), forming a part of the Royal Naval facilities in Portsmouth. Gunwharf Quays emerged as a main area of the commercial redevelopment plan and became the new generic name of the complex, alongside the historic section of the naval base known as Portsmouth Historic Dockyard. The strategic aims were to provide greater public access to the waterfront and to reflect Portsmouth's maritime past. The city's port was already an entry point for continental visitors and had an existing tourism industry.

The renaissance of Portsmouth project became a *Millennium Flagship Project* with a *Gateway to Britain* theme transforming the harbour into 'a world class heritage attraction', one that retained its military connections but combined with commerce and leisure' (Farrelly & Lemes de Oliveira 2012). The plan incorporated the construction of a 170 metre high Spinnaker Tower, Millennium Walkway, Millennium Boulevard and the City Quay. The developers were obligated to restore, to a high standard, the historic buildings and to keep the boundary wall dating from the 1870s as well as the historic gateway. The stated objectives were to:

'create a world class attraction: Act as a catalyst for the economic regeneration of both Portsmouth & Gosport; To create new, highly accessible amenities (e.g. Public open space/performance areas), in addition to create five kilometres of new promenade to form a trail around the Harbour mouth to open up land closed off for centuries. Linking new/enhanced attractions on both sides of the harbour to reflect the area's maritime history. Developing new facilities, including the landmark Harbour observation tower which create future development opportunities. To mark the renaissance of the Harbour from one dominated by the defence industries to one where leisure, commerce and

defence are all important elements . Within this proposal, Gunwharf was identified as a key development site (Farrelly & Lemes de Oliveira 2012).

The development would extend to more than 200 acres (80 hectares) that included the heritage section of the naval dockyard, with a budget of around £100 million. Of this proposed budget, £45 million came from the National Heritage Memorial Fund with the remaining coming from other public and private sources, such as the developers, Berkeley Homes, plc and Landlord, a South African Company (Holman, 23). The Government's Challenge Fund provided an additional £9 million to regenerate areas beyond the harbour frontage. It was anticipated that the regeneration project would increase location employment, with an estimated 3,500 new jobs, increase local tourism to six million visitors per annum, with an additional £50 million added to the economy of Portsmouth, with an estimated three million retail visitors to the development of Gunwharf Quays that includes, retail outlets, office space, hotels, housing and entertainment centres (Slater 2012). As will be shown later the results have significantly exceeded these provisional expectations.

4.4.3 Portsmouth Historic Dockyard

Portsmouth Historic Dockyard forms part of the city's regeneration, but sustainability of the attractions are an important component and was expected to benefit from the additional arrivals in Portsmouth. Aside from the architectural features of the dockyard there is an outstanding collection of historic ships. The ships are operated by different organisations and span five centuries of maritime history comprising: *Mary Rose* (16th century) Mary Rose Trust; *HMS Victory* (18th century) HMS Victory Preservation Trust; *HMS Warrior* (19th century) HMS Warrior Preservation Trust, *HMS M33* (20th century) Hampshire County Council's Museums Service, *MGB 81* and *HSL 102* (both 20th century), Portsmouth Naval Base Property Trust. All are listed on the National Historic Fleet Register⁶.

The National Historic Fleet comprises 220 vessels of considered of 'being of pre-eminent national or regional significance, spanning the spectrum of UK maritime history, illustrating changes in construction and technology, meriting a higher priority for long term conservation (National Historic Ships 2014). Sixty of them form a sub-group considered of 'outstanding national importance' referred to as the core collection (Kentley *et al* 2007, 7). The remaining 160 are 'of special regional significance'. Together they are part of the National Register of Historic Vessels (NRHV) that currently comprises 1,079 vessels (National Register of Historic Vessels Dec 2014). National Historic Ships is the management body advised by a Council of Experts, replacing the

Advisory Committee on National Historic Ships in 2011, informing government on related matters. It is funded by the Department for Culture Media and Sport, receiving £241,000 in the current financial year (National Historic Ships 2014).

Recent changes in the management of the historic ships has included the custodianship of Nelson's *Victory* passing from the control of the Ministry of Defence to the HMS Victory Preservation Trust, a 'wholly owned subsidiary of the National Museum of the Royal Navy' (Portsmouth Historic Dockyard 2012). As a result, the Trust received a £50 million endowment fund, with the Gosling Foundation providing £25 million, matching the £25 million from the Ministry of Defence. Other attractions include, harbour tours, National Museum of the Royal Navy and Actions Stations which brings the modern Royal Navy to the public. Combined they attract more than half a million visitors annually, which has risen significantly with the opening of the new Mary Rose Museum in May 2013, as shown in figure 12 below.

4.4.4 Management of Portsmouth Historic Dockyard

The historic dockyard is managed by Portsmouth Naval Base Property Trust, established in 1986 to 'act as landlord and guardian of the historic dockyard' (Portsmouth Naval Base Property Trust 2012). Since Priddy's Hard located in Gosport, closed following the Defence Review of 1981, and reopened as Explosion, Museum of Naval Firepower has been added to its management portfolio. The specific aims of the Trust are in parallel and complementary to the management of the historic ships. Among the Trust's objectives are to 'restore and find appropriate uses for buildings and structures of outstanding architectural and historic interest...and to create an enduring maritime heritage centre of the highest class, so that it can be enjoyed by the public for generations to come' (Mary Rose Trust 2014).

The Portsmouth Naval base Property Trust, a recipient of an original endowment fund of £6 million from the UK government contributed approximately 50% of the anticipated costs of renovating the dockyard [to a reasonable level], reflecting other regeneration initiatives where private and other sources of funds were expected to fill the shortfall in public funding. In the period from 1986 to 2006 the Trust had completed twenty projects, with expenditure exceeding £90 million, to which the Trust has directly funded approximately 30%. The Millennium Commission, using funds from the UK's National Lottery contributed £20 million towards the twenty projects, as well as further contributions towards revitalising the attraction *Actions Stations* which features the Royal Navy. The Trust was a partner in the £85million *Renaissance of Portsmouth Harbour Millennium Scheme* (PNBPT 2006).

4.4.5 Gunwharf Quay: A Blend of Housing, Recreation, Retail Shopping and Heritage

Although Gunwharf Quays with its landmark 170 metre high Spinnaker Tower located within the greater harbour confines is primarily aimed at retail and leisure, the area does contain numerous reminders of its more historic past as a military establishment, including historic buildings, historic small boats in the adjoining marina and individual naval artefacts.

4.4.6 HMS Alliance

The maritime panoramas from the historic dockyard and Gunwharf Quays extend to Gosport located on the western side of Portsmouth Harbour and include the now closed naval shore establishment HMS *Dolphin*, which has been converted into housing. The Second World War era submarine HMS *Alliance* is visible, becoming part of the Royal Navy Submarine Museum's collection in 1982 and benefitting from the regeneration of the area. A contribution of £3.4 million came from the Heritage Lottery Fund towards the more recently estimated £7 million restoration project (BBC News 7 October 2011). The refurbished submarine reopened to the public in 2014, as part of an £11 million project that includes a temporary First World War exhibition.

HMS *Alliance* is presented as 'the only full scale Second World War era Royal Navy Submarine in existence in the world that is open to the public' (BBC April 2013). The submarine museum houses three other submarines, *Holland 1* (1913) also listed as part of the National Historic Fleet. The vessel was lost while under tow to a scrapyard and subsequently recovered in a marine salvage operation from off the South Devon coast in 1982, incidentally the same year as the recovery of the *Mary Rose*, HMS *X-24* the sole surviving X-craft series of mini-submarines and a German one-man *Biber* submarine dating both dating from the Second World War. (Royal Navy Submarine Museum Collections 2014)

4.4.7 Public Awareness of Portsmouth's Heritage Attractions

In 2010 Portsmouth City Council commissioned two public surveys, one for Portsmouth and the other for Southsea, which although part of Portsmouth is identifiable as the southern aspect of Portsea Island with panoramas across the Solent to the Isle of Wight. The surveys were carried out between 18 July to 30 September 2010 and 19 July to 19 September respectively. They shared similar aims:

‘To provide basic data on the profile, origin, behaviour, use of facilities and opinions of visitors to Portsmouth to help improve understanding of tourism within the city; to ensure that marketing campaigns are properly focused and allow their effectiveness to be monitored; to identify the main reasons why visitors come to Portsmouth; where possible, to allow emerging trends to be identified so that more informed decisions can be made in relation to future marketing and visitor provision in Portsmouth and to provide accurate local information on visitor expenditure and characteristics of visits to feed into a local tourism economic impact model (when required).’ (Tourism South East November 2010; Tourism South East December 2010, 1)

The Portsmouth report had four survey locations: Clarence Pier, Gunwharf Quays, the Hard and South Parade Pier. All are locations within the limits Portsmouth Dockyard as defined by The Dockyard Port of Portsmouth Order 2005⁷. *The Hard* is immediately adjacent to the entrance to the Historic Dockyard with a clear perspective of Britain’s first iron-hulled armoured warship HMS *Warrior*, launched in 1860, now restored and on display in Portsmouth’s Historic Dockyard. Gunwharf Quays constitutes housing, hotels, retail outlets, restaurants, clubs, cinema complex as well as the Spinnaker Tower is situated on what was formerly naval property and has an entrance on the Hard itself within two hundred metres of the entrance to the Historic Dockyard. Clarence Pier and South Parade Pier are located on the seafront outside of the dockyard.

Extracted from the two reports is data specific to what visitors identify with Portsmouth and Southsea. All of the respondents were asked to name up to three features or images that first came to mind when they thought of Portsmouth (Tourism South East November 2010, 21) and Southsea (Tourism South East December 2010, 17-18).

4.4.7.1 Results of the Portsmouth Survey – November 2010

There were 501 respondents from the four locations. These were divided between Clarence Pier with 162 responses, representing 32% of the total: Gunwharf Quays 120 responses, representing 24%; the Hard 114 responses, representing 23% and South Parade Pier 105 responses, representing 21%. From the 551 responses there are a possible total of 1,653 choices.

Columns 1 to 4 in Table 2 are results extracted from the Portsmouth report (November 2010). The numbers in column 2 represent the total number of times the attraction was mentioned from the three choices. Spinnaker Tower received 174 mentions, Royal Navy 96, Boats and Ships 89 and Gunwharf Quays 84 and Sea 79 were the top five, with the Historic Dockyard 77 mentions in 6th, HMS *Victory* 63 in 8th, HMS *Warrior* 15 in 15th and *Mary Rose* 11 in 19th position in Table 2 all

feature. Together the nine attractions represent nearly 42% of the 44 attractions mentioned by respondents (TSE Research 2010).

Table 2. Tourism South East Portsmouth Tourism Report - November 2010			
Based on 551 respondents from four locations 1653 available choices in total:			
Clarence Pier - Gunwharf Quays - The Hard - South Parade Pier			
1	2	3	4
Attraction	Total mentions 3 choices	% of all 1653 choices	Rank from a total of 44 attractions
Spinnaker Tower	174	10.53	1 st
Royal Navy	96	5.81	2 nd
Boats and Ships	89	5.38	3 rd
Gunwharf Quays	84	5.08	4 th
Sea	79	4.78	5 th
Historic Dockyard	77	4.66	6 th
HMS Victory	63	3.81	8 th
HMS Warrior	15	0.91	15 th
Mary Rose	11	0.67	19 th
Totals	688	41.96%	

Table 2 Survey results aimed at identifying which attractions visitors associated with Portsmouth. Source: TSE Research: Tourism, Leisure & Culture Research & Consultancy, two reports from November and December 2010.

4.4.7.2 Results of the Southsea Survey – December 2010

The same question: name up to three features or images that first came to mind when they thought of Portsmouth, was put to the respondents of the Southsea survey, although it is not clear why the question did not refer to Southsea, which was the named focus of the December report rather than Portsmouth that appears in its place. There were two locations, Clarence Parade Pier and South Parade Pier. Both of Southsea's recreational piers are located on Southsea's seafront and are approximately one mile apart, with South Parade Pier being the most easterly and therefore the furthest away from the Historic Dockyard. In total there were 267

responses: Clarence Parade with 162 responses, representing 61% and South Parade Pier 105 responses, representing 39%.

The results shown in column 6 were, Spinnaker Tower 87, Seafront 57, Sea 52, Boats and Ships 48 and Royal Navy 48 in the first five places, with Gunwharf Quays 39 6th Historic Dockyard 25 8th, HMS *Victory* 19 10th, HMS *Warrior* & *Mary Rose* 3 in 25th place.

17% of all visitors had visited the Historic Dockyard / Historic Ships, the fifth ranked attraction, behind the Seafront (96%), Gunwharf (42%), Old Portsmouth (24%) and Southsea funfair. As there are different ticketing options from 'All attractions to Single ship/attractions' it is not possible to determine the spread of visits to the individual components within the Historic Dockyard from the surveys.

Table 3 Survey results aimed at understanding which attractions visitors associated with Southsea: Source Tourism South East December 2010, 17-18.

Table 3. Tourism South East Southsea Tourism Report - December 2010			
Based on 267 respondents from two locations - 801 available choices in total:			
Clarence Parade and South Parade Pier			
5	6	7	8
Attraction	Total mentions 3 choices	% of all 1653 choices	Rank from a total of 44 attractions
Spinnaker Tower	87	10.86	1 st
Seafront	57	7.12	2 nd
Sea	52	6.49	3 rd
Boats and Ships	48	5.99	4 th
Royal Navy	48	5.99	5 th
Gunwharf Quays	39	4.87	6 th
Historic Dockyard	25	3.12	8 th
HMS Victory	19	2.37	10 th
HMS Warrior & Mary Rose	3	0.37	25 th
Totals	378	47.19	

4.4.7.3 Interpretation of the 2010 Survey Results

The results provide an insight into the perceptions of the visiting public to what, arguably is the most maritime of maritime cities in the UK. The 170 metre high Spinnaker Tower is the most conspicuous landmark and heads the listings in both columns, while Gunwharf Quays, the country's third largest retail outlet (claiming 8 million visitors per annum), moves from 4th to 6th place behind the Royal Navy and Boats/Ships. The Historic Dockyard moves from 6th – 8th. As individual attractions *Mary Rose* move from 15th to joint 25th and *HMS Warrior* 19th to joint 25th seeing both moving down the rankings.

There is a suggestion from the report that what is visible at the time of the interview plays a role in what is chosen. The conspicuous tower is the most obvious feature, HMS *Victory* remaining more memorable than either the *Mary Rose* or HMS *Warrior*. What is surprising is that HMS *Warrior* is much more visible than either HMS *Victory* or *Mary Rose*. HMS *Warrior* is a three-masted vessel measuring over 120 metres in length and is in full view of the public that enter Portsmouth by road, rail, bus or sea, or are on foot on the *Hard*, immediately outside the public entrance to the historic dockyard.

With respect to *Victory* the only visible parts that can be seen from outside the historic dockyard entrance are its masts tops, although the ship can be more clearly seen viewed from the adjacent waters for those entering by sea or taking a harbour tour. The *Mary Rose*, however, is totally enclosed within a building behind HMS *Victory*, which suggests that other factors play a role in remembering one feature or another and that visitors already have stored in memory prior to their arrival in Portsmouth. This is possibly due to the relatively high exposure of maritime events that appear in the news, which is discussed in chapter eight.

It is also noted that in the locations further away from the historic dockyard, people's choices change from specific named attractions associated with Portsmouth/Southsea, to more generic themes such as the 'sea', 'ships and boats' and the Royal Navy. This reinforces the notion that what is out of sight, is likely to be out of mind and therefore makes it harder to be more specific about what comes to mind. This is particularly relevant to the visibility of underwater cultural heritage, of which the majority is just that, out of sight discussed by Underwood (2014, 27-42).

4.4.7.4 Similarities to a previous tourism survey in 2008

There were similarities to the previous survey carried out by the same market research company in 2008. It showed that the category Boats/Navy received 230 'total mentions' (1st choice 163-44%, 2nd choice 49-17% and 3rd choice 18-14%); in second place was Gunwharf Quays/Spinnaker Tower (separated in the 2010 reports) with 172 'total mentions' (1st choice 78-21%, 2nd choice 76-26% and 3rd choice 18-14%) and the third ranked attraction was Sea/Beaches with 118 'total mentions' (1st choice 51-14%, 2nd choice 46-16% and 3rd choice 21-16%). The Historic Dockyard was ranked fourth, but individual historic ships received no mentions in the thirty-four categories listed in the 2008 report (Tourism South East 2008, 21). From this perspective public awareness of individual ships within the Historic Dockyard has risen from 2008 to 2010.

4.4.7.5 Portsmouth Tourism Figures for 2008 & 2010

The results in Table 4 below reveal that Portsmouth's diversification has been successful and the city's drive to develop as an important tourist destination has taken shape. Portsmouth's economy now combines tourism, military and commercial port activities, a large international student community, as well as leisure and retail outlets. The original targets were to create 3,500 new jobs, increase local tourism to six million visitors per annum, with an additional £50 million added to the economy of Portsmouth, with an estimated three million retail visitors to the development of Gunwharf Quay. The reports by (Tourism South East (2008 & 2010) reveal that during 2010 there were 638,000 visits, which aggregated together totalled 2,026,000 overnight stays; spending £130,677,000 with an additional 7,828,000 day visitors spending a further £269,990,000. This represented 10,713 jobs, representing 9% of the working population of Portsmouth, a significant improvement on the income and employment that had been forecast as the 20th century came to a close. As a footnote to the figures above, Hampshire County Council published a fact sheet in 2011 that showed employment in Portsmouth's tourism industry had increased to 16.8% and was the most popular day visitor destination in the county, with Portsmouth Historic Dockyard and the Spinnaker Tower being the county's most visited individual attractions (Hampshire County Council 2011, 1 & 3).

Table 4 Economic impact of tourism on Portsmouth, 2008 and 2010. (two reports) Sources: South East Research Unit, Tourism South East).

Table 4. Description of the categories	2008	2010
Trips by staying visitors	628,000	638,000
Staying visitor nights	2,061,000	2,026,000
Spent (£) by staying visitors	£125,767,000	£130,677,000
Trips by tourism day visitors	7,423,000	7,828,000
Spent (£) by tourism day visitors	£250,044,000	£269,990,000
Spent by all visitors	£375,569,000	£400,676,000
Other tourism related spend (£)	£11,827,000	£12,018,000
Turnover by local businesses	£364,998,000	£386,916,000
Multiplier impacts **	£471,200,000	£550,498,000
Jobs supported by income	7,464 FTE	7,913 FTE
Actual jobs	10,142	10,713
Office of National Statistics – tourism related jobs in the district	8,800	No data
Percentage of all city jobs	No data	9%

**Economic multipliers are the consequential expenditures associated with the impact of economic activity of a particular business sector. They are divided into three effects: visitor expenditure that has a direct impact on a particular business in a sector such as the historic dockyard, expenditure having a relationship on the number of staff employed; secondly indirectly related to the purchase by the historic dockyard of additional goods and services relating to its operations that has an impact on the suppliers in the area and beyond, and thirdly the expenditure of the incomes derived from the historic ship by the employees and suppliers who spend their incomes on unrelated businesses in the area or elsewhere.

4.5 Renaissance of Chatham's Historic Dockyard

4.5.1 Evolutionary Change

Historical records of Chatham (Cetham), date to 880AD. It appears in the Domesday Book of 1086⁸. Chatham's connection with shipbuilding begins in the 16th century, although it is believed that the Romans and Saxons have maritime connections with the location. As a safe harbour on

the banks of the River Medway, it is well located lying approximately 32 miles South East of London with access to the sea subject to tidal conditions and from there to across the English Channel. It became a Royal Dockyard in 1567 during the reign of Elizabeth I and its most famous ship is HMS *Victory*, commissioned into the Royal Navy in 1778 becoming Nelson's flagship during the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. The construction of submarines began after the First World War and similar to Portsmouth described above, Chatham dockyard has historic fortifications surrounding it which helps to create a strong historic landscape. Chatham Dockyard was also a casualty of the defence review of 1981 closing in 1984, (HM Gov. 1981 p. 12) resulting in the loss of an estimated 7,000 jobs in the dockyard itself and a similar amount that were otherwise dependent on the dockyard (Chatham Maritime Trust 2014).

As a result of the navy's withdrawal, one third remained as a commercial port; one third was developed into housing and light business, with the remaining portion including the Georgian Dockyard passing to the stewardship of Chatham Historic Dockyard Trust, a charitable body. The area includes forty-seven monuments, scheduled under the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979* (HM Gov. 1979). Like Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, the Georgian buildings that comprise the naval dockyard invoke a strong sense of history and place. The charity has two stated core objectives:

‘to secure for the public benefit the preservation and use of the Historic Dockyard at Chatham in the County of Kent in a manner appropriate to its archaeological, historical and architectural significance and to promote and foster for the public benefit a wide knowledge and understanding of the archaeological, historical and architectural significance of the Historic Dockyard’ (Chatham Historic Dockyard Trust 2013).

The historic dockyard continues to receive an annual grant from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. However in common with other central government heritage funding, necessitated by the austerity measures due to the continuing poor economic situation, the annual sums are declining year on year: its ‘resource grant’ falling from £268, 000 in 2012-13; to £257,400 in 2013 to 2014 and originally to £250,000 in 2014-15 (DCMS 2012). These figures were then revised downwards twice to £245,000 for 2014-15 and to £224,000 in 2015-16, resultant fall of approximately 17% over the four years, but with an additional £100,000 ‘Capital grant’ (DCMS 2014c).

4.5.2 Chatham's Historic Dockyard Heritage Attractions

Chatham's dockyard contains several historic ships: HMS *Cavalier* a C-class destroyer constructed by J. Samuel White and Company at East Cowes, Isle of Wight in 1944. This vessel is considered a monument to the 143 destroyers and 11,000 associated crewmen lost during the Second World War; HMS *Ocelot*, an O-Class diesel-electric powered submarine in service between 1962 and 1991, the last submarine to be built in Chatham and HMS *Gannet*, classed as sloop, launched in 1878. All are listed on the National Historic Fleet Register. There are historic collections related to its maritime traditions such as the *Hearts of Oak*, which includes the *Wooden Walls* exhibition which features 600 hundred artefacts raised during the excavation of the wreck of HMS *Invincible* (1758), (Bingeman 1981; Bingeman & Mack 1997 Lavery 1988; 2010). Other attractions include a Victorian rope-walk and the Museum of the RNLI (Royal National Lifeboat Institution), the UK's voluntary lifeboat service. Like Portsmouth there is a range of attractions that combined, fill a day visit for a family group. Chatham Dockyard has additional housing and associated tenant businesses that are helping to create a new community.

4.5.3 Economic Impact of the Regeneration of Chatham Historic Dockyard

In 2012 the Heritage Lottery Fund, as the predominant funding body, commissioned a report to study the economic impact of the regeneration of the dockyard. The results show that the dockyard receives 160,000 visitors annually, a figure that includes 25,000 educational visits, 34,000 volunteer hours that as the various reports state contribute to personal capital and wellbeing. The economic benefits reveal that the dockyard has a minimum of 442.5 Full Time Equivalent (FTE) jobs, contributing £9.35 million to the economy of Chatham. An investment of £11.5 million from 2008-2011 has created a further 10 FTE jobs, with the direct impact of a further 78 jobs (FTE) and £206,000 in the Medway and 52 jobs (FTE) and almost £1 million in the rest of Kent. Visitors to the Dockyard contributed slightly more than £2.5 million to the local economy in 2011-12. It is envisaged that there is scope for additional expansion of the dockyard activities that could see an additional 462 jobs FTE in direct employment. Other unquantifiable but acknowledged benefits of the historic dockyard as a catalyst including the improvement in the perception of Chatham as a place (DC Research Economics and Regeneration 2012, 1).

It is planned to develop the historic dockyard by adding The Command of the Oceans Site Discovery Centre, to encompass ships timbers that were found under the floor of a dockyard building in 1995. The discovery was announced as 'the single most important warship discovery in Northern Europe since the *Mary Rose*' (Paterson 2012). The collection of structural timbers,

were only reliably associated to the *Namur* in 2012 (BBC 17 August 2012). The ship, constructed in Chatham around 1756 is believed to have been dismantled around 1830. Other developments include a 200 hundred bedroom hotel, 2000 square metres of new space to support creative businesses 400 square metres of space for small scale convenience retail to service the Dockyard and Chatham Maritime residents and businesses; additional retail space and cafes and bars to provide further options for the Dockyard and Chatham Maritime residents and businesses, with all the proposed developments bringing a further 750 jobs to the area (DC Research 2012, 14)

The dockyard management had ambitions to have the dockyard added to the list of World Heritage (UNESCO Tentative List 2013), believing that if successful the new status would raise international awareness providing new international marketing opportunities. The impact study showed that almost 80% of current visitors were local showing that the dockyard had the potential for expanding its 'further afield' category of visitors. The application for World Heritage status was declined on two occasions, first losing out to the Forth Road Bridge (Scotland) in 2012 and to the Lake District National Park (England) following a media announcement in February 2014.

A disappointed councillor reiterated the value of the dockyard, 'Chatham's Dockyard and its defences have an unrivalled and illustrious history and is the world's most complete example of an historic dockyard from the age of sail and early age of steam,' (The Independent 4 February 2014). The disappointment has since been cushioned by a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund of £4.5 million towards the £8.75 million for the development costs of the expansion project, *The Command of the Oceans* (HLF 29 November 2013b). The news was extensively reported nationally (BBC 29 November 2013b) and in the local Kent press (Hughes 2013).

A footnote to the regeneration appeared in the news in 2014. It highlighted the positives resulting from the closure of the naval base 31 March 1984. The article remembered the impact on a generation, which left 24% of the local population unemployed, whereas in 2014 that was now only 2.4%, seen as one of the most rapid turnarounds in the UK. Prof Richard Scase's (University of Kent) report concluded that the closure had forced the government into investing in regeneration and that this had, over the thirty years actually been beneficial to the area, 'economically, socially and culturally', having eliminated 'unhealthy, unsafe and inefficient jobs' (BBC 31 March 2014). From this it can be concluded that the government's regeneration policy as measured in 2014 had been a success Chatham.

4.6 Public Concern Extends to the Loss of Maritime Cultural Heritage

4.6.1 The Newport Ship

During the building of Newport's new Riverfront Theatre and Arts Centre In 2002 a 15th century vessel was discovered. It had construction piles piercing its structure, similar to the 'Blackfriars Ship' uncovered during construction work on a new London riverfront wall in 1960 (Marsden 1972, 130; 1986, 180; Milne 1996, 234). The Newport Ship is described as the 'most substantial late medieval vessel excavated and recovered in Britain in recent years' (Nayling and Jones 2014). The public played a pivotal role in the subsequent rescue of the hull and its associated contents, which are now undergoing recording and conservation.

When the vessel was first revealed during the construction it had already suffered damage from a number of concrete foundation piles that had punctured the hull. Time was granted for the recording of the hull, but no funds were originally made available for its recovery, nor for subsequent storage and conservation. An extract from an interview provides an insight into the public feeling at the time: "we've lost a lot of our history over the years by buildings being demolished, but it was as if the people of Newport said that we want to preserve this; this is our history" (Davies 2012).

Consequential of a vociferous and highly visible public 'Save Our Ship' campaign supported by archaeologists and heritage bodies, funds were found to remove most of the hull and the artefacts contained within and around it, before the construction continued. Although there are public open-days to view the conservation and associated research, consistent with the policy of utilising heritage to boost tourism, the longer-term intention is for a new museum in the city to house the conserved hull and artefacts.

This example shows what becomes possible once the public connects with their heritage, something that is much easier when they can see and perhaps even touch it, unlike with most UCH where they cannot. Guidance and support from archaeologists and heritage organisations are essential components to confirm the significance of the discovery and to ensure that the enthusiasm is channelled in the right direction. The event revealed the public's latent interest in all things historic, rather than the traditional architectural heritage that receives much of the public's attention.

4.6.1.1 Uncertain Future for the Newport Ship

Despite the apparent public support for the project, current economic difficulties, combined with policies aimed at economic sustainability, the future of some maritime heritage is threatened. The Newport Ship serves as an example. The current local government funding is due to be phased out, shrinking by £105,000 in 2014-15 and the remaining £145,000 in 2015-16 (Deans 2014). The ship's curators have already received a total of £8 million, with more than half coming from external grants. The funding has been, predominantly for the conservation of the two thousand ship's timbers and parts of four hundred objects. They are stored in industrial estate, the lease of which is due to end in October 2014. The facility is considered too large, so alternatives are being sought.

The council believe that a not for profit trust is a longer term solution, with a representative of the local council commenting that the *Mary Rose* and *SS Great Britain* serve as models, adding that local government did not usually get involved in such projects and the Heritage Lottery Fund won't support projects that are not viable (Welsh Government 2014). A recent circulation in the social media group LinkedIn has highlighted the loss of this funding from 2015 to 2016 budget, asking members of the group to sign a petition. It had been reported in December 2013 that 'nothing was off the table' (BBC December 2013) in terms of what would be cut to save £25 million from the Newport budget over the following four years.

In September 2014 it was reported by the BBC that the Welsh government had agreed to provide £20,000 for a further three years for the storage of the timbers while a longer-term solution could be found. The grant is conditional on 'the chosen storage providing adequate public access to the artefact with the site offering sufficient and continuing public access to the same or better level as is currently available at Maesglas [industrial estate]' (Welsh Government 2014). A significant statement included in the September news report demonstrated that the Newport Council recognised the ship's archaeological value stating that the cuts to the project would have made the council 'accountable for the destruction of one of the most remarkable archaeological finds of the last 50 years' (BBC 2014a), something that subsequent events showed that they were reluctant to do, but non the less its long term future seems to rest with new sources of public philanthropy rather than government funding.

International heritage projects are also under threat, with a not dissimilar situation in USA in relation to the temporary closure of the USS Monitor's⁹ wet conservation facility, citing a shortfall of federal funds. Following additional funding, with the possibility of further funding from the

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration which has been a funding partner for ten years, it was reopened after four months, but its long-term future has not yet been secured (King 8 May 2014).

4.6.2 City of Adelaide alias Carrick

4.6.1.1 History of the Ship

The *City of Adelaide*, or *Carrick* as she was officially registered prior to her return to Australia in 2014, dates from 1864. This is five years older than its more famous contemporary *Cutty Sark* that is under the auspices of Royal Museums Greenwich, London, a cluster of attractions that comprises the National Maritime Museum, Royal Observatory, Queen's House, as well as the *Cutty Sark*. As such, the *City of Adelaide* according to the National Historic Fleet is the world's oldest surviving clipper ship. Until her export and removal from the 'Fleet' she was considered one of the two hundred and six vessels that comprise the UK's National Historic Fleet. Among the comments from the Historic Fleet register's significance statement for the vessel:

'City of Adelaide is the oldest of only three surviving composite vessels and the earliest surviving clipper ship. She highlights the early fast passenger-carrying and general cargo trade to the Antipodes. Her composite construction illustrates technical development in 19th shipbuilding techniques and scientific progress in metallurgy and her self-reefing top sails demonstrate the beginnings of modern labour saving technologies and described by naval architect Harold Underhill as a finer model of the period than Cutty Sark' (National Historic Fleet - Archived status 2013).

She was a Grade A listed structure, a status assigned to 'buildings of national or international importance, either architectural or historic, or fine little-altered examples of some particular period, style or building type.' Of the 47,649 listed buildings in Scotland only 8% (3,811) are grade A' (Historic Scotland 2014a).

From 1864-1888 the *City of Adelaide* made more than twenty voyages, transporting nearly one thousand British, Irish, and European migrants, to South Australia. It is claimed that 20% of South Australians can trace their descendants to passengers arriving on board the *City of Adelaide* (BBC September 2013). Following her illustrious international role she was sold, becoming a hospital isolation vessel in Southampton, then purchased by the Admiralty in 1923, becoming HMS *Carrick* and converted to a training and drill ship, subsequently decommissioned in 1948, subsequently becoming a Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve Club of Glasgow' (National Historic Fleet 2014). In 1990, already a 'burden' (National Historic Fleet 2014) she was taken over by the Clyde Ship Trust,

inexplicably sinking at her moorings a year later. Encouraged by Historic Scotland and Strathclyde Regional Council she was raised and taken to the Scottish Maritime Museum.

She was opened to the public in 1995, but subsequent lack of funding from private sources and the loss of public funding the Scottish Maritime Museum applied in 2000, to demolish the ship. The North Ayrshire Council refused consent. Further applications were made to deconstruct the ship in 2006 with the intention of displaying the vessel at some future date. Following further discussions among the interested parties the decision was referred back to the Council. She has since further deteriorated and threatened to bankrupt the Museum, due to the mounting penalty fees associated with keeping the hulk on the Irvine slipway. DTZ¹⁰ were appointed by Historic Scotland in 2010 to assess the available options, in association with Sir Neil Cossons a former Chair of English Heritage.

The Scottish Culture Minister Fiona Hyslop made a statement about the vessel in response to a question from Irene Oldfather, clarifying the future of the vessel,

‘The Scottish Government has been working closely with a number of stakeholders to explore what realistic options exist for securing the future of this category A listed ship. Historic Scotland has recently commenced a detailed evaluation of possible options in order to help support the eventual decision-making process. These options are: removal to Sunderland; removal to Adelaide in South Australia; retention in an a different location in Scotland; and managed Deconstruction of the vessel...None of these options is straightforward, but by undertaking this exercise we will be able to take a fully informed and open decision as to the best outcome for the vessel.’ (Scottish Government 2010a)

4.6.1.2 Public Campaign to move the City of Adelaide in Sunderland

Historic ship enthusiasts from Sunderland using the title Sunderland City of Adelaide Recovery Fund abbreviated to SCARF wanted to return the vessel to the River Wear in Sunderland, in the north east of England, where the ship was built, to become the centrepiece of a floating maritime museum. The group’s attempts to raise funds for the transfer from Irvine Scotland to the River Wear and for the ship’s restoration were impeded by a feasibility study commissioned by the Sunderland City authorities. Although the text has not been found the findings were reported by the BBC which stated that it had been concluded that the new museum ‘could never service the cost of its restoration’ (BBC 6 June 2003a).

Noting the minister’s words SCARF’s proposal appears to have been categorised as being unsustainable. A more recent report commissioned by Historic Scotland (DTZ 2010) set out the

options. They were: do nothing that would result in further increases in the already large penalty payments due to the owners of the Irvine slip on which the ship was located, and further deterioration which would not improve the chances of future restoration; demolition without a recording programme; preservation by sectioning into more manageable pieces that could be rebuilt later; managed destruction, with two alternatives, keep a section that would 'evoke something of the essence of the historic vessel', or preserve by record alone or restoration to a 'known earlier state;' relocate to Sunderland where the ship was built and where there would be substantial public benefit, or relocate the ship to Australia (DTZ 2010, 16).

The Scottish Maritime Museum and Historic Scotland with advice from others such as the committee responsible for the National Historic Ships considered options that would provide for a viable future. These included national and international possibilities. All except the Australia option were considered to be unrealistic. The ambitious Australian proposal planned to transport the hull to Adelaide, South Australia. A tug-of-war developed between the English group wanting to keep the vessel and the reciprocal Australian organization under the banner 'Save the Clipper'. Although SCARF sought a last minute reversal of the export license ultimately the Australian campaign was successful. The Australian campaign's website homepage states that:

'as the only surviving sailing ship built to give regular passenger and cargo service between Europe and Australia, she represents a whole foundation era of Australian social and economic history. It is difficult to imagine a more vital icon of the making of modern Australia and of the relationship between Britain and the Australian colonies'. (Save the Clipper 2012).

The final berth for *the City of Adelaide* has been determined by the community that showed, through the raising of funds, with substantial help from the Australian government and reputedly a grant from the UK government towards the relocation, that the vessel is more significant to them than to their 'competitor' campaign.

The Director of the Historic Ships Register wrote to the Chief Inspector of Historic Scotland, offering advice (prior to and appended to the DTZ report) including the comment that the current economic difficulties had put additional pressure on the Heritage Lottery Fund to support other heritage projects where public funding support had been lost due to the current economic crisis. The *City of Adelaide* appeared in the BBC News in 2002, where it was announced that a feasibility plan had been commissioned to look in more detail at the potential of the ship. This was followed in 2003, by a further news release that stated the English plan was not deemed to be sustainable.

2002-3 was four years before the global economic crisis began. Therefore, irrespective of the financial crisis it is reasonable to assume that the economics of the *City of Adelaide* never made a good case for preservation and or restoration, or would become sustainable thereafter. A strong hint to the viability was based on possible tourist related factors that appears in the same letter. It states that the business acumen required to, 'running historic vessels as heritage businesses in order to secure their long-term future is exceedingly challenging and requires well-developed business planning based on a sound methodology, a realistic appreciation of the essential practicalities, and a strong market base' (DTZ 2010). The letter comments on the significance of the *City of Adelaide* coming to the conclusion that the vessel is arguably, of greater national significance to the UK than Australia, but regionally of greater significance to South Australia than either Irvine [Scotland] or Sunderland [England]. It should be noted that the letter from National Historic Ships director and secretary to the Advisory Committee, National Historic Ships is signed by Martyn Heighton, who spoke from personal experience, having been chief executive of the *Mary Rose Trust*.

Despite continuing opposition from the Sunderland based group the ship with financial support from the Scottish government and Australian based funds, on the 6th September 2013 was finally craned on to a barge. The vessel was towed to London as an interim step to the ship's relocation to South Australia (BBC 20 September 2013c).

4.6.1.3 Selected Public Comments on the DTZ Report

The group known as Sunderland City of Adelaide Recovery Fund (SCARF) expressed serious concerns about the decision making process, commenting that there were reports that the Scottish Government would pledge AUD\$1.5 (approximately £900k) to move the ship to Australia, some £278,400 more than was required to move the ship to Sunderland by current estimates:

'Seeing as it is British taxpayer money, shouldn't it be an investment for the British people [identifying a funding gap £1.3 million]. It seems to me that the NHS (National Historic Ships) is shooting themselves in the foot seeing as they are a body setup to preserve historic ships for the nation. Why did they not instead evaluate preservation and conservation in another location in Scotland? I'm sure Dundee would be proud to add a third Core Collection sailing ship (the other two being the HMS Unicorn and RRS Discovery) to their city. Such a union of historic tall ships would certainly be a major tourist draw. Sadly the short-sightedness of DTZ or their government mandate precluded such an option from even being considered' (Rescue - The British Archaeological Trust 2014).

It received 953 'views' but only 2 'likes' perhaps indicating that the level of local support, or interest was low.

Just as the clipper was due to leave Scotland there was a final twist in the story. The newly elected Australian government decided to review the plan. 'Plans to return the historic *City of Adelaide* clipper ship to South Australia are now in limbo as the new [Australian] Coalition government assesses the ship's heritage values' (Brombal 2013).

The sub-heading stated that the *City of Adelaide Preservation Trust* was promised AUD\$850,000 (£440,000) from the previous Labour government, to cover the cost of its journey from the UK to Adelaide. As a result of the pending election, the government went into 'caretaker mode' and froze the release of the funds. Following the announcement that there was to be a review of the Australian government's financial commitment to support the return of the *City of Adelaide*, the South Australian public responded showing on balance support for the relocation and the expenditure of the money, but not without opposition, with some suggesting alternatives. Among those being in favour of the move, there are several comments that focus on their personal visits to the *SS Great Britain*, *Cutty Sark* and *Mary Rose*, with one person stating that the *Mary Rose* was different, 'It [*Mary Rose*] was the flagship of Henry 8th, if I am correct, and came from a bygone era [seemingly to emphasise its importance]. This [*City of Adelaide*] is just the rotting hulk of a vessel which carried some passengers out here.' Another suggested using the money to save the *One and All* as a living piece of maritime history. These public comments and those listed in Table 5 below have to be considered emotive and without the full knowledge of the level of expenditure required to restore or as in the case of the *Cutty Sark* being for all intents and purposes re-built, quite aside from the continuing maintenance which accompanies historic ships. Staniforth (2008) reminds us that ships and boats were not meant to last forever. 'Unlike buildings, the accepted working life is only some 30 years: they were not and still are not built for the long term', a reminder that vessels require regular, even constant care.

4.6.1.4 Key Factors in the Decision Making Process

There are two pre-eminent factors in the decision making process: first to protect the financial integrity of the Scottish Maritime Museum and its National Collection. Prior to the transfer of the *City of Adelaide* the debt due to the harbour's owners in Irvine was £500,000, which exceeded the museum's own reserve fund, and secondly avoiding the ship's loss, noting the vessel's national significance and taking into account the public benefit which are specified as the possibilities associated with interpretation and the related educational benefits of the *City of*

Adelaide and its inherent heritage. Although the UK's actors in this story all recognised the ship's significance, either regionally or nationally to two countries, the decision to re-locate the ship to South Australia was taken. It resolved Scotland's problem, in so far as removing the ship as a continuing threat to their national maritime collection, but it also removed the ship as an option for future development in Scotland or Sunderland, something that was the prime aim of the Sunderland campaign.

Table 5 Public comments for or against the importation of the clipper *City of Adelaide*. Source *Herald Sun National News Historic City of Adelaide clipper ship journey home to SA in limbo over heritage assessment* (Brombal 2013).

Table 5. POSITIVE COMMENTS	NEGATIVE COMMENTS
<p>'Being the oldest surviving clipper, it could have excellent tourism value if it's restored. That is one area we have sadly missed out on in South Australia. We are going to need every opportunity to bring money into the state if we want a prosperous future.'</p>	<p>'Just how is this old hulk a priority to our community? Better health care and education, yes, but not this...'</p>
<p>'Last year I was lucky enough to be in the United Kingdom & visit the Cutty Sark at Greenwich & it was swarming with people visiting the ship. It was a huge tourist attraction set in a lovely area. This ship needs to be put on display at Port Adelaide & it will really add to the historical significance of the Port...'</p>	<p>'When we are cutting down on health services all the time, - and cutting down jobs in these health services, why are we contemplating spending nearly a \$1 million on an old hulk of a ship that has very little meaning to most people in South Australia?? All it did was carry passengers to South Australia - it wasn't in some famous battle. A total and inappropriate waste of money when this state can't even afford to employ the nurses it needs in its hospitals.'</p>
<p>'The telling of the story of the free settlers of Adelaide is better understood with relics that you can touch and imagine making the journey half way round the world to start a new life. History teaches us lessons about our society and culture. If we cannot value these relics by preservation, how can we explain the value of our culture?'</p>	
<p>'Bring it home and refurbish it as a tourist attraction. We have few artefacts from our maritime history in this state despite the magnificent job the Maritime Museum does. I have no doubt a team of volunteers will do the major part of the refurbishment. I'll volunteer.'</p>	
<p>'I find it interesting that some who would question the value of this endeavour are probably the first to complain over the 'state of our children's education' and that they 'know nothing of their Countries History'. The English Pulled the Mary Rose of the seabed of the Solent and now have yet another Masterpiece of living history to 'regale the World's population with, whilst digging deeply into its pockets, the T-shirt sails alone. Sure it's a wreck now, but what's so wrong with rebuilding this ship with apprenticed trades and craftsmen.'</p>	

What needs to be recognised is that in the case of the *City of Adelaide*, the Scottish government ultimately took a decision to give the ship a chance of survival, rather than take an easier and less expensive option to preserve the ship purely by record. This decision, if the claims about the Scottish government subsidising the ship's removal are accurate, cost a substantial sum of money, but it demonstrated that it cared enough about the *City of Adelaide* as a nationally significant vessel to provide it with a future.

4.6.1.5 City of Adelaide in South Australia

The Australian recipients consider themselves to be the new and rightful custodians of the ship who propose to preserve, rather than restore the ship, using the *Mary Rose* and *Vasa* as examples, perhaps suggesting that preservation was a less expensive option than restoration, or is this just a strategy to allay public fears of the true costs of the project that are likely to be high? It is very possible that the arrival of the ship in South Australia will boost local awareness. This would provide the important ingredient of a local connection to the ship, leading to support for restoration, going beyond the initial preservation that was a missing component in the Sunderland based group's attempts to keep the ship. Using the economic models that exist for the other historic ships such as the *Cutty Sark*, *SS Great Britain* and *Mary Rose* substantial investment will be necessary. Although never directly attributed to an existing Scottish policy, the transfer of the *City of Adelaide* reflects an established English policy of asset disposal. Local authorities have the option and a policy guidance document that allows the disposal of assets including historic buildings, monuments, memorials, archaeological remains, designed landscapes, battlefields and wrecks' (DCMS 2010a, 1.2).

The guidance is comprehensive and while much of it is about achieving best price it is important to recognise that the policy should not be considered wanton sale for best price. Heritage assets need sustainable ownership. The following extract from the key points of the asset disposal policy illustrates the point that there should wherever possible be a sustainable future for the disposed asset, which does seem to have been a fundamental concern in the transfer of the *City of Adelaide* to South Australia. 'Departments should take reasonable steps to ensure that purchasers of vulnerable heritage assets have the resources to maintain them. Alternative methods of disposal other than open market sale may need to be considered to ensure appropriate ownership' (DCMS 2010a, 6).

The *City of Adelaide* arrived in Adelaide, South Australia on the 3rd February 2014, witnessed by a 'crowd lining the shipping channel at Outer Harbour on its way to temporary berth at nearby Port Adelaide' (ABC News 2014). Even the informed differ in their opinion as to whether the ship has a sustainable future with Staniforth (pers. comm. 2014) believing it didn't, due largely to the size of the local population not being able to sustain sufficient visitors year on year, while Sutcliffe (pers. comm. 2014) believing that it did based on a belief that the local organisation were shrewd business people (Sutcliffe pers. comm. 2014).

4.7 Monitoring the Progress of Cultural Heritage Tourism

Between 2010 and 2013 the tourism sector, within which cultural heritage tourism forms a part, has grown the most quickly of the UK's economic sectors and has contributed 30% of all new employment. Total employment in the sector stood at 3.1 million people, equivalent to 9.1 % of the total work force. The forecasted contribution to the UK economy for 2013 was £127 billion (£58 billion directly and £68.9 billion indirectly). This total is divided between, Northern Ireland, £2.1 billion; London, £27.3 billion; Rest of England, £66.9 billion; Wales, £6 billion and Scotland, £10.9 billion, (Deloitte & Oxford Economics November 2013, which remain the figures quoted by *Visit Britain* in December 2014).

The scope of the surveys include: global markets to enable the measurement of the UK's comparative performance, projections and trends. They are subsequently distilled into different sectors of tourism and presented by *Visit England*, with broadly similar organisations for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Figures specific to the English Cultural Heritage sector are presented by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport in collaboration with the Arts Council (England), Sport England and English Heritage.

4.7.1 Department for Culture, Media and Sport Quarterly Statistical Release - England

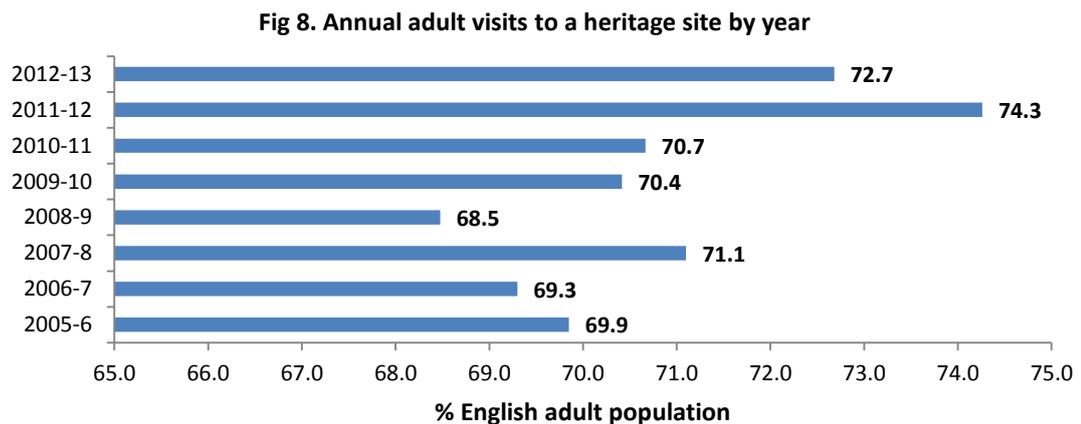
These *Taking Part* surveys undertaken by commercial market research companies sample all social sectors of society and geographic regions of the England. Statistics have been produced quarterly since 2005. The cultural sector includes: arts, museums and galleries, archives, libraries and heritage. The meta-data that accompanies the statistical release (DCMS 2014d) states that the results were based on a sample of 10,355 participants, taken between April 2013 and March 2014.

The following figures are based on the Acorn system, a geo-demographic representation, which divides society into a hierarchical structure. At the top of the structure there are six main categories: 'wealthy achievers'; 'urban prosperity'; 'comfortably off'; 'moderate means'; 'hard pressed' and 'not urban households'. If required these can be further broken down forming 62 types aggregated into 18 Acorn groups and for more detailed analysis there are approximately '300 detailed micro-segments' (CACI Ltd 2014).

4.7.1.1 Visits to heritage places – adult population

Visits to heritage places shown in figure eight revealed that 72.7% of adults made at least one visit to a heritage place during 2012-2013, representing an overall increase of a slightly more than 3% since 2005-2006 when the surveys commenced, noting that there was a statistically relevant decrease since 2011/12 when it was 74.3%, which represents the peak since 2005-2006.

Figure 8. Annual adult visits to heritage sites in England. Source (DCMS Statistical Release 2014d)

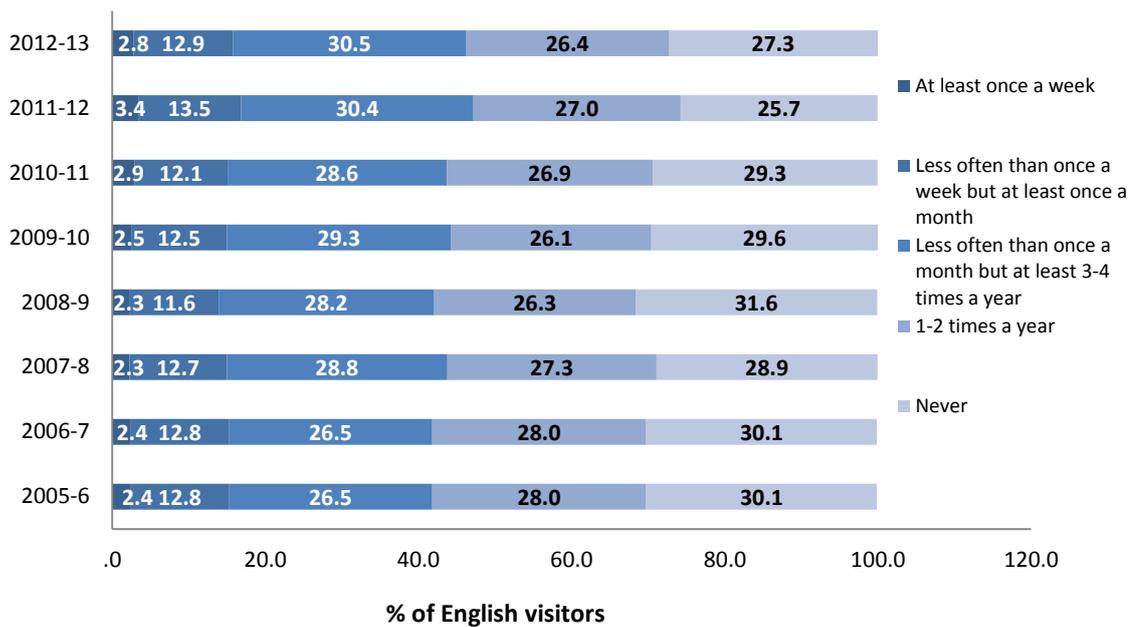


4.7.1.2 Frequency of heritage visits – adult population

Almost 31% of adults had visited a heritage site at least three or four times a year, figure 8, trending upwards showing a rise of over a quarter (27%) since 2005-2006. The number of adults 'never' having visited a heritage site during the year had fallen since 2005-6, indicating that more people were engaged with heritage. Although down from the peak in 2011-12 more visits were made to heritage sites on a weekly basis.

Figure 9. Frequency of visits of English adults to heritage sites between 2005-6 and 2012-2013. Source DCMS Statistical Release 2014d.

Fig 9. Frequency of attendance to heritage visits from 2005- and 2012-13

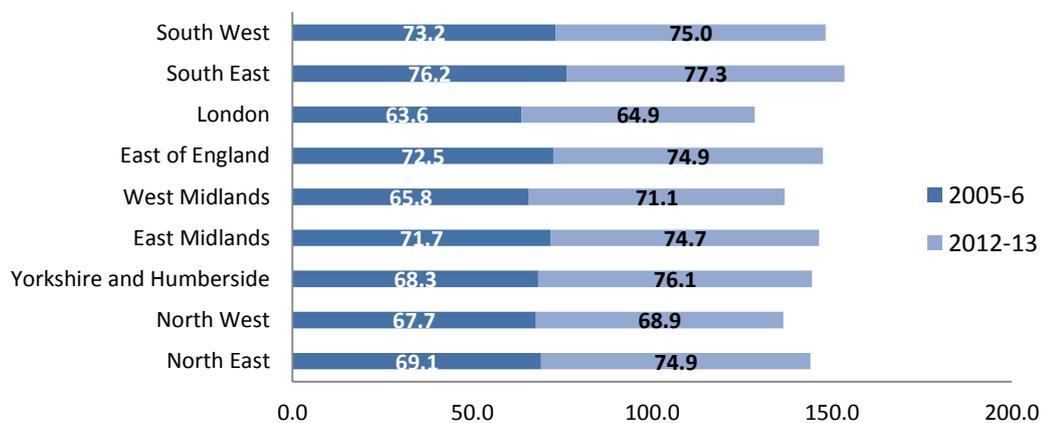


4.7.1.3 Regional Distribution 2005-2013: divided by English region

The figures above can be further refined to show regional distribution of visits to heritage attractions divided into the English regions, shown in figure ten. Of particular interest in these results is the significant growth in the North East and West Midland regions with respective rises of nearly 4% and 4.2%. These regions have not traditionally been known for their engagement with heritage, unlike the South East which has always shown most strongly.

Figure 10. Regional variation in annual heritage visits divided by the English regions from 2005-2006 and 2012-2013. Source DCMS Statistical Release 2014d.

Fig 10. Percentage change of visits by English region between 2005-6 and 2012-13



4.7.1.4 Digital engagement – adult population

Digital engagement via website access showed: museums/galleries, 27.5%; libraries, 14.2%; heritage, 27.4%; the arts, (music, theatre, dance, visual arts & literature) 25.1%; archive or records offices, 11.6% and sport, 35.8% had all declined by approximately 2% or more since their peaks in 2012-2013. More than 60% had used a heritage website to plan a visit; approximately 50% for educational purposes; around 25% for entry ticket purchases, and over 15% to take a 'virtual tour' of a site. Less than 2% engaged with the forums; 28% visiting a heritage related website (18% in 20005-2006). Volunteering and donations to the DCMS' sectors had also declined (DCMS [Statistical Release] 2014).

4.7.1.5 Volunteer Events & Membership of Heritage Organisations

England's most popular events (when the figures are aggregated) are the Heritage Open Days that in 2012 attracted two million participants at 4,648 sites, over 43% which were normally closed to the public, with 16% waiving their normal entrance fees. The events are coordinated by more than 51,000 local organisers (Heritage Alliance 2012). The local benefit estimated by the Norwich Heritage Economic and Regeneration Trust, was £775,725 from approximately 43,000 visitors (Heritage Alliance 2012, 4).

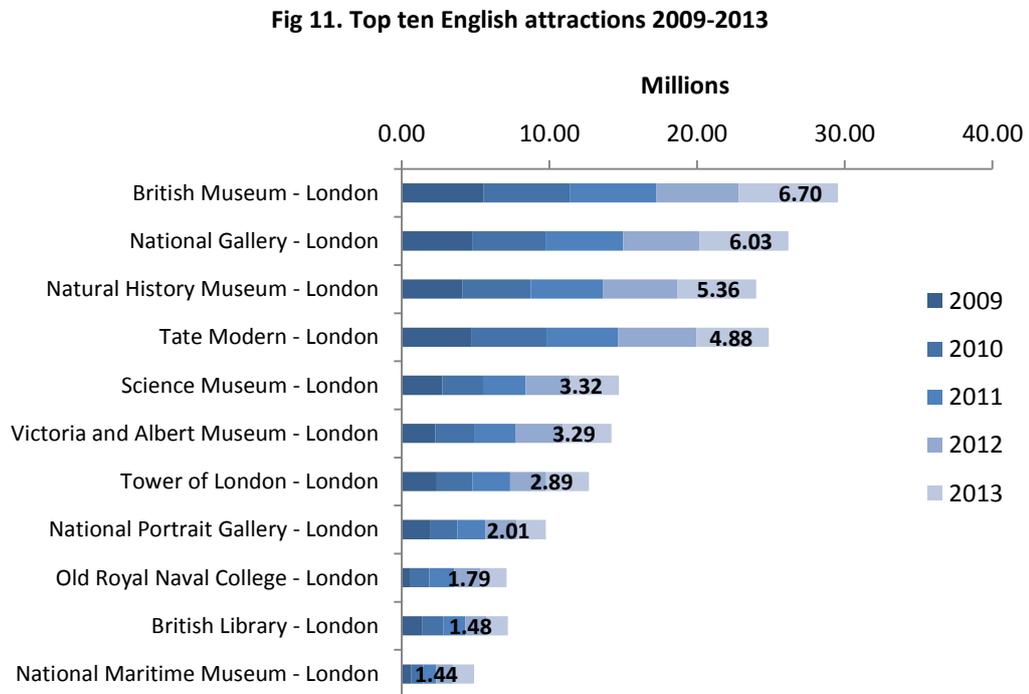
English Heritage had more than 831,000 individual members and when aggregated with its corporate membership, more than a 1.1 million in 2012. The National Trust had almost 4 million members in 2012-13 (National Trust 2014). The figures represent rises in the membership of English Heritage by more than 70% and the National Trust by 31% since 2001 (English Heritage [Heritage Counts] 2011). When aggregated throughout England it is estimated that there were more than 530,000 volunteers acting in various roles.

4.7.1.6 Individual Attractions 2009-2013 (Visit England) – Figure 11

Using figures from *Visit England* it is possible to show the most popular attractions in England, and compare them to the most popular maritime heritage attractions. The original file has 1,195 listings. Extracting the results of the top ten attractions from 2009 to 2013 they are the: British Museum (6,701,036), National Gallery (6,031,574), Natural History Museum (5,536,884), Tate Modern (4,884,939), Science Museum (3,316,000), Victoria and Albert Museum (3,290,500), Tower of London (2,894,698), National Portrait Gallery (2,014,636), Old Royal Naval College (1,788,712), British Library (1,475,382), and National Maritime Museum (1,437,725). All are

located in London. The figures in brackets represent the number of visits to each of the exhibits in millions in 2013.

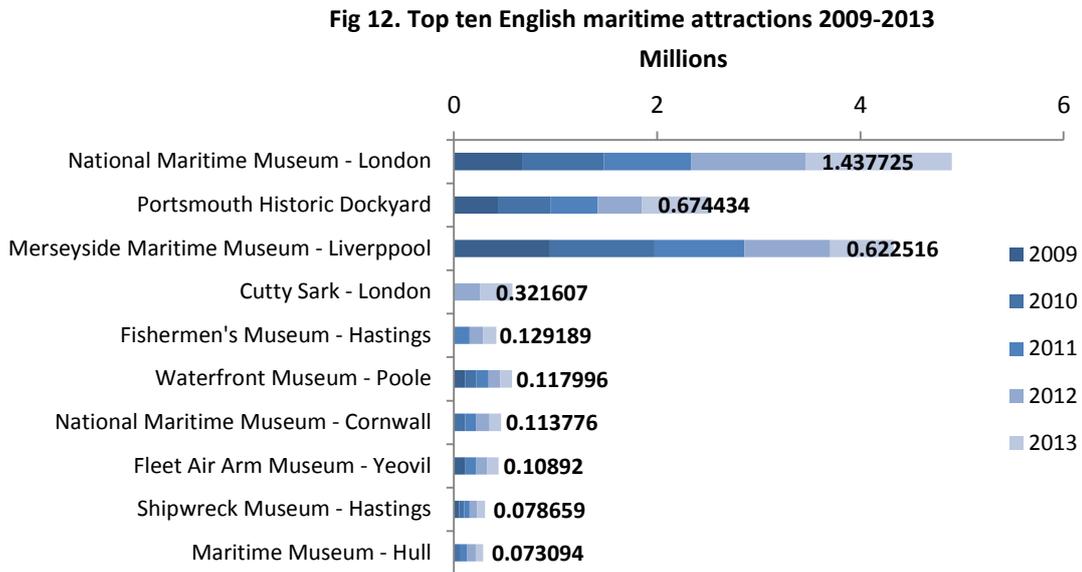
Figure 11. Top ten English attractions 2009-2013. Source Visit England annual survey of visitor attractions.



4.7.1.7 Popularity of Maritime Heritage 2009 - 2013

Figures extracted from the same source figure 12 shows the ten most popular English maritime attractions¹¹. They are ranked as follows: National Maritime Museum, London (1,137,725); Portsmouth Historic Dockyard (674,434); Merseyside Maritime Museum (622,516); *Cutty Sark*, London (321,607); Fishermen's Museum, Hastings (129,189); Waterfront Museum, Poole, Dorset (113,996); National Maritime Museum Cornwall, (113,776); Fleet Air Arm, Yeovilton (109,920); Shipwreck Museum, Hastings, (78,659); and Maritime Museum, Hull (73,094). Figures in brackets represent the number of visits in 2013.

Figure 12. Top Ten English Maritime Visitor Attractions. Source Visit England annual survey of visitor attractions.



Their positions relative to the full list are: National Maritime Museum, 20th; Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, 48th; Merseyside Maritime Museum, 52nd; *Cutty Sark*, 117th; Fishermen's Museum, 249th; Waterfront Museum, 267th; National Maritime Museum Cornwall, 272nd; Fleet Air Arm, 284th; Shipwreck Museum, 347th and Maritime Museum, Hull, 370th.

The two most significant observations are that all, except the National Maritime Museum and *Cutty Sark* are outside London and distributed around the country and secondly that the number of visitors is significantly lower, with the lowest ranking attraction, Hull's Maritime Museum with slightly more than 73,000 visitors.

4.7.1.8 Historic Properties – Aggregated Visitor Numbers by Category

The growth in public interest is evident in other annual surveys aimed at identifying the trends in different categories of visitor attractions. For the purposes of the survey, the definition of a visitor attraction is:

'...an attraction where it is feasible to charge admission for the sole purpose of sightseeing. The attraction must be a permanently established excursion destination, a primary purpose of which is to allow access for entertainment, interest, or education and can include places of worship (but excludes small parish churches); rather than being primarily a retail outlet or a venue for sporting, theatrical, or film performances. It must be open to the public, without prior booking, for published periods each year, and should be capable of attracting day visitors or tourists as well as local

residents. In addition, the attraction must be a single business, under a single management, so that it is capable of answering the economic questions on revenue, employment etcetera' (BDRC Continental 2011).

Although the data contained within the report does not enable the separation of individual heritage attractions, the figures do include historic ships and coastal attractions. Almost 800 historic visitor properties provided information for 2010, sub-divided into: castles/forts; gardens; historic houses; historic monuments (includes archaeological sites); visitor/heritage centres (includes cultural interpretation centres); places of worship; and other historic properties which include historic ships and coastal features.

Table 6 shows numbers and profiles of visits to heritage sites, as well as the trend changes from 2009 to 2010 (BDRC Continental 2011). The survey includes trends since the surveys began in 1989, showing by 2010 an increase in visits to all but one heritage category, places of worship which saw a decline of more than 20%, with two categories, historic monuments and other historic properties, growing by 36% and 58% respectively, which overall shows an increase of 19% in numbers between 1989 and 2010 (BDRC Continental 2011).

Table 6 Numbers and profiles of visits to heritage sites in 2009-2010 & trend changes.

Source: BDRC Continental 2011.

Table 6. Category:	Sample	% of Visits	Average. No of Visits	Total Visits	% change 2009 to 2010
Castle/forts	92	10	53,000	4,895,000	-4
Gardens	109	17	79,000	8,586,000	-6
Historic houses	251	34	69,000	17,277,000	+2
Historic monuments	51	6	58,000	2,942,000	+2
Visitor/heritage centres	83	6	39,000	3,240,000	-3
Places of worship	121	20	83,000	9,989,000	+4
Other historic properties	80	7	44,000	3,498,000	+30
Total	787	100	64,000	50,435,000	+2

4.7.1.9 Demographics of Heritage

The following charts (Figs, 13-16) illustrate some of the categorisation that has been developed using the Acorn (2014) system of social categorisation. Accepting that they are helpful

in determining who visits heritage, they serve as a useful tool in determining why some heritage attractions are more likely to be popular in a given location against those that will not.

Figure 13. Heritage visits by social status - % (2012-13)

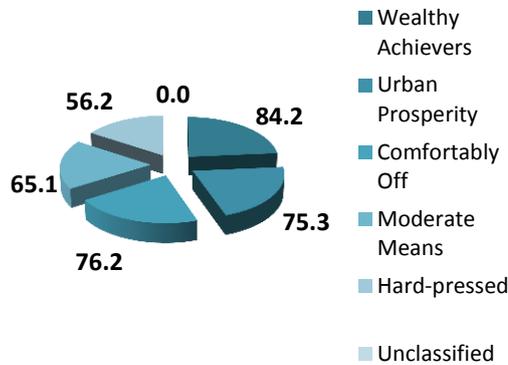


Figure 14. Heritage visits by age - % (2012-13)

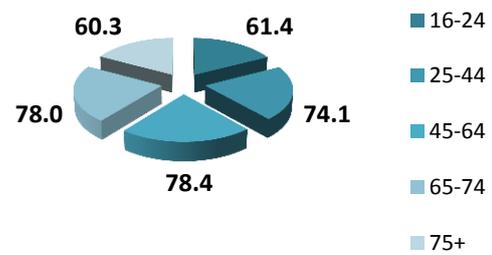


Figure 15. Heritage visits by gender - % (2012-13)



Figure 16. Visits to heritage by ethnicity - % (2012-2013)



This demographic information can be related to Portsmouth Historic Dockyard featured earlier. It covers, not only the point that local people connect with local heritage and that the demographic profile of the eight million visitors to the shopping complex Gunwharf Quays, but that 68.8% of visitors are from the three most affluent ACORN categories . This visitor profile closely matches the sector of the population that is most likely to visits heritage sites, with the Historic Dockyard being less than a five minute walk from Gunwharf Quays and a public transport hub.

4.8 The Ideal Heritage Site

In respect to the latter point, research by MORI (2003) in response to the *Historic State of the Environment Report (2002)* recommendation that more needed to be done to understand who was engaged with heritage was to establish to what extent it was possible to identify the ideal heritage site. The social definitions used for the study were: A - Upper middle class - Higher managerial, administrative or professional; B - Middle Class Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional; C1 - Lower Middle Class - Supervisor or clerical and junior; C2 Skilled Working Class; Skilled manual workers; D Working Class - Semi-and unskilled manual

workers; E Those at the lowest levels of subsistence - State pensioners etc. with no other earnings.

Table 7 Social classifications of the study groups.

Table 7. Town	Sample	Age
Bradford	C1, C2 Pakistani Muslims	Aged 16-24 females
		Aged 25-44 males (with kids in h/h)
West London	C1, C2, DE Afro-Caribbean	Aged 25-44 (with kids in h/h)
		Aged 45+ (with/without kids in h/h)
Camborne, Cornwall	C2, DE White	Aged 25-44 (with kids in h/h)
		Aged 45+ (without kids in h/h)

4.8.1 The Ideal Location

One of the Cornish groups started by discussing what represented to them the ideal facility to reflect their heritage. They came up with a range of requirements. Such a facility wasn't discussed directly in London or Bradford, but where possible, the table overleaf outlines what the ideal local sites might look like. With Cornwall's intimate relationship with the sea, natural environment and its heritage this is reflected by the mention of shipbuilding and wrecking as being locally of interest.

Table 8 The report found that for the study groups, the following represented the ideal local heritage site. In the report it was established that ethnic minorities did not feel that their heritage was well represented.

Table 8. Feature	Cornwall	Bradford	London
Name	Cornwall (or Kernow) Centre	-	-
Access	Local and well served by public transport	Local or served by organised trips from the community	London based
Historical scope	Prehistoric times to modern day	Early Pakistani history through to immigration and settlement in the UK	Early black history through to immigration and settlement in the UK
Type of building	In or near a historic building, probably a mine	In or near a historic building, probably a mill	-
Coverage	Industrial past from agriculture and fishing to mining (tin, copper and silver), steam, ship building and even wrecking . The history of tourism would also be of interest Local family names, their distribution through time and their meanings Section on Cornish language	Religion History of the mills Racism, integration and assimilation especially Pakistani's contribution to the local area Section on Asian languages	Food Dress Music Contribution of black people and black culture to Britain
Cost	Cheap or free to local people	-	-

4.9 Chapter summary - Regeneration of the Historic Environment

Since the late 1990s the UK has undergone a process of social and infrastructure regeneration. The main goals are repeatedly mentioned throughout government policy documents. Maritime heritage has been included, adding to a sense of place, public wellbeing

and identity in various locations around the UK. In respect to the Newport Ship the local people 'spoke' vociferously demanding its rescue. First hand contact and or associated media exposure generated a large amount of public support. The *Mary Rose* and other historic ships have been strong recipients of financial aid from the Heritage Lottery Fund and private sources. The *Mary Rose*, may have made an inadvertent, but significant contribution that has done little to influence government in providing central funds for UCH. Marsden commented that the project was successful:

'...in achieving the ideals of investigation, preservation and public presentation of maritime heritage, thought to be unattainable in the private sector...at a time when other historic shipwrecks such as the *Association* (1707) and the Dutch East Indiaman *Hollandia* (1743) were having the collections sold by auction...' (Marsden, Sealed by Time 2003, 143).

The project therefore demonstrated that its aims could be achieved with very little government funding and suggests that the project has become sustainable. This is not quite true, at least so far. What should be taken into account is that while there has been very limited direct government funding, the HLF which is a strategic partner in the government's heritage policy has contributed over £30 million since the ship's recovery in 1982, with around £25 million of this figure contributing to the development of the new museum that aims to achieve sustainability as an attraction.

The renaissance of Portsmouth and the Historic Dockyard, of which the Mary Rose Museum forms a part, fits perfectly into the model of heritage contributing to economic growth, linked to the regeneration of Portsmouth, partly through tourism, education and sense of [historic] place within the Historic Dockyard, taking full advantage of millions of visitors. It should be made clear that the *Mary Rose* was not in itself the catalyst for the regeneration, but merely formed part of an attractive package along with other historic ships and buildings in a city that had an existing touristic base (among other industries). The catalyst was the declining military presence in Portsmouth, with the consequential need to regenerate, socially and economically and the efforts of a group of influential residents who want to improve the city.

It is therefore perhaps fortunate that the *Mary Rose*, undeniably important for its contribution to our knowledge of Tudor society, was already recovered and in a museum that as part of the Historic Dockyard already attracted many thousands of visitors per annum. It is questionable that had the ship been discovered in the first decades of the 21st century when the regeneration process had begun to mature and stall due to the continuing austerity restrictions, whether funds, private or otherwise would have been found for its excavation and recovery. This would have

been further complicated by the change in diving safety legislation would have made it very difficult for the hundreds of volunteers to participate. Wright (2009) has suggested that the project and eventual recovery of the *Mary Rose*, all be it accidentally, was coincidental with the Thatcher government's conflict in the Falklands and helped symbolise the re-synthesis of the country's sense of national identity. He identifies 'we' in the phrase 'this is first time that "we" have seen the *Mary Rose* in 437 years, a single word that bonded the nation and removed the intervening period linking the present [1982] with the glorious past of Henry VIII.

It is difficult to judge the validity of the claim, but the project did capture the imagination of the public with media acting as the mechanism to raise public consciousness of the ship and project. During the recovery there was a world-wide audience of 60 million, a level of public awareness that has rarely if ever been superseded in the UK, or indeed anywhere.

In the Historic Dockyard and elsewhere, new attractions have tended to be of a historic nature, not additional shipwrecks. In the UK, aside from the Newport Ship that serves as an exception, only parts of ship's structure and artefacts have been recovered and integrated into museum displays. These include the bronze-age collection from the *Salcombe Cannon* site off Prawle Point, Devon (see site description DCMS 2010b), now housed in the British Museum, the carved ornamental sections of ships structure from the HMS *Colossus*, Scilly Islands (see site description EH 2010b), the *Swash Channel* (see site description DCMS 2010b) wreck in Poole Harbour, Dorset, as well as the recovery of a cannon and gun carriage from the *Stirling Castle*, Goodwin Sands, Kent (see site description DCMS 2010b). In general these are small manageable objects or collections, rather than resulting from large-scale projects such as *Mary Rose*.

In light of government's financial austerity targets, difficult choices have been made about the future of heritage, including maritime heritage such as in the case of the *City of Adelaide*. The hull was exported to South Australia despite its acclaimed national significance to the UK. This solution was believed to be the vessel's best hope of a sustainable future. The plan is to utilise the ship as a historic heritage attraction, to add to Australia's existing collection. The successful Australian group claim that the ship is now in its rightful place having played a role in the migration of Europeans to South Australia. No doubt the group in Sunderland would argue differently. Public responses to the vessel's arrival although mixed, on balance, show support for the project. In the continuing difficult economic circumstances the restoration of the ship will undoubtedly face challenges. The Australian campaign is in contrast to the UK, where there was a notable lack of large-scale public support for its continuing existence either in Irvine, Scotland where the ship was located, or in Sunderland, the place of its construction. Although there may be some expressions

of regret at the outcome the trustees of the National Museum of Scotland, will be relieved that a threat to its national collection has been removed.

Consequently while some historic ships have benefitted from the regeneration of maritime places, the country's designated and therefore nationally important shipwrecks have remained largely *in situ*. This would be perfectly acceptable and good management had they been stored for future generations in a way that would ensure their longevity, as well as retaining their memory in the consciousness of the population.

As the figures above illustrate, there is huge public interest in heritage. It seems clear that where projects can demonstrate their potential for social or economic value and be sustainable and are therefore in-line with current government policy, funding can be made available.

In the following chapter there are three themes, the emergence of nautical archaeology in the UK; advocacy for protective heritage legislation and raised stakeholder awareness resulting from events or initiatives relative to the UK's UCH.

¹ Tourism is one of the six largest industries, with an estimated £90bn (USD\$140bn) contribution, 200,000 businesses, and 4.4% of all UK jobs.

² The Historic Environment is used by English Heritage to describe: historic buildings both statutorily listed or of more local significance; scheduled monuments and other archaeological remains; conservation areas; historic landscapes, including registered parks, gardens, registered battlefields and designated or scheduled maritime sites.

³ HMS *Vernon* was a shore establishment sometimes referred to as a 'stone frigate' of the Royal Navy. *Vernon* was established 26 April 1876 as the Royal Navy's Torpedo Branch and operated until 1 April 1996, when the various elements comprising the establishment were split up and moved to different commands.

⁴ Priddy's Hard Fort was built on land purchased in 1750 by George III and has been a military ordnance depot since 1764, until its closure in 1988.

⁵ Royal Clarence Yard was a victualing yard from the 18th century until its closure in the late 1990s.

⁶ National Historic Ships UK is an independent organisation that receives grant support from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. Its responsibilities include: provision of advice to, 'UK government, local authorities and funding bodies' (National Historic Ships). 1991 was a pivotal year when the preservation issues facing historic vessels and their decay prompted action. It provides support infrastructure for historic ships, analysis on their 'wider economic, social and community context, and maintaining a watch list of vessels abroad with potential UK significance' (National Historic Ships).

⁷ The physical description of the limits of the Dockyard Port: 'includes all the waters from Cowes in the west to Hayling Island down to Sandown Bay in the East with the single exception of Bembridge Harbour' (Queen's Harbour Master 2014). Available from: <<http://www.qhm.mod.uk/portsmouth/port/>>. [26 September 2014].

The geographical coordinates, for the purposes of the Act and of this Order the limits of the Dockyard Port of Portsmouth shall be as follows—

(a) on the east and south, a line from a point on the line of mean high-water springs at Eastney Point in latitude 50° 47' 12" north longitude 01° 01' 47" west on a true bearing of 120° for a distance of 2.50 nautical miles to a point in latitude 50° 45' 57" north longitude 00° 58' 22" west, thence on a true bearing of 187 1/2° for a distance of 7.83 nautical miles to a point in latitude 50° 38' 12" north longitude 01° 00' 00" west, thence on a true bearing of 270° for a distance of 6.40 nautical miles to a point on the line of mean high-water springs in Sandown Bay in latitude 50° 38' 12" north longitude 01° 10' 03" west;

(b) on the south west, the line of mean high-water springs along the eastern and northern shores of the Isle of Wight from the aforementioned point in Sandown Bay to a point at Old Castle Point in latitude 50° 45' 56.3" north longitude 01° 16' 28.0" west with all bays, creeks, lakes, pools and rivers as far as the tide flows between those points except that between Bembridge Point and Old St. Helen's Church the limit of the Dockyard Port shall be the outer limit of Bembridge Harbour;

(c) on the west, a line from the aforementioned point at Old Castle Point on a true bearing of 000° for a distance of 0.14 nautical miles to a point in latitude 50° 46' 04.7" north longitude 01° 16' 28.0" west, thence on a true bearing of 022° for a distance of 3.15 nautical miles to a point on the line of mean high-water springs at Hillhead in latitude 50° 48' 59.5" north longitude 01° 14' 35.9" west; and

(d) on the north, the line of mean high-water springs from the aforementioned point at Hillhead to the aforementioned point at Eastney Point in latitude 50° 47' 12" north longitude 01° 01' 47" west with all bays, creeks, lakes, pools and rivers as far as the tide flows between those points except that in Ports Creek the north east limit of the Dockyard Port shall be the western side of the railway bridge in approximately latitude 50° 50' 00" north longitude 01° 03' 10" west, (STATUTORY INSTRUMENTS 2005 No. 1470 HARBOURS, DOCKS, PIERS AND FERRIES

The Dockyard Port of Portsmouth Order 2005).

Available from: <<http://www.qhm.mod.uk/portsmouth/regulations/dppo>>. [26 September 2014]

⁸ The Domesday Book contains the records of 13,418 settlements that were south of the English-Scottish border delineated by the Ribble and Tees rivers.

⁹ The USS *Monitor* was the first iron-clad constructed for the Union Navy, launched in 1862. She was lost off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, 31 December 1862. Discovered in 1973, the wreck suffered from salvage activity, and was created as a National Marine Sanctuary in 1975, and is under NOAA's management. Several expeditions have resulted in hundreds of artefacts and the recovery of the ship's 1,120 ton turret in 2001, which is being conserved in the Mariner's Museum.

¹⁰ DTZ is a property services company based in the UK.

¹¹ The Old Royal Naval College, Greenwich, London, with almost 1.8 million visitors has been omitted from this list. Although it has maritime connections it is the architecture that provides the focus of its heritage attraction.

5 Milestones in the Management of the UK's Underwater Cultural Heritage

5.1 Introduction

Spanning half a century, there have been a series of significant milestones that have improved legislative and management policy specific to UCH in the UK. Although issues such as standards of archaeological work, lack of conservation facilities and impact of the growing number of recreational divers had emerged at least a decade before, coordinated advocacy for better protection did not really begin in earnest until the 1960s.

As a consequence of changes to policy and legislation there have been reactions and raised awareness among important stakeholders. These range from government, commercial business involved in mineral extraction or development, to the recreational diver and the small group, even when aggregated, of avocational archaeologists who have traditionally been involved in the investigation of underwater sites around the UK. The original impetus for advocacy aimed at initiating heritage legislation was based on the increased perception and understanding of the threats to UCH. The main threat was from salvage activities, both amateur and professional, but remembering that sub-standard archaeological work had been noted, which was exacerbated by the absence of conservation facilities to deal with recovered waterlogged material.

While independent advocacy groups continue to apply pressure on government for the equal status of UCH and ultimately better protection, government has made changes to existing laws and policy, which has gradually improved the situation. Government has implemented new legislation such as the *Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009*, which brought a convergence between terrestrial policy and maritime policy to the point that they should be inter-related in appropriate circumstances. This convergence is laid out in the *UK's Marine Policy Statement* published in 2011, which reiterates the same aims and objectives for the marine historic environment, as does the *National Planning Policy Framework* (DCLG 2012) for the historic environment. Although the *Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009* (MCAA) is not heritage legislation *per se*, it has brought many archaeological and heritage projects and activities within the ambit of a marine licensing framework. Taken as a whole these legal and policy amendments have potentially led to improving the protection and management of UCH, acknowledged by the *Impact Review* published in 2014, 'recent updates to legislation on marine licensing mean that the UK now has systems in place that are capable of giving effect to the requirements of the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* (2001 Convention), in the

Territorial Sea’ (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014, 10). The aim of this review is to clarify the current state of the management of UCH in the UK, highlighting the positive steps to encourage the UK to ratify the 2001 UNESCO Convention.

There are other pieces of legislation, policies and events that are equally relevant to the overall picture and indeed influenced the evolution of legislation and policy described here. These include the evolution of salvage, related law such as the *Merchant Shipping Acts*, the role and impact of the creation of a single Receiver of Wreck; the *Protection of Military Remains Act*; the development of recreational scuba diving that fundamentally changed the characteristics of the public’s relationship with the underwater world, which was identified as one of the catalysts in necessitating legislation. These factors are examined in more detail in the following chapter and should be considered in parallel to the issue in this one.

5.2 Emergence of Nautical Archaeology in the United Kingdom

Watercraft had been discovered and investigated by archaeologists in the period spanning the late 19th century to the early 20th century, noting that Reverend Odo Blundell was a pioneer in the exploration of submerged dwellings, specifically in Loch Ness, Scotland in the early 1900s. In order to explore the crannog the reverend loaned ‘hard hat’ diving equipment and received support from a diving team from the Caledonian Ship Canal Company in 1908 (Muckelroy 1978, 12; Maarleveld 2002, 205; Dellino-Musgrave 2012, 9). Other nautical heritage discoveries were made in the inter-tidal zone, along with others found during commercial property developments in London. Contemporary academics have commented that ‘maritime themes have dipped in and out of scholarly consciousness [from the early 1900s], as archaeology oscillates between large-scale grand narratives and small-scale accounts’ (Sturt & Van de Noort 2013, 50). These comments are a reflection on the lack of activity in the field since Crawford’s research into ‘western seaways as a critical conduit for prehistoric communication’ (1912: 1936 cited in Sturt & Van de Noort 2013, 50), Childe’s work on the ‘grey waters bright with Neolithic Argonauts’ published in 1946 (cited in Sturt & Van Noort 2013, 50) to the later work by Case (1969 cited in Sturt & Van Noort 2013, 50) featuring the ‘mechanics of moving domesticated cereals from the Continent to Britain’, although these should be considered maritime themes rather than nautical in the absence of the study of vessels relating to the research.

A summary of early nautical vessel finds is provided by Peter Marsden, himself a relatively early pioneer of the study of nautical archaeology in the UK (Marsden 1974a, 113-132). He describes a late 3rd century AD Roman merchant vessel discovered during the redevelopment of County Hall

in 1910 (Marsden 1974b, 55-65). Its importance was recognised with the hull being excavated and removed from the site to a vault in the New County Hall. Later it was removed to the Museum of London on permanent loan (Marsden 1974b, 64). It was reputedly the 'first Roman Age vessel' (Delgado 1997, 115) to be investigated. The wreck was recorded in 'meticulous detail' (Marsden 1974a, 113-132) helping more recent archaeologists to unravel the details of its construction. Its story and associated description is told by Marsden (1974b, 55-66). Marsden describes the Early Bronze Age sewn-planked boats at North Ferriby¹, discovered by amateur archaeologist Edward Wright in 1937, with other fragments recovered by Chris Wright in the 1980s. The oldest, Ferriby 3 is dated to 2030-1780 cal BC, Ferriby 2 1940-1720 cal BC and Ferriby 3 1880-1680 cal BC (Sturt & Van de Noort, 61).

Among the most famous of all England's archaeological discoveries is the 7th century AD Saxon burial mound at Sutton Hoo, one of eighteen such mounds in the immediate location. The finds included a shadow-like impression of the clinker built ship, representing the Baltic ship-building tradition that enabled a reconstruction of the vessel, as well as other personal belongings.² In 1938 Basil excavated Mounds 2, 3 and 4³ to discover that they had been looted in much earlier times. Basil began the excavation of Mound 1 in 1939, assisted by the gardener and game-keeper of the land-owner, Mrs Prett. On hearing of the discovery CW Phillips, then the Secretary of the Prehistoric Society, together with Maynard the Society's treasurer visited the site. Recognising the importance of the find, they recommended caution before proceeding with further work. The British Museum and Ministry of Public Building and Works (MPBW) were contacted. At the end of June, a more expert team under the direction of Phillips was 'invited by the MPBW to take over archaeological work at Sutton Hoo' (Carver 2004), but as the site was not a scheduled monument Brown had continued to excavate. By the time Phillips arrived Brown had 'exposed the entire length of the ship and exposed the first grave goods' (Carver 2004), an expression of concern rather than one that recognised accomplished progress. Phillips' comment acts as a precursor to the concerns expressed about inexpert interventions on underwater sites in the decades after the Second World War discussed below. The finds from Sutton Hoo were donated to the British Museum in 1939 where they remain and the site, now open to the public, managed by the National Trust (British Museum 2014).

Marsden (1986, 179-183) reflected that in 1960 it became apparent that ancient ships, such as those mentioned above were in a different category from others aspects of British archaeology. His realisation developed during the excavation of the 2nd century AD Roman vessel that was found during commercial work at Guy's hospital in 1958. Following his own enquiries he found

that there was no repository for the preservation of ship remains. It became apparent that it wasn't feasible to protect the vessel as a scheduled monument under the ancient monuments legislation, due to the fact that the ship had been removed from its original context. This move had changed its legal status to that of a chattel, which equated to the same characteristics as a small piece of ceramic. At the time only a 'fixed structure such as a building' (Marsden 1986, 179) could be scheduled. A similar experience followed with the Blackfriars Roman vessel, which Marsden discovered 120 metres from what had been the south west corner of Roman London. Named Blackfriars 1,⁴ it was discovered to be a barge carrying a cargo of stone (Marsden 1972, 130). Dendrochronology dated the vessel to AD150. The ship remains were excavated and recovered, but a lack of conservation facilities led to its timbers drying out, resulting in their 'splitting and falling apart' (Marsden 1986, 180). He remarked that in 1964 a nautical archaeology tradition in the UK did not exist. Seeking more information about other discoveries, to his surprise, Marsden found that the discovery of ancient vessels was not unusual. By 1963 he was receiving enquires from 'amateur divers who were enthusiastically searching for historic shipwrecks in the sea' (Marsden 1986, 182).

Therefore, by the mid-1960s three key themes were being repeated, ancient ships were being discovered in various terrestrial contexts and investigated by archaeologists, who had shown an interest and an increasing realisation that their study could make a contribution to the knowledge of seafaring; an identified lack of preservation/conservation facilities and the rise of recreational diver's interest and intention to explore and discover underwater sites (Muckelroy 1978, 20), often without the necessary skills. Marsden, together with a group of like-minded colleagues including members of the recreational diving body, British Sub-Aqua Club, recognised these emerging problems and proceeded to advocate for the better protection of UCH. In 1953 Philippe Diolé⁵ had written prophetically stating that,

'Unfortunately we shall soon have to think about protecting the sea-bed. Already some people are afraid of the ancient wrecks of our coast being over-visited by ignorant rather than ill-intentioned divers' (Diolé 1953, cited in Keith 2000, 266; Keith & Carrell 2009, 106).

It was to be twenty years after Diolé's comments that the UK's first protective legislation of UCH was enacted. Archaeologists such as George Bass recognised (Bass 1966) that divers were owed a debt of gratitude for their contribution in discovering many important wrecks, but when the first volume of *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Exploration*⁶ (IJNA) was published in 1972, the situation that Diolé predicted had become a serious issue. Archaeologists including Bass wrote about their concerns about the impact of well-meaning divers on

underwater sites in the editorial of the first volume, but Ms. Du Plat Taylor who had personally trained amateur divers in 'archaeological aims and techniques' (Marsden 1986, 182) reiterated Bass' recognition and hoped that their contribution would not be forgotten,

'The past decade has seen the application of sophisticated techniques to the successful excavation of ancient wrecks; but it should not be forgotten that these ships were, in the first instance, discovered by amateur divers dedicated to archaeological search of them' (Ms. du Plat Taylor IJNA vol. 1 1972, iii).

The first volume of the IJNA included a list of expedition reports that serve to illustrate the range of projects being undertaken, and by whom. The majority of project reports were led by ex-military and amateur diving groups, but they should not necessarily be associated with the comments made by Bass and Martin in their letters in the same volume. The expeditions reported in the Journal were, RAF St. Athan's Expedition Report, Isles of Scilly, 1970 – *El Gran Grifon*, A report on the Naval Air Command Subaqua Club Expedition to Fair Isle, Cmdr E. A. Baldwin, O.B.E. – Gun Rocks Project (Farne Islands) Interim report, 1970 BS-AC Tyneside Branch 114, by W. R. Smith – HMS Weazle Devon, Simon Keeble – Survey and excavation of mid-17th century wreck site at Mullion, Cornwall, Interim report by Ferdinand Research Group – Mary Rose (1967) Committee, Progress report as at November 1970 – Whitstable/Seasalter dug-out canoe typescript and photos from T. E. Parker, F. Celoria – Mewstone Ledge site report (1969 and late 1970) by R. Middlewood – *Juno*, 1782 (Scilly Isles) – An underwater survey, 4 5 December, 1970, by Alan Bax and Rex Cowan – Seaford Sussex Project, Report No. 1, by Steve Godfrey, Nautical Archaeological Group, Holborn Branch, BS-AC – Expedition to Torre Guaceto, Italy. Cambridge University Underwater Exploration Group (CUUEG), 1970 (IJNA 1972, 44). Similar representation of projects continued to be reported in the same Journal for some years.

Letters to the editor in the same volume from Martin and Bass (1972) revealed the strength of feeling about the standards being applied to the investigation of underwater sites. Martin (1972) was concerned about projects being undertaken simply because the investigators had 'a general interest in underwater archaeology' (Martin 1972, 246). Although the 'great contribution' of amateurs was acknowledged (Martin 1972, 246) it seems clear that they were identified as the main culprits. The letter pointed to other issues, such as inadequate training in the required field techniques, as well as a lack of academic skills. Drawing comparison with land archaeology, Martin (1972) stated that projects were never initiated 'simply to dig things up' and that the 'destructive nature of excavation' was understood and therefore a site would not be excavated without the prerequisites of relevant experience and background knowledge. The damage of this continuing

activity was obviously a deep concern to the small number of experienced archaeologists involved in the emerging field of underwater archaeology revealed in Martin's letter to the Journal:

'...a great many sites, some of outstanding and irreplaceable significance, are being frittered away, not only by looters, but also by well-meaning, but ill-qualified amateurs excavators who are, generally speaking, unaware of their limitations...' a situation that needed action by the relevant authorities, suggesting a licencing system' (Martin IJNA 1972, 247).

Bass raised his concerns about the quality of underwater investigations being carried out in various parts of the world and the importance of encouraging an international 'interchange', (Bass 1972, 246), which he hoped would be through *the International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*. His aim was 'to let some of these people working in isolated pockets in Spain and Italy and France, to know that good work is possible underwater' (Bass 1972, 246). His letter continued to point out that 'this lesson' was required in [north] America, where 'there are a few very good and serious people working here, but much of what happens in our own waters is a disgrace' (Bass 1972, 246). He hoped that the 'Newsletter and Bibliography and now the Journal' would act as a valuable mechanism in showing that 'serious work could be achieved underwater, using publications from Scandinavia, Germany and 'even some of our own people working in the Mediterranean' as examples (Bass 1972, 246). His words combined with those of Martin (1972) synthesised the key issues that confronted the discipline, which helpfully, points indirectly to the need for heritage protection legislation, management policy and standards applied to scientific investigation.

Although Bass does not mention recreational divers by name the combination of Diolé's quotation, the Journal's editorial comments and Martin's implied finger pointing towards divers revealed that there were two sides of the same coin that in this instance was the diver. The diver had earned a reputation for being both friend and foe of the archaeologist, but from Bass' comments about poor standards extended beyond the recreational diver's inadequacies. It is clear that at the time that Du Plat Taylor did not want the contribution made by divers to be forgotten. As time has passed maintaining the relationship between the diver and the evolving profession has not been an easy or a smooth one, with the relationship between the two groups revealing several facets. One is the deserved credit for the diver's enterprise in discovering sites, some of which have been declared and protected, and in cooperating in the development of protective legislation and policy. These can be seen as positives, but on the other side there have been elements that have routinely and systematically removed and disturbed heritage material from predominantly shipwrecks in search of souvenirs, therefore creating the need for protective legislation and more proactive management.

5.2.1 Committee for Nautical Archaeology

Despite the negative issues surrounding well-meaning but destructive divers, as a stakeholder group they traditionally worked with archaeologists for the better protection of UCH. Their contribution evolved from discussions with Du Plat Taylor, who had actively engaged and trained recreational divers in archaeological techniques. The first meeting in the same year of the proposed British Nautical Archaeological Research Committee included representatives of the National Maritime Museum, Society for Nautical Research, Science Museum, Tower Armouries, Council for British Archaeology, British Museum, British Sub-Aqua Club, Honor Frost, Angela Croome, Joan Du Plat Taylor, as well as Peter Marsden who acted as chair. The aim of the proposed committee was to 'guide the work of archaeologists and divers' (Marsden 1986, 183). The meeting formalised the creation of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology (Firth 1999, 11; Marsden 1986, 183), although Marsden (1986, 179) comments that it was actually better known as the Council for Nautical Archaeology. Its original membership consisted of most of those who had met in the formative meeting, namely the Council for British Archaeology, British Museum, National Maritime Museum, the Institute of Archaeology (University College London), Society for Nautical Research, the Society for Post Medieval Archaeology and the British Sub-Aqua Club representing the recreational diving community. At the time the founders believed that the majority of museums, archaeological organisations and government departments responsible for administering archaeology were not prepared to embrace the issues facing UCH. The Committee focused on bringing divers and archaeologists together and improving the state of the discipline, campaigning for the better protection of UCH and running training courses for divers, which remain broadly similar to the current aims of the Nautical Archaeology Society.

5.2.2 Protection of Wrecks Act 1973

The Committee for Nautical Archaeology had developed interests in legal issues involving shipwrecks, as a result of enquiries in 1966 about salvage law concerning the *De Liefde*. The *De Liefde* was a Dutch East India Company ship wrecked off the Skerries, Shetland Isles, Scotland, in 1711 (Bax, A & Martin, CJM 1974, 82; Marsden 1986, 182) discovered by divers in 1964. In the same year two silver ducats⁷ were recovered by divers from HMS *Shoulton*, a naval minesweeper (Bax, A & Martin, CJM 1974, 82; Marsden 1986, 182). With Commander Bax acting as 'organiser and archaeologist', Scientific Surveys Ltd returned in 1965 recovering 'freshly minted coin dating to 1711'. These recoveries 'secured the identity of the vessel as the *De Liefde*' (Bax & Martin, 1974, 84). Material from the site was later investigated by Martin (Bax, & Martin, 1974, 82). The committee's attentions turned to the reported looting of the *Association* (1707)⁸ in

1967. The following year the Council for Nautical Archaeology minutes first note the committee's involvement in the drafting of protective legislation (Firth 1999, 11), which referred to a proposed bill that the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) had drafted. It included a short section on UCH (Firth 1999, 11). Advice from the legal counsel acting on behalf of the CBA was that underwater antiquities should have its own legislation that led to the CNA commissioning a memorandum of *Salvage Law and Ancient Wreck* and amendments to the *Merchant Shipping Act*. It was soon after this that Member of Parliament Mr John Nott met with representatives of the National Maritime Museum raising the possibility of a Bill⁹ under the UK Parliament's *Ten Minute Rule*¹⁰. The Bill and the associated amendments to the *Merchant Shipping Act* failed to progress. Despite this setback, The Wreck Law Review Committee was formed to 'address the law relating to wreck' (Firth 1999, 11-12) Members of the Council for Nautical Archaeology formed part of the Department of Trade's [wreck] committee and as such contributed to the subsequent development of the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* (Marsden 1986, 179). Although there was little initial progress the need for protective legislation was revived in 1971 after the publicised looting of the [Royal Yacht] *Mary*¹¹ (Royal Commission on the Ancient Historic Monuments of Wales [RCAHMW - Mary 2014]). This latter event catalysed renewed efforts to produce legislation, although (Dromgoole 1999, 182) states that the Bill only got Parliamentary time because of the inclusion of Section 2 of the Act that deals with dangerous cargoes, specifically the *SS Richard Montgomery* (1944). An interim Bill was first proposed in November 1971, but it was not until the interim legislation was presented as a Private Member's Bill by Mr Sprout that the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* became law. With the government's statement in 1975 that further changes would not be made to the *Merchant Shipping Act*, the 1973 Act designed to be interim legislation became the 'central pillar of managing archaeology underwater in the UK for 25 years [now more than 40 years]' (Firth 1999, 12). Firth noted that both salvage divers and sport divers were 'concerned about the impact of the Bill upon the freedom of the sea' (Firth 1999, 12) a theme that was implied in Dirole's comments mentioned earlier and has continued with subsequent new legal protection, or in some cases changes to, or introductions of new policy.

The Act's stated aims remain: 'to secure the protection of wrecks in territorial waters and the sites of such wrecks, from interference by unauthorised persons; and for connected purposes' (HM Gov. 1973). Although the Act considers designation based on a wreck being of 'historic, archaeological or artistic' importance, the designation process is assisted by non-statutory criteria: 'period; rarity; documentation; group value; survival / condition assessment; fragility / vulnerability; diversity and potential (EH 2010a; EH 2010b, 3). The criteria for designating a wreck is that for the Secretary of State to be satisfied that:

‘it is, or may prove to be, the site of a vessel lying wrecked on or in the; and on account of the historical, archaeological or artistic importance of the vessel, or any objectives contained or formerly contained in it which may be lying on the in or near the wreck, the site ought to be protected from unauthorised interference, he may by order designate an area around the site as a restricted area’ (HM Gov. 1973).

The Advisory Committee on Historic Wrecks Sites was created shortly after the 1973 Act came into force fulfilling the role of the Secretary of State’s consultees on matters relating to the Act. It became known as [Lord] Runciman Committee after its first chair (Flinder & McGrail 1990, 93), remaining in place until being replaced by the Historic Wreck’s Panel in 2012.

‘Notes for the guidance of finders of historic wreck’ were published in 1975 (IJNA 1975, 407-408) with criteria for applying for a designation order, license to survey or to excavate. The list of requirements for the designation order included; name of the vessel if known, position, threats, assessment of importance, and photographs if possessed, a survey license specifically precluded ‘the raising of artefacts and parts of the vessel’s structure’, with team qualifications and experience being required (IJNA 1975, 407). There were more stringent criteria for an excavation license, that added ‘sketch plan’, name of the archaeological director who had to possess ‘acceptable practical experience’, but not necessarily possess formal qualifications, details of conservator, financial resources, name of ‘sponsoring body’, for example ‘a local BS-AC branch, local museum, etc.’, storage of records suggesting the National Maritime Museum, and arrangements for eventual publication, such as *Mariner’s Mirror* or the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, and the ‘proposals for the ultimate destination of objects recovered’ (IJNA 1975, 408).

What is notable, apart from the similarities to later criteria used in the UK and internationally, is the sense of co-operation between the Advisory Committee as representing government’s expertise and decision making, the diving organisation, museums and the duty to report finds to the Receiver of Wreck. Addresses and contact numbers were included, for national organisations with an interest in receiving information about discoveries. They included the Department of Trade (Marine Division) British Sub-Aqua Club, The Council for Nautical Archaeology, The Department of Ship Archaeology, National Maritime Museum, The British Museum, The Ulster Museum, The National Museum of Wales, The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Local address such as local museums could be obtained from local directories (IJNA 1975, 408), which together was the informal network for the reporting of underwater discoveries, envisaged by the Council for Nautical Archaeology, but failed to gain widespread public acceptance. Almost twenty

years later the emphasis for the reporting of underwater discoveries became focused on the salvage legislation and the statutory duty to report 'wreck' to the Receiver of Wreck discussed in chapter six.

5.2.3 Nautical Archaeology Trust

The spirit of cooperation between heritage groups and divers continued and resulted in the creation of the Nautical Archaeology Trust In 1972. Its aims were, 'the furtherance of research into nautical archaeology and the publication of the results of such research, together with the advancement of training and education in the techniques pertaining to the study of nautical archaeology for the benefit of the public' (NAS 2014). The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology was first published in the same year. In 1974, Professor Grimes who was the president of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology and Nautical Archaeology Trust proposed a membership society. The first meeting of the new society did not take place until 1981, with Du Platt Taylor as its first president, although the name was not changed to become the Nautical Archaeology Society until 1986, the name believed to better reflect its status as a membership society (Marsden 1986, 179).

5.2.4 National Maritime Museum Archaeological Research Centre

Following the partnership with the British Museum to excavate the Anglo-Saxon Graveney boat in Kent in 1970 (Fenwick 1972, 119-129; McGrail 2003, 4), the National Maritime Museum created the Department of Ship Archaeology in 1974. It was the brainchild of Basil Greenhill, his aim was to:

'establish scientific study of early watercraft followed the Scandinavian models [and] his parallel enthusiasm for interpreting more recent boats and communities was based on his own experience of such American museums as Mystic Seaport in Connecticut' (Van der Merwe 2003).

Its role was expanded to become the Archaeological Research Centre in 1976. Studies included the Ferriby Boats (McGrail 2003, 4), a 10th century Viking boat-grave at Westness, Orkney, and *Grace Dieu* in the Hamble River near Southampton (Hutchison, G 1981, 154). Research staff, were recruited to publish post-excavation reports, Mc Grail himself became Assistant Keeper (Archaeology) and staff were encouraged to publish and work towards research degrees, as well as more public informative handbooks such as Muckelroy's *Discovering a Historic Wreck* published in 1981. The first 'International Symposia on Boat and Ship Archaeology' took place in 1976 at the museum and has since continued in international locations. Until 1983 the museum,

largely through the personality of Greenhill, became an internationally re-known centre of expertise with the museums research remit expanding to become maritime archaeology. He foresaw the financial implications of the Thatcher government's arrival, which turned into a reality when the centre was dismantled in the drastic government cuts of the late 1980s. The move caused NAS in 1987 to express its 'dismay [at] the decline in the museum's responsibilities as a centre of maritime expertise and scholarship,' in particular the 'abolition of the Archaeological Research Centre—the only facility of its kind in the country' (NAS 1987, 173). These events happening among the gathering pace of the industrialisation of heritage discussed earlier.

5.2.5 Council for British Archaeology – Research Committee on Nautical Archaeology

From 1984 those members of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology previously involved in advocacy became a 'specialist committee of the Council for British Archaeology' (CBA) (Marsden 1986, 179), named the Research Committee on Nautical Archaeology. Working with the Nautical Archaeology Society; 'officials of the National Maritime Museum and the Institute of Field Archaeologists (Maritime Affairs Group)' (Croome 1988, 188) a policy aimed at better protection and management of UCH in the UK was developed. Emanating from discussions in 1987 the *National Policy for Nautical Archaeology – initial proposals for the United Kingdom* was published in the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* in 1988.

The proposals included: 'a pressing need for an inventory of archaeological sites on the seabed and in inland waterways...', urged government to 'formulate and make public their policies for nautical archaeology...', a critical review of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1984*, as it was 'unconducive to the retention of archaeological study and public display...', the need for a 'finds acquisition policy for museums...', that government should 'ratify the 1970 UNESCO *Convention on the illicit trade in cultural material...*'¹², 'facilities for conservation of finds should be made available and suitably financed... an assessment of 'the suitability of current legislation...', implementation of a National Policy with 'permanent funding will be necessary', 'a national education publicity campaign', 'resources from both public and private sector...' and to establish a unified view, a national conference should be convened.

To continue developing the framework the authors (IJNA 1988, 118) invited comments to be received by Mr Yorke, chair of the NAS. This was followed by a meeting in January of 1988 chaired by Basil Greenhill at the Royal Armouries, London. Its aim was to discuss the 'provisions for the preservation and study of underwater sites, and material raised from them' and the 'pressing need for co-ordination' (Croome, 1988, 113). A representative from English Heritage

stressed the weakness of the legislation and the lack of financial resources. A 'plea' was made to expand the Archaeological Diving Unit's (ADU) remit to include 'education' and that departmental responsibility for historic wrecks should be passed to the Department of Environment. This transfer would only be made dependent on a demonstrated need and the department was convinced of the importance of the transfer (Croome, 1988, 113)..

Martin Dean commented that in the first year of the ADU, the opinion of the standards of work inspected was 'atrocious', but blame was laid at the door of professional archaeologists for not establishing standards adding that the amateur tradition on land where they were supervised was not repeated underwater and the reports from the sites were described as 'unpublishable'. Dean reported that the ADU was working on a publication aimed at providing those standards published as *Guidelines on Acceptable Standards in Underwater Archaeology* in 1988 authored by Dean, the foreword by Basil Greenhill. Alex Flinder representing the BS-AC expressed views about training and standards achieved on sites were not always up to those expected, implying the aim to have a diving archaeologist for every excavation had fallen short. The NAS Training scheme was presented by Ian Oxley to exemplify what the NAS could offer in regard to training and alleviating the problems of standards. BS-AC were sympathetic and suggested that NAS training 'might be carried' in the BS-AC logbook (Croome 1988, 115).

Alan Aberg suggested the need for a committee to consider the structure of the wreck inventory for the National Monuments Record. The representative of the Museums Association admitted that museums did not pay much attention underwater archaeology. It was suggested that there was mutual suspicion between museum staff and nautical archaeologists, with museum staff having a prevailing image that underwater archaeology was about "treasure" and that the subject's image needed to be improved.

Further concerns were expressed about the implications of the *Merchant Shipping Act*, which could lead to breaking up of collections. The final discussion point was the *National Policy Document*, during which it was stressed that 'settling for the attainable' meaning less of a national policy and dealing with individual issues and commenting that 'government was "neutral" over nautical archaeology' (Croome 1988, 117). Against the backdrop of the issues and opinions expressed above the direction of the advocacy aimed at achieving change evolved from the CBA *et al* to the Joint Nautical Archaeology Policy Committee (JNAPC) under the leadership of Robert Yorke.

5.3 Joint Nautical Archaeology Policy Committee - 1988

The catalyst for the creation of the committee in 1988¹³ was a meeting between Yorke, chair of the Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) and Richard Ormond director of the National Maritime Museum (NMM). The two had previously exchanged public letters in *The Times* newspaper, a euphemism for disagreement, following the disbandment of the Museum's Archaeological Research Centre. Although there was no reversal of the decision to disband the museum's research unit, there was agreement to cooperate in the development of a 'coherent policy to protect the UK's underwater cultural heritage' (Yorke 2011, iii).

JNAPC comprises members of the archaeological and heritage community¹⁴ with the aim of raising the profile of nautical archaeology with both 'government and sea users' (Yorke 2011, ii). It became, and arguably remains the most influential independent forum focused on discussing UCH issues. Though the UK has its four competent authorities (England, Scotland, Wales & Northern Ireland), each with their own internal management frameworks, JNAPC has maintained a position that acts as a regular interface between government and many, if not all, relevant stakeholders. In addition the committee, with its access to legal, as well as archaeological-heritage expertise, has produced a range of influential policy documents and statements that have kept government, beyond the competent authorities, acutely aware of contentious issues.

5.3.1 Heritage at Sea - 1989

*Heritage at Sea*¹⁵ JNAPC's first policy document was presented to the UK government departments with responsibility for underwater cultural heritage in 1989. These were the Departments of Environment, Department of Transport, Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Ministry of Defence. It outlined recommendations that were aimed at improving the protection and management of UCH, adopting some if not all of the points raised in the CBA-NAS-NMM-IFA document mentioned above:

'new legislation aimed at: the protection of underwater archaeological sites', inventory of underwater sites within territorial waters; payment required by the *Merchant Shipping Act 1984* [administer by the Dept. of Transport]...based on the market value of items raised from the seabed should be waived...; commercial seabed operators and statutory undertakers active on the seabed should be encouraged to carry out archaeological implication surveys...; the Ministry of Defence, who have responsibility for historic naval vessels and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who are responsible for East India Company wrecks, should acknowledge and fulfil their responsibilities...; the

new legislation should provide for the establishment of a maritime heritage protection agency... and better use of existing legislation to protect underwater sites...' (JNAPC 1989, 3)

These seven key objectives set the benchmark for much of the advocacy that has followed.

Included in *Heritage at Sea* was the important statement that UCH should be treated with no less importance than its terrestrial counterpart a central principal that has been repeated since by JNAPC and others (JNAPC 1989; Historic Scotland 1999; UNESCO 2006). Robert Key, the UK's heritage minister at the time, acknowledged the equality of UCH in a speech during the Medieval Europe Conference in 1992 (cited in Still at Sea 1993, 2).

5.3.2 Government Response - 1990

The Department of the Environment responded to *Heritage at Sea* making reference to the White Paper, *The Common Inheritance*. It included two significant changes, the transfer of responsibility for wrecks in English waters to the Dept. of the Environment, bringing together responsibility for terrestrial and underwater archaeology under one department and that the Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England (RCHME)¹⁶ was instructed to develop a 'central record' of historic wrecks, (DoE 1990, 2-3) initiating the creation of a national inventory.¹⁷ The memo acknowledged that the overall protection [of UCH] could be improved and that government would work with relevant parties towards this objective. It did accept the need for a 'Maritime Heritage Protection Agency' (Department of Environment 1990, 5). The response recorded that the government did not see a need for new protective legislation, stating that the 'provisions of the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* have served quite well' (DoE 1990, 1). Similar comments extended to the *Merchant Shipping Act 1894* and *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986*. With regard to the latter, this was despite the fact that it had been unused to protect military vessels, although the protection of all aircraft in military service as Protected Places is automatic explained below in chapter six.

Government was not convinced that salvage law pertaining to the *Merchant Shipping Act 1894* was responsible for 'serious damage' (DoE 1990, 2) to archaeological material or that 'important archaeological material is being lost from public collections' (DoE 1990, 2). The recommendation in *Heritage at Sea* that the Receiver of Wreck's fees related to 'wreck' remaining in 'publicly accessible collections' (DoE 1990, 3) should be waived was initially rejected on the grounds that this would need legislation, but following a departmental review the policy was changed with effect from 1991.

As a consequence of *Heritage at Sea* the Nautical Archaeology Society's Training Scheme [now Programme]¹⁸ received government financial support from 1990 providing for a Training Officer. The initial aims of the training scheme were to train amateur archaeologists, who thereafter would provide government with information relating to protected wreck sites, disseminate information and provide guidance to other sports divers (DoE 1990, 1).

Avocational archaeologists continue to have an active role on designated sites under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*. Access to designated sites under the 1973 Act requires a license issued by the relevant competent authority for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Visitor and Survey Licenses do not normally require a Nominated Archaeologist¹⁹, although one is required for Surface Recovery and Excavation Licenses²⁰. They fulfil the role of adviser, assisting in the development and delivery of the team's research programme. They also provide guidance on the material cultural analysis of items recovered from the site (EH 2010a), which continued from the *Historic Wreck Guidance Notes*, 1986 provided by the Marine Directorate of the Department of Transport.

Although licensees have a duty to report their activities as part of the license criteria the formal informative role as originally envisaged has largely been through the government contractor. The initial contract between the Department of Transport and St Andrews University (Flinder and McGrail 1990, 94) led to the formation of the Archaeological Diving Unit (ADU). Although its initial terms of reference were vague, they were later defined by the Marine Directorate in 1987 to 'inspect all sites proposed for protection' (Croome 1988, 113), rather than 'rely solely on the accuracy of reports from various applications for designation and on the occasional visit of a diving member of the Committee for verification' (Flinder and McGrail 1990, 93-94). The ADU continued from 1986 to 2003, since when Wessex Archaeology has provided similar services to the UK's competent authorities.

Both the ADU and Wessex's team fulfilled the provision of guidance to recreational divers, directly during site visits or through publications such as the 1998 ADU booklet, 'Guidelines on Acceptable Standards in Underwater Archaeology' (Flinder and McGrail 1990, 98). More recently these can be accessed via online resources available on competent heritage authority's websites, as well as the Receiver of Wreck's. Voluntary sector organisations such as the Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) through its training programme and associated projects such as *Diving with a Purpose*, Maritime Archaeology Trust (formerly the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology) and more recently by ProMare and the Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust (MAST) are parallel sources of advice on diving or working on underwater heritage sites. Diving

organisations have also provided information through their instructional manuals and online services which are reviewed in more detail below.

5.3.3 Still at Sea - 1993

JNAPC continued to advocate for change, presenting the government with *Still at Sea* in 1993. While the document recognised the progress since *Heritage at Sea*, its contents continued to promote improvements, based on the 1989 recommendations. These included a code of practice aimed at mitigating damage to sites by marine industries, noting that the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology had been commissioned to undertake a study.

The Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) had acknowledged their responsibilities for military wrecks and investigate to what extent it was possible to establish rights to the Crown and exercise them where possible (JNAPC 1993).

An important component which is investigated in more detail in the following chapter is the issue of the reporting of 'wreck'. While JNAPC acknowledged the role of the Receiver of Wreck, it had been suggested that a 'user-friendly archaeological structure for the reporting of finds' (JNAPC 1993) should be introduced. It was envisaged that this would be through local sites and monuments records and local museums, with mandatory links to the Receiver of Wreck. This was a continuation of the longstanding aim of the Council of Nautical Archaeology from the 1970s. The proposed scheme would have been a similar to the *Portable Antiquities Scheme*.

The progress of the NAS' training scheme in educating recreational divers was recorded in *Still at Sea*, stating that in the three year period since *Heritage at Sea* more than 1,200 sports divers had attended almost one hundred NAS courses (JNAPC 1993). This reinforced the prevailing view of the time that education was an important component that complemented legal and other policy actions. The training scheme had been introduced in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland thereby reinforcing the premise that education was a strong partner of legislation and heritage (JNAPC *Heritage at Sea* 1989; *Still at Sea* 1993). This has been recognised outside the UK by Smith (2002, 585-592) stating that 'education is the most powerful tool archaeologists possess'.

5.3.4 Stakeholder Awareness – 1990s & 2000s

During the latter part of the 1990s JNAPC continued to advocate for the transfer of responsibility for England's territorial waters to English Heritage. In parallel the committee initiated a number of other awareness raising initiatives aimed at the recreational diving

community. The leaflets *Underwater finds - What to Do* (1998), *Wreck Diving - Don't Get Scuttled* (2000), provided basic information about discoveries of heritage material in the course of their activities, with the booklet *Underwater Finds – Guidance for Divers* (1998) offering more detailed information along the same theme. These activities supplemented the initiatives of voluntary organisations and those of the UK's Receiver of Wreck who was very active in interacting with recreational divers and other stakeholders.

Along with the committee's engagement with recreational divers JNAPC developed the *Code of Practice for Seabed Developers* (JNAPC 1995; 1998; 2006). The Under Secretary of State for the Department for National Heritage wrote in support of first code, the second by the Under Secretary of State for Department for Culture, Media and Sport that had replaced the Department for National Heritage (DNH), signifying their support. The text of both referred to the government's *Policy Planning Guidance Note No. 16* (see chapter three) recognising the importance of terrestrial heritage sites in the planning process, and although not covered by the same planning legislation adding that 'maritime sites are equally valuable...' (JNAPC 1995; 1998).

The most recent version of the code was sponsored by The Crown Estate²¹. The Estate owns and manage '55% of the foreshore and approximately half of the beds of estuarine and tidal waters in the UK...[and] the majority of the of the seabed out to the 12nm territorial limit (Dellino-Musgrave 2012, 4-5), rights that date back to the 11th century. The organisation stated that it was 'enthusiastic about our maritime heritage and sustainable new uses of our seas' (JNAPC 2006). The codes are important as they raised awareness of the importance of UCH among marine commercial industries, notably dredging and mineral extraction. This broadened the scope of what was understood to constitute UCH. Previously it had been largely focused on shipwrecks and the impact of recreational diving, but with the code the archaeological potential of submerged landscapes, aircraft and maritime infrastructure that could equally be threatened by the impact of commercial sea-floor industry and development was included. The contribution to public education and understanding is also mentioned.

The *Marine Aggregate Dredging and the Historic Environment: Guidance note* (British Marine Aggregate Producers Association and English Heritage, April 2003) and the *Code for reporting finds of archaeological interest* (BMAPA & English Heritage 2005) have both complemented the aforementioned codes that followed EH's accession for the responsibility of UCH in English waters in 2002. The relationship between British Marine Aggregate Producers Association (BMAPA) and Wessex Archaeology is credited for developing the protocol (Wessex Archaeology 2006). BMAPA accepted the responsibility to develop better practices across the aggregates

industry. This was noted by those closely involved in environmental impact assessments and other marine planning initiatives that the marine aggregate industry had the potential for impacting submerged landscapes and that mineral extraction and dredging needed to be better understood (Firth 2006; Wessex Archaeology 2006). Such schemes improved reporting including 'military aircraft crash sites' that enhanced 'knowledge of the marine historic environment' (Dellino-Musgrave 2012, 25).

5.3.5 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979

The *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979* offered protection for maritime sites when the definition of an 'ancient monument' was amended to include vessels and other archaeological sites of 'national importance' found in the intertidal zone or underwater (HM Gov. 1979, section 61.7). Scheduling under the 1979 Act regulated damage and work directed at a monument. Williams (2004, 21) suggests that the 1979 Act 'lacks the flexibility to restrict public access to maritime scheduled monuments in the event of a heritage management requirement' stating that the provisions of the 1979 Act 'sit very uneasily with the maritime legal framework' (Williams 2004, 21).

Historic Scotland intended to use both the 1973 and 1979 Acts depending on individual circumstances (Historic Scotland 1999, 4). Their preference has at least been partially based on the economic value of a site to the local community. This was the case with respect to the German High Seas Fleet in Scapa Flow where enabling unrestricted access was preferred in recognition of their economic value to the local economy (Historic Scotland 1999; 2014b, 4; Oxley & O'Regan 2001, 10; Oxley 2002). In 1986 it was reputedly worth up to half a million pounds (HM Gov. 1986b). However where the priority was to restrict access to enable archaeological investigations to be carried out 'unhindered', the 1973 Act would be the preferred option (Historic Scotland 1999, 4). In addition marine crannogs located on the foreshore and eight 19th century vessels in Aberlady Bay have been protected by the 1979 Act (Historic Scotland 2005, 14; Historic Scotland 2014c).

Marsden notes as a post-script to his description of the development of the Council for Nautical Archaeology, his satisfaction on the scheduling of the Roman vessel discovered at Guy's hospital on 22 June 1983 that had followed the Committee's lobbying 'for the protection of nautical sites on land and inland waters' (Marsden 1986, 183).

Wales has used both the PWA 1973 and AAMA 1979 legislation, with six sites protected under the 1973 Act (CADW 2014) and one vessel *Louisa* by the 1979 legislation scheduled in 2001 (RCAHMW

2014). In Northern Ireland the Armada galleass *Girona* (1588) is designated under the 1973 Act, as well as a number of intertidal zone sites which are protected by the *Historic Monuments and Archaeological Objects (NI) Order 1995*.

In *Taking to the Water*, discussed below, English Heritage stated its intention to monitor the Scottish experience regarding the 1979 Act (Roberts & Trow 2002, 13). Since 2002 it has been used sparingly, but has been used to protect a Second World War Phoenix Caisson Unit²² at Littlestone-on-Sea, Kent in 2013 (List entry number 1415588) and an unidentified wooden sailing vessel on the north east coast of England, scheduled in March 2014 (HM Gov. 2014 Order No.75). *Cutty Sark* has a Grade 1 listing which classifies her as of national importance, among only 2.5% of the 374,081 listed buildings in England.

5.3.6 National Heritage Act 2002

DCMS intention to 'give EH wider powers to cover the waters off England' (DCMS 1997, 9), came into fruition with enabling legislation, the *National Heritage Act 2002* on 1st May 2002. It confirmed the legal transfer of responsibility for UCH in English territorial waters to English Heritage and in so doing corrected the 1983 anomaly and extended the definition of Ancient Monument and empowered to defray or contribute toward the costs of archaeological work conducted on protected wrecks:

'Any site comprising, or comprising the remains of any vehicle, vessel, aircraft or other moveable structure, or part thereof...in on or under the within the seaward limits of the United Kingdom territorial waters adjacent to England...[and]

Any survey, excavation or other investigation undertaken in any protected wreck; the removal of any protected wreck or any part of any protected wreck to another place for the purpose of preserving it, or the preservation and maintenance of any protected wreck' (HM Gov. 2002)

A Head of Maritime Archaeology was appointed in the summer of 2002 with funds for the archaeological diving contractor and a limited number of projects. This legal amendment led to the increasing professionalization of underwater archaeological services and a gradual integration of UCH into the management and policy directions of English Heritage as a whole.

English Heritage inherited the Advisory Committee on Historic Wrecks Sites (ACHWS), which continued from 1973 until 2011 when it was replaced by the Historic Wreck Panel. The panel's role is more restricted than that of the ACHWS, focused on providing advice to English Heritage on 'specialist issues of policy and practice related to complex, contentious and high profile wreck

sites in UK territorial waters adjacent to England and in UK controlled waters adjacent to England and licensing in UK territorial waters adjacent to England, as appropriate' (English Heritage 2014). Historic Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have opted to make their own arrangements. This period was crucial in a general change of the heritage landscape which included the expansion of professional archaeological activity focused on UCH, with organisations such as Wessex Archaeology's Coastal and Marine branch rapidly expanding.

5.3.7 Taking to the Water 2002

Taking to the Water (English Heritage 2002) followed the government's legal move. The document to some extent overlapped with the fallout of the war graves issue, with the Respect our Wrecks response to educate divers and the consequences of the wreck amnesty, all of which are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Together these events intensified the raising of awareness of the statutory duty to report wreck and resulted in the government and members of the public becoming more sensitive and aware of the worst elements and consequences of wreck diving. This may well explain the considerable content of *Taking to the Water* that specifically relates to recreational divers.

The content presented an overview of what was seen by stakeholders as English Heritage's future policy framework. Within it and critical to this study are the comments that:

'...the public retains a fascination with the subject of maritime archaeology is witnessed by its popularity in the media and the popularity of maritime museums. However, there is often little differentiation in the public mind between bona fide archaeological work and treasure hunting or commercial salvage, and virtually no appreciation of the merits of preserving marine archaeological sites *in situ*...it is essential that we address the non-diving public...the potential for public access...should be considered in the project proposal' (Roberts & Trow 2002, 18).

Although the statement is made without reference to any form of evidence, it did represent the popular view at the time among heritage bodies. The key component of the statement relates to the public differentiation between 'archaeological work and treasure hunting or commercial salvage' and that engaging with the general public was a key objective, which was reiterated by Oxley (2007) and Satchell and Palma (2007, 87) along with highlighting the continuing challenges in the managing UCH.

Taking to the Water linked the opportunities to develop diver tourism and therefore to the broader government strategy of utilising heritage for increasing tourism discussed in previous chapters (Roberts and Trow 2002, 10). The authors used the example of research carried out by

the National Trust that had shown the ‘well-preserved historic and ecologically rich landscape of the South West was a major contributor to employment and the economy in the region, and the same can probably be said about the historic seascape’ (Roberts & Trow 2002, 10). The South West is arguably the most popular English diving destination, with one of the highest concentrations of wrecks, as well as a long-established history of avocational underwater archaeological groups. It is the largest English Heritage region, occupying 18% of England’s land mass, includes 7,000 (35%) of England’s scheduled monuments, as well as twenty-three protected wreck sites, which represents half of England’s total. The document went on to make a direct link to the problems associated with the ‘indiscriminate disturbance’ of underwater sites that echoed the concerns expressed by Marsden and Martin in the 1960s and 70s with the consequential impact of reducing the touristic experience of the visiting diver (Roberts and Trow 2002, 10).

It was acknowledged that the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973 Act* suffered from a number of limitations (Roberts & Trow 2002, 12, Williams 2004), not least that as a Private Members Bill, it did not receive automatic state funding support, nor did it ‘explicitly recognise the desirability of conserving sites *in situ*’ (Roberts and Trow 2002, 12). Others from beyond the UK have commented on the ‘awkward systematics typifying the...Act’, (Maarleveld 2002, 206) hinting at the problems associated with the ambit of the Receiver of Wreck included the reporting of finds and sites under the *Merchant Shipping Act 1995*²³, ‘turning poacher, not into the proverbial gamekeeper, but official poachers’ (Maarleveld pers. comm. 2014). At the same time Maarleveld acknowledged, without being specific that progress had been made administratively, if not in the legal protection of UCH. As was outlined previously and discussed below, government policy had other heritage priorities stated in for example, *Power of Place* and *Force for our Future*, which set out future directions.

Within *Taking to the Water* there are significant statements that would, if implemented, bring emerging English maritime UCH policy into line with the UK’s policy statements outlined above. They are of relevance to the involvement of amateur/avocational archaeologists and recreational divers. For much of the period between 1973 and 2002, many of the activities relating to UCH had been undertaken by the voluntary sector, acknowledged in 2002 (Roberts & Trow 2002, 8). The voluntary sector was recognised as an asset capable of supplementing the work carried out by the professional sector. Government support for NAS’ Training Programme had been in place from 1990 to raise awareness and to provide training for underwater avocational archaeologists, which was extended to include intertidal maritime sites. Preservation *in situ* was seen as being a difficult

principle to instil in the recreational diving community, particularly after the ‘celebrated triumph’ of the recovery of the *Mary Rose* in 1982²⁴ (Roberts and Trow 2002, 9; Eaton 2002).

The inclusion of recreational divers is remembered in the diving press, and diving manuals, which helps to explain the ‘celebrated triumph’ among the amateur diving community. *Diver Magazine*, coinciding with the twentieth anniversary of the *Mary Rose* recovery remembered the project. ‘It is also a huge tribute to amateur sport divers, a graphic demonstration of their ability to achieve remarkable results in disciplines usually reserved for professionals’ (Eaton 2002).

5.4 Advocacy for the Ratification of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001)

5.4.1 First Burlington House Seminar - 2005

JNAPC and others, in parallel with the aims mentioned above have campaigned for the UK’s ratification of the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* (2001 Convention). Its more public efforts in this direction have been through two seminars held at Burlington House. The first in 2005 invited international experts to provide perspectives on heritage protection and reasoning on why the UK government should ratify. At the time of the seminar, only seven countries had ratified: Panama; Bulgaria; Croatia; Spain; Libyan Arab Jamahiriya; Nigeria and Lithuania. The seminar was attended by one hundred delegates representing government departments, heritage agencies as well as the archaeological community. Williams (2006, 2) provided an unofficial summary of the UK government’s objections to the 2001 Convention, notably, ‘creeping jurisdiction’ and ‘sovereignty’ and the difference between the ‘blanket protection’ of the Convention and the UK’s continuing use of ‘significance’. The Burlington House Declaration urged the UK government to reconsider its position and in the meantime adopt the Rules of the Convention.

In response to the declaration the government confirmed that it would not ratify the 2001 Convention, but would apply the Rules (HM Gov. 2005). The response was discouraging, in so far as the UK Government stated that it had no current plans to ratify the Convention, but encouraging in that it had adopted the Annex of the Convention as best practice for the management of UCH. The minister added that it was ‘not practical’ to protect ‘10,000’ wrecks, the government preferring to manage UCH on the basis of the significance of individual sites (HM. Gov. 2005).

5.4.2 Second Burlington House Seminar - 2010

A second seminar in the same location followed in 2010, with the initial focus on the threat to sites in international waters. Rapidly developing technologies such as remotely operated vehicles were providing access to sites in nearly 6,000 metres, as well as the number of sites having been reached at this depth was increasing, a reality that is recognised in the preamble to the main articles of the 2001 Convention (UNESCO 2001, Prott 2002, 4). Mixed gas diving was recognised as enabling dives in deeper waters providing access to previously inaccessible sites (Parham & Williams 2011, 11). Firth (2011, 17) highlighted the number of wrecks that would fall within the perceived management impracticalities even if the First World War sites were to be included. Based on figures extracted from the historic environment records of the four constituent countries of the UK, the figure was 2,800 by the end of the First World War, far fewer than the 10,000 wrecks mentioned by ministers in 2005, which seemed to cause them such concern. Maarleveld (2011, 64) commented on the lack of progress since the previous seminar in 2005.

5.4.3 Impact Review UNESCO 2001 Convention - 2014

Rather than a declaration concluding the second seminar, a project design was presented aimed at assessing the impact of ratifying the Convention on the UK. It was supported by the national heritage agencies of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and the UK National Commission for UNESCO. The review would be divided into six sections: 'a literature review of the history of the development of the Convention; an impact review of the 2001 Convention and its Annex; a consideration of the compatibility of the Convention with United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS); consideration of the issues surrounding sovereign immune vessels; and a consideration of the issues surrounding wreck protection in the UK's territorial sea and adjacent international waters' (Gribble *et al* 2011, 70). The results of the Review were published in February 2014. It outlined the changes that had taken place since 2001 when the UK government had stated its commitment to a global convention for the protection of underwater cultural heritage (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014, 7 & 87).

The introduction reiterated the fact that technologies had evolved to an extent that they now provided access to the depths of the world's oceans. Other areas of concern such as 'significance' and 'sovereignty' were addressed (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group, 2014), as well as quantifying the management risk of the UK's 'legal, administrative and policy implications' if the UK ratified the 2001 Convention. The number of wrecks falling within the management

‘impracticalities’ was refined to 1,060 Royal Naval losses, dating from the creation of the navy in 1605 to the end of 1918 (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group, 2014, 44), although it has to be pointed out that this did not include non-military war losses.

An important consideration in this respect is that government has referred to the management impracticalities of dealing with thousands of sites whereas the review suggests ‘an activity based approach’ (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group, 2014, 68). This would have the effect of synchronising with licensing procedures being implemented by the UK’s constituent countries, following the *Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009* and the *Marine (Scotland) Act 2010*, which provide legal protection for UCH and the marine activities relating to them.

The review points out that the UK’s own legal framework had evolved since 2001, which has made the UK ‘compliant’ (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014, 8) with major aspects of the 2001 Convention. This included the UK’s own broad definition of what constitutes the scope of the Historic Environment; ‘all aspects... and all surviving physical remains...buried or submerged’ (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014, 59). The review pointed out that to become compliant with the 2001 Convention, it was not necessary to ‘designate more sites, but to adopt an activity-based approach to protection’ (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group, 2014, 66) to which was added that the *Marine and Coastal Protection Act 2009* and the *Marine (Scotland) Act 2010* had effectively achieved this objective. A condensed version of the impact review setting out ‘the case for UK ratification’ was published by the British Academy and Honor Frost Foundation in 2014. As at the time of writing (April 2015) there has not been a response from the UK government to the review, but there has been a government statement on its policy to military wrecks found outside territorial waters (DCMS and MoD April 2014), which has restated that discoveries of military vessels should not be interfered with; that they have sovereign immunity, and that government policies had adopted the management principles of the Annex to the 2001 Convention.

5.5 Proposed Reforms to Heritage Protection - 2008

From the 1980s there had been considerations given to reforming the processes of designating and managing heritage assets. Relevant departments had produced reports, but many of the recommendations had not been implemented and the reform process had eventually stalled. The current designation and management process had become:

‘increasingly unsuitable for the comprehensive statutory protection and management of the wide range of historic assets now in scope. The artificial distinctions between ‘archaeology’, ‘buildings’,

‘architecture’ and ‘landscape’ were especially problematic when dealing with such issues as commercial, industrial or military heritage or when trying to deal with obvious historic entities like the ‘classic country house, its designed landscape and its archaeological features and context’ (Cherry & Chitty 2009, 3).

The proposed Heritage Protection Bill 2008 (DCMS White Paper 2008) was largely about reforms to Heritage Protection, aimed at creating a unified system, being inclusive of the public and making information about heritage protection and designations transparent. However the Bill was postponed. Within the *White Paper* it was stated that English Heritage would consult with the public ‘to develop priorities for a new programme of national designation under the new system’ (DCMS & Welsh Assembly Government 2008, 17). What is of particular interest relating to this reform is a survey conducted on behalf of English Heritage that sought to measure public sentiment towards heritage protection and public heritage spending priorities.

5.5.1 Public Attitudes on Heritage Protection

Although there was previous evidence of the nation’s value of the historic environment, evidenced by the surveys related to heritage such as the MORI poll of 2003 and the precursor survey to the *Restoration* TV programmes between 2003 to 2006 discussed in chapter eight, the government’s own annual Taking Part surveys, and even spontaneous public campaigns such as led to the rescue of the Newport Ship in 2002, a separate survey was commissioned. The survey was undertaken by market research company BDRC in 2009 aiming to assess the public’s attitude to heritage protection. It used the social categories in Table 9 below.

Table 9 National Readership Survey (NRS) Demographic Categories.

Social Grade	Social Status	Occupation
A	upper middle class	higher managerial, administrative or professional
B	middle class	intermediate managerial, administrative or professional
C1	lower middle class	supervisory or clerical, junior managerial, administrative or professional
C2	skilled working class	skilled manual workers
D	working class	semi and unskilled manual workers
E	those at lowest level of subsistence	state pensioners or widows (no other earner), casual or lowest grade workers

The survey methodology included face to face contact and a questionnaire. A nationally representative sample of nearly 1,000 adults from the UK took part was undertaken in two locations, London and Leeds. In addition four focus groups targeted different social demographic: Leeds, groups ABC1 for the 16-44 years; London C2DE for the same age group; for those 44 years and over, London ABC1 and C2DE in Leeds.

5.5.2 Survey Results

The survey results provided further evidence that the public values cultural heritage. The report's headline was that all respondents agreed at least 'slightly' with the question, 'It is important that the historic buildings and places of this country are protected?' (BDRC 2009). Further questions explored public sentiment. The question: 'It is important that we value and appreciate the historic buildings, places and archaeological remains that we have in this country?' (BDRC 2009) resulted in 71% agreeing strongly, 19% agreeing slightly, 7% neither agreeing nor disagreeing, 1% disagreeing slightly, and 1% disagreeing strongly.

Table 10 Prioritised rank of historic environment themes. Source: Heritage Protection Designation – Public Attitudes, BDRC Continental 2009.

Table 10.				
% Matter Not At All %	Category	% Matter A Lot	% Matter A little	Total % Positive
11	Places of worship	47	13	60
8	Conflict & defence	49	10	59
12	Cemeteries and Burial grounds	45	13	58
11	Urban Archaeology	44	12	56
10	Seaside	41	14	55
13	Industry	41	13	54
12	Rural	40	13	53
12	Civic Heritage	36	15	51
19	Shipwreck sites	24	20	44
21	Schools	25	17	42
17	Modern Transport	27	15	42
22	Modern Buildings	22	28	40
20	Diverse & Multicultural History	28	11	39
24	Recreation in the Modern World	18	18	36
	None	5	14	19

A further question asked: 'It is important to identify which historic buildings, places and archaeological remains are of national significance, so that they can be protected?' (BDRC

2009). This question had a slightly less-strong response but nonetheless strongly in favour: 65% agreeing strongly, 23% agreeing slightly, 9% neither agreeing nor disagreeing, 1% disagreeing slightly, and 1% disagreeing strongly. The answers showed that the public valued and appreciated these places, and that those 'historic buildings, places and archaeological remains' (BDRC 2009) of national importance should be identified.

5.5.3 Public Priorities

When ranked by public prioritisation of which category of heritage mattered shown in table 10 above shipwreck sites appear 19th out of the 24 categories, with 19% of respondents considering that shipwreck sites were 'not at all,' important, with a total of 44% considering them either important 'a lot' or 'a little.' Elsewhere in the report there were no identifiable positive comments relating to shipwrecks, but one should probably be considered negative: 'How often are we going to see a shipwreck site?' which points to the difficulties that the majority of the public have in physically connecting to underwater cultural heritage (BDRC 2009).

Although archaeologists and heritage professionals might be disappointed to see the relatively low ranking of shipwreck sites, there are some positives. Nearly half of the respondents considered them to matter, 'a lot' or 'a little' (BDRC 2009). Considering that considerably less than 0.5%²⁵ of the population can directly visit an *in situ* shipwreck, this figure may be surprisingly high, accepting that the public can visit many of the historic ships displayed around the country.

Rather than treating shipwreck sites as an isolated category, military wrecks, which are well represented in the UK's list of protected sites, the remains of the German High Seas Fleet, could be moved or at least referenced to the category of *Conflict and Defence*, with which they are clearly relevant. Those military wrecks that represent a particular industrial technology could be moved or referenced to the more popular category of *Industry*. This would help improve the social relevance of some, if not all, shipwreck sites, rather than considering them as an abstract group of characterless sites, with the real significance known only to those few involved directly through investigation or management, or to the recreational divers who visit them (Underwood 2014, 39).

5.6 UK Marine Policy Statement 2011 & Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009

The UK's 2011 Marine Policy Statement sets out the government's vision for the utilisation of the UK's marine zones and inshore tidal waters. 'It has been prepared and adopted for the purposes of section 44 of the *Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009*' (DEFRA 2011a, 3). The policy is

aimed at achieving ‘clean, healthy, safe, productive and biologically diverse oceans and seas’, (DEFRA 2011a, 3) with the objectives being to:

‘promote sustainable economic development; enable the UK’s move to a low-carbon economy, in order to mitigate the causes of climate change and ocean acidification and adapt to their effects; ensure a sustainable marine development which promotes healthy functioning maritime ecosystems and protect marine habitats, species and our heritage assets; and contribute to the social benefits of the marine area, including the sustainable use of marine resources to address local social and economic issues’ (HM Gov. 2011, 3).

There are specific statements relating to the marine historic environment using the consistent definition:

‘The historic environment includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged’ (HM Gov. 2011, 21).

The Marine Policy Statement restates that marine historic assets have ‘social, economic and environmental value’ and can be ‘a powerful driver for economic growth’ (HM Gov. 2011, 21)

Tourism is specifically mentioned before adding that these assets are a finite, usually irreplaceable resource and vulnerable to human and non-human threats. They were to be enjoyed, be life enhancing for present and future generations and protected appropriate to their particular significance²⁶, be of ‘archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic’ (HM Gov. MPS 2011, 21).

The *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*, *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* or the *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986*, and in Scotland the *Marine (Scotland) Act 2010*, are used to exemplify available legislative options for protecting heritage assets. At the time of writing Wales and Northern Ireland are yet to have the necessary mechanisms in place.

5.6.1 Background

The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) published, ‘A description of the marine planning system for England in 2011’ (DEFRA 2011b, 20) that would be implemented and administered in England by the Marine Management Organisation. Similar arrangements would be arranged for the devolved administrations of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Within the document are important statements relating to UCH in regard to planning in the marine environment. Of special interest to heritage managers and archaeologists is the reference to sites that are not currently designated by the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*,

Ancient and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 and the Protection of Military Remains Act 1986, being:

‘not necessarily less significant’ than designated sites, and that they should be equally considered in planning processes. Provision is also made to ensure that there is ‘joined up management’ in future Marine Plans with regard to spatial jurisdictions. To ensure this Marine Plans will extend to the ‘level of mean high water springs’, with local authority limits extending to ‘mean low water spring tides’ (DEFRA 2011b, 76).

Attention is drawn to the 2001 Convention, in which the document states that despite the UK not being a signatory to the 2001 Convention, ‘we would look to marine planners to take account of the principles set out in its Annex’ (DEFRA 2011b, 20). This reinforces the commitment to the Rules of the 2001 Convention made in 2005 (HM Gov. 2005b) and more recently restated in a policy document that provides clarification of the UK’s position relating to ‘historic military wrecks outside UK territorial waters’ (DCMS & MoD 2014, 4). It states that: ‘Under International law, naval warships, state vessels, aircraft and associated artefacts enjoy protection through Sovereign Immunity’ (DCMS & MoD 2014, 4). The overall policy impact affirms the protection of underwater heritage assets that are integrated into national planning policies in line with planning arrangements for terrestrial heritage, although in the marine environment there remains the significant issue of salvage law and practice, which is not addressed.

English Heritage, as the statutory adviser (in England) for the terrestrial and marine historic environments would be consulted on issues relating to the conservation of heritage assets, again reaffirming that there would be no distinction made between designated and non-designated sites, and contributing to ‘our knowledge and understanding of our past’ (DEFRA 2011, 71). With regard to conservation the more significant the site there would be a greater ‘presumption in favour of its conservation...the loss or harm of heritage assets should be exceptional, only allowed if the outcomes in terms of social, economic or environmental benefits’ outweighed the loss of the asset, and that in such instances where this was the case the site should be recorded before it is lost’ (HM Gov. 2011, 22).

The significance of these policies is that they mirror those already discussed in preceding chapters, in so far as the marine zones will be required to make an economic contribution: through industry, with tourism being mentioned; contribute to the social wellbeing of the nation; be sustainable, and that planning consents for commercial activity should be consistent with terrestrial counterparts. The ‘guidance’ reiterated government policy statements, against which applications would be considered: achieving a sustainable marine economy; ensuring a strong,

healthy and just society; living within environmental limits; promoting good governance and using sound science responsibly.

5.6.2 Marine (Scotland) Act 2010 – Scotland’s Historic Marine Protected Areas

Historic Scotland is the first of the four UK administrations to amend its legislative approach towards UCH. In 2010 it was reported that there was to be a change. ‘Scotland’s shipwrecks opened up to divers’ (*The Scotsman* 30th September 2009) with the sub heading reading: ‘HISTORIC shipwrecks that have been out of bounds to divers are to be opened up for the first time’ (*The Scotsman* 30th September 2009). As appears commonplace, news headlines dramatize events for the sake of increasing readership. The article is also inaccurate. Licensed access forms part of the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*. Scotland has a long tradition of providing recreational diver access to protected sites. The UK’s first underwater heritage trails were organised on the wrecks of the *Swan* and the *Dartmouth*, both in operation from 1997 (Robertson 2002). These trails opened several years before the scheduling of the wrecks associated with the German High Seas Fleet in Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands, Scotland (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 2015). The article goes on to report comments by the Environment Secretary Richard Lochhead, speaking at Holyrood’s Marine Bill Conference in Edinburgh:

‘The popularity of shipwreck diving in Orkney and the Sound of Mull means Scotland can already lay claim to the title of ‘shipwreck diving capital of Europe’...Diving generates millions of pounds for our economy. And thanks to these new measures there is scope to open up a whole new world of hidden treasures for divers’ (*The Scotsman* 30th September 2009).

Utilising the *Marine (Scotland) Act 2010* (Scottish Ministers 2010b), Historic Scotland stated its intention to create *Historic Marine Protected Areas* (HMPA), thereby replacing the designated status under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*. The first HMPA was created on the 18 March 2013 and reported, ‘New protection for Drumbeg wreck’ (*The Northern Times* 18th March 2013). The wreck, discovered by shellfish divers near Drumbeg harbour is a ‘probable 17th century merchant vessel’ (The Scottish Government), with a survey by Wessex Coastal and Marine finding the presence of three cannon, other ordnance related artefacts, as well as structure (Wessex Archaeology 2014; RCAHMS [Drumbeg] 2014). As a consequence of the creation of the HMPAs, the Scotland government repealed Section 1²⁷ of the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* in November 2013 (Scottish Ministers 2013). Visitor licences will no longer be required on those sites previously designated by the 1973 Act. As of 1 November 2013 seven HMPAs were created, Drumbeg;

Mingary; Kinlochbervie; Campania; Out Skerries that contains the sites of Wrangels Palais and VOC ship *Kennermerland*; Dartmouth containing the English warship of the same name and Duart Point, containing what is believed to be the *Swan*.²⁸ The previous statutory protection of *the Blessing of Burntisland*²⁹ has been revoked under *Scottish Statutory Instruments 2013 No. 277 (C.22) Protection of Wrecks* (Scottish Ministers 2013).

It is intended that the wrecks of the German High Seas Fleet and any other suitable vessel within Scapa Flow, will become *Historic Marine Protected Areas*. This would maintain the unrestricted access for sites previously protected by the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*, noting that access to Scotland's HMPAs can be restricted under the terms of a *Marine Conservation Order*. In other parts of the UK the 1973 Act has continued as the primary heritage protection legislation.

5.7 Heritage at Risk

5.7.1 Stirling Castle (1703)

The UK's (underwater) archaeological community has expressed concern that some, if not all, of the country's most important protected wrecks are under-resourced and at a significant risk of deterioration. An outstanding example is that of the *Stirling Castle* (1703), whose long-term licensee, having witnessed the deterioration of the site since its legal protection in 1980, has questioned the government's commitment to the site's preservation:

'Over the last 25 years we have moved from an era of discovery through the sensible investigation of sites to a position where we largely do nothing but employ electronic gadgets and very little else. We learn little from this and we certainly do not engage the public' (Peacock 2008).

The comments and concern raise two important issues, preservation and engagement with the public. The site remains on English Heritage's Heritage at Risk register and the management plan for the site includes monitoring by the site licensee and independently by the government's contracted archaeological team, recovery of vulnerable finds, limited remedial physical protection, and the development of interpretive material for local museums (Dunkley 2008a). Despite the listing there has been no major initiative to stabilise and preserve for the longer-term, nor has it been stated that English Heritage won't take more substantive action if it is required.

As a protected and therefore nationally important site, why have greater efforts not been made to preserve the wreck? Although scuba divers can visit the shipwreck under license, the site is in

an exposed offshore location, making the prevailing diving conditions difficult. It is therefore unlikely that the numbers of visitors will ever total more than a few groups of divers per year.

These levels will not make a meaningful impression on the local region's visitor figures, acknowledging that the *Stirling Castle's* story is told in Ramsgate Maritime Museum, which is itself suffering from financial problems has not always been open to the public through the year (Underwood 2014, 34-35).

The story of the *Stirling Castle* has failed to motivate the public into more proactive action, whereas the Newport Ship certainly did. The difference must partly be due to the fact that large numbers of the public could see the Newport Ship first-hand and therefore be connected with the local significance and obvious threat, whereas the possibility of equivalent numbers having direct contact with the environmental threat to the *Stirling Castle* is, by comparison, very low, even using internet or museum-based information to help raise awareness. The example of the *Stirling Castle* has done little to protect the integrity of the 2001 Convention's principle of preservation *in situ*, which, although stating that this is the first and not the only option for action, has in some public quarters come to mean do nothing.

The lack of more positive action appears to be gambling with the future of important UCH and seems to challenge the statement that 'our existing heritage assets are also simply irreplaceable' (HM Gov. 2010, 1).

5.7.2 Gresham Ship – Success or Failure?

Other shipwrecks have suffered a less than ideal fate. What has become known as the Gresham Ship was discovered by the Port of London Authority in 2003 during a seabed survey in the Princes Channel, which forms part of the approaches to the River Thames. Its remains were being cleared in a salvage operation, its historic significance not instantly recognised by the authority. However the discovery of cannon changed the approach. Contact with Wessex Archaeology led to archaeological investigations between 2003 and 2004, during which dendrochronology samples dated the vessel's construction to 'soon after 1574' (Auer & Firth 2007).

The vessel's hull fragments and artefacts were subsequently recorded *in situ* (Wessex Archaeology 2005). The finds included 'Spanish olive jars, organic items such as leather shoes, barrel staves and rope and four pieces of ordnance were recovered (Auer & Firth 200, 231-232).

One bore the insignia 'TG' that identified merchant and gun founder Thomas Gresham (1519-1579) (Wessex Archaeology 2005, 1; Auer & Maarleveld 2014).

With no official reception centre for discoveries of this type, the survival and ultimate destination of such maritime finds is something of a lottery. The cultural material recovered by Wessex, were first stored by them and from 2008 by English Heritage in Fort Cumberland, Portsmouth. The ordnance found a home with the Royal Armouries at Fort Nelson, near Portsmouth, where they were recorded and conserved. The Nautical Archaeology Society provided a solution for the ship's hull sections, anchor and several iron ingots.

In the absence of funding, the transfer and the use of a crane to remove the hull components and anchor were facilitated by the British Army at no cost. They were placed in the brackish waters of the Defence Diving School on Horsea Island, near Portsmouth. Although in 2003 the military school had a civilian dive school operating in a section of the lake, the Tudor artefacts were placed in a section not open to the public, providing some measure of additional security.

NAS' short-term intentions were restricted to utilising the finds for its training courses and public outreach. Shortly after their relocation, NAS advertised and organised an 'open day' for divers to have the opportunity to see the ship's remains and anchor. Although it was originally believed that there was no particular threat to the objects or their continued access, the military closed the civilian school in 2007. This made access for any purpose more difficult. In 2010 the owners of Stoney Cove, an inland dive centre near Leicester, were asked if they would accept the ship fragments. In May and June of 2012, Field Squadron (Air Support) of 39 Engineer Regiment relocated them to Stoney Cove, where it now remains open to the public.

As an extension to the utilisation of the hull for outreach purposes, the Gresham Ship Project has a number of research strands including a study of the artefacts and hull. There has been public dissemination through conference, presentations and publications. The project has the support of the Port of London Authority, Gresham College, University College London (UCL), Mercers Company, University of Southern Denmark, Nautical Archaeology Society, English Heritage, Royal Armouries, Museum of London, Southend Museum Services and the Receiver of Wreck.

One aspect of Milne's presentation features a historic account of the salvage of items from the ship in the 19th century, which is no surprise, given the Deane's work on the *Mary Rose* and other historic vessels in the decade before, which is discussed in greater detail in chapter six. What is more surprising is the apparent interest of archaeologists of the time. The extract from Milne's presentation reveals that:

'In 1846 'It had been [known] there was a wreck on the Girdler Sand (off Herne Bay) but no one took notice of it, not knowing what wreck it was, until this spring when divers went down and examined and recovered some iron guns, of very ancient date, also some curious ingots and some iron, lead in pigs and red lead in cast iron casks, covered with wood... At this date, however, the operations were being conducted under the orders of the Duke of Wellington, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the men had recovered about 2,700 of the ingots, and more iron, pig lead, red lead, together with some stone shot' (Milne 2014).

The wreck's discovery appeared in the *Whitstable Shipping and Merchant Gazette*, 2 May 1846 (Auer and Maarleveld (2014, 20) and in a British Archaeological Association meeting in 1846 during which items recovered from the wreck were discussed, including tin ingots stamped with a royal crest, knife with a double-bladed fleur-de-lis stamped on the blade, round-toed leather shoe and silk doublet of the late 16th century (Auer & Maarleveld 2014, 20).

The process has not been a perfect one, in so far as the project developed retrospectively of the hull fragment's recovery and associated threat of destruction. However there are some positives. Aside from the on-going research and outreach, Auer and Firth (2007) and Auer and Maarleveld (2014) comment that the Port of London Authority recognised the historical nature of their find. Despite not being obligated under the terms of the Port of London Authorities operations guidance, they subsequently commissioned research and documentation by Wessex Archaeology and facilitated later activities, which increased the awareness of the Authority's staff to the potential of underwater archaeological sites.

The Gresham ship project fulfilled two roles, the continuing academic research and raising awareness of the importance of such finds among recreational divers and the wider public through televised news items. The media coverage of the transfer of the ship fragments from Horsea Island to Stoney Cove is now listed on You Tube, as well as recordings of lectures on the Gresham Ship Project, receiving 1,300 and 777 views respectively. Although the ratings are small they do at least keep underwater archaeology in the public domain and contribute to the many 'small' stories that appear in the media, discussed in more detail in chapter eight. In addition the project showed that the positive outcomes were due to commitments of a few individuals rather than an official mechanism that reacted to this type of opportunity.

5.8 Chapter Summary - Milestones in the Management of the UK's Underwater Cultural Heritage

Yorke, the continuing chairperson of the JNAPC summarised the committee's advocacy since *Heritage at Sea* (1989) deserved a score of four out of ten and as such not a 'pass mark', but subsequent successes including the transfer of responsibility for England's UCH had improved that original score (JNAPC 2011). He mentions the diver awareness initiatives listed above, the committee's continuing advocacy for new legislation through the *Interim Report on The Valletta Convention & Heritage Law at Sea* and the committee's representation on the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's *Salvage Working Group*. An important comment in the assessment of progress, and specifically with respect to the Heritage Protection Bill which failed to reach the statute book, was that it would have represented a minor step forward, due to its failure to address the issues of 'salvage and finds reporting' (Yorke 2011, 2). These components remain within the ambit of the *Merchant Shipping Act*, which although updated in 1995, remains little changed since the 19th century (Williams 2004).

In 2014 the law, policies and management of UCH in the UK, has made further progress, acknowledging that the marine plans described in the *2011 Marine Policy Statement* and implemented by the Marine Management Organisation in England ensure that there is overlap with shoreline management plans. There are clear statements that UCH should be taken into account in planning, not just protected sites, but other sites should be considered no less important because of the lack of formal protection by the legislative instruments stated above, with management actions based on the relative significance of individual sites. There are additional statements that show that where there is a potential impact on a heritage asset, the loss, partial or whole, must be demonstrably in the public interest. Government has made it clear that the Rules of the 2001 Convention will be applied.

The management system as described in this text has not been a sudden change, but one that has been a gradual process in a series of steps that often have seemed uncoordinated. Advocacy by independent groups such as JNAPC has undoubtedly played a role in maintaining the progression of development. It has relentlessly commented on poor policy, offered solutions and hosted events such as those at Burlington House to keep UCH issues in the eye of government, but less so for the public beyond the small percentage of the population that is actively involved either working on sites or as underwater tourists.

Government has responded and evolved its policies at its own pace, but despite the government's reticence to ratify the 2001 Convention the Impact Review of 2013 has made it clear that there is no legal or management impediment to doing so. That is a remarkable change from the 1960s, noting that the journey has taken over 50 years.

Among the notable achievements during most of this period, either as advocates for change or on specialist committees such as JNAPC, ACHWS and the Historic Wrecks Panel has been the inclusion on of representatives from the UK's diving organisations³⁰. As mentioned above BS-AC had been a participatory partner in earlier advocacy leading to the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*, but had not automatically joined JNAPC in 1988, perhaps reflecting the heritage community's reaction to recreational diving activity in this period. The return of the diving organisation's representation has and continues to have had the beneficial reciprocal consequences in enabling an influential stakeholder to take part in regular and direct discussions with the archaeological - heritage community. This enabled them to have an input in the development of policy documents aimed at the better protection of UCH. The relationship between archaeologists and recreational divers has not always been one of mutual trust, but JNAPC recognised the value of providing a forum for open discussion and cooperation in the development of policy and management with all sides able to claim input and ownership.

Despite the significant progress there remains discontent and gaps in resources that would make the management system more complete. The licensee of the *Stirling Castle* continues to lament the erosion of the vessel that requires greater efforts to preserve the ship *in situ*. The Gresham Ship illustrates that although the ship was reported, recorded and proven to be of significant scientific value and of some diver touristic value it was in reality an accident that it survived. The issue of a lack of conservation facilities or a process where such finds are dealt with, without the need for a scramble to find a solution eventually partly provided by the Nautical Archaeology Society, remains a missing piece of the heritage protection jigsaw.

The subsequent success of the project has been dependent on the continuing goodwill of the voluntary sector or interested parties, institutions or private companies. This does however fit comfortably with the government's strategy of relying on the public to take responsibility for deciding what it wants to protect, preserve and to provide the finance.

In the following chapter the parallel strands of salvage and recreational divers are discussed. Both have played a significant part in the evolution of policy. Salvage remains an unresolved issue for underwater cultural heritage managers, but events surrounding the desecration of maritime war-

graves by divers showed public support and concern, as with the Newport Ship, can lead to a shift in government policy and change in behaviour.

¹ The Humber Estuary, Yorkshire.

² Sutton Hoo has continued to fascinate archaeologists with publications spanning 1939 to the present day, with Martin Carver's 'Reflections on the Meaning of Anglo Saxon Barrows' appearing in 2002 (Carver 2002).

³ Historical evidence suggests that in the 16th century Elizabeth I had despatched Dr John Dee to Suffolk to look for treasure in Suffolk. Although there is no direct evidence Mound 2, 3 and 4 had been 'raided' around the time (National Trust 2014).

⁴ Blackfriars 1 is one of three watercraft found in Blackfriars and are sequentially numbered. The second, a seventeenth century craft, carrying bricks was found in 1969 and the third in 1970, carrying a cargo stone (Marsden 1972, 130).

⁵ Philippe Diolé collaborated with and co-authored a series of books that followed the TV series in the 1960s, 'The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau.'

⁶ Until 1991 the *IJNA* was known as *the International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*.

⁷ A 'ducaton, - ducaton - ducatoon is a silver coin from the 16th-18th centuries. Available from: <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ducaton>>. [24 September 2014].

⁸ This activity was so intensive that (Marsden 1986, 182) noted that after the enactment of the *Protection of Wrecks Act* in 1973, the *Association* was not worth protecting.

⁹ A government Bill 'sets out the proposals for new laws, and plans to change existing laws, that are presented for debate before Parliament.' <http://www.parliament.uk/business/bills-and-legislation/> [21 September 2014].

¹⁰ A Ten Minute Rule is a non-ministerial 'backbench' tool whereby a member of Parliament can propose legislation with a ten minute speech, with the possibility of a ten minute speech countering the proposal (HM Gov. 2014).

¹¹ The wreck of the Royal Yacht *Mary* 1676 is located off the Skerries, Anglesey, North Wales and was designated 11th April 1974 (DCMS 2008).

¹² The UK and Northern Ireland acknowledged its 'acceptance' of the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, (Paris, 14 November 1970), 1st August 2002, (UNESCO 2015), meaning a legal instrument deposited with the Director-General of UNESCO, affirming a State's or regional economic integration organization's consent to be bound by this Convention.

¹³ This was four years after the Research Committee on Nautical Archaeology became a 'specialist committee of the Council for British Archaeology.'

¹⁴ JNAPC includes the following member or affiliate organisations and individuals. Member Organisations: Association of Local Government Officers (ALGAO), British Sub Aqua Club (BS-AC), Council for British Archaeology (CBA), Trust for Maritime Archaeology (HWTMA), Institute of Conservation (ICoN), Institute for Archaeologists, Marine Affairs Group (IfA), International Council on Monuments and Sites (UK) (ICOMOS), National Maritime Museum, National Museum and Galleries of Wales, National Trust, Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS), Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI), Shipwreck Heritage Centre [Hastings], Society for Nautical Research (SMR), Sub-Aqua Association (SAA), Wessex Archaeology, UK Maritime Collections Strategy, Wildlife and Countryside Link. Affiliations: Professor Sarah Dromgoole - School of Law, University of Nottingham, Michael Williams University of Wolverhampton. Observers: Historic Wrecks Panel [formerly Advisory Committee on Historic Wreck Sites (ACHWS)] Welsh Historic Monuments (CADW), The Crown Estate, English Heritage Environment Service (Northern Ireland), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Historic Scotland, Receiver of Wreck (Maritime and Coastguard Agency), Ministry of Defence, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) Source. Available from: <<http://www.jnapc.org.uk/members.htm>>. [27 March 2014].

¹⁵ Heritage at Sea was presented to DCMS which included a number of recommendations for the better protection and management of the UK's UCH. It resulted in government support for the Nautical Archaeology's Society's training Programme to help mitigate recreational diving's impact on UCH.

¹⁶ The Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England.

¹⁷ Similar transfers were arranged for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

¹⁸ Although the NAS Training Programme 'officially' began in 1986 there had been other courses run by individuals and from at least 1965 courses were offered by the School for Nautical Archaeology in Swanage, Dorset. BS-AC (Du Plat Taylor, J 1966, *The British Sub-Aqua Club Diving Manual, Diving Activities – Archaeology*, 8).

¹⁹ 'A Nominated Archaeologist should be competent to provide archaeological input appropriate for the type of licence. It may not be necessary to be a diver, but where intrusive investigations are taking place, this would normally be a requirement,' from Protected Historic Wreck Sites: Guidance Notes for Divers and Archaeologists. English Heritage 2008.

²⁰ Prior to an excavation license being issued a Project Design would be normally required, together with a much higher level of on-site archaeological oversight by a qualified and competent archaeologist.

²¹ The Crown Estate manages property that is owned by the Crown, but not owned by the royal family. Profits from the management of the Estate pass to the Treasury for the 'benefit of the nation' (Crown Estate). Available from: <<http://www.thecrownestate.co.uk/about-us/>>. [20 September 2014].

²² This caisson unit was intended to form part of the Mulberry Harbour utilised as a temporary port after D-Day, 6 June 1944.

²³ The first Merchant Shipping Act was enacted in 1786 resulting from a petition made by the owners of merchant shipping to the UK's Parliament, expressing concern about the results of court cases that had increased their liability to losses caused to their cargoes.

²⁴ Aside from the amateur divers who were members of Alexander McKee's original team, from 1965 onwards, hundreds participated in the larger scale excavations that took place from 1979 to 1982.

²⁵ The upper/lower percentages of 0.27% - 0.31% are based on the quoted number of qualified recreational divers numbering between, 170-200,000 out of a UK population of 64.1 million sourced from the UK's Office of National Statistics, Available from: <<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/taxonomy/index.html?nscl=Population>>. [19 September 2014].

²⁶ Significance is the value of a heritage asset to this and future generations.

²⁷ Section 2 of the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* refers to the designation and controlled access to sites which 'because of anything contained in it, the vessel is in a dangerous condition which makes it a potential danger to life or property...'

²⁸ Scotland's HMPAs: The Duart Point Wreck (NM73NW 8005); The Dartmouth (NM74SW 8002), The Mingary Castle Wreck (NM56SW 8001); HMS Campania (NT28SW 8001); The Kinlochbervie Wreck (NC15SE 8001). The Wrangels Palais (HU77SW 8001) and Kennemerland (HU67SE 8001) will be designated as the Out Skerries HMPA, i.e. two sites (polygons) making up one designation.

²⁹ (NT28SW 8008).

³⁰ Those currently on JNAPC are the British Sub-Aqua Club (BS-AC), Sub-Aqua Association (SAA) and the Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI), reflecting the growth and diversification of recreational diving in the UK and there is a single representative member of the BS-AC on English Heritage's Historic Wrecks Panel

6 Salvage – Recreational Diving – War Graves and Continuing Policy Confusions

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described the evolution of legislation and associated policies intended to improve the protection and management of UCH in the UK. This included increased awareness that the study of ships could contribute to our knowledge of seafaring. In parallel archaeologists began to recognise the human threats to this potential. Archaeologists in an alliance with other heritage professionals and diving organisations worked together to advocate for legal protection, resulting in the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*.

This legislation remains in place, but reinforced by policies that have improved the management of UCH in the UK. In 2009, the *Marine and Coastal Access Act*¹ came into force. Although not heritage legislation, it has brought UCH activities within a marine licensing framework. This has led to some uncertainties about the future of avocational archaeology, mainly due to the additional licensing costs, not against the principle of licensing activities. Some groups have chosen to end their projects rather than to continue under the new framework, a response that reflects Firth's observations that new restrictions on diver's activities created a reaction, such as was the case after the 1973 legislation came into force.

Despite this more comprehensive protective system, UCH remains within the ambit of salvage legislation. This is considered by JNAPC to be among the 'fundamental issues' in developing better protection for UCH (JNAPC 2011), but the committee has yet to be successful in advocating for UCH to be removed from the salvage framework.

This chapter considers several themes related to the continuing influence of salvage. This includes salvage practices, which shares a progression with the evolution of underwater technologies. In historic times, this enabled a relatively small number of intrepid individuals to salvage valuable material from shipwrecks, but from the middle of the 20th century, this paradigm changed due to the advent of recreational diving. These new sub-sea adventurers became salvors, albeit in the main opportunistic. They were largely ignorant of, or ignored the law despite advice in diving manuals and other publications. Another important topic is the *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986*, brought about by the salvage of military aircraft and vessels after the Second World War. In the first years of the 21st century, these activities created a high level of public sensitivity over the disturbance of war graves that brought about

a convergence of the law and public views on morality. This culminated in a government threat to ban diving on military vessels and as a consequence ultimately changed the behaviour of the majority of recreational divers.

6.2 Evolution of Salvage Law

Williams' account of the development of salvage law states that it evolved during the eleventh and twelfth centuries at a time when 'England was a feudal society' (Williams 1997). The feudal system had the consequence of decentralising power, with the result that the Crown had limited jurisdiction over local nobility. Initially the law, in the absence of diving technologies, concerned itself with items that came ashore on the tide. The location of the discovery decided entitlement to the finds, not from where it derived. The law separated the coast and the sea into four zones: 'from the shore above high water; from the low water to the jurisdictional limit, now known as territorial waters, but previously known as "narrow seas"; the high seas beyond jurisdictional limit and the inter tidal zone between high water and low water' (Williams 1997).

6.3 Common Law & Manorial Rights

All items found above high water known as *wreccum maris* unless claimed within a year and a day belonged to the Crown as a prerogative right under Common Law put on a statutory basis in 1275 by the *Act of Westminster 1* (Williams 1997, 2; Dromgoole 1999a, 31). It was considered 'declaratory' of existing Common Law², reaffirmed in 1353. The current reporting *Droit* includes a question as to whether the wreck was found on the 'seabed, afloat, ashore or bumping', (HM. Gov. 2015c).

'Often short of funds and facing difficulties the Crown sold the right to wreck to local landowners', (Williams 1997, 2), the authority of which was confirmed during the reign of Henry I, 1216-1272, (Marsden 1897). Although there is no complete extant list of these manorial grants, Williams (1997, 2) observes that by 1189 the Crown had sold its rights to most of the coast of England and Wales, including to the Duchy of Cornwall, a county rich in shipwreck remains and one of the most popular recreational diving destinations. These 'manorial rights' could include the disposal of Crown rights to wreck such as to an 'abbey or individual' (Williams pers. comm. 2014). As it remains present in the UK's legal system it can still affect ownership of historic wreck in the 21st century.

This was evidenced when Mr Roberts, who had bought ‘the Lordships of Trevine and the city and suburbs of St David’ (Wales) at public auction (BBC 16 February 2005a). He claimed and subsequently ‘won the right to a half share of any wreck that subsequently washed up on part of the Pembroke Coast’, located on the southern-most tip of South Wales (BBC 13 June 2008). Roberts had also claimed ‘exclusive fishing rights, treasure trove [the right to money or coin, gold, silver, plate, or bullion, deliberately hidden or concealed where the owner is unknown], sporting rights and even ownership of stray animals’, all argued by his lawyers were the ‘rightful possessions’ of their client (BBC 2008).

Mr Justice Lewison, the presiding High Court judge, having reviewed ‘Welsh Customary Law’ that predates the 1066 Norman invasion, ruled that the ‘right that went with the titles was not extinct as some had thought and he was entitled to wreck that fell within his manor’ (Lewison 2008, BBC 2008). As treasure trove was confirmed as being the exclusive right of the Crown the other claims were rejected. The judge concluded that he had found nothing in his researches, which had stretched to ‘at least fifty years before 1189, the year in which Henry II had died, that had nullified the claimant’s entitlement ‘to the exercise of the right to moiety [one-half] of wreck’. The ‘beginning of legal memory’ is 1189 (BBC 2008). Although Roberts’ claim was up-held, his legal costs of around £600,000 covering his own legal expenses and those of the Crown Estate made it a pyrrhic victory. The full judgement is available from the England and Wales High Court (Chancery Division) Decisions, but an extract from the historical research is illustrative of the issues and potential problems relative to maritime ownership and protection of wreck created by ancient rights that persists to the current day.

‘He [the Bishop of St David’s] held his temporal lands in chief of the king; he had his own chancery and issued his own writs; all revenues within his territories were paid into his exchequer; all judicial proceedings were conducted in the courts of his lordships: he had power of life and death, his own prison and gallows; for his lordships he had superior courts from which there was no appeal; for the mesne manors there were courts barons, leets³ and lawdays, from which an appeal lay to the bishop’s superior court. The bishop enjoyed all feudal rights, reliefs, aids, wardship, marriage, escheats⁴, waifs⁵ and strays, goods and chattels of felons, fugitives, condemned and outlawed persons, deodands⁶, wharfage, tolls of markets and fairs, customs, ligam, flotsam and jetsam, wreck of the sea, rights of admiralty, of hunting and fishing, free warren, and the right to incorporate boroughs. He could raise armies to defend his own frontiers or to swell the king’s army. Like De Clare and Bohun, Mortimer and Braose, the bishop was a lord marcher. The king’s writ did not run in his territories. In Dewsland the bishop was king’ (Lewison 2008).

6.4 Admiralty law

While Common Law related to wreck cast ashore above the low water mark, below low water Admiralty jurisdiction prevailed. The first references in the UK to 'Admiralty' date to around the 12th century (Williams 1997) believed to be coincidental with the appointment of the first King's admiral, William de Leybourne, Admiral of the Sea of the King of England, in 1297 (Wikipedia 2015a). It is believed that Admiralty Courts begin after 1360 (Marsden cited in Williams 1997, 4) with King's Admirals' were presiding over courts by the end of the 14th century. As conflict between Common and Admiralty Law became an issue in 1389 a law restricted the Admiralty to issues at sea.

In an international context, references to maritime law are traceable to 900BC with the law of 'Jettison' surviving to the current day (The Free dictionary 2015). A quote from the Justinian Digest (AD 533) in a dispute over the looting of a cargo serves to illustrate the point. Roman Emperor Antonius from AD138-161 claimed that 'I am indeed lord of the world, but the Law is the lord of the sea. This matter must be decided by the maritime law of the Rhodians, provided that no law of ours is opposed to it' (Du Haime 2015).

The terms that today help describe wreck: jetsam, flotsam and lagan were developed under Admiralty Law and customarily used before defined in 1601 as a consequence of Sir Henry Constable's case and which together were described as *adventurae maris* (Dromgoole 1999a, 319). These terms were re-examined in the case of the *Cargo ex Shiller* in the 19th century (Dromgoole 1999a, 319), adding that the definition is wider than that in Admiralty Law that states it is 'property cast ashore within the ebb and flow of the tide after shipwreck' (Dromgoole 1999a, 319; 1999b, 183). Later in 1798, the *Aguila* judgement by Sir William Scott defined derelict (Williams 1997; see Dromgoole & Gaskel 1997; HM Gov. 2014). The definitions quoted by current government sources states that:

'Jetsam describes goods cast overboard to lighten a vessel in danger of sinking. The vessel may still perish; Flotsam describes goods lost from a ship, which has sunk or otherwise perished.

Goods are recoverable because they remain afloat; Lagan describes goods cast overboard from a ship, which afterwards perishes. The goods are buoyed so they can be recovered and derelict describes property, whether vessel or cargo, which has been abandoned and deserted at sea by those who were in charge of it without any hope of recovering it' (HM Gov. 2015 s. 510).

The Crown's entitlement to unclaimed wreck has extended to the present day (HM Gov. 1995 s.241), except where those rights have been granted to another person, with aircraft and hovercraft incorporated into what constitutes 'wreck' (Dromgoole 1999b, 183).

6.5 Merchant Shipping Acts

The first *Merchant Shipping Act* became law in 1786, (HM Gov. 1786), which itself was an extension of the *Responsibility of Ship Owners Act 1733* (Wikipedia 2015b). The primary role of the *Merchant Shipping Act* remains the regulation of maritime merchant activities, originally including vessel registration, calculation of tonnage and included the management of lighthouses. As its remit increased the administration of matters relating to wreck were added.

The Act seems to have been intended to 'encompass under one term two different types of historical prerogative, *wreccum maris* and *adventurae maris* mentioned above ((Williams 1997, 2; Dromgoole 1999a, 31). The definition of 'wreck', which included jetsam, lagan, flotsam and 'wreck' at Common Law became part of section 2 of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1854*. It defined the responsibilities for reporting and mechanisms for receiving salvage awards creating the post of Receiver of Wreck (Dromgoole 1999a, 319).

6.5.1 Remit of a Receiver of Wreck

The duties of a Receiver are to administer *Chapters 1 and 2 of Part IX of the Merchant Shipping Act 1995* that relates to wreck and salvage as explained in the previous sections. The Receiver's remit extends to the tidal waters of the UK, with the primary aims including, reuniting owners with their property, and ensuring fair salvage awards and to dispose of unclaimed wreck on behalf of the Crown (HM Gov. 2015). Reporting of wreck material defined by the 1995 Act as including jetsam, flotsam, lagan and derelict is a statutory obligation under section 236 of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1995* and of the 1894 Act that preceded it.

6.5.2 Conflicting Aims of Salvage and Archaeology

Salvage law is an aspect of maritime legislation that has been a major concern for archaeologists (Yorke 2011, 2; Maarelveld 2011, 928-9). It is with some justification that salvage awards provide an incentive to divers to recover material, although prior to the raised awareness of the duty to report, the obligation was in most cases largely ignored. During the negotiations of the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage*

it was a significant issue (O’Keefe 2002, 61-64) culminating in Article 4 that specifically deals with the relationship with the Law of Salvage and Law of Finds.

The physical act of salvage is founded on the principle that ‘wreck’ is in danger and therefore a salvor is undertaking an act of assisting wreck, as defined, from a peril (Williams 2004, 7), the act described as ‘performing a valuable public service’ (Dromgoole 2013, 168). The statutory obligation is to report the finding and recovery of wreck to the Receiver of Wreck (Dromgoole 1995, 185; HM Gov. 1995 s.236; Williams 2004, 10). This raised the possibility that the reporting of finds would be sufficient. This interpretation would have been helpful to the protection of cultural material in that reporting a find without recovery would at least preserve its original context, while recovery can result in its loss through inexpert recording. However Dromgoole (1995) goes on to explain the widely accepted view that reporting finds would not appear to be the intended purpose, and rather is an alternative to the legal expression ‘take possession of’ leading her to conclude that recovery was a requirement.

The pre-emptive act of recovery of artefacts is contrary to the precautionary principle of leaving historic material *in situ* as the first option preferred by archaeologists (Williams 2004, 5-6). Although ‘precautionary’ did not become part of the final text of the 2001 Convention, best practice as promoted in Article 2 of the 2001 Convention, states that the ‘first option’ (UNESCO 2001, 3 & 16; UNESCO 2013, 20) for the protection of UCH is to leave the material *in situ*. Rule 17 of the Annex advises that prior to any recovery of material satisfactory arrangements for such things as conservation and curation shall be in place, unless ‘in cases of emergency’ (UNESCO 2001, 18; UNESCO 2013, 177). In the absence of such facilities ‘emergency’ should not be used as an excuse to justify salvage methods, but the door is open.

The most recent version of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1995* has ‘little difference between it and the 1894 version’ (Williams (1997)). In a contemporary world where submarine technologies have expanded the possibilities of salvage and other subsea industries beyond the continental shelf this does not seem appropriate, a factor recognised in the Impact Review (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014, 11). Archaeologists have a very different perspective from salvors on how to record, protect, preserve and where necessary recover material, bearing in mind that the laws outlined above do not draw a clear distinction between methods used for salvage and those used during an archaeological project. The text of the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*, states that methods should be ‘appropriate’. If this obligation combined with the UK’s recent explicit recognition of the Rules of the 2001 Convention and

the permits required by the Marine Management Organisation, future policy should counteract leanings to less protective salvage methods.

Archaeologists consider salvage principals to be in conflict with the aims of the standards for operations specific to UCH made clear in Article 4 of the 2001 UNESCO Convention, which states that where salvage is authorised, ‘any recovery of the underwater cultural material achieves its maximum protection’ (UNESCO 2001, 4). The *Merchant Shipping Act 1995* obliges salvors when reporting wreck to ‘take all reasonable care of the property and to indemnify the Maritime and Coastguard Agency and the Receiver of Wreck against any loss or damage to the property whilst in my / our possession’ (HM Gov. 2015c).

If the UK applies the Rules of the 2001 Convention a question is raised by Williams (pers. comm. 2014) asking whether this extends the responsibility to ‘preserve the archaeological context in order to maximise the value of the salvaged goods’ (Williams pers. comm. 2014). If enshrined in policy this obligation would significantly increase a salvors responsibilities and expenses incurred in recovering material, to the extent of employing a competent archaeologist to supervise the recovery and reconstitute what remains of the site. On the other hand there would need to be an evaluation of the relative benefits of a likely slower but more competent recovery against the risk of losing the material through natural or human cause in the meantime, remembering that salvage is an act of rescue.

6.5.3 Salvage and the relationship to the Protection of Wrecks Act 1973

The UK’s first protective legislation for shipwrecks, the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* is, based on the concept of salvor in possession (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014, 74). In dealing with archaeological work the 1973 Act refers to licenses being granted to competent and well equipped persons to ‘carry out salvage operations in a manner appropriate to the historical, archaeological or artistic importance of any wreck’ (HM Gov. 1973). Williams’ comments that there have been a few statutory amendments to aid preservation; ‘confined to limitations on the freedom of access and initiate salvage operations’ (Williams 2004, 5). The salvage regime has continued to dictate the ‘rights and duties’ (Williams 2004, 5) of those involved in the maritime archaeology and the disposal of finds. It is only after the passage of over forty years that legislation is evolving to replace the 1973 legislation, but not uniformly throughout the four countries that constitute the UK.

O’Keefe (2002, 41) describes the 2001 Convention’s 100-year cut-off that excludes modern material is ‘useful’ to ensure that salvage companies and other marine industries were not hampered by needing to assess whether something was of historical importance and therefore protected by the Convention. Dromgoole (2013, 90-91) goes further stating that the insertion of the 100 year limitation was a compromise to the salvage industry and that ‘as a matter of principle’, UCH from the 20th century was ‘unworthy of protection’, particularly noting that wrecks and aircraft from the Second World War would not be covered for some decades. Salvage remains alive in the UK, with the 100-year rule of the 2001 Convention proving to be an impediment in relationship to decisions regarding protecting military remains in the early years of the new millennium.

The legislation as described above is relevant to the development of diving and associated salvage activities of everyone, amateur or professional. It has long historical roots that have exerted their strength throughout the period considered in this study. This is despite advocacy to negate its powers with regard to underwater cultural heritage. Salvage legislation does not exist in parallel to heritage legislation. Ultimately, the Receiver deals with issues of ownership and rewarding the finder for reporting cultural material from sites designated by the *Protection of Wrecks Act*. Despite the tensions between the aims of heritage management and salvage awards positive policy steps by the Maritime and Coastguard Agency are sympathetic to heritage and archaeological issues. This is particularly the case after 1993 when the devolved responsibility for ‘wreck’ was centralised into a single post. It was fortunate that the first Receiver was personally interested in heritage with, subsequent Receivers possessing the additional advantage of being qualified maritime archaeologists.

A passive but fascinated public romantically connected to their activities followed these dangerous acts of salvage by divers in their clumsy diving machines or heavy suits and helmets, which in the middle of the 12th century evolved into active and enthusiastic participation.

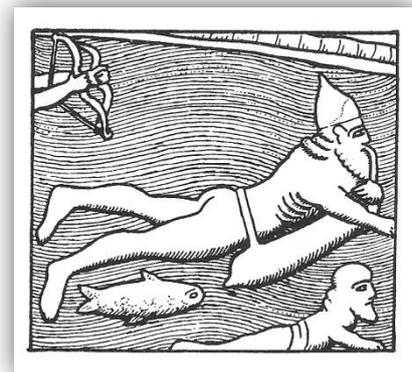


Figure 17. Assyrians (900BC) apparently swimming underwater ‘to whose girdles are attached inflated goatskins’ (Davies 1961).

6.6 The underwater world: distant curiosity to family recreation

The underwater world has been a fascination for humanity for centuries and the recovery of the valuable cargoes or their contents of sunken ships for probably as long. An illustration in the British Museum (Figure 17) shows Assyrians (900BC) apparently swimming underwater 'to whose girdles are attached inflated goatskins' (Davis 1961, 550). The interpretation is that these were swimming aids, but even if this is correct, it is only a relatively small step away from breath-hold diving and underwater swimming. Herodotus, 480 BC describes the heroic efforts of the Greek seaman Scyllis reputedly using a reed as a primitive snorkel to enable him to sever the anchor cables of Persian vessels (Broadwater 2002, 18).

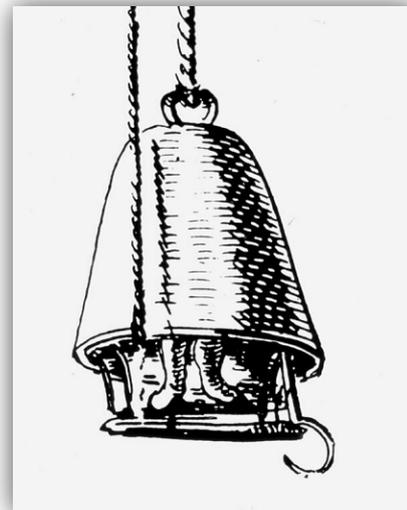
This interest has motivated people to develop ever-improving methods of staying underwater for longer periods of time and at ever-increasing depths. Attributed to Aristotle 350BC the oldest reference to diving describes the use of a bell or a bag of air supplied to the diver. In Davis's 6th edition of a manual originating in 1909 (1981, 549-570) there are numerous illustrations of the designs of underwater equipment, including by Da Vinci (Davis 1981, 549 - 570). Even if the various designs were imaginative, ineffective or never used with any degree of commercial success, the very existence of the drawings further illustrates humanity's desire to become underwater swimmers.

Prior to the late medieval period little is known about the evolution of underwater operations, other than it evolved from open-bottomed bronze bells, diving machines with leather-clad divers (Davies 1981). Divers were renowned for their salvage exploits, like Swede, Albrecht von Treileben and German, Andreas Peckell, who with their specialist salvage tools recovered *Vasa's* (1628) ordnance in 1664. The cannon were of commercial value, but had not yet acquired historic value. It is simple to identify their recovery as a matter of salvage, as were the contemporary attempts to salvage the remains of the *Mary Rose* shortly after sinking.

The emergence of new diving engines to equipment that supplied air from the surface (Ratcliffe 2011, 35) has followed. While bells were referred to as evolutionary it should be remembered that open bells remain a 21st century option for professional divers, while neoprene, vulcanised rubber or composite trilaminate suits have replaced the leather suits, but the methodologies remain recognisable. These technological advances have played an important role in providing access to the underwater world, with each progression enabling a gradual increase in efficiency and growing availability, the latter point becoming a very significant factor in the middle of the 20th century.

Figure 18. 17th century salvage bell used for salvaging the guns from Vasa (1628)

Ratcliffe (2011, 35; Watson 1983 cited in Dellino-Musgrave 2012, 7) write about the employment of breath-hold divers. Ratcliffe mentions that women were considered better suited, first used for pearl harvesting and then working in various roles from ship maintenance to hull inspections searching for contraband. The smuggling of precious metals by ship's officers as personal unofficial cargoes suspected. A diver was often a member of the crew of ships in Spain's *flota* (Perez-Mallaina 1998, 209 cited in Ratcliff, 37). Ratcliffe notes that the salvage industry comprised large companies at one end of the scale to the very small at the other, a situation that remains much the same today.



6.6.1 William Phips – 17th Century Salvor

The 17th century salvage exploits of William Phips are notable. On his first expedition he successfully salvaged 'twenty-six tons of silver in 1686' from the *Concepción* (Broadwater 2002; Ratcliffe 2011). To raise the capital for the expedition Phips sold eight shares of £325 each. On his return, King James II received his royal tenth worth £200,000, the investors fifty-two times their original investment, with Phips collecting a sixteenth portion and a knighthood, fame and fortune indeed! The excitement caused by the success spawned a treasure-hunting boom, with over thirty expeditions with aspirations to follow the success of Phips (Ratcliffe 2011, 35-36). All of the above factors will be familiar to today's archaeologists who remain concerned about the continuing issues surrounding the commercial exploitation of UCH (UNESCO 2001). Cousteau and Diolé (1971, 18) admitted that Phips' partial salvage of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* inspired their own search for the remaining treasure.

6.6.2 The Deane Brothers and the Advent of the Diving Industry

The achievements of John and Charles Deane are worthy of mention in the context of technological advancement and specifically salvage feats related to what are now regarded as historic ships. The brothers are attributed by Bevan (1996, 28; Broadwater 2002, 17-18; Dellino-Musgrave 2012, 7) with the invention of the diving helmet in 1828 by successfully

converting their 'smoke helmet' for use underwater. Prior to Bevan's research, published as *The Infernal Diver* in 1996, it was widely believed to have been Augustus Siebe (Davis 1981, 564). Although Bevan provided evidence that Siebe had not invented the diving helmet, his company, Siebe Gorman and Heinke, itself incorporated into Siebe Gorman in 1970, can be credited with the development of the 'closed dress'⁷ diving equipment, known more colloquially as 'standard diving' or 'hard hat' equipment. This led to the Company's commercial success, with the sale of helmets, suits and assorted paraphernalia that are now sought-after collectibles.

The Deane's invention changed the status quo in underwater operations, making diving engines such as Lethbridge's 'armoured diving dress' and other diving machines described by Davis (1981,582-585) increasingly obsolete. This evolutionary shift is just one but, none-the-less important developments of marine technology that Broadwater (2002) describes as being intertwined with the development of marine technology, a point recognised by Muckelroy (1978, 11). Similar to earlier times with the discovery of the New World, the salvage industry increased in parallel with the growth in international trade and associated shipping stimulated by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This growth in maritime traffic inevitably led to an increase in the loss of vessels and the resultant demand to recover valuable cargoes, as well as the clearance of ships considered navigation or fishing obstructions.

The Deane's realising their commercial advantage began to apply their invention to the salvage of shipwrecks and cargoes. Between 1828 and 1832, they worked on several wrecks such as the *Carn Brae Castle* lost off the Isle of Wight in 1829. Having established a good reputation with Lloyds, the insurance broker that has its origins in the 17th century, they recovered part of the copper cargo valued by the insurers at £100,000 (Bevan 1996, 34). The Deane brothers relocated their business to the Portsmouth area in 1832. It was the largest and most active of the naval dockyards with a high concentration of shipwrecks with the additional possibilities of routine maintenance and recovery work. One example was the clearance of the ninety-eight gun *Boyne*, which blew up and sank in 1795, becoming a navigational hazard (Bevan 1996, 52).

For those archaeologists and divers familiar with the survey and excavation of the *Mary Rose* it is the Deane's work on *Royal George* and *Mary Rose*, following the *Boyne*, for which the brothers are perhaps best known. What may be less well known is the brother's recognition of the antiquity and public curiosity of their work. The two ships serve as examples. In 1835 Charles Deane was salvaging material from the *Royal George* lost in a careening accident in

1782 (Rule 1982; Bevan 1996; Royal Naval Museum 2014), noting that there had been attempts to salvage the ship contemporary to its loss (Davis 1981, 559).

6.6.3 Public Curiosity - Salvage and Old Wrecks

Towards the end of the 18th century, public recreational use of the coast was growing. Hutton published his first edition of *Sea-Bathing* in 1789, its third by 1850, which suggests that Driver & Martins (2006, 23;) own comments that swimming as a recreation only became popular with the public as the end of the 19th century approached were somewhat out of line with the reality. This behavioural change initiated by the growth of steam power, improved public transport leading to more visitors taking holidays on the coast (Walton 2014). Consequently in parallel with the Deane's diving exploits there was an increasing public connection with the sea, and likely a romantic connection with diver's exploits (Brodie & Winter cited in Parham and Maddocks 2013).

Aware of the public interest in diving, shipwrecks and the underwater world in general (Driver and Martins 2006) in 1835 Deane created an exhibition, *Spoils of the Ocean* using material recovered from the *Royal George* and other wrecks. It was at the fashionable *Cosmorana* exhibition centre in Regent Street located in London's West End, with an entry price of one shilling. The exhibition included 'twenty oil paintings by James Meadows⁸ covering nearly 1400 square feet of canvass' along with sketches by Charles Deane brought together in *Sketches under the Sea* that featured the Deane's underwater work in the docks of London and the construction of Blackfriars Bridge. The exhibition is credited with possibly influencing naturalists' depiction of the natural world (Driver and Martins, 2006, 20-22). It received media attention including a lead article in the *Times Newspaper* titled *Submarine Exhibition*.

'A very curious exhibition has opened at 209 Regent St. [London] It consists of various articles brought up from the wrecks of the *Royal George*, the *Boyne* and other ships which have for many years been at the bottom of the ocean' (The Times 1836).

Figure 19. Poster advertising the *Spoils of the Ocean* exhibition in 1835 (Bevan 1996).

SPOILS OF THE OCEAN.



Royal Submarine
EXHIBITION,
209, REGENT STREET.

MR. DEANE, the Inventor of the celebrated DIVING APPARATUS for traversing the bottom of the Ocean, invites the attention of the Public to his novel Exhibition, containing a number of valuable and curious Relics which he has recently saved from the Wrecks of His Majesty's Ships and East Indiamen; and also 20 Oil Paintings by MEADOWS, covering nearly 1400 square feet of Canvass, illustrative of the various ways in which the Apparatus has been so successfully employed.

One of the principal features of the Exhibition consists of a richly ornamented Brass 24-pounder GUN, cast in the reign of George the Second, in the highest state of preservation, weighing 52 cwt. recovered from the

ROYAL GEORGE OF 100 GUNS,

which sunk at Spithead in 1782, with upwards of 800 Persons on board. Another is a large Iron Pot, containing Beef Bones firmly corroded to the bottom, which was on the galley-fire at the time of the lamentable catastrophe; together with Pewter Plates, Shot, Bottles with Oysters attached to them, Ropes, Chains, Iron Bolts, Relics of the unfortunate Sufferers, &c. &c.

The Air-Pump, Helmet, and complete DIVING DRESS used in the recovery of the above-mentioned Articles by Mr. DEANE, will interest the Curious and Scientific; while the several Paintings representing the Recovery of the Sloop Endeavour of Montrose, and her Cargo, will be found worthy the attention of all classes of Visitors.

OPEN FROM TEN TILL SIX O'CLOCK.

ADMITTANCE ONE SHILLING.

[TURN OVER.]

The article continued to describe the content that included 'ten guns, some of them brass'. The condition of the artefacts were described, some having gone through 'a sea change' while noting that others were 'little changed', (Bevan 1996, 96) providing an historical observation of the potential of certain types of material surviving well in the marine environment.

The way archaeology is presented to the public has been studied by writers such as Moser (2009, 1062-1069) who notes the use of artistic historic representation for decorative purposes, as well as the first 'scientific' ones appearing in the latter part of the 19th century, placing Deane's exhibition firmly in the antiquarian period. The same writer acknowledges the

importance of the media, their popularity rising in the 1830s perfectly timed for Deane to take advantage and advertise his exhibition.

6.6.4 The Wreck of *Mary Rose* (1545)

The following year 1836, while still working on the *Royal George*, fisherpersons approached John Deane and his boatman William Edwards to investigate a seabed obstruction on which they were repeatedly snagging their nets. The obstruction was the wreck of the *Mary Rose*, discovered almost 300 years after the loss of the ship, 19 July 1545 (Bevan 1996, 108). As work on *Royal George* was not bringing a good financial return they concentrated their efforts on this new discovery. Although the motives for the recovery of the cannon and other artefacts from the *Mary Rose* were financial gain, the passage of time between the ship's loss in 1545 and its discovery in 1836 reveals that the public perception of the *Mary Rose* had changed. The historic significance of the discovery was recognised. Deane himself even used the antiquity of the recovered cannon to blur the King's ownership rights with the aim of potentially increasing the reward for him and those who had repeatedly trapped their nets on the ship that directly led to the discovery:

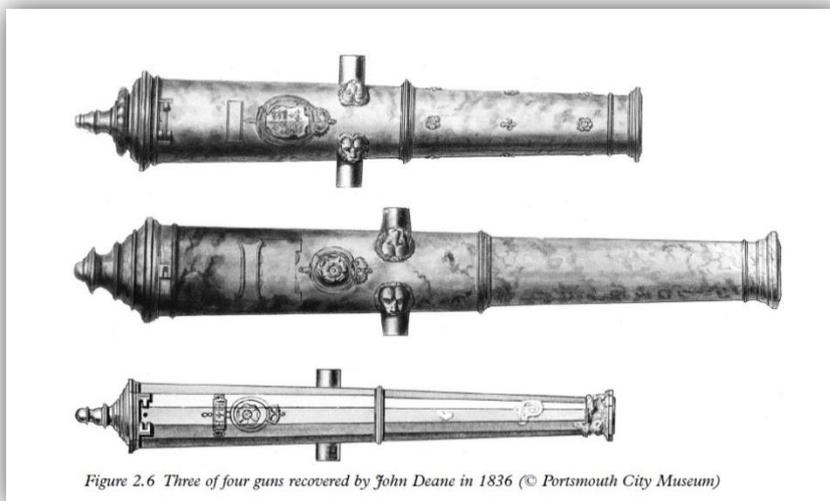
‘...we humbly hope your Honourable Board will be pleased to take into consideration that from its great age and length of time lost, although cast in the time of Henry VIII by a foreigner and in a foreign part, the impossibility of ascertaining for certain, whether it ever belonged to his [King William IV] government...’ (Bevan 1996, 109)

Deane pleaded with the king that the cannon was not a sovereign possession. He was successful receiving two hundred and twenty pounds and nineteen shillings for the gun classed as ‘old metal’ (Bevan 1996, 108-9). The salvage of the cannon, reported in the local news, created high levels of public interest (Hampshire Telegraph cited in Bevan 1996, 117). Mr Parker of Portsmouth recognising the historical significance of the discoveries commissioned colour illustrations (Figure 19 below) now archived in the Portsmouth City Museum and Records Service, (Bevan 1996, 111). In so doing he preserved them by record, even if this wasn't the original intention, also remembered by Muckelroy (1978, 11) with reference to the Deane's ‘fine water colours inspired by ‘antiquarian curiosity’.

Following John Deane's death in 1884, ‘relics’ from various shipwrecks including *Mary Rose* formed part of the sale inventory of his home (Bevan 1996, 300). Research following the recovery of the *Mary Rose* in 1982 cast light on the records of material recovered from the

ship that survived or retained as memorabilia, which includes the Deane's bronze cannon, as well as numerous fragments of ordnance and other ships material (Hildred 2011).

Figure 20. Drawings of the cannon salvaged by Deane now in the Portsmouth City Museum.



The salvage of historic material from *Royal George* and *Mary Rose* and the public exhibition reveals that the 19th century British public had a level of interest in historic wrecks and salvage, as well as collecting shipwreck memorabilia. It shows that public interest, even awareness is not a new concept, and that the public perception of those things considered historic changes over time, seemingly naturally. In regard to the Deane's, their stories have remained alive, due in part to their association with the 20th century recovery of the hull and associated contents of the *Mary Rose*.

6.6.5 Sea Harvesters

Since the late 19th century divers have literally walked over many hectares of the Mediterranean seabed in pursuit of precious sponges using the closed dress diving equipment that had evolved from the Deane brother's invention in 1828. In the process they discovered sites and recovered antiquities with professional non-diving archaeologists acclaiming their discoveries' (Bass 2011). It was Peter Throckmorton and Honor Frost's relationship with Kemel Aras that led to the excavation by Bass and his team, including Du Plat Taylor and Frederic Dumas, of the Bronze Age wreck at Cape Gelidonya and the Roman and Byzantine wrecks at Bodrum (UNESCO 1972, 44; IJNA 1972, iii). The contribution of sponge divers has been more recently recognised as 'vital for the discipline' and in some instances led to 'purposeful actions'

(UNESCO 1972, 35; Maarleveld 2002). This 'hard hat' format of diving remained the main option for exploration, salvage and treasure hunting until the invention of the aqualung in the 1940s transformed the public's fascination with the underwater world into adventure and discovery of lost treasures.

6.6.6 Invention of the Aqualung

Although it was patented and known as the 'Essgee aqualung compressed air diving equipment' in France⁹ Gagnan and Cousteau's¹⁰ 'autonome'¹¹ was produced under license by Siebe Gorman Ltd. in the UK (Davis 1961 p. 211). Its more popular name is Scuba, an abbreviation of Self-Contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus. Its availability brought the potential of recreational diving to the wider public resulting in a rapid expansion of subsea exploration. Like the invention of the Deane's helmet and diving dress in the 19th century, this equipment changed the status quo. Before the aqualung, access to the underwater world was limited, mainly restricted to the military, salvage divers and seabed harvesters using the 'clumsy standard diving equipment' (Maarleveld 1993, 207; Bass 2011) or free divers relying on their own lung capacity. Some early explorers of the post war period were using ex-military oxygen rebreathers or converting gas regulators for scuba diving, but this was on a relatively small scale, with Siebe Gorman (Davies 1981, 211) advising against the use of home-made equipment.

Increasing number of amateur divers appeared as a separate category to the groups mentioned above and the small group of archaeologists. This is in the sense that amateurs mostly entered the underwater world motivated by leisure and adventure, not to earn their living from the activity or in the pursuit of scientific knowledge. This evolution of diving changed the relationship between humanity and the marine environment. From the middle of the 20th century, the sport grew rapidly. Pioneers and role models such as Hans and Lotte Hass, reputedly the first woman to use scuba equipment were underwater filmmakers from the early 1950s, 'who brought into viewers' living rooms for the first time the mysteries of the deep, as they faced devil fish, sharks, stingrays, octopuses and other creatures' Hayward 2014. BBC's aired a six-part series *Diving into Adventure* (1956) and other films such as *The Undersea World of Adventure* (1958) helped to finance their scientific research. *The Girl on the Ocean Floor* celebrated Lotti's as the 'first lady of diving' (Hayward, 7 February 2015). Cousteau's own filmmaking began in 1956 with *The Silent World* leading to his documentary series *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau* from 1966, aided this expansion. Lloyd Bridges cast as

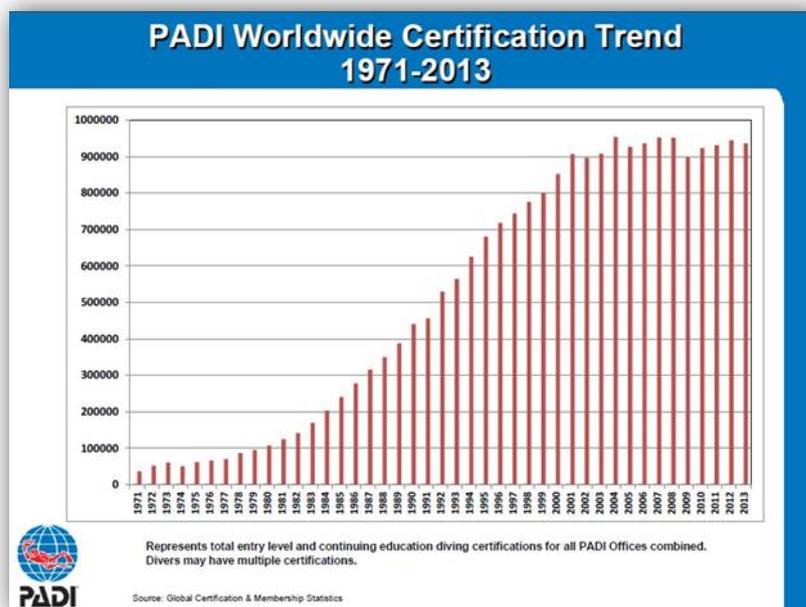
the freelance action diver surviving various adventures in 155 episodes of *Sea Hunt* between 1958 and 1961, adding additional glamour to the new sport.

Underwater archaeology began to develop, continuing the romantic nature of the 'he-man' divers, aquatic alpha males in today's parlance, surviving the perilous underwater environment to rescue precious artefacts to be passed to an archaeologist who would study them in an 'erudite way' (Maarleveld 2000, 2008). Bass (1974) debunked the notion that it was difficult to work underwater postulated by divers during his excavations at Yassi Ada and Cape Gelidonya described by Peachey (1997, 84-86). His experiences had shown that the best underwater excavators were not necessarily the most proficient divers and relative novices in the underwater world created the most effective methods of recording under water (Bass 1966, 19). Bass made it clear that it only took a short time to train a diver compared with the years to train an archaeologist (Bass 1966, 15-17; Maarleveld 2000, 208). As the sport expanded, it gradually became more organised with its own national governing bodies.

6.6.7 Creation of diving clubs

As the numbers of divers grew, they began to form clubs with the Scottish Sub-Aqua Club (ScotSac) forming in 1953 claiming to be the oldest in the UK, now with 70 branches and 1,250 members. The inauguration of the British Sub-Aqua Club in the same year consisted of 100 divers. Hosted by Oscar Gugen and Peter Small they declared 'the title of the association of persons interested in underwater activities shall be the British Sub-Aqua Club' (BS-AC 2014). The first branch was in London in 1954 and by 1955, the club had grown to 1,000 members (BS-AC 2014). At its peak, membership was 50,000 but with greater competition now around 30,000¹² with over one thousand independent clubs and over four hundred diving schools in popular British holiday resorts and overseas. The Sub-Aqua Association emerged in 1976, with the Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI) introducing a fast-track learning model that revolutionised recreational diver training and helped accelerate the popularisation of the sport in the 1980s.

Figure 21. Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI) Worldwide certifications reflect the growth in recreational diving that peaks in 2004.



In the early decades of the 21st century, worldwide there are millions of recreational divers and an accompanying diving industry that has enabled and funded the evolution of diving equipment that has, step by step, enabled divers to go deeper, stay longer, work or simply enjoy the underwater world with some degree of safety.

6.6.8 Discoveries of Historical Sites

It was an inevitable consequence of this increased activity that there were discoveries of underwater historic sites, accidentally or through systematic searches. These new aquanauts, in the main, lacked the required skills to investigate a site using archaeological methodologies and techniques considered acceptable by their terrestrial counterparts. There were those who saw the underwater world as a new source of treasure or souvenir. Some recognised their own limitations such as Cousteau a pioneer of scuba-based exploration. Following his indecisive research to characterise the site at Grand Congloué from 1952 to 1957 he recommended that an archaeologist working with them in the future would be beneficial (Cousteau 1954, 1-36). Long's later re-evaluation of Benoit's excavation records revealed that it was actually two ships separated by a century, (Delgado 1997, 174-175), Grand Congloué 1 from the 2nd century BC, carrying Greco-Romano design amphorae and Grand Congloué 2 of the late 2nd century BC or early 1st century BC carrying Dressler 1a amphorae. In the same way Phips inspired Cousteau he acted as a role model for others.

6.6.9 Amateur archaeology and other projects – 1978 Diving Officers Conference

Specialist diving groups embarked on ambitious projects and operated in parallel to group's like Wilkes' Mensura Dive Team and other Joint Services Sub-Aqua Club teams that worked with intent to do archaeology, often with considerable military logistical support. The published account of the 1978 BS-AC's Diving Officers Conference (Swales & Swales 1979) presented several projects. Keith Muckelroy who was the BS-AC's Marine Archaeology Adviser chaired the session (Swales & Swales 1979, 68-74).

The 'Mombasa' project was the investigation of a wreck found in the 1970s. Its identity was based on the 1673 coat of arms found on a cannon, possibly that of the *Santo Antonio de Tanno* built in 1681 in Portuguese Africa. The project was led and organised by Lt Cmdr. Tilley and had the patronage of the Prince of Wales. Little of the report focused on the archaeology, but rather on the logistics and diving (Swales & Swales 1979, 88-95) presumed to have been of more interest for the audience. In the same publication, there were presentations on the Moor Sand Bronze Age site near Salcombe and the Dover Project, another Bronze Age site in Langdon Bay. The sites found by members of the BS-AC remain designated under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*.

The Gitana Project organised by the Special Projects Group was in a separate section. This group constituted experienced and adventure minded individuals, the technical divers of the 1970s. The project to search and recover the *Gitana*, a Victorian steam yacht that sank at its moorings during a storm in Loch Rannoch in 1882 serves as an example of the ambitions of amateur divers of the period. The project was well organised, receiving sponsorship from lifting bag¹³ manufacturers and from providers of industrial compressors that were required to fill the five and ten ton lifting bags attached to the hull of the vessel. The Territorial Army¹⁴ Royal Engineers offered logistical support. Weighing 54 tons, the vessel's recovery was described as the 'biggest salvage project ever carried out by amateur divers' (Cunningham 1978).

On the precondition that the vessel was re-floated, an ambitious plan would see the vessel restored as a tourist attraction. The project was successful, only as far as the ship was discovered and subsequently lifted from more than 30 metres of water before placed in 10 metres of water closer to shore, a planned interim step prior to being brought ashore. At this time, no financial provision was in place for the ship's conservation. Ultimately, despite lacking the necessary funds the ship was brought ashore. As time passed interest diminished and the

estimated £50,000 (Cunningham 1978) required for the vessel's restoration was not forthcoming. The lack of a prefunded project plan destroyed the *Gitana*. Despite this regrettable end, the project is an example of the diving skills and ambitions of experienced amateur divers in the 1970s. The quote from Clark, the project leader, would not have helped to calm the concerns of archaeologists... 'whatever happens it will have been worthwhile... a lot of people have had an enormous amount of fun and have learned a great deal in the *Gitana* project' (Cunningham 1978). A record of the vessel is available from the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS Canmore ID 260517 2014), but the ship does not survive.

While the *Gitana* Project did not have a satisfactory conclusion as far as the long-term preservation of the vessel was concerned, previous projects by the same group had better outcomes, for example the midget submarine *XE8* recovered off Portland, Dorset in 1973 and the search for *X5* in Kaafyord, Norway undertaken in 1974. In the case of the *XE8*, although amateur divers carried out the underwater work naval support provided the crane to lift the midget submarine once it was on the surface. It is now on display as part of the collection in Chatham Historic Dockyard, where in 1944 the submarine was constructed. *X5* was part of a small force of six midget submarines that attacked the German battleship *Tirpitz* in 1943, leaving the ship disabled until 1944. The diving group organised a search in 1974, which although it did not find *X5*, the forward section of *X7* was found, recovered in 1976 and is now on display at Duxford Airfield forming part of the Imperial War Museum's collections. Bishop who was part of a more recent search for the *X5*, described the project as a 'milestone project' for the BS-AC (Bishop 2010). The growing popularity of the sport has led to innovations in equipment and breathing-gas mixtures that have extended the range of diving, raising the potential for more ambitious amateur project and salvage activities, or with the right guidance and training archaeological projects.

6.6.10 Advances in diving - Scuba Nitrox, Trimix and Rebreathers

Siebe Gorman published dive times for the scuba-diving cylinders when charged to 120 atmospheres (121.59 bars) (Davies 1981, 212). The 'tadpole' with a capacity of 26 cubic feet (736.24 Litres) provided 30 minutes supply of air at the surface and 12 minutes at 33 feet (10 metres). The 'standard' of 40 cubic feet (1132.7 Litres) gave 40-43 minutes at the surface or 22 minutes at 33 feet (10 metres) and the 'twin cylinder' of 80 cubic feet (2265 Litres) 90 minutes on the surface or 44 minutes at 33 feet (10 metres).

The original limitations related to the volume of air a scuba diver could carry illustrated above, has partially been overcome by increased diving cylinder capacities of up to 18 litres, the use of 'twin sets' and increased filling pressures of diving cylinders. Typically, these are no lower than 200 bars, 232 bars is the norm and can be as high as 300 bars. For example a 12 litre diving tank filled to 232 bars typically used by recreational divers would provide 2784 litres, more than three times the quantity of breathing gas than the volume of the 'tadpole', equating to approximately 100 hundred minutes on the surface and half that at 10 metres.

Open circuit scuba air diving has inherent limitations. As depth and absolute pressure increase, 'bottom time'¹⁵ decreases relative to a given volume of available gas carried by the diver. This is governed by Boyle's Law¹⁶. As depth increases air becomes increasingly toxic resulting in diminishing clarity of thought¹⁷ or at relative extreme depths or length of dive oxygen toxicity becomes a hazard (Larn & Whistler 1984, 2:6-11).

The use of nitrox (enriched air), which has a higher content of oxygen, mitigates the problems associated with breathing air. Dependent on how nitrox is used it can increase time spent underwater at a given depth or reduce the risk of decompression sickness. It reduces the risk of nitrogen narcosis, but there are practical depth limitations due to the increased partial pressures of oxygen representing a risk as depth increases.

Despite the advantages of nitrox it is the use of scuba trimix¹⁸ typically consisting of oxygen, nitrogen and helium and scuba re-breathers¹⁹ in semi-closed or fully closed formats that have once again changed the status quo. Trimix depending on the depth of dive utilises a lower oxygen and nitrogen content with helium acting as a diluent gas. The lower oxygen content reduces the risk of oxygen toxicity and the lower nitrogen content reduces its narcotic effect. Helium is less narcotic than nitrogen, but increases decompression times. Re-breathers recycle the breathing gas through a cleansing process that removes the carbon dioxide, which reduces the amount of gas carried by the diver. The fully closed circuit version of the equipment can maintain a constant oxygen partial pressure (ppO₂) at all depths required for the significantly increasing potential dive durations and reduce decompression times.

Scuba tri-mix and re-breathers have provided a new generation of 'technical divers', with access to new sites in much deeper waters that only a short time ago were considered inaccessible to divers using conventional scuba breathing air. Although the International Association of Nitrox and Technical Divers (2014) states 100 metres is the 'recommended technical diving limit' for divers (IANTD 2014), dives in excess of this are not uncommon.

The deepest open circuit record is deeper than 300 metres; re-breather dive records are shallower, but still in excess of 240 metres, (Scuba Records 2014). Sites previously considered beyond the realms of recreational diving will be subject to salvage, but others have a scientific purpose. One such example is the wreck of HMHS *Britannic*, in 122 metres of water. It was first dived by Cousteau in 1975, but *tri-mix* and *rebreathers* have enabled recreational technical divers to explore the wreck. The first of several projects was in 1997, the most recent in 2012 described as having a more ‘scientific character’ (Sotirou 2012) The project’s aim was to understand how the wreck interacted with its environment, receiving support from the UK’s National Oceanography Centre and the National and Kapodestrian University of Athens. The article refers to the wreck’s protection by Greek Law and by the 2001 Convention, although Greece has not ratified the Convention.

6.7 Advice to Divers in Manuals and Courses

From the 1950s, through to the end of the century ship’s bells, portholes and other non-ferrous artefacts were a measure of a diver’s underwater achievements. Becoming a member of a club’s wrecking team was an aspiration of many divers entering the sport (Underwood 2008, 54). The ethos of amateur salvage diving and the emergence of nautical archaeology is evident in the sport’s diving manuals. BS-AC’s first edition appeared in 1959. Although they were primarily background teaching materials, the earlier manuals had technical guides to maintaining diving equipment and all have sections on what divers could do with their skills.

British Sub-Aqua Club manuals²⁰ from 1966, 1977 and 1993, as well as more specialist publications and courses illustrate the mixed advice that recreational divers received about wreck diving and nautical archaeology. The BS-AC manuals, particularly until the 1990s were used by other diving organisations as a standard training manual, so were more widely read. In the following text the sections that specifically deal with wreck diving, salvage and nautical archaeology are considered, including references to the diver’s code.

6.7.1 1966 BS-AC Diving Manual

Within this manual, apart from sections on diving physiology, equipment and the general mechanisms associated with diving there are sections that cover what can be described as ‘what next’, an umbrella term to explain what divers could do with their newly acquired skills. In the 1966 edition, independently titled sections feature archaeology and salvage, with the other topics covering, marine biology, geology, photography and spearfishing

(BS-AC 1966 Section G, 1-52), which all point to the prevailing special interest groups of the time. The nautical archaeology guidance provided by Ms du Plat Taylor of the Institute of Archaeology mentioned in her capacity as the editor of the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, from 1972. The salvage section authored by Mr Cockbill, a member of the club's National Diving Committee, essentially the technical steering and advisory committee on training and safety. The decision to include information about salvage suggests that the club's administration was supportive of its membership's salvage activities, as well as of nautical archaeology.

The section on archaeology written by Du Plat Taylor provides a short description of how the traditional pastime of collecting antiquities had been replaced by 'modern archaeologists' who discovered the maximum amount of information about how humanity lived, implying the involvement of a higher level of associated scientific process and research. There is a recollection of Dumas' words that expressed the view that archaeology would be developed through the cooperation of 'divers, both professional and amateur and archaeologists' (Du Plat Taylor 1966, 2). There is no distinction made between amateur and professional, with regard to what constituted an archaeologist in terms of qualifications or defined by whether they were paid, or unpaid, as would be more common today. Readers were reminded that all wrecks in British waters belonged to someone and recoveries should be reported to Receivers located at local Customs Houses.

There are notes on 'how to go about it [underwater archaeology]' that expressly omits excavation due to it being 'a highly technical and well organised discipline which cannot be undertaken without training,' (Du Plat Taylor 1966, 2) going on to say that archaeologists and experienced divers would need to be involved. Specific advice is made about what to do if an archaeological find is made, which broadly speaking was to record its position, make a sketch, take a photograph (if possible) and report it through their branch to the local museum, or to the Committee for Nautical Archaeology. This made a distinction between finds left *in situ* and salvage, which involved recovery, something that remains a substantive issue today. Training was available at the School for Nautical Archaeology,²¹ Swanage, Dorset, which was a forerunner of the Nautical Archaeology Trust's (Society) own training courses.

In the section on salvage in the same manual, the guidance makes the point that salvage 'in the accepted sense' (Cockbill 1966, G31) would not in usual circumstances fall within the realm of recreational diving. Four categories are described; the recovery of lost items and small boats that could occur during recreational activities. The remaining two involved non-ferrous

cargoes: those that were part of wrecks that were washed ashore and those in deeper water that remained part of wrecks, with Cockbill (1996, section G31)²² stating that the latter provided the best opportunities for salvage. Information on research, identification, wreck location, diving conditions, boat skills and the buoyage of sites to avoid problems with Customs Officers is covered.

The following part dealt with the techniques of salvage: explosives, underwater cutting, winching, the use of lifting bags and the law. In the 1970s commercial diver training facilities were offering courses for amateurs to experience many of these techniques, including explosives, cutting equipment and surface supplied diving equipment. There was a re-iteration of ownership issues and the need to avoid trouble from the Receivers of Wreck by reporting recoveries. Two options were described: first to follow a likely protracted process of reporting to the Receivers, or alternatively find the owner of the wreck in order to purchase it, noting that in this case reporting to a Receiver remained an obligation, but implying that by owning the wreck this would be a more straightforward and beneficial process.

While the advice begins with the comment that salvage was 'normally' beyond the scope of recreational diving the level of information suggests that salvage was either normal or acceptable club member's practice. The introduction certainly provided a good basis from which to find more information, and presumably whetted the appetite of some if not all readers. The separate archaeology and salvage sections in the manual make it clear that the two activities are perceived as quite different activities within the club's structure.

The diver's codes in the examined manuals (BS-AC 1966, 1977, 1993 & 2002) also include advice about diving on wrecks. In the oldest, this is limited to, 'do not remove articles from wrecks without permission,' (BS-AC 1966) which actually goes beyond the legal requirement of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1894*, the legislation in place at the time, which obliges the reporting of recoveries, which seems to contradict the encouragement given to would be salvors in the same manual.

6.7.2 1977 BS-AC Diving Manual

The 1977 manual does not make it clear who the author of the section 'nautical archaeology' is, but is likely to be Alex Flinder, a member of the Council (Committee) for Nautical Archaeology, as well as a Vice President of the BS-AC. The advice is quite similar to the earlier manual, but with the additions of contact bodies, which reflected the development of

nautical archaeology. These included the official bodies; the Department of Trade making reference to their pamphlet, *Notes for the Guidance of the Finders of Historic Wrecks*; the *Advisory Committee on Historic Wreck Sites*, noting the amateur diver representation; St Andrews University for academic training and research and the Archaeological Research Group at the National Maritime Museum. A suggested reading list includes among others texts by Bass and Du Plat Taylor.

The 'divers code' provided a greater level of detail than the earlier manual from not diving on designated wrecks, not lifting material that 'appears to be of historical importance' advising divers to record and report to the BS-AC or local representative of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology. The Committee advised discretion about disclosing positions of new wreck discoveries, recoveries should be declared to the Receivers, start conservation treatment immediately, and if a discovery becomes designated, there would be the chance to form a team with the right credentials and apply for a license and finally don't become a "wreck robber" (BS-AC 1977).

As the title 'wreck diving and salvage' makes clear, the section describes the principles of good practice for safe diving on wrecks and salvage. The introduction makes reference to the separate section on nautical archaeology, specifically making the point that the Committee for Nautical Archaeology had made its domestic and international records of wreck sites up to the 18th century available, with the aim of building a 'solid foundation for research on ancient ships' (BS-AC 1977). The sub-section that deals with wreck law provides a short description on the origin on the *Merchant Shipping Act* and refers to the *Civil Aviation Act 1949* having a similar impact for aircraft. Ownership of wreck is dealt with, as well as the offences committed if items are stolen and not delivered to the Receivers, who may sell the item after a year if no owner comes forward, deducting expenses and fees, as well as the salvage claim according to the Ministry of Transport scale' (BS-AC 1977). Failure to abide by the law was clarified. Salvage rights are lost and a fine is payable amounting to 'double the value of the article to the owner.' Historic Wrecks are mentioned, but are dealt with in the section, 'Nautical Archaeology' (BS-AC 1977, 468).

The section on salvage follows the 1966 example and describes the information aimed at the 'amateur diver,' and that salvage 'in the accepted sense' is not a normal amateur diving activity. It describes the same four salvage scenarios repeating that wrecks in deeper water offered the best opportunities, noting that there were many wartime casualties. Advice

regarding avoiding trouble from the Coastguards is similar, as are the techniques and advice for work in the event of an amateur diving club doing professional work such as on ships.

6.7.3 1993 BS-AC Diving Manual

The more recent manual devotes half a column to Nautical Archaeology. It appears among a group of 'special interests' (BS-AC 1993) that includes shipwrecks, orienteering and octopush, the latter a competitive breath-holding underwater activity sometimes called underwater hockey. The section makes the point that amateur divers had made a significant contribution, without which some projects would not have been viable. The illustration used is from the Mary Rose Project, the caption noting the amateur involvement. The designation of sites under the *Protection of Wrecks Act* is mentioned, stating that the Act legally protects them while 'a full survey and excavation is carried out' (BS-AC 1993). This comment was inaccurate, as the designation of a site did not necessarily mean that an archaeological investigation would automatically take place, which remains the case today. With regard to discoveries, no mention is made of the Receiver of Wreck and the statutory obligation to report wreck, preferring to recommend that they should be reported to a local archaeologist, likely to be part of a 'Nautical Archaeological Body' (BS-AC 1993) that would provide the appropriate advice.

Although there is no specific section on salvage, there is a section on 'shipwrecks and wreck diving' that deals with the hazards such as potential live ordnance on military vessels. The section begins by commenting that wrecks are the *raison d'être* for many experienced divers...and that there is 'nothing to compare with the excitement of the descent to a virgin wreck' (BS-AC 1993). Within this text, potential owners could be insurance companies, of the state ('very old wrecks') (BS-AC 1993). There is no definition for what constituted an old wreck. The advice discouraged the removal of those 'trophies and souvenirs so beloved of some many divers' without the permission of the owner (BS-AC 1993), sounding somewhat euphemistic for the reality of what was actually likely to happen. Although the look but do not touch advice would be welcomed by archaeologists it does not accurately reflect salvage law, nor is the Receiver of Wreck mentioned. Apart from 'historic wrecks or recognised war-graves' all other sites are free access (BS-AC 1993, 204). The advice is inaccurate in terms of the reporting procedures for finds, as well as referring to recognised war graves, which presumably is a reference to the *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986*, which although in existence had not been used for protecting shipwrecks.

The 1993 'divers code' reminded divers not to dive on a designated site; not to recover discoveries that appear to be historical; again advises discretion about to whom to disclose new sites to, advising a short survey and report to the BS-AC Wreck Adviser or the Council for Nautical Archaeology (formerly committee). It also makes clear the possibility of building a team with the 'right credentials and proceed with a systematic survey or excavation under license without outside interference' on a designated site (BS-AC 1993).

Taken as a group, the manuals provide a basic level of information about legal responsibilities relating to wreck, some accurate, some not, with other comments being stronger than the law actually required. There is a clear distinction between nautical archaeology and salvage activities. The issue that seems most likely to cause some confusion relates to reporting of material, in that wreck law applies to all 'wreck' as defined, irrespective of whether it is considered archaeological wreck material, protected or not.

There were attempts to encourage divers to leave archaeological material *in situ* and report it to an archaeologist or museum or a member of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology, whereas the salvage advice refers to wreck material being reported to Receivers or post 1993 to the one Receiver. With no clarification of what was considered archaeological / historical, or what should be considered wreck, divers would be left to decide based on their own classification, and as stated above that may have been as simple as wooden versus metal. Many museums were unaware of the statutory reporting procedures and Council for Nautical Archaeology's representation had not developed into a countrywide scheme.

A number of the awareness initiatives already mentioned focused on persuading divers to report all material to the Receiver of Wreck, irrespective of its origin. The reasoning was that this would deliver a clear message to the recreational diving community and with the active and willing cooperation of the Receiver, there was an organised and statutory structure that could deal with the reports and liaise with archaeological/heritage bodies as necessary.

A lack of distinction between historic and non-historic wrecks can be interpreted as those sites of interest to the Council for Nautical Archaeology, which if so, would be in line with their records that covered up to the 18th century, but not more modern. War-time wrecks are mentioned in the context of salvage, with the salvage of the German Grand Fleet in Scapa Flow by Ernest Cox, described in *The man who bought a navy* as well as the expansion of salvage companies like Risdon Beazley. This company grew during the Second World War and operated sixty-one vessels worldwide providing further inspiration for amateur salvors. The

division between, pre-post 18th century is consistent with this author's contacts with recreational divers during a decade on NAS courses. On more than a few occasions, participants commented that discoveries of wooden wreck and their contents as opposed to material from metal wrecks were far more likely to be declared to the Receiver.

It is worth stating that it is only recently that metal wrecks from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have raised the interest of archaeologists in a similar way to the appearance of terrestrial industrial archaeology is a relatively modern phenomena. The Association for Industrial Archaeology had its first formal meeting in 1973 (AIA 2014). The Post Mediaeval Society formed in 1966 (PMA 2014), whereas the Society of Medieval Archaeology has its roots in April 1957 (SMA 2014) with the Prehistoric Society tracing its origins to 'humble beginnings in 1908' (Prehistoric Society 2014). The British Archaeological Association that brought together 'architecture, art and archaeology' (British Archaeological Association 2014) was formed in 1843. This progression spanning 170 years suggests that society, reflected by the creation of archaeological membership societies, has gradually returned to becoming more interested in the recent past and has diversified its interests into time-periods or specialisms, noting that although the idea was muted in 1974, the Nautical Archaeology Society did not hold its first meeting until 1986.

6.7.4 Handbooks in Nautical Archaeology - Bill St John-Wilkes & Nascent Discipline - UNESCO

A handbook 'Nautical Archaeology' featuring methods and techniques was published in 1971 (Wilkes 1971)²³ that predated UNESCO's 'Underwater Archaeology, A Nascent Discipline' published the following year. Both are written for archaeologists but reveal a difference in approach.

The guidance and advice in the Wilkes handbook is from his personal experience of archaeological project organisation, as part of the Mensura Diving Team, formed in 1963. The contents page of Wilkes book, although written over forty years ago has familiar chapter titles: preliminary research; preparation; more advanced equipment...; search techniques; the signs we seek; locating a site; recording underwater finds; photography; excavation; dating and identification; conservation and reporting. Today, Wilkes would be considered an amateur or avocational archaeologist.

Whereas the Wilkes handbook is based on personal experience, the UNESCO handbook brought together 'distinguished authors' from many countries and covered a much wider geographic perspective and a broader range of sites. These included shipwrecks; sunken towns off the Black Sea coast; harbour and anchorage sites in the Mediterranean; the submerged city of Port Royal in Jamaica and the palafittes of the Swiss lakes. The book is aimed at specialists, again with no specific distinction between amateur and professional, noting that not all of the contributors were qualified or professional archaeologists. The contents include remote sensing then in its infancy and analytical methods such as stratigraphy missing in the former book, highlighting the considerable difficulties in underwater excavation. Amateurs are accredited for their discoveries, but not overtly congratulated for their archaeological standards. Generally, the books are quite similar.

6.7.5 Nautical Archaeology Society's Handbook 1992 & 2009

The Nautical Archaeology Society's first handbook published in 1992 was due to the 'shortage of information on how to approach archaeological work underwater while maintaining acceptable standards' (Dean *et al* 1992, 2). Almost all contributors are considered professionals, most possessing an academic qualification in archaeology or closely related discipline. They included archaeologists, historians, conservator and specialists in particular techniques like archaeological illustration. The book was aimed at anyone interested in the subject. It explicitly recognised that projects, not just in the UK, often included a mixture of 'paid and unpaid' workers, adding that 'virtually all diving archaeologists started as amateur volunteers.' It makes it clear that the path to becoming a full-time professional archaeologist was to obtain a degree in archaeology (Dean *et al* 1992, 6 & 9).

Whereas Wilkes' manual, UNESCO handbook and the first edition of the NAS handbooks are written for archaeologists with no apparent distinction between what is meant by amateur or professional, in the second edition with a similar author profile, the striking change is the inclusion of the chapter, 'Getting Involved' (Bowens 2009, 11). It encourages the involvement of amateur divers. The implication is that between 1992 and 2009 there emerges a much clearer distinction between amateur and professional, a change that is a direct consequence of the gradual evolution of the profession and the equally opposite diminution of the role of avocational archaeologists.

6.8 Receiver of Wreck: Raising Awareness of the Statutory Duty to report Wreck

The *Merchant Shipping Act 1854* created the role of Receiver of Wreck, the eighty Receivers found within local Customs Offices. It is reasonable to say that in the early era of recreational diving, their existence was low profiled, not helped by a shift in their role to concentrate on the 'illicit drugs traffic' (Croome 1988, 117). In 1993, the role of Receiver became a single person within the Maritime and Coastguard Agency (MCA). Coastguard officers continued to serve as local representatives. Veronica Robbins was the first and her approach to the role was much more proactive.

Figure 22. Receiver of Wreck leaflet distributed at dive shows and public events.



In order to fully understand the scope of her role relative to stakeholders Robbins first consulted with organisations, including divers groups and heritage bodies such as the Nautical Archaeology Society and became an observer member of the JNAPC soon after. Having established an understanding the Receiver embarked on a concerted educational campaign to encourage greater reporting. These initiatives were complementary and supportive of those of the JNAPC, NAS and others that promoted awareness of the law and good archaeological practice. The following decade was one of mutual support and cooperation between the heritage community in its wider sense and the Receiver 'that had not been seen before' (Williams 2004, 10). Leaflets and posters such as *What to do if you turn something up* in 1998 and *Notes on Wreck Law* were widely distributed, attendance at the UK's major dive shows, often as part of coastguard exhibitions and lectures to diving groups all formed part of the educational efforts. The campaign resulted in a year on year increase in reporting, but despite this, it was apparent by 1996 that the statutory reporting requirement was misunderstood or ignored. In the same year, a questionnaire circulated to gauge opinion on whether a proposed amnesty would be successful. Eighty percent of respondents were in favour (MCA Amnesty Final Report 2001, 6) and the full support of the three main UK diving organisations. One important consideration was that the development and timing overlapped with the events surrounding the war graves issue discussed below.

6.8.1 Wreck Amnesty 2001

As the proposed amnesty was due to take place amid the sensitivity of the war graves issue it was important to have the support of the Ministry of Defence to reinforce and encourage a respectful approach to diving on the large number of military wreck-sites. The Wreck Amnesty developed in consultations with ‘other government departments, diving organisations, heritage bodies and other interested parties’ received overwhelming support (MCA 2001). The aims of the amnesty were:

‘To encourage finders who were previously ignorant of the law to come forward and report past finds; identify objects that were capable of being returned to their legal owner; identify wreck finds which may be of historic importance; to bring to light munitions and other hazardous material which should be made safe; give the Receiver a high-profile opportunity to educate sea-users on their legal responsibilities; make future prosecutions of persistent offenders more effective’ (MCA Amnesty Final Report 2001, 2).

As well as the UK amnesty (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) there were parallel amnesties in the Isle of Man and Channel Islands (Guernsey, Sark and Alderney) with their own Receivers and distinctive legislation. Due to legislative differences an amnesty in Jersey [Channel Islands] did not take place²⁴. Between January and April 2001, respondents would be immune from prosecution under s.236 (1) *Merchant Shipping Act 1995*, although immunity did not apply to ordnance, which could contravene firearms legislation, or other offences under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*.

The results produced 4,616 reports covering more than 30,000 individual items, mainly from recreational divers, as well as from other sea-users such as fisherpersons, coastal walkers, museums and antique dealers specialising in nautical material. There were even reports from coastal drinking establishments that had small collections of maritime material. The reports included numerous items considered of low value, alongside cannon, gold coins and mediaeval ceramics. Munitions accounted for over 10% of the reports, some in a ‘live’ and therefore dangerous condition. Nearly nine hundred of the reports contained historical material from wrecks such as the *Beagle* (1865), *HMS Association* (1707), *The Santo Christo de Castello* (1667) and the *Douro* (1843). Historic material recovered from the *Girona* and *Iona II* and a quantity of Roman material was declared, some of which was already in a museum.

Robbins the Receiver of Wreck, claimed a ‘tremendous response’ from divers, but stressed that ‘we won’t be able to do this again, and holders of finds should understand that our stated

intention to act against miscreants once the amnesty is over is not an idle threat' (Divernet 2001a). Ministry of Defence police reinforced the statement, 'post-amnesty, the message will indeed be that, if you know people who have acted illegally, report it' (Divernet 2001a).

The Maritime and Coastguard Agency concluded that the Amnesty had been a success. The Agency claimed that most divers understood the law and that from now on 'persistent offenders' could be dealt with more effectively; that greater efforts would be focused on educating divers about the dangers of live ordnance and that there were many historic wrecks in the need of recording before being lost to future generations. The final report of the Amnesty recorded that the timing took advantage of the 'palpable change in attitude to wreck diving' (Exelby February 2003). During the Receiver's 2003 AGM, divers were 'praised' for their cooperation, stating that those who had reported 'for the first time during the Amnesty' were now reporting on a regular basis, sooner than the 30 days window of opportunity, representing evidence of changing behaviour. Some clubs had decided not to recover wreck material, confirmed by the 'drop in artefacts reported in 2002' (Exelby February 2003).

Although the Amnesty was a significant success in raising public awareness of the statutory obligation to report finds the 30,000 objects declared probably represented only a fraction of the total number of artefacts removed over the past forty years or so from sites around the coast of the UK. The majority of these finds will remain unrecorded and those that do reach the public domain are unlikely to have an accurate context (Underwood 2008, 53-68) beyond the name of the wreck or site and a geographic reference.

6.8.2 Adopt a Wreck Scheme 2001

The Adopt a Wreck scheme was an outcome of the Wreck Amnesty (Underwood 2008, 63) launched in 2000 by the Receiver's office in partnership with the Nautical Archaeological Society. Both organisations had concluded that recreational divers should take greater responsibility for sites. It formed a part of Diving with a Purpose, a project that included several related initiatives. It took advantage of the increased sensitivity and awareness of the recreational diving community to issues around wreck sites. NAS had worked closely with the Receiver on educational initiatives since the creation of the central post, so the partnership on this project was a natural progression. The broad aims of the scheme were to encourage a greater sense of ownership of sites in a non-pecuniary sense, thereby encouraging great public custodianship.

Since the scheme's inception 118 sites have been adopted by 'individuals, dive groups and archaeological societies in the United Kingdom' (Burns 2011), including a number of overseas sites. With funds provided by PADI's Project Aware a project 'starter pack' was developed. An annual Adopt a Wreck award presented at NAS' conference to the person or group that has made the most significant contribution to maritime archaeology and research through the adoption process provides incentive and recognition. The scheme has the support of PADI, BS-AC, SAA, Receiver of Wreck and the UK's heritage agencies receiving funding from the UK's Heritage Lottery Fund.

A survey conducted in 2011 revealed that of the twenty-two respondents (68%) were still active, with over 90% conducting historical research, 50% having uploaded information to the internet, a number included outreach activities and fewer than 14% were recovering material. Those that were not active cited legal protection and lack of interest as among the reasons for not continuing. The conclusion was that the scheme contributed to 'archaeological investigation and accessibility of wreck sites around the UK'. Burns made the point that the scheme is alive despite the economic conditions, but required an investment in 'work and time' (Burns 2011).

The public awareness initiatives discussed here and in chapter four should be considered as a precursor and partial overlap with the events that are now discussed below regarding the *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986*. The Act automatically protected military aircraft, but had not been used to protect military vessels, which require specific designations. The intrusion by salvage divers on two naval warships in the Far East radically changed this view, events that were subsequently to be a significant factor in changing the culture of behaviour of recreational diving organisations.

6.9 Events Concerning the Protection of Military Remains Act 1986

6.9.1 Origins of the Protection of Military Remains Act 1986

The second reading of the proposed Protection of Military Remains Bill recalled that in the 1950s there had been growing public concern about interference with sites considered war graves, although it was clarified that such sites did not have a 'formal significance or legal status' (1986b) or status of sites tended by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

This was a reference to events during and following the Second World War when there had been a great deal of marine salvage activity on sunken vessels. Particularly after the war, the

government was an active partner, bringing significant financial contributions to the UK's government.²⁵ For instance the wrecks of the armoured cruisers, HMS *Hogue*, HMS *Cressy*, and HMS *Aboukir* lost in 1914 were mentioned as having been the subject of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1967 referring to the deplorability of the disturbance of the war grave. The Hansard debate (HM Gov. 1986b) confirmed that the vessels had been sold to a UK based company in 1954, although (Yorke 2013, 2) referred to the same event, but with the sale being to a German salvage company in 1955. The important point of the article is that the sale meant the loss of Sovereign Immunity and resultant protection. In the same year, government reconsidered its salvage policy following public concern about the disturbance of human remains resulting from the correspondence relating to the ships mentioned above.

As a result the Ministry of Defence's policy was amended to leave undisturbed those wrecks that were thought to contain human remains unless there were 'special circumstances' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34) although the Under Secretary of State for Defence Procurement confirmed that such actions were welcomed but had not been supported by law. These 'special circumstances included navigational hazards, ordnance, or where there was a high potential of 'unauthorised' access (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). Access by 'reputable groups' pursuing 'valuable historical research' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34) was also considered to be a 'special circumstance' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). In all cases where access to such sites was required it was expected that 'every care' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34) would be taken to reduce impact on human remains. These criteria applied to all naval wrecks from 1914, known to contain human remains. The management of older wrecks would be determined by individual circumstances.

The removal of items by recreational divers from HMS *Royal Oak* led to its protection in 1973 by amending the *Dockyard and Port Regulations Act 1865*. HMS *Prince of Wales* and HMS *Repulse* that were to be the catalyst for public action in 2000 had been subject to enquiries from Japanese salvors in 1975. The newspaper *Daily Mirror* had reported the salvors interest, 'The wrecks of two British warships which still entomb more than 800 sailors are in danger from Japanese grave-robbers' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). At the time *Daily Mirror's* largely working class readership was over 3 million daily copies, making it the UK's best-selling daily newspaper (Wikipedia 2015), and of course it is probable that similar articles would have circulated in other papers, thereby raising awareness of the events to an even large sector of the British public. The Royal British Legion²⁶ were among those that pressured government for the protection of both ships.

Although recognising the events described above, the legislation is linked to the growth of amateur aircraft historians and archaeologists that grew rapidly in the 1970s leading to souvenir hunting. The tipping point was the events surrounding HMS *Hampshire* (1916). Aircraft archaeology ranged from individual enthusiasts to organised groups. Some of their activities caused distress to 'relatives and friends' of the lost airmen whose remains were sometime found (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). While the main aim of the Act is stated as the protection for the 'sanctity' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34) of human remains, Hansard records that there were other reasons, such as 'safety and security' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). The increase in aircraft archaeology activity followed the Ministry of Defence's abandonment of their claims to aircraft in 1973, ironically the same year, as the *Protection of Wrecks Act* became law. This decision later reversed, reclaimed title to Crown and German aircraft, but incidents persisted. The salvage of HMS *Edinburgh's* (1942) cargo of gold valued at £40 million in 1981 had raised similar public concerns about the disturbance of human remains.

Worries over HMS *Hampshire* (1916) helped tip the balance towards legislation in 1983. The latter event involved a German film company that had previously filmed the *Hampshire* in 1979. They again asked for permission in 1983, but refused because of growing public concern for such matters due to the Falklands Conflict in 1982. Despite the refusal, the company dived on the site recovering thirty objects from the wreck. This event highlighted the failure of the Admiralty's unofficial wrecks policy and brought about the decision that specific legislation was necessary (HM Gov. 1986, cc1227-34; Dromgoole 1999b, 193).

In the same reading, those present were reminded that although there would be support for protection for 'non-military aircraft and vessels crashed or sank with their crews' there was 'little evidence of public concern' (HM Gov. Hansard 1986b, cc1227-34). Therefore the Bill would be limited to military vessels and aircraft and those 'other merchant vessels requisitioned or chartered in direct support of the armed forces', such as the *Atlantic Conveyor* lost during the Falklands Conflict in 1982, but not for ships such as '*Titanic* and *Lusitania*' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). By including other categories of losses, such as merchant ships it was believed that enforcement would become unmanageable creating 'immense practical difficulties' (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). Of particular relevance to this study, were assurances that fisherpersons would not have their activities impeded, nor affect the economic contribution to the Orkney Islands by recreational diving on the wrecks of the First World War German High Sea Fleet in Scapa Flow. It was estimated at the time as being worth between

£250,000 & £500,000 per annum (HM Gov. 1986b, cc1227-34). Mates noted Dr Godman's concerns for fishing and Mr Wallace's for the economics of diving.

6.9.2 Access or No Access - Levels of Protection

The Act has two categories of designated sites, Protected Places and Controlled Sites. Protected Places applies to all aircraft or vessels that have crashed, or sunk, or stranded in military service after 4th August 1914. It is an offence to 'tamper with, damage, remove or unearth any remains or enter any hatch or other opening' (HM Gov. 1986a, 2; Williams 2004, 24; MoD 2014), as well as 'permitting another to do any of these things...regardless of his state of mind' (MoD 2001, 9). All aircraft lost in military service UK waters, irrespective of their country of origin are automatically protected as Protected Places. Beyond UK waters only national aircraft are protected. The name of the vessel is required for designation, whereas for both aircraft and vessels their locations are not required.

In the case of Controlled Sites it is the location that is designated, normally an area within which it is believed that the remains of an aircraft or ship that was stranded or lost while in 'military service less than two hundred years ago' (HM Gov. 1986a). Designations are not restricted to UK waters but cannot be within the territorial waters of another coastal State, as within such waters the coastal State has exclusive jurisdiction, though the UK military wreck would enjoy Sovereign Immunity. The offences committed are similar to the above, with the addition of 'or conduct diving, salvage or excavation operations for the purposes of investigating or recording the remains, unless authorised by licence' (Dromgoole 1999b, 195; Williams 2004, 24). In UK waters, undesignated military sites are with exceptions 'subject to salvage law' (Williams 2004). *Section 230(1) Merchant Shipping Act 1995* states that the law relating to civil salvage shall apply to services in assisting any of Her Majesty's ship's (MSA 1995). Prior to the application of the 1986 Act to specific sites, salvors including recreational divers could recover artefacts from military vessels with the statutory obligation to report their recoveries to the Receiver of Wreck (see above).²⁷

6.9.3 Impact on Archaeological Investigations

While the primary aim of the Act is to prevent disturbance of human remains Williams (2004) points out that the Act 'appears to prohibit excavation in the UK. This restricts the ability to discover whether the place comprises the remains of a military aircraft or vessel of any nationality, whenever the casualty took place, that is regardless of age,' further

speculating that this could apply to vessels as one of the objectives of an intrusive investigation would be to identify the remains (Williams 2004, 23-24). Among the non-statutory criteria for designation, relate to a site of historical importance, which potentially has a significant impact on the potential of future archaeological research on sites covered by the Act. There is a weakness in the legislation in international waters. It only applies to:

‘British controlled ships, or where this is not the case, to ‘a British citizen, a British overseas territories citizen, or a British Overseas citizen; a person who under the British Nationality Act 1981 is a British subject; a British protected person (within the meaning of that Act); a company within the meaning of the Companies Act 1985 and the Companies Act (Northern Ireland) 1960’ (HM Gov. 1986).

In absence of the ratification of the 2001 Convention protection from interference from foreign nationals would therefore have to be through bilateral or multi-lateral international agreements or through the general principle of sovereign immunity to which the UK has remained committed, although to what extent it is committed is in doubt shown below. It was assumed that no designations had taken place between 1986 and 2002 because the Ministry of Defence believed that the presence of the Act was sufficient deterrence, (Dromgoole 1999b, 195) an assumption that was later confirmed in the government’s public consultation relating to the events described below (MoD 2001, 7).

6.10 Events Leading to the First Designations

Following reports in 2000 that there had been unauthorised salvage of HMS *Prince of Wales* and HMS *Repulse*,²⁸ and on news reports (Foggo, Telegraph August 2000; Foggo & Giannangeli Dece 2000) of a plan to re-float the ships, a high profile public campaign developed. Survivors groups supported by The War Memorials Trust applied pressure on the Ministry of Defence to protect sunken military vessels (Force 'Z' Survivors). An Early Day Motion (EDM)²⁹ tabled by Member of Parliament Brian Cotter on 10 Jan 2001 was signed by 190 UK MP’s recognising the contribution made by the ‘British Naval Servicemen and Women to the defence of this country,’ (HM Gov. 2001a). The motion included a call for international law and an exclusion zone around each naval war grave for 100 years from the time of loss’ (HM Gov. 2001a). An amendment to the former Early Day Motion (HM Gov. 2001b) tabled 18 Jan 2001, but only signed by the proposing MP encouraged a law that could apply to all nations and pointed to the international limitations of the 1973 and 1986 Acts. Reference was made to the limitations of the 100 year cut-off date of the then draft UNESCO Convention, whereas the

Merchant Shipping Act 1995 and by inference the *International Salvage Convention 1989* was seen as providing an international solution:

‘With regard to naval war graves in distant waters the best protection will be afforded by using existing legislation, namely schedule 11 of the Merchant Shipping Act 1995 [MSA 1995 Part IX Chapter 1 s. 224], which gives effect the Salvage Convention; notes that this allows for the prosecution of plunderers of wrecks and calls upon the Government to take action based on expert advice to ensure that the final resting places of so many are adequately protected’ (HM Gov. EDM 182A1 18 Jan 2001).

The subsequent consultation document that was to lead to the designations of the first military vessels outlined the issue as: ‘increasing public and Parliamentary concern that wrecked military vessels, which sank with the loss of human life, are being disturbed by the activities of recreational divers and other sea users’ (MoD, 2001). Circulated in February 2001, it included recognition that the UK’s main diving organisations had responded positively (MoD 2001). A specific reference made to a Parliamentary Early Day Motion signed by fifty-four Members of Parliament congratulated the diving organisations actions to mitigate the problem, which included the *Respect Our Wrecks* campaign and commitments to educate their divers, stating their support for the pending government review (HM Gov. EDM 2001c). This motion was followed by a further Early Day Motion applauding ‘the work of the Friends of War Memorials, the Royal Naval Association and survivors’ associations in raising attention to the growing problem of invasive diving on maritime war graves and welcomes the present Government review’ (HM Gov. 2001d).

6.10.1 Response of the Diving Organisation - Respect Our Wrecks

The British Sub-Aqua Club (BS-AC), the Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI), the Sub-Aqua Association (SAA) constituting the UK’s main recreational diving organisations were concerned about the possibility of all military vessels being placed off-limits to scuba diving with the resultant dramatic impact on the sport. In response, the diving organisations initiated the *Respect Our Wrecks* campaign the same year aimed at raising awareness of the need to respect war graves (DiverNet News, May 2000a).

The three named diving organisations launched *Respect Our Wrecks* during the London's International Dive Show, March 2002. Reporters from *Diver Magazine* sought clarification on what it would mean in practice. The initiative, backed by a memorandum of understanding (HM Gov. 2014) aimed to mitigate concerns that had arisen from reports of the disturbance of

military remains and specifically to raise awareness among recreational divers of their legal and moral responsibilities towards their diving practices on shipwrecks, whether they were civilian or military in origin. One leading campaigner, the Reverend Andrew Phillips, of the War Memorials Trust, Maritime Division, told Diver:

‘If such agencies are not prepared to enforce such a code, or to help provide evidence in criminal investigations, one must ask if there was any practical point signing it at all, other than as a useful PR [public relations] exercise’ (Divernet 2000b).

The diving organisations considered the comments ‘harsh’ (Divernet 2000b) reiterating that their efforts would concentrate on education, believing that peer pressure was a powerful tool. There were however concerns expressed by the National Diving Officer of the British Sub-Aqua Club (BS-AC) that they could not be expected to advocate divers becoming informants about the behaviour of other divers, once again reiterating the need for education. The other two organisations took similar positions with the Sub Aqua Association representative stating that ‘irresponsible wrecking is an attitude that’s slowly dying out ‘Dive organisations to suck it and see’ (Divernet June 2000b).

An article in reaction to the *Respect Our Wrecks* initiative from a recreational diver involved in three wreck projects appeared in *Diver Magazine*. They were the recovery of *Bluebird* a speedboat that crashed during Donald Campbell’s 1967 fatal attempt to break the world water-speed record; MV *Struma* torpedoed and lost in 1942 in Turkish waters and HMS *Exmouth* torpedoed in Scottish waters in 1940. Both naval vessels involved the loss of life. The author argued that all divers had been turned from being an ‘an ordinary person with a wacky, adventurous hobby on one day, to the next being a suspected grave-robber...accused of pillaging the last resting place of war heroes’ (Divernet April 2001). While supporting the *Respect Our Wrecks* campaign, the writer argued that the issues spread much wider, including how society dealt with grieving and its associated rituals, history and even what it meant to be British, in the sense of measuring behaviour. The main point of the article was to illustrate that divers provided a physical link between the past and present, using the project to recover the *Bluebird* to illustrate the cooperation between divers and relatives.

With regard to the disturbance of human remains, the article referred to the members of the *Time Team* who had excavated human remains on national TV. Motive played a role. If it was done to ‘preserve artefacts’ or ‘investigate an accident’ (Divernet 2001b) done sensitively then this was acceptable, whereas doing so for ‘personal gain or insensitively’ (Divernet 2001b), it

was unacceptable. Innes McCartney, a technical diver known for his research, films and discovery of the submarines HMS *M1* and HMS *Affray* used in a parallel, but integrated interview. McCartney made the point that ‘survivors and relatives should always have the opportunity to be involved in dive projects’... adding that ‘divers are a bridge between the past and the present – that’s a big responsibility’ (Divernet 2001b). Earlier in the article it was mentioned that peer pressure was considered to be a powerful tool in changing behaviour, none more so than when advocated by a well-known personality in the sport.

6.10.2 First Designations (PMRA 1986) announced in 2001

In November 2001, the results of the consultation were known. Sixteen wrecks were to be designated as Controlled Sites, meaning no diving without a license, and a further five sites in international waters were declared as Protected Places, with diving permitted, but on a strictly look but don’t touch basis, reiterating that this only applied to UK flagged vessels and persons. There would be a continuing ‘rolling review’ and further designations as deemed necessary. McCartney (Divernet 2001c) believed that the Ministry of Defence should have protected more sites, commenting that ‘some British wreck divers have been so badly behaved that they have brought this upon themselves...many of these war graves should simply be left alone.’ McDermott (Divernet 2001c) whose great uncle had been lost with HMS *Exmouth* that was due to become a *Controlled Site* hoped that the ministry would develop an ‘intelligent process for granting access,’ so that he and others could continue to commemorate the loss of the ship and crew. Williams (2004, 25) expressed the view that ultimately all of the estimated 4000 wrecks in UK waters would be designated³⁰. The prospective of this reality alarmed the diving media and their readership.

6.10.3 Response to the designations

The first designations in 2002 resulted in the headline, ‘Divers banned from warship wrecks’ (BBC 28 September 2002b). Although the headline is dramatic, the article explains that access to the *Controlled Places* would require a license from the Ministry of Defence and access to *Protected Places* would be unlicensed, reiterating the non-intrusive message (HM Gov. 1986).

During the passage of the legal challenge and appeals by government, divers expressed their concerns in diver forums during 2000-2001. Mike Williams, expert in maritime law and avocational archaeologist (Divernet 2001d), told *Diver Magazine* during the acute events of

2000-2001 that he feared that it [Ministry of Defence] might take a hard line and 'go for total diving bans'. This would mean adopting the Controlled Site option that would invoke a total ban on all unlicensed diving activities, rather than the look but don't touch option of the Protected Place. This was the MoD's original aim, but 'were persuaded not pursue this course of action' (Williams pers. comm. 2014) resulting in some 'total bans', but the majority were designated as Protected Places (Divernet 2001d).

Moonie, the defence minister with responsibility commented in the same article that he feared new [diving]technology would lead to new wrecks being the source of 'trophies' and that public opinion in favour of protection was influencing thinking. The minister was aware of the tensions between divers and survivors associations and the government would 'err on the side of the survivor's associations' (Divernet 2001d). Despite the strong words from the Minister, the MoD continued to pursue a policy with different objectives to the strictly non-intrusive principle of the 1986 legislation.

6.11 Wrecks policy - double standards 2002

In the same year, the Ministry of Defence presented the diving press with an opportunity to expose the inconsistent nature of its wrecks policy. *Diver Magazine*, (Divernet News July 2002a) posted the article 'MOD Branded inconsistent over war graves,' which reported that the bells from the HMS *Prince of Wales* and HMS *Repulse* were to be recovered by a navy dive team. The fear was that the ship's bells were at risk of illicit recovery. The comment revealed the feelings:

'it appears to be one rule for the Ministry of Defence and another for us. Either they are war graves, which should be left intact and undisturbed, or they're historical wrecks, which can have artefacts removed for preservation. Playing it both ways just creates confusion' (Diver Magazine December 2002a).

While the recovery seems at first glance to be justified, acknowledging the symbolic and at risk nature of the ship's bells, it is very likely that there were other historically significant artefacts remaining on the ships that were just as vulnerable, but with no apparent plan to be recovered or protected. The thinking behind the half-hearted nature of the expedition seems flawed which adds merit and justification for the article. A footnote to this story involved the removal HMS *Repulse's* bell by an Australian diver operating from an Australian dive boat. As such, the diver and the boat's captain or owners were immune from offences under *Protection of Wrecks Act 1986*. It led to an angry response from the Force Z survivors group, but they were

powerless to act (Divernet April 2003). The discovery of the warship *Sussex* provided another opportunity to challenge government policy.

6.11.1 Royal Navy Warship *Sussex* - 2002

Towards the end of 2002, the diving press reported that the Ministry of Defence had 'signed away an ancient Royal Navy war grave to a group of American treasure-hunters' (Diver Magazine December 2002b). This continued the belief that double standards applied to wreck policy, with money stated as the motive. The wreck believed to be the *Sussex*, an 80-gun naval vessel foundered off Gibraltar 19 February 1694 with the loss of all but two of its 600 crew. It was reputedly carrying £2.5 billion, in today's terms, of gold bullion to the Duke of Savoy in return for his support against Louis XIV of France. The Ministry of Defence did not raise objections to the search when approached in 1998. Subject to the successful recovery of the bullion, the salvors and the Ministry of Defence's Disposal Services Agency would divide the proceeds (Dromgoole 2004, 190).

The article posed the question, 'when is a war-grave not a war grave'? The article answering its own question, 'when it was a long, long time ago and today's descendants of those lost are unlikely to complain; when it is nearly half a mile down; and when you say it is an archaeological excavation and you are conserving the deep ocean cultural heritage' (Diver December 2002). The author seems to be unaware that the 17th century *Sussex* did not qualify for protection under the criteria of the 1986 Act, which states that vessels must be 'less than 200 years old' for Controlled Sites, or lost since the 4th August 1914' for Protected Places. Was this a misunderstanding of the law, or deliberately misleading to perpetuate the apparent rift between wreck-diver and government policy?

The project received international criticism from archaeologists reported in the media 'Ten Tons of gold and a tonne of trouble' (Guardian 23 June 2003). Due to 'interference by various Spanish entities' (OMEx Shipwrecks – HMS *Sussex*) the project has not progressed. It is impossible to say whether the archaeological reaction had any impact on government, but government policy did cause a reaction among recreational divers. The coincidence of these events caused the diving media to react quite strongly, mentioned above. The respect for loss of life would again challenge the Ministry of Defence's policy when a second attempt to have the merchant vessel *SS Stora* protected as a war-grave began.

6.11.2 SS *Stora* and HMS *H5* – 2000

Simultaneous to the unfolding public concern over the *Prince of Wales and Repulse*, archaeologists Marsden and Bowyer applied separately in 2000 to have the *Stora* and HMS *H5* protected as war graves. Marsden had tried the previous year to have the ship designated using the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*, as an example of Second World War merchant ships, but had failed. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport claimed that the ship was ‘not historically important,’³¹ (Marsden February 2014, 1).

The *Stora* was an armed merchant vessel torpedoed in the English Channel in November 1943 with the loss of twenty-one lives, while HMS *H5* a Holland class submarine, mistaken for an enemy submarine, was rammed and lost with its crew off Wales in 1918. It is believed to be the first time an application had been made for the protection of a merchant vessel under the 1986 legislation. *Diver Magazine* reported the story: ‘two archaeologists are using the *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986* in attempts to protect vessels in British waters’ (Divernet 2000c). The title of the article implied that the protection was more for archaeological purposes, a suspicion among divers that arose later during the second attempt to designate the *Stora* in 2005. The success of the application would have been a landmark case potentially leading to many more designations of merchant navy vessels.

The applicants had different viewpoints. Marsden explained that although the 1973 Act had been the preferred option, the 1986 Act would protect the wreck from disturbance from diving and a proposed nearby dredging project, whereas the use of the *Protection of Wrecks Act* would have necessitated a licensee and monitoring by the ‘diving contractor’ (Divernet 2 August 2000). Although the article is not specific, Marsden’s preference would be for the site to be a Controlled Site, which precludes all access without a license. Bowyer, who was proposing protection for HMS *H5* explained that he was not against diver access, but wanted protection and a mechanism for prosecuting those that removed artefacts. A licensee is only required for activities, so the 1973 Act could prevent access and the site effectively become dormant.

The initial application for the *Stora* failed, but HMS *H5* was in the first tranche of designations as a Controlled Place under Statutory Instrument 2002, No 1761. The same article claimed the depth of HMS *H5* at 68 metres made it impracticable to use the 1973 legislation because of difficulties caused for the current licensee and inspection system. This raised the important issue that divers were diving deeper using mixed gases and re-breathers, thereby accessing

sites previously beyond the normal limits of recreational diving, a factor that was mentioned earlier. The statement points to a technicality easily resolved by the use of remotely operated vehicles, or the utilisation of professional [archaeological] divers and diving techniques that would enable them to access sites in these depths and beyond. Expense seems the more likely impracticality. Despite the failure to protect *Storaa* by heritage legislation, in 2005 there was a second attempt.

6.12 SS *Storaa* - 2005

Three years after the first designations of military vessels [Statutory Instrument 2002-No 1761], Rosemary Fogg and Valerie Legard, the two daughters of one of the ship's crew lost in the sinking of the *Storaa* began a legal challenge to bring equal status for merchant vessels as applied to warships. They had the support of the Merchant Navy Association and local Hasting's Archaeologist Marsden, who had first applied for the protection of the vessel in 2000.

6.12.1 Judicial review

The daughters of the lost crewmember sought a judicial review, on the basis that the ship had been 'armed, sailing in convoy and had beaten off attack...before it was hit' (BBC 16 February 2005a; Dyer & Wainwright 2006). The assertion was that the ship had been under the command of the naval escort and therefore in service with UK armed forces within the meaning of the 1986 Act. The Ministry of Defence's legal opinion was that it [*Storaa*] was 'incapable of designation' as it was not in service at the time of its loss in the sense that it was a commissioned ship of the Royal Navy. This opinion was consistent with the Hansard transcript (HM Gov. 1986b) that showed protecting merchant ships and non-military aircraft was not a desirable option. Despite this ministerial opinion, the judicial review was granted in April 2005 (Richard Buxton 2005; BBC 16 February 2005). The judge commented that the case had 'wider general public importance,' the costs covered by the Ministry. An Early Day Motion signed by sixty-seven UK Members of Parliament called on the Secretary of State for Defence:

'To utilise the protection provided by the *Military Remains Act 1986*, in order to watch over those vessels that at the time of their sinking were in service with, or being used for the purposes of any of the armed forces' (HM Gov. 2005a).

In response, a member of Hastings Sub-Aqua Club who owned the wreck claimed that having sold the salvage rights to him in 1985 for £150 the Ministry of Defence had no jurisdiction to

make the wreck a war-grave. The presence of extant human remains was in doubt, but a survey by underwater archaeologists in support of the case reported that human remains had been found concreted to the deck. The case, challenged at every step by the Ministry of Defence continued to claim that the ship was not in military service, proceeded through to the Appeal Court of the UK's legal process. In October 2006, the ruling went against the Ministry:

‘Having regard to the aim and object of the [*Protection of Military Remains*] Act and the importance of its purpose, namely according respect to the dead and protecting the sanctity of human remains, being considerations at the forefront of the values of a civilised society, such a qualification, unless clearly expressed, can have no place’ (Mr Justice Newman: Judgement, Rao Rosemary Fogg and Valerie Ledgard v Secretary of State for Defence & John Short, Case No: C1/2006/0124, section 102 5 October 2006).

6.12.2 Decision to designate SS *Stora*

The final decision to designate the vessel rested with the Secretary of State for Defence who finally abandoned further legal action and acceded to the application for designation in 2007; ‘I have decided, in the circumstances, to designate the SS *Stora* as a vessel to which the *Protection of Military Remains Act* applies’ (BBC 5 April 2007a: Marsden unpublished report 2014).

The *Stora* was designated as a Protected Place in 2008 (HM Gov. 2008). Despite the origins of the Act apparently not being specifically designed to protect merchant vessels, public concerns including demonstrations by merchant seaman outside the court, wearing red ensigns, with banners reading ‘White Ensign (Royal Navy) dedicated, Red Ensign forgotten’ had some bearing on the matter (BBC October 2005c). In the same article, merchant navy veterans hoped that this case would enable the protection of thousands of sites containing seamen lost during the Second World War. Each step of the *Stora*'s story was in the media until its designation (BBC 5 April 2007). Diving organisations showed their concern that this was the beginning of many designations that would curtail their sport, ‘the possibility of restrictions on diving certain merchant wrecks around the UK has moved a step closer’ (DiverNet 2005a). In the remonstrations there was no mention of veterans from previous conflicts who as time has passed remain too few to be heard.

The revival of the case rekindled the same fears as in 2000/1, believing that the *Stora* was just the ‘thin edge of a very large wedge,’ (Diver Forum 2006). Was this an unconsidered comment, or one based on misunderstanding, lack of knowledge or experience of the earlier events?

Marsden's motives were questioned, making reference to his earlier attempts to protect the site in 2000 that had 'little to do with the moral issue of disturbing human remains and more to do with creating a monopoly preventing sport divers exploring a wreck he believes should be left to the experts' (Diver Forum 2006). It was a comment that showed the mistrust of at least some archaeologists, if not all. Other comments in the forum reported that other divers had said that the law could be ignored as there was no 'diving police' (Diver Forum 2006). Others pointed to the lack of understanding of what was actually being proposed: one suggested that diving on a war grave was similar to visiting terrestrial 'cemeteries, graveyards, [or] archaeological sites', (Diver Forum 2006) another suggested that it was the act of entering a war grave wreck that was the issue not the diving on the site itself. The webmaster of the Force Z survivors articulated that the diving organisations were supportive of a code of conduct, which although was not mentioned specifically was the principles of *Respect our Wrecks* (Diver Forum 2006).

The mixed responses may not have reflected the majority view of either side but they did represent some and showed that the level of understanding of the situation was mixed. Taken as a whole the comments show there was suspicion that some of the archaeological community were trying to use any means possible to protect sites and that there was fear that total bans on diving all military sites, whether prefixed with 'HMS' or 'SS' was threatened, even though as it has turned out without justification.

Although the Merchant Navy Association stated their intention to help the cause of other 'people to make similar submissions' from among the 5,000 merchant ships lost during the two world wars, only the troopship SS *Mendi* lost with over 400 South African soldiers off the Isle of Wight, England in 1917 has been protected. Martin Woodward owner of the Isle of Wight Shipwreck and Maritime Museum discovered the wreck in 1974. The vessel's protection resulted from efforts initiated by archaeologist John Gribble (Gribble pers. comm. 25 July 2014) then of Wessex Archaeology, which spurred retired army colonel, Edward Middleton (BBC 26 October 2010) to write the letter of request for the ship's designation as a Protected Place.

The other merchant ships currently protected are four under contract to the military lost during the Falklands conflict in 1982, which fulfilled the original objectives of the 1986 Act. Furthermore, following the campaign beginning in 1999, the maritime section of the War Memorials Trust ceased to operate and is no longer part of the Trust's work, while it remains supportive of its original objectives (War Memorials Trust 2014).

6.13 Changing Diver Behaviour

From 2000, there were signs that behaviour was changing, even the strongest advocates for wreck diving and associated salvage prepared to admit publicly that attitudes had begun to change. Perhaps the strongest indicator, one that would have been influential coming from the source it did, was 'Beachcomber'. The author, for years had professed strong leanings towards wreck-divers and equally strong feelings contra archaeologists. The article clarified where 'Beachcomber' stood on wreck diving. The answer was unequivocal in stating that wreck-divers were considered the 'real divers', but that times and divers had changed, admitting to one of the 'biggest attitude reversals' that had been gathering momentum over the past decade (Divernet April 2001e). The anti-archaeologist attitudes remained with the comment, those 'who do their souvenir hunting under the name of archaeology and use museums as their mantelpieces will find no support from me' (Divernet 2001e). Despite the rhetoric this was a strong indicator of change as 'Beachcomber' had been a popular advocate for wreck diving and recovery of wreck material (Divernet 2001e).

The article was referring to instances of dive clubs relinquishing past wreck diving activities. One was Aylesbury Sub Aqua Club that in November 2000 announced that as a wreck-diving club they had renounced the 'lump-hammer culture', admitting that many items had been 'raised when there was no real need, bar a person's desire to secure a memento' (Divernet 2000d). The club's statement continued to explain the influence of the *Respect our Wrecks* campaign, endorsed by the major training agencies, Receiver, Ministry of Defence and archaeologists. A quarter of their sixty members had been recovering material, but the change of attitude had reduced this number to six and most of them were reconsidering, with one particularly active member doing a Nautical Archaeology Society course. Those that had not adopted the club's new policy had left the club amid a gathering momentum of the attitude that the concept of 'wrecking' was antisocial behaviour (Divernet 2000d).

Although the Beachcomber article wasn't showing enthusiastic support for archaeologists, or even giving them any credit for the change, indirectly it was acknowledging that awareness initiatives were persuading the majority of divers to either act within the law, or were abandoning previous behaviour altogether. The combination of the leaflets, posters, public talks, press releases, NAS 'type' courses and others when combined with the *Respect our Wrecks*, *Wreck Amnesty* and the war graves issues that raised wide public condemnation are likely to have been the major tipping factors. The change in attitudes led to significant amendments to the advice given to the recreational diving community by their own

organisations and through government websites. An example is *The Diving Manual*, which continues to be the British Sub-Aqua Club's entry level training manual reveals a very different approach to the provision of heritage related material described in earlier manuals.

6.13.1 The Diving Manual - 2002

The description of the BS-AC's new manual first published in 2002 stated that the BS-AC had 'distilled a vast amount of information into user-friendly bite sized chunks' (Ellerby 2004). The manual includes a section 'Diving into History' rather than advice on salvage or nautical archaeology. What is particularly notable is the amplification of what constitutes wreck, to incorporate aircraft, military vehicles, trains, road vehicles and even dwellings built on wooden piles, which reflects the archaeological world's expansion of interest. There is acknowledgement that recreational divers made underwater discoveries and that archaeologists do most of the work on them.

In common with the previous manuals, there is reference to the *Mary Rose*, but it is clear that the leadership of the excavation was 'by a small team of professional archaeologists, who worked for several years guiding hundreds of amateur divers' (Ellerby 2004, 138). The earlier practices of divers who hunted the sea-life they found without thoughts of species protection and conservation, who had become 'ardent conservationists', was compared to wreck divers who had 'sought souvenirs' who now understood their responsibilities and had become 'guardians of these underwater treasures' (Ellerby 2004, 138). There is no reference to the salvage potential of wrecks, nor is there specific advice on what to do, but incorporated into the Diver's Code, with a specific section on wrecks.

The diver's code is specific, and states, 'do not dive on a designated, protected wreck site without specific authority' (Ellerby 2004, 154), with clarification that such sites are marked on charts. 'Do not disturb anything that appears to be of historical importance, if a discovery is made do not disturb and report its position...to the relevant authorities; be aware that many wrecks involved the loss of life and as such can be sensitive areas and deserve respect' (Ellerby 2004, 154). BS-AC added on-line heritage information, which in 2014 has added a significant level of detail to the basic information provided in *The Diving Manual*, changes that are consequential from pressure applied by the Receiver of Wreck.

6.13.2 OnLine Heritage Advice for Recreational Divers

The BS-AC's website has a comprehensive section, Underwater Heritage, with sub-sections on 'protected wrecks', which includes Protected and Controlled Sites under the *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986* and the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*. There is no advice on those sites covered by the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*, specifically those sites associated with Scapa Flow, nor Scotland's *Marine Historic Protected Areas*.

From the same page there are downloadable information sheets covering the BS-AC's *Respect Our Wrecks Policy*, Vessel Designation that provides further information and links to external official sources; Law and Wreck that lists the legislation that is relevant to diving activity and the *Wreck Diver's Code*. The examples described below show how divers reacted and recovered from the shock of the war graves issues, moving forward with groups overtly showing more respect for UCH and regulations. From a largely ambivalent attitude until the turn of the 20th century, there is now a much more proactive one with the provision of information and guidance about the rights and responsibilities and acceptable practices relating to wrecks and their value as UCH. This has extended to the BS-AC having an Underwater Heritage Adviser who is a member of English Heritage's Wreck Advisory Panel.

6.13.3 Sport Diving Courses and UCH

As well as the more responsible attitude by the sport diving organisations in providing information, there has been a general improvement in the relationship between the UK's diving organisations and UCH. Courses and projects involving avocational archaeologists and recreational divers have developed. The Nautical Archaeology Society's courses are currently the most well known, but there have been courses offering training in nautical archaeology techniques in the UK since the 1960s. These include those at the Institute of Archaeology (London) the School for Nautical Archaeology Plymouth (SNAP) located within Fort Bovisand run by Alan Bax, mentioned earlier for his involvement in the investigations of the Dutch East India ship, *De Liefde*.

Toby Parker of Bristol University taught the first numbered NAS course in 1986, although members ran *ad hoc* courses before. Since, many hundreds have been run attended by more than 10,000 participants in more than twenty countries. Asides from survey skills training in the entry level courses there was a strong component of raising awareness. The original

courses were primarily for recreational divers, but there have regularly been students of archaeology, experienced terrestrial archaeologists looking to extend their skill set and non-divers attending the courses. As awareness of UCH and their duty to report improved, the focus of the training programme shifted to providing public participatory projects. These include *Diving with a Purpose* (2001), *Adopt a Wreck* (2001), the *Big Anchor Project* (2008) and field projects involving recreational divers such as the *Sound of Mull Archaeological Project 1994-2005* (2008). A more recent project was *The Hulks of Forton Lake* (2011), featuring an inter-tidal ship graveyard, conducted in partnership with the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology (now Maritime Archaeology Trust) and members of the local community. NAS has recently collaborated with PADI to produce a new course, 'The Wreck Detective Specialty' aimed at a global audience taught by PADI instructors. BS-AC developed a 'Wreck Appreciation' course in consultation with NAS. This and PADI's Wreck Diver Specialty are explicit about the inclusion of information specific to the laws related to wrecks and continue to promote the Respect Our Wrecks initiative.

Beyond the UK, a number of international organisations have made similar public commitments to recognising and collaborating with heritage bodies, or being proactive in the protection of UCH. The following are examples: the Confédération Mondiale Des Activités Subaquatiques (CMAS) founded in 1958 consists of a federation of 130 national sport diving groups spanning five continents. It has a Scientific Committee, which includes underwater archaeology as an activity that lists the Nautical Archaeology Society and UNESCO as recognised bodies. CMAS states on its website that, 'In the context of good collaboration between the Scientific Committee of CMAS and the Secretariat of the Convention on the Protection of Underwater Heritage of UNESCO, we intend to contribute to a better distribution of activities in archaeology underwater with CMAS divers in the world' (CMAS 2104).

There have been discussions between PADI and UNESCO to create a memorandum of understanding but at the time of writing is unsigned (Rey pers. comm. 2014). Other individual dive groups have taken significant and unsolicited steps to promote the protection of UCH. One example is the Federació Catalana D'Activitats Subaquàtiques (FECDAS) who have a dedicated section on their website. 'They organize seminars, site visits, dives to archaeological sites being excavated, diving trips (Baia for instance),' (Rey pers. comm. 2014). As mentioned previously divers have continued to explore sites, with some such as the HMHS *Britannic* having the support of scientific institutions. In this new respectful environment, there were some concerns about how groups with legitimate objectives could access sites protected by

the *Protection of Military Remains Act* to undertake work such as archaeological surveys. The Ministry of Defence had not made it clear how a license could be obtained for access to a Controlled Site, which were off limits, and that any work including the attachment of survey control points on a Protected Place was likely to be considered as contrary to the spirit of look and don't touch.

6.14 Projects on Sites Designated under the Protection of Military Remains Act

1986

In the wake of the designations under the 1986 legislations questions to the Ministry of Defence about access were reported in *Diver Magazine*, (November 2001). How do I apply for a licence? Reply, 'the Ministry of Defence themselves will grant or refuse a licence' going on to say that documentation would be 'circulated to *DIVER Magazine* and the diving organisations' (Divernet 2001f). With regard to the criteria that would apply, the response was unhelpful. 'There would be a large element of subjectivity' (Divernet 2001f).

The formalised documentation has not been forthcoming, nor has the criteria been made clear. There is published guidance regarding the process of applying to excavate crashed military aircraft on government on line sources (HM Gov. Aviation Archaeology 2015a). It is accessible from the more generic page that provides information on 'wreck and salvage law' (HM Gov. 2015b). Within the section that deals with the *Protection of Military Remains Act*, there is no similar process for vessels. This is in contrast to each of the UK's four constituent competent authorities having clearly defined mechanisms for license applications for either visitor access or for archaeological work on the sites designated under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*. This leads to an assumption that the level of applications have been too few to warrant the development of a defined mechanism, or applications are being discouraged, which is supported by anecdotal opinions, and the vague answers provided by ministers.

Intrusive activities of any nature have been limited, extending to several licenses relating to HMS *Royal Oak* lying in Scapa Flow. The most intrusive events have resulted from action to prevent fuel oil contaminating the environment. Between 2003 and 2010, Briggs Marine successfully removed 1,600 tons of heavy fuel oil from the vessel (Briggs Marine 2014). The remaining licenses have been of a commemorative nature. Each year, close to Remembrance Day (11 November) the Royal Navy Northern Divers Group places a naval white ensign to commemorate of the loss of the ship's crew, an event routinely reported in news media

(Munro 2013). The remaining license relating to the ship was to authorise the place the ashes of the wife of lost bandsman Arthur Gosling, the first event of its type on a naval vessel.

In addition, licenses have been given to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the loss of submarine HMS *M2* in 2007 (McDonald 2007), and for the recovery of the last surviving Dornier Do-17 German bomber lost off the Kent coast of England in the summer of 2013, extensively covered by the media (Higham BBC 10 June 2013). Holt, project manager of ProMare (UK) successfully applied for a license in 2014, for what he (Holt, pers. comm. 9 May 2014) claims to be, the first licensee on a Controlled Site. The application process utilised the framework in *English Heritage's Management of Research Projects in the Historic Environment* (Morphe). Assuming the project is successful, it is an important step forward in developing policy and setting a precedent for future applications. The objective of the project, in collaboration with Birmingham University's Human Interface Technology Team, is to create a 'virtual tribute' (The Herald 2014) to the submarine HMS *A7* and crew lost off Whitsand Bay, Devon in 1914.

6.15 Salvage Awards, Designated Sites and the Sale of Artefacts

For years before the 1973 legislation, avocational archaeologists have formed the core of the teams that work on historic sites, a reality referred to in *Taking to the Water* (Roberts and Trow 2002). Despite improving heritage management, disposal of cultural material recovered from them has followed the relevant sections of the *Merchant Shipping Act*, and has meant the sale of artefacts.

Bingeman (2010, 36) mentions the release by the Receiver of 'artefacts recovered up to 1981' from the wreck site of the Royal Navy's first *Invincible* (1758). The estimated value of £23,755 (Bingeman 2010, 36) used as collateral to raise bank loans to enable the excavation to continue. Later, after extensive discussions with the Museum of the Royal Navy about securing the artefact collection had failed, the project reached an agreement with Chatham Historic Dockyard in 1988. The dockyard would select a representative sample of artefacts in return for £25,000. The same year artefacts offered for sale through the auctioneers Christies raised a further £64,000 (Bingeman 2010, 38). The *Invincible Project's Home Page* states that the artefact sale was necessary 'due to the lack of outside funding' (*Invincible-Home Page* 2014). Proceeds of the sale paid for the excavation and conservation, while musket shot and memorabilia made from ship's structure remain for sale on the website dedicated to the ship (*Invincible-Home Page* 2014).

Other groups working on designated sites such as the Salcombe Cannon Site (DCMS ACHWS Annual Report 2009, 42) originally protected on 24 October 1997 received salvage awards. Four hundred gold coins found within the designated area in 2004 were believed to be from the nearby designated Bronze-Age site at Moor Sands (DCMS ACHWS Annual Report 2010, 36). *Diver Magazine* reported the payment in connection with a second find by the same team that included a gold torc, cauldron handle and assorted weaponry, thought to be Bronze Age, adding the Receiver of Wreck was aware of the discoveries.

‘The divers received a salvage award of almost £100,000 when their last collection - discovered on a shipwreck a quarter of a mile off Prawle Point in 1995 - was eventually sold to the British Museum. That find included 460 gold coins, as well as ingots, nuggets, pewter, jewellery and pottery which had lain undisturbed since it was lost at sea in the 1630s (Divernet 2005b).

The team received English Heritage’s Open Prize for Presentation of Heritage Research in 2010 (DCMS 2010, 6). What is less well known is the team’s preferred option to receive grant aid from the British Museum in return for donating the collection. This option was declined by the British Museum who made it clear that they could ‘only pay for recoveries not investigation’ (Williams pers. comm. 2014) and furthermore that the material had to be acquired under the salvage rules.

As mentioned above the public fascination that surrounds the romantic notion of salvage and the legal reinforcement of it forms the roots of a highly significant issue with respect to the protection of UCH. In addition, the rewards from the salvage of the *Invincible* and Salcombe Cannon Site expressed in public media and the specialised diving press are likely to inspire others to seek their fortune under water. Hypothetically speaking had the events portrayed the team having donated the treasures to the respective museums and that their sponsor was the British Museum would the public be more likely to view it as a successful archaeological research project, rather than as a mixture where it was seen as a good financial result for the team?

6.16 Commercial salvage awards - SS Gairsoppa and SS Mantola

The UK government has continued to enter into other contracts with commercial salvors. Under pressure from the Treasury to raise funds (Williams pers. comm. 2014) the Ministry of Defence contracted salvors for the recovery of precious metal cargoes from the SS *Mantola* 1916 and the SS *Gairsoppa* 1941, British merchant ships lost during the two World Wars of the 20th century. While there were no casualties from the loss of the former ship,

many of the crew were lost during the sinking of the latter. These contracts made, despite the Ministry of Defence's concern for the impact of proposed salvage of HMS *Repulse and Prince of Wales* only a few years before to protect the sanctity of their crews. The recoveries of the precious cargoes from the *Gairsoppa* and *Mantola*, have been reported in the media, but without apparent public concern for one of the vessels being the last resting place of members of its crew. Neither have archaeologists expressed interest in them despite their apparent good condition. It is evident that the public still considers that a wreck on the beach presents the possibility for opportunistic gain. The case of the *Napoli* illustrates the point of the continuing public face of salvage.

6.17 Stranding of SS *Napoli* - 2007

As has been described above salvage law has been in existence in the UK since the origins of legal memory, almost a millennium, but certainly evolved in much earlier times. The deep historical roots have helped to create a salvage culture that permeates UK society and clouded attempts to distinguish UCH from wreck as defined in its salvage context. The stranding of the *Napoli*, travelling from Antwerp to South Africa off the coast of Branscombe, Devon in 2007, illustrates not just the longevity of the origins of salvage, but its current relevance when people are presented with an opportunity to benefit from what appears to be a gift from the sea.

The event received worldwide media coverage (Lowther, Glover & Williams 2008, 98). More than one hundred of the more than 2,300 containers, 300 cargo containers washed ashore. Hundreds of tons of fuel escaped from the inundated engine-room threatening the local natural environment. Hundreds of amateur salvors from the local area, some from Europe (Lowther, Glover & Williams 2008, 99) converged on the stranded vessel. People reportedly queued to take what they could lay their hands on, among them valuable BMW motor cycles and tons of timber planking, with items appearing for sale on EBay in contravention of relevant legislation.

The Guardian Newspaper (2008) reported a year after the event that of the seventeen motor bikes in one of the containers, two had been seized by police, two had 'vanished' and the remaining thirteen were with their finders pending establishment of legal ownership. In 2007 the BBC (22 January 2007b) reported that up to fifty motorcycles had been removed. The notion of 'finders should be keepers' (BBC 22 January 2007b) was reported as having no basis in either English or Scottish law, but it appeared that people believed that things found at sea

could be treated differently from those found on land. In the right circumstances this was correct. In the same article, the government claimed that it had learned the lesson and that it would use alternative legislation in some future event rather than use 'obscure salvage law' (BBC 22 January 2007b). However, using the criteria described above, the shipping containers constituted wreck and therefore dealt with by the provisions of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1995* administered by the Receiver of Wreck. The government spokesperson's comments about using alternative legislation may have been misplaced. As there is no clarification regarding size or value, large shipping containers of the 21st century equate to the wooden cargo barrels in historical periods. The Receiver of Wreck, through the media reminded salvors of their duty to declare their finds (BBC 22 January 2007b). Over 1,500 reporting *Droits* covering many more individual items, as there is no limit to the number of declarations on each form, were filed in 2007 (BBC 2007b). It was apparent that the level of understanding of relevant laws appertaining to the situation was confused.

As discussed by Lowther *et al* (2008, 98) the 'legal matrix' involved laws of salvage, environment and criminality, all related to 'public order and theft'. For an act of salvage to be legitimate, 'there must property, which can properly be the subject of a salvage service, placed in danger and a service rendered whereby that property is successfully preserved from that danger and brought to a place of safety', (Rose & Kennedy cited in Lowther *et al* 2008, 99). The contents of the containers constituted property and were in danger. Once removed from the containers, or on the beach if that was where 'wreck' was found, salvors were obligated to report their recoveries to the Receiver of Wreck under section 236(1) of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1995*. Lowther *et al* (2008, 100) explain that the forceful opening of locked containers without the means to salvage the entire contents, combined with the unwrapping of the property and the failure to report recoveries could constitute 'an intent to misappropriate the property' (Lowther, Glover & Williams 2008, 100). However, this is not always clear and with regard to the wheeling of a motor cycle off the beach while still wrapped in its packaging would be impractical.

The wreck of the *Napoli*, the ensuing publicity and confusing media statement about the legitimacy of the actions of the public illustrated that not only did the public not fully understand the obligations, but government bodies and their officials as well, noting that the Receiver was acting within the constraints of her position and the law. The authors concluded that the 'complex legal framework' placed the police and the Receiver in a difficult position. The agencies involved reiterated the comment made by Williams earlier in this chapter that

19th century legislation, particularly *Part IX* of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1995*, based on the 1854 version, was 'unfit for purpose' in the 21st century and should be reviewed. What is revealing is the authors comment that the repeal of section 514, which gave powers to the Receiver to 'suppress plunder' would have proven useful in the case of the *Napoli*. In respect to the removal of this power from the *Merchant (Registration) Act 1993* the authors lamented that the '...veneer of civilised behaviour remains thin and was far from being anachronistic', adding the provision should be reinstated (Lowther *et al* 2008, 104). The public's reaction to the stranding of the *Napoli*, and the earlier case of the *Kodima* in 2002 showed that when opportunity presented itself marine salvage is not the sole domain of the recreational diver.

6.18 Avocational Archaeologists Response to Designations and Regulations

Although there have been several subsequent tranches of designations under the 1986 Act there has not been any widespread negative response, nor reported, a calmness that was absent during the period around the first designations. This perhaps demonstrates a lack of concern and acceptance that these designations did not affect the majority of recreational divers who continued to dive Protected Places, while abiding by the look but do not touch ethos of the Act and *Respect Our Wrecks* code.

The calmness in which the more recent designations under the 1973, 1979 or 1986 Acts have been received by divers, has not been maintained for the new regulations originating from the *Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009*, administered by the Marine Management Organisation, particularly among avocational archaeological groups. Recreational diving organisations have looked for clarification on the placement of moorings, buoys and the use of lifting bags sometimes used to aid the recovery of anchors, with clarifications having alleviated them.

Avocational archaeologists, however, have reacted strongly against some of the new regulations imposed by the Act. English Heritage advised anyone intending to undertake archaeological work underwater or on the foreshore should consult with EH and the MMO. The avocational reaction as expressed by NAS is not against the better protection of UCH provided by the new rules that effectively make most activities that impact on the seabed obligatory and therefore subject to a permit with an associated cost. Their concerns feature impracticalities, such as the use of excavation equipment, the placement of logistical support such as moorings. All would be licensable and therefore be chargeable activities under the new regulations. Their issue continues to revolve around the additional costs placed on its members who the Society considers to be providing a public service.

Such has been the concern of avocational archaeologists that there was a ‘very real prospect that avocational teams licensed under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* would return their licences issued by EH and cease their voluntary activities upon these sites’ (NAS 2015). While some might say that this work should be by professional teams, there is no sign that government will provide extra financial resources to make this possible. The financial value of avocational involvement is expressed by Williams and Parham (2012), including the comment that ‘it would be excessively cynical and materially incorrect to portray this as the principal advantage, since the involvement of avocationalists without the requisite degree of competence would be both indefensible and, in the longer term, self-defeating’.

The licensing strategy appears to be that in the event of a site being under threat by commercial development the developer would bear any associated costs in protecting the site. This was the case in 2005-2006 when the Ministry of Defence paid for the excavation and partial recovery of elements of the bow section of the *Mary Rose* not recovered in 1982. As the new licencing applies to intrusive work and actions like moorings, does this imply that many if not all sites will remain moribund and continue to be very much out of sight and out of mind? If this is the proposed UCH model, research will decline, activities becoming focused on monitoring or survey.

This management model fits well with the prevalent preservation *in situ* ethos and government policy to make things sustainable. However, there is a distinct possibility that public knowledge of UCH will be even more limited. Avocational archaeology has a side-benefit of including local communities in the investigation of UCH, in a very different way than does industry led archaeology. A further consequence is that these activities go unnoticed by the media and further reduce the public’s contact with UCH.

6.19 Chapter summary - Salvage – Recreational Diving – War Graves and Continuing Policy Confusions

Despite the advocacy for better protection and public education from the 1960s through to the end of the 1990s, it was an event in the Far East that catalysed public opinion and changed the status quo. The public campaign was sufficiently vociferous in the press that UK government’s Members of Parliament took action condemning diver’s activities on war graves. Faced with the very real possibility of being banned from military vessels the diving organisations promised and took action. This government response had followed fourteen years of inactivity, even ambivalence as the legislation was sitting unused for military wrecks.

Public sentiment forced the change. Designations of more than sixty military vessels has followed, but no sooner had the public fuss settled down than government entered into discussions with salvors over the *Sussex*. This brought criticism from archaeologists and the diving press, but did not stir the public into action.

The second attempt to protect the *Storaa* was successful, the associated benchmark legal ruling opening the door for the designation of more merchant ships, but only the *SS Mendi* has, this following a determined campaign by a relatively small number of people in the UK and South Africa, where the ship is historically better known. The desk-based assessment compiled by Wessex concluded that although diving on the site was limited seemed to be a 'growing recognition amongst divers of the significance of the site a war grave' (Wessex 2007, 1). The recovery of precious cargoes from *SS Gairsoppa* and *SS Mantola* appeared in the press, but has not received criticism, nor has Balchen's *Victory* raised widespread public alarm. Ironically, as if to close the circle, the very issue that caused the storm of public protest has reappeared:

'Celebrated British warships being stripped bare for scrap metal: Scrap dealers scavenge wrecks of British battlecruisers HMS Repulse and HMS Prince of Wales sunk off the coast of Malaysia in 1941, with damage intensifying in recent months' (Ryall & Gunter 2014).

While the Ministry of Defence has taken action taken to reclaim material from the wrecks found in a sale room and by the Malaysian navy confiscating salvaged material, there has not been a wave of public condemnation, or revival of the survivor's association public demands for action, nor parliamentary reaction and no reaction from the UK's archaeological community. It seems that the issue of war graves at least for sites over 70 years old has passed into history and is not a concern for the current generation. Those interviewed in *the Telegraph* article accepted that little could prevent this salvage without the direct involvement of local agencies monitoring the sites.

Overall diver behaviour has improved but clubs continue to display their salvaged articles. In this particular array were '40 ship bells, lamps, helms and other artefacts sourced from divers all over the UK' (Divernet 2012). One member of the club claimed that during his thirty-year wreck diving 'career' he possessed a large personal collection. He claimed to be the custodian and that the collection would be passed to his children or a museum, 'because they are an integral part of history' (Divernet 2012).

Although his long-term view is laudable, from the archaeologist's perspective the collection represents lost research opportunities, despite the historical research done by the finders. Other comments by the BS-AC' Chief Executive revealed that the organisation, even at its executive level, continues to cling to the notion of were it not for 'our divers' (Divernet 2012a) some or all of these items and their related historical stories would have been lost. This comment grossly underestimates the potential of at least some of these sites to contribute far more than the recovery of trophies that merely confirmed their historical identity. The comments highlight the continuing lack of understanding of how archaeological study can improve our knowledge of such aspects as the technological advances in ship construction, trade as well as the wider social contexts.

What this chapter has shown is that salvage practices and heritage management are intertwined. In the case of the *Gairsoppa* and *Mantola*, both fall outside the 100-year limitation of the 2001 Convention making it clear that the recovery of the cargoes was salvage. The salvage awards for these recoveries and from the archaeological investigations and discoveries on *Invincible* (1758) and the *Salcombe Cannon Site*, both protected sites, were resolved according to the salvage law of the *Merchant Shipping Act*. The recoveries and ultimate disposal of material from Balchen's *Victory*, ignoring the intense archaeological concern, would be according to salvage legislation. This is despite explicit statements to the effect that work will be in accordance with the Rules of the Annex to the 2001 Convention. Salvage practice is not only deeply rooted in UK law, but in the public response to opportunities as presented by the case of the *SS Napoli*.

When the role of Receiver of Wreck was consolidated into a single post in 1993, it brought an important government agency into the realm of UCH. The new Receiver took the role seriously and as outlined above set about raising awareness of the duty to report. Discussions at the time focused on whether raising awareness should focus on the statutory duty or include the option for finders to report to local museums, archaeological bodies, etc., seen as potential alternatives. This would have fulfilled the aspirations of the Council for Nautical Archaeology who had promoted a similar scheme since the 1970s. After lengthy discussion, the option chosen was the promotion of the legal duty. The reasoning was that promoting two parallel reporting systems would be confusing with one option legally obligatory, the other voluntary.

This certainly raised the profile of the Receiver, credited with being a major influence on the wreck diving culture of the recreational diver. This was particularly the case after the wreck *Amnesty* in 2001. Face-to-face contact with the diving community included intercepting diving

groups on the quaysides of popular diving areas or actually at sea using a coastguard vessel. *Diver Magazine* reported the strategy. Following the personal introduction of the Coastguard's team an extract from the meeting:

'OK lads, don't take any portholes today,' one of the group jokes nervously.

'You can take them, just tell me about it if you do,' Sophia replies charmingly.

'I've been at sea every day since May. I haven't had time to declare anything,' says another.

'It doesn't matter if you're a bit late,' she says, presenting him with a pile of declaration forms.

'What if I find some little clay trinket? Do I have to declare that?' 'Yes' (Exelby 2003)

Raising awareness of the importance and value of UCH has had to compete with the historical roots of salvage that has helped to blur the public perception of UCH, or at the very least made it more difficult to distinguish between salvage, treasure hunting, and archaeology. This confusion reduces the heritage community's ability to raise awareness of UCH as a benefit for the public as whole, rather than as a resource enjoyed or exploited for the benefits of the few. Salvage and salvage law have proven to be unhelpful in enabling the public to understand issues, considered so troublesome by archaeologists, but in which they may have inadvertently played a role.

Would the current situation be different or more advanced if it had been decided not to support the salvage law? Would this have ultimately led to a similar scheme to the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* that has supported the *Treasure Act*?

Has government taken advantage of the apparent pragmatic approach, in order to continue its flexible policy to historic wreck, while at the same time acknowledging, in 2014, that its policy would have to be according to the Rules of the 2001 Convention? To what extent has it or is interpreting the Convention to suit its own purposes and concluded that the model that considers the sale of commercial goods in conformity with the Convention?

The following chapter focuses on the opinions of stakeholders involved in the management and archaeological investigation of UCH sites, with the aim of understanding to what extent there is agreement on a range of themes, as well attitudes to protection, preservation, access and reporting of discoveries. The survey touches on the issue of the sale of some recovered cultural material to cover the costs of the remainder is an acceptable alternative to leaving everything on the seabed at the vagaries of the environment or illegitimate human interference.

¹ Marine (Scotland) Act 2010 in Scotland.

² Common law, unlike law described in government statute develops out of case law or precedent, which is decided in a court of law.

³ Leets also known as a court-leet is a special kind of manorial court that some lords were entitled to hold.

⁴ Escheat refers to the power of a state to acquire title to property for which there is no owner.

⁵ Waifs are stolen goods 'waived or scattered by a thief in his flight in order to effect his escape' and accordingly to English common law, the king's. 1 Bl. Com. 296; 5 Co. 109; Cro. Eliz. 694.

⁶ A deodand is the right to forfeit a chattel which was the cause of a death.

⁷ Open dress, meaning that only air pressure kept water out of the helmet, whereas with closed dress the helmet is bolted to a suit.

⁸ James Meadows (1798-1864) is a renowned British painter of marine boating scenes, exhibiting more than twenty paintings at the Royal Academy from 1855 until 1863.. His paintings are among the British Government Art Collection.

⁹ Although Gagnan and Cousteau are often labelled as the inventors there were other predecessors such as the 'régulateur' invented by Frenchman Benoît Rouquayrol in 1860. It was first used to help with the evacuation of flooded mines but was adapted for diving in 1864. Available from: <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aqua-lung>> [Accessed 10 February 2015].

¹⁰ Although Cagnan and Cousteau are often labelled as the inventors there were other predecessors such as the 'régulateur' invented by Frenchman Benoît Rouquayrol in 1860. It was first used to help with the evacuation of flooded mines but was adapted for diving in 1864. Available from: <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aqua-lung>>

¹¹ Cousteau & Cagnan formed La Spiro Technique for the distribution of their equipment.

¹² The decrease in the BS-AC membership is largely due to competition from other international organisations such as the Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI) and other domestically rooted organisations like the Sub Aqua Association (SAA). Technical divers have formed their own diving organisations such as International Association of Nitrox and Technical Divers (IANTD).

¹³ Lifting bags can be open ended shaped like a parachute, or closed tubes, which are commonly made from a reinforced plastic material and utilised to recover underwater objects. Each litre of air is capable of supporting one kilogram and range in size from around 50 kgs to 5 or 10 tons as used on the project, but can be much larger.

¹⁴ The Territorial Army or Army Reserve as it is now known is a voluntary active-duty reserve force integrated into the British Army, originating as the Territorial Force in 1908. Available from: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Army_Reserve_%28United_Kingdom%29>. [15 April 2015].

¹⁵ Bottom time is the amount of time usually calculated from the time a diver leaves the surface to leaving the seabed or 'bottom.'

¹⁶ The time available from a given amount of air carried by a diver in their diving cylinder is governed by Boyle's Law. This law states (where temperature is a constant) that: $P_{\text{(pressure)}} \times V_{\text{(volume)}} = K_{\text{(constant)}}$. At the surface (0 metres) this equates to $1(\text{bar}) \times 1(100\%) = 1$, whereas for each 10 metres of depth, water pressure increases by 1 bar., whereas volume decreases inversely proportional the absolute pressure, assuming the temperature is constant, for example at a depth of 10 metres, $P = 2 \times V = \frac{1}{2} = 1$ (K), at 30 metres $P = 4$, $V = \frac{1}{4} = 1$ and so on. The effect is that at 10 metres the diver has only half the breathing air available than at the surface, therefore assuming breathing rates remain the same the time available for a given volume of air is halved.

¹⁷ As the partial pressure (Dalton's Law) of the constituent gases of air increases (79% Nitrogen & 21% Oxygen) they become increasingly toxic. The effect of nitrogen is similar to drinking alcohol. Scientifically it is nitrogen narcosis where colloquially it known as the 'rapture of the depths' and impairs judgement and decision making. Oxygen is also toxic and induces symptoms such as severe convulsions. Both nitrogen and oxygen toxicity are life threatening in the underwater environment.

¹⁸ To reduce the toxicity of air, the mixtures of the gases are changed, typically diluting nitrogen with helium, which reduces the impact of nitrogen narcosis and decompression time which is the time required to enable the body to return to its surface equilibrium.

¹⁹ Rebreather diving equipment has been existence for many years, often used for military purposes. The earlier equipment used 100% oxygen which could only be used to a depth of approximately 10 metres. Modern rebreathers maintain the partial pressure of oxygen, typically at around 1.4 bars ppO_2 to avoid its toxic effect.

²⁰ The first edition of the British Sub-Aqua Club's diving manual was produced in 1959.

²¹ The courses are believed to have been run by John D'Arcy Wechter or Helen Wylde (sp) - the former a prehistorian on the staff at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London; the latter a post-grad student. (Dean personal communication April 2014)

²² In the 10th edition published in 1977 the corresponding chapter is amended to 'Wreck diving and Salvage' but for all intents and purposes contained the same information. In the 1993 the edition, salvage is not mentioned, with the section on wreck-diving noting that all wrecks are owned, but with no specific information about contacts. BSAC 1977 & 1993.

²³ Wilkes undertook projects in Populonia, Italy and Nora, Sardinia. Wilkes and the Mensura team epitomised amateur archaeology, winning the Trenchard Memorial Award for the best [military] services expedition in 1968, the following year the team were runners up in Duke of Edinburgh for underwater science carried out by BSAC divers and in 1970 was awarded a silver medal for his film *Blue Murex* in the International Underwater Film Festival in Brighton and gold medal for best beginner. Wilkes became a member of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology in 1973 that is discussed in more detail below. (Wilkes 1971)

²⁴ Although it is stated that the UK was the first wreck amnesty a previous took place in 1993. Others have taken place in Australia 1993 and Malta 2005. As part of the terms of Bermuda's Historic Wrecks Act 2002 offered immunity from prosecution if wreck artefacts were reported to the Custodian and recorded within six months of the Act taking force.

²⁵ During a four-year period in the 1950s, Risdén Beazley's, the largest salvage firm made a financial contribution of almost £200,000 to the UK.

²⁶ 'The Royal British Legion helps the whole Armed Forces community through welfare, companionship and representation as well as being the Nation's custodian of Remembrance. The video below shows some highlights of our work this year' (Royal British Legion 2014). Available from: <<http://www.britishlegion.org.uk/about-us>>. [29 July 2014].

²⁷ Since 1993 the Receivers of Wreck have been consolidated into a single post housed by the Dept. of Transport's Maritime and Coastguard Agency.

²⁸ *HMS Prince of Wales* and *HMS Repulse* were sunk in naval action in 1941 with the loss of more than eight-hundred of their crew.

²⁹ Early Day Motions (EDMs) are formal motions submitted for debate in the House of Commons. Few are actually debated and they are used to highlight the views of individual MP; raising awareness of specific events or campaigns, and demonstrating the extent of parliamentary support for a particular cause or point of view. They often result in media attention. In an average parliamentary session few reach over two hundred signatures, while around seventy or eighty get over one hundred signatures. The majority will attract only one or two signatures. An EDM is not likely to be debated even if it gains a large number of signatures. Available from: <<http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/business/edms/>>. [15 April 2015].

³⁰ The most recent designations came into force on the 1st June 2012. Statutory Instrument 2012 - No. 1110 - DEFENCE Schedule 2 replaced all previous Statutory Instruments, 2008 -No 950; 2006 - No 2616; 2003 - 405; 2002 - No 1761. In total, at the time of writing (July 2014) there are sixty-six vessels designated as Protected Places with a further sixteen as Controlled Sites. (HM GOV 2014) Four of the Controlled Places are designated using the Falkland Islands *Protection of Wreck Ordinance 1977*.

³¹ Based on historical evidence Dr Marsden continues to dispute this.

7 Public archaeology and stakeholder opinion

7.1 Introduction to the surveys

In support of this study two surveys were developed and circulated to stakeholder groups. The first was for those professionally involved in archaeology, heritage management and students of related topics who were considered embryonic professionals. The second survey was distributed to those not professionally involved, which included avocational archaeologists and recreational divers or those otherwise interested or involved.

7.1.1 Related aims of the two surveys

There were two aims, shared by both surveys. The first was to better understand the opinions on a range of UCH issues to determine to what extent there were significant differences or similarities in opinion between professional and non-professionals. To help achieve this both surveys contained broadly similar questions to enable comparison of opinions. A significant difference in the design of the surveys is the addition in the non-professional survey of a section that explores opinions on protection, preservation, access and reporting of underwater cultural heritage.

The second aim was to use the surveys to help refine additional research strands relating to raising public awareness and understanding of the value of UCH to society. In so doing it was helpful in fulfilling the overall aims of this study. These strands were addressed in literature reviews and through interviews with UK based professional archaeologists and heritage managers. A commitment was made to respect survey respondents and interviewee's anonymity.

7.1.2 Objectives of the professional survey

The specific objectives of the professional survey were to understand the views on the main aims of a public archaeology programme, the degree of commitment to public archaeology, the initiatives that they deliver and to what age groups, views on public awareness of UCH and related behaviour over time and opinions on whether the public confuse archaeology, salvage and treasure hunting and why.

7.1.3 Distribution to professionals

The distribution of the survey was targeted at all professional contacts through email and LinkedIn group. As such it was not a random distribution. It is acknowledged that utilising a

personal network could result in opinions from professionals with similar perspectives on archaeology and UCH management. The distribution was limited to the English speaking world, with an additional bias towards Anglo Saxon communities, in accordance with the UK being the focus of the study.

7.1.4 Distribution to non-professionals

This distribution process was different in so far as there wasn't access to an extensive personal network through LinkedIn or email. It was therefore necessary to use alternative paths. In addition to the distribution to a relatively few personal contacts through email, the link to the survey was distributed by English Heritage to their site licensees. Email correspondence requesting assistance were sent to NAS' International Training Partners where it was known that they ran courses for avocational archaeologists and recreational divers. These included Save Ontario's Shipwrecks, Underwater Archaeology Society of British Columbia, Australasian Institute of Maritime Archaeology, the Sport Diving Federation of Switzerland and the Thames Discovery Programme administered by the Museum of London. A short article '*Have your say*' explaining the reasons for the survey, including a URL link to 'Survey Monkey was published in NAS' *Newsletter* to promote the survey attached as Appendix D.

7.1.5 Objectives of the non-professional survey

To help achieve the overall research aims of this study the objectives of the non-professional survey sought opinions about what had motivated respondents to first become involved or interested in UCH and subsequently maintained their interest; the aims of public archaeology programmes; opinions on whether the public is able to distinguish between archaeology, salvage and treasure hunting; views on protection, preservation, public access, and the public availability of information about UCH.

7.1.6 Presentation of the survey results

The full results, including the Pilot Study are produced in Appendix A which can be referenced. In the text below a selection of them are presented textually, supplemented by Excel (2010) charts where visual expression provides additional clarity. Those questions featuring a single theme are grouped for greater impact, easier interpretation and less repetition. Several of these groupings include a multiple choice selection and a single choice of the 'most' and 'least' important option or factor depending on the question. In these cases the 'least' important option

the scores should be at the opposite end of the scale of scores than the 'most' important selection.

The chapter includes a representative sample of the numerous comments to illustrate reinforcement or divergence from the available options and to show strength of feeling for a particular issue relevant to this study. Each survey section has short discussion on key findings and observations, as well a chapter summary that focus' on the more important issues relevant to the public's perception of UCH.

7.2 Part 1: Professional survey results

7.2.1 Section 1: Respondent's profile: questions 1-4

The diversity in role, job title and high level of academic training found in questions 1 and 2 is consistent with the UK's Institute for Archaeologists' (IfA) *Profile of the Profession* survey of 888 archaeologists own findings, that reported 389 jobs with 236 different titles (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013 referred to in chapter three.

The diversity in experience of respondents was required to show different perspectives from the most experienced with over 20 years of experience to those entering the profession. This factor was particularly relevant to those questions that offered time based choices. For example **question 20** asked for opinion about how public awareness had changed over time. There was the potential for the answer to correlate to the individuals own experience, but as is shown below this was not the case, providing confidence that respondents were considering other factors, rather than linking their answers to their own longevity in the discipline.

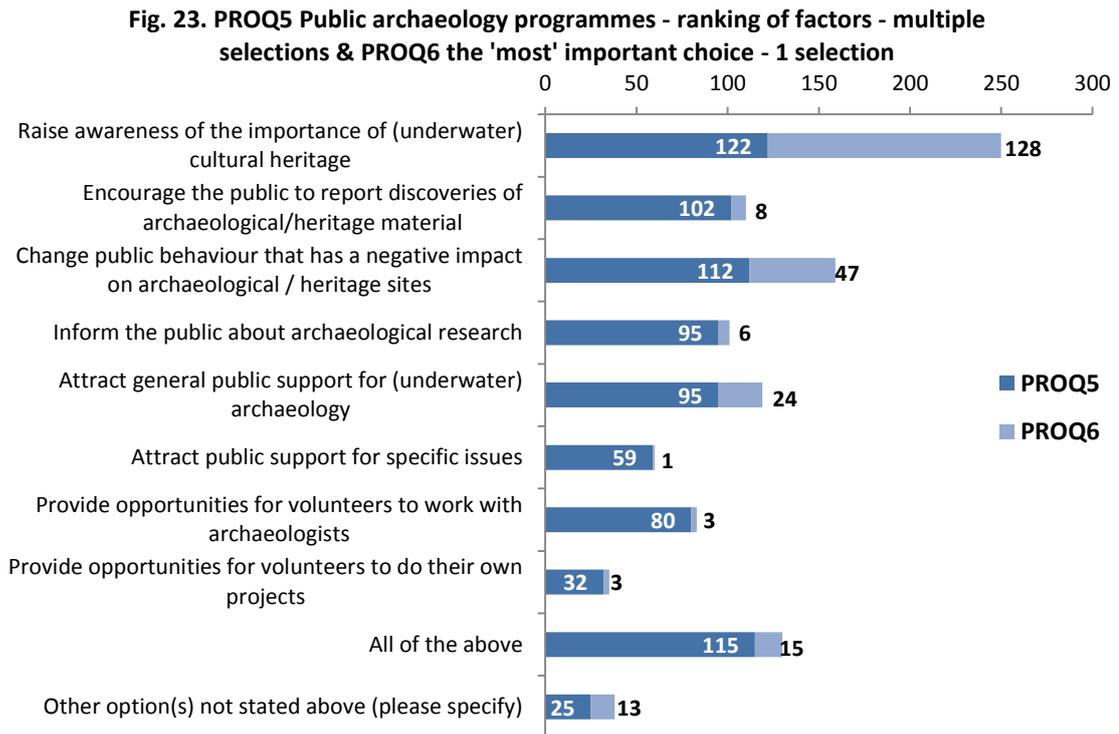
7.2.2 Section 2: Objectives of Public Archaeology Programmes: questions 5-7

The results of the three questions are presented in figure 23 below. Question 5 offered the opportunity to select multiple choices from the presented list, whereas questions 6 and 7 asked for a refinement by selecting a single choice representing the 'most' or 'least' important objective of a public archaeology programme, as well as their own selection if it was not listed.

Question 5 and 6 showed that raising awareness was the predominant selection, **rising slightly from 122 to 128 representing ~51%** of all responses in question 6. The least supported option 'attract public support for specific issues' received only a single selection. These results suggest that the profession believes that general awareness continues to be more important than focusing on individual issues. It is evident that while there was support for volunteer projects

shown in question 5, support falls to 3 selections in both categories in question 6 confirming an overall lack of enthusiasm for these options compared to other choices. However, it should not be seen as being necessarily anti-volunteer involvement. Raising awareness through the publication of archaeological research was not seen as an important mechanism for raising awareness.

Figure 23. PROQ5 & 6 focused on the profession's opinions on the most important aims of public archaeology programmes.



Question 7 asked for the 'least' important objective of a public archaeology programme, with volunteers doing their own projects confirmed it was the least supported aim, with 125 selections, representing slightly more than 50% of the total responses; volunteers working with archaeologists scoring 11, showing less resistance to the idea of volunteers assisting in projects, and correspondingly only 1 for the raising awareness option, which showed consistency with the responses to questions 5 & 6.

The 'other options' comments arising from this cluster of questions synthesized many of the key challenges and issues facing UCH with several specifically mentioning increasing the public's role:

'encourage and enable public to participate in decision-making regarding actions taken on their behalf regarding the present and future management of their heritage'; 'educate, inform and inspire the public about history and heritage within their community in ways that are inclusive, culturally sensitive and appropriate/useful'; 'Allow the public to participate in the elaboration of a sound

understanding of our common past (with all its inherent facets; i.e. culture of memory, cultural identity basis etc, etc.); 'heritage is under pressure; we are losing too much heritage through the pressure of politics and badly handled developments, both public and private, which creates the need to stimulate not only public awareness but increased involvement to improve understanding including the potential of UCH'; 'for the needs of archaeology to match the needs of the community. In other words, for archaeology to provide a service and be a facilitator to meet the community's needs rather than the needs of the archaeologist'.

Other comments feature concerns about specific issues that need to be conveyed more clearly to the public, illustrated by,

'educating the public on the differences between treasure hunting and archaeology is a priority'; 'show the relevance of underwater archaeology to a wider slice of the community and allow the profession to be called on for more than just compliance tasks'; 'raise awareness of conservation, and the possibility that sites have value and can be protected by planners and developers'; 'promoting in *situ* conservation and public valuation of heritage...'. An extension to one of the comments above added, '...the rest will follow!', interpreted to mean support for UCH; 'bring shipwrecks, their relics, their stories and what can be learnt from them to the public'; 'create projects / opportunities that provide ENJOYMENT for the public and that highlight the impact of archaeology/cultural heritage (societal, social, economic etc.) in a FUN, MEANINGFUL and UNIVERSAL way'

The final comment epitomises the aims of the 2001 Convention that encourages access and participation and represent core values for those engaged with the public. In the context of this study it is Helpful that the value of research and its potential link to tourism is mentioned:

'conduct exciting and interesting research that engages the public and specifically can generate tourist visits'.

If this objective could be achieved a balance could be struck between the importance of conducting research, while matching the UK's government apparent goal to expand the heritage industry.

While the dissemination of research is not considered a high priority in the context of the question it has a very important role in public archaeology. It should ensure that information for the public is based on sound knowledge, playing a key role in establishing educational and social values of heritage, and in some cases, economic value as a public asset. This point will be re-visited in the discussion that follows in chapter nine.

It is assumed that the answers provide a general perspective of the current need for public archaeology initiatives and in the development of community archaeology projects that fulfil the description provided by Marshall (2009, 1078) expanded in chapter nine.

7.2.3 Section 3: Organisational Commitment to Public Archaeology; questions 8-18

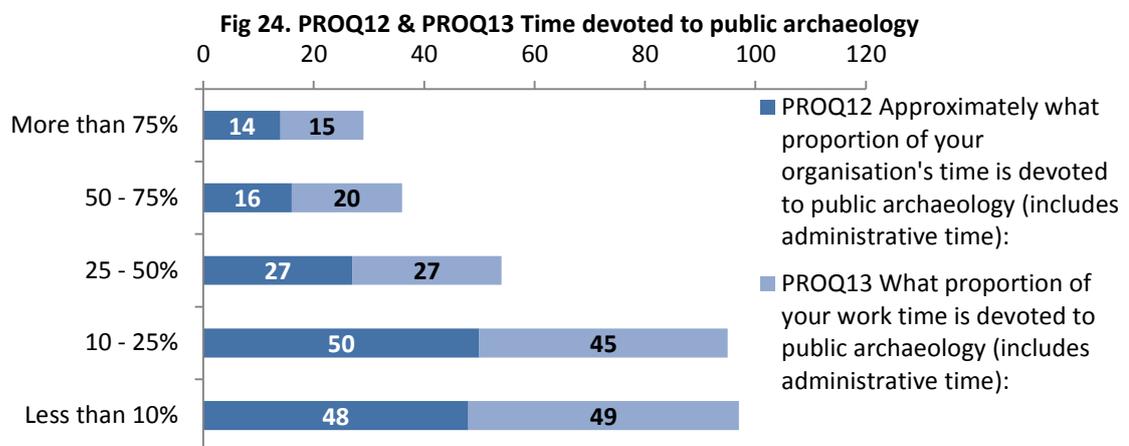
This group of questions relates to the discipline's commitment to public archaeology. Question 8 revealed that **154 respondents (≈63%)** worked for organisations that had public archaeology initiatives, almost a third (≈32%) of them for over 20 years shown in question 9. There were 25 responses that provided dates to the 'since its creation' option. This was 1904, although the comment was added that *'[then] it was not called public archaeology'*, being by far the earliest date, with the remaining from the 1960s with 2, 1970s – 1, 1980s – 5, 1990s – 8, and 2000s – 8.

Although it is impossible to be definitive, if the 1904 is excluded, the responses indicate that public archaeology relating to UCH emerges in the 1960s, with increasing growth from the 1990s through into the 2000s. This appears coincident with Marsden's and Du Plat Taylor's attempts to raise awareness, train or engage with recreational divers noted in chapter five. It mirrors the awareness activities and nautical archaeology courses held by Bax at Fort Bovisand Dive Centre in the 1970s, NAS from the early 1980s, augmented by JNAPC's, Receiver of Wreck's and other organisations such as the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology's initiatives in the late 1980s and 1990s, with ProMare and Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust (MAST) appearing since 2010. It is worthy of note that 28 of the respondents, plus one person from the Pilot Study considered themselves as public archaeologists, a job description that is a relatively recent innovation.

Question 10 showed that the organisations represented in the survey cover a significant range of public archaeology initiatives. The high scoring initiatives were **'public lectures' with 121**; 'factual literature (academic journals – reports) – 112 and 'Information leaflets / posters' – 109. It is notable that the lowest scores include 'fictional TV' with 7 and 'fictional literature' with 4. The most significant 'other options' were *'publicly accessible GIS of underwater sites'*, an example of which is one developed for the MACHU project, and an innovative suggestion was *'free you tube videos'*. The comment is unspecific about the content of the videos but can be assumed to promote a more ethical approach to UCH than other more commercially orientated activities. There is some evidence provided by the answers to AVOQ9, 10, 11 and 12 of the non-professional survey, which are shown in Part 2 of the results.

A significant percentage ($\approx 39\%$) of organisations include all age groups in their programmes with a further $\approx 18\%$ having no fixed policy, so no particular age-group is excluded, although the youngest and oldest seem the least targeted. There is a close relationship between the organisational and individual time devoted to the theme (questions 12 & 13 see figure 22 below). Over half of those working in organisations with public archaeology initiatives are seeing their time commitment increase and that $\approx 78\%$ of all respondents to the survey are contributing personal time to public archaeology.

Figure 24. PROQ12 &13 reveal the proportion of organisational and individual respondent's time devoted to public archaeology.



For those respondents whose main objective is to deliver a public archaeology programme their projects do not compete for resources, but in most other cases they are and need to be justified. The additional comments from question 17 reveal mixed views but there were several comments that show that government is not enthusiastic about financing public archaeology activities:

‘Government decided to stop public archaeology research in Flanders. Researchers became civil servants doing administration. (My project ends in 2014); ‘Not seen as a priority for government spending’ and ‘while the organization as a whole would not recognize public archaeology as an aim, it is part of the mandate for the archaeological staff and department. We do this as part of our efforts to raise awareness, educate, and exchange information on every project to a greater or lesser degree depending on the available time and budget.’

The comments reflect a theme running through this study: that government is increasingly reliant on non-public grant aid, voluntary activities, and private finance and license fees to fill the public funding gap.

7.2.3.1 Extracts from the interviews:

The following comments relate to asking interviewees to shed light on their personal commitment to public archaeology beyond office hours. They reveal a sense of ethical responsibility to put something back into society, or wanting others to enjoy what they do:

‘I have been involved in a number of public archaeology initiatives... with the British Sub Aqua Club... I am using the words public archaeology in the particular sense of encouraging awareness of underwater/maritime cultural heritage. The motivation focuses on wanting divers to get enjoyment, knowledge and understanding...how the material underwater can help with understanding human activity from the past and how they can also be involved in its recognition. An equally important motivation is to make sure divers have access to a heritage that belongs to them as much as any formal heritage agency. I would like them to understand that it is everybody’s history’ (Anon 2014).

‘In a word – ethics; I believe in the responsibility of individuals to contribute to society in a broad range – from the payment of taxes, good public behaviour, etc. at one end of the spectrum to involvement in charitable and voluntary causes on the other... I believe everyone ought to put something back into society’ (Anon 2014).

‘...I do however act as a CBA Young Archaeologist Club Assistant Leader... motivation, is that I believe the younger generations need to grow up, not believing they want to be the next Indian Jones, but believing the almost ‘mantra’ of India Jones that cultural heritage is important, we learn from it, and we protect it from the bad people who want to destroy it or use it for personal gain’ (Anon 2014).

‘[It’s a] a combination, because of enjoyment...and passionate and wanting to pass on my interest in UCH, schools, etc...to a whole range of people. Black History month in Southampton...feel because I need to do it...a responsibility to do it...a privilege to have direct access to it and therefore have a responsibility to put something back...must do it’ (Anon 2014).

‘... I really do think that what I do is not simply a job. I love it and am privileged to be able to have access to UCH in such a way and I think I should be sharing it with everyone as much as possible and one way of doing that is to never really stop working!’ (Anon 2014)

‘... I like to think I make a small contribution, so there is an element of wellbeing there. Also, from my work point of view, I think it is important for professionals to participate in such activities so that they keep broadening their horizons. And for the most part I enjoy it, it is interesting and fun’ (Anon 2014).

‘I like shipwrecks, I like finding things...I like getting people involved in UCH...because most of all, it’s fun and interesting’ (Anon 2014).

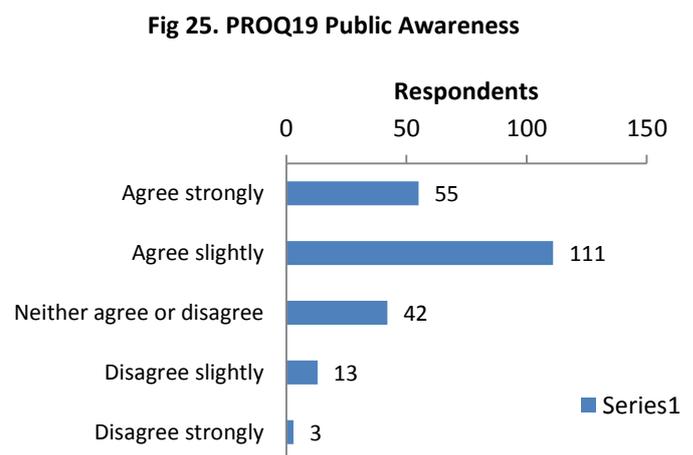
‘...there is little or no money ever likely to become available for UCH from the public purse it’s something I feel that I can contribute to. I also enjoy lecturing and endeavouring to impart to others some of the knowledge and experience I have obtained during my life, particularly as diver.... (Anon 2014).

7.2.4 Section 4: Public Awareness of Underwater Cultural Heritage: questions 19-24

The questions in this section represent one of the fundamental aims of this study: that is to understand professional’s opinion on the state of public awareness, the time frame in which this assumed awareness had occurred, the influencing factors and to what extent increased awareness could be measured by increased engagement and involvement with underwater archaeology and heritage.

Figure 25. PROQ19 The result has positive and neutral interpretations.

The positive interpretation of question 19 is that **more than 69% of respondents** believed that the public are now more aware than when they became involved in archaeology. The total of those who agreed ‘slightly’ and ‘neither agree nor disagree’ coincidentally is 69%, which could be interpreted as a significantly larger percentage not quite sure in either direction, a case of a glass half full or half empty.



The ‘glass half empty’ view is strengthened by the strong opinion shown by the answers to questions 5 and 6 that considered the most important objective of public archaeology was to raise awareness rather than concentrate on specific objectives or provide projects for volunteers.

Assuming the positive interpretation is correct opinion in question 20 indicates a gradual increase in public awareness over the past 25 years, but with the 10-15 years bracket likely to have been the period where raised awareness has become more apparent.

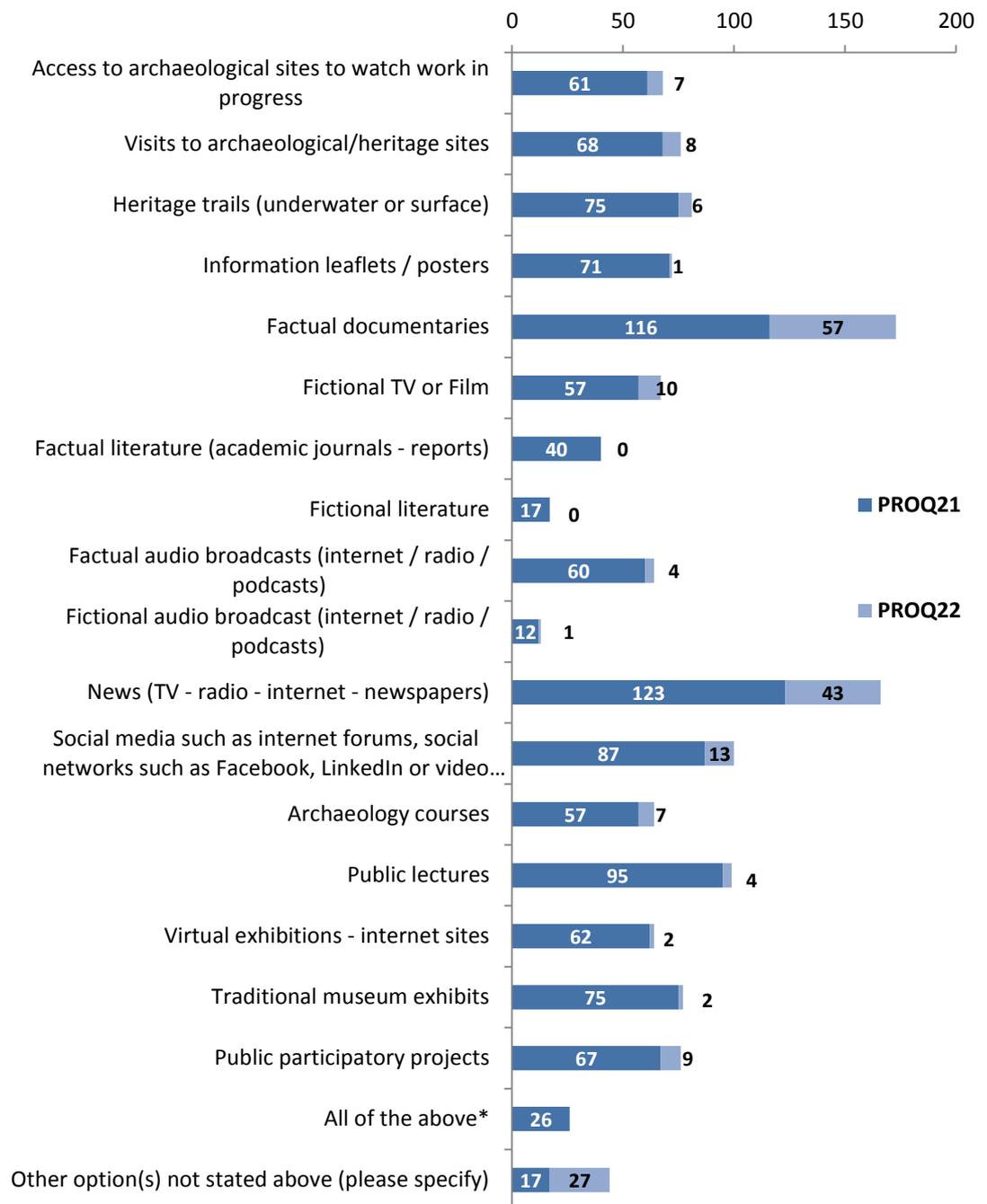
The 25 year period matches the time that sees the gradual increase in public archaeology and training programmes beginning in the 1990s (discounting the 1904 date as unspecific to UCH) continuing through to second decade of the 21st century recorded in question 9. There is some confidence in this interpretation as there were 169 respondents who had more than 15 years of

experience who potentially could have answered in the '25 year' or '15 year' option had they chosen an answer that corresponded to their professional involvement.

Question 21 ranked public archaeology objectives according to their importance with multiple choices from the list, as well as an option to add other suggestions. Questions 22 and 23 refined question 21 by asking for a single choice representing the 'most' or 'least' important objective. There were a total of 1,186 responses to the 19 categories (see figure 26 below). To view the results of question 23 see figure 5 in Appendix A.

Figure 26. PROQ21 & 22 Factors that have contributed to raising public awareness.

Fig 26. PROQ21 Increased awareness - ranking of all factors - multiple choices & PROQ22 - most important factor - one choice



This group of questions generated a significant number of additional selections and comments, some of which have been included in this section. In question 21 (figure 26 above) the three strongest factors were, **'News (TV – radio – internet – newspapers)'** with 123; 'factual documentaries' with 116 and 'public lectures' with 95 responses. The three weakest categories were 'fictional audio broadcast (internet / radio / podcasts)' with 12; 'fictional literature' with 17

and 'fictional TV' and 'archaeology courses' both with 57 responses. The selection 'all the above' had 26 responses. Although 'fictional TV' scored quite well, it was in a middle band of categories where a few additional positive responses would have had a significant impact on its ranking.

The 'most' effective factor in question 22 was '**factual documentaries' with 57**, followed by 'news (TV – radio – internet – newspapers)' with 43, reversing their respective positions in question 21. The third ranked category, was 'social media such as internet forums, social networks such as Facebook, LinkedIn or video based such as YouTube' scoring significantly less than the previous two choices, with 13, and 'fictional TV' remained in fourth place with ten selections. The remaining categories all scored fewer, with the lowest, 'factual literature (academic journals – reports)' and 'fictional literature' both failing to register a selection and 'information leaflets / posters' and 'Fictional audio broadcast (internet / radio / podcasts)' both registering 1 selection.

Question 23 asked for the least effective factor which were 'fictional literature' with 25, 'fictional TV or film' with 24, followed by 'factual literature (academic journals – reports)' with 17. Overall fictional media are not considered significant factors in changing public perceptions.

Suggestions that were recorded in the 'other options' for question 21 and 22 included:

'the recovery of the stolen coins of the Mercedes...'; '...TV programme Time Team'; 'Mass media i.e. TV... and any UCH documentary ...'; 'social media in the last 5 years'; 'England – Heritage Crime Initiative'; 'perhaps the work of avocational groups, ...programs such as FPAN [Florida Public Archaeology Network]...'

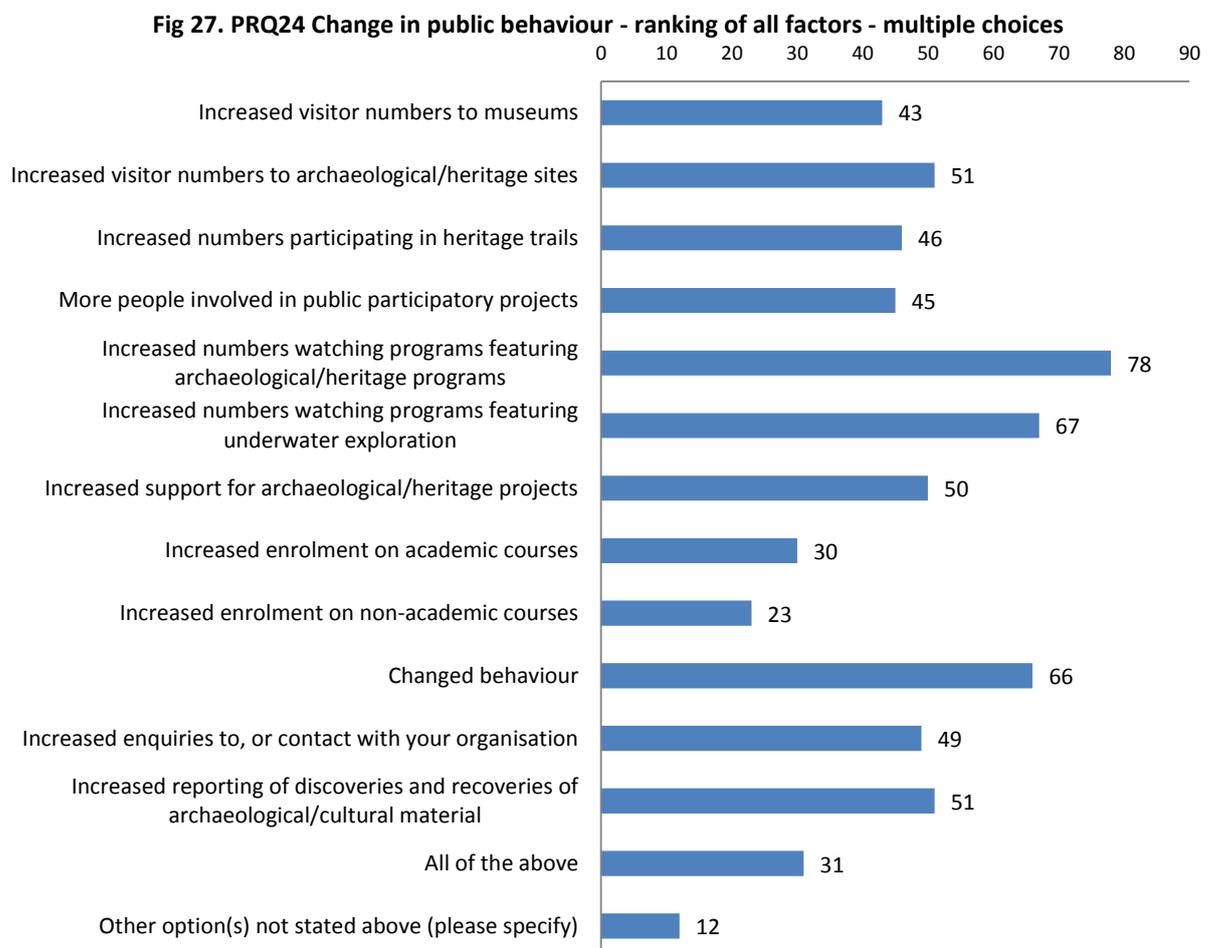
Question 24 explored the possibility of linking increased awareness to change in public behaviour. Although the three highest scorers were '**increased numbers watching programmes featuring archaeology/heritage' with 78 responses**, 'increased numbers of people watching programmes featuring underwater exploration' with 67 and 'changed behaviour', most of the other categories received good levels of support, with the three lowest ranking factors were 'increased enrolment on non-academic academic courses' with 23, 'all of the above' with 31, and 'increased enrolment on academic courses' with 30.

Illustrated by the *Taking Part* statistics produced by English Heritage and in other publicly available sources there has been a steady upward trend in the public visiting museums, heritage / archaeological sites and large increases in membership of the National Trust and English Heritage with many thousands choosing to volunteer.

The number of visitors to England's underwater designated sites has trended upwards, with the wreck of the *Coronation* seeing its visitor numbers increase from 22 divers in 2009 to 672 in 2011, falling back to 264 in 2013 (NAS 2013, 12), but still a much improved number on earlier years.

The creation of Historic Marine Protected Areas by Historic Scotland has removed the necessity to apply for a visitor license, which should help improve visitor frequencies and reduce administration costs. This new system is compatible with their open access policy provided for Scapa Flow's sites recognised for their contribution to the local economy of the Orkney Islands (DEFRA 2011, section 5.16). On the other hand it will be more difficult to monitor numbers to show public interest and perhaps less likely informal visitors will take the time to notice, monitor changes and report changes to a site.

Figure 27. PROQ24 shows the ranking of all factors contributing to changed behaviour.



There has been a significant growth in interest in academic courses over the past 30 years with an increasing number of universities offering undergraduate or post-graduate programmes with a nautical, maritime or underwater theme related to history, archaeology or coastal management.

The Institute of Maritime Studies at St. Andrews, Scotland course originated in 1973, followed by Bangor's (Wales) soon after with options in Bristol, Southampton, Bournemouth, Exeter, London, Nottingham, York, Oxford, Portsmouth (England), Ulster (Northern Ireland), Edinburgh and Glasgow (Scotland) and Trinity St. Davids (Wales).

This increase is likely to be a combination of public interest and employment opportunities resulting from gradual improvements in the planning consent archaeology on land and increasingly commercial marine developments. Archaeology continues to be recognised as good foundation for employment in the public sector (Henson 2012). On-line websites such as 'hotcourses' list an extensive range of archaeology options, featuring '399 Undergraduate archaeology courses in the UK', 263 post-graduate options and 126 courses described as 'fun' or training, including diplomas.

Capacity for avocational involvement has grown, with NAS, being joined by MAT, MAST and ProMare all offering courses and project opportunities for members of the public, with diving organisation partners in archaeology or wreck diving specialities. An examples of a community based project features NAS and the HWTMA (now MAT) *The Hulks of Forton Lake, Gosport*, which resulted in publications for the public and for the more interested readership a British Archaeological Report by Beattie-Edwards and Satchell (2011).

The changed behaviour in the recreational diving community was discussed in chapter six, some diving groups electing to end their activities and for those that have continued the reporting of their recoveries to the Receiver of Wreck is more customary than was the case prior to the Wreck Amnesty in 2001.

'There have been a number of positive outcomes from the Wreck Amnesty. Many of those who reported for the first time during the Amnesty now do so on a regular basis. Divers are completing reports of wrecks more promptly and many dive clubs have now made a decision not to recover artefacts from wrecks in the future as confirmed by the drop in artefacts reported in 2002' (Exelby 2003).

From a heritage protection and archaeological perspective while the improvement may be considered good news, there is the negative consequence that cultural material is still being removed from its context without adequate recording. There remains a lack of understanding within diving organisations that the archaeological process offers greater rewards in terms of knowledge than does the name on a bell recovered from a shipwreck that confirms little more than a name and possibly a historical date. Despite an overall improvement in behaviour there

have been incidents that remains a concern, such as the theft from *Holland 5*, a submarine protected by the *Protection of Wrecks Act*, ‘the central bow torpedo tube hatch of the historic submarine Holland 5 has been illegally removed’ (DiverNet 2010), and raised considerable concern from the local police who asked anyone with knowledge of the incident to contact Sussex Police or Crime Stoppers via a free phone number.

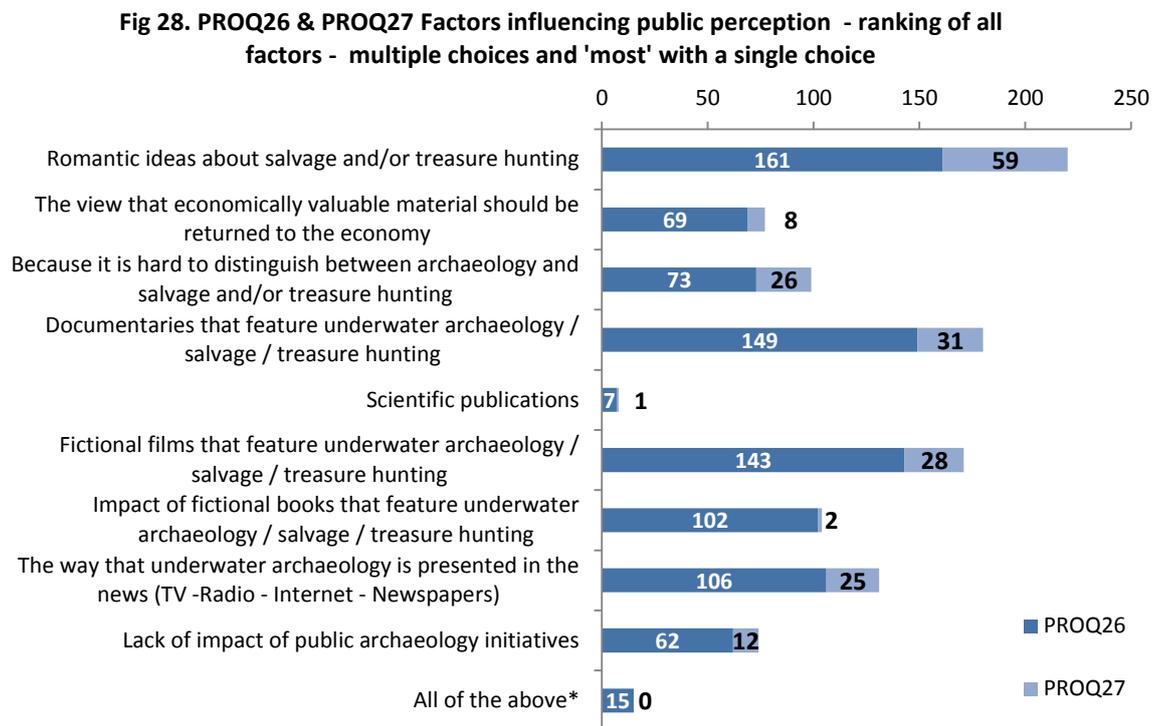
A higher profile event was the theft of underwater cultural material on a much greater scale from sites off the Kent coast. While the former case remains unresolved the second resulted in a successful prosecution by the Maritime and Coastguard Agency widely reported in the UK’s press including the BBC, ‘Kent wreck-raid divers told to pay £64k’ (BBC 2014). During discussions with the Receivers (2013) they mentioned that their relationship with their customers since departmental cut-backs had become strained. This opinion has been reinforced by anecdotal evidence in discussions with several professionals during the course of this study, revealing a less positive outlook:

‘there is an increased tendency of local heritage communities to include underwater heritage in their activities and publications but this is still very limited’ and ‘I don’t think the behaviour of the majority of the public has changed appreciably’.

7.2.5 Section 5: Archaeology – Salvage – Treasure Hunting: question 25-27

The following questions were aimed at establishing to what extent professionals believe that the public finds it difficult to distinguish between archaeology, salvage and treasure hunting, and if so, what are the factors. The result shows a very strong consensus (**more than ≈87%**) agreeing with the statement of PROQ25: that the public confuses underwater archaeology, salvage and treasure hunting. Only ≈6% disagreed and ≈7% undecided. The two subsequent questions asked for the factors that contributed to this assumed confusion.

Figure 28. PROQ26 & PROQ27 show the factors that are considered influential on the public perception of UCH.



The three highest scoring categories in question 26 were **'romantic ideas...'** with 161; **'documentaries...'** with 149 and **'fictional films...'** with 143, retaining the same prominence in question 27. The three lowest scoring categories in question 26 were 'scientific publications' with 7, 'all the above' with 15 and third lowest but significantly above the previous two is 'the lack of impact of public archaeology initiatives', and in question 27 the lowest were 'scientific publications remaining the least important, 'impact of fictional books that feature treasure hunting, salvage and underwater archaeology' and 'the lack of impact of public archaeology initiatives'. The remaining categories all scored quite highly which suggests that all have an impact on the public's ability to confuse treasure hunting, salvage and archaeology. Media and documentaries are discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

The additional comments provided more detail about the difficulties faced in distinguishing between what is underwater archaeology on the one hand and salvage and treasure-hunting on the other:

'often treasure hunters use words 'underwater research' to cover up their activities'; 'large treasure hunting companies [are] regularly in the media... The news reports often focus on the legal actions they are involved in without explaining clearly why treasure hunting is ethically wrong and detrimental to our understanding of the past'; 'aggressive misinformation by Commercial Salvage

Companies'; 'the "finders keepers" mentality is well-embedded in people's minds. That, combined with the inaccessibility of the sea, helps create the mentality that "well, it's amazing you found it at all, and you put in such hard work! Of course you should get to keep/sell it!; 'treasure hunters have tended to do a better job than archaeologists at capturing the public imagination', 'a certain lack of interest and ability to convey and pass the message on the values of our disciplinary efforts and, as a consequence, of the value of overall cultural heritage and of the historical reconstruction we try to reach with our professional commitment'.

7.2.6 Section 6: Additional Information: question 28

A selection from the numerous final comments revealed several key themes such as that overall progress had been made in raising awareness, but perceptions were blurred by documentaries. This was summarised in these comments:

'the general public are smarter than you think. The public want to see more...there being a marked improvement in the perception of heritage, [but] I think that the treasure hunting view still prevails in the public. This needs to be corrected by good documentaries...with accompanying educational curricula', with another stating that the public are '...just as interested in a treasure-hunter recovering gold coins as they are in an archaeologist recovering an amphora...' Part of the solution was seen as '...more effective interaction between the professional archaeological community and the media in order to educate media professionals on the difference between treasure hunting/salvage and professional archaeology'.

A comment showed the difficulty in overcoming the public's romantic connection, such as exemplified in this comment '...recent Tin-Tin film is such an example and the mistaken belief that seems to equate finding a "treasure" wreck with winning the lottery', but romanticism can become a reality and have a financially positive impact on finders such as the case of the *Napoli* discussed in chapter six.

7.3 Summary - Professional Survey

The views of the professional as represented by the respondents showed that there is an **acknowledgement of the need for public archaeology**. Some organisations suffer from not being able to justify the additional resources, where it is difficult to quantify impact or return. Many professionals contribute their own time to public archaeology. One of the questions asked in the subsequent interviews of a selection of UK based archaeologists revealed the reasoning for their commitment, the responses largely based on community spirited motives and acknowledgement of their privileged positions.

The profession, although believing that the **public is more aware** of underwater archaeology but not necessarily the concept of UCH, believe that more needs to be done. There is concern **that media and factual documentaries are playing a role in raising awareness** but are not making a clear distinction between what is underwater archaeology and salvage – treasure hunting.

In Part 2 the results of the non-professional survey are interpreted. Concerned professionals should be relieved that there is significant synergy in opinions shown towards many topics. There is even some evidence that in the opinion of avocational archaeologists and recreational divers that awareness and even understanding may be higher than professionals believe to be the case.

7.4 Part 2: Results of the non-professional survey

7.4.1 Section 1: Questions to establish respondent's profile: questions 1-8

Consistent with the professional survey this group of questions established a profile of the respondents. This subdivided into the following groups, **71 (~43%)** considered themselves to be amateur / avocational archaeologists, 66 (~41%) recreational divers, 16 (~10%) being non-divers. The remaining 9 (~5.5%) chose another option:

‘certified professional, but not currently active or paid for archaeology’; ‘qualified (MA Degree) maritime historian / underwater archaeologist currently working full-time as history instructor’; ‘not currently involved in an underwater archaeology project, but actively supporting a ship conservation / restoration project’; ‘licensee [of a site designated under the Protection of Wrecks Act 1973, see chapter four]...’.

162 respondents listed 186 qualifications, with 45 (~30%) with an academic qualification, as well as several possessing NAS qualifications. Slightly more than 55% of the total held qualifications issued by the Nautical Archaeology Society. However, as the survey was predominantly distributed among groups with strong affiliations to NAS this should not necessarily be interpreted as a prevalence of NAS qualified participants in avocational UCH activities.

It should be recognised that several respondents stated that although they were qualified to work professionally they were not currently engaged working, choosing to describe themselves as avocationalists. Apart from the predominance of NAS ‘graduates’ several others were participating in the Foreshore Recording and Observation Group [FROG] training as part of Thames Discovery Programme, short courses from the Museum of London Archaeological Service, as well as several doing part-time degrees. One respondent was a Licensee of a site protected under the UK’s *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* using this status as a qualification. While not a qualification *per se* a

licensee is required to demonstrate competence in order to undertake the activities described by the license issued by the UK's competent authorities.

Training and standards are important elements in entrusting everyone to work on sites, noting the correspondence mentioned earlier in this study lamenting the lack of qualified people or training leading to the very poor standards found by the archaeological Diving Unit in 1980s. The responses to question 3, '*Are you currently studying or undergoing training in archaeology or a related topic*' were 'yes' with 40 (~25%) and '**no with 121' (~75%)**.

42 responded positively to question 4 which asked for detail about how they were studying. The responses were 'full-time' with 5 responses; '**part-time' with 22** and 'self-study' with 15 responses. Of the 54 (~33%) respondents who had no relevant archaeological qualification. 11 stated that they were avocational archaeologists, nor undertaking training. It is a concern that some avocational archaeologists, continue to prefer an experiential learning route rather than a taught path of any description. Of this group, 1 had more than 20 years of experience, 1 with 10-15 years, 3 with 5-10 years, 7 with 1-5 years and 3 with less than 1 year of experience, although those with little experience could begin training at some point, which is less likely for those with years of experience.

It was observed that in the oldest age-grouping, all but 1 described themselves as avocational archaeologists, but only 1 possessed a diploma of higher education, relying on their experiential learning combined with their NAS training serving as credentials. By comparison in the 15-20, 10-15, 5-10 and 1-5 year groupings there were more academic qualifications including several PhD's, masters and bachelor degrees combined with NAS or similar avocational qualifications, **suggesting that those who are now becoming involved tend to have a greater range of relevant qualification.**

Questions 5 asked for how long they had been involved in UCH. Over 8% had over 20 years of experience, but the largest proportion (~32%) had between 1-5 years. The response showed the significant commitment volunteers are making to UCH, with 117 (~72.5%) of respondents doing something to contribute. Approximately 27% spent of them more than 20 days per annum.

An assessment based on the upper estimate of the bracketed time spans of their contribution equates to more than 1,800 days a year or 7.5 jobs (Full Time Equivalent), with the lower estimate of ~1,300 days, equal to ~5.5 jobs (Full Time Equivalent), based on a 5-day working week over a 48 week working year. The 44 (~27%) most committed respondents are contributing more than 880 days, equal to ~3.5 full-time equivalent jobs (Full Time Equivalent) using the same basis.

Despite the significant contribution made to working on UCH related activities shown in question 6, there is an apparent reluctance to join heritage organisations with ≈43% choosing not to be members of a heritage body, including 7 of the 44 who volunteered for more than 20 days per annum. This suggests that there is little or no value in being a member of a heritage organisation.

7.4.2 Section 2: Getting Involved: questions 9-14

The aim of this cluster of questions was to explore the relationship between public archaeology programmes and what had stimulated and maintained respondent's interest. Question 9 asked which factors first sparked interest, with question 10 asking for the selection of the most important factor. Question 11 asked which factors had helped develop knowledge and question 12 identified the most important one.

The top three scoring categories in question 9 were **'factual documentaries' with 85**: 'visits to archaeological/heritage sites' with 74, 'archaeology courses' with 61. In the next tier were 'traditional museum visits' receiving 55, 'public lectures' and 'news' both with 48, and 'factual literature' listed next with 47 responses. The weakest scoring categories were 'fictional broadcasts' with 2, 'virtual exhibits' with 14 and 'factual audio broadcasts' with 17 responses. Although falling between the high and low scorers the category 'discovering and archaeological site' scored 36 responses.

The results for question 10 reinforced the results of question 9 showing a preference for direct contact with the heritage through courses supplemented by factual documentaries. The highest category in question 10 was **'visits to archaeological/heritage sites' with 22**; 'archaeology courses' with 21; 'factual documentaries' with 16 and 'discovering an archaeological site' in fourth place with 14 responses.

Although there is no dominant factor in either question, broadly speaking those that are described as 'factual' or where the visitor is directly in contact with heritage feature most strongly. This makes the assumption that those categories described as 'factual' accurately describes the content.

There were 30 and 29 comments respectively in the 'other option not stated above'. There were repeated themes such as being inspired by personal contact through family; friends involved in a project; following the *Mary Rose* project or TV programmes such as *Time Team*; concern for the neglect and potential of UCH and involvement with a heritage organisation or project.

In question 11 the three high scoring categories were **87 for 'participating in an archaeological project'**, 'archaeology courses' with 70 and 56 for 'factual documentaries'. 'Visits to archaeological sites' came fourth with 52. The low scorers were 'fictional audio broadcast (internet / radio / podcasts)' with no score, 'fictional TV or film' with 7 and 'fictional literature' with 6. The responses to question 12 show a very strong reinforcement of question 11, with 'participating in an archaeological project' receiving 59, with 'archaeology courses' with 39 and 'factual documentaries' with 10.

To summarise, although factual documentaries, media, museum visits and visits to archaeological / heritage sites appear to play a strong role in stirring interest, once interest is established respondents choose a more hands-on type of activity, such as participating in an archaeological project and archaeology courses to develop knowledge. Factual literature becomes a more important contributory factor, whereas factual documentaries although continuing to be a contributing factor appear to play a diminishing role. The remaining categories also decline in their importance in adding knowledge. This conclusion is reinforced by the numerous additional comments which included:

'archaeological conferences & symposia'; 'working with avocational and professional maritime archaeologists of various projects; short courses in underwater archaeology'; 'participating in projects like Kronan¹ - Sweden, Mahdia² - Tunisia, Dor - Israel, Bozborun³ - Turkey, etc. etc.'; 'I took an archaeological class at Birkbeck College-University of London-Archaeology from the Thames with [a friend]. That got me hooked'.

In the follow-up interviews, one of the questions asked 'What were the motivating factors or events that made you learn to dive and subsequently become involved in underwater cultural heritage?'

Although the interviewees were mainly professionals the responses share some characteristics mentioned above:

'a university lecturer inspired one to be utterly fascinated'; 'UCH was taught as a module and that got me hooked...'; 'joined 'BS-AC in 1979 whilst working as a digger...interest in wreck diving and the nascent world of underwater archaeology...article on Mary Rose stated they were looking for volunteer finds assistants...the rest is history'; 'fascination with classical archaeology and the Mediterranean. Then the Mary Rose project and Dr Colin Martin's work on the Spanish Armada'; 'PG Tips [tea] ran a series of tea cards called The Sea, our Other World; hooked by the colourful pictures of treasure and engineering-y things, reinforced by Cousteau,...recently use[d] for inspiration for our

own videos; cheesy they may be but everyone my age in diving remembers them and there's got to be reasons for that'; 'Hans and Lotte Hass' (Anon).

NAS courses feature in several responses:

'attended my NAS Part 1...later joined Wessex Archaeology's coastal & marine team'; 'dad...let me choose diving or skiing...diving it was...next logical step was to combine that with the archaeology I also loved. After a few NAS courses which provided some great support and guidance I realised it was possible to combine the two The rest is history!'; 'I borrowed a friends scuba gear and taught myself to dive...subsequently joined a local SAA dive club..., and within 18 months had attended a NAS course'; already a diver, and had a keen interest in archaeology. One of the very early NAS courses enabled me to start putting them together' (Anon).

Birthplace can play a role:

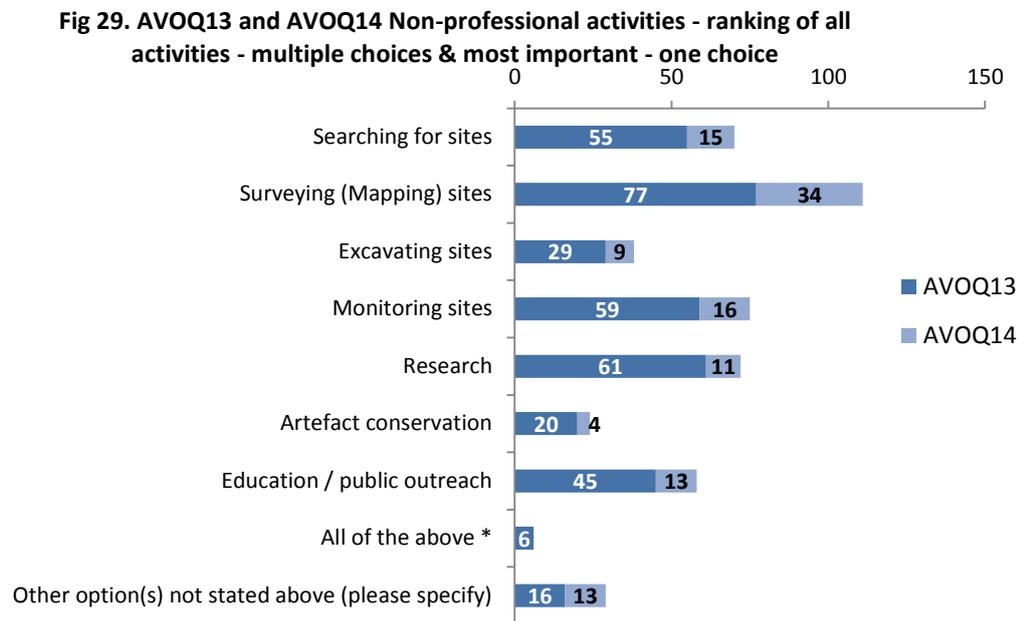
'I grew up in a seaside town and always had an interest in the sea – both under and above. Scuba-diving was my first interest, in particular shipwrecks, and this developed/evolved into maritime archaeology.'

Another became involved by accident:

'while working in a government department dealing with UCH...'learned ever since...done on the job...fit the glove and never thought about leaving...an incredible passion...romantic interest...something deep down...all about finding something old and interesting but we do it right and do it for the common good.'

AVOQ13 and 14 explored the interests and activities of non-professional groups.

Figure 29. AVOQ13 & 14 Activities of non-professional groups and individuals.



*There was no 'all the above' option in question 14.

The top three activities for question 13 were **'surveying (mapping) sites' with 77**; 'research' with 61 and 'monitoring sites' with 59, with the main activities identified in question 14 being surveying, monitoring and searching for sites.

In the UK and elsewhere heritage management priorities have led to an overall decrease in excavation, so it is not surprising that avocationalists are now more involved in non-intrusive activities than was the case ten years ago. Two factors were mentioned, the impact of the costs associated with license requirements of the Marine Management Organisation and the perception that the 2001 Convention is playing a leading role in creating this increasingly non-intrusive environment:

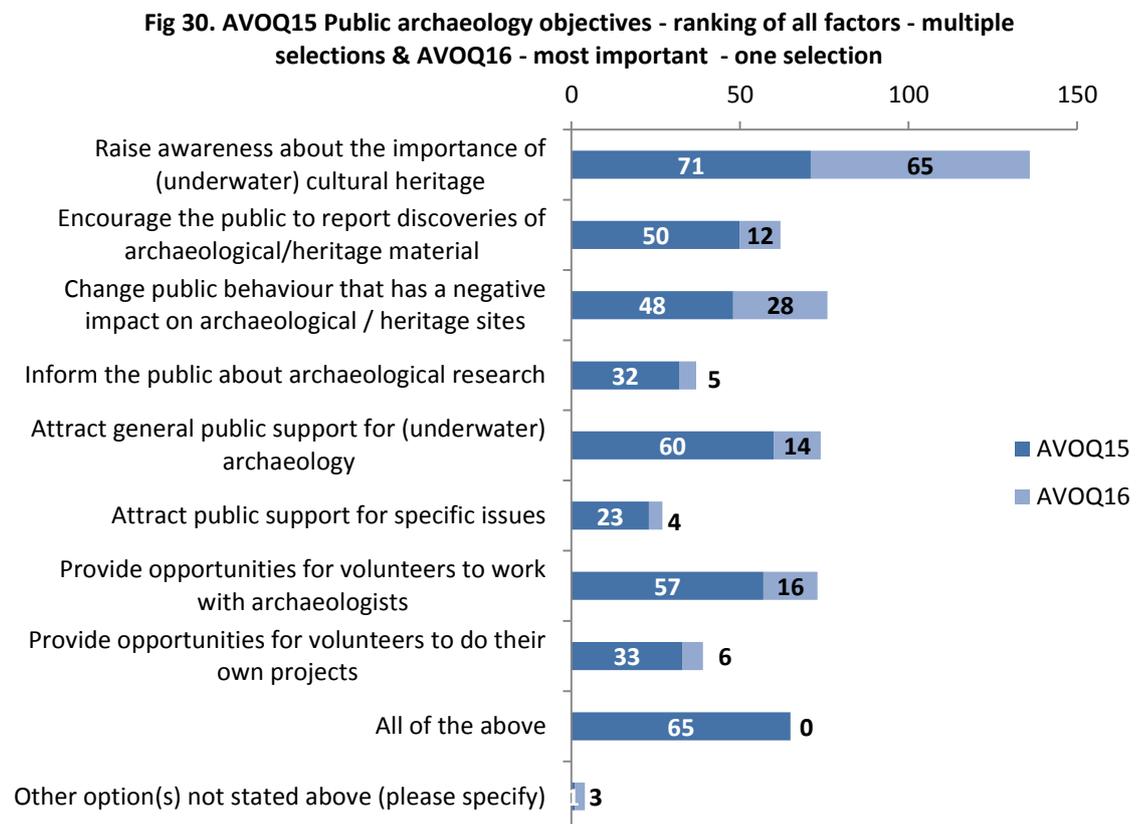
'[I] gave up searching and working sites due to current UNESCO view' and '[I] would still be searching but see little point know locating new sites only to be left *in situ*'.

These comments are common and as discussed previously NAS has been seeking changes to the licensing arrangement to make these costs less of an issue. There is an impact to these new regulations that goes beyond the likely decrease in non-professional activity. Putting aside the rights or wrongs of non-professional involvement it exposes conflict in two policies which are germane to this study. Government is on the one-hand encouraging public involvement through

participating, understanding, caring and valuing heritage using the pillars of the Heritage Cycle, while aiming at sustainability, in this instance charging fees.

7.4.3 Section 3: Public Archaeology: questions 15-19

Figure 30. AVOQ15 & 16 Opinions about the aims of public archaeology initiatives.



The highest score in question 15 was **'raise awareness about the importance of underwater cultural heritage'** with **71 responses**, while **'attract public support for specific issues'** was ranked last with 23 responses. Unlike the professional surveys the provision of projects for volunteers to do their own projects was not the lowest score, but was the next lowest with 33 responses. The option that featured raising awareness remained the high scorer in question 16 with 65 responses and support for **'specific issues'** received only 4 responses.

The **'least'** important factor of a public archaeology programme in question 17 was considered to be, **'provide opportunities for volunteers to do their own projects'** that received 48 responses. This be considered a positive indicator to the value placed on the involvement and guidance of volunteers projects.

The option that featured raising awareness scored 3 responses reinforcing its importance, which mirrors the results in the professional survey

Several comments supported the 'all of the above' option:

'[ALL] Equally important and interconnected; 'I think in their own way they are all equally important', 'all important, my focus is providing opportunities for public to do their own projects which is interrelated and beneficial to all of the above'.

It was suggested to:

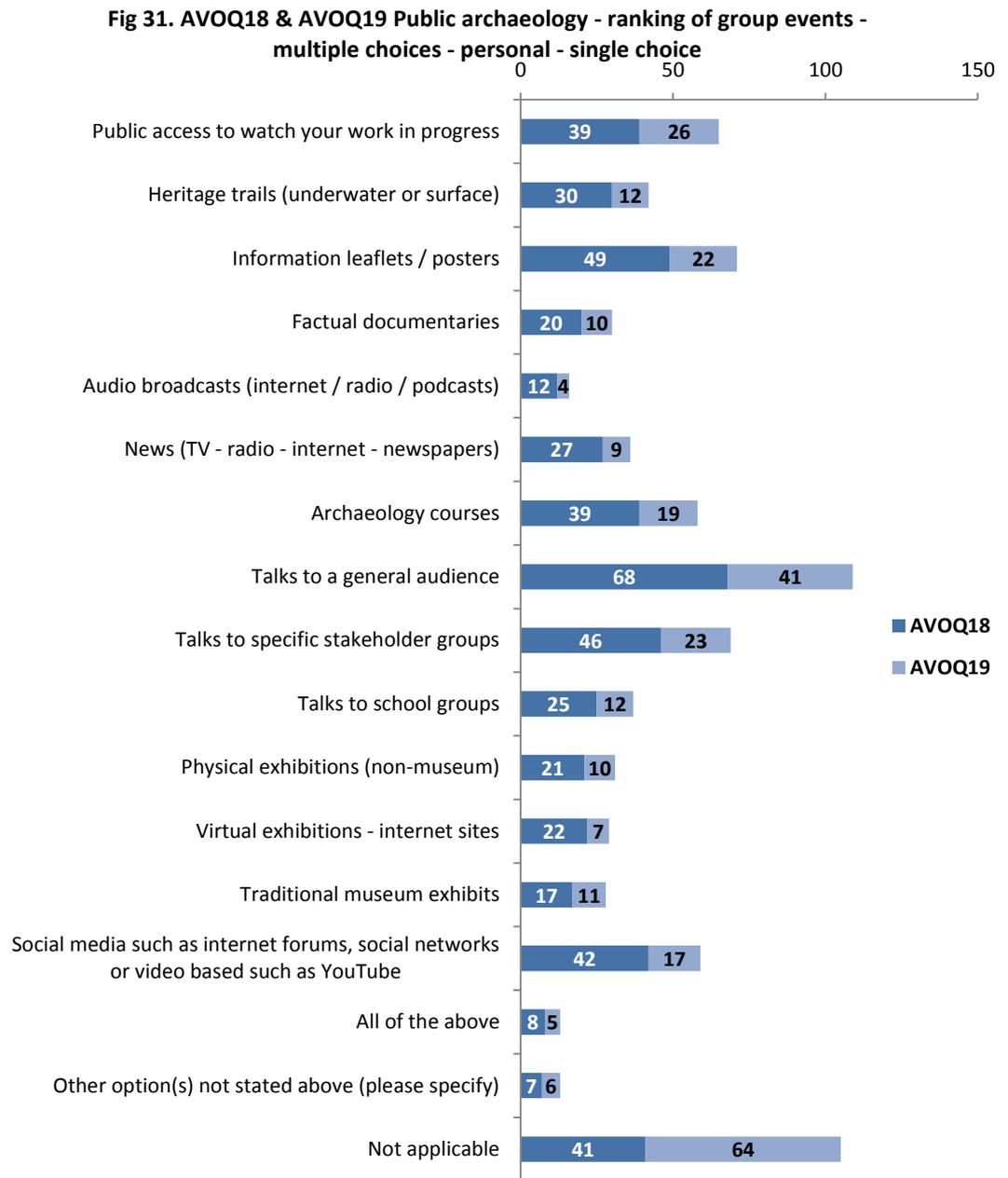
'liaise with the black market in artefacts to reduce the number of sites being targeted and recording artefacts that have been removed from sites'.

Two accusatory comments were aimed at archaeologists and the Marine Management Organisation's licencing fees:

'raising funds for archaeological bureaucrats to invent more detrimental legislation [refer to chapters four and five]' with one respondent considering that the regulations would lead to 'access [to heritage sites] only to professional archaeologists'.

The responses from the non-professional are similar to the corresponding questions professional results questions 5, 6 and 7, are shown in a comparative table in Part 3 of these results.

Figure 31. AVOQ18 & 19 Public archaeology initiatives by group and individual.



'Other options' include, 'information events for public'; Lessons for schools about River Thames; education outreach via open days and workshops'.

The high scorers in question 18 are 'talks to a general audience' with 68; 'information leaflets / posters' with 49 and 'talks to specific stakeholder groups' with 46. The low scorers were 'all of the above' with 8 'audio broadcasts (internet / radio / podcasts)' with 12 and 'traditional museum exhibits' with 17, which should be considered more difficult to organise by the non-professional community.

In question 19 **'talks to a general audience' with 41**; 'public access to watch your work in progress' with 26 and 'talks to specific stakeholder groups' were the high scoring activities. The low scoring events were, 'audio broadcasts (internet / radio / podcasts)' with 4, 'all of the above with 5 and 'virtual exhibitions - internet sites' with 7. Other initiatives recorded in the 'other options' were 'group web site'; 'shipwreck conferences' and 'publish books, reports, articles, DVDs'.

The results show a considerable contribution to raising awareness of UCH among the public with talks to various sections of the public featuring quite strongly, with social media being a simple mechanism for dissemination of information, with some stating their connection to the Nautical Archaeology Society's initiatives.

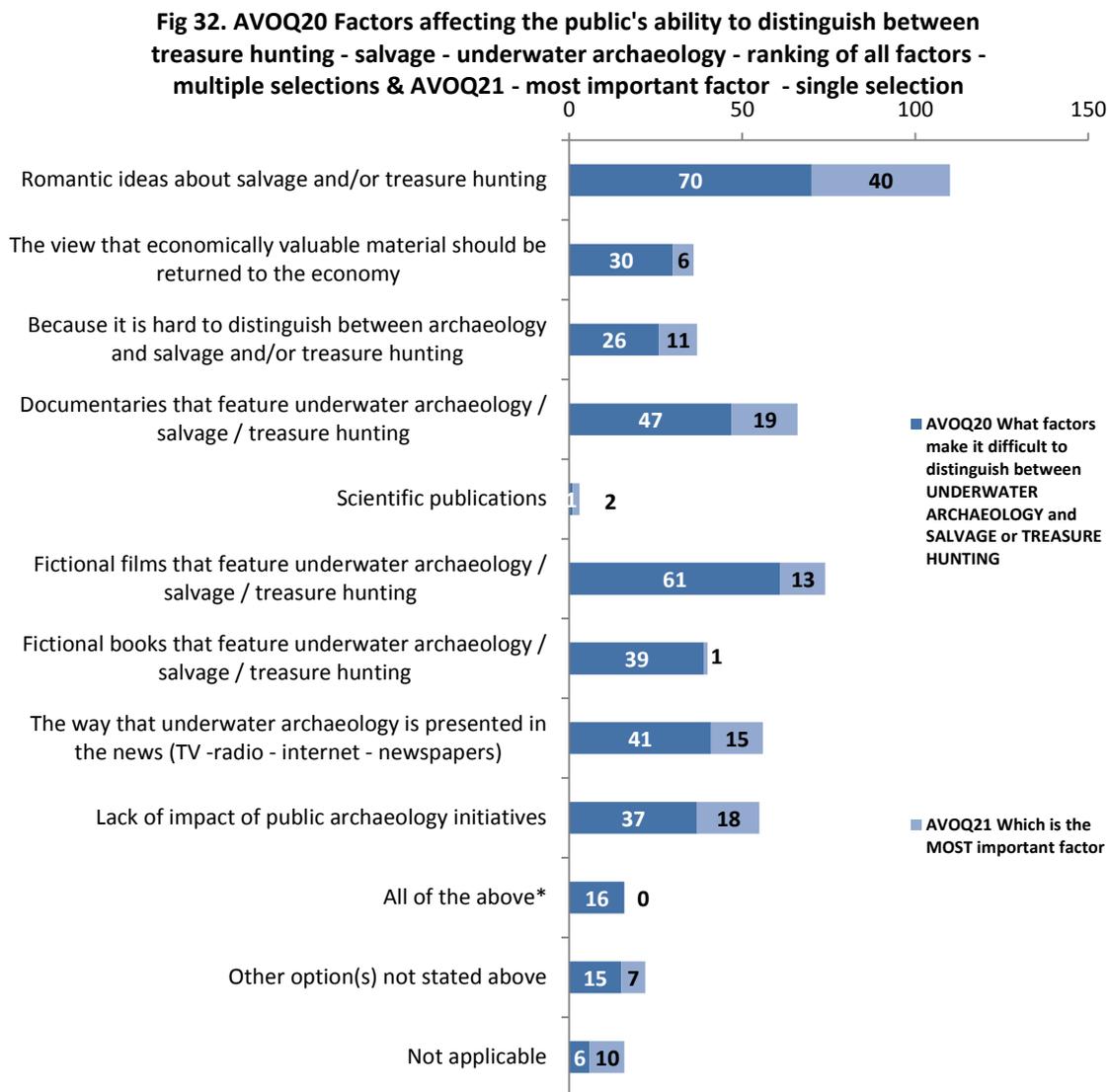
7.4.4 Section 4: Archaeology – Salvage – Treasure Hunting: questions 20-22

The aim of question 20 was for non-professionals to express opinions on factors that can make it difficult for the public to distinguish between the three activities. The highest scoring factors were **'romantic ideas about salvage and treasure hunting' with 70 responses**, 'fictional films that feature salvage and/or treasure hunting' with 61 'factual documentaries' with 47 and in fourth place 'the way that underwater archaeology is presented in the news' with 41. The same factors retained the same order in question 21.

The result of question 22 (not represented in figure 32 below) which asked for the 'least' important factors resulted in 'scientific publications' with 52, 'the view that economically valuable material should be returned to the economy' with 17 and 'lack of impact of public archaeology initiatives' with 15.

These questions stimulated a large number of additional comments that reinforced the comments in chapter six that treasure hunting as a sub-section of commercial salvage and underwater archaeology remain intertwined. This translates into a lack of distinction between them as portrayed in film, TV, media, all of which combine to create a romantic vision of activities in the sea that has persisted for generations, recognised and exploited by the Deane brother's exhibition *Spoils of the Ocean* held in London in 1835.

Figure 32. AVOQ21 & 22 Opinions towards the factors affecting the public’s ability to distinguish between treasure-hunting, salvage and archaeology.



The selected comments illustrate concerns and reasoning why salvage and treasure hunting remain popular at the expense of underwater archaeology:

‘lack of public awareness about the objectives and value of underwater archaeology’; ‘treasure hunting is "open to all"; underwater archaeology is restricted to few. Generally, the public will embrace concepts where everyone has equal access to discover and explore. If there was a way to enable others to participate in the exploration (esp. via social media), live chats, live video, etc. I think the perception that scientific projects are "closed off" would be inverted - and the treasure hunter/treasure seeking teams would look secretive and selfish in comparison’.

The following comments suggest that public were aware of the difference but that they did not see the reasoning for keeping collections together:

‘most people know the difference but sensible people believe the sale of some salvaged items such as mass produced coins to fund conservation of important finds is a wise option...’; ‘it is so difficult to stop or penalize people treasure hunting for profit, people often blur the line because everyone else is getting away with it. Classic example - Thames foreshore rules say cannot remove objects, but there is absolutely no signs or warnings on the steps to the beaches’.

The question led to comments about the profession’s involvement with treasure hunting and that the recreational diver was not the main problem:

‘...many professional maritime archaeologists engaged in commercial treasure hunting world-wide...however there are tens of 1000s of vocational divers doing just that≈diving ... Neither salvaging or treasure hunting, sometimes they come across sites of historical interest and inform relevant authorities, sometimes they don’t but THEY are NOT the plunderers of maritime heritage. It’s the professional archaeologist who is involved in commercial activity...The difficulty that we encounter as to who is what is the mixed messages the public and vocational divers get from the professional high profile treasure hunters who coincidentally usually hold doctorates in Marine archaeology and are feted by the media, establishment and institutions that you'd least expect to do so e.g. Greenwich Maritime ...with displays of salvaged Titanic artefacts exhibited by the people who were actually selling them in public auction...Hardly a good example of responsible underwater archaeology’.

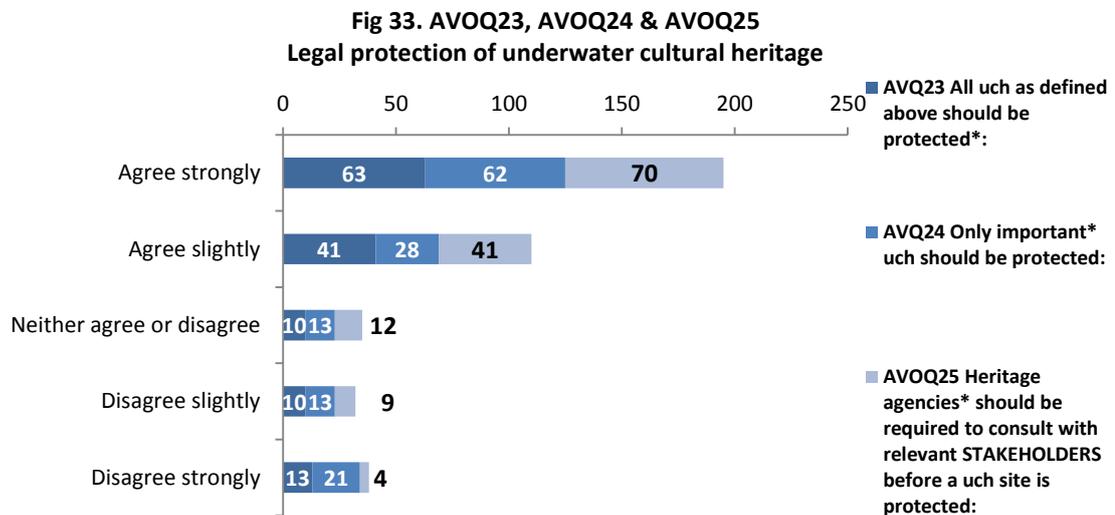
A further comment from question 21 describes the personal contact with the public and their fascination:

‘...Here in Dorset we had the beheaded Viking grave that went around the world, the presentation day was sold out and 3 open days of the exhibits were packed out...’ going on to mention that ‘there are few TV films being made about underwater archaeology/treasure hunting (I see no difference - see definition of treasure=knowledge). I use pieces of eight (which most people have heard of but never seen) to attract the public's interest so they can feel them "aren't they heavy" "are they real?" We didn't know what they were when we found them so you explain about the coin their history, the history of the people on board and the wreck, the voyage, the cargo etc.’

There are some strong opinions in the comments and some that are a concern. Aside from romanticism which is not solely in the domain of the wider public, there appears to be a perception that participation in archaeology is not a public activity.

7.4.5 Section 5: Protection – Preservation – Access – Reporting of underwater cultural heritage: questions 23-25

Figure 33. AVOQ23, 24 & 25 Opinions towards protection of UCH.

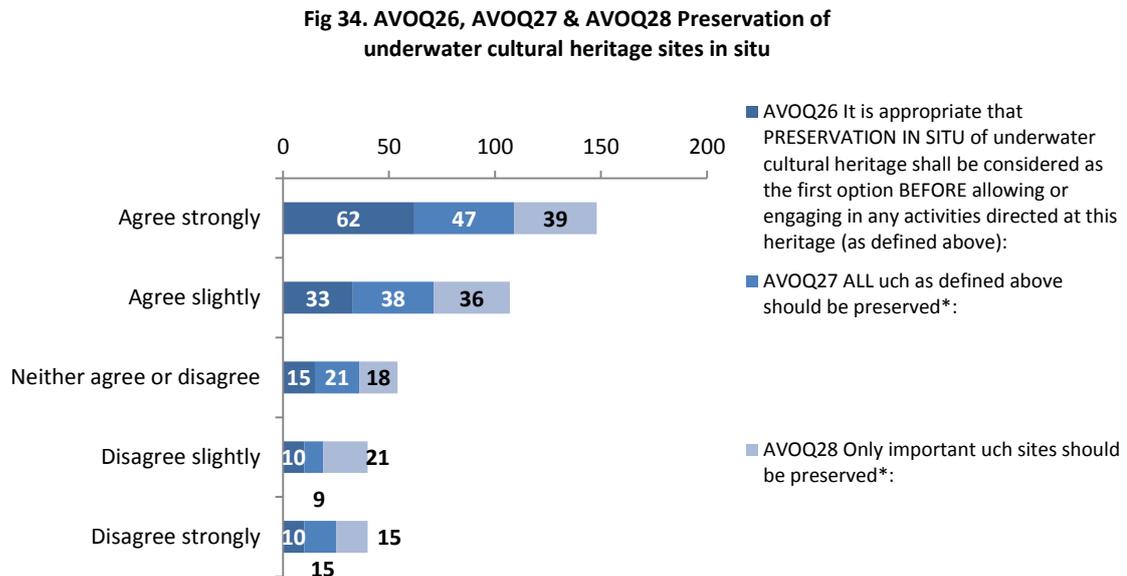


These questions had an explanatory note to explain that protection was limited to legal and English Heritage’s criteria were used to describe factors that might make a site important: ‘rarity, association to an historical event, level of preservation, vulnerability and research potential’. Taken as a group the results indicate that there is strong support for protection with **≈76% agreeing** that all UCH should be protected, (**≈7%**) undecided and **≈17%** disagreeing. Question 24 shows slightly less support for this option that suggests protecting all UCH is the preferred option. See Appendix A for further analysis of questions AVOQ24 & 25.

There is strong support for the consultation of relevant stakeholders prior to a protection order is placed on a site, with **≈81.5% agreeing**, 9% undecided and 9.5% disagreeing.

7.4.6 Section 6: Preservation of underwater cultural heritage: questions 26-30

Figure 34. AVOQ26, 27 & 28 Opinions towards preservation of UCH.



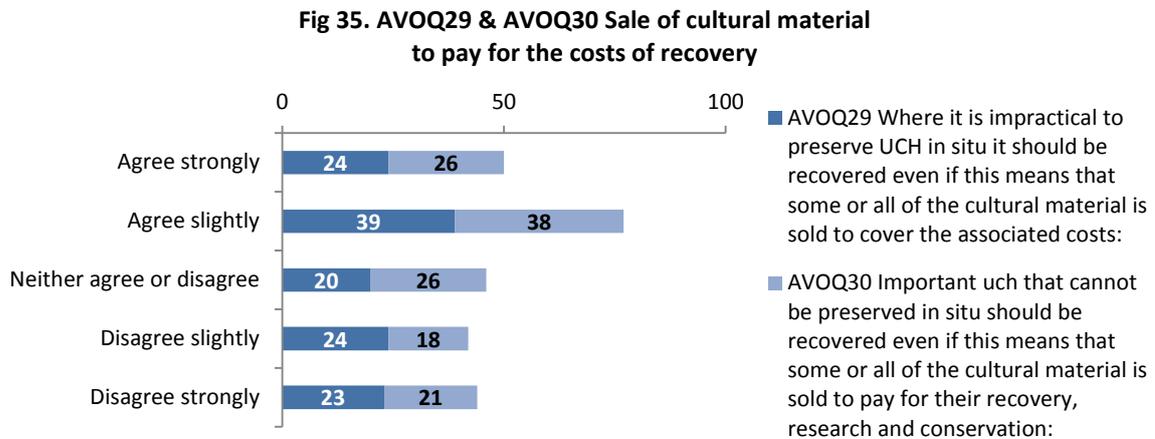
The guidance note for these questions stated that preservation meant to ‘maintain a site *in situ* in its existing condition’. The responses to question 26 shown in figure 34 above resulted in strong support for preservation *in situ* being considered the first option, **≈73% agreeing**, almost two thirds of these strongly, 11.5% undecided and 15.5% disagreeing.

The following two questions, AVOQ27 asked whether all UCH or AVOQ28 just important UCH should be preserved *in situ*. There was a positive response to question 27, equating to **≈65% agreeing**, ≈16% undecided ≈18% disagreeing.

In response to question 28 which asked if only important UCH should be preserved, using the same EH criteria, the support is weaker falling to **≈58% agreeing**, ≈14% undecided and ≈28% disagreeing, with a corresponding fall in those who strongly supported this option. For further analysis see question AVOQ27 & 28 in Appendix A.

Question 29 and 30 shown in figure 35 below feature an important and contentious issue which is whether it is acceptable or preferable to sell cultural material to cover the costs of recovery.

Figure 35. AVOQ29 & 30 Opinions towards selling cultural material to pay for the costs of recovery.



Question 29 show that **≈48.5% agree** with the statement of which ≈18.5% strongly agree, ≈15% undecided and ≈46% disagreeing, an even split between slightly and strongly disagreeing.

Question 30 show marginally greater support where important UCH is concerned **≈50% agreeing** with the proposition, ≈20% undecided and ≈30% disagreeing. For further analysis see questions AVOQ29 & 30 in Appendix A.

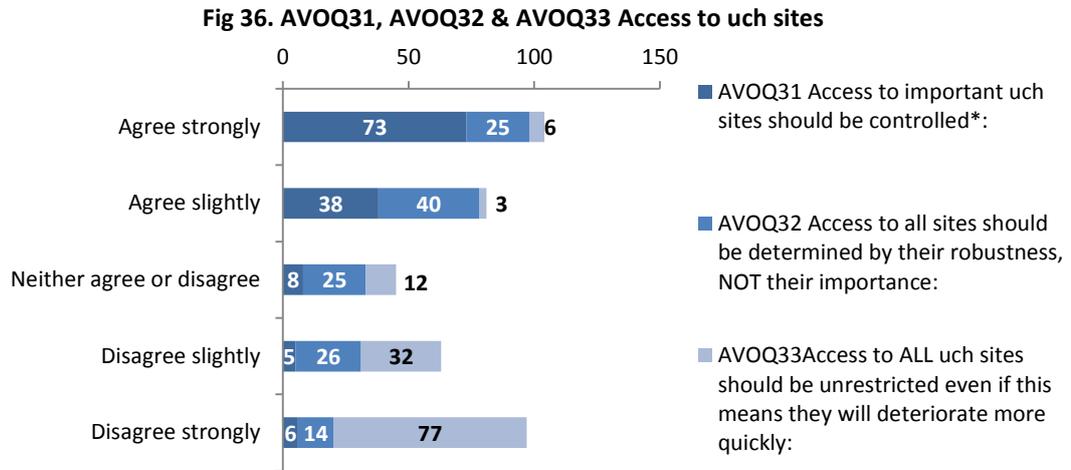
Both questions show that respondents are more or less equally divided on whether it is better to recover UCH even if this means some cultural heritage material is sold to pay for the recovery, with significant proportions undecided.

The additional comments show that there is some reluctance and preferences such as collections going to museums. This was the case with the Salcombe site where the collection was sold to the British museum and with the *invincible* (1758) where Chatham Historic Dockyard was first given the opportunity to purchase material before the remaining was offered for public sale. The comments below illustrate that there are mixed views which are believed to be representative of stakeholder opinion:

‘All sites should be initially protected and assessed. Where possible sites should be preserved physically but if this cannot be done within resources and a site is threatened then preservation by record should occur’; ‘Provided that the cultural material is sold to museums, scientific universities, or the like. It would be ideal to have the associated costs covered by a benefactor or public institution so that the materials can be donated to public entities where all can enjoy, but in absence of that, yes could be sold’; ‘THIS ONE, I’m not completely opposed to some material being sold if necessary to further research and awareness but it should be carefully and selectively planned’.

7.4.7 Section 7: Access to underwater cultural heritage: questions 31-33

Figure 36. AVOQ31, 32 & 33 Opinions towards access to *in situ* UCH.



From these results it is apparent that there is strong support for some form of controlled access to important underwater cultural heritage, with **≈85% agreeing**, ≈6% undecided and ≈8% disagreeing. Surprisingly of the 11 who disagreed, whereas it might be assumed that recreational divers might choose to disagree, there were 5 who had stated that they were avocational archaeologists.

Question 32 showed support for the statement that access should be determined ‘for their robustness and not for their importance’ with **≈50% agreeing**, ≈19% undecided and ≈31% disagreeing. Based on the results the state of a site’s robustness is an acceptable criterion for restricting access, although not overwhelmingly supported, suggesting that importance should be taken into account.

The responses to question 33 shows a strong negative reaction that suggested that access should be unrestricted even if this meant a deterioration to the site with only ≈7% in agreement, ≈9% and an overwhelming **≈84% disagreeing**. Of these ≈60% strongly disagreed.

This group of questions show that the respondents accept that access should be controlled and that robustness is a criterion, but is not strongly supported.

7.4.8 Section 8: Reporting of discoveries and recoveries of UCH material: questions 34-35

The objectives of this group of questions was to establish to what extent there was knowledge of the duty to report cultural material, respondents awareness and opinions about

government information about legislation and policy. The focus on reporting of discoveries is used because it is a fundamental issue in the UK. Emphasis for this question was placed on UK respondents who have been subject to awareness programmes for a generation. The response options were **'Yes' with 75 responses**; 'No' with 10 and 44 'Don't know'.

Of the 72 respondents who stated their country was the UK, there was 1 'no' and 26 'don't knows'. The majority of the 'don't knows' were from individuals working in the intertidal zone of the River Thames, London. Two made comments, which are particularly relevant,

'I have no experience of underwater as opposed to intertidal archaeology...' '[I am] only interested in [the] intertidal zone ...'

These comments are interesting, as it seems that some if not all draw a distinct line between what is underwater at all times and that which is covered – uncovered during the course of the tidal movement. What is evident is that the statutory duty to report wreck extends to the intertidal zone and beyond.

In addition to this, although not labelled as such the UNESCO definition of UCH was used in the non-professional survey as a guidance note, to explain the scope of underwater cultural heritage. The definition includes cultural heritage that has been '... partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously...', interpreted as covering the intertidal zone. According to *Section 255 of the Merchant Shipping Act 1995*, this means the section of the sea or river covered within the ebb and flow at ordinary spring tides, excluding harbours. For the river Thames, London this is downstream from Teddington Lock to the sea known as the Tideway.

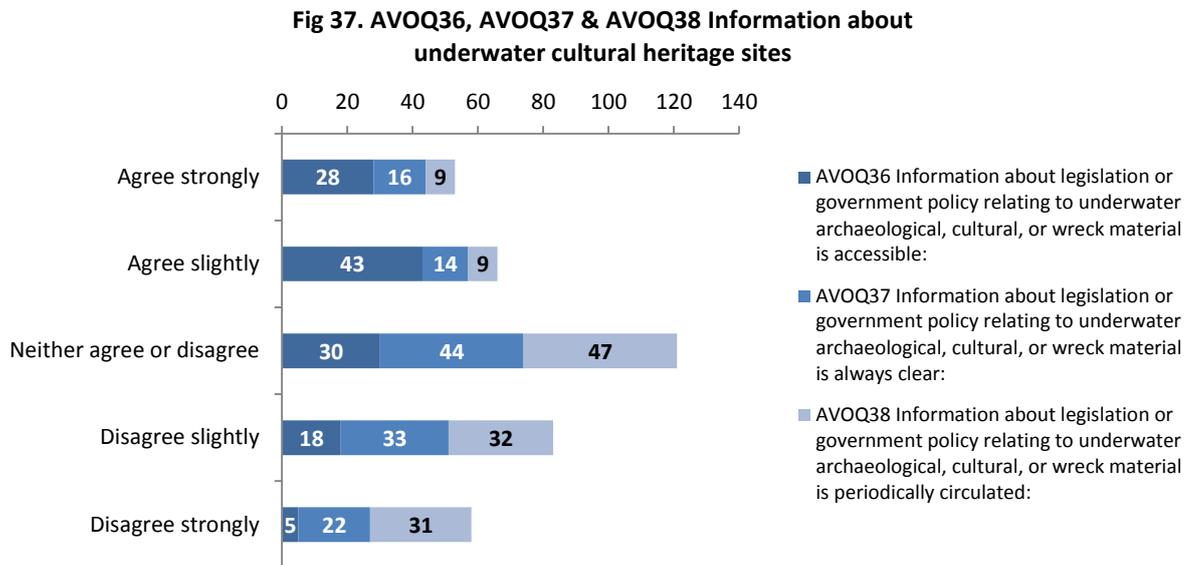
While it is not suggested that the 'don't knows' and the two comments represent the entire community with an interest in inter-tidal zone heritage, it is supportive evidence of the events surrounding the *Napoli* and its cargo of containers stranded in the inter-tidal zone. In this incident the public and enforcement agencies were apparently unaware of the statutory requirements re-wreck outlined in chapter six.

7.4.9 Section 9: Information about legislation and policy: questions 36-38

These questions asked for opinions on the availability (Q36) clarity of information and (Q37) whether it is periodically circulated and (Q38) to what extent the information is clear.

The responses show moderate support for the accessibility of information and significantly decreased support for the clarity of information about government legislation or policy and less support for its circulation.

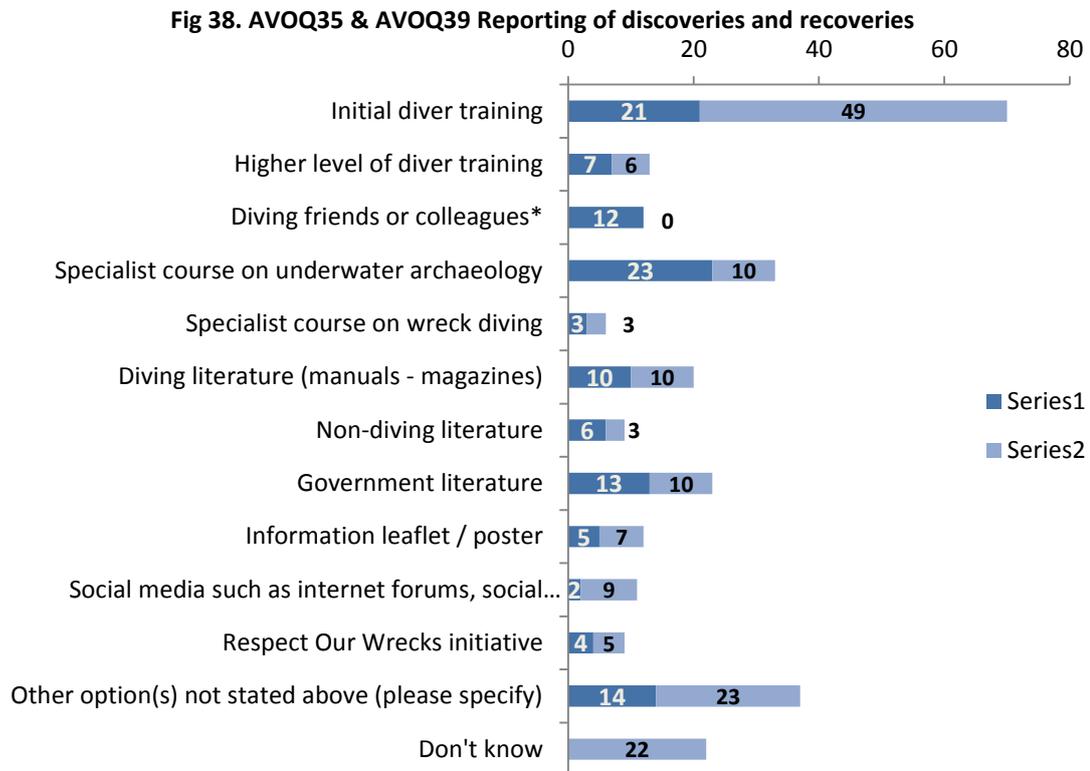
Figure 37. AVOQ36, 37 & 38 Opinions towards availability, circulation and clarity of information about UCH.



This result is interpreted in the knowledge that circulation of information about government policy has shifted to the provision of information on-line supported by other sources such as NAS type courses. The HM Government website, Maritime and Coastguard Agency and Heritage Agencies contain information on reporting and associated legislation, applications for licenses for designated sites. Information in basic diving organisation manuals is now quite limited in scope.

From the responses the preferred location for information was during initial diver training. No comments suggested that everything was satisfactory or that the clarity of information was sufficient. The question remains whether recreational divers and other stakeholders are aware that information is available and can be consulted.

Figure 38. AVOQ35 & 39 Opinions on where information about reporting of UCH should be placed.



Although questions 35 and 39 were deliberately separated to avoid prompting they are linked enabling a comparison between where respondents first heard about the duty to report and where they believe the information would have greatest impact. What is most interesting about the source of reporting information is the recurrent theme that legislation is undermining previous relationships:

‘talk by the receiver of wrecks to dive club’; ‘NAS course’; ‘Legal cases heard’; ‘general archaeology course’; ‘archaeology degree course’; ‘NAS Part III courses’ and ‘Diving books I read in the 60s told their story whereby they reported finds to the Receiver of Wreck who was the local customs office. Our group were the only people here in Weymouth reporting anything in the 70s/80s let alone the 60s. (all reports lost by the authorities of course). This changed into the 90s and to date by most reporting their finds and adding to the maritime KNOWLEDGE. MMO and English Heritage are ruining that transformation’.

7.4.10 Section 10: Additional information

There were fewer additional comments in the non-professional survey but some pointed to issues that are familiar among the professional community. Preservation *in situ* issue is

mentioned, an important principle, but one where there is a commonly held belief that this management solution is the only solution:

‘I believe the UNESCO convention on UCH has had a seriously detrimental effect on underwater archaeology as a discipline and on historic shipwreck. Many sites are now slowly being destroyed *in situ* with important knowledge lost as we have now lost the impetus and ability to motivate the amateurs to provide the manpower and self-funding needed to excavate and record sites over the many years required. The public will never bear the cost of state funded underwater archaeology as it will always be very low on the priority list. Amateurs should be encouraged to locate and record sites and recover the important sites with the aid and guidance of the professional archaeologist’

The same respondent raises another longstanding issue which was discussed in chapter five, namely the Committee for Nautical Archaeology’s desire from the 1970s to create a localised network of archaeologists who would act as receptors of reports and advisers, which JNAPC continued to advocate for in the 1990s, but since has not been pursued. Such a scheme would have complemented the local Receiver of Wreck, much as the British Museum’s Portable Antiquities Scheme for the reporting of terrestrial finds:

‘have regional underwater archaeologists who becomes the point of contact for all UCH in their area, the advisor to all protected sites in their area as well as visiting dive clubs to educate them...’.

Other comments have relevance to this study in that it is suggested that the public is made more aware of the material that has been lost through looting,

‘in general, publicizing what has been lost due to previous "salvage" (looting) activities may be a good way to both promote underwater archaeological activities while advancing awareness and protection of these important pieces of history.’

A comment that is a concern suggests that ‘archaeologists need to get out of the way it is the private sector leading the charge and finding the cultural resources not the arrogant public sector’. Other comments lament the feeling that:

‘...information needs to be told - informed, instead of people actively have to look for it. It is better that the knowledge become common, so you insure that at least one person on a dive team (or whatever the situation might be) have heard of the legislation and knows how to proceed around archaeological sites’. The lack of funding is also raised with the need to have ‘a debate regarding a change in the model of funding for all archaeology’ reinforced by a ‘lack of funds result in sites being destroyed. This not only impacts our understanding of past cultures but ultimately has a significant economic impact on the tourism industry’. Another saw the training of sport divers as a must. ‘It is a

must to involve professional archaeologists and professions, official, underwater archaeologists in training and lectures for sports divers.'

7.5 Summary - non-professional survey

This survey revealed strong support for protection, preservation *in situ* as a first step and controlled access, with a preference for greater stakeholder involvement in decision making. A concern is the level of support for the sale of cultural material from UCH sites to pay for recovery. This would be considered contrary to the principles of the 2001 Convention. Although the UK government has not ratified the 2001 Convention it has explicitly stated its intention to use the Rules of the Annex to guide its management policy. Despite this it remains a challenge for public archaeologists to explain the rationale behind the principle.

Preservation *in situ* has become the focus of public argument through the media. Some such as Kingsley (2011) asks whether it is 'nobler to look and don't touch, preserving what exists for future generations in an eco-friendly bubble or does society have an obligation to excavate, study and publish?'. From similar sources say that leaving UCH *in situ* will lead to its deterioration either by natural or human processes. Fishing has been used as a threat which has been publicly suggested, 'Fishing risk to Channel wrecks' BBC (2009), with Parham (2011) in a report for JNAPC coming to a similar conclusion, but pointing out that as fishing was in decline damage from this mechanism would be similarly reducing, but there were other factors to consider. MacMullen (2011) representing Seafish4 agreed with Wessex archaeology's conclusion that fishing was a likely source of damage, finding Parham's report to be 'credible and balanced', while stating that OME's report 'fails to make the case in a systematic and credible way' (MacMullen 2011, 14). Others have sought to clarify the concept of preservation *in situ* saying it is based on the 'recognition of the importance of the interplay between the site, its story and its context' (Maarleveld et al 2013, 20-21) going on to explain the rationale. While the first option is the preferred option it is clear it isn't the only option. The second part of the Rule states that activities 'may be authorised for the purpose of making a significant contribution to protection or knowledge or enhancement of underwater cultural heritage' (Maarleveld et al 2013, 20-21). However it is this second part that seldom gets mentioned by those who seek to undertake intrusive activities.

From the public archaeologist's perspective this is a very important distinction which is not being effectively communicated. The interpretation is that it is not the principle that is the main issue, rather its application combined by aggressive negative publicity to suit alternative perspectives

and goals. In the concluding section comparative questions from both surveys are grouped to show agreement and differences.

7.6 Part 3: Comparison of selected professional and non-professional results

This part of the results compares the relationship between the opinions and selections made by both stakeholder groups to similar issues, highlighting those that appear to be significantly different. Due to the disparity in the number of respondents to each survey, the results have been translated into percentages rather than raw numbers, and presented in tables. Those selections that show significant differences are in bold text and coloured cells.

7.6.1 Questions PROQ5 / AVOQ15 & PROQ6 / AVOQ16

The first comparative selection looks at the objectives of public archaeology programmes. The results in Table 11 shown below reveal that the views of the professionals and avocationalists are with exceptions, similar.

In the single 'most important' choice options (columns 3 & 4) differences appear relative to raising awareness with non-professionals showing less emphasis on general awareness, showing greater support for reporting of discoveries and a preference for specific issues. This could be explained by non-professionals having a closer, on the ground relationship with other recreational sea-users and believe that awareness is higher than professionals believe, but that more needs to be done to encourage reporting, as an example. In this category non-professionals believed this remained an issue.

With respect to reporting in a follow-up interview with the Receiver and Deputy Receiver of Wreck, both expressed concern that recent budget cuts were negatively impacting on their relationship with the recreational diving community (RoW & Dep. RoW, pers. comm. 2013). The cuts had meant that face to face contact through dive exhibitions, talks to clubs and presence at popular dive locations was no longer possible. The implication was that efforts to build better relationships with the diving community beginning in the 1990s were being eroded, which is supported by anecdotal comments received during the course of this study.

The most apparent difference shown in columns 1-4 in Table 11 is the greater emphasis placed on involvement. This desire to be involved is understandable and it is encouraging that independent projects for volunteers were less valued than those that involved working with archaeologists. This is an implicit acknowledgement that projects benefit from the input of archaeologists and that their input and expertise and guidance are valued. There is some anecdotal evidence to this

preference provided by the author's experience with the Nautical Archaeology Society. At the *Intermediate Certificate* level participants are expected to demonstrate their understanding of the survey techniques learnt in the previous course by completing a short project. This can be achieved through independent study, but experience has shown that where participants collect survey data guided by a tutor, the completion rate for the submission of the project component of the qualification rises. The same principle can be applied to the *Adopt a Wreck Scheme* where greater registrations and active participation follow *Adopt a Wreck Project Days* where NAS tutors offered clarification about the rationale behind the scheme.

Table 11 PROQ5 & AVOQ15 (columns 1 & 2) asked what were the objectives of public archaeology, with multiple choices. PROQ6 & AVOQ16 asked for a single choice representing the most important objective (column 3 & 4).

Table 11. Objectives of public archaeology programmes	PROQ5 Column 1	AVOQ15 Column 2	PROQ6 Column 3	AVOQ16 Column 4
	Multiple choices	Multiple choices	Single choice	Single choice
Raise awareness of the importance of (underwater) cultural heritage	14.40%	16.14%	54.47%	42.48%
Encourage the public to report discoveries of archaeological/heritage material	12.04%	11.36%	3.40%	7.84%
Change public behaviour that has a negative impact on archaeological / heritage sites	13.22%	10.91%	20.00%	18.30%
Inform the public about archaeological research	11.22%	7.27%	2.55%	3.27%
Attract general public support for (underwater) archaeology	11.22%	13.64%	10.21%	9.15%
Attract public support for specific issues	6.97%	5.23%	0.43%	2.61%
Provide opportunities for volunteers to work with archaeologists	9.45%	12.95%	1.28%	10.46%
Provide opportunities for volunteers to do their own projects	3.78%	7.50%	1.28%	3.92%
All of the above*	14.76%	14.77%	*	*
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify)	2.95%	0.23%	6.38%	1.96%
Total selections	847	440	235	143

* There was no 'all the above' option in the single choice questions.

A complementary reason is that active participation increases awareness and instils a better understanding of heritage than do other more remote mechanisms. These answers are linked and consistent with the answers to AVOQ9-12 that shows that discovering or involvement in projects has been the most useful in stimulating interest and developing knowledge. Other divergences are in the opinions about 'informing the public about research' and 'encouraging the public to report discoveries'.

7.6.2 Questions PROQ21 / AVOQ9 & PROQ22 & AVOQ10

The rationale for grouping these questions shown in Table 12 below was that non-professional respondents had stated in AVOQ9 and AVOQ10 what had 'sparked' their interest, with multiple and single choices. By matching their answers to the professional's views in PROQ21 and PROQ22 which asked what professionals thought had the greatest influence on raising awareness there was the possibility in assessing the impact of specific factors. There are some indications that some may have more value than believed by the profession.

The largest mismatch between professional and non-professional opinion is the 'news media' with ≈20% of professionals, whereas only ≈3% of non-professionals stated that it was the most important factor. This suggests that while the 'news media' has general influence evidenced by its quite strong showing in the multiple choice columns, it is not among the major factors that stimulate interest and involvement.

The results in the multiple choices columns (1 & 2) indicate non-professionals believe that 'visits to heritage sites', 'factual documentaries', 'factual literature' and 'archaeology courses' are more influential in stimulating interest than professionals believe to be the case.

In the single choice option (columns 3 & 4) the same factors show more strongly, except for 'factual documentaries' decreases slightly in the non-professional column. Conversely professional opinion about 'factual documentaries' as the most important factor increases significantly. In the single option columns (3 & 4) non-professionals placed greater value on 'heritage trails', 'information leaflet and posters' and 'public lectures', but less on 'fictional film' 'social media', 'factual audio broadcasts' all low scorers in both multiple and single selection options.

Table 12. This represents the opinions of both stakeholder groups on factors that led to increased public awareness and involvement in UCH. Columns 1 & 2 offered multiple choices with 3 & 4 the option to choose the most important factor.

Table 12. Factors leading to increased awareness and involvement in UCH	PROQ21 Column 1	AVOQ9 Column 2	PROQ22 Column 3	AVOQ10 Column 4
	Multiple choices	Multiple choices	Single choice	Single choice
Discovering an archaeological site *	*	5.46%	*	9.72%
Watching archaeologists work during site open days	5.14%	3.03%	3.37%	3.47%
Visits to archaeological/heritage sites	5.73%	11.23%	3.85%	15.28%
Participating in heritage trails (underwater or surface)	6.32%	3.34%	2.88%	4.86%
Information leaflets / posters	5.99%	3.49%	0.48%	1.39%
Factual documentaries	9.78%	12.90%	27.40%	11.11%
Fictional TV or Film	4.81%	4.70%	4.81%	1.39%
Factual literature (academic journals – reports)	3.37%	7.13%	0.00%	4.17%
Fictional literature	1.43%	2.58%	0.00%	0.69%
Factual audio broadcasts (internet / radio / podcasts)	5.06%	2.58%	1.92%	0.00%
Fictional audio broadcast (internet / radio / podcasts)	1.01%	0.30%	0.48%	0.00%
News (TV – radio – internet – newspapers)	10.37%	7.28%	20.67%	2.78%
Social media such as internet forums, social networks such as Facebook, LinkedIn or video based such as YouTube	7.34%	3.34%	6.25%	1.39%
Archaeology courses	4.81%	9.26%	3.37%	14.58%
Public lectures	8.01%	7.28%	1.92%	5.56%
Virtual exhibitions – internet sites	5.23%	2.12%	0.96%	0.00%
Traditional museum exhibits	6.32%	8.65%	0.96%	1.39%
Public participatory projects	5.65%	0.76%	4.33%	2.08%
All of the above	2.19%	**	8.17%	**
Other option(s) not stated above (specify)	1.43%	4.55%	8.17%	20.14%
Total selections	1204	659	208	144

* This was not an option in the professional survey.

** There was no 'all the above' option in the single choice questions.

7.6.3 Questions PROQ26 / AVOQ20 & PROQ27 / AVOQ21

The rationale behind this combination of question is to see to what extent professionals and non-professionals agree about what influences public perceptions of underwater archaeology – salvage – treasure hunting. The premise of these questions is based on question PROQ25 that stated, ‘The public confuses underwater archaeology with salvage and / or treasure hunting’, which **resulted in ≈87% of professionals agreeing**. The follow-up questions asked for opinions on the factors that influenced the perceived public confusion, PROQ26 and AVOQ20 offering multiple options with PROQ27 and AVOQ21 asking for an opinion on the most important factor.

Table 13. The public confuses underwater archaeology with salvage and / or treasure hunting. If this is believed to be true what are the factors?	PROQ26 Column 1	AVOQ20 Column 2	PROQ27 Column 3	AVOQ21 Column 4
	Multiple choices	Multiple Choices	Single choice	Single choice
Romantic ideas about salvage and/or treasure hunting	17.65%	17.99%	29.35%	30.30%
The view that economically valuable material should be returned to the economy	7.57%	7.71%	3.98%	4.55%
Because it is hard to distinguish between archaeology and salvage and/or treasure hunting	8.00%	6.68%	12.94%	8.33%
Documentaries that feature underwater archaeology / salvage / treasure hunting	16.34%	12.08%	15.42%	14.39%
Scientific publications	0.77%	0.26%	0.50%	1.52%
Fictional films that feature underwater archaeology / salvage / treasure hunting	15.68%	15.68%	13.93%	9.85%
Impact of fictional books that feature underwater archaeology / salvage / treasure hunting	11.18%	10.03%	1.00%	0.76%
The way that underwater archaeology is presented in the news (TV -Radio – Internet – Newspapers)	11.62%	10.54%	12.44%	11.36%
Lack of impact of public archaeology initiatives	6.80%	9.51%	5.97%	13.64%
All of the above	1.64%	4.11%	*	*
Other option(s) not stated above	2.30%	3.86%	4.48%	5.30%
Not applicable	0.44%	1.54%		
Total selections	912	383	201	132

Table 13 The table represents the views of the stakeholder groups about the factors that cause public confusion about underwater archaeology – salvage – treasure hunting. Columns 1 & 2 ask for all factors and columns 3 & 4 represent a single choice of the most important factor.

There is correlation between professional and non-professional opinion about what factors cause confusion among the public with regard to distinguishing between underwater archaeology, salvage and treasure hunting. Both groups agreed that ‘romantic ideas about salvage and/or treasure hunting’ is the strongest factor.

Where there is some divergence is that the non-professionals do not believe quite so strongly that ‘...it is hard to distinguish between archaeology and salvage and/or treasure hunting’, which is reinforced by their belief that ‘fictional films that feature underwater archaeology / salvage / treasure hunting’ is not as strong an issue in affecting perception.

Non-professionals do however consider that the ‘lack of impact of public archaeology initiatives is a bigger issue than professionals believe. This is despite public archaeology being part of 75% of the organisations represented in the survey time devoted is growing. This is a concern.

7.7 Chapter Summary - Public archaeology - Stakeholder opinion - Interpretation of the surveys

Almost 400 respondents revealed a significant level of synergy in relation to opinions about public archaeology. Commitment by professionals, at least as represented by the respondents to this survey acknowledged that engagement with the public is important and that time devoted to this theme is increasing. There was a comment expressing concern that research was being sacrificed for the sake of “football figures” participating in heritage activities. This is relevant as government policy is promoting public engagement through visiting heritage sites or participating as volunteers, fulfilling economic targets as well as increasing social wellbeing.

It is an undeniable fact that volunteers are making a contribution in terms of work on sites. In the UK this is expressed in licensees and their teams working on protected sites, to the dozens of ‘adopted sites’ and through past projects such as the *Sound of Mull Archaeological Project*, *The Hulks of Forton Lake* and currently ProMare’s *The Ship’s Project: Shipwrecks and History in Plymouth Sound*. The latter project has led to the discovery of several historic wrecks including the Royal Navy frigate *HMS Amethyst* (1811)⁵ combined with an innovative virtual reality project to bring the submarine *A7* to the public.

Such voluntary work has added to historic inventories and can be quantified in terms of Full Time Equivalent jobs, which shows an indirect economic value of their contribution. This direct financial contribution can be added to the individual wellbeing through involvement, results of the work added to local historical records which has an educational value.

There are differences as seen in Part 3 of the survey results, but most are positive, particularly the support for volunteer projects with archaeological input, which should result in higher standards. The divergence in opinions about public archaeology should prove helpful in better targeting initiatives. Public lectures, archaeological courses and heritage visits including heritage trails should not be undervalued in stirring interest and developing knowledge. There are some concerns, the use of the tag ‘avocational archaeologist’ used by those with little or no training and experiential learning as a preferred route. To this can be added that many do not perceive value in being members of heritage organisations. This latter point is pertinent as NAS finds it difficult in keeping members beyond two years; their reasoning being that undertaking training is the motivator for joining but once ‘trained’ there is no reason to stay. This can have a negative result on standards of work and even on the public perception that to be an ‘archaeologist’ is determined by doing archaeology, not through academic education or competency based vocational learning, or by being a member of a specialist society.

One of the significant outcomes was that while factual documentaries and media have a strong role in raising interest, media in particular does not continue to have a strong impact on learning, once people are more involved. In the context of this study, understanding public perception is a key aim. Consequently an assessment of what appears in the media is a first step. In the following chapter publicly accessible news databases are investigated to develop this understanding.

¹ *Kronan* is a warship lost in 1676, discovered in 1980 by Anders Franzén, who is better known for his connection to the *Vasa* (1628). A collection of artefacts from the wreck is on display in the Kalmar Lans Museum, Öland.

² Discovered by sponge harvesters in 1907, the Mahdia wreck contained bronzes and marble columns and is dated to approximately to 80BC.

³ Investigated by INA from 1995 the Bozburun wreck dates to 874AD.

⁴ Seafish represents the UK seafood industry.

⁵ *Amethyst* was a 36 gun frigate launched in 1799 that took part in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars against the French. She had a very successful career, capturing more than 46 ships as prizes between 1800 and 1809 including two French frigates (Ships Project 2014) Available from: <http://www.promare.co.uk/ships/news/ships_news_291113.html>. [2 February 2015].

8 Raising Awareness and Public Education

8.1 Introduction to public education

In the previous chapter the professional and non-professional surveys provided insights into opinion about the state of public awareness. Nearly 70% of professionals believed that the public were more aware, but many of these only slightly agreed. Both stakeholders were in consensus that raising awareness among the public was the most important objective, although non-professionals showed stronger support for the raising awareness for specific issues than did professionals. The comments of some professionals outlined familiar problems and offered solutions:

‘lack of public awareness about the objectives and value of underwater archaeology’; ‘treasure hunting is "open to all"; underwater archaeology is restricted to few...If there was a way to enable others to participate in the exploration (esp. via social media), live chats, live video, etc. I think the perception that scientific projects are "closed off" would be inverted - and the treasure hunter/treasure seeking teams would look secretive and selfish in comparison...’

There was a strong agreement about the public’s difficulties in separating underwater archaeology from salvage and treasure hunting, along with a range of comments to explain why this was the case.

‘often treasure hunters use words 'underwater research' to cover up their activities’; ‘large treasure hunting companies [are] regularly in the media...; ‘aggressive misinformation by commercial salvage companies’; ‘the "finders keepers" mentality is well-embedded in people's minds...; ‘treasure hunters have tended to do a better job than archaeologists at capturing the public imagination.’

When asked which factors had been responsible for raising public awareness, the most common selections were documentaries and news media. Government has recognised the popularity of heritage in the media in *Power of Place* and utilised it, to not only announce changes in heritage policy, raise awareness to issues, but stimulate the public into action to support the restoration of built heritage.

By utilising publicly accessible archives, supplemented by *National Geographic Magazine*, it becomes clear that under water cultural heritage and maritime events in general have grown in popularity, with significant growth in the last fifteen to twenty years, which is broadly in line with opinions expressed in the previous chapter.

8.2 Previous Perspectives

In the introduction to this study reference was made to Henry Cleere's comments in 1984 that included that the archaeological community could not find a clear explanation why the public appeared ambivalent and disconnected with the past. The recognition of this problem continued in a similar vein during the 1988 meeting at the Royal Armouries to discuss the 'initial proposals for the United Kingdom' relating to nautical archaeology (Croome 1988, 118). The meeting's agenda included point 10 – Public Education:

'...A national education and publicity campaign should highlight the enjoyment and satisfaction that can be obtained from nautical archaeology and the differences between legitimate archaeological methods and treasure hunting' (Croome 1988, 118).

Rule, then archaeological director of the Mary Rose Trust, spoke about the 'real responsibility to explain nautical archaeology to the public and that this would solve most of the problem', assumed to be a lack of awareness and understanding (Croome 1988, 117). Rule recognised the project's reliance on the BS-AC before outlining how the Mary Rose Trust had reached out to the public:

'Upon finding the ship, all possible publicity was recruited-publication in academic journals, local press and radio, the colour supplements, *Diver Magazine* etc. plus exhibitions and this was very important. There followed lectures round the country. "We had an honours board of subscriber's right round the warehouse". It was essential to involve the public at every level; providing it's accurate I don't mind how low you go...adding that 'you only sell an object once; you sell a museum many times' (Croome 1988, 118).

Although the CNA's proposals did not materialise in its own right (Croome 1988), Heritage at Sea (JNAPC 1989) adopted some components including 'Public Education' (JNAPC 1989, 37). The key challenges were summarised: 'the presentation of nautical archaeology to the public at large has in the past relied chiefly upon reaction to major events or crises'; 'condemnatory statements by specialists' do little to convince or change opinions of the public who are unfamiliar with the issues at stake,' that clarity of objective is a paramount need. The maximum result...is to influence and enthuse' (JNAPC 1989, 37) concluding that public education should 'start immediately to pave the way for better understanding and acceptance of the legislation' (JNAPC, 1989, 39).

Seven years previously the *Mary Rose* had been recovered from the Solent muds to become the centre-piece of a museum housing the hull and 19,000 artefacts attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors. The media followed the project with Rule and others regularly in the adult media and

children's programme *Blue Peter*¹. The live outside broadcast of the recovery was watched by sixty million viewers worldwide, which helps to explain that 'public receptiveness is probably higher and better disposed than may generally be thought' (JNAPC 1989, 37). The project had a positive impact on public opinion with Wright (2009) linking the event to reunifying national identity. The project had many, if not all, of the components to form the basis of a strong connection between the public and nautical archaeology.

It suggests that archaeologists and archaeology had been connected to the public in the early 1980s, but were subsequently unable to take advantage of the raised awareness of the *Mary Rose* and programmes such as *Discoveries Underwater* broadcast in 1988. What had occurred to create the imperative for 'beginning' to raise public awareness, when in 1982 it is presumed to be high? Was the *Mary Rose* less newsworthy and could not be used as a flagship to continue to raise awareness. Was there a lack of new high profile projects to engage the public, or other factors? Is public awareness therefore transient?

There are similarities to the perceived rise in the popularity of archaeology with Wheeler and Daniels followed by a decline reflected in the comments made by Cleere in 1984. *Time Team* propelled archaeology back into the public's consciousness from 1994-2014, aided by programmes like *Meet the Ancestors* 1998-2004 and *Bonekickers* the 'first time that a major drama series focusing on archaeology came to UK television and computer screens' (Bailey *et al* 2009).

8.3 Media influence on heritage protection

Force for the Future was published 'at a time when the public's enthusiasm for the past is increasingly evident, not least in the strong media focus on archaeology and history' (DCMS & DETR 2001), explicitly mentioning *Time Team*. There is strong evidence that government used its own recognition of the power of the media to generate public interest in the state of the built heritage, resulting in a significant improvement to many historic buildings that required investment.

8.4 Public reaction to the loss of built heritage

In 2002 English Heritage announced in the media there were insufficient funds to meet the anticipated £400 million pounds needed to save the 1,500 buildings believed to be at risk (BBC 10 July 2002c). *The State of the Historic Environment* report of 2002 had listed heritage considered to be at risk. It laid blame on post Second World War farming policy and practices as the prime cause

of 10% of the reported destruction of heritage; arable farming being responsible for 32% of archaeological field monuments that had suffered damage in 1995, and that 3% of scheduled monuments were at high risk (English Heritage 2002, 9).

8.5 BBC 2's Television Series Restoration

The same year the BBC conducted a market research survey to investigate the general public's interest, perceptions and attitudes towards older buildings as a precursor to a proposed television series *Restoration*. A questionnaire distributed in nine regions represented the geographic and demographic distribution of the United Kingdom public's views. In the South East there were 1,304 responses, North West 378, South West 452, Midlands 743, Scotland 321, Yorkshire/North East 525, Wales 282, East 429 and Northern Ireland 143, totalling 4,578 (IPSOS-RSL Quest panel 2003).

The results revealed evidence that the population cared about old buildings and their restoration. 67% of respondents confirmed their interest in local buildings of a historic character, with 63% agreeing that the United Kingdom did not do sufficient to maintain them; 75% were concerned by the rapidity in which old buildings were being lost, with 25% being very concerned. There was unanimous agreement that a disused derelict building had a negative impact on their sense of wellbeing. Concerns about historic buildings increased among the middle-aged and that those in the higher social classes were more likely to have an interest in historic buildings. With respect to regional variations, the populations of Wales and Northern Ireland showed slightly less concern than other geographic regions. 22% claimed to be willing to take part in a television vote to help restore a historic building – this fell with age from 36% of 16-24s to 11% of 65+'s. Youth were seemingly more proactive or perhaps just more competitive (IPSOS-RSL, 2003, 2).

The refurbishment of older constructions was preferred by 64% of respondents than the building of a new building, which was further detailed by a preference to refurbish, even if the older building did not have an immediate purpose, preferring an image of the building in its prime being the outstanding preference of an historic place (IPSOS-RSL, 2003, 2; Heritage Lottery Fund 2012). Of particular note in the same survey was the public's attitude to the loss of historic buildings. The question, 'one historic building or monument has been lost every day in the United Kingdom since the end of the Second World War. How concerned are you by this?' resulted in 24% very concerned; 48% quite concerned; 20% not very concerned; 3% not at all concerned'. Nearly three quarters of the United Kingdom population were concerned about the loss of historic buildings or monuments (IPSOS-RSL 2003, 2; Heritage Lottery Fund 2012).

During the three series of *Restoration* from 2003-2006 seventy-two 'architectural treasures' (IPSOS-RSL 2003, 2; Heritage Lottery Fund 2012) in need of repair were presented to the viewers who could vote through a series of knockout rounds to determine which one was the most worthy case for restoration. The winner of each series received £3 million pounds from the Heritage Lottery Fund. The series' popularity is reflected in forty-nine BBC news items articles from 2003 to 2007, with each episode seen by an average of 3 million viewers. The numbers demonstrate that there was no lack of interest in historic buildings, or their restoration. It was a clear signal that the public favoured the use of Heritage Lottery Funds. Scottish Ministers noted the potential of public involvement in heritage protection and preservation, 'Maybe if the public are engaged more in the built architecture perhaps they will be protected much more in the future' (BBC 2003b).

More recently many of the buildings featured in the programmes, including those that didn't win were part of a follow-up series *Restoration Revisited*. Although no information was available for some of the previously featured buildings, where there was, most had made progress in being regenerated through alternative grant sources or commercial redevelopment. The programme's Home Page makes the claim that the programmes 'had a huge impact on how the nation thought about its deteriorating historic buildings' (BBC Restoration Revisited - Home Page 2010). The Prince of Wales was known to be a viewer whose own trust continues to support the regeneration policy. 'Our vision is that redundant historic sites, at risk of demolition or decay, are rescued, reused and regenerated for the benefit of the surrounding community' (The Princes Regeneration Trust – Home Page 2014). The original programme *Restoration* has been resurrected as *Restoration Home*, now in its second series which follows the owners of historic buildings as they create modern dream homes, with spin-off series that revisits previous home restoration projects, reinforcing the fact mentioned above that it was more economical to refurbish an existing building than to build a new one.

The impact of television using the example of BBC's *Restoration* is recognised in *Making Heritage Count*, 'The popularity of general programmes about history and archaeology, and specifically the *Restoration* programmes - are ample proof of the effectiveness of TV as a communication channel' (MORI 2003, 10) English Heritage (2003 stated that the 'TV series

Restoration demonstrated the passion and interest that ordinary people have for looking after the historic environment'. There continue to be spin-off programmes aired in the United Kingdom, BBC 4's *Restored to Glory* and *Restoration Nation*; the Community Channel's *Restoration: You Make It Happen* and, Channel Four's *The Restoration Man*.

The evidence from these programmes suggests that the viewing public are quite capable of making value judgements and separating what the public as whole wants to preserve and or restore, from what it doesn't. This is evidenced by the application for funds through the Heritage Lottery Fund, which acts as an arbiter using guidelines developed through a close working relationship with central government to ensure that larger grants match strategic goals.

These public judgements are refined and guided by a mixture of news received through the media. While the public can recognise the difference between policies that aim to preserve from those that don't, what is often missing is the guidance that enables the public to understand that some approaches to heritage, including UCH are not conducive to preservation or even protection, or in their best interests. If the BBC's claim is reliable the *Restoration* series changed public attitudes by television, resulting in increased awareness, understanding of the need and active support for the restoration of old buildings. The programme stirred the public, albeit from the comfort of the living room from their passive consumption into action by voting. It showed that the public reacted positively to the opportunity to be involved in decision making, which reflects the same desire to be consulted prior to designations shown in the survey above.

The *Restoration* survey prior to the TV series showed that the public did not place the same value on older buildings that are left in a state of disrepair and there was support for heritage to be preserved for future generations. Re-use of older buildings has proven to be more economic than building new homes and workspaces and therefore matches the government environmental policy. Millions watched the *Restoration* programmes and voted in their hundreds of thousands. Many of the featured buildings that didn't win the coveted £3 million prize from the Heritage Lottery Fund found support elsewhere. The underlying issue is that there is some encouragement that with similar clarity and presentation the public would be better informed about how UCH could be utilised more effectively and possibly benefit from greater funding from the HLF of other private sources. If the media is an important component in presenting the case for UCH it is important to understand what is currently presented and the potential impact it has.

The findings of this report have implications for public enjoyment and support for the preservation of UCH. Admittedly it is often visually in a poor state besides being buried, which makes it more difficult to enjoy. This reinforces the comments by Cleere that the public found it difficult to connect with the fabric of archaeology. This is disadvantageous to UCH compared with historic ships and replicas that are easy to enjoy and to appreciate the sense of place with historic times, bearing in mind Cleere's comments on the same theme. A significant positive outcome from the survey is that the principle of preserving for future generations is not an alien concept to

the public. It strongly suggests that UCH requires greater use of virtual technology such as ProMare's A7 project to connect sites to the public in manner in which they can understand.

8.6 Underwater Cultural Heritage is presented in the media

Whatever the reality in 1989, it remains true that some historic shipwrecks and events play a more significant role in capturing the public's attention than others. Intuitively this may seem obvious and equally considered a negative factor for smaller projects. However there is some evidence shown below that high profile projects and events kindle interest in less high profile stories. If true, this raised awareness and interest in high profile projects provides opportunity to engage and market smaller projects to a sensitised media and receptive public.

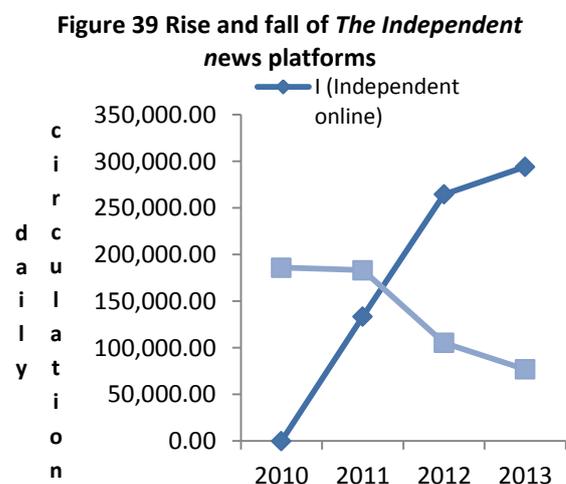
One major difference is that many projects, sites and events are only present in the news for brief periods, sometimes just a single article, whereas the most well-known are present in the media much more frequently and sell themselves.

However, overall there is a reasonably constant presence of maritime news. A further issue is that public consumption of the past is generally passive (Shanks & Tilley 2006, 25), but in rare circumstances leads to action such as in the cases of the war graves issue in the early 2000s, the rescue of the Newport Ship and the attempt to save the *City of Adelaide* for Sunderland rather than see it exported to South Australia. The challenge is to find a mechanism for converting passive consumption into action when it is required.

8.6.1 News: traditional print to digital consumption

Figure 39. The fall and rise of the Independent illustrates the transition from print to digital formats.

Since *Heritage at Sea* (1989) the way news is accessed has changed and is changing. Online platforms have grown rapidly and diversified, while circulation of traditional over the counter hard-copy news has gone into severe decline. From 2000 to 2013, *the Guardian Newspaper's* daily circulation fell from 401,560-204,440 (-51%), *The Daily Mail* from 2,353,915-1,863,151(-79%), *The Times* from 726,349-399,339 (-55%) and *The Telegraph*



from 1,039,749-555,817 (-54%). Some, such as *London's Evening Standard*, chose to become free. Its readership had fallen from 440,287-237,403 in 2009, but rebounded to almost 602,000 in 2010, plateauing at around 700,000 in 2013.

Most news outlets now have online news services for tablets, or smart phones. *The Independent Newspaper's* daily circulation had fallen to 183,035 in 2009, but stabilised in 2011, before continuing downward, surpassed by *Independent online* shown in figure 39. New digital outlets have appeared taking advantage of the decline in traditional news services.

8.7 Investigation of BBC & Guardian News Archives and National Geographic Magazine

To understand the scope of maritime news the *BBC's* and *Guardian's* online archives and a DVD version of the *National Geographic Magazine* were chosen for this aspect of the study. The BBC archive dates from 1997 to the present, with *Guardian Newspaper* free to view archive dates to 1999, although its subscription based archive dates to the nineteenth. The interpretation of the BBC archive is used as the major component with the *Guardian* and *National Geographic Magazine* (1882-2009) archives used to corroborate, reinforce or highlight differences in content and emphasis.

8.8 Inclusions and exclusions

The objective was to create a news database that was representative of a broad scope of maritime events, rather than solely underwater archaeology. Concentrating on archaeological stories was considered problematic. It would not have been straightforward to determine what was and was not archaeology solely from the content of the news or relying personal or secondary knowledge would not have been satisfactory for many news reports.

Figure 40. News headline of the salvage of a Second World War German Dornier bomber off the Kent coast in 2013.

The salvage of the bomber serves as an example. The headline (figure 40) and the related reports describe the recovery. There is no mention of a detailed pre-disturbance survey and excavation of the fuselage or debris field prior to the aircraft being recovered. The



recovery method was designed to allow loose sediments to pour out of the fuselage during recovery, thereby losing any archaeological context. Due to the environmental constraints the recovery could be described as rescue archaeology. Based on the available knowledge it could only be categorised as the salvage of a historically important aircraft. The process of determining whether something was archaeology or salvage or treasure hunting was further complicated by the necessity to use a definition that would satisfy all readers. Therefore it was concluded that in many cases the decision would be arbitrary, not necessarily universally agreed and therefore not that helpful.

It was decided not to stipulate a cut-off date, which could have been coincidental with the 2001 Convention's 100 year criteria. Some degree of flexibility was required to take account of topics that were felt relevant. This included the discovery, recovery and restoration of *Bluebird*, a project referred to as an example of how recreational divers behaved responsibly at a time when as a group they were being vilified as grave robbers. Other subjects were omitted, such as the sinking and salvage of the Russian nuclear submarine *Kursk* (2000) and the stranding and unfolding drama of the *Costa Concordia* (2012) both of which were extensively followed in the media, but do serve to illustrate the public interest in maritime tragedies, old and new.

8.9 Presentation of the results

The results are presented in a series of Microsoft Excel 2010 charts with additional comments for clarification or interpretation. Figure 1 in Appendix B – Media shows a sample of how each of the news was recorded and characterised. Unless stated otherwise the charts show the number of reports in the vertical axis, with the year in the horizontal axis.

In addition to the generic searches others queries were carried out, using lists of protected sites under the UK's legislation, or other commonly known sites. All links were followed exhaustively, creating a chain reaction revealing other reports, some directly linked or often linked by theme. By being systematic the scope of the database grew significantly.

An assumption was made that RMS *Titanic* (1912), HMS *Victory* (1805) and *Mary Rose* (1545) would be more popular so were recorded on separate worksheets. As HMS *Victory* has not been a wreck, 1805 was chosen to coincide with the Battle of Trafalgar for which the ship has greatest association and to avoid confusion with *Victory* (1744).

The separate worksheets are divided as follows: 1,303 news reports which exclude the three separate ships; RMS *Titanic*, with 304; HMS *Victory* with 177 and *Mary Rose* with 93. A similar

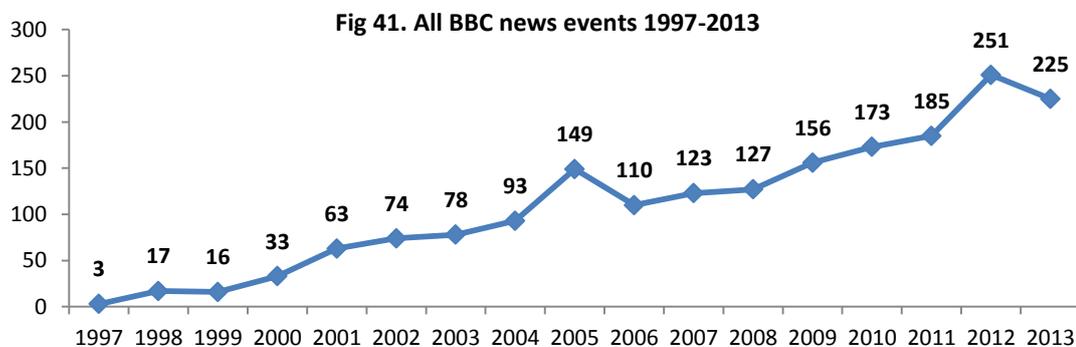
approach was adopted for CBBC's *Newsround* which resulted in 72 results; *Guardian online* archive with 380, totalling 2,329 news reports. A further 105 feature articles from the *National Geographic Magazine* were recorded.

Unless otherwise stated the charts exclude the *Newsround*, *Guardian* reports and *National Geographic Magazine*. It is not the intention to describe all of the reports, only those that represent trends or special events. Further detail and charts are presented in Appendix B.

8.10 General trends - BBC news events

8.10.1 BBC news events 1997-2013

Figure 41. The chart illustrates an upward trend from 1997-2013 with two sharp peaks in 2005 and 2012, based on 1,877 recorded news reports.



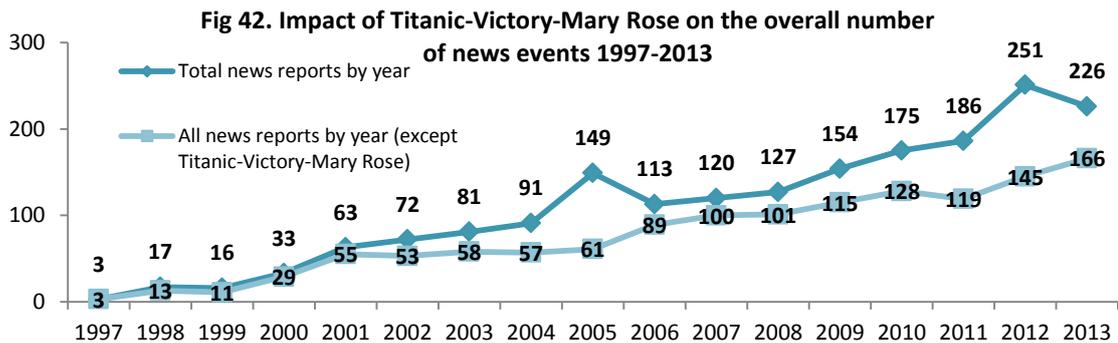
The BBC's online news website was launched in November 1997; the first maritime related news report was 'What happens if you discover treasure' (BBC 7 November 1997). It contained advice from the Maritime and Coastguard Agency, specifically the Receiver of Wreck who at this time was campaigning to raise awareness of the statutory duty to report recoveries of wreck material. The article contained details of what finders should do in the event they find wreck material, the definitions of wreck, and a reference to the possibility of a wreck amnesty discussed in chapter six. In the same article there was unattributed advice about dealing with discoveries found on land under the terms of the *Treasure Act*, which specifically deals with terrestrial cultural material in what can be considered a parallel legislative framework and is deemed treasure trove.

The second article, 'UK treasure trove goes on show' featured the gold coins from the 17th century wreck site off Salcombe, on the south coast of England, that were to be displayed by the British Museum. The museum had bought the collection, the finders the South West Archaeological Group receiving a salvage award. The headline shows some confusion, in that the 'treasure' was

not 'trove' but 'wreck' material dealt with under the criteria of the *Merchant Shipping Act 1995*.. The third report covered the Chinese intentions to raise the *Zhiyuan* (1894) to 'rekindle national pride' (BBC 1997).

8.10.2 Impact of RMS Titanic (1912) – HMS Victory (1805) – Mary Rose (1545)

Figure 42. The chart shows the extent to which media coverage is devoted to the three ships from 1997-2013.



The upper line represents all of the recorded news events; the lower line is the upper total minus the combined news events for RMS *Titanic*, HMS *Victory* and *Mary Rose*, revealing the considerable influence of the three ships, although as shown below the influence of the *Mary Rose* is considerably less than the other two ships. From 2001 there is a divergent trend showing that proportionately public interest in these three ships has grown in comparison with the remaining maritime sites and events.

The upper results have two sharp peaks. The first peak occurring in 2005 coincides with the bi-centennial anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar, and the second is the centennial anniversary of the sinking of RMS *Titanic* in 2012. Both events attracted widespread interest in many parts of the UK.

From 2001-2004 the lower line is relatively flat, rising slightly in 2005 capturing some of the raised interest in *Victory*. In the year following the anniversary the upper line falls sharply, but there is a correspondingly high rise in the lower line. Both lines maintain a steady upward trend until 2011 when media interest switches to *Titanic*. While this could be considered coincidental for one event, the same happens for both so considered consistent.

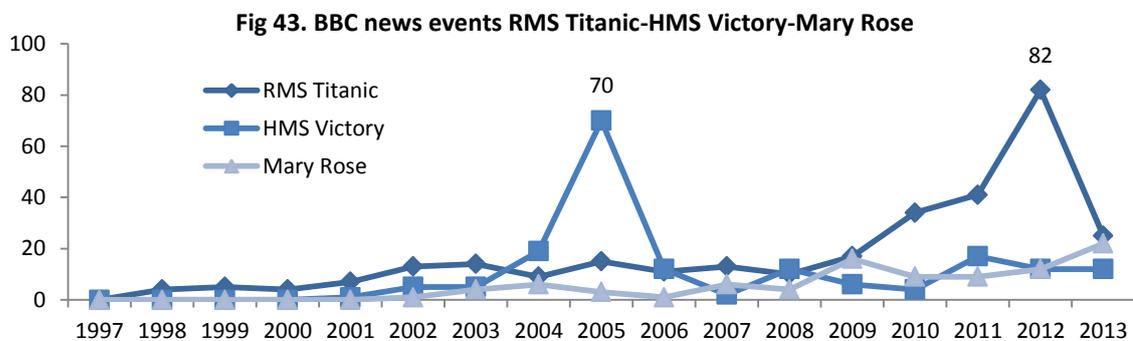
The fall-back after the 2005 and 2012 anniversaries is steep in the upper line, but the lower line continues to show a strong upward trend. This suggests that each of these special anniversaries

has an overall positive impact on raising media and by inference public awareness of all maritime events, not just the big name event.

8.10.3 Comparison of news event for RMS Titanic-HMS Victory-Mary Rose

In the previous chart (figure 42) it was difficult to see whether the *Mary Rose* which did not have a centennial anniversary had any significant impact on the upper curve. When the three individual ship curves are viewed together in figure 43 below it is possible to see more clearly what is happening. In comparison *Mary Rose* had much less influence until 2009 when its impact added to the divergence between the two curves shown in figure 42.

Figure 43. This chart allows the interpretation of the *Mary Rose* news profile relative to the *Victory* and *Titanic*.



The first news event in 2002 recorded the *Mary Rose*'s 20th anniversary of the ship's recovery in 1982. The figures in 2003-2005 show increases in news activity due to new site excavations and discoveries that stirred media interest. These excavations were necessary to accommodate the navy's requirement to alter the direction of Portsmouth Harbour's channel. These changes threatened the stability of the designated site, where significant positions of the ship's bow section remain *in situ*. On completion of the excavations interest fell, with only one event in 2006.

In the following year new artefacts went on display in the museum, together with the 25th anniversary of the ship's recovery. Interest rises sharply in 2009 when plans to build a new museum and a major heritage lottery grant were announced to house the *Mary Rose* and artefact collection. News interest rises again in 2012 and more steeply in 2013 as the completion and anticipated opening date of the museum approached.

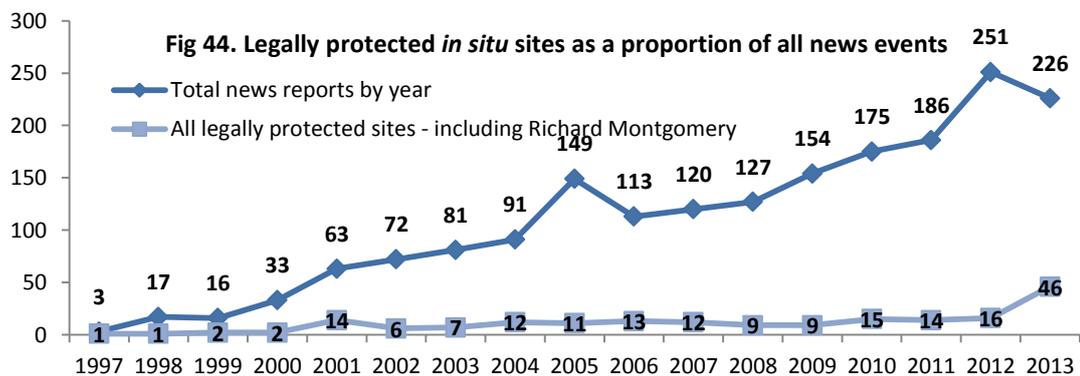
Although news events have not been recorded since 2013, the opening created a large upturn in visitor number figures, with a Historic Dockyard press release stating that in four and a half months, 250,000 visitors had visited the new museum, 'Quarter of a million visitors for The Mary

Rose Museum' (Portsmouth Historic Dockyard 2013). What is notable about these peaks in figure 43 are that they concur with Christopher Dobb's (Dobbs 2014) comments that museums needed to re-invent themselves from time to time to stimulate visitor figures. New discoveries, new research and new buildings all created public interest and more visitors.

8.10.4 UK's Protected Sites

An objective that evolved from the study of the media was to understand to what extent the public is exposed to the UK's most important sites protected by legislation. The premise is that with greater exposure and associated awareness, public support is likely to be stronger. To help understand the profile of these sites a number of sub-divisions were chosen that represented the legislation by which they were protected and where they were located, under water or intertidal zone. See Appendix B for more details. There is an additional 'tag' that shows whether a protected vessel or aircraft has been totally or partially recovered. There are 190 news events in the sample representing $\approx 10\%$ of the database.

Figure 44. Annual frequency of sites protected by UK legislation measured against the total number of news events for all sites.



The upper results shown in figure44 represents 'all news events' used as a comparative base-line, with the lower results representing the news events for all sites legally protected *in situ*.

The lower results show a slowly rising trend line, with a small peak in 2001 and a sharper peak in 2013. The first in 2001 revealed an accumulation of First and Second World War stories featuring HMS *Hood* (1939), HMS *Exmouth* (1940) and the submarine *H5*, some of which were associated with the Wreck Amnesty, Respect our Wrecks initiative and war-graves issue discussed in chapter six.

The sharp rise upwards in 2013 is almost entirely due to the salvage of a Dornier bomber, without which the level of news events would have returned to pre-*Titanic* anniversary level, consistent

with the tendency seen after centennial anniversaries or other special events. What has not been recorded is the extent to which the salvage of the Dornier bomber had an impact on media interest in 2014 as its restoration continues.

8.10.5 Most frequently reported legally protected sites

The most frequently reported sites designated by the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973* were *Richard Montgomery* (1944) with 12 events, Swash Channel Wreck (1600s) – 9, *Bonhomme Richard* (1779) – 8, *Mary Rose* (2003-5 excavations) – 7, *HMS Colossus* (1798) – 7, Salcombe Cannon Site (c 1640) – 6 and *Holland V* (submarine) (1912) with 5. All of these sites have been subject to site investigations during the 1997-2013, with the *Holland V* reports including the suspected theft of part of its torpedo door.

The public interest in the *Richard Montgomery*, a Second World War Liberty Ship, stems from its 1,400 ton cargo of munitions which remains a present danger to the local community. The vessel is inspected each year utilizing multi-beam to monitor its condition. It is protected under section two of the *Protection Wrecks Act*, specifically for wrecks considered dangerous and is administered by the Maritime and Coastguard Agency, not heritage authorities. The *Castillian*, a vessel similarly protected, but further out to sea has not raised media interest in the BBC since 1997. It is possible that its reports were not found in the searches, but this is unlikely. The results revealed that most of the UK's nationally protected sites are in the eyes of the media largely invisible, which does not mean they are not more frequently reported in local news, or were not mentioned more frequently prior to 1997 or at the time of their discovery or previous investigations. Of the 61 sites protected under this legislation, excluding the 7 sites shown above a further 11 received 3 or less news items, **the rest no reports.**

For sites protected by the *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986*, the recovery of the Second World War German Dornier bomber (1940) was the most frequently reported site with 35 reports. Others were *SS Stora* (1943) – 14, *HMS Royal Oak* (1939) – 12, submarine *HMS Affray* (1951) – 8 and *HMS Hood* (1939) with 6. Of the 83 sites protected under this legislation, 11 received 1 or more news items (including the above), the rest no reports. The only regularly reported sites protected by the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* was the German High Sea Fleet in Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands, scuttled in 1919 with 12 events.

8.10.6 Historic maritime vessels

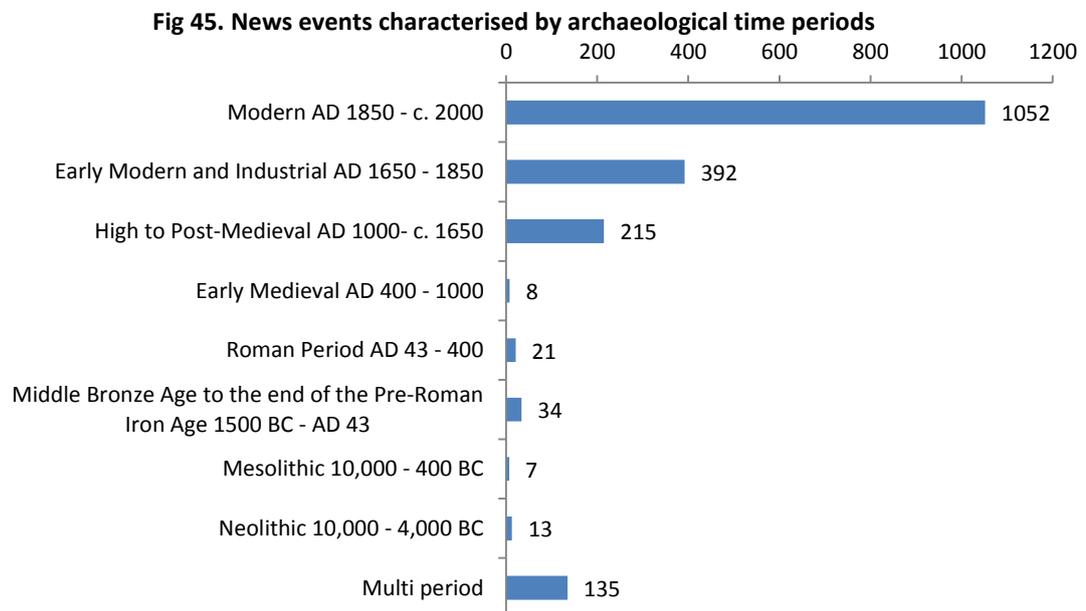
Ships listed in the National Historic Fleet (200 ships) represent 584 news events, accounting for $\approx 41\%$ of all BBC maritime news in the period (excluding CBBC). The vessels that appear most frequently were, HMS *Victory* 1805 with 177, *Mary Rose* – 86, *Cutty Sark* – 75, *SS Great Britain* – 63, *SS Nomadic* – 44, *City of Adelaide* – 41, HMS *Caroline* – 21, HMS *Trincomalee* – 9, *SS Robin* – 12, HMS *Alliance* (submarine) – 8, HMS *Cavalier* – 5, HMS *Warrior* – 3, *Holland I* (submarine) – 3, *Reaper* – 1 and *Spartan* – 1. From 1997-2013 no reports for the remaining ≈ 185 vessels were found.

Many of the reported vessels have already been referred to relating to the social and economic regenerative process, or heritage visitor numbers. The receipt of capital grants, philanthropic gifts for restoration, tourism awards, new developments, openings, other special events and management decisions all feature in the recorded news reports.

8.10.7 News events characterized by archaeology time periods

The time classifications in *People and the Sea: A Maritime Archaeological Research Agenda for England* were utilised to represent the news related to archaeological - historical periods.

Figure 45. News events as represented by archaeological time periods.



The 'modern' period represents $\approx 56\%$ of all reports, dominating other periods shown in figure 45. The result reflects the high number of shipwrecks from the period and the events associated with them. RMS *Titanic* contributes 304 of the 'modern' period, with the two World Wars contributing 93 reports for the First and 285 for the Second. HMS *Victory* with 177 events contributes $\approx 45\%$ to

the 'early modern and industrial period' and *Mary Rose* contributes 93 or ≈46% of the total for the 'high to post mediaeval' period.

Despite the relatively low scores for older time periods it should not be assumed that the public lacks interest in them. Their interest is illustrated by the large numbers of visitors to, for example Stonehenge, the Neolithic site dating from 2,500BC that celebrated 500,000 visitors to its new £27 million visitor centre, in the first six months after it opened in 2014.

Despite the relative scarcity of known underwater sites from earlier periods or intertidal zone, the Gallo-Romano vessel colloquially known as 'Asterisk' recovered from Guernsey Harbour, dating to AD 110+/- 80 years; the 8,000 year old Mesolithic settlement at Bouldnor Cliff discovered in 1999; the Sea Henge I (Holme Timber Circle), the Bronze-Age site discovered in intertidal zone in Norfolk and Mesolithic 'Doggerland' are among the UK sites mentioned.

8.10.8 Familial links to the past

An observation that contributes to the explanation for the steep curve from modern to ancient times is the lack of familial-genealogical links to the present day of older periods. This was highlighted in the war graves issues, the *Storaa* and *Mendi* cases and more recently in a 1744 *Victory* news report. The war-graves issue was powerfully driven by accounts of the desecration of war-graves, which raised the support of survivors groups and by the church in the form of Reverend Phillips. He was one of the most outspoken campaigners, providing a higher moral authority. The *Storaa* had a very strong personal connection between the daughters and the shipwreck, representing the unmarked grave of their father. The *Mendi*, although more significant to South Africa, it received UK support through the efforts of archaeologist John Gribble, and an army officer who wrote the letter which triggered the protection.

More recently a *Victory* story devoted significant portions to Lord Lingfield's genealogical link to Admiral Balchen, the ship's senior officer (Shute 2015) and the recently publicised salvage of the *Repulse and Prince of Wales*, a repeat of the events that catalysed the war grave issue in the 2000 has not raised public concern. The apparent lack of interest is not easily explained and is beyond the remit of this study, but the question arises as to whether it is possible that the passage of only half a generation has altered the public's 'personal' connection with the Second World War?

The connection with the past through personal connection or visual representation is supported by *Meet the Ancestors* which focused on human remains, with episodes culminating in a facial reconstruction. The programme presented by Julian Richards proved very popular in seven series

and ‘specials’ from 1998-2004, an approach taken by the *Mary Rose* in recreating a number of facial reconstructions, to ‘humanise the story’ (Brown 2013).

8.11 Geographic distribution of news events

Each of the news reports is located on the website depending on its relevance to the public. This is influenced by other new events occurring on a particular day. The most important news headlines feature on the Home Page which can be considered the front page of an equivalent printed newspaper. It is unusual for a historic maritime event to be on the website’s Home Page, but the discovery of *Centaur* is a recent exception, ‘The search for the lost hospital ship’ (Fogarty 2014).

The Uniform Resource Locator (URL) of each of the news events contains a designation code that shows in which section of the website the report appears. This can be the Home page, UK, England, Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland, or any of the specialist sections such as the Magazine. They can also be in one of the BBC’s ten broadcasting regions: North West England, North East England, Yorkshire & Lincolnshire, West Midlands, East Midlands, West & South West, East, South, London & South East and Isle of Man & Channel Islands, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Showing this geographically reveals a picture of parts of the country where there is greater awareness of maritime news. Four distributions are show in the maps below with an additional map (5) in Appendix B that shows the news profiles of historic ships.

8.11.1 Distribution of news events in the main database – 1,303 events

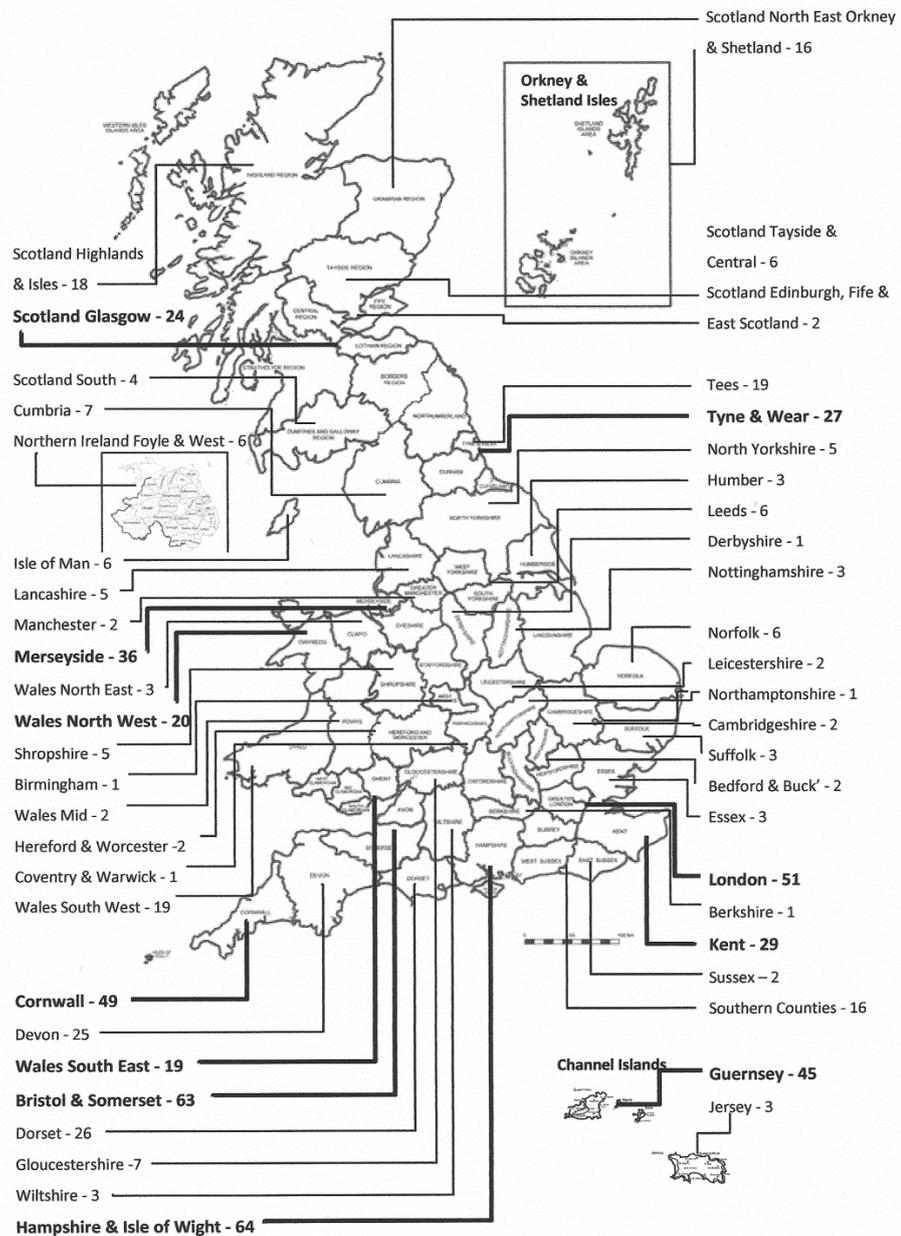
In the main database 1,303 reports were recorded, sub-divided as follows: 163 at the UK level of the website and 231 in other sections such as Business, World, Health, Science, Entertainment, Magazine, In-pictures, all of which are accessed from the same visual level of the website. At the next level ‘down’ there are 75 national news events in England; 42 in Scotland; 51 in Wales and 79 in Northern Ireland. The remaining 524 local news events are shown in Map 1 below, Map 2 shows RMS *Titanic*, Map 3, HMS *Victory* and Map 4, *Mary Rose*.

A line indicates the county location and the corresponding number of news reports. Where there are more than 10 events they are in in larger bold text and indicator.

Map 1 Geographical distribution of 524 county news events. Those counties with a higher level of interest are highlighted in bold text with a red line to the geographic location.

**United Kingdom News Events
(Titanic-Victory-Mary Rose shown separately)
1997-2013**

Geographical distribution of 524 regional reports



When viewing the map it is important to remember that the news is distributed to where there is public interest. Stories on a single theme are unlikely to be followed without it. Through a proxy agent the broadcaster monitors the number of 'visits' to each news story. Due to the commercial sensitivity of this information it not available, but the assumption is that that broadcasters will not expend resources on stories that do not receive sufficient public interest, which was confirmed during conversations with representatives of BBC South. It is apparent that the geographic distribution of maritime events are mostly represented in coastal counties, while some inland counties appear to have little or no local connection with maritime events.

Hampshire and Isle of Wight received the most reports of any county. Aside from HMS *Victory*, *Mary Rose* and Southampton's SeaCity museum RMS *Titanic* display, Hampshire and Isle of Wight has a rich maritime landscape. HMS *Warrior* and other historic ships in Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, Second World War submarine HMS *Alliance* located in the national submarine museum. Its waters contain 6 sites designated under the *Protection of Wrecks Act* and other underwater sites include the submerged prehistoric landscape, the Mesolithic sites at Bouldnor Cliff, local wrecks such as SS *Mendi*, and historical connections with many naval events. Others counties where there is more local interest include Kent that has Chatham Historic Dockyard; London's *Cutty Sark*; Bristol's SS *Great Britain* and Teeside's HMS *Trincomalee*

The reports following the *City of Adelaide's* tug of war is dominant in the Northeast areas of Tyne and Wear represented by 20 events and a further 16 in the Glasgow and West region of Scotland, the two locations most affected by the story. On three occasions the story was at the Scotland national level and once in England. Once the vessel left London bound for South Australia there were no further news reports, public interest exported with ship to Australia. In Wales and Scotland the most popular stories are the Newport Ship and the German High Sea Fleet in Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands. These are a few examples of the hundreds of articles, but by using the different subdivisions it is possible to profile news in regions or individual themes or sites. The Channel Islands reports are dominated by the investigations on the Elizabethan Ship, Asterix the Gallo-Romano Ship and by HMS *Victory* 1744.

8.11.2 News profile for RMS Titanic – 304 events

Titanic is by far the most popular historic maritime event, with 29 UK-wide events and a further 11 in England, Scotland 3, Wales 5 and Northern Ireland 102. The latter number reflects the historical connection between the country and the ship with the development of Titanic Quarter and Titanic Belfast situated on what was Harland and Wolff shipyard where *Titanic* was built. The remaining 153 reports are distributed around the counties and regions of England,

Scotland and Wales. What is striking about *Titanic* is the local interest in numerous and surprising places in England. Stories feature survivors returning to the wreck, a memorial for the Captain Smith of Stoke on Trent, an unlikely place being so far from the sea; Cameron's film *Titanic*; a street in Southampton named after Captain Royston of *Carpathia* the ship that carried survivors. Stories cover every aspect, from research relating to the mystery of its sinking, the hull's gradual corrosion and the anniversary of the ship's discovery in 1985 and the tourist industry that surrounds the ship.

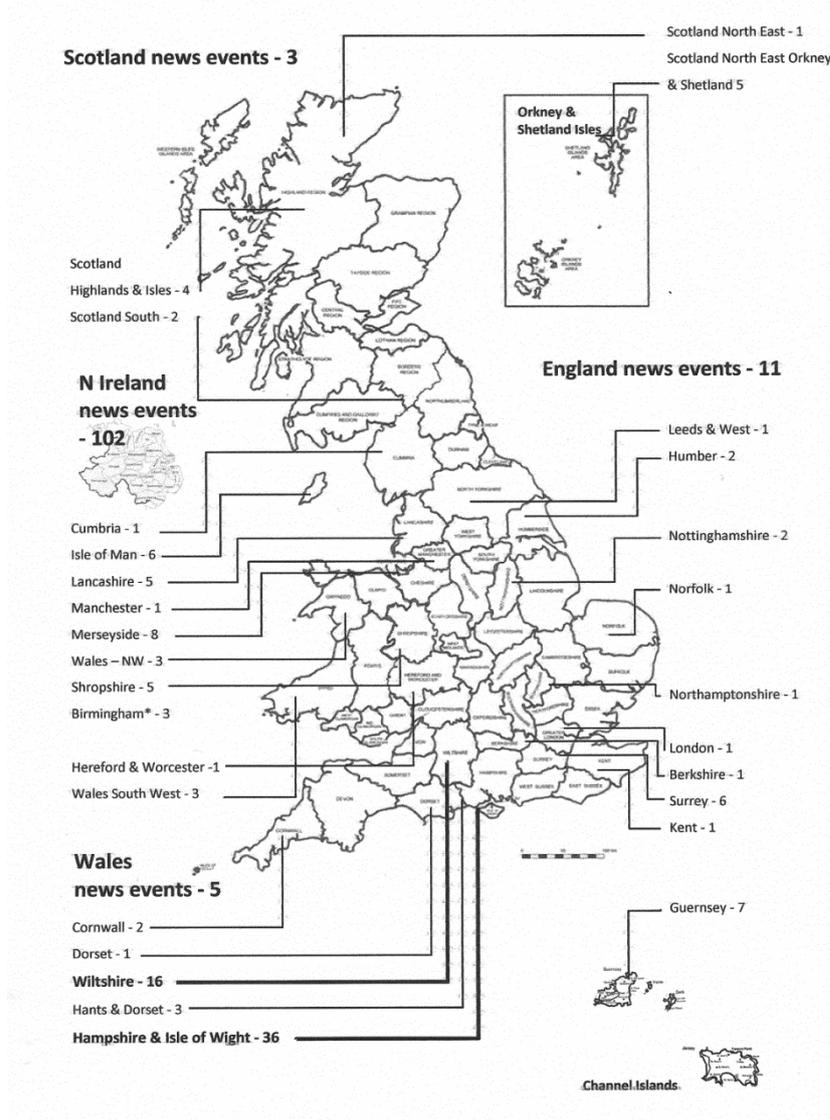
'Going, going gone' (BBB 2008) provides an insight into the ship's popularity. The article states that 'the Titanic's sinking has always been the stuff of legend. But interest in the tragedy has soared in recent months with the release of James Cameron's hit film "Titanic", which recently was nominated for 14 Academy Awards' (BBC 1998), which can be considered a maritime adaption of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. In the same article the auctioneers Christies were reported as having denied that the timing of the sale of telegram messages was connected to the film's popularity, but this and other sales of historic material has been timed to coincide with raised public awareness resulting from the film. 14 of 30 sales reported were in 2011, 2012 and 2013, with a violin reputedly played as the ship sank, having been authenticated fetching £900,000 at auction in 2013.

An interview with the granddaughter of Charles Lightoller, *Titanic's* second officer reveals some of the public fascination, 'hubris' in so far as the ship was the biggest, safest, most luxurious and passengers from the wealthiest classes of the USA and elsewhere, 'mystery' surrounding the sinking, 'thirdly it was the end of an era', referring to the change in steerage from the age of sail to the age of steam. This pointed to the use of the new rudder and older tiller system causing confusion. In trying to avoid the iceberg the command 'hard to starboard' the steersman 'simply turned the wrong way' information apparently kept from the enquiry by the White Star Line (BBC 2011).

Map 2 Distribution of the 304 RMS *Titanic* news events. The larger bold text shows 29 news reports at a UK level, England 11, Scotland 3, Wales 5 and Northern Ireland 102 reflecting the ships importance and popularity. The 154 county level reports reach a greater number of counties and regions of Scotland and Wales.

**RMS Titanic BBC News Events
1997-2013**

United Kingdom news events - 29



A news report in the anniversary year stated that the ‘mere mention of the word “Titanic” is enough to conjure up an array of images’ (Jess 2012a). The Ulster Folk and Transport museum displays items associated with the *Titanic*, ranging from ‘drinks promotions and ice cube holders, to chocolate bars, household ornaments’, the article describing that perceptions were different, ‘tragedy has been overtaken by heroism and romance’. With the anniversary approaching, the

Clinton Suite of a local hotel became the 'Titanic suite' renamed after the ship. The Titanic brand "has more meaning and much more world-wide appeal to visitors" (Jess 2012a; b), with merchandise extending to teabags and crisps. The ship connects with people, whether relatives of crew, passengers, rescuers, builders, or place of sailing, which is combined with the hubris, mystery and end of an era, not solely social, but changing ship technology. The interviewee commented that *Titanic* was likely the only global brand in Belfast and evolved into something that the local people could have pride in.

The BBC followed the associated story of the purchase and restoration of SS *Nomadic* to create an additional attraction close to the Titanic Belfast Museum. *Nomadic* had brought 142 passengers from Cherbourg to Belfast for the Titanic's inaugural voyage and had been built in Belfast (BBC 1 June 2013d). The county of Wiltshire has a strong connection largely through the sale of high-valued historical material.

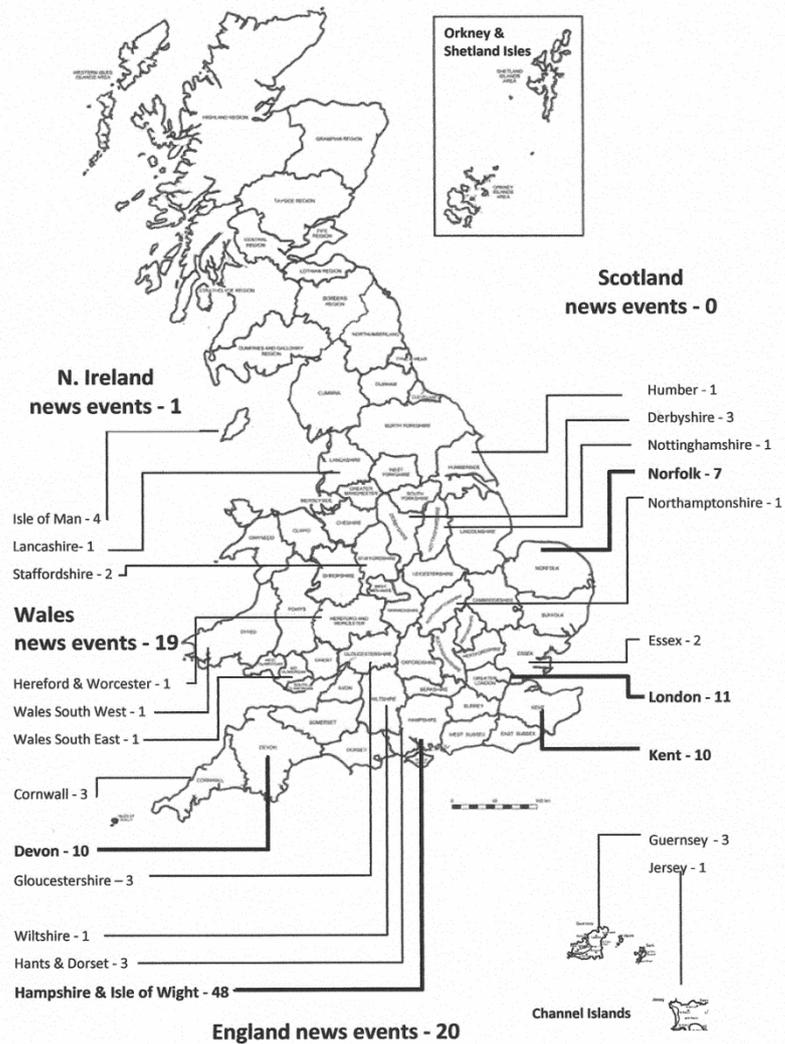
8.11.3 News profile for HMS Victory – 177 news events

Map 3 Distribution of the 177 HMS *Victory* news events. The bold text shows 19 at a UK level, England 20, Scotland 0, Wales 19 and Northern Ireland 1 and 118 county level reports predominantly in the south of England.

HMS Victory BBC News Events

1997-2013

United Kingdom news events - 19



HMS *Victory* symbolises Admiral Nelson who is seen as a national hero. Related news features 19 UK-wide news events: 20 national events in England, Scotland - 0, Wales - 19 and Northern Ireland - 1. There are 124 local news events, predominantly in the south of England. The sale of historical items features in 32 of the 177 news reports, 24 of them in various county

locations, the remaining reported at national level, with a peak in sales of *Victory* material taking advantage of the 2005 anniversary. Associated research and preservation feature strongly, but there is less 'personal' connection with the ship apart from to Nelson, with Norfolk his birth county reporting 7 reports, although five of them involve sale of material, with one paying respect to the Admiral.

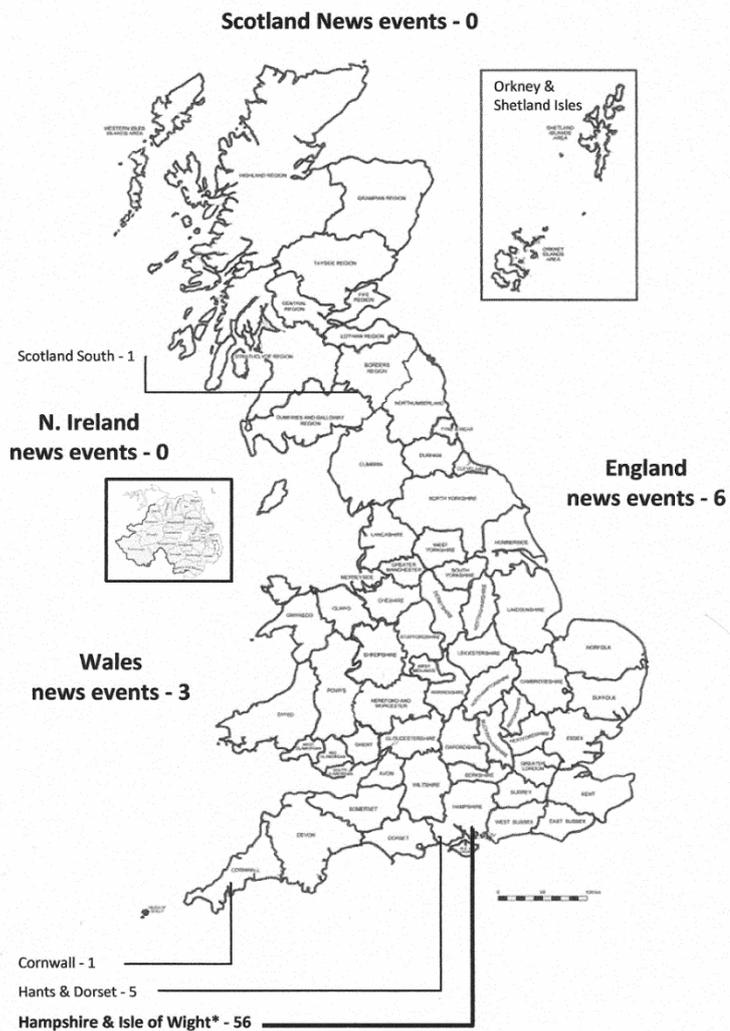
8.11.4 News profile for the Mary Rose – 93 events

Map 4 Distribution of the 93 *Mary Rose* news events. The larger bold text shows 22 at a UK level, England 6, Scotland 0, Wales 3 and Northern Ireland 0. The county level news is concentrated in Hampshire, Dorset; a single report in Cornwall and one in the south of Scotland.

Mary Rose News Events

1997-2013

United Kingdom news events - 22



In comparison with *Titanic* and *Victory*, *Mary Rose* has a substantially weaker national news profile, although it is anticipated that the opening of the new museum will improve its broader regional and national awareness in 2014. In total 93 news reports from 1997-2013 were recorded.

These are divided into 13 UK-wide and 8 special feature news reports, England 6, Wales 3, Scotland and Northern Ireland with no reports. At a regional level there are a total of 63 reports, 61 for the adjoining counties of Hampshire, Isle of Wight and Dorset, with 1 in Cornwall and 1 in South Scotland. The Cornish article featured a member of McKee's team returning to the see the museum for the first time. The latter report is the opening of a display in the Flodden Museum featuring the *Mary Rose*, with a reciprocal plaque being placed in Portsmouth in acknowledgement of their common Tudor heritage, the Battle of Flodden in 1513 and the construction of the ship in 1510. Although low profile in comparison with the two other two ships, it has more reports than any other *in situ* sites and historic ships, although *Cutty Sark* with 74 reports has a wider county level news profile. Brunel's *SS Gt Britain* with 63 reports has a similar news profile to that of the *Mary Rose*, with most local to Bristol where the ship is on display. A distribution of other Historic Ship's news events is shown in Map 5 in Appendix B.

8.11.5 Regional interest in maritime news – Hampshire and Isle of Wight

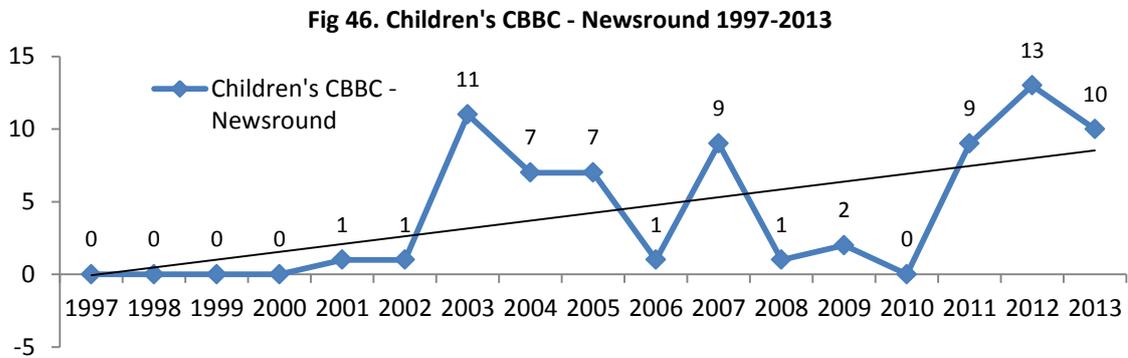
The counties of Hampshire and Isle of Wight are part of the BBC South's broadcasting region. Information received from the BBC's Hampshire and Wight office in Southampton reported that on a typical day there would be '725,000 UK unique browsers to the regional section of the website', noting that this figure did not include all mobile and tablet apps [application]. From the same source it was mentioned that BBC Radio Solent had 'a dedicated maritime-themed radio show called the 'H2O show', presented by Sir Robin Knox-Johnston²⁷. Tappenden was 'not aware of any other BBC region having anything similar' and 'had taken a number of calls from listeners / readers over the years asking when they can see certain cruise ships that are due in to Southampton Docks or Royal Navy ships at Portsmouth so there is clearly a strong interest here in all things related to ship-related' (Tappenden 2013).

8.12 Children's CBBC: Newsround – 72 events

Children's BBC is a free to air channel aimed at the 6-12 year old age group. The channel's mission is to broadcast high quality distinctive programmes with a prominence of UK produced content. The scope of the programming includes 'drama, entertainment, comedy, animation, news and fact' (BBC Trust 2015). Informal learning and participation are strongly supported objectives, with the aim of nurturing UK talent with viewers stimulated to discover more about the surrounding world. The channel is about 'stimulating creativity and cultural excellence... sustain citizenship and civil society...promote education and learning...reflect[ing] the UK's nations, regions and communities' (BBC Trust 2015). It is the content of the news component

Newsround considered in this section. The curve depicted in Figure 46 is more erratic than those presented above, so for clarification a linear trend line has been added.

Figure 46. The chart shows seventy-two maritime events recorded in Children's BBC Newsround from 1997-2013.



8.12.1 Newsround reports

The first recorded story in 2001 covered the discovery of a supposed lost city of Cuba, the second in 2002 reporting the search for General Monck's £2.5 billion treasure lost in 1651 in the River Tay, Scotland, also covered in the adult news. The first significant peak in 2003 with eleven reports; eight feature *Titanic* stimulated by the exhibition in the same name at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. All news reports during 2005 featured *Victory's* bi-centennial, but unlike the adult news do not feature as a sharp peak.

The following year the single report covered the sinking of a recycled warship in the US as an artificial reef. This continued the theme of three reports of the sinking of the *Scylla*, the UK's first artificial reef to utilise a decommissioned warship the year before. The sinking was initiated by a *Newsround* viewer. The curve peaks again in 2007 focusing on the fire damage to *Cutty Sark* accounting for five reports, plus two others, one featuring a treasure hunt³ and the salvage of the *Napoli* discussed in chapter six. It peaks again mirroring the other curves around the *Titanic* anniversary. The spread of interest is limited with 39 of the 72 reports featuring the 3 featured ships, RMS *Titanic* with 30, HMS *Victory* 1805 with 7 and despite children's programme *Blue Peter's* previous interest *Mary Rose* received only 2 reports. Of the rest *Cutty Sark* has 6 reports, with a selection of other sites.

8.12.2 Is it right to dig up a shipwreck for treasure?

Of particular interest to this study is one article that posted the question, 'is it right to dig up a shipwreck for treasure? The shipwreck used for the 'chat' is the *Gairsoppa* discussed above.

The article mentions the silver and the crew who didn't survive its sinking. Three further questions formed the basis of the 'chat'. 'More than 200 tonnes of silver is still on board and it's now going to be dug up - but is that the right thing to do?, Is it best that we dig it up and find out more about the ship and its sailors - a tribute to *SS Gairsoppa* and its crew?, or should the shipwreck be left as it is in respect of the sailors who died there?'

The comments from 8-13 year olds show sensitivity to the issues involved, with the majority in favour of leaving the site undisturbed as a war grave, several thought it should be recovered to create a museum in honour of the crew, only one not recognising that disturbance was an issue, seemingly more concerned by some people becoming rich, with a second suggesting that the money made from the treasure could be given to poorer people. One comment mentioned that the topic had been discussed during a school lesson.

The following selection illustrates the feelings of the options that were suggested, "I think it's right, because we could dig it up, clean it and put in a museum, so everyone could see it and honour the people who died.", "I think it should be kept under the water because it's like a grave for the captain and soldiers!" and "Why not dig it up? It's not going to do any harm the only thing that will happen is that some people might be slightly richer. What is the problem?" The full list of comments can be found in Table 1 in Appendix B.

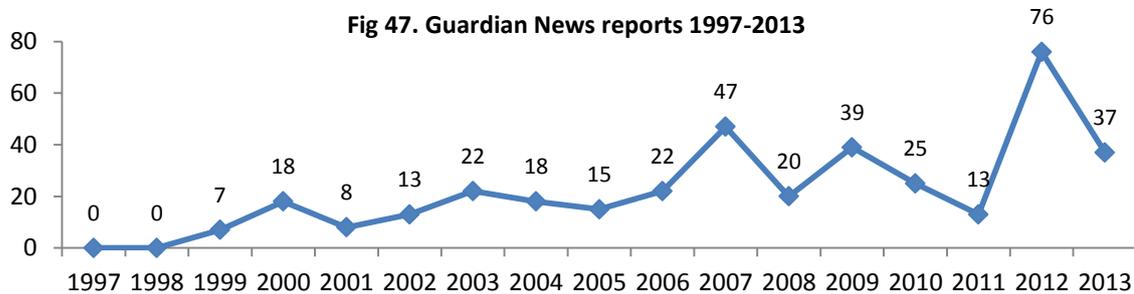
As this article was in 2007, due to their ages it's very unlikely that there is connection with war graves issues in 2000, or influenced by parental interest. Although beyond the scope of this study to resolve the origin it is much more likely that remembrance events at school or on television have raised their awareness to the issue.

8.13 The Guardian Online News – 380 events

The *Guardian* as it is now known began as the *Manchester Guardian* in 1821. Its original mission was the 'promotion of the liberal interest in the aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre and the growing campaign to repeal the Corn Laws that flourished in Manchester during this period' (Guardian 2015a). It was first printed weekly until 1836 when its frequency expanded to two days a week until 1855 it was published daily. Development of its online materials began in 1995, first restricted to for example some sports, jobs and technology, but the newspaper was fully available from January 1999. It had over 1 million users by September the same year, with the first visitor official statistics in October recording over '10 million page impressions a month' (Guardian 2015b).

8.13.1 Guardian Newspaper annual trend in news events

Figure 47. The chart illustrates the annual trend in news events from the *Guardian* Newspaper online news.



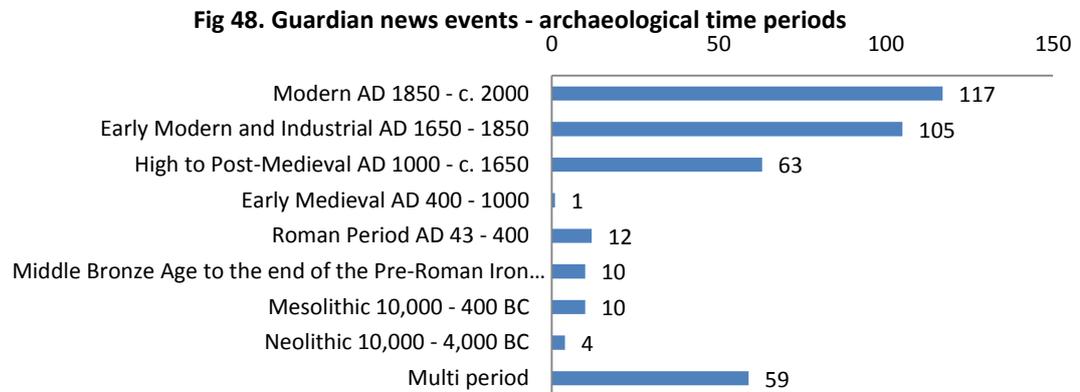
In common with the previous media the *Guardian* results show an upward trend with several peaks in 2000, 2003, 2007, 2009 and 2012. The first maritime reports to be found were in 1999, the prominent theme being stories covering the treasure hunts.

The first report was Burntisland mirroring the BBC' adult and *Newsround* interest in the event, the sunken city of Alexandria and Portus a Roman port. Two further reports balanced the Burntisland report, but continued the treasure-hunting theme. One featured Spanish attempts to prevent salvors from recovering lost treasures, the article going into some detail about the significant protection and management issues that concern archaeologists; the second was the threat to a sunken fleet off Venezuela. The concern was over a government contract with salvors, with comments from an archaeologist stating that licenses issued for treasure hunting did not ultimately benefit the country. A third article discussed auctions of *Titanic* material, which came to the same conclusions as mentioned above that the public saw an economic opportunity coinciding with the ship's sudden global popularity. UNESCO' announcement of an underwater museum in Alexandria appeared in the same year.

The first peak in 2000 included a mixture of reports about the *Gt Britain* and *Titanic* accounting for half. 2003 followed the *Mary Rose* excavations, *SS Stora*, *Sussex* and investigations of 'Doggerland'. Somewhat surprisingly there is no peak coinciding with *Victory's* anniversary with only 2 reports found. The fire aboard *Cutty Sark* received 20 of the 47 reports in 2007, creating the sharp peak. The plans for the *Mary Rose* museum was the lead story in 2009 and *Titanic* accounting for 40 of the 76 news items in 2012, following the pattern seen in the *BBC News*. The centennial anniversary attracted interest in others maritime events.

8.13.2 Guardian News events characterised by archaeological time periods

Figure 48. The chart illustrates the news events for archaeological time periods from the Guardian online news



The other similarity to the BBC is the greater number of news events covering the more modern period, with 186 featuring shipwrecks, with RMS *Titanic* receiving 68 reports, *Mary Rose* with 45, *Cutty Sark* 40, *Great Britain* 14, but unlike above HMS *Victory* (1805) received only 2 reports during its bi-centennial. The other outstanding stories were the coverage go th tussle between Spain and Odyssey Marine Exploration over the *Mercedes* cargo with 13, both *Sussex* and *Victory* (1744) featuring the same salvor with 8, the recovery of the Dornier bomber. Arguably the most interesting archaeological story featured the continuing scientific instrument from the Antikythera wreck site with 7 reports. Protected wrecks or Marine Conservation Zones received 30 reports, representing less than 8% of the total.

Where there is a difference is that the *Guardian* featured 71 ($\approx 18\%$) reports covering legal, protection or management issues against only $\approx 12\%$ in the BBC. These included the stories mentioned above together with the *Wreck Amnesty*, the removal of fuel oil from HMS *Royal Oak* that threatened the environment and associated tourism in Scapa Flow, Orkneys Islands, the UNESCO Convention 'UN shuts lid on sunken treasure chests', Spain's battle over the *Mercedes* and the issue of manorial rights 'sorting out the wreckage' that was discussed earlier.

8.14 National Geographic Magazine – 105 feature articles

The National Geographic Society was inaugurated during a meeting of thirty-three people in Washington DC 13th January 1888. It has a simple but broad reaching mission, which was presented by its first president Gardiner Greene Hubbard. He stated the Society would 'bring together "the scattered workers [in geography, sciences and exploration] of our country", with "the persons who desire to promote their researches' (Goetzmann 1988).

In 2015, National Geographic's interests include 'geography, archaeology and natural science, and the promotion of environmental and historical conservation' (National Geographic 2015). It is sometimes described as a scholarly journal although it is not peer reviewed. The article's imagery gives the magazine a strong visual identity. Originally published in English the magazine is now circulated in almost forty languages, with a circulation of over 60 million and is available as an e-magazine. National Geographic has extended into other media, claiming a world-wide audience in all formats of over 300 million. In the context of this study it is only the version of the magazine published in English that is described.

With a UK distribution of 250,000 it falls just outside the fifty most popular magazines. The magazine is found in many public places beyond its original subscription destination and is therefore considered to be widely read and collected. Despite its popularity the magazine was not mentioned in the surveys, but as a fact-based source of information related to the theme of this study it is considered of interest.

8.14.1 Searches

Using the DVD' search tool 338 'archaeology' and 539 'historical' featured articles were found, although some of the selections appeared in both searches. 105 were selected from the searches that are relevant to this study, and for reasons already stated they have not be categorised into those that some would consider salvage or treasure-hunting from archaeological reports. The results of the archaeology and history searches and selected feature articles are shown in figure 49 below.

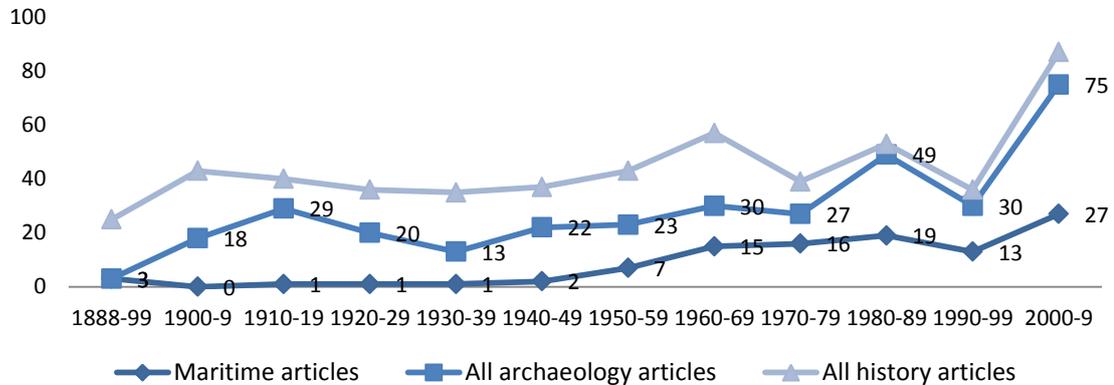
8.14.2 Awareness of history – archaeology – maritime articles - 1888-2009

The chart shows that both history and archaeology follow similar upwardly trending paths with both topics consistently featuring in the magazine from its inception. There is sharp upward trend in the first decade of the 21st century. The lower line is of more interest to this study, which shows growth in maritime related historic and archaeological project reports from the 1950s, with a peak in the 1960s that carries through to the 1980s, dipping in the 1990s, but following the sharp upwards trend of history and archaeology in the 21st century.

Figure 49. The chart shows the results of two searches in the National Geographic Magazine. The first 'history' revealed 539 articles shown in the upper line, the second 'archaeology' with 338 articles shown in the middle line. The lower line shows those 105 feature articles considered relevant to this study. They are plotted

according to the decade in which they were published. The vertical axis is the number of articles and the horizontal axis represents decades.

Fig 49. National Geographic history, archaeology and maritime articles from 1888-2009



From the magazine's 19th century inception until the end of the Second World War maritime, nautical, marine and freshwater historic and archaeology articles featured the 16th century voyages of Columbus and Magellan. The earliest article considered to be of underwater archaeological interest is in 1912. It features the bronzes and marbles of the Mahdia wreck found off Tunisia in 2007, the Saxon burial mound of Sutton Hoo and HMS *Winchester* from the 1700s published in 1941. From 1952-56 Cousteau featured in 6 articles spanning the archaeologically motivated research at Grand Congloué to the development of underwater photography with Egerton, who was mentioned in his association with the *Mary Rose*. Cousteau's role in raising public interest in the underwater world was a catalyst to many things that followed. His contemporaries, explorer-film-makers Hans and Lotte Hass surprisingly do not feature in the *National Geographic Magazine*. From 1960s the magazine follows the development of nautical archaeology with Throckmorton and Bass featuring with the Cape Gelidonya and Yassi Ada projects. The articles from the 1960s through the 80s cover many of the projects that are well-known by underwater archaeologists, the investigations of the shipwrecks *Vasa*, *Kyrenia*, *Pandora*, *Monitor*, *Serçe Limani*, *Kronan*, *Mary Rose*, *Hamilton & Scourge*, *San Juan*, *Uluburun*, submarine *Hunley*, the ancient harbour of Caesarea Maritima and Port Royal, the sacred Cenote of Chitzen Itcha, wetland sites such as Tollund Man and others. There is no distinction made between projects where cultural has been sold from those where collections have been kept together, with article titles exchanging 'treasure' and 'archaeology' to capture attention.

Unlike the news that often has a more defined focus allowing them to be categorised, such as project activities, preservation or conservation, legal and research, etc., the National Geographic Magazine articles are understandably more comprehensive spanning most components of a

project, or topic. They are broadly comparable to interim project reports but targeting popular rather than academic audiences, tending to use more dramatic headlines focusing on spectacular discoveries.

The role of personalities from the historic navigators previously mentioned to Cousteau and Ballard have made them publicly well-known and inspirational to others. Ballard accounted for six articles featuring *Titanic* and others on *Bismarck*, the aircraft carrier *Yorktown* with several unrelated to underwater history or archaeology. As one of the interviewees mentioned:

‘We have recently been revisiting early Cousteau films to use for inspiration for our own videos; cheesy they may be, but everyone my age in diving remembers them and there’s got to be reasons for that’ (Anon 2014).

Inspiration does not necessarily have to come from publicly famous figures but from within the discipline with several interviewees mentioning their lecturers or colleagues acted as role models, and in the non-professional survey a number of respondents mentioned the influence of friends in raising their interest.

A significant advantage in using the 1888-2009 DVD collection was the opportunity to follow the presentation of history and archaeology to the public from the last decades of the 19th century. This helped to show through the content of the magazine how nautical archaeology emerged from the earlier accounts of historic voyages by Columbus, Magellan and maritime cultures such as the Phoenicians, to show more scientific accounts of site investigations revealing many aspects of society associated with archaeology. There is the inevitable observation that some of the stories feature what would be labelled commercial exploitation of sites as determined by 2001 Convention.

Benz and Liedmeir’s (2009, 155) study of the representation of archaeology in ‘glossy magazines’ including the German version of *National Geographic Magazine* from 1999-2004 concluded that there was growing public interest, a suggestion supported by this study.

8.15 Chapter summary - Public education

As this chapter has shown there is a broad scope of maritime news events reported in the BBC’s adult news. This is less the case in the Children’s version CBBC *Newsround*, *Guardian online news* and particularly *National Geographic Magazine*. All show upwards trends in the popularity of maritime related reports or articles including underwater archaeology. There is an important observation that the most newsworthy sites appear to raise interest in other projects or events

creating a snowball effect. This provides archaeologists with the opportunity to promote their own sites where it would seem a sensitised media and public are eager for more stories. The counties where maritime interest is already high and receptive are Hampshire and Isle of Wight, Kent, London and Cornwall.

With regard to public awareness and ultimately public understanding there are indications that they ebb and flow according to what's in the media and on television used in its generic sense. The examples of Wheeler and Daniel, *Mary Rose*, *Time Team et al* show high levels of public viewing, but before and after there appear to be declines, evidenced by Cleere's and Croome's reports in the 1980's. *National Geographic Magazine* shows that global awareness in maritime events grew significantly with Cousteau and the advent of scuba-diving equipment that enabled the public to be physically in contact with shipwrecks. In the first decades of the 21st century awareness has grown on the increasing number of sites discovered through diving and increasing use of sophisticated remote sensing equipment capable of exploring the oceans depths.

If awareness is subject to fashion or media trends, it is prudent to assume that raising awareness must be continuous to be effective and be aware of potential rises and falls or changes in public perception due to media or TV fashion for the subject. This is supported by one of the interviewees who commented that there 'needs to be a big realisation by cultural heritage managers that we need to be viewing this [awareness] as a long term campaign' (Anon 2014). Another mentioned the necessity to excavate to keep underwater archaeology in the public consciousness, '*in situ* preservation as the first option but there must be some excavation - although it's expensive, there's value in a once in a generation project to fascinate the public!' (Anon). These may be intuitive comments but the evidence seems to point to their importance.

The other compelling factor in public awareness is that both RMS *Titanic* and HMS *Victory* have a significant proportion of reports devoted to the sale and purchase of historic cultural material. The assumption, in absence of public comment, is that such sales are considered normal market activities, which of course they are. These sales form part of a larger visual entertainment environment where for every *Time Team* or *Meet the Ancestors* programme where archaeologists and archaeology has a genuine role in the production, there are at least equivalent numbers of programmes such as *Antiques Roadshow*, *Flog It*, *Cash in the Attic* that reinforce the notion that antiquities have a cash value. With these factors as a background the news stories about the 1744 *Victory* and between salvor and Spain over the *Mercedes* are possibly going to be seen as similar, simply part of a struggle to establish ownership, private or state, with little to choose between them and certainly no recognition of the underlying ethical principles that exercise archaeologists.

The following chapter brings together the strands of this study, with a discussion about the various mechanisms for establishing economic value of heritage, where it is argued that currently the public is familiar with market or use values for more or less everything, which includes precious goods, public or private and therefore normal. They are much less likely to understand that value can be expressed in financial terms for goods which are not traded in normal market activities, known as non-use valuations, which provide alternative valuations that offer different solutions.

¹ *Blue Peter* is the world's longest running children's TV programme first airing in 1958.

² Sir Robin Knox-Johnston is a yachtsman known for being the first person to complete a single-handed global circumnavigation.

³ This was reported as gold coin found off the UK, but later it turned out to be the wreck of the *Mercedes*.

9 Discussion and Review of Themes Identified in Previous Chapters

9.1 Introduction

The reflective approach in previous chapters enabled the identification of the historic roots of themes relevant to improving the understanding of the relationship of the public to UCH in more contemporary times.

The study has shown that in the second decade of the 21st century the public has evolved from being largely disconnected to one where significant numbers are directly connected through a sport, profession or as volunteers assisting in investigating archaeological sites. The non-diving public who remain the overwhelming majority is no longer disconnected. They are able to enjoy visits to *ex situ* UCH, or *in situ* sites via submarines, remotely operated vehicles, walking on shallow subsea platforms in helmets reminiscent of the Deane's helmet, virtually through documentaries, news media, popular magazines or academic journals that contain snippets of news to scholarly articles. However while all the above can be done with the best protection and preservative interests of UCH at heart, it is equally possible to present an image which has exploitation as a motive.

The evidence indicates that while the public is aware there are obstacles to enabling them to distinguish between the two poles. It is therefore unreasonable to expect the public to express concern, even though decisions made in their name are not necessarily in their best interests. Understanding comes through the clear presentation of information or participation in some form. From the public archaeologist's perspective language and terminology are an important component in transmitting knowledge. With this in mind the final part of this review introduces language and concepts found in economic theory that are believed to be useful in more effectively communicating the value of UCH to the public and stakeholders.

9.2 Industrialisation of Heritage

In common with other countries the UK has initiated national policies (Leonard 2003) to industrialise culture (Thurley 2010), to the extent that its own role in providing central government funding is diminishing. Commercial freedoms through the *National Heritage Act 1986* gave public museums license to act in a more enterprising manner. Government was slow to recognise heritage's role, but now, most obviously through tourism it is fully participating. Maritime heritage represented by historic ships, associated maritime infrastructure and examples of what was underwater cultural heritage embellish collections in museums and heritage centres. Increasing domestic and international visitors with a broadening demographic profile have

brought increased employment with associated voluntary participation and wellbeing combining to fulfil the government's objectives.

While government funding is gradually reducing, thousands of community projects have been partially funded through the Heritage Lottery Fund, with local philanthropy and in-kind assistance a usual prerequisite. A much smaller number have received large capital grants to help create world class heritage attractions with the expectation that local private resources and philanthropy will make similar or greater contributions. Stonehenge's new visitor centre and the *Mary Rose's* new museum are the outstanding archaeological heritage centres to have benefitted. Their grants were based on economic reasoning, not sentiment to ensure as far as is possible that the projects are economically viable, educational and enhance social wellbeing.

The recovery of the *Mary Rose* was coincidentally able to capitalise on the local regenerative process initiated by a group of business people concerned about the future of their city. Other factors before and after its recovery have contributed to its success, right location, right monarch, a mystery surrounding its sinking, frequent engagement with the public through lectures, TV for all ages, diving magazines, educational programmes for schools and royal patronage and presence at fund-raising events has ensured extensive media attention. It has remained at least locally in sight and not out of mind. Its value to the local economy is estimated to be in excess of £40 million per annum (Dobbs, Lecture 2014) with 670,000 visitors including 20,000 school children taking part in workshops. From June 2013 to June 2014 visitors increased by 48%, with over 100 named volunteers in the Trust's 2013 annual report, thereby fulfilling government's strategic objectives. Almost 12% of Portsmouth's jobs are linked to tourism (The News, October 2014)

There are other regenerative successes of other historic dockyards in Chatham's Dockyard, Hartlepool's Historic Quay and individual historic ships including the clipper *Cutty Sark* that symbolises globalisation and Brunel's *Great Britain*, both having strong historical and symbolic connections with their respective cities. There are concerns with local government budget cuts causing uncertainties about the future of the Newport Ship. The council recognises the ship's historical value, but looks to *Great Britain* as a model for the vessel's future. Its success will require a sound economic business plan which shows its potential combining local enterprise, philanthropy and grant aid, or a reversal in policy which seems unlikely. Giving the *City of Adelaide* a chance of a sustainable future required its exportation to South Australia; the Sunderland based option considered infeasible. An interviewee living in the north east of England where shipbuilding was once a major industry made a relevant comment:

'It is sad to say but despite being an island nation we seriously neglect our maritime history and heritage...partly due (for the current generation anyway), to the collapse of both the British shipbuilding industry and the British Merchant Navy/ship-owning being out of sight, out of mind. [This] has resulted in our maritime heritage being forgotten, or worse, deliberately ignored as no longer relevant!...and historic remnants (such as docks, warehouses etc.), are infilled / demolished/built-over under the banners of Regeneration or Redevelopment with scant regard to their past history' (Anon 2014).

9.3 Protective Policy for UCH

Although marine policy has in the past languished behind its terrestrial counterpart, new planning legislation and policy is designed to ensure that terrestrial and marine plans are complementary. Non-designated sites should be considered no less important than legally protected sites, which combined with the Marine Management licensing of intrusive activities provide *de facto* blanket protection. More professional archaeologists should be required to carry out desk-based assessments and physical mitigations promoting a sustainable industry. There are assurances that consideration will be given to preservation, but there is no absolute guarantee. In the event that a heritage site is threatened by for example mineral extraction or coastal development it is feasible that it could be removed subject to an evaluation of its significance and prior recording. This could be virtual, a method muted by government minister Tessa Jowell reported in *the Guardian Newspaper* article 'Preserving listed buildings - on computer' (Gates & Booth 2005).

Optimistically speaking, assuming checks and balances are applied, the UK's situation is vastly improved, since advocates began lobbying in the 1960s. Consequently in 2015 the UK is in a far better position to ratify the 2001 Convention. In spite of the progress there remain issues, such as the continuing role of salvage law as an arbiter in deciding reward and ownership, with a similar mechanism for deciding ownership and reward for terrestrial trove.

9.4 Treasure Trove and Salvage

Although it was foreign salvors disturbing naval war graves that led to the implementation of the *Protection of Military Remains Act* to protect wrecks, domestic divers were believed to be behaving similarly. Diving organisations reacted responsibly to the threat of exclusion, the combination ultimately changing the behaviour of many UK recreational divers. In the same years thousands of objects were declared during the Wreck Amnesty confirming suspicions about their salvage activities. Soon after, as if un-connected, government agreed terms to salvage *Sussex* (1694) which had been lost with most of its crew. There was a predictably nonplussed and acerbic

response from the diving media. The public's own deeply rooted cultural fondness for salvage appeared in the case of the *Napoli*. The public fascination with searching for lost treasures continues with thousands of metal detectorists enjoying the social activity, individually or in groups. Recreational divers remain tempted by salvage and a lack of oversight, the suspected theft from submarine *H5* and successful prosecution of the Kent divers adding to the anecdotal evidence, although with the existence of a dedicated heritage crime unit there is a sense that authorities will act to prosecute offenders.

While advocacy has so far failed to nullify salvage law, some archaeologists believe a statutory reporting system for terrestrial finds similar to that for marine finds would have greater strength than the voluntary Portable Antiquities Scheme. Metal-detectorists react with suspicion to such suggestions, believing it to be creeping state control, (Flatman *et al*) which sound all too familiar to the reaction of divers to new legislation and policy mentioned in this text. If the Portable Antiquities Scheme was made statutory it would open the door for a unified reporting process (Williams 2004, 176). It seems that there is a potential partnership between terrestrial and underwater archaeologists that has not been fully explored in advocating for this change and help to unify both archaeologies.

What is the future of the small group of avocational archaeologists who are fulfilling the characteristics of the heritage cycle? They are certainly aware, care, enjoy and possess an understanding of the issues, but it is doubtful that this is the image of themselves. In the light of the growing profession do they have a future, and is it important relative to raising public awareness?

9.5 Active Participation or Passive Enjoyment

The UK's tradition of voluntary participation in UCH projects with teams like St John Wilkes' Mensura team extends to the very beginning of the development of nautical archaeology, evolving into the licensed teams under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*. They expend time and resources in investigating sites, acting as 'effective voluntary custodians' (James 2012, 447). The paper, 'Maritime Archaeology and Education: Engaging Audiences to Foster the Heritage Cycle' (James 2012, 447) supports the notion of increasing access and awareness through educational programmes aimed at younger audience, with a specific goal of encouraging the next generation of licensees. The paper exposes a problem in continuing the tradition. Currently there is no licensee under the age of twenty-five; almost 40% have been a licensee for 10 years or more, with nearly two-thirds over the age of fifty. Parham and Williams' (2012) paper 'Direct Public Involvement in Underwater Cultural Heritage: A Case Study' provides the case for active

participation of volunteers presented during the same conference, heritage managers and avocational groups in unison about the importance and value of their partnership. It is not only demographics that threaten this relationship.

Comments in this study's surveys expressed concern about the licensing of intrusive seabed activities administered by the Maritime Management Organisation. Are these just the most recent reactions to a threat to traditional practices or are there consequences? So far the Marine Management Organisation has not waived licensing fees, or applied fees to applications for researching or visiting designated sites, but a precedent for digging or metal-detecting for recreational users has been made in the intertidal zone mentioned below. If applied to designated sites it would not make becoming a licensee more attractive? Will the future profile of voluntary participation be limited to passive enjoyment?

If yes, this would be contrary to the survey respondent's desire for greater participation in decision making and for more opportunities to work with archaeologists. This tension could break the *de facto* partnership between heritage agencies and avocationalists that has taken so long to achieve. Providing access for passive enjoyment fulfils the policy of increasing heritage visits and the goals of Heritage Cycle and 2001 Convention, but does not fully take into account the social value of the voluntary contributions of the licensed teams. An interviewee made this comment:

‘Despite their best efforts, NAS & the UK diving agencies, have completely failed to achieved any significant concessions with respect to the implementation of the M & CAA, and as most of the underwater discoveries around the UK in recent years have been made and reported by recreational divers, with this now going underground and longer happening, we are all going to be the poorer since this piece of legislation came into effect’ (Anon 2014).

Shouldn't archaeologists be concerned that they will lose the active support of a stakeholder group who are passionate about their work and have provided a link between these sites and local communities? Wright (2009) goes further claiming *Mary Rose* connected the nation with its past, recreating a national identity. McCartney (DiverNet 2001b) made a similar point that divers provided a “bridge” between wrecks and relatives of lost crews during the war graves issue. Will less active avocational involvement reduce the public's connection with UCH?

9.5.1 Recreational Diving, Awareness and Attitudes toward UCH

There are few studies that have sought opinions of divers about underwater archaeology, or shipwrecks or UCH. ‘Sport divers and Archaeology’ (Ferrari 1993) and ‘Understanding wreck divers: Case studies from Australia and Chuuk Lagoon’ (Edney 2012) show consistency with the

results of this study. Despite the continuing activities of a few, taken together the surveys show that diver's attitudes are positive towards heritage protection. Ferrari concluded that 'archaeological heritage managers might take some encouragement from the results of this questionnaire'. He went on to comment that respondents had shown 'a degree of sympathy for and interest in, historical material and its conservation' (Ferrari 1993). Negative reaction to restricted access to protected sites was predominantly among a male dominated minority who were diving deeper than average. The same group had greater sympathy for rewarding finders of wreck material, adding that a 'finders keepers' mentality was preferred to leaving material *in situ*. How divers formed their attitudes was not part of Ferrari's study but it was presumed that the length of training in a club environment would be influenced by 'wreckers', a point made by Underwood (2009). Ferrari's final point suggested that there was a need to 'enhance awareness of relevant legislation' (Ferrari 1993, 26-28). His study coincided with the 1993 BS-AC diving manual reviewed in chapter six that provided practical advice about salvage and nautical archaeology, but failed to distinguish between the types of wreck that fell into the two supposedly unrelated activities.

Edney's assessment of diver impact on wrecks in Australian and the Pacific identified four distinct categories: 'taking souvenirs; disturbance of material; entrapment of exhaled bubbles and anchor damage' (Edney 2006). Her more recent study investigated what motivated divers to dive wrecks. 'Seeing marine life', was highest, 'seeing historically significant shipwrecks' second, 'observing the effects of time [decay] on a wreck' were all preferred to 'fossicking [prospecting] for artefacts' and 'collecting artefacts and fittings', considered the least motivating factors (Edney 2012). Whereas Ferrari in 1993 concluded efforts should focus on raising awareness of reporting, 20 years later Edney's results showed that the collecting of artefacts or souvenirs was not a prime motivator for the majority of divers.

This study's surveys revealed a strong commitment among non-professionals including recreational divers towards preservation, protection and controlled access, with a desire for more consultation with stakeholders with respect to designations. There was strong support for preservation *in situ* as the first option reinforcing the suggestion that attitudes have changed, but that there should be no complacency. The questions on what should happen in the event that preservation *in situ* was not possible divided opinion on whether wreck material should be sold to pay for the recovery of cultural material. This is a fundamentally important issue that continues to cause archaeologists concern. The underlying issue is how heritage is valued, which requires understanding of how UCH is presented.

9.6 Heritage: Television and Media

Documentaries, media and visits to heritage sites were thought by respondents to this study's surveys to be the most influential factors on public perceptions and creating interest. It is recognised that the variety and availability of hundreds of archaeology and heritage courses including those with a maritime theme will be effective in imparting greater knowledge and with it understanding. Stimulating people to attend courses is the issue, with media, documentaries and heritage visits being prime motivators.

Concern has been expressed about the quality of documentaries and programmes with a heritage theme. Piccini and Henson (2005) observed that historic dramas like *Rome* and *Egypt* were more popular than more traditional documentaries that used a voiceover presenter, with Sperry (2008) expressing concern that archaeologists have little say on the final product, with similar conclusions by Schablitsky and Hetherington (2011, 149). There seems no easy solution to this conundrum given that archaeologists are seldom in control of programmes and editing processes, but working with 'established production companies' was considered essential (Schablitsky and Hetherington 2011, 151).

Some programmes have offered greater clarity. Although not a documentary and occasionally participatory, *Time Team* originally considered a form of speed archaeology by academic standards evolved into a more serious pursuit and was popular. At its peak, episodes attracted up to 3.5 million viewers with 20 million UK viewers having seen at least one show in 2006 (Current Archaeology 2012). After 220 episodes spanning 20 years including a handful of programmes featuring underwater sites it came to an end in 2013. Acknowledged as raising public awareness to new levels it is assumed to have played a part in promoting visits to heritage sites, membership of heritage bodies trending upwards, with heritage days when aggregated being the most popular heritage event. The popularity of Phil Harding's flint knapping courses for NAS is testament to this assumption. Despite the initial scepticism from archaeologists only five of the 220 investigated sites remained unpublished (Current Archaeology 2012).

New programmes like *Mud Men* from the History Channel have filled the void. The format sees a presenter joining a member of the *Mud Larkers*, an exclusive club that searches the Thames foreshore. The programme is light hearted and has completed three seasons. The first part of the programme focuses on the search and discovery of artefacts, with the second half of the show, a show and tell session, with an expert identifying and interpreting the finds. Is it archaeology, probably not as recognised by archaeologists? There seems little evidence of recording, contextualisation or position fixing prior to finds being removed, but is it entertaining? Yes. *Mud*

Men's website promotes participation, suggesting the Thames Discovery Programme's Foreshore Recording and Observation Group (FROG). It reminds people wishing to 'dig or metal-detect' on the River Thames foreshore requires a permit, explaining how these can be obtained from the Port of London Authority or from the Crown Estate. A similar process could apply to areas where manorial rights have been granted. The permits from the Port of London come at an annual or daily cost, with discounts for younger enthusiasts, or other landowner of the foreshore.

9.6.1 Media and Public Perception

To contribute to the understanding of public perception it was useful to investigate what appeared in the media, which had been identified in the surveys as a major source of initial contact. In order to achieve this *BBC News* and *the Guardian (Newspaper)* archives were chosen and in addition *National Geographic Magazine's* DVD collection, 1888-2009. Although somewhat incongruous to the news archives it proved a useful source for confirming the growing public interest in underwater exploration following the Second World War. The magazine had initially following the exploits of Cousteau, then Bass and more latterly Ballard. Although not featuring in the magazine to 2009, James Cameron most famous for his interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet* using *Titanic* as a backdrop is a National Geographic explorer in residence.

A more wide ranging approach was taken than previous studies such as Holtorf's (2005) focus on 'headlines and pictures' in the Anglo-Saxon print media, or on archaeologist's dress code and media portrayal in 2009, or Benz and Liedmeir's (2009) study of how appealing stories featuring archaeology were generated by journalists. This study focused on establishing the range of maritime news reports, not just those that could be considered archaeological, which for reasons stated was believed problematic, but to understand to what extent maritime news appeared. This enabled an assessment to be made of various types of news from maritime anniversaries, activities relating to projects, conservation, historic ships, wrecks and other sites.

The results established that shipwrecks attracted a third of all reports, helping to explain why salvage related stories are more likely to attract the media, to which the public can more easily relate. Older sites occur much less frequently. Evidence showed that high profile sites help raise awareness and interest in a broader scope of maritime news. The geographic distribution revealed that *Titanic* is hugely important to the economy of Northern Ireland and has a broader public reach than all other popular UK based vessels or sites. Some areas of the UK are much more sensitive to maritime events than others, particularly Hampshire.

The geographic media profile of HMS *Victory* represented by the number of UK, four constituent countries and local level news is substantially higher than both HMS *Warrior* and *Mary Rose*. This helped explain why tourists to Portsmouth and Southsea arrived with preconceived perceptions about what they associated with the area. These were revealed during visitor surveys discussed in chapter four, where the HMS *Victory* received more ‘mentions’ than did the other two ships. Does this knowledge have value? Yes, in so far as it could affect a tourist’s choice of activity during a vacation that might ultimately help determine an attraction’s long-term preservation. Does this interest extend to underwater sites? Yes, in so far as the principle could be extended to those sites which appear more popular, which could be unrelated to its cultural heritage importance?

It has been suggested that archaeology is a brand (Holtorf 2007). If this is true maritime underwater cultural heritage incorporates many products and flavours that span the scope of archaeology to salvage to treasure hunting to underwater archaeology, with the passively consuming public finding brand identity often difficult to discern. This is certainly not always the case. News items for popular ships such as *Great Britain*, *Cutty Sark*, *Mary Rose* and *Titanic* more often than not have their names in the news headlines, this enough to attract public attention, and in so doing supporting the concept of brand. Less well known sites are more likely to have tags such as discovered, found, mystery or mention of some precious commodity to raise public interest.

Assessing sensationalism in the media was beyond the scope of this study, but headline keywords, such as treasure, gold, silver and pirate were represented in 4% of the nearly two thousand BBC news reports, noting ‘treasure’ was occasionally used to attract readers to stories containing advice about reporting obligations. The use of sensationalistic headlines was more common in *the Guardian* at 11%, proportionately more prevalent in the BBC’s children’s news at 20%. The same keywords were sometimes repeated or combined in titling found 25 times in the 105 headlines of the *National Geographic Magazine* articles recorded. *Newsround* provided surprises with the ‘chat’ about whether shipwrecks should be disturbed, the majority of the 8-13 year olds largely in favour of leaving them alone or being recovered as a memorial to the lost crew, with only one preferring recovery for financial gain.

9.6.2 Media Profile of Designated Sites

Is it a concern that all but a handful of the country’s most important sites have a low media profile? Are there consequences? Potentially yes. James (2012) expressed concern about the need for a new generation of licensees for protected wrecks. If they do not materialise will government provide new resources for professionals to continue the custodianship and research?

This seems unlikely in the current environment and in the presence of the current planning regime, which shifts costs to the developer. Are most of these sites already moribund? Publicly probably yes. Is there a possibility that the regular site inspections by professional archaeologists will be deemed of little value and the costs questioned?

9.6.3 Public Support for Protection and Preservation

If the Poznań cycle is assumed to be an accurate model public interest is necessary to provoke government investment in protection and preservation. The public is concerned about heritage at risk, including designated underwater sites, but to what extent does this translate into support for more proactive preservation of them?

Peacock, an avocational archaeologist, believes the current policy is neglectful and has questioned whether a more commercial approach would be an improvement (Peacock 2008; 2012). This is a solution that seems attractive to government in its attempts to manage some sites such as the 1744 *Victory* and is consistent with the approach taken to the management of terrestrial heritage, an example which appeared in the media mentioned below.

9.7 Economic Considerations and Heritage at Risk

In July of 2013 'What price heritage' (BBC Shukman 2013) discussed the value of the White Cliffs of Dover, a feature of England's natural landscape, a poignant symbol of the country and its history. Few English people would argue against their importance. Despite this, the report asks the question, at what point would their economic value, in terms of a hypothetical gold resource, seriously challenge their almost "sacred" status...£1 million, £1 billion, or a £1 trillion pounds? (BBC Shukman 2013). At £1 trillion the representative of the National Trust that manage them wavered and admitted such an amount would need to be seriously considered, adding that the right progress should determine the outcome. Where this example is hypothetical, elsewhere the situation is real.

Nearby Western Heights Fort will be the beneficiary of an agreement with a developer providing £5 million pounds towards the fort's renovation in return for permission to build a hotel and five hundred homes on a nearby area of outstanding natural beauty. The development is required to alleviate housing pressure as the population grows. The issue of acceptability is raised. The suggestion is that purists would object but English Heritage has taken a pragmatic view that has become a modern approach to conservation. Other examples are mentioned including where a section of Brazilian rainforest "did not stand a chance" of preventing the extraction of a £1 trillion

of iron ore. Even the value of seabed minerals is touched upon and in this context the presence of a shipwreck or important submerged landscape could be at risk. “Develop or save [conserve], a difficult balance becoming harder” (Shukman BBC 2013). Of course mineral extraction is not new and a planning process is taking UCH into account. Can more be done to produce an economic valuation of UCH that will help mitigate decisions, or at least raise awareness that lifts UCH above its intrinsic value?

9.7.1 The Issue

Ready and Navrud (2002) remarked that those organisations tasked with protection and preservation of cultural heritage will be required to compete for resources and that this competition would extend to choices between ‘preservation and restoration’, although these terms are not defined in the paper. This can be converted into choices that heritage managers might be required to make, such as a shipwreck preserved *in situ* or *ex situ*, accepting that restoration is only realistically feasible *ex situ*, or to assess the potential benefits of a heritage trail or justification for preservation for future generations. Current policy relating to England’s designated sites and Historic Scotland’s Historic Marine Protected Areas is to promote access, fulfilling the aims of the Heritage Cycle. Scotland has acknowledged the value of recreational diving for its contribution to Scotland’s economy (Historic Scotland 2014d), with Trow and Robert’s recognising similar potential in *Taking to the Water* in 2002. What is not publicly apparent is an economic assessment of the alternatives.

9.7.2 Economic solutions

Economists have identified challenges and choices resulting in the specialist field of Environmental Economics. The field provides a framework from which cultural heritage could benefit (Ready and Navrud 2002). It is relevant to the underwater environment where there is direct overlap with environmental issues. This could be on a geographic scale such as for landscapes valued for their natural marine assets which may also contain cultural heritage assets. Such an example is the colloquially termed ‘Doggerland’ that covers a large area of the North Sea Basin, or on a micro-scale to an individual shipwreck that has an associated historical value as well being a habitat for important natural species. Valuations from both perspectives is essential to avoid decisions compromising either or both, or in preference to another specified asset such as fishing, mineral, hydrocarbons, coastal development, wind energy or dredging. Although this is an aspiration during the UK’s proposals to create marine protected areas, there was little account of the potential impact on archaeological investigations.

9.7.3 Archaeologists Views on the Value of Heritage

Before considering alternative methods of valuing heritage it is worth reflecting on what has been said by archaeologists and anthropologists. Scott-Ireton (2007, 19) stated that ‘some objects are endowed with cultural value that is symbolic, and that cannot be reduced to monetary or materialistic worth’, referring to the recognition of this premise by anthropologists Bell and Werner. Scott goes on to refer to objects having ‘sacred or inalienable value, not to be given away or sold’. Further references are made to economic anthropologist Godelier who wrote that “No society, no identity can survive over time and provide a foundation for the individuals or groups that make up a society if there are no fixed points, realities that are exempted – provisionally but lastingly – from the exchange of gifts or from trade’ (Godelier 1999, 8 cited in Scott-Ireton 2007, 19). These are wise words, but are not always heeded nor is identity within geographic boundaries fixed, evidenced by the changing cultural landscapes in many parts of the world, where past identities are being destroyed, in effect wiping the slate clean to allow new identities and new sacred places to be created.

This said the concept of applying economic valuations may appear at first glance to challenge and cast aside the words above. This is not meant to be and it is hoped that the reader will see that the suggestions are merely aimed at providing an alternative mechanism for placing what was said above in the world of a public where value is generally given a monetary value and where sacred places have economic value as tourist attractions. By so doing it might make UCH appear relevant in the modern world, a lack of relevance being a commonly heard phrase during the course of this study.

9.7.4 Complications and Assumptions

The following discussion concerns valuations that fall outside normal market valuations and public goods which are usually provided by government through taxation (Mourato & Mazzanti 2002, 53). It is therefore acknowledged that private ownership of UCH is a complication, but it is assumed to be a resolvable issue. This comment is made in the knowledge that many of the UK’s historic wrecks and sites are as sovereign vessels Crown property. It is equally assumed that the examples used below are non-intrusive, obviating the need to involve salvage law, and that licenses from the Marine Management Organisation are no obstacle. If the following valuations are considered useful it reinforces the advantages in removing UCH from salvage law where non-sovereign vessels could be included without issue.

9.7.5 Origin of Alternative Cultural Valuations

The concept of cultural value is coincident but not related to the development of nautical archaeology, from the 1960's when it was proposed that the 'arts were a case of market failure' (Throsby 2003). The same article mentions the first contingent valuation (see below) applied to the arts, conducted by Throsby and Withers in 1983. Since, such evaluations are more widespread in a terrestrial and environmental context, but they have been applied to: submerged cultural resources (Whitehead & Finney 2003), marine sanctuaries (Arin and Kramer 2002), artificial reefs for diving (Pendleton, 2005), cave diving (Huth & Morgan 2009) and more recently in relation to the UK's proposed marine protected areas (Kenter *et al* 2013). The Getty Conservation Foundation published its first report on the theme in 1995, followed in 2000 and in 2002 *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage and Valuation of the Historic Environment: The scope for using results of valuation studies in the appraisal and assessment of heritage-related projects and programmes* presented by Provins *et al* in 2005.

The principles outlined in these publications have potentially beneficial ramifications for how underwater cultural heritage can be presented to the public. Below is a brief discussion to outline some of the basic principles, terminology and applications that offer alternative solutions to the market valuations that are so frequently used in everyday life and to express the market valuation of shipwrecks.

9.7.6 Evolving Role of Experts

For the purpose of the Getty report cultural value was defined as, 'the importance of a site as determined by the aggregate of values attributed to it' as expressed 'by experts, art historians, archaeologists, architects, and others' (De La Torre & Mason 2002, 3). The need to determine value resulted from the emergence of heritage from its isolated position where predominantly expert groups decided what constituted heritage, its actions validated by funding bodies. In the early 2000s UK ministers found difficulty in expressing the contribution or evaluation of the arts and culture to 'health, education, crime reduction, strong communities, the nation's wellbeing', felt necessary to justify funding (Holden 2004).

9.7.7 New stakeholders

This has brought new groups, new perspectives and new values, not always complementary to those of the experts (Hewison & Holden 2004, 31). Economists consider that experts have no greater significance on outcomes than other individuals or groups. 'Today the opinions of experts

are often a few among many, in an arena where it is recognized that heritage is multivalent and that values are not immutable' (De La Torre & Mason 2002, 3). This is not to discard expert opinion, but placing more emphasis on their input in guiding decisions.

These comments show consistency with the Heritage Lottery Fund's strategy encouraging grant applicants to define what is heritage, worth preserving, protecting and enjoying. Definitions of heritage have evolved to include intangible heritage, but they should be considered temporary benchmarks. It is wise to consider the often used 'includes' as an intimation that definitions are subject to evolution, with fashion playing a role. If public interest is measured by media attention, then *Titanic* remains fashionable, reminding readers that prior to its discovery and role in the romanticised Hollywood film, although known (Delgado 2007, 79) had not been transformed into the industry it has become today. Despite remaining on the Atlantic seabed it has overcome the perceived big issue of being out of sight and out of mind, relying heavily on the human story and historical context than thousands of artefacts. By comparison media interest in other sites is limited, especially those considered nationally important. *Time Team's* popularity is in decline, despite its comparatively strong showing on YouTube with some episodes featuring over 100,000 viewers, still small numbers by comparison with *Titanic at 100: Mystery solved*, with over 3 million views.

9.8 Alternative Economic Valuations

The tendency is to believe that economics transforms everything into a commodity that can be traded in a market place. However in recent decades mechanisms have been developed that allow economic principles to determine social values or apply values to non-market goods, concepts considered 'outside the traditional purview of heritage and conservation professionals' (De La Torre & Mason 2002, 5). The models and associated terminology were first applied to natural heritage, but are now being increasingly used for cultural heritage. They measure the value of the social wellbeing derived from enjoying a particular site or sites. Concepts such as contingent value, willingness to pay, bequest value, use and non-use values are explained and linked to UCH examples. They can be applied ethically in support of fundamental principles such as preservation *in situ* that has become a burden for archaeologists and heritage managers. To understand why, it is necessary to take a brief step into the world of economics.

9.8.1 Cultural Heritage as a Public Good

Like environmental goods cultural heritage is normally considered a 'public good'. To qualify the good needs to possess two distinctive properties (Mourato & Mazzanti 2002, 53;

Ready and Navrud 2002). First it should be 'non-excludible'. This translates into it being 'technically infeasible' to prevent other users of the good from enjoying it. The same authors explain that cultural goods have varying degrees of excludability, using the example of museums as an excludible good because the public can be prevented from entering the museum, whereas casually walking around a historic site in a public place would be considered 'non-excludible' (Ready & Navrud 2002). This is considered an important concept for economists, particularly in capital markets. If it is realistically impossible to prevent people from accessing a site it is unlikely that the public will voluntarily pay for it, ultimately leading to no service and only 'cultural heritage with a high market value would be protected' (Ready and Navrud 2002).

There are near parallels with the difficulty in regulating access to most UCH. Are shipwrecks therefore public goods? Using the criteria above non-designated sites could be. While for practical reasons it may be difficult to exclude the public, the UK's protected sites (PWRA) and Controlled Sites (PMRA) are loosely equivalent to a museum where a license is theoretically required for access and therefore they might be considered theoretically 'excludable'.

The second characteristic is whether the good is 'non-rival in consumption', which translates into two people being able to enjoy the good without affecting the enjoyment of the other (Mourato & Mazzanti 2002, 53; Ready and Navrud 2002). If a good is 'non-rival in consumption' the same authors state that it will 'always be better for more people to enjoy it than to allow fewer, with the proviso that where visitation causes damage then it could be considered a 'congestible' public good. Without knowing whether this is the case, Historic Scotland's approach could be described as 'non-rival in consumption' approach, while licenced access to sites could be considered a 'congestible public good', if it is accepted that licensing is a form of restriction.

To avoid excess damage a visitor fee can be applied to reduce the number of visitors and impact. The fees can be invested in caring for the same heritage or possibly other site, a principle that has been applied in the management of UCH in Croatia, the process described during the 2013 meeting of UNESCO's Scientific and Technical Advisory Board. The second consequence is that fees help to ensure that those who visit value the opportunity the most and can be applied to the visits to UCH.

9.8.2 Value of a public good - Willingness to Pay – Contingent Valuation

Broadly speaking the value of cultural heritage should be 'consistent with how we measure value for a private market good' (Ready and Navrud 2002). Value is defined as the greatest sum of money a consumer is be prepared to pay for a good beyond for example an admission fee (Holden

2004, 31). **Use value** is a mechanism for determining value and equates to admission fees, land values and related goods and services. The principle of willingness to pay (WTP) establishes a theoretical economic value based on the individual choices of those who would consume the good. It can apply to an item in an existing market or one that does not currently exist. In the latter case willingness to pay is the primary evaluation of the social benefit of the item and can be used in justifying taxation. Consideration should be given to wellbeing, which includes aesthetic value. In standard economic theory 'wellbeing is determined by people's preferences. A benefit is defined as anything that increases human wellbeing and a cost as anything that decreases human wellbeing' (Mourato & Mazzanti 2002).

9.8.3 Application of the Principle in the Valuation of Marine Conservation Zones

The potential of the application is seen in Kenter *et al*'s study to establish the 'recreational and non-use value of UK divers and sea anglers' for Scotland's 25 Marine Protected Areas, England's 119 Marine Conservation Zones and Wales 7 Special Areas of Conservation (Kenter *et al* 2013). The survey was completed by 1,261 divers and 422 anglers. Only the recreational use figures applicable to divers for sites in England are used for illustration.

It was estimated that the annual use value of the sites was worth from £104-173 million. This was sub-divided for the 31 sites recommended for designation which was '£46-76 million and £58-97 million' for the remaining 88 sites. Divers were prepared to contribute an additional payment where there were restrictions against 'potting and gillnetting, anchoring or mooring'. This was valued at £8-14 million for sites considered for designation and £10-£20 million for the rest (Kenter *et al* 2013, 58). The non-use values ranged from £26-43 for the sites considered for designation and £76-127 million for the rest, depending on the level of protection.

The section of the survey that examined choice of site, it was wrecks and rocky habitats that were of greatest importance for divers. The contingent valuation results found that divers were 'willing to pay' (WTP) 'a one-off payment £11.13 towards the cost of protecting a dive site as presented to them and its natural features into the future against risk of harm or degradation' (Kenter *et al* 2013). A point made in the same report was that payments were subject to 'distance decay' meaning donations decreased the greater the distance from the site, which offers support for more local involvement in their management, which could equally apply to designated shipwrecks.

The overall assessment was that the financial benefits would be in excess of the associated investment required in designating the zones. The report's discussion provides significant

evidence that divers and anglers were willing to pay for measures that would enhance their sport. An extract from the discussion is of particular interest:

‘ In respect to sea life, underwater landscape and underwater objects, wrecks were highly valued by divers as well as anglers in both sets of models. For divers the structure of the shipwreck alone has a high scenic value, but in addition to that the surface of the wreck provides an artificial reef for marine life to grow on, which increases its scenic value further. The artificial reef character of a wreck also aggregates fish and is therefore an attractive angling ground. Finally, **wrecks provide cultural heritage value.**’

While the above should be considered hypothetical two further examples show the value of diving on shipwrecks, one a designated site, the second a purposely sunk vessel for recreational diving.

9.9 Economic value of a designated site

Taking to the Water (2002) saw diver activity as a potential threat, something to be managed in partnership with dive organisations and recognised diving’s economic contribution, stating that ‘indiscriminate disturbance of wreck sites by treasure hunters will damage the environmental capital on which the tourism industry depends and diminish the visitor experience’ (Robert and Trow 2002, 10).

Increasing numbers of visitor licenses are being issued for its protected sites, with possibly the most popular being the *Coronation*, which attracted approximately 1,000 licensed visitors in 2011 and 700 in 2012. NAS’ study (2013) concluded that the value of the trail ‘was worth £42,557 to the local economy in 2012, an average of £60.00 per visit (NAS 2013, 4). If this simple basis is used for the 2,320 visitor to the three visitor trails quoted in the same report, *Coronation*, *Colossus* and Norman’s Bay Wreck, the total value would be £1.4 million, still small by comparison with the visitor figures mentioned above in a terrestrial context, but not a figure to be ignored.

9.10 Value of an artificial wreck-site - Scylla

The case of the *Scylla* is Europe’s first artificial wreck-site with the primary aim of creating a new attraction for scuba divers. It has raised government interest and is used as a case study in Charting Progress 2. Following an initial investment of £1.40 million, in the first operational year it showed an overall return of £1.5 million:

‘... with an estimate of 35.46 full-time equivalent (FTE) jobs made up of supporting clubs, centres and charter boat operators as well as tourism related businesses...with 27.8 jobs (FTE) being

created in the South-west region within which the Scylla is located with a net income of £835 thousand' (DEFRA 2010, 169).

The challenge remains to calculate more precisely, using the methodology described above, the recreational value of the estimated 200,000 (Dando pers. comm. cited in Kenter 2013) - 270,000 recreational divers (DEFRA 2010, 167) making thousands of visits to wreck-sites, including those protected. Raising economic awareness can be used as a more persuasive argument in applications for greater funding for preservation and calculating the impact of the loss of these sites at some point now or in the future.

9.11 Heritage as a Commercial Good vs Heritage as a Public Good

In the current cultural environment the differences in opinion can be expressed as those seeking a monetary return on the investment of searching, excavating and recovering material. The result is a commercial valuation that can be traded in markets. On the other hand there are those that argue that the preferred option should be to preserve sites *in situ* for future generations, retaining all options in the belief that cultural heritage is a public good not to be traded. The *Restoration Survey* discussed in chapter eight showed that the principle of preserving terrestrial heritage for future generations was acceptable to the public. In the following paragraphs attention is turned to investigating the possibilities associated with non-use values, which are compatible with preservation *in situ*.

9.12 Cultural valuation and preservation in situ

The principle of preservation *in situ* has become contentious, with the 'tensions that arise from this, such as that between reburial and public and research access to protected sites' (Ransley 2007). Ransley raised the issue of how to decide what is valuable and differentiate between one sites value from another (Ransley 2007, 221). In this study's survey, while there was strong support for preservation *in situ* as the first option, where this was impractical the sale of part of the collection to recover the remaining, divided opinion.

While techniques of preservation *in situ* are not discussed here one issue can lead to confusion. It has been stated in the past that sites, after a period of deterioration, achieve a state of equilibrium and as such will survive if undisturbed (Nautical Archaeology Society, 1992, 332; Babits and Van Tilburg 1998, 590). But as Gregory (2009, 2) explains, with the benefit of greater knowledge and experience it is considered normal for sites to be dynamic. Using a state of equilibrium as a justification for leaving sites *in situ* could be misleading and unwise. For the sake of the following argument it is assumed that a research based approach applying appropriate techniques will

preserve a site *in situ* and is accepted as a sound management option. The question is how heritage managers achieve a level of financial support to allow this process to happen.

Revisiting the Poznań relationship between political commitment – public awareness – economic feasibility – public awareness and understanding can be a trigger to promoting more active efforts. If government and public are concerned by money spent on heritage assets it would be helpful to use economic principles to show that there is financial sense in preserving UCH and that applying resources can be justified. The rationale would be that ultimately there will be a return that meets government goals, which extend beyond a modest contribution to the treasury from salvors.

9.12.1 Non-use value and preservation in situ

‘Non-use’ values are applied to things that are not traded in markets where a price cannot easily be applied, Holden (2004) stating ‘these non-use values are highly significant for the funding of culture, given that so much cultural value rests on the preservation of assets, practices, knowledge or locations through which it can or could be created in the future’ (Holden 2004, 31-33). Such goods are attached a sociocultural value ‘because it holds meaning for people or social groups due to its age, beauty, artistry, or association with a significant person or event or (otherwise) contributes to processes of cultural affiliation’ (Mason 2002, 11). These can be expressed in economic terms because resources can be applied for their protection or acquisition, which has applications for sites where management has opted for preservation *in situ* rather than excavation and recovery.

9.12.2 Options

Three economic ‘non-use’ values are useful: ‘existence value’, ‘option value’ and ‘bequest value’. The first is protection and preservation of a site where a sites *existence, even for those that do not visit it and do not personally* consume its services can be valued. It is a very useful concept relating to UCH where it is impractical for the majority of the public to have direct contact. ‘Option value’ provides a currently non-user of a site to have the option to utilise it at some point in the future and ‘bequest value’ refers to preserving a site for future generations’ (Navrud and Steady 2002; Holden 2004) Both of these terms are useful, the first used to explain why a site might be initially protected and at some point opened for tourism or research. If the public was aware and understood the reasoning for preservation *in situ* or visitor schemes for nationally protected sites funds could be provided, accepting that some grant is available for both

activities, but is considered inadequate for active preservation *in situ* considered by Peacock to be so neglectful.

If such values were calculated and expressed in currency it would counter in like terms those who use the market values of gold, silver, ceramics, or tourism as a basis to recovery. Sensationalist media reports claiming that a cargo has been found worth countless millions or where heritage agencies spend money on investigations, can be mitigated using alternative valuations expressed in monetary terms, with additional benefits of wellbeing and education considered central to government policy and easily understandable.

Many archaeologists may consider this economics based perspective does not sit comfortably with them, particularly when underwater cultural heritage continues to be commercially exploited. There is the possibility of a blurring of the edges, and as such one of the key aspects of what public archaeology needs to achieve is a clear distinction between well managed sites and those that are exploited for their commercial value. The aim would be to present options and varying outcomes with the intention of involving the public in deciding what is protected, preserved and researched.

9.13 Community archaeology

The success of raising awareness and understanding should act as precursors to community responsibility for heritage. In this scenario the public plays a greater role in decision making. Marshall (2009) states that community members ‘collaboratively direct the project; both community and archaeologists have a real say in whether any archaeology happens, and if it does, what, when and how it will happen’ going on to say that it is ‘more than a legal courtesy. It involves working with communities in ways that value their opinions and strive to meet their needs while also accomplishing archaeological goals’ (Marshall 2009, 1078). In the context of this study community archaeology is contingent on a community being aware, understanding and being prepared to act in partnership with, or employ archaeologists, or heritage managers to protect, preserve or investigate cultural heritage on their behalf.

Public archaeologists can offer alternatives to existing valuations by adding research, education, bequest and option values expressed in economic terms. After more than half a century there are models on which to estimate costs and benefits. This will enable government to recognise and quantify the social and educational value of UCH, of which academic research is a fundamentally important component providing the foundations that can be distilled for the consumption of different audiences. It is unrealistic to expect government or grant aiding bodies to evaluate

projects beyond these criteria. There remains a further challenge which is the root of raising awareness - identity.

9.14 Awareness of a hidden Identity

Maarleveld's inaugural speech as incumbent chair of maritime archaeology at the University of Southern Denmark addressed the issue of identifying identity. He posed the question 'Is maritime archaeology a consistent identity?' followed by asking which identity was preferred 'for ourselves, the programme and for Esberg's contribution' (Maarleveld 2007). His reflections on the 'academic discussion' pointed to the idea that almost four decades ago it was 'researchers [and] academics' who would define what was of interest and its identity, adding that this was not today's reality. If that scenario had been the case, this study would be largely unnecessary. The contemporary public would be passively and enthusiastically consuming what was produced. Resources and decisions would be made to preserve, protect, research, recover and conserve material considered in the best interests of a local, regional, country, or international community.

As was stated above experts are no longer, if indeed they ever were, the only stakeholder with a voice. The list is now extensive with different priorities, as does the public who should be considered the ultimate stakeholder, who if motivated can change policy directions. The new paradigm has created a lack of clarity that has extended to the discipline. Without public support the future of much of our underwater cultural heritage is uncertain. This was recognised in earlier times as being a key issue; today with so many competing funding priorities there is a more pressing urgency for archaeology to present a clear identity.

Since describing the roots of nautical archaeology in the 1960s other terms crept into facets of this study. It may be evident to the reader that underwater, maritime and marine archaeologies have been mentioned, sometimes inadvertently imprecisely describing an event or site. Identity to one of these archaeologies and cultural resource management has led to a seemingly exponential growth in describing the various roles people have, as seen in the respondent profiles in the surveys. Of significant concern is that there are new archaeologies using the same language and techniques, but with very different outcomes to those traditionally held by archaeologists.

The focus should be on explaining what underwater cultural heritage is, why it is important in contemporary society, the importance of archaeology as a scientific process and archaeologists in interpreting it to gain the maximum social value of a site. It should be recognised that this should

be for society as a whole, which returns us to related questions raised by Shanks and Tilley (1992, 26).

Maarleveld (2009) discussed the connection between community and underwater sites expressing his disappointment that a colleague had found it difficult to connect with Burgzand Noord III.¹ Firth (2011) recognises that ‘scent of place’ is an important component in delivering ‘effective heritage policies and that understanding a marine sense of place might benefit a coastal site where physical evidence is limited’ (Firth 2011, 144). While it is accepted that it is more difficult under water, in theory it should not be an impossible task. This study has shown that the public expresses its connection and value for historic places by paying premiums for their houses within historic or conservation zones, by visiting, volunteering, participating, reacting to immoral behaviour and when presented with a reasoned case, rescuing heritage.

Comments from interviewees are useful; ‘*in situ* preservation as the first option but there must be some excavation, although it’s expensive, there’s value in a once in a generation project to fascinate the public!’, another considered that ‘there needs to be a big realisation by cultural heritage managers that we need to be viewing this as a long term campaign’ (Anon 2014).

Maintaining links between connected historic places and the public is therefore important, which shows the value of terrestrial historic heritage trails that connect seemingly disconnected places (Scott-Ireton & Spirek 2003; Leshikar-Denton & Scott-Ireton 2007). The removal of the interpretative board that linked Henry VIII’s Southsea Castle to the site of the Battle of the Solent which led to the loss of the same king’s flagship highlights the lack of understanding of linking places to enhance tourist and local community’s sense of place.

9.15 Changing Cultural Fondness from Salvage to Underwater Cultural Heritage

Removing UCH from the ambit of salvage law using the UK’s reservation under Article 30 of the Salvage Convention 1989 (Williams 2004, 95) is a very desirable outcome. Aside from clarifying ownership issues seen as a potential obstacle to creating public goods discussed above it would help to begin the process of changing cultural attitudes towards UCH. For example the market value payment by the British Museum for the Salcombe coins was effectively a salvage award. The recipients preferred an alternative where they received grant and research assistance in return for the finds being donated. Essentially the result is similar, but publicly it would appear as a research based partnership between institution and archaeologists, with the competent authority managing the process. With time and examples coupled to research frameworks such *People and the Sea* could see a gradual cultural change in attitudes.

9.16 Final thoughts

In the 1960s Peter Marsden identified three issues, ships were being found, there were few if any underwater archaeologists and there was no conservation facility for waterlogged material. In 2015, ships are being found, seemingly at an increasing rate by industrial processes, salvors, divers and archaeologists; there are many more experienced archaeologists, but arguably too few to deal with the rate of discoveries and there are conservation facilities with decades of experience, but it isn't a public service.

One is operated by Mary Rose Archaeological Services who claim to have the 'largest conservation workshop and archaeological wood conservation facilities in Europe, if not the world' (Mary Rose Trust Annual Review 2014). Although this facility is housed within a not for profit organisation it is not a charitable enterprise. The proceeds of the contracts for its services are expected to contribute to the costs of maintaining the museum.

The proposition therefore remains that unless UCH fulfils the ideals of the Heritage Cycle and principles from the Poznań meeting, its true value will not be recognised, not cared for, with the consequence those policies such as preservation *in situ* or associated education and social benefits will not have the political legitimacy to be supported. To help this process avocational archaeologists and divers are important allies in supporting change, but unlike the metal-detectorists seen as heroes, divers have not received the same acclamation. One interviewee considered that 'the avocationalists should be celebrated and some serious publicity given to what they do and have achieved' (Anon 2014).

An irony in this study is that without greater public understanding and support for underwater cultural heritage the human endeavour encapsulated by ships and associated places that enabled globalisation to begin centuries ago, are in danger of being abandoned due to principles enshrined in the same process.

¹ 'Burgzand Noord 3 is a 17th century wooden shipwreck discovered in 1985, named after the Wadden Sea area near the Dutch island of Texel. Its identity could be the Dutch East Indiaman *De Rob*, which sank in the Texel roadstead on the 5th of January, 1640.' Machu CMS, Available from: <http://machuproject.eu/machu_cms/?q=c> [21 April 2015].

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Appendices

Appendix A: Additional Information from the Stakeholder Surveys in Support of Chapter seven.

Appendix B: Development, structure, compilation of the databases and additional charts in support of chapter eight.

Appendix C: Further questions for interviewees.

Appendix D: NAS Newsletter article.

Appendix A: Additional information from the stakeholder surveys in support of chapter seven

1 Development of the professional survey

In advance of the final surveys a pilot survey was trialled. It aided the formatting and structure of the circulated versions, helped to test the clarity, sequence, order of the questions and answer choices. This enabled some experience to be gained and in begin to understand how the results might look. An additional and equally importantly component was to receive feedback about the research themes, which if positive would help to provide greater confidence in the relevance of the study. Opportunities to trial the Pilot Survey presented themselves during a UNESCO Foundation Course in Thailand and a Nautical Archaeology Society Tutor Development Course in the USA, in October & November 2010 with several other individuals volunteering to complete the survey.

The foundation course participants represented countries from Asia, as well as the attendant trainers from the Netherlands, Australia and United States; the second opportunity for officers of the United States of America National Park Service and other individuals who were part of the same course. For many of the participants of the Foundation course English was not their first language, so some required assistance in understanding the questions, which had been anticipated. In total, thirty-four people representing fourteen countries mostly from the Asia-Pacific region and USA completed the surveys. All but two received the survey as a printed version, although at this time it was the intention to distribute the survey as an excel file with accompanying explanatory email.

The results of the Pilot Survey gave valuable feedback, which led to changes that were integrated into the final format, see Appendices A and B. One specific problem was that in those questions that stated 'most important factor' led to multiple responses rather than a singular response, which was actually required. Changes to the wording of such questions made it clearer that only one option was to be chosen.

Due to the significant modifications the results of the Pilot Survey have not been added to those results from the final version. Feedback to the research themes was positive, which provided additional incentive to continue this study. Furthermore, despite the language issues and diversity of the respondents mentioned above the results of the Pilot Survey were quite similar to the final survey, which retrospectively added confidence in the results discussed below.

1.1 Structure of the final versions of the surveys

Each of the surveys consisted of a mixture of multiple choice questions to provide an overall perspective on a range of issues that included for example, the objectives of a public archaeology programme. These questions had an 'other option not included above' to add additional comments or suggestions. Yes – no questions were used to establish, for example if someone was undergoing training; time based questions to establish for example if the change in public awareness of UCH could be tracked over time; questions using a Likhert¹ scale to establish a degree of agreement or disagreement with a statement on for example protection and preservation of UCH. Some questions with multiple choice options had additional filter questions that asked respondents to refine their answer by choosing what they believed to be the single 'most' or 'least' important factor on a particular question. As there was a possibility, based on the authors own uncertainty, that some respondents might find it difficult to select one prime, in anticipation participants were asked to choose 'not applicable' or 'don't know' to help understand their response.

Each of the surveys was divided into sections containing clusters of questions on a related theme and where appropriate a 'guidance note' was added to aid the understanding or to clarify the questions and specific to the non-professional survey to clarify heritage jargon. The guidance notes can be referenced in the appropriate appendix. To avoid repetition the comments about related questions are kept together and cross referenced to corresponding questions in the complementary survey.

Both surveys included a short introductory text to explain that the surveys were part of a more extensive study and a URL link to the other survey for those respondents opening the wrong survey.

1.2 Distribution of the final versions of the surveys

Although the original intention was to distribute the surveys as a Microsoft Excel file accompanied by an explanatory email this method was aborted on the advice of a colleague who had commented on its non-user friendliness and on personal experience of achieving better results from using a purpose-designed survey platform. The suggested improvements were that the survey would be more attractive, provide more options in displaying questions / answer options and would therefore appear more professional, be easier to complete, have greater

flexibility, factors that combined would have the important effect of it being more likely to be completed.

As a consequence licensed access to the 'Select Option' of Survey Monkey² was arranged. Prior to the launch of the Survey Monkey formatted surveys ten responses to the professional survey and fifteen to the non-professional survey had been received in the original Excel format. This had the disadvantage in having responses in two formats, although distribution as a hard copy option remained an option. The latter option was not utilised after the Pilot Study. The results in Excel were added to those of the Survey Monkey format for presentation and manipulation. The subsequent charts are generated using Microsoft Office-Excel 2010.

The Survey Monkey format offers several distribution mechanisms: by email which contains a hyperlink to the survey, or by posting on social media platforms such as Facebook and LinkedIn. It was decided not to utilise Facebook due to its more informal social characteristics.

1.3 Survey returns

For the professional survey a return rate of almost 37% was achieved from the personal contacts via LinkedIn and email, but there was a significantly lower response from the less personal routes of communication. A second level of advertisement for the professional survey was by 'flagging' the URL on various archaeology / heritage management groups on LinkedIn, but the return rate was much lower, as was the return rate for the non-professional survey.

There were a total 248 responses to the professional survey, 34 from the Pilot Professional survey and 162 the final circulated professional survey. Additional information and excel charts not found in main text is presented below.

2 Professional Survey results

2.1 Introduction to the survey as presented to respondents

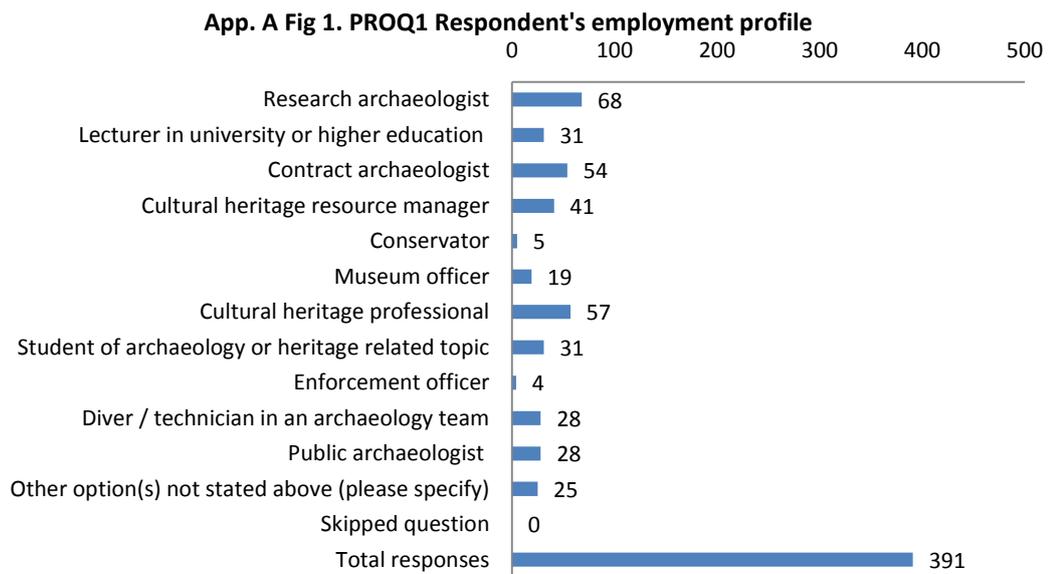
'The survey forms part of a broader independent research project that has a number of objectives including: to understand the factors that affect the public perception and value of underwater archaeology/cultural heritage; to assess the impact of public archaeology initiatives on the public's perception and value of underwater; archaeology/cultural heritage, and to understand to what extent public archaeology is embedded in the discipline.'

2.2 Section 1: Questions to establish the respondent's profile

2.2.1 PROQ1 Which option best matches your MAIN employment, role or position in archaeology or cultural heritage (mark more than one option ONLY if your job description specifies more than one of the options)

This question corresponds to **question 1** of the non-professional survey. The responses were 'research archaeologist' with 68 responses; 'Lecturer in university or higher education'; 31; 'Contract archaeologist' with 54; 'Cultural heritage resource manager' with 41; 'Conservator' with 5; 'Museum officer' with 19; 'Cultural heritage professional' with 57; 'Student of archaeology or heritage related topic' with 31; 'Enforcement officer' with 4; 'Diver / technician in an archaeology team' with 28; 'Public archaeologist' with 28, 'other option(s) not stated above (please specify) with 25 individual responses.

Appendix A Figure 1. PROQ1 Respondent's employment profile



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

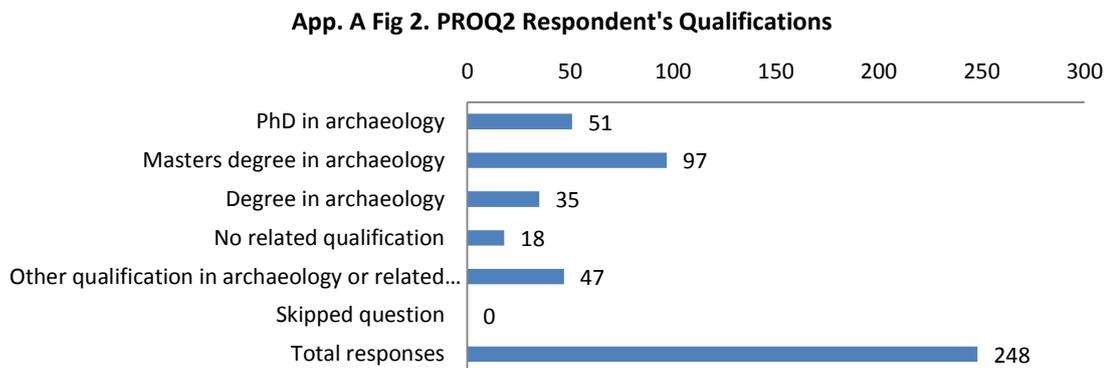
'Interested in the conservation of the underwater heritage, a member of the local community, the Island of Mozambique'; 'I wear a lot of these hats'; 'Recently started the Diploma in Underwater Archaeology offered by the Nautical Archaeology Society'; 'Nurse'; 'Research'; 'Retired academic Earth Scientist (geologist) who has done research in geo-archaeology and published in this area (but am still active in research and archival work). I am still an Honorary Associate of my former university and do research there part-time'; 'Aspiring diver/technician in an archaeology team'; 'Volunteer diver, avocational, NAS trainee'; 'Lawyer'; 'Consultant marine archaeologist, sole trader'; 'Project

leader heritage projects'; 'Conservation Management Plans, Significance Assessments, valuations/assessments movable cultural heritage, public & private property strategies'; 'Volunteer'; 'Palynology'; 'Director of a Small archaeological unit and CEO of a not for profit trust'; 'Part time Contract part time research student'; Also provides support to museums and exhibit design'; 'NAS assistant training officer'; 'To be honest I'm not sure what all these mean exactly. My job description is: senior maritime heritage policy advisor'; 'Coastal resource management'; 'Retired'; 'Retired but still active'; 'Private Sector Marine Archaeologist responsible for assessments of underwater archaeological resources in the natural resources exploration industry'; 'Coastal conservation planning for both natural resources and community/human wellbeing including the valuation by stakeholders of coastal heritage resources'; 'Shipwreck historian.'

2.2.2 PROQ2 Qualifications in archaeology or a related discipline (Please mark the highest)

This question corresponds to **question 2** of the non-professional survey. The responses were 51 PhDs; **97 Masters**: 34 Degrees; 18 with no relevant qualification and other options with 47. Other options included 'Master of Museum and Heritage Studies'; 'BSc Archaeological Conservation and Materials Studies'; 'PhD in cultural history'; 'BSc in Marine Science...'; 'Degree in conservation and materials science'; 'Trained technical illustrator'; 'M.A. Cultural Heritage Studies'; 'PhD anthropology'; 'MSc in Wood Science'; 'BA in Anthropology'; 'PhD Natural Resources and Earth Systems Science'; 'PhD Ecology'.

Appendix A Figure 2. PROQ2 – Profile of respondent's qualifications



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Earth Scientist (geologist)'; 'Post graduate diploma in Museum and Heritage Studies'; 'Master of Museum and Heritage Studies'; 'Degree in History and PhD candidate in Geomantic'; 'BSc Archaeological Conservation and Materials Studies'; 'PhD in cultural history'; 'PhD in geology'; 'BS in Marine Science, BA in Anthropology, MA in Marine Affairs and Policy'; 'NAS Pt 1-4 Certificate in Practical Archaeology (Sussex) Diploma in Archaeology (Sussex)'; 'Degree in conservation and

materials science'; 'History BA Hons'; 'Civil engineering, B.E.; 'Grad cert in underwater arch.'; 'Master in archaeology and art history'; 'Archaeology Honours'; 'Bachelor Arts (Archaeology) Post Graduate Diploma (Maritime Archaeology) Master of Science (Geosciences) Valuation in progress'; 'Degree and post degree in history'; 'Trained technical illustrator'; 'Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in history. Graduate Diploma in Museum Studies'; 'Master in Environment Study'; 'Marine Biology'; 'PhD student'; 'Master degree (history)'; 'Master's degree'; 'M.A. Cultural Heritage Studies'; 'NAS Part III Advanced certificate'; 'MD coastal resource management'; 'PhD anthropology'; 'BA History (Hons), Post Graduate Diploma in Maritime Archaeology, currently undertaking an MA by research'; 'PhD in Natural Resource Science and Management; MS in Wood Science; BA in Anthropology'; 'Ph.D. Natural Resources and Earth Systems Science'; 'History degree (minor in archaeology)'; 'Degree in Zoology & PGCE'; 'PhD Ecology'; 'History, Heritage Education'; 'Degree in history/Russian studies'; 'Doctor of Marine Histories (underwater archaeology) BA interdisciplinary Studies (marine archaeology)'.

2.2.3 PROQ3 Archaeological or other relevant cultural heritage experience [in years]

This corresponds to **question 5** of the non-professional survey. The responses were '**more than 20 years with 71 responses**' (**≈28%**), '15-20 years' with 38 (**≈15%**); '10-15 years' with 60 (**≈24%**), '5-10 years' with 35 (**≈14%**) and '0-5 years' with 43 responses (**≈17%**).

2.2.4 PROQ4 Does your occupation in archaeology/cultural heritage include a managerial role (includes management of public archaeology initiatives and site supervision)

This corresponds to **question 3** of the non-professional survey. The responses were '**yes**' with **148 (≈59%)** responses and 'no' with 99 responses (**≈40%**).

2.3 Section 2: Objectives of Public Archaeology Programmes

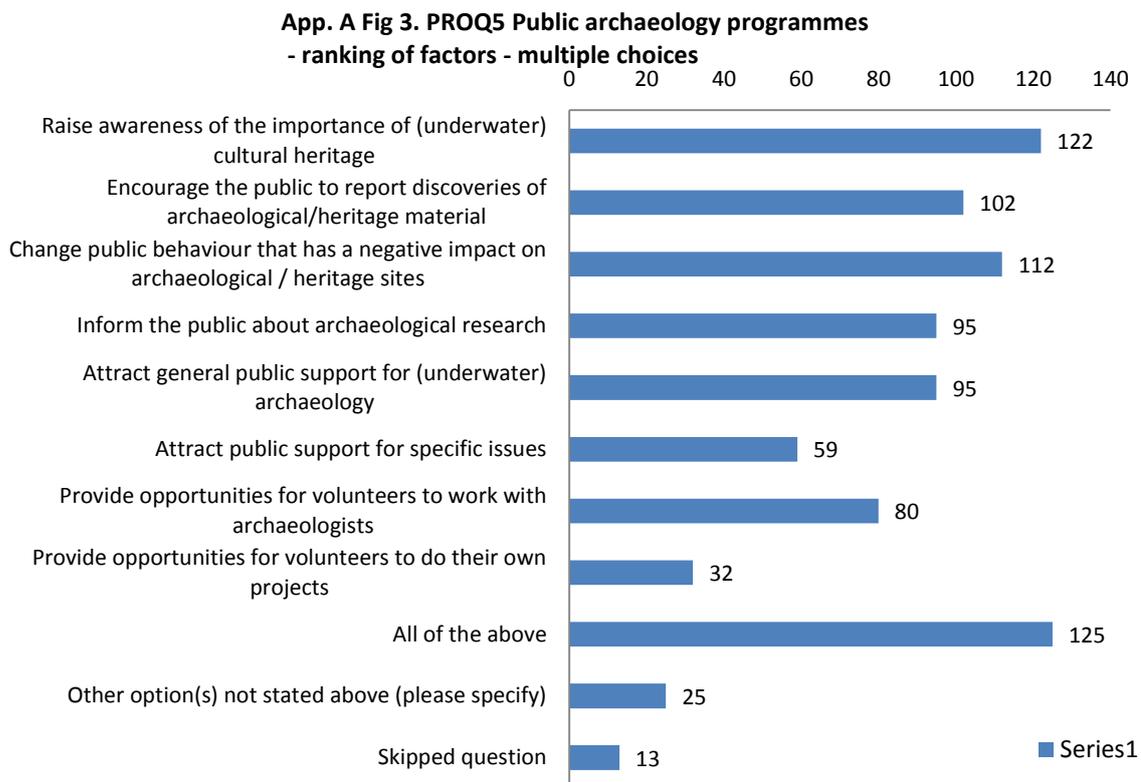
Guidance note to what constitutes public archaeology:

'For the purposes of this survey PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY is any INITIATIVE, ACTION or EVENT that informs or engages with the public about archaeology or underwater cultural heritage. The following questions are aimed at understanding your views on what public archaeology should aim to achieve and to what extent initiatives should be prioritized.'

2.3.1 PROQ5 What do you consider should be the OBJECTIVES of a public archaeology program (mark MORE than one answer if applicable):

This corresponds to **question 15** of the non-professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 3. PROQ5 Ranking of the aims of public archaeology programmes – multiple choices



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

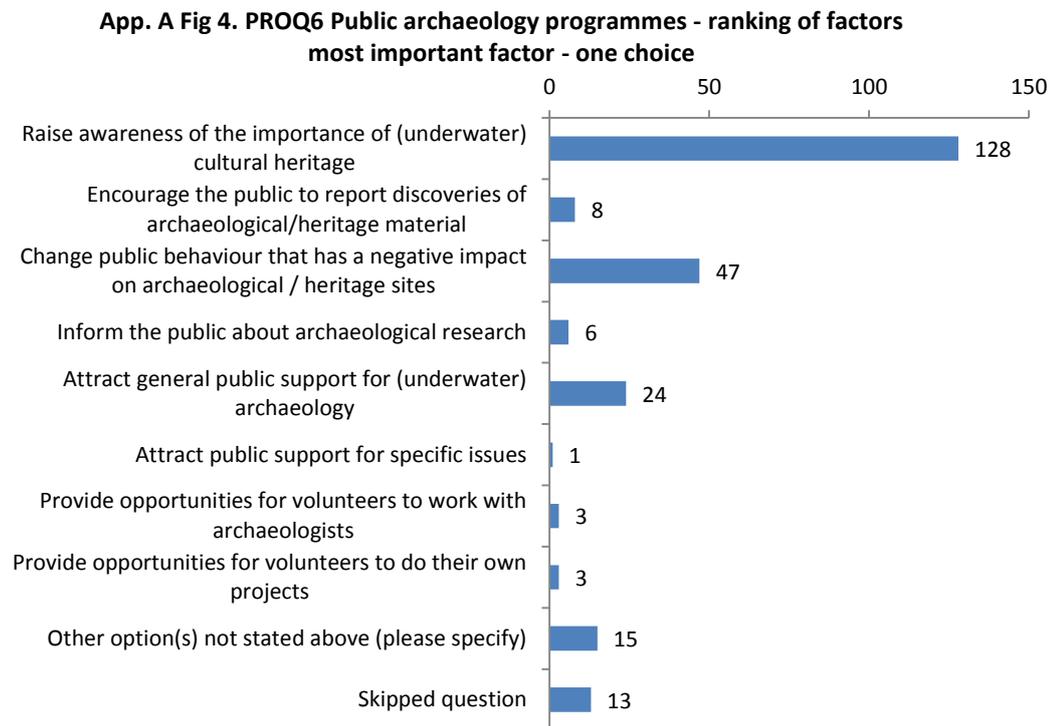
‘Especially with regard to underwater archaeology, educating the public on the differences between treasure hunting and archaeology is a priority’; ‘Provide opportunities for the public to have input or voice in the research / management experience’; ‘Raise awareness of conservation, and the possibility that sites have value and can be protected by planners and developers’; ‘Show the relevance of underwater archaeology to a wider slice of the community and allow the profession to be called on for more than just compliance tasks’; ‘Provide training opportunities; ‘If volunteers encouraged to do own projects they should have supervision/assistance from archaeologists or experienced others’; ‘Educate the public to leave sites alone if they don't know what they're doing. Educate everybody to record absolutely everything. Educate archaeologists to understand that they often know less than the locals’; ‘Allow the public to participate in the elaboration of a sound understanding of our common past (with all its inherent facets; i.e. culture of memory, cultural identity basis etc. etc.)’; ‘Managing projects of significant value, using highest standards in order to have the best results from a scientific point of view as well as for the public outreach’; ‘Promoting *in situ* conservation and public valuation of heritage. I work across the boundaries of many disciplines in my work (private/government/community) and am always surprised about the incredibly low profile that maritime archaeology (& arch in general) has. If not for me during these specific projects and meetings it would not be considered. Practitioners need to be more outgoing and forceful

about the significance of maritime heritage and stop being led by those outside the field (e.g. gov't officers and developers)'; 'Try to find a way to create a fund or the furtherance of public support and interest in archaeology that will provide funding for initial projects as tasters. It can be theoretical and actual practical skills'; 'Provide opportunities for archaeologists to instruct and help amateurs'; 'Encourage and enable public to participate in decision-making regarding actions taken on their behalf regarding the present and future management of their heritage'; 'Work alongside with community and public and understand traditional approaches to (underwater) cultural heritage where it is easily understandable for people. Archaeology should not stand against what people believe and/or practice'; 'Encourage education, both avocational and professional AND prompt reporting of site work to the public'; 'To make the archaeological process accessible to the community. Also through involvement and education business and community can provide valuable support for cultural heritage, economic and tourism values resulting from research and resulting interpretation/ exhibitions'; 'It's also about making archaeology relevant and meaningful to groups / communities / target audiences. In order for all the above to work or produce results, people need to be engaged and feel that archaeology is somehow relevant to them in their everyday lives'; 'Educate people as to the difference between looting and profit oriented shipwreck salvage when it's done following the site appropriate standards for underwater archaeology by properly trained and equipped staff, who are not sacrificing knowledge for profit'; 'Record foreshore archaeology before it erodes away' and 'locate, identify, assess and monitor sites. Develop underwater archaeological techniques'.

2.3.2 PROQ6 What do you consider should be the MOST important objective of a public archaeology program (mark ONE option):

This corresponds to **question 16** of the non-professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 4. PROQ6 Ranking of the aims of public archaeology programmes – most important – single choice.



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

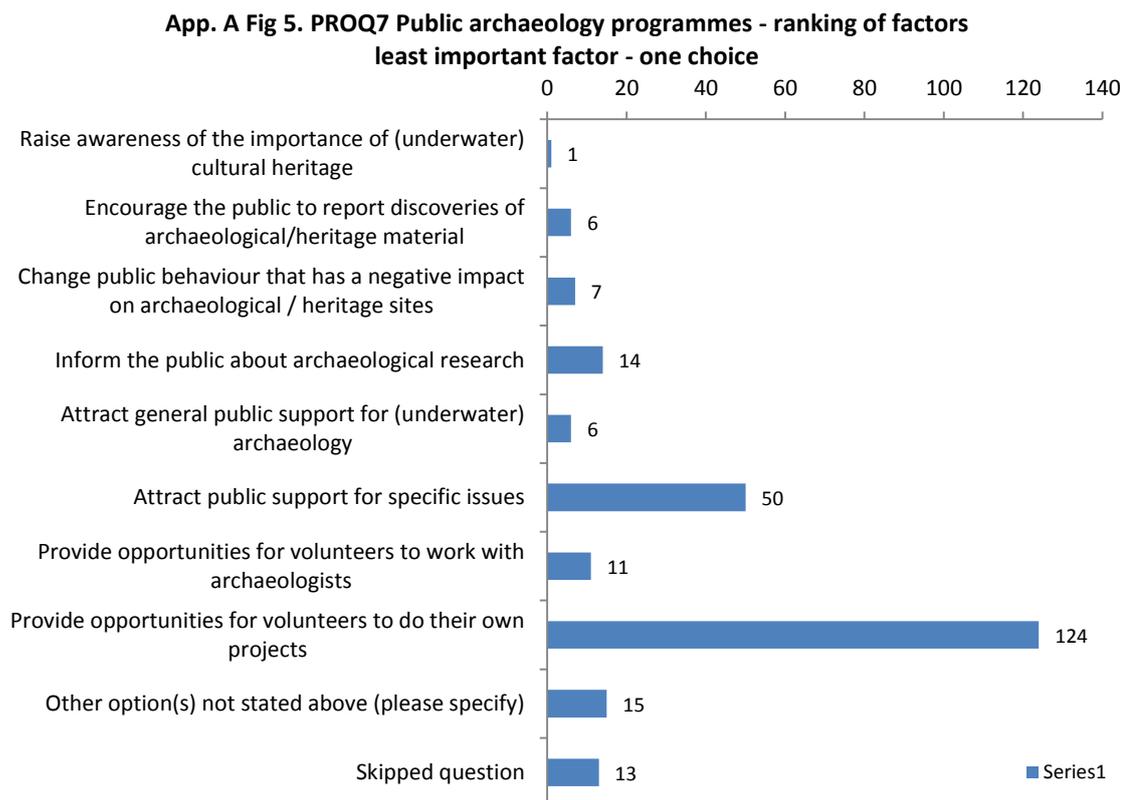
‘Provide opportunities for the public to have input or voice in the research / management experience’; ‘Educate, inform and inspire the public about history and heritage within their community in ways that are inclusive, culturally sensitive and appropriate/useful’; ‘Allow the public to participate in the elaboration of a sound understanding of our common past (with all its inherent facets; i.e. culture of memory, cultural identity basis etc., etc.)’; ‘Managing projects of significant value, using highest standards in order to have the best results from a scientific point of view as well as for the public outreach’; ‘Timely industry training programs and information dissemination that target developers and government public land managers about the important role that archaeology has in the public record, and the opportunities for capitalising on its value in favour of the public (e.g. tourism, community programs). This has been lacking for decades. We are losing too much heritage through the pressure of politics and badly handled developments, both public and private’; ‘It depends on the public archaeology program. It’s likely that each program will have specific objectives and target audiences’; ‘It should be to give the public agency, to offer opportunities for them to experience and explore archaeology’; ‘Bring shipwrecks, their relics, their stories and what can be learnt from them to the public’; ‘Create projects/opportunities that provide ENJOYMENT for the public and that highlight the impact of archaeology/cultural heritage (societal, social, economic etc.) in a FUN, MEANINGFUL and UNIVERSAL way... The rest will follow!’; ‘To engage the public in the

uch program in general and encourage them to develop and implement projects that they lead with assistance'; 'Conduct exiting and interesting research that engages the public and specifically can generate tourist visits'; 'For the needs of archaeology to match the needs of the community. In other words, for archaeology to provide a service and be a facilitator to meet the community's needs rather than the needs of the archaeologist'; 'Making archaeology meaningful and relevant to people'; 'Dispelling the idea that all archaeology should be left to government and institutional archaeologists'; 'Wasn't in the list above to be self-sustaining, public archaeology has to be about people doing their own work - e.g. bottom up not top down.'

2.3.3 PROQ7 Which do you consider should be the LEAST important objective of a public archaeology program (mark ONE option):

This corresponds to **question 17** of the non-professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 5. PROQ7 Ranking of the aims of public archaeology programmes - least important - single choice



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Provide opportunities for the public to have input or voice in the research / management experience'; 'Educate, inform and inspire the public about history and heritage within their

community in ways that are inclusive, culturally sensitive and appropriate/useful'; 'Allow the public to participate in the elaboration of a sound understanding of our common past (with all its inherent facets; i.e. culture of memory, cultural identity basis etc., etc.); 'Managing projects of significant value, using highest standards in order to have the best results from a scientific point of view as well as for the public outreach'; 'Timely industry training programs and information dissemination that target developers and government public land managers about the important role that archaeology has in the public record, and the opportunities for capitalising on its value in favour of the public (e.g. tourism, community programs). This has been lacking for decades. We are losing too much heritage through the pressure of politics and badly handled developments, both public and private'; 'It depends on the public archaeology program. It's likely that each program will have specific objectives and target audiences'; 'It should be to give the public agency, to offer opportunities for them to experience and explore archaeology'; 'Bring shipwrecks, their relics, their stories and what can be learnt from them to the public'; 'Create projects/opportunities that provide ENJOYMENT for the public and that highlight the impact of archaeology/cultural heritage (societal, social, economic etc.) in a FUN, MEANINGFUL and UNIVERSAL way... The rest will follow!'; 'To engage the public in the uch program in general and encourage them to develop and implement projects that they lead with assistance'; 'Conduct exiting and interesting research that engages the public and specifically can generate tourist visits'; 'For the needs of archaeology to match the needs of the community. In other words, for archaeology to provide a service and be a facilitator to meet the community's needs rather than the needs of the archaeologist'; 'Making archaeology meaningful and relevant to people'; 'Dispelling the idea that all archaeology should be left to government and institutional archaeologists'; 'all important'; 'All of these are important, but what is least important is 'public' archaeology being used in place of professional archaeology by governments looking to save money, Good public archaeology takes place in an environment in which there is also good professional archaeology, suitably funded by government. It is not an 'either/or' situation'; 'Whilst it was (relatively) easy to quantify 'Most Important', in my opinion all the rest carry equal weight.'

2.4 Section 3: Respondents organisation's commitment to Public Archaeology

Section guidance note:

The following questions are aimed at establishing to what extent PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY is part of your own organisation's objectives.

2.4.1 PROQ8 Are public archaeology initiatives part of your organisations aims and objectives:

If your answer is no or not applicable go to question 17

The responses were **'yes'** which received **154 (≈63%)** responses, 'no' with 56 (≈23%) and 'not applicable' with 25 (≈10%) representing respondents whose organisations do not have public archaeology initiatives.

The question that arose from this response was whether any particular group could be identified as having a lower organisational commitment to public archaeology than others, but the result of further filtering of the 'master data file' supplied by Survey Monkey was inconclusive. The results of the secondary filter are as follows: 68 'research archaeologists', 47 had organisational public archaeology objectives; of the 54 'contract archaeologists' 29 had organisational public archaeology objectives; of the 31 'lecturers...' 22 had organisational public archaeology objectives; of the 41 'cultural heritage resource managers' 28 had organisational public archaeology objectives; of the 5 'conservators' 3 had organisational public archaeology objectives; with 25 of the 28 'public archaeologists' stating that they had organisational public archaeology objectives. Surprisingly 3 stated none, but without clarification.

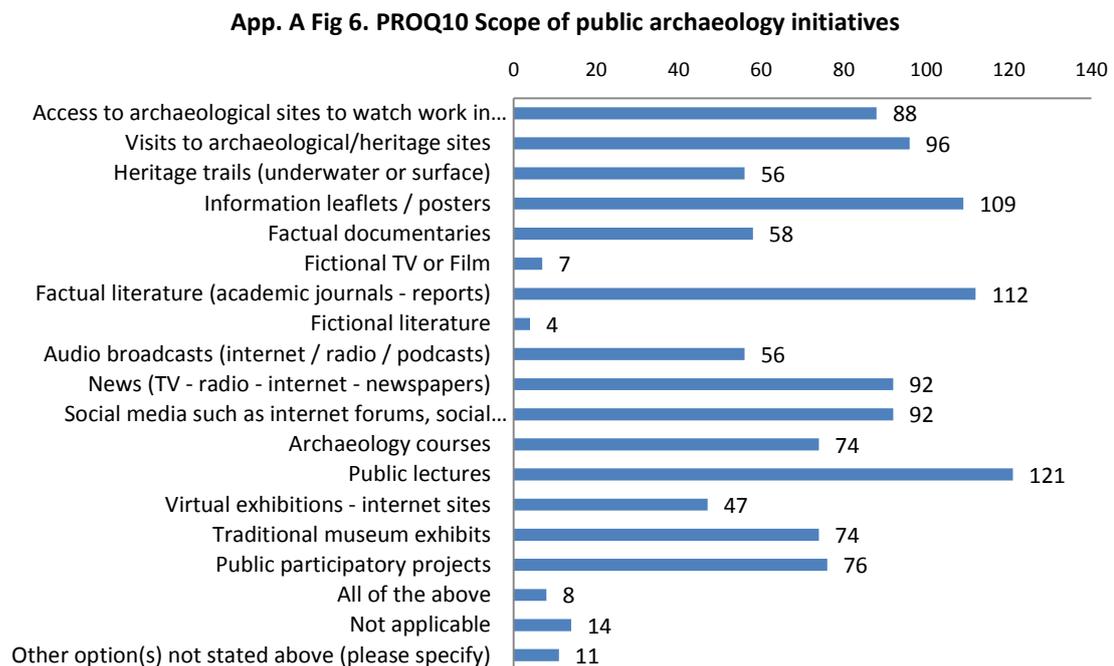
2.4.2 PROQ9 How long has your organisation had public archaeology aims and objectives:

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were **'more than 20 years', with 56 (≈32%)**; '10-20 years' with 22 (≈13%); '5-10 years' with 28 (≈16%); 'Less than 5 years' with 19 (≈11%); 'Since its creation' (please state the year) with 25 (≈14%).

2.4.3 PROQ10 Which of the following does your organisation include in its own public archaeology initiatives:

This question corresponds to **questions 18** in the non-professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 6. PROQ10 – Scope of public archaeology programmes offered by organisations - most important - single choice.



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Publicly accessible GIS of underwater sites'; 'Visitors, including children, trooping around the scaffold while I am trying to work. A photographer coming around to document...more publicity than technical shots. A website for one project. Hoardings or posters around sites designed to inform the public'; 'Archaeology programs such as proper survey and documentation of submerged historic sites, shipwrecks and technical skills for exploration; seminars and workshops'; 'Reconnaissance for state historic preservation offices; 'We (ProMare, Inc.) teach NAS courses as a way to train volunteers to help us with survey work and to encourage them to conduct their own projects'; 'Free you tube videos'; 'AIMA/NAS Training courses in secondary schools, and public generally; 'Lectures aimed specifically at the industry we work in.'

2.4.4 PROQ11 Which age groups, does your organisation include in its aims and objectives:

There is no corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were 'retired' with 16 responses ($\approx 7\%$); '40-65' with 27 ($\approx 12\%$); '18-40' with 30 ($\approx 13\%$); '12-18' with 15 ($\approx 6\%$), 'younger than 12' with 5 ($\approx 2\%$), 'all the above' with 87 ($\approx 39\%$) and 'no set policy'

2.4.5 PROQ12 Approximately what proportion of your organisation's time is devoted to public archaeology (includes administrative time):

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were 'more than 75%' with 14 responses ($\approx 9\%$); '50 -75%' with '16 ($\approx 10\%$); '25 -50%' with 27 ($\approx 17\%$); '**10 -25% with 50 ($\approx 32\%$)** and 'less than 10%' with 48 responses ($\approx 31\%$). The average / mean of organisational time spent on public archaeology initiatives is $\approx 25\%$

2.4.6 PROQ13 What proportion of your work time is devoted to public archaeology (includes administrative time):

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were: more than 75% with 15 responses ($\approx 15\%$); 50 – 75% with 20 (20%); 25 – 50% with 26; 10 – 25% with 45 and **Less than 10% with 49 responses**. The average / mean of individual's time spent on public archaeology initiatives is slightly higher at $\approx 30\%$

2.4.7 PROQ14 Has the proportion of your work time devoted to public archaeology changed since you started in your current position (includes administrative time):

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were '**increased**' with **82 ($\approx 54\%$) responses**; 'decreased' with 27 ($\approx 32\%$) and 'remained the same' with 65 ($\approx 37\%$) responses.

2.4.8 PROQ15 Do your organisation's public archaeology aims and objectives compete for resources with its other archaeology or heritage functions:

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were: '**yes**' with **82 responses ($\approx 54\%$)**; 'no' with 49 ($\approx 32\%$) and 'don't know' with 20 ($\approx 13\%$) responses.

2.4.9 PROQ16 Is a public archaeology project or initiative usually given priority over other projects:

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were: 'always' with 8 ($\approx 5\%$) responses; '**project dependent**' with **118 ($\approx 84\%$)** and 'never', with 14 (10%) of the responses.

2.4.10 PROQ17 If your organisation does not have public archaeology aims and objectives is there a specific reason (mark MORE than one answer if applicable):

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. Responses: 'Lack of experience in public archaeology' with 9 responses; 'Lack of funds' with 12; '**Not part of the organisations aims and objectives with 35**' and 'other option(s) not stated above (please specify)' with 15.

Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Public initiatives usually have dollars attached and being non-profit this is attractive'; 'Public archaeology is only used for specific projects, where there will be public interest'; 'Not a specific aim, but accommodated where appropriate and possible'; 'Consulting firm so we find it very hard to convince management to engage with the public unless absolutely necessary and even then it needs to be shown to be a necessary; Convincing clients to fund such work'; 'Government decided to stop public archaeology research in Flanders. Researchers became civil servants doing administration. (My project ends in 2014); 'not seen as a priority for government spending'; 'While the organization as a whole would not recognize public archaeology as an aim, it is part of the mandate for the archaeological staff and department. We do this as part of our efforts to raise awareness, educate, and exchange information on every project to a greater or lesser degree depending on the available time and budget.'

2.4.11 PROQ18 Do you devote your own time (outside work) to public archaeology initiatives:

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The response options were, '**yes**' with **173 responses (≈78%)** and 'no' with 50 responses (≈22%).

2.5 Section 4: Public Awareness of Underwater Cultural Heritage

Guidance note:

The following questions are aimed at understanding to what extent the public is aware of archaeology and underwater cultural heritage and your opinion on which factors have had an impact, and over what time period this change in awareness has taken place.

2.5.1 PROQ19 The public are more aware of underwater archaeology / heritage now than when you became involved in archaeology:

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were 'agree strongly' with 55 ($\approx 23\%$) responses; '**agree slightly**' with **111 ($\approx 46\%$)**; 'neither agree or disagree' with 42 ($\approx 23\%$); 'disagree slightly' with 13 ($\approx 5\%$) and 'disagree strongly' with 3 ($\approx 1.00\%$) responses.

Guidance note: if your opinion is neutral or you disagree please go to question 25

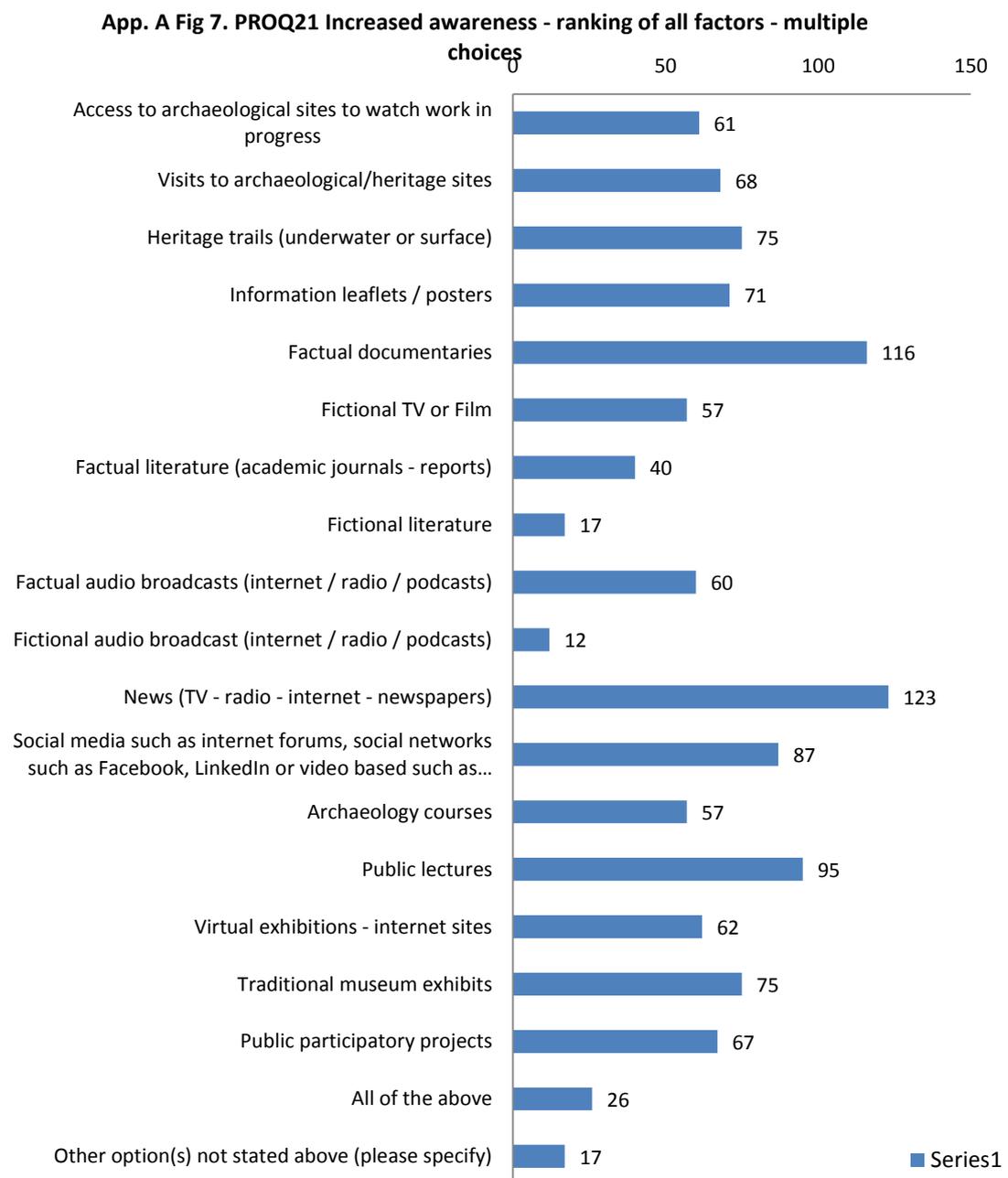
2.5.2 PROQ20 Do you think that the change has been over the past:

There is no corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were '25 years' with 26 ($\approx 13\%$) responses; '15 years' with 49 (25%); '**10 years**' with **55 ($\approx 28\%$)**; '5 years' with 32 ($\approx 16\%$) and 'don't know' with 34 ($\approx 17\%$) responses.

2.5.3 PROQ21 Which do you think have been the factors that have led to the public's increased awareness of underwater archaeology / heritage (mark MORE than one answer if applicable):

Although there is **no** exactly corresponding questions in the non-professional survey questions, but is related to **question 9**.

Appendix A Figure 7. PROQ21 Increased awareness: ranking of all factors - multiple choices.



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

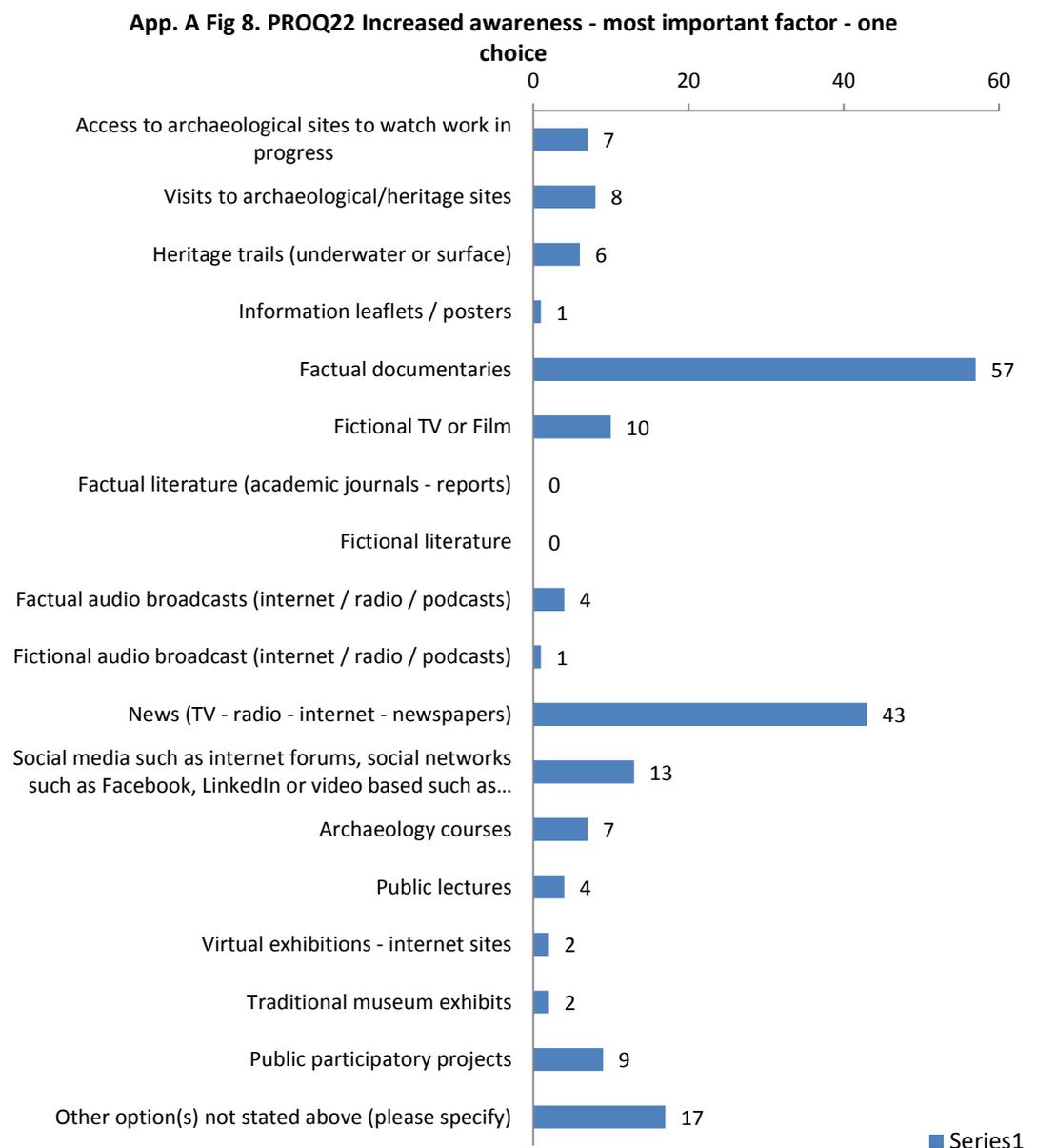
'The recovery of the stolen coins of the Mercedes from Odyssey'; '...I often find that people's perceptions of archaeology are highly influenced by 'Time Team'; 'Major underwater discoveries that have been well documented in regular news streams. In particular the discovery of HMAS Sydney and the midget submarine off Sydney'; 'UCH found by recreational scuba divers; Cultural tourism...'; 'I think the public may be more aware but are less engaged and involved, here in the UK at least; Orkney Marine Archaeology Forum bringing together people working and researching in marine environment to discuss issues and projects'; 'Mass media i.e. TV is a very important tool for

disseminating information about archaeology, there appears to be a strong interest and any UCH documentary is generally well received'; 'The acceptance by the u/w community that we MUST work with the public and that without their interest our work is null and void.'

2.5.4 PROQ22 Which do you think is the MOST effective factor that has had an impact on the public's increased awareness of underwater archaeology /heritage (mark ONE option):

Although there is no exactly corresponding questions in the non-professional survey questions but is related to **question 10**.

Appendix A Figure 8. PROQ22 Increased awareness - most important factor - one choice.



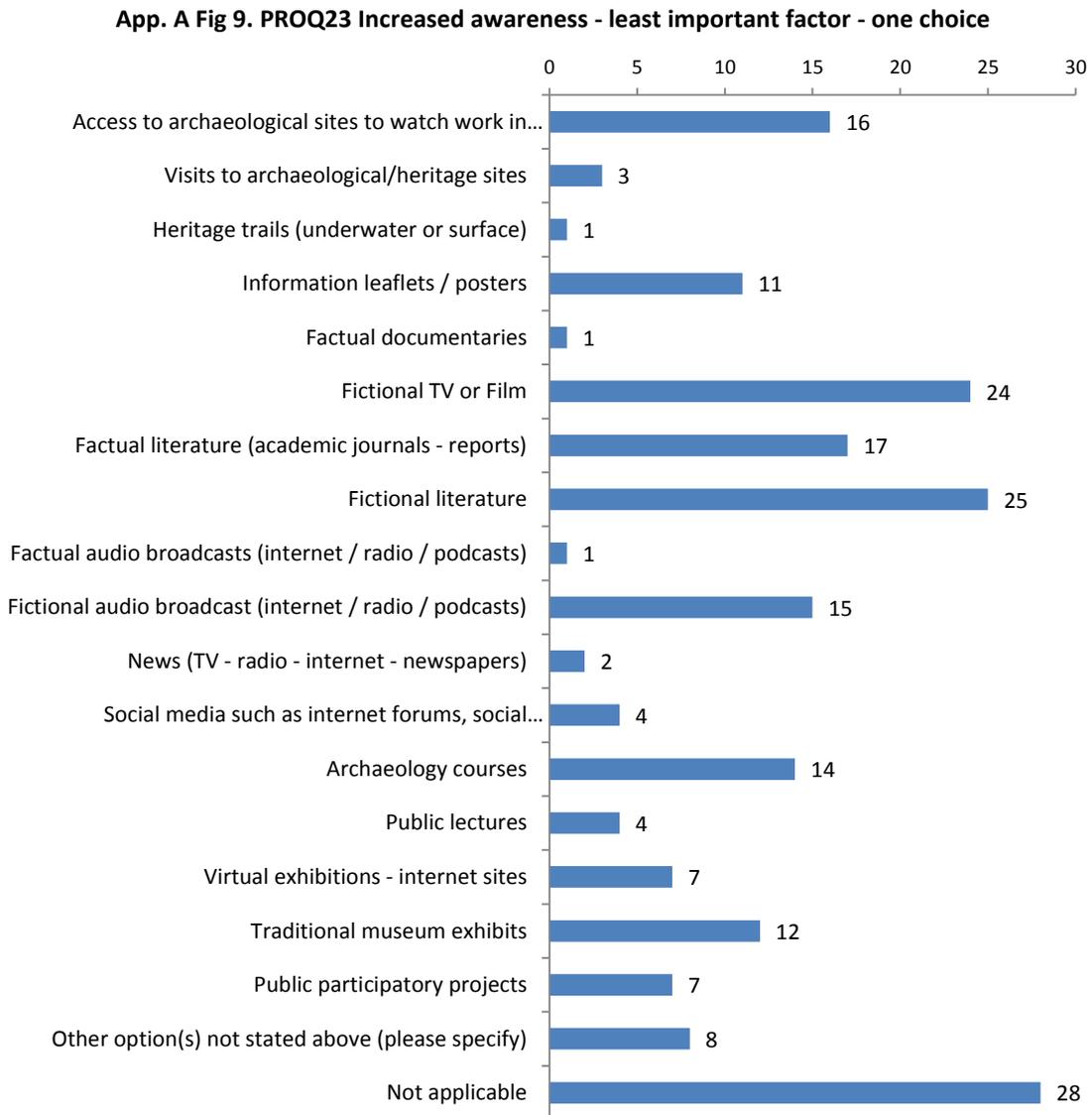
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'This is a time dependent question: I would say the input of social media has increased in the last 5 years; Time Team; England - Heritage Crime Initiative; Initiatives by governments, museums, and organisations such as ASHA [Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology] and AIMA [Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology] to promote a better public understanding of what is and is not "archaeology" (i.e., it is not about finding buried treasure, etc.); 'General comment: already interested heritage aficionados will attend digs, seminars, displays and read literature (increasing the knowledge of the already converted)'; 'In the last two decades a 'green' attitude towards the natural and cultural heritage has cemented itself in society...that is the main cause'; 'Increased accessibility to sites (e.g. broader use of scuba) without the need to be taken there by an archaeologist'; 'In this I include projects such as the Mary Rose, National archaeology days, amateur projects, educational projects involving children, and in the UK, for archaeology in general, I think 'Time Team' has had a huge impact. It has a massive following amongst the young. In France it is less participatory and more didactic, but whole families engage in open day visits, and unlike the British, the French of all ages are prepared to read, study and listen. They do not expect instant dumbed down information in the form of flashing lights, animations and video. I've just been to an exhibition on maps, charts and navigation. it was packed with people of all ages who were actively studying the charts, and had paid €5 for the privilege. Sadly, this is not a cultural divergence by the French, it is social conservatism, they are heading towards the same idiocracy as the USA and UK, but more slowly. They haven't properly got their heads around participation yet, because the 'stale' didactic approach still works.'

2.5.5 PROQ23 Which do you think is the LEAST effective factor that has had an impact on the public's increased awareness of underwater archaeology /heritage (mark ONE option):

Although there is no exactly corresponding questions in the non-professional survey questions but is related to **question 11**.

Appendix A Figure 9. PROQ23 Increased awareness - least important factor - single choice.



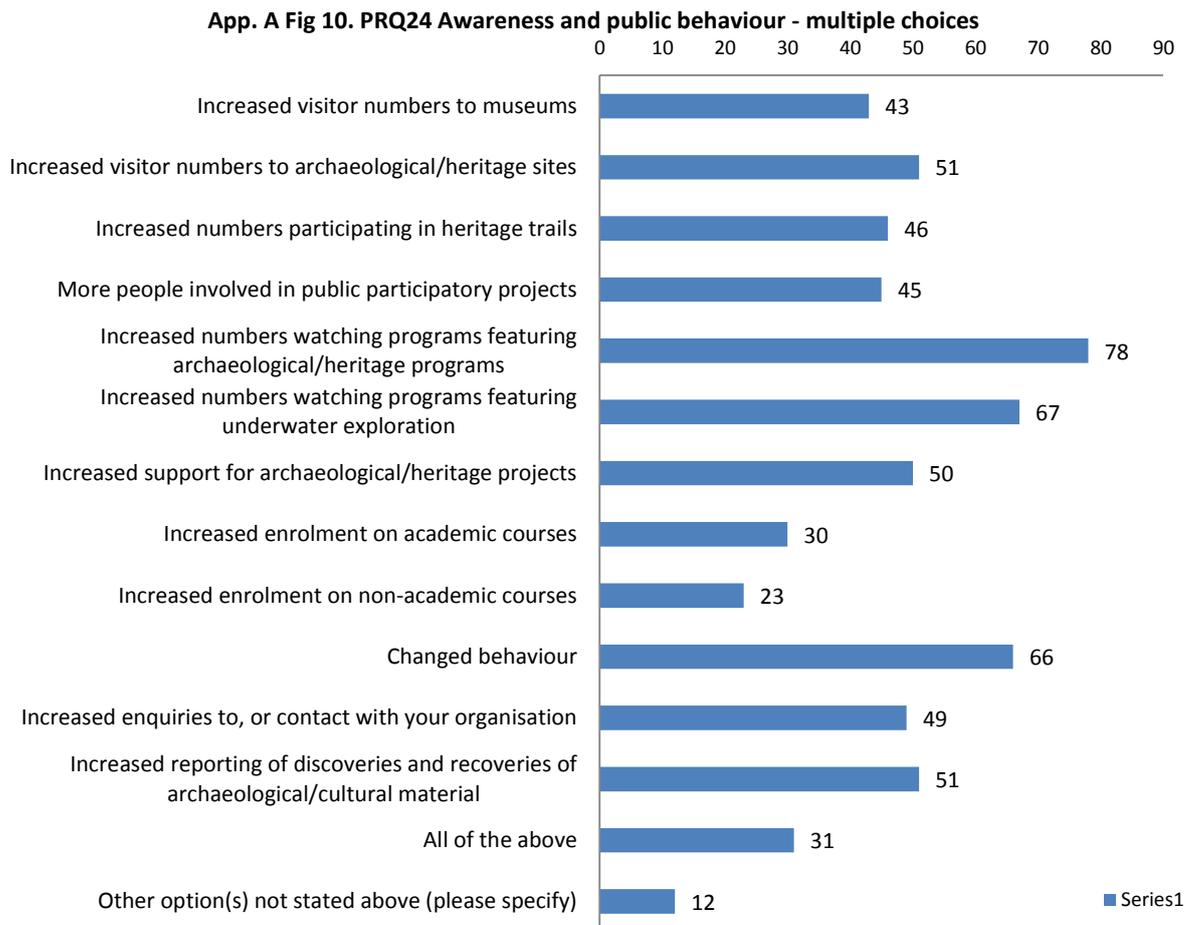
23 Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘The heritage / history curriculum at primary and high schools should be a very important avenue for education of pre adults and this needs to be done well (but hasn’t been in the past)’; exhibits, stories, film concentrating on treasure and not on the heritage.’

2.5.6 PROQ24 How do you think that this increased awareness of underwater archaeology / heritage is reflected in changes in public behaviour (mark MORE than one answer if applicable):

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 10. PRQ24 Awareness and public behaviour - multiple choices



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘Speaking to visitors, they seem to have much more general knowledge/awareness. I think social media has a lot to do with this’; ‘There is an increased tendency of local heritage communities to include underwater heritage in their activities and publications but this is still very limited’; ‘Opinion is there has been a change in behaviour in general regarding heritage and environmental issues’; ‘Increased political support’; ‘In Ontario, the removal of the only dedicated provincial marine position, and the gov’t s attitude towards marine (won’t deal with it until land archaeology fixed - Assistant Deputy Ministry, MTCS) has set back u/w archaeology tremendously.’

2.6 Section 5: Archaeology – Salvage – Treasure Hunting

Guidance note:

ARCHAEOLOGY – SALVAGE – TREASURE HUNTING are activities that can result in the recovery of cultural heritage material. For the purposes of this survey, archaeology is primarily motivated by the pursuit of knowledge, while salvage and treasure hunting are primarily motivated by the recovery of material for financial reward.

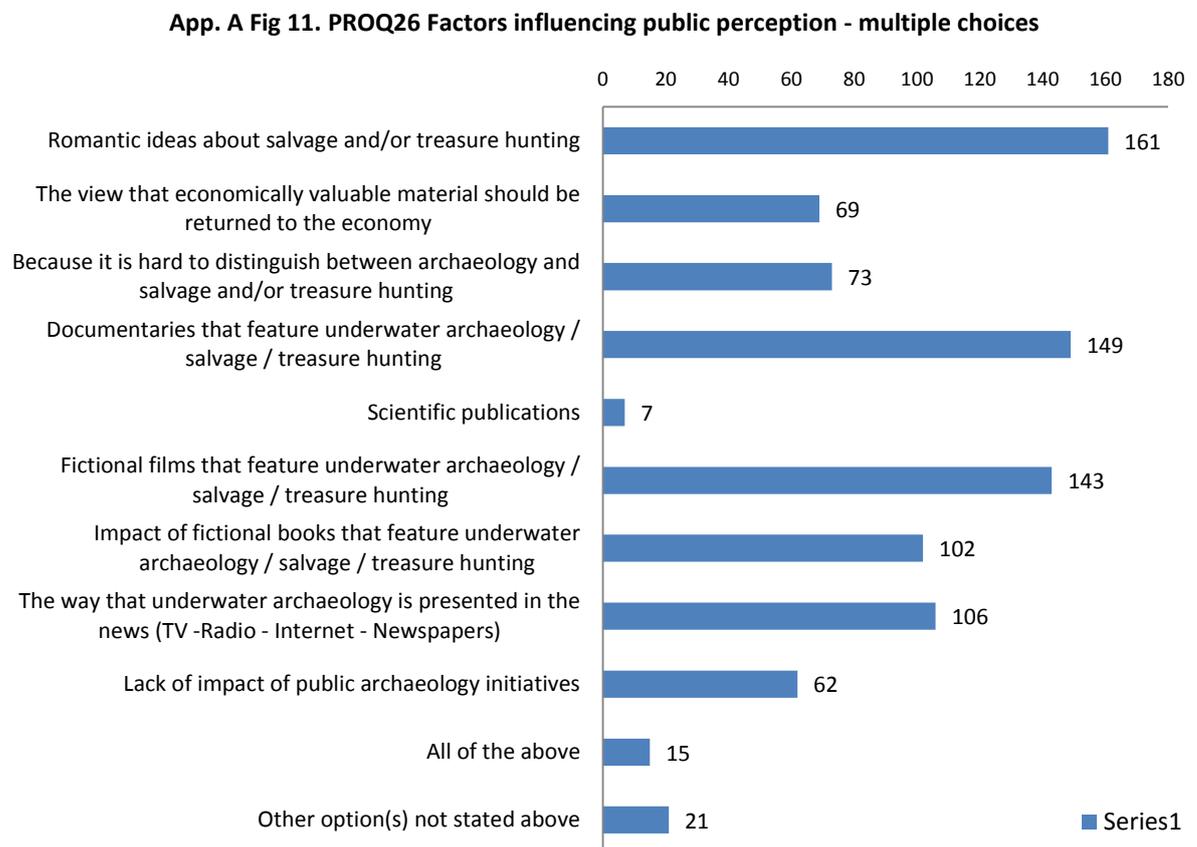
2.6.1 PROQ25 The public confuses underwater archaeology with salvage and / or treasure hunting:

There is **no** corresponding question in the non-professional survey. The responses were 'agree strongly' with **107 (~49%) responses**; 'agree slightly' with 85 (~38%); 'neither agree or disagree' with 15 (~7%); 'disagree slightly' with 10 (~5%) and 'disagree strongly' with 3 (~1%) responses.

2.6.2 PRQ26 What do you think are the factors (mark MORE than one answer if applicable):

Although phrased differently **question 21** of the non-professional survey is a reciprocal question and utilises the same answer options.

Appendix A Figure 11. PROQ26 Factors influencing public perception - multiple choices



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Often treasure hunters use words 'underwater research' to cover up their activities; Insider stitch-ups within the corridors of power that have the gloss of legitimacy as archaeology. Publicity in favour of the salvage / treasure hunting companies in the unsuspecting professional maritime press...';

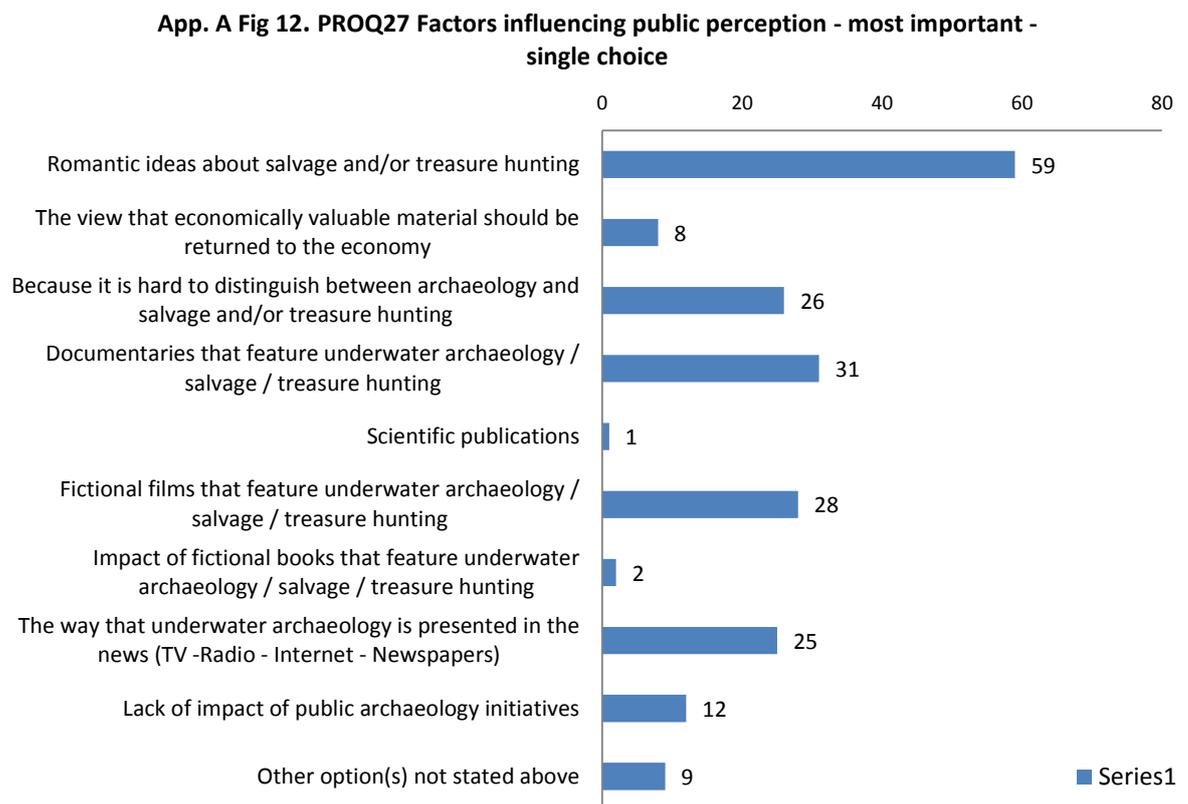
'Aggressive misinformation by Commercial Salvage Companies'; 'An observation: It is hard for the

people without archaeological knowledge to distinguish between archaeology and salvage’; ‘Treasure hunters have tended to do a better job than archaeologists at capturing the public imagination; I also think this question is for the public and I can't answer it’; ‘The other problem in France is that what is taught as archaeology is actually more akin to art history, and a number of archaeologists, particularly underwater ones, are more akin to antiquarians than archaeologists. Their exhibitions - such as the statues recovered from the Rhone by *.....*, are viewed as collections of treasures and not seen in their wider archaeological context.’

2.6.3 PROQ27 Which do you think is the MOST important factor (mark one option):

Although phrased differently **question 22** of the non-professional survey is a reciprocal question and utilises the same answer options.

Appendix A Figure 12. PROQ27 Factors influencing public perception - most important - single choice



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘The general public are not aware that salvage / treasure hunting is illegal. And if you report it to the police they do nothing even when signs are posted every 50m saying its illegal!’; ‘A certain lack of interest and ability to convey and pass the message on the values of our disciplinary efforts and, as a

consequence, of the value of overall cultural heritage and of the historical reconstruction we try to reach with our professional commitment'; 'Personal gain, perceived or actual.'

2.7 Section 6: Additional Information

2.7.1 PROQ28 Please add any further comments that you think would be helpful and please specify whether your comments refer to a particular question above:

'We have made great strides in reaching out to the public to differentiate what we do from looters but much still needs to be done'; 'Re-dominant public perceptions of underwater archaeology is limited to shipwrecks, rather than awareness as an archaeological method. Marine-based archaeology is largely invisible and inaccessible to the public compared to terrestrial. Different administrative approaches to maritime archaeology help to "muddy the waters"; 'Legal matters are not always clear, easy to understand, or sufficiently well understood'; '...I believe that in the best case scenario people misunderstands what underwater archaeology stands for; and, in the worst case scenario a lot of people haven't even heard of it...besides the media presents the underwater field work that the government has done in the same way Hollywood movies do: presenting valuable materials that need to be taken out of the ocean in order to benefit society. This distorts people's view on underwater cultural heritage and endangers it furthermore by making it more vulnerable to the actions of treasure-hunting companies and civilians'; 'Archaeologists need to explain to the public the difference between salvage/TH and archaeology in a clearer way with examples'; 'I feel that outreach to the public in many forms of heritage endeavour has come to dominate over the traditional practical and studious activities. This can be seen in the dumbing down of museum displays and exhibitions, in the pursuit of "footfall" figures and to satisfy equality objectives. Advertisements for outreach specialists predominate where hands-on archaeology and conservation jobs become hard to get, and finds are not processed adequately'; 'The dividing line between archaeology and treasure hunting is often skewed, the objectives of a recovery for historic conservation sometimes becomes intertwined with treasure seekers...'; 'Archaeologists have not done a particularly good job of explaining to the public why "treasure hunting" is not OK..'; Explanations such as the need to keep a collection together, the importance of context, ethics, etc. are not self-explanatory to the lay public and often seem sanctimonious and patronising to non-archaeologists'; 'I have made comments under the questions above. Generally, however, despite there being a marked improvement in the perception of heritage I think that the treasure hunting view still prevails in the public. This needs to be corrected by good documentaries (History Cold Case SBS is EXCELLENT) with accompanying educational curricula for Australian public schools...'; 'The public is just as interested in a TH [treasure-hunter] recovering gold coins as they are in an archaeologist recovering an amphora...'; 'It is all adventure and entertainment to them...'; 'Social web sites are the best to make aware the public; States, like Florida, that allow commercial salvage of historic shipwrecks should stop issuing search and salvage permits to treasure hunters and have

more aggressive outreach programs to better educate the public about the benefits of archaeology and the need to protect submerged and terrestrial cultural resources for future generations'; 'I think that archaeologists are doing a better job at exciting the public, in ways that treasure hunters have traditionally done. Certainly the trend is moving away from ivory tower isolationism and more and more towards public engagement'; 'Implementation regulation to protect underwater heritage is powerless...'; 'I feel that many for-profit salvage companies blur the line between archaeology and salvage intentionally or by making small steps towards best practice (e.g. selling collections intact or publishing a report)...use the same methods as archaeologists (at least in terms of technology, if not excavation and recording), so the distinctions of ethics and ownership of the past that fundamentally separate archaeology and salvage are often lost on the public; '.... As the modern day pirates, treasure hunters have a huge romantic public following but give little back to the public'; 'There needs to be more effective interaction between the professional archaeological community and the media in order to educate media professionals on the difference between treasure hunting/ salvage and professional archaeology'; 'Overall I think the change in people's / divers' behaviour is due to a wider awareness of the importance of ecological sustainability and corresponding appreciation of the cultural environment over the last 25 years'; 'There remains a lack of engagement and general understanding about marine cultural heritage'; '...it is compounded by how salvage/treasure hunting is portrayed by the news media'; 'In question 27 I believe it is hard for the general public to discern what is u/w archaeology versus treasure-hunting. Especially true with shows like "Treasure Quest" that identify "archaeologists" working with treasure hunters'; 'I do believe that awareness is one of the most important question. WE have to involve the public into the unknown field of archaeology'; 'Your survey should not have effectively taken the position that archaeology is never done by commercial treasure hunters. That inserts bias into the study and thereby skews the results. Odyssey Marine Explorations is an excellent example of a commercial, treasure salvage company that has done underwater archaeology. See <<http://www.shipwreck.net/featuresarchpapers12.php>> Please read my paper discussing Socialism versus Capitalism in underwater archaeology. <<http://hunleyfinder.wordpress.com/article/ethics-in-underwater-archaeology-by-dr-9a3pk7ykcgda-6/>>; 'To add to questions 25-27. I give about a dozen or so public presentations each year to a variety of groups (students, forums, academics, and uniformed regular folk). Treasure hunting and archeology is so frequently confused I now address this in every talk no matter what the subject matter (Civil War wrecks, wrecks in rivers, a specific site, etc.,....I mostly blame this on both romanticism and books/ film (the recent Tin-Tin film is such an example) and the mistaken belief that seems to equate finding a "treasure" wreck with winning the lottery''.

2.7.2 PROQ29 Would you be prepared to take part in a follow-up interview:

Response options: **Yes 148** : No 70

3 Survey for non-professionals

3.1 Introduction to the survey

Similar to the survey aimed at professionals there was a brief explanation as to why the survey was being conducted with guidance notes to help explain heritage related jargon and terminology.

3.2 Structure of the survey

The survey was divided into sections: respondents personal profile; involvement in UCH or underwater archaeology; aims and objectives of public archaeology; archaeology, salvage and treasure hunting; protection of UCH; preservation of UCH; access to UCH; reporting of discoveries of UCH; availability of information about legislation of government policy and additional information.

4 Introduction to the survey as presented to the respondents

This survey is aimed at avocational archaeologists, recreational divers and members of the public who have an interest in underwater and intertidal archaeology and underwater cultural heritage sites in general. If you are reading this introduction, but you are a professional archaeologist or otherwise employed in a position related to cultural heritage please do not complete this survey but go to: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/PUBARCHSURVEYPRO2013> which is specifically designed for you. Thank you for taking the time to complete my survey your opinions are important.

The main aims of research are: to understand and quantify the impact of Public Archaeology initiatives and to define the factors that influence our perceptions, understanding and value of underwater cultural heritage.

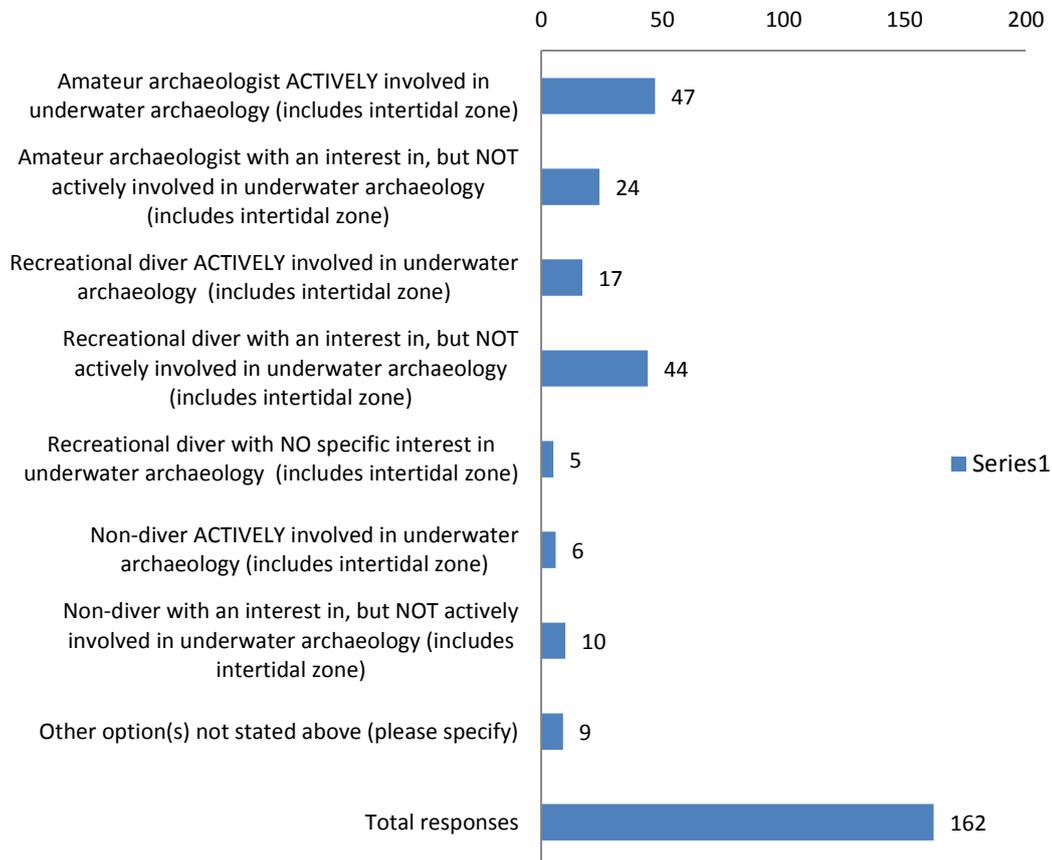
When progressing through the survey you will see that some of the questions ask you to choose the MOST or LEAST important factor. I appreciate that in some or even all cases this might be impossible. If you find that this is the case please choose NOT APPLICABLE or OTHER to help me understand your response'.

4.1 Section 1: Questions to establish respondent's profile

4.1.1 AVOQ1 Which option best describes you:

Appendix A Figure 13. AVOQ1 Description that best matches the respondent's relationship with UCH.

App. A Fig 13. AVOQ1 - Description of the respondent



This question corresponds to **question 1** of the professional survey. The responses were **71 (≈43%) considered themselves to be amateur / avocational archaeologists**, 66 (≈41%) recreational divers, 16 (≈10%) being non-divers, the remaining 9 (≈5.5%) choosing another option, 'certified professional, but not currently active or paid for archaeology'; 'qualified (MA Degree) maritime historian/underwater archaeologist currently working full-time as history instructor'; 'not currently involved in an underwater archaeology project, but actively supporting a ship conservation / restoration project'; 'licensee [of a site designated under the *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*, see chapter four]... '.

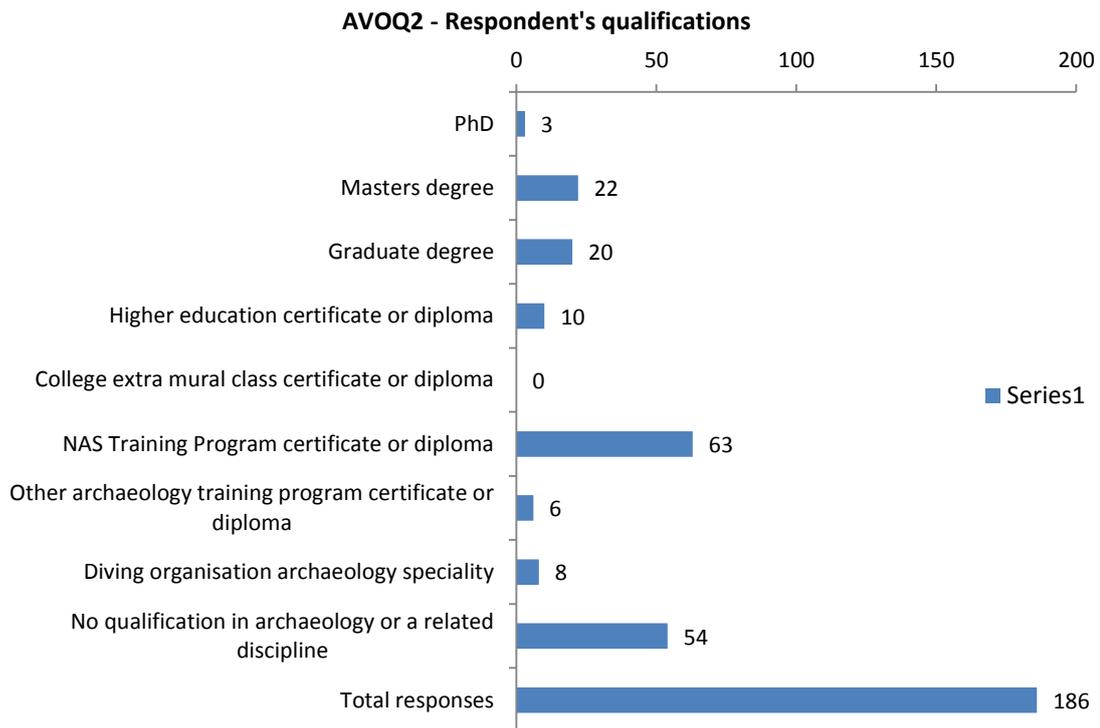
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'A Maritime Archaeologist and an active Diver'; 'Commercial Diver'; 'Foreshore observer (amateur) Thames local/family history (amateur)'; 'Join the Thames Project, been involved in a few fieldworks, but would love to find a training'; 'Heritage officer for government which occasionally assesses marine heritage mostly using secondary sources'; 'Qualified (MA Degree) Maritime Historian/Underwater Archaeologist currently working full time as history instructor'; 'not currently involved in an underwater archaeology project, but actively supporting a ship conservation/restoration project' and 'Licensee. You trained me you should know.'

4.1.2 AVOQ2 Do you have a qualification in ARCHAEOLOGY or a related subject such as in Anthropology, History, Materials Conservation or Curatorial subjects

This question corresponds to **Question 2** of the Professional Survey.

Appendix A Figure 14. AVOQ2 - Respondent's qualifications.



This question corresponds to **question 2** of the Professional Survey. The responses were 3 with a 'PhD'; 22 with a 'master's degree'; 21 with a 'graduate degree'; 10 with a 'higher education certificate or diploma'; none with a 'college extra mural class certificate or diploma'; **63 with a 'NAS Training Program certificate'**; 6 with 'other archaeology training program certificate or diploma'; 8 with a 'diving organisation archaeology speciality'; 54 with 'no qualification in archaeology or a related discipline' and 29 responses for the choice 'option to add detail about your qualifications'.

Option to add detail about your qualifications:

'My graduate degree is from fine arts faculty in Turkey major in ceramics'; Nearly finished NAS Part 3'; 'I've submitted a PhD thesis in early modern diplomatic history, which I don't really consider related to archaeology'; 'NAS 3'; 'Currently Level One working on Level Two'; 'NAS 2 minor in Archaeology, university level'; 'New diver because of interest in NAS. Near completion of NAS III; 'working towards completion of required field work and have begun NAS IV paper'; 'I was teaching Maritime History as guest lecturer...'; 'Studying Bachelor of Archaeology'; 'BSc/MSc science + 1 year Birkbeck evening class archaeology'; 'BA (HONS) Geography. PGDip'; 'MSc Environmental Archaeology /Palaeoenvironments - University of Birmingham'; 'Master's degree of English studies, specialised in Tudor History'; 'BA Archaeology'; Diploma in field archaeology'; 'History'; 'Birkbeck College Certificate in Field Archaeology'; 'BA Modern History, Thames Discovery Programme FROG training FROG [Foreshore Recording and Observation Group]'; 'As well as my BA in Oceanography and Archaeology, I also have a BSc in Computer Science and a MSc in information systems design and

management'; 'anthropology and field experience in Mexico'; 'classical studies'; 'I have a PhD in architectural history'; 'MA from East Carolina U in Maritime Studies'; 'FROG [Foreshore Recording and Observation Group] training, 1 year of diploma course, short courses at MOLAS' and 'Hon. Professor UCL.'

4.1.3 AVOQ3 Are you currently studying or undergoing training in archaeology or a related topic:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The responses were 'yes' with 40 ($\approx 25\%$) and '**no with 121**' ($\approx 75\%$).

4.1.4 AVOQ4 If yes to the previous question are you studying or undertaking training:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The responses were 'full-time' with 5, 'part-time with **22** and 'self-study' with 15 responses, 'not applicable' with 72, 'other options' with 8 responses.

Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'BA by distance learning'; 'Working on NAS III and IV'; 'Senior Tutor NAS CMAS Underwater Archaeology Instructor'; 'Volunteer work at Oplontis B (Italy)'; 'Archaeology of London course at the City Lit'; 'MA Archaeology'; 'I am working on my NAS Part IV project'; 'e-learning with different institutions offering archaeological classes.'

Of the 13 respondents who stated they had more than 20 years of experience, 11 described themselves as avocational archaeologists. One of this group, had a higher diploma, all but one had a NAS qualification, and one with no relevant qualification.

Of the 10 in the '15-20 years' group, 5 described themselves as avocational archaeologists. 1 of the avocational archaeologists was an Honorary Professor, 2 had master's degrees, 1 higher education diploma, the rest with NAS certification.

In the '10-15 years' group, only 1 described themselves as an avocational archaeologist, but 2 were professionally qualified with master's degrees, but not employed, the remaining were recreational divers, 1 with a master's degree.

In the '5-10 years' group there were 8 avocational archaeologists, 1 with a PhD in nautical archaeology, 2 with master's degrees, 2 with bachelor degrees, 2 with higher education diploma, 7 recreational divers, 1 with a master's degree and one non-diver. In addition 11 held NAS

qualifications. 3 of the recreational divers in this group had no relevant qualification, nor were undertaking training.

In the '1-5 years' of experience group of 52, 33 claimed to be avocational archaeologists. Between them they held, 2 PhD's, 7 master's degrees, 11 bachelor degrees, 2 higher education diplomas, 14 NAS /other avocational qualification, 1 recreational diving specialty, and five others (one a maritime archaeologist and Foreshore observer) 5 of this group had no qualification.

Of the 8 with less than 1 year of experience, there were 5 avocational archaeologists, that between them held 2 bachelor degrees, 3 NAS qualifications and 3 with no qualifications.

4.1.5 AVOQ5 How long have you been actively involved in underwater archaeology:

This question corresponds to **question 3** of the professional survey. The responses were 'more than 20 years' with 13 ($\approx 8\%$), '15-0 years' with 10 ($\approx 6\%$), '10-15 years' with 10 ($\approx 6\%$), '5-10' years with 18 ($\approx 11\%$), **'1- 5' with 52 ($\approx 32\%$)** and 'less than 1 year' with 8 ($\approx 5\%$) and 'not applicable' with 52 ($\approx 32\%$).

4.1.6 AVOQ6 On average how many days a year do you participate in archaeology projects or events:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey.

The responses were **'more than 20 days' with 44 ($\approx 27\%$) responses**; '15-20 days' with 10 ($\approx 6\%$); '10-15 days' with 16 ($\approx 10\%$); '5-10' days with 24 ($\approx 15\%$); '1-5 days' with 23 ($\approx 14\%$) and 'Nil' with 21 ($\approx 13\%$) (44 including those ticking not applicable)

4.1.7 AVOQ7 Are you a member of an archaeological or heritage organisation:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The responses to question 7 were **'yes' with 87 ($\approx 54\%$)** and 'no' with 73 ($\approx 45\%$) responses.

4.1.8 AVOQ8 How long have you been a member [an archaeological or heritage organisation]:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The responses to question 8 were 'more than 20 years with 12 responses; '15-20 years' with 11; '10-15 years' with 10; '5-10 years' with 19; **'1- 5 years' with 35** and 'Less than 1 year' with 5 and not applicable with 62 responses.

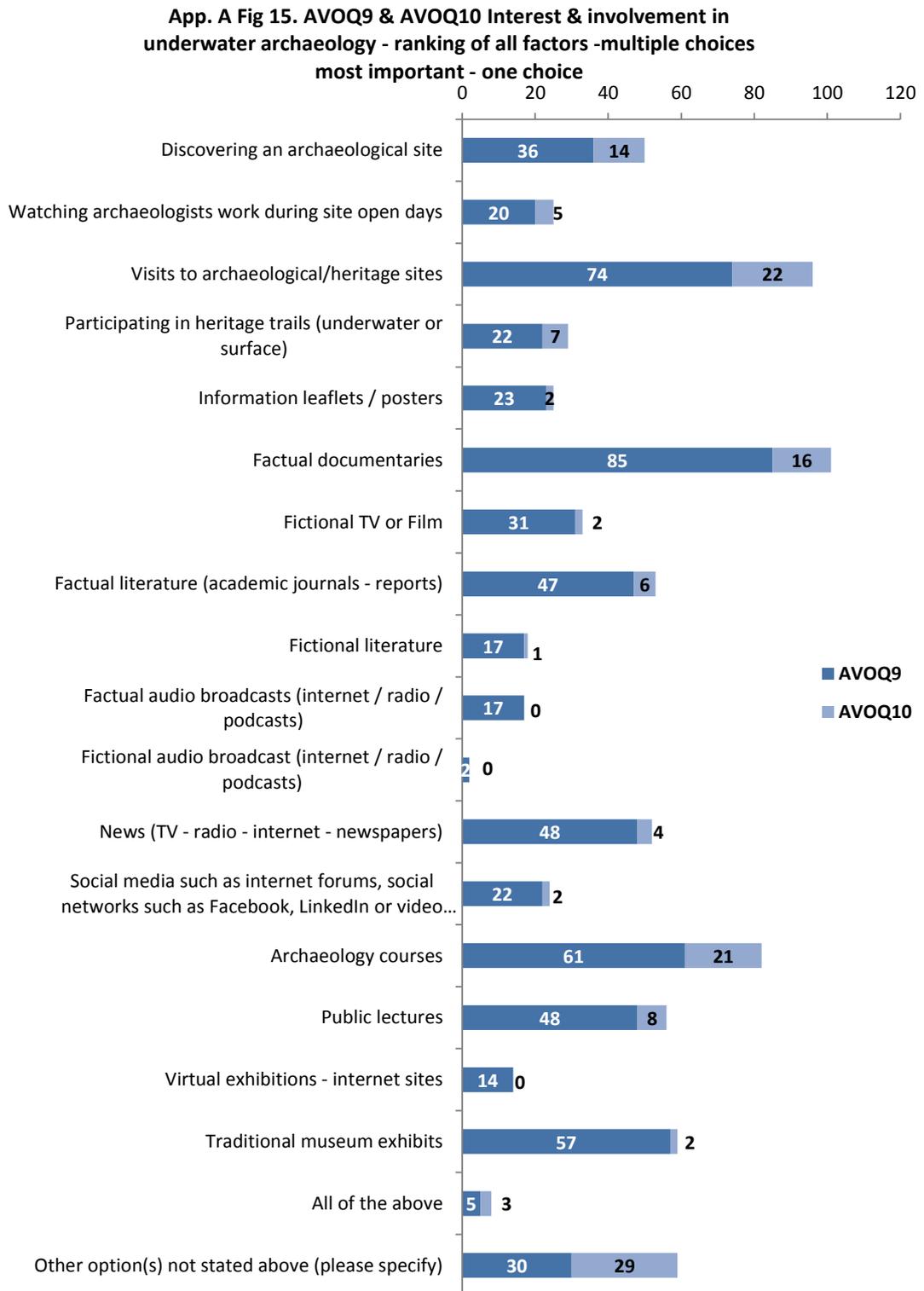
4.2 Section 2: Getting Involved

4.2.1 AVOQ9 Which factor(s) sparked your interest or involvement in underwater archaeology (mark MORE than one option if applicable):

4.2.2 AVOQ10 Which factor was the MOST influential in sparking your interest or involvement in underwater archaeology (mark ONE option):

There are **no** corresponding questions in the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 15. AVOQ9 & AVOQ10 Interest & involvement in underwater archaeology - ranking of all factors -multiple choices most important - one choice



Question 9 Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'*----*' and '*----*' work in Quintana Roo'; 'Hearing about an archaeological project from a friend'; 'Family history'; Details in LAMAS bulletin'; 'Thames foreshore work with COLAS'; 'Following the Mary Rose Project'; 'Long time interest in maritime history and diving'; 'I taught geology in a college and sat next to the teacher of archaeology, also a lot of the techniques were similar to geological investigations'; 'NAS course'; 'Diving wreck sites'; 'Reports of wrecks by local divers'; 'The absolute neglect of the maritime heritage of Chicago. This city was once the busiest port of call in the U.S. Chicago exists because it sits astride the closest point between the St. Lawrence River drainage and the Mississippi River drainage'; 'The potential work in the offshore industry + The undiscovered potential that is underwater archaeology'; 'Friends associated with MAAV sparked interest'; 'My SCUBA instructor'; 'I was participating in underwater archaeological survey and excavation already 50 years ago in Switzerland'; 'Family history - my family were Thames river pilots and watermen'; 'Interest of parent in Thames and history'; 'I have always been interested in archaeology, and was sent information from the London; Wildlife Trust about the opportunity to be involved in practical work with the Thames Discovery Programme'; 'Time Team Ch4'; 'Volunteering on digs, Thames foreshore recording and observation and snorkelling WWII wrecks in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea'; 'Interest in prehistoric woodworking and preserved wood'; 'Volunteering for the Museum of London. Volunteer Inclusive Programme (VIP)'; 'My major was in Anthropology. I've always been interested'; 'Learning to scuba-dive'; 'Working on an archaeological wreck site for 30 years'; 'Submap and needed a good reason to continue diving after 42 years of doing it'; 'Desire to expand my diving abilities and the NAS offered a very comprehensive training scheme and archaeological sites are things I am interested in.'

Question 10 Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'*----*' and '*----*' work in Quintana Roo'; 'Hearing about an archaeological project from a friend'; 'Dive club's bespoke NAS Intro course'; 'Following the Mary Rose Project, then working on our own projects'; 'Plymouth shipwrecks conference and diving on wrecks'; 'Link to geology'; 'Work'; 'NAS course'; 'Diving wreck sites'; 'Reports of wrecks by local divers'; 'Scuba'; 'Same as above'; 'Friends'; 'My SCUBA instructor'; 'Working with the History Channel and Discovery TV on shipwreck history'; 'Have been interested since an early age but recently have had more opportunity to get involved thanks to the Thames Discovery Programme especially who have made archaeology accessible to un-professionals and un-academics such as myself'; 'During my masters I was sponsored by the Aggregate Levy Sustainability Fund and I came into contact with others who specialised in underwater archaeology, biology and diving in general; Parent's interest'; 'Being an archaeologist and interested in the work of colleagues'; 'Time Team'; 'Snorkelling'; 'Interest in prehistoric woodworking and preserved wood'; 'Volunteering for the Museum of London'; 'Early book by George Bass I read in 1983'; 'Joining an excavation in the Red Sea'; 'Learning to scuba-dive';

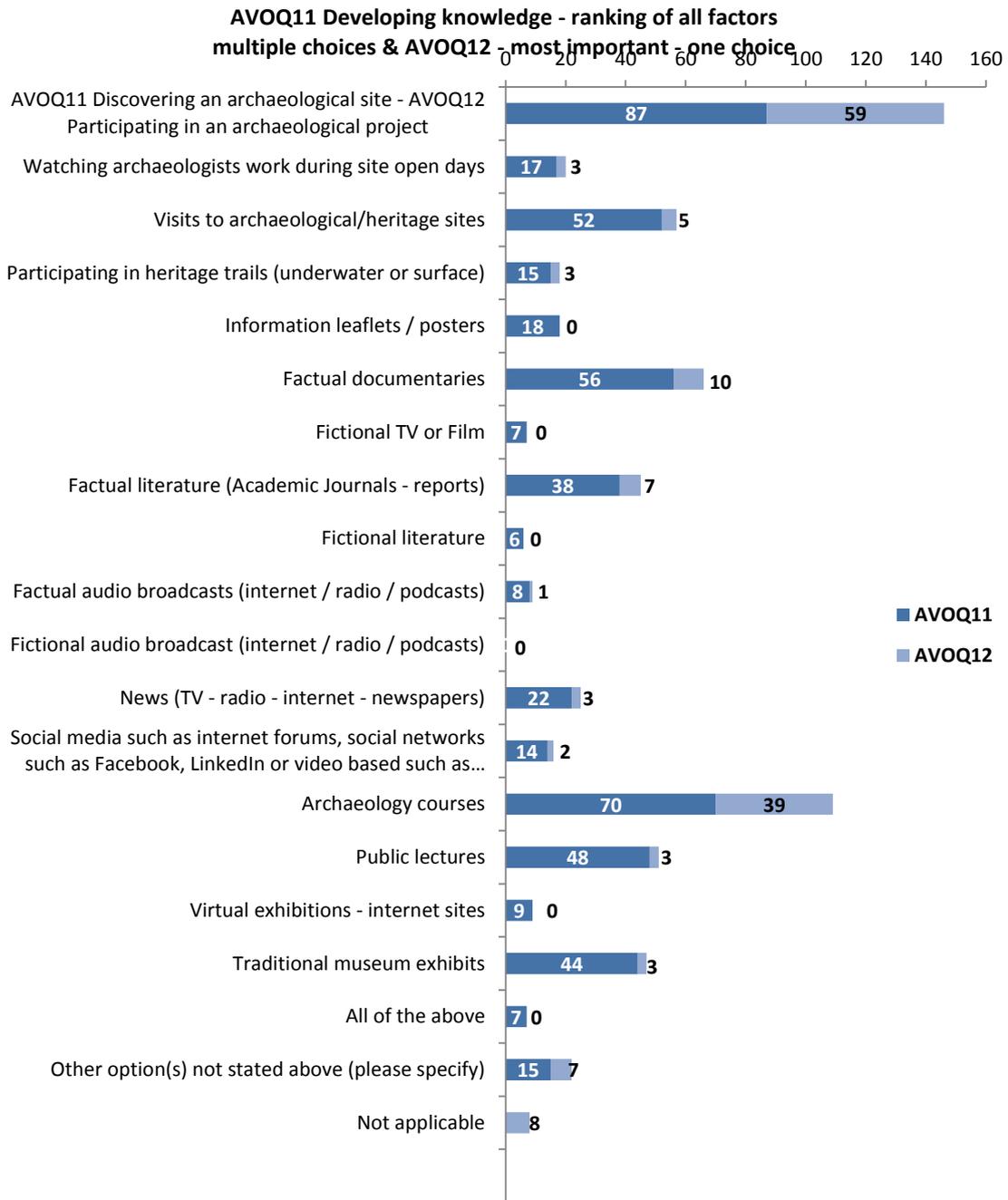
‘Working on an archaeological wreck site for 30 years’; ‘Same answer as at 9’; ‘Desire to develop my skills and knowledge.’

4.2.3 AVOQ11 Which factor(s) subsequently contributed to developing your knowledge of underwater archaeology/heritage (mark MORE than one option if applicable):

4.2.4 AVOQ12 Which has been the MOST important factor in subsequently developing your knowledge of underwater archaeology/heritage (mark ONE option):

There are **no** corresponding questions in the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 16. AVOQ11/12 Developing knowledge - ranking of all factors - multiple choices & AVOQ12 – most important - one choice



AVOQ11 Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘NAS class’; ‘Hearing about an archaeological project from a friend’; ‘Archaeological conferences & symposia’; ‘Conferences and work’; ‘Diving wreck sites’; ‘Archaeological books’; ‘Becoming a certified scuba diver and wanting to pursue this activity with a purpose; independent study of professional publications’; ‘Working with avocational and professional maritime archaeologists of various projects’; ‘short courses in underwater archaeology’; ‘Participating in projects like KRONAN, Sweden MAHDIA, Tunisia, DOR, Israel, BOZBORUN, Turkey, etc. etc.’; ‘I took an archaeological class at Birkbeck College-University of London-Archaeology from the Thames with Jacqui Pearce. That got

me hooked'; 'Working in a government heritage office with archaeologists'; 'I wanted to apply my skills in graphics to the very dry book taught courses that I suffered through in college'; 'Factual books, archives, old newspapers'; 'Too many really, life-long interest in historical maritime activity.'

AVOQ12 Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'NAS courses and becoming a tutor'; 'Work'; 'Independent study of professional publications'; 'Qualifying as a diver and being able to visit sites not normally seen by the public'; 'Snorkelling'; 'Self-education via research into underwater archaeology techniques, historical research, maritime museums, NAS courses/publications, books, archives.'

4.2.5 AVOQ13 Are you involved in any of the following activities (mark MORE than one option if applicable):

This question corresponds to **Question 2** of the Professional Survey. In total there were 368 positive responses, with 'searching for sites' with 55 ($\approx 15\%$) responses; **'surveying (Mapping) sites' with 77 ($\approx 21\%$)**; 'excavating sites' with 29 ($\approx 8\%$); 'monitoring sites' with 59 ($\approx 16\%$); 'research' with 61 ($\approx 16.5\%$); 'artefact conservation' with 20 ($\approx 5.5\%$); 'education / public outreach' with 45 ($\approx 11\%$); 'all of the above' with 6 ($\approx 1.5\%$); 'other option(s) not stated above (please specify) with 16 ($\approx 4.5\%$)' and not applicable with an additional 37 responses.

Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

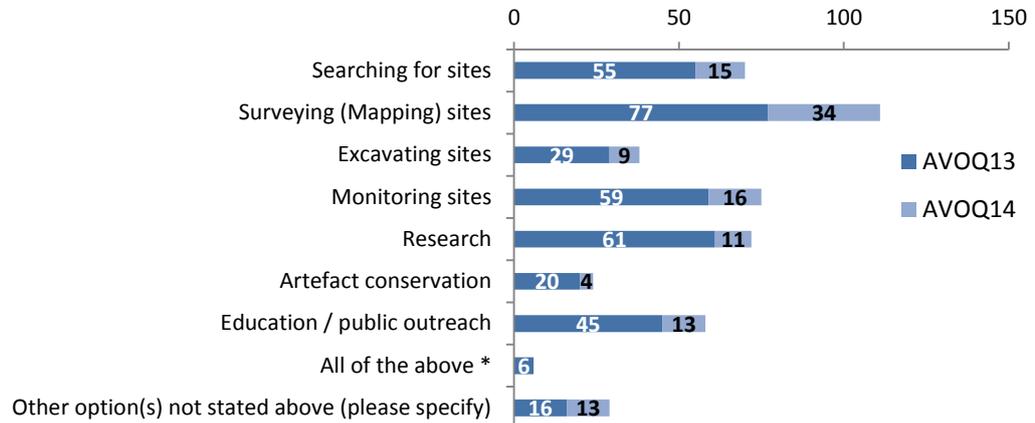
'Personal research/interest'; 'Family'; 'Gave up searching and working sites due to current UNESCO view'; 'I am currently unemployed, meaning less archaeological activity'; 'Performing test excavations on the Le Griffon site in Lake Michigan this weekend'; 'Thames Foreshore'; 'Researching historical background of sites'; 'Gave up searching and working sites due to current UNESCO view'; 'I am currently unemployed, meaning less archaeological activity'; 'Performing test excavations on the Le Griffon site in Lake Michigan this weekend'; 'Thames Foreshore'; 'Researching historical background of sites'; 'My NAS Part IV project'; 'Sometimes volunteer on digs as a holiday'; 'On-line archaeology courses. After 7 years in the UK, I moved back to Montreal last year. Unfortunately, the notion of community archaeology is not well known and archaeology projects (particularly underwater) are mainly accessible to university researchers. There is a lack of inclusive projects for amateur archaeologist like myself (even if I have a master's degree in anthropology) and foreshore, collection care experience acquired in the UK'; 'Listing sites on statutory and non-statutory registers'; 'Publication via book, internet, Facebook, talks'; 'Tutor for NAS as well as licensee'; 'Personal research/interest' and 'Not at present. Trying to find opportunities to fit my calendar has been a bit difficult recently.'

4.2.6 AVOQ14 What is your main activity (mark ONE option):

This question corresponds to **Question 2** of the Professional Survey.

Appendix A Figure 17. AVOQ13 Non-professional activities - ranking of all activities multiple choices and AVOQ14 - most important - one choice

App. A Fig 17. AVOQ13 and AVOQ14 Non-professional activities - ranking of all activities multiple choices & most important - one choice



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Personal research/interest'; 'Would still be searching but see little point know locating new sites only to be left *in situ*. 'Concentrate on researching and reading about previous projects'; 'Interest on dives'; 'About equal amounts of: searching, mapping and education'; 'Recording field trips and expeditions through video and photography'; 'My NAS Part IV project'; 'Artefact research and conservation'; 'FINDS'; 'Archaeological studies'; 'Listing sites on statutory and non-statutory registers' and 'I do the publications and maps.'

4.3 Section 3: Public Archaeology

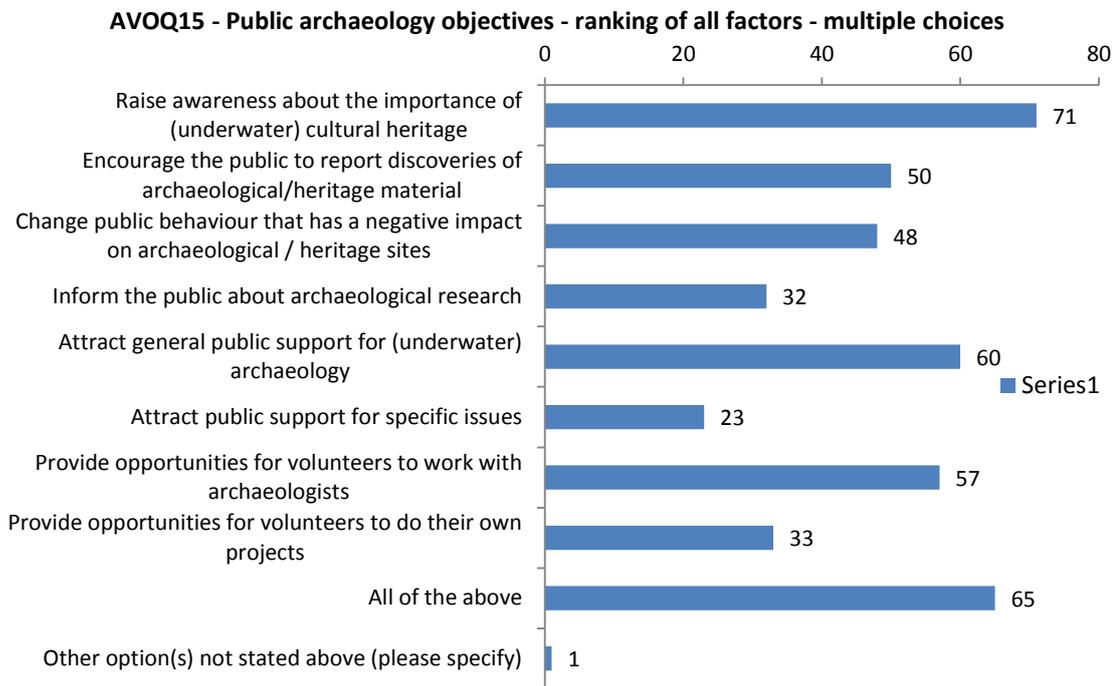
Guidance note:

For the purposes of this survey PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY INITIATIVES AND EVENTS inform the public about ARCHAEOLOGY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE or offer opportunities to become involved in ARCHAEOLOGICAL / CULTURAL HERITAGE ACTIVITIES.

4.3.1 AVOQ15 What do you think should be the objectives of a PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY program (mark MORE than one answer if applicable):

This question corresponds to **question 5** of the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 18. AVOQ15 - Public archaeology objectives - ranking of all factors - multiple choices



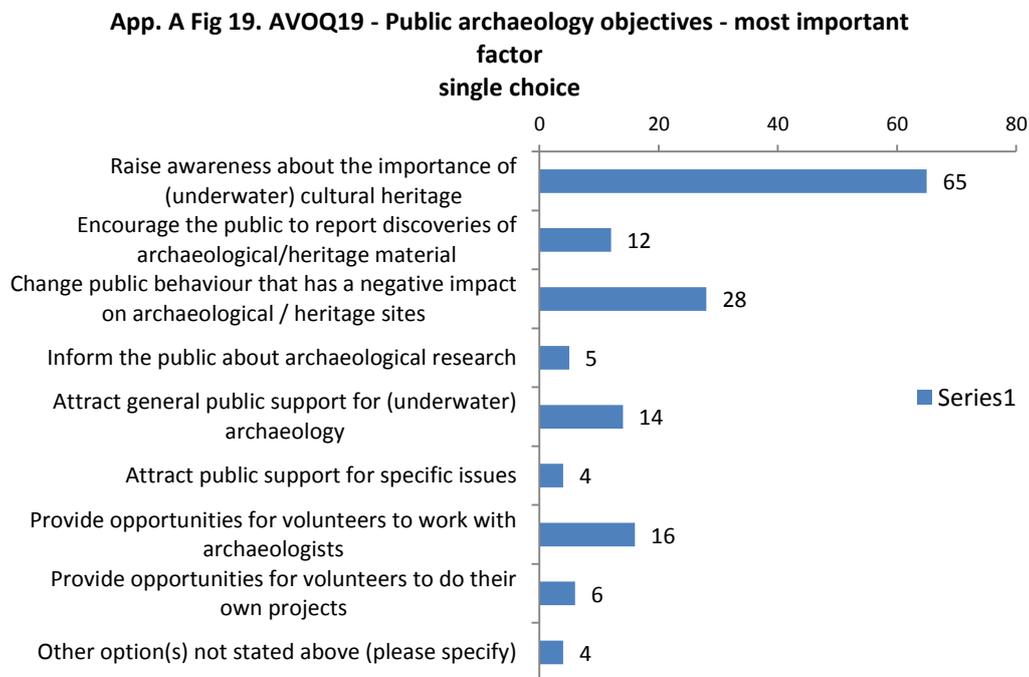
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Training for onsite surveying, documentation, protection (as needed).'

4.3.2 AVOQ16 What do you think should be the MOST important objective of a PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY program (mark ONE option):

This question corresponds to **question 6** of the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 19. AVOQ16 - Public archaeology objectives - most important factor - single choice



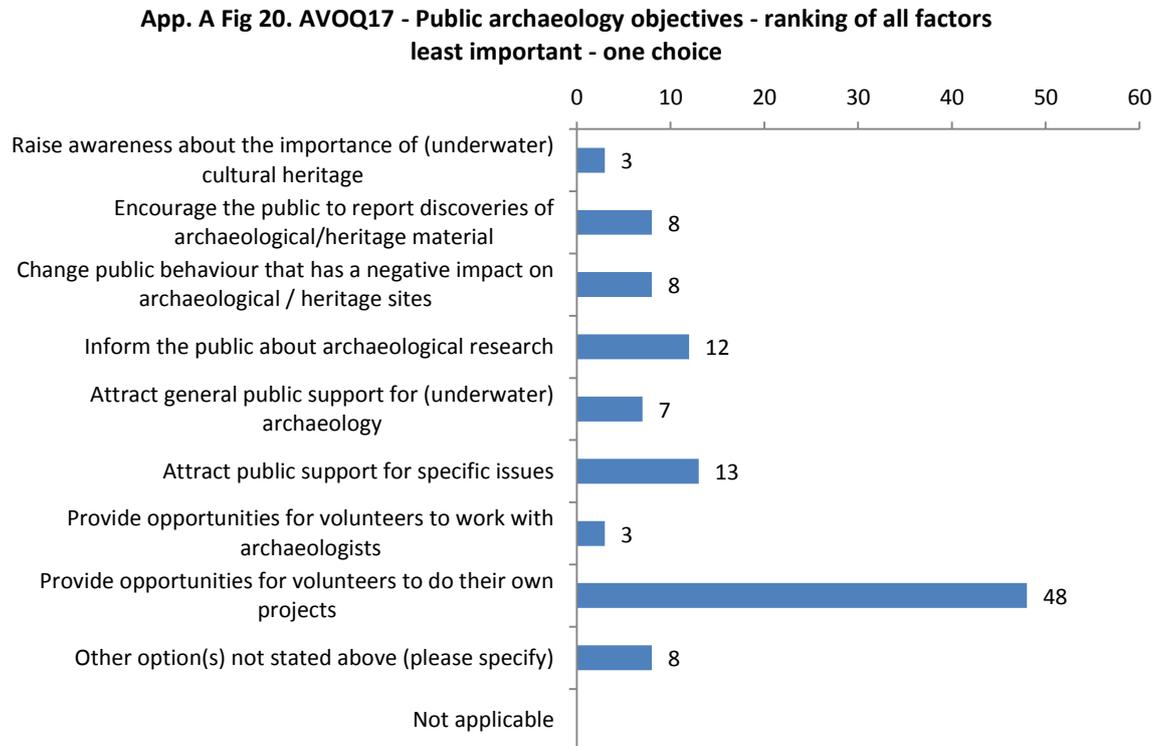
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘[ALL] Equally important and interconnected’; ‘Liaise with the black market in artifacts to reduce the number of sites being targeted and recording artifacts that have been removed from sites’; ‘Again this is to complex a question to be answered by a singular choice and to do so manipulate the results.’

3.3.3.3 AVOQ17 Which do you think should be the LEAST important objective of a PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY program (mark ONE option):

This question corresponds to **question 7** of the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 20. AVOQ17 - Public archaeology objectives - ranking of all factors - least important - one choice



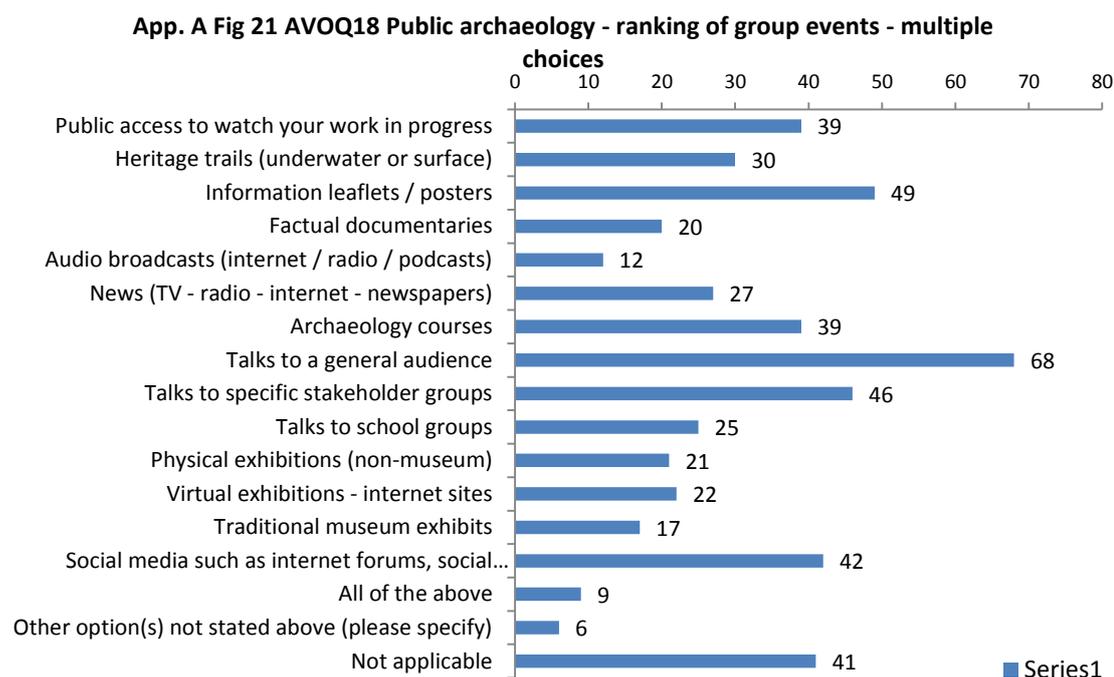
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘All important’; ‘Raising funds for archaeological bureaucrats to invent more detrimental legislation’;
‘Can't decide’; I think in their own way they are all equally important; Access only to professional archaeologists’; ‘All important, my focus is providing opportunities for public to do their own projects which is interrelated and beneficial to all of the above’.

4.3.4 AVOQ18 Does your group ORGANISE or PARTICIPATE or CONTRIBUTE to any of the following public education and outreach events relating to your own projects (Mark MORE than one option if applicable):

This question corresponds to **question 10** of the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 21. AVOQ18 Public archaeology - ranking of group events - multiple choices



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Group web site'; 'Shipwreck Conferences'; 'Publish books, reports, articles, DVDs'; 'Community digs, archive tours, volunteer programs'; 'The Thames Discovery programme and the Museum of London Volunteer programme both do all of the above and I have been involved with both until last year.'

4.3.5 AVOQ19 Do you personally ORGANISE or PARTICIPATE or CONTRIBUTE to any of the following public education and outreach events relating to your own project(s) (Mark MORE than one option)

There is **no** corresponding question in the Professional Survey. The responses were: Public access to watch your work in progress with 26 responses; Heritage trails (underwater or surface) with 12; Information leaflets / posters with 22; Factual documentaries with 10; Audio broadcasts (internet / radio / podcasts) with 4; News (TV - radio - internet - newspapers) with 9; Archaeology courses with 19; **Talks to a general audience with 41**; Talks to specific stakeholder groups with 23; Talks to school groups with 12; Physical exhibitions (non-museum) with 10; Virtual exhibitions - internet sites with 7; Traditional museum exhibits with 11; Social media such as internet forums, social networks or video based such as YouTube with 17; All of the above with 5; Other option(s) not stated above (please specify) with 7 and Not applicable with 65.

Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘Information events for public’; ‘Having taken an anthropology course, an underwater archaeology course and NAS courses and now living in the Florida Keys (the home of the treasure hunter), I might consider putting together a presentation for the local Diving History Museum’; ‘Lessons for schools about R Thames’; ‘Education outreach via open days and workshops’; ‘only as an activity for the group.’

4.4 Section 4: Archaeology – Salvage – Treasure Hunting**Guidance note:**

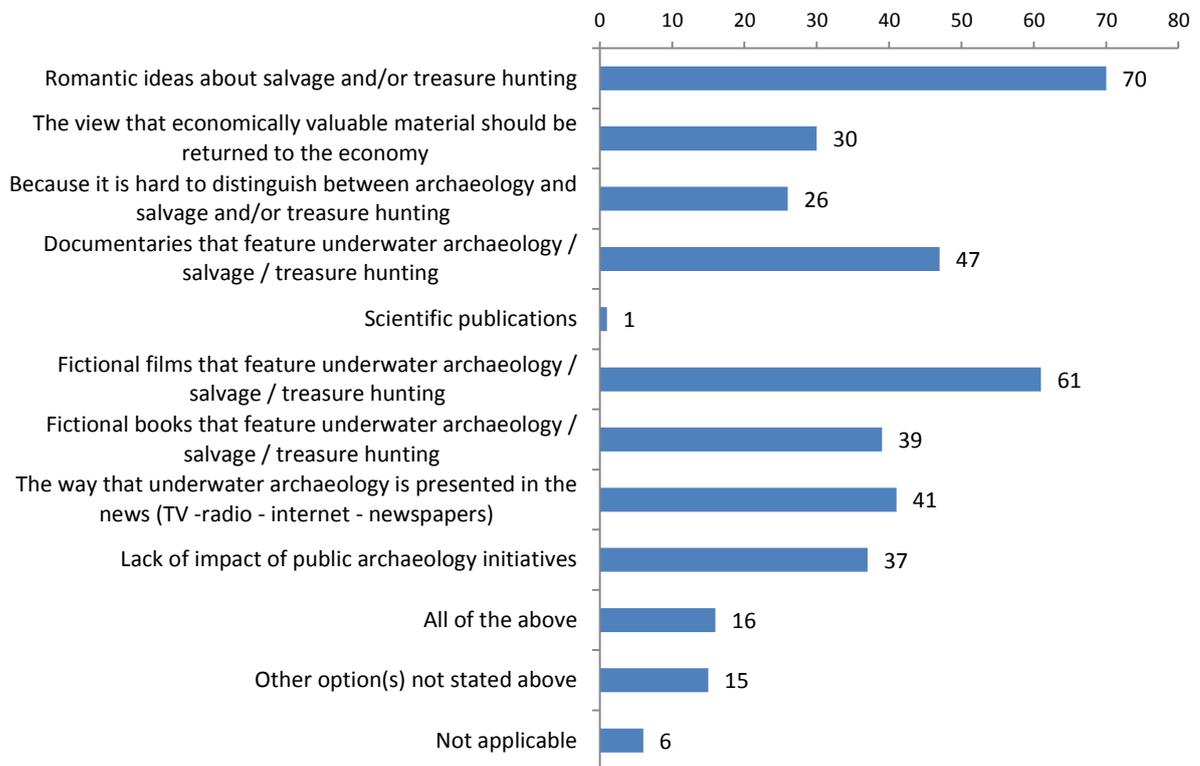
These are all activities that can result in the recovery of cultural heritage material. For the purposes of this survey, archaeology is primarily motivated by the pursuit of knowledge, while salvage and treasure hunting are primarily motivated by the recovery of material for financial reward.

4.4.1 AVOQ20 What factors make it difficult to distinguish between UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY and SALVAGE or TREASURE HUNTING (mark MORE than one option if applicable):

This question corresponds to **question 26** of the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 22. AVOQ20 Factors affecting the public's ability to distinguish between treasure hunting - salvage - underwater archaeology - ranking of all factors - multiple choices.

App. A Fig 22. AVOQ20 Factors affecting the public's ability to distinguish between treasure hunting - salvage - underwater archaeology - ranking of all factors - multiple choices



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘Lack of public awareness about the objectives and value of underwater archaeology’; ‘Treasure hunting is "open to all", underwater archaeology is restricted to few. Generally, the public will embrace concepts where everyone has equal access to discover and explore. If there was a way to enable others to participate in the exploration (esp. via social media), live chats, live video, etc. I think the perception that scientific projects are "closed off" would be inverted - and the treasure hunter/treasure seeking teams would look secretive and selfish in comparison’; ‘I think it would be wrong to assume that treasure hunters are only after financial reward, or that archaeologists are all an altruistic bunch. Each side should respect the other a little more and learn from each other’; ‘Most people know the difference but sensible people believe the sale of some salvaged items such as mass produced coins to fund conservation of important finds is a wise option. Can you please tell all underwater archaeologists their job should primarily be "the pursuit of knowledge" as so many have forgot this’; ‘I didn't think it was particularly difficult to distinguish. It is not hard to distinguish between them at all’; ‘Educating the public on the differences. Comparing and contrast. Again, don't know about this one. Arguably, archaeologists of earlier times were less scrupulous about where

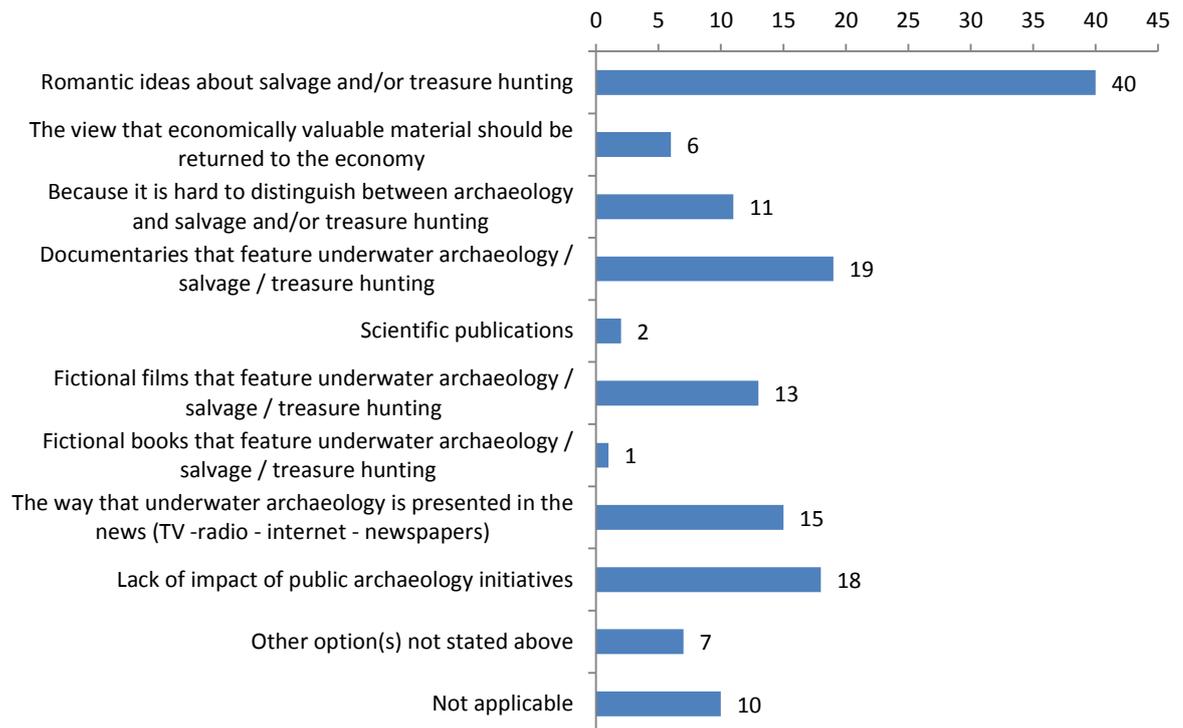
their finds ended up'; 'Lack of general education/awareness on the subject'; 'It is so difficult to stop or penalize people treasure hunting for profit, people often blur the line 'because everyone else is getting away with it'. Classic example - Thames foreshore rules say cannot remove objects, but there is absolutely no signs or warnings on the steps to the beaches'; 'The lack of clear legislation (Malta agreement) The space local government has to steer away from the obligation to finance archaeology. The fact that professional Archaeologists do not work for free and given that even though they receive a salary they have difficulty raising the additional necessary resources to actually do any work'; 'The real treasure is the added knowledge the shipwreck or artefact be it a piece of wood, pottery or coin produces. If you want to make money get a second job or become a professional archaeologist. Don't be so ***** prissy about coins and so called "treasure". I have done lots of research into cobs from finds and have added new knowledge of Spanish mints and assayers in South America. Cobs are special because they are hand struck and each is unique but finding an artefact can be EQUALLY thrilling and significant as can finding knowledge in the archives. It's all about knowledge finding out and publicising it to the public. I have been to some Archaeology talks where it is obvious the archaeologists are not interested in sharing their knowledge but know they have to do talks to get the grant. History teachers are ignorant of their local history but it's the groups and societies you talk to, like the little old ladies mainly (men die younger) who are most interested. They have a thirst for excitement knowledge and history'; 'Lack of public understanding of the difference between the two. Archaeology community inability to communicate in simple messages'; 'There is not ONE professionally salaried underwater archaeologist actively searching for or discovering ANY heritage underwater sites per se. By their personal financial circumstances and requirement to obtain a livelihood they are reactive and not proactive in this field. There are however many professional maritime archaeologists engaged in commercial treasure hunting world-wide. However there are tens of 1000,s of vocational divers doing just that>>diving ... Neither salvaging or treasure hunting, sometimes they come across sites of historical interest and inform relevant authorities, sometimes they don't but THEY are NOT the plunderers of maritime heritage. It's the professional archaeologist who is involved in commercial activity. I would ask, as a matter of record, where in the UK has any professional salaried archaeologist in the pursuit of his occupation ever discovered a wreck of historical or archaeological importance in the last 20 years? Almost without exception the designated sites presently protected were all found by vocational divers. The difficulty that we encounter as to who is what is the mixed messages the public and vocational divers get from the professional high profile treasure hunters who coincidentally usually hold doctorates in Marine archaeology and are feted by the media, establishment and institutions that you'd least expect to do so e.g. Greenwich Maritime .. with displays of salvaged Titanic artefacts exhibited by the people who were actually selling them in public auction...Hardly a good example of responsible underwater archaeology.'

4.4.2 AVOQ21 Which is the MOST important factor (mark ONE option):

This question corresponds to **question 27** of the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 23. AVOQ21 Factors affecting the public's ability to distinguish between treasure hunting - salvage - underwater archaeology - ranking of all factors - most important - single choice

App. A Fig23. AVOQ21 Factors affecting the public's ability to distinguish between treasure hunting - salvage - underwater archaeology - ranking of all factors - most important - single choice



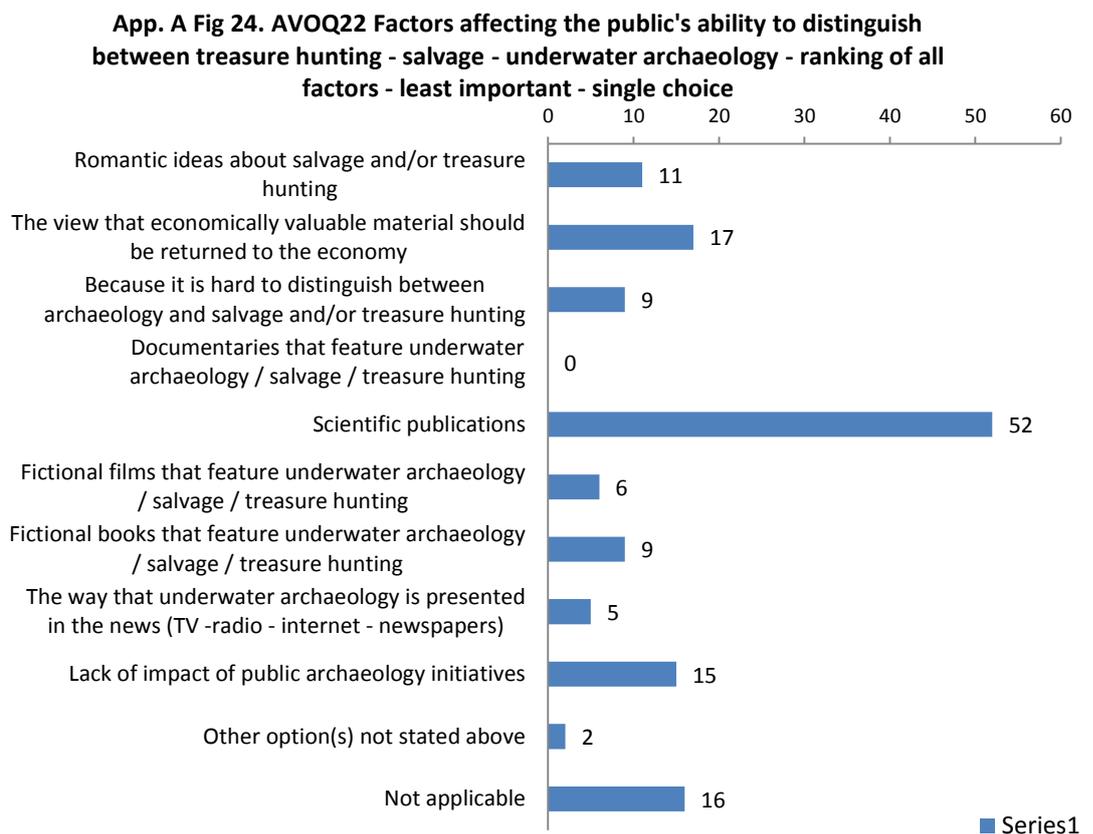
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Could be interpreted as all of the above equally important, or lack of evidence to show what actually works'; 'It is not hard to distinguish between them at all'; 'See above'; 'Lack of general education/awareness on the subject'; 'See answer #20'; 'As above'; 'Publicising the knowledge to the public. Here in Dorset we had the beheaded Viking grave that went around the world, the presentation day was sold out and 3 open days of the exhibits were packed out. There are few TV films being made about underwater archaeology/treasure hunting (I see no difference - see definition of treasure=knowledge). I use pieces of eight (which most people have heard of but never seen) to attract the public's interest so they can feel them "aren't they heavy" "are they real?" We didn't know what they were when we found them so you explain about the coin their history, the history of the people on board and the wreck, the voyage, the cargo etc.'

4.4.3 AVOQ22 Which is the LEAST important factor (mark ONE option):

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 24. AVOQ22 Factors affecting the public's ability to distinguish between treasure hunting - salvage - underwater archaeology - ranking of all factors- least important - single choice.



4.5 Section 5: Protection – Preservation – Access – Reporting of underwater cultural heritage

Guidance notes [protection]:

*For the purposes of this survey PROTECTION means LEGAL PROTECTION

*Examples of what might make a site IMPORTANT are: rarity, association to an historical event, level of preservation, vulnerability and research potential and UCH is defined as: "all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical or archaeological character which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years such as: sites, structures, buildings, artefacts and human remains, together with their archaeological and natural

context, vessels, aircraft, other vehicles or any part thereof, their cargo or other contents, together with their archaeological and natural context and objects of prehistoric character".

4.5.1 AVOQ23 ALL UCH as defined above should be protected:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The responses were **'agree strongly' with 63 responses**; 'agree slightly' with 41; 'neither agree or disagree' with 10; 'disagree slightly' with 10 and 'disagree strongly' with 13 responses. **≈76% agree with the proposition**, 7% are undecided and almost 17% disagree

4.5.2 AVOQ24 Only IMPORTANT UCH should be protected.

Guidance note:

*[Using English Heritage's criteria]. Examples of what might make a site IMPORTANT: rarity, association to an historical event, level of preservation, vulnerability and research potential

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were: **'agree strongly' with 62 responses**; 'agree slightly' with 28; 'neither agree or disagree' with 13; 'disagree slightly' with 13 and 'disagree strongly' with 21 responses. **≈66% agree with the proposition**, ≈9% are undecided and more than 25% disagree.

Further analysis of the results for question 23 & 24, revealed that those that had chosen to agree strongly to question 23 generally shifted to the less strong, undecided and disagree options and in almost equal numbers there is a shift in the opposite direction from those that had not agreed with question 23, which helps to explain why the 'agree strongly' category remains almost unchanged, but is constituted by a different group of respondents. This suggests that there is an equal split between those that want all UCH protected and those that want only important sites protected..

4.5.3 AVOQ25 Heritage agencies should be required to consult with relevant STAKEHOLDERS before a UCH site is protected:

Guidance note:

Agencies Includes all bodies with a responsibility for managing underwater cultural heritage.

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The responses were **'agree strongly' with 70 responses**; 'agree slightly' with 41; 'neither agree or disagree' with 12; 'disagree

slightly' with 9 and 'disagree strongly' with 4. **≈82% agree with the proposition**, nearly 9% are undecided and more than 9% disagree.

4.6 Section 6: Preservation of underwater cultural heritage

Guidance note [preservation]:

*For the purposes of the questions below PRESERVATION means to MAINTAIN a site *IN SITU* in its existing condition.

4.6.1 AVOQ26 It is appropriate that PRESERVATION *IN SITU* of underwater cultural heritage shall be considered as the first option BEFORE allowing or engaging in any activities directed at this heritage (as defined above):

Guidance note:

** PRESERVATION means to MAINTAIN a site *IN SITU* in its existing condition.

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were '**agree strongly**' with **62 responses**; 'agree slightly' with 33; 'neither agree or disagree' with 15; 'disagree slightly' with 10 and 'disagree strongly' with 10 responses. **≈73% agree with the proposition**, over 11.5% are undecided and more than 15.5 % disagree.

4.6.2 AVOQ27 ALL UCH as defined above should be PRESERVED:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The responses were '**agree strongly**' with **47 responses**; 'agree slightly' with 38; 'neither agree or disagree' with 21; 'disagree slightly' with 9 and 'disagree strongly' with 15 responses. **≈65% agree with the proposition**, almost 16.5% are undecided and more than 18.5% disagree

4.6.3 AVOQ28 ONLY important UCH sites should be PRESERVED:

Guidance note:

* PRESERVATION means to MAINTAIN a site *IN SITU* in its existing condition.

There is no corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were 'agree strongly' with 39 responses; 'agree slightly' with 36; 'neither agree or disagree' with 18; 'disagree slightly' with 21 and 'disagree strongly' with 15 responses. **≈58% agree with the proposition**, almost 14% are undecided and almost 28% disagree

Further analysis: Closer examination of the results reveals that there is a shift by those who had agreed slightly to preserving all (question 27) to agreeing strongly to question 28, being joined by

the majority of those that were neutral to question 27. Those that disagreed to question 27 shift to a more positive reaction in question 28. Some of those who had agreed strongly to question 27 move in the opposite direction to strongly oppose question 28 which explains the rise in the numbers of those who disagree to question 28 and reveals quite strong support that all UCH should be preserved.

Unsolicited comments:

‘THIS ONE, *IN SITU* preservation is not going to enable the same level of raising awareness or education as an accessible or travelling exhibition. In some cases there could be many more benefits to recover all or parts of a site.’

4.6.4 AVOQ29 Where it is impractical to PRESERVE UCH (as described above) *IN SITU* it should be recovered even if this means that some or all of the cultural material is sold to cover the associated costs:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were Agree strongly with 24 responses; ‘**agree slightly**’ with **39**; ‘neither agree or disagree’ with 20; ‘disagree slightly’ with 24 and ‘disagree strongly’ with 23 responses. **≈48.5% agree with the proposition**, almost 15.5% are undecided and more than 36% disagree.

4.6.5 AVOQ30 IMPORTANT* UCH sites .that CANNOT be PRESERVED *IN SITU* should be recovered even if this means that some or all of the cultural material is sold to pay for their recovery, research and conservation:

Response options: ‘agree strongly’ with 26 responses; ‘**agree slightly**’ with **38**; ‘neither agree or disagree’ with 26; ‘disagree slightly’ with 18 and ‘disagree strongly’ with 21 responses. **≈50% agree with the proposition**, 20% are undecided and more than 30% disagree.

Further analysis: When looked at more closely, of those who elected to agree strongly to question 29, 21 retained the same answer to question 30, with 5 choosing to slightly disagree and 3 undecided, suggesting that for these respondents selling material from an important site was a bigger step and needed greater consideration. Of those who chose to agree slightly to question 29. 22 maintained this choice, with the 8 agreeing strongly, 6 undecided and 1 disagreeing strongly.

For those who were neutral to question 29, in question 30, 4 changed to agree slightly and the rest remained undecided. Those who slightly disagreed to question 29, 2 changed to agree, 2

changed to undecided, and 4 changed to disagree strongly. The majority of those who chose to disagree strongly remained unchanged with 3 changing to slightly agree and 3 to disagree slightly.

The shift in opinions in question 30, suggests that while there are those that are opposed to selling of artefacts to compensate for the costs, a significant group could be persuaded to recover important sites with a partial sale of the material. From a public archaeology perspective there are significant numbers of neutrals combined with the slightly disagreed that could be persuaded to take a more robust stand against the sale of cultural material to pay for recoveries, if the reasoning was made clear and consistent. There is the possibility that although preservation *in situ* is a supportable first step there is an absence of a strong alternative to the sale of material.

4.7 Section 7: Access to underwater cultural heritage

Guidance note [access]:

CONTROLLED means that PERMISSION from a heritage body (*Includes all bodies with a responsibility for managing underwater cultural heritage) is required before access to a UCH site is allowed.

4.7.1 AVOQ31 ACCESS to important UCH sites should be controlled:

Guidance note:

*CONTROLLED means that PERMISSION from a heritage body is required before access to a UCH site is allowed.

There is no corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were 'agree strongly' with 73 responses; 'agree slightly' with 38; 'neither agree or disagree' with 8; 'disagree slightly' with 5 and 'disagree strongly' with 6 responses. ≈85% agree with the proposition, 6% are undecided and more than 8% disagree

4.7.2 AVOQ32 ACCESS to all sites should be determined by their robustness, NOT their importance:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were Agree strongly with 25 responses; '**agree slightly**' with **40**; 'neither agree or disagree' with 25; 'disagree slightly' with 26 and 'disagree strongly' with 14 responses. **≈50% agree with the proposition**, 20% are undecided and more than 30% disagree

4.7.3 AVOQ33 ACCESS to ALL UCH sites should be unrestricted even if this means they will deteriorate more quickly:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were Agree strongly with 6 responses; 'agree slightly' with 3; neither agree or disagree' with 12; 'disagree slightly' with 32 and '**disagree strongly' with 77 responses**. ≈7% agree with the proposition, 9% are undecided and **≈84% disagree with the proposition**.

4.8 Section 8: Reporting of discoveries and recoveries of UCH material

4.8.1 AVOQ34 In your OWN country or state is there a legal requirement to report DISCOVERIES or RECOVERIES of archaeological, cultural, or wreck material to a government authority:

Guidance note [reporting]:

In some countries, individual states or provinces, there are laws that require that the DISCOVERY and/or RECOVERY of underwater archaeological, cultural, or wreck material MUST be reported to a relevant government authority.

There is no corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were 'Yes' with 75 responses; 'No' with 10 and 44 'Don't know'.

4.8.2 AVOQ35 Where did you FIRST hear about the legal responsibility to report UNDERWATER DISCOVERIES AND RECOVERIES of underwater archaeological, cultural, or wreck material (mark MORE than one option if applicable):

Guidance note:

If your answer was NO or DON'T KNOW to Question 34 please tick NOT APPLICABLE

There is no corresponding question in the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 25. AVOQ35 Opinions about the most effective location for information relating to reporting of discoveries and recoveries of UCH.

App. A Fig 25. AVOQ35 Reporting of discoveries and recoveries



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Actually, what I've first heard specific to responsibilities around underwater discoveries in the US is that everyone tries to keep it secret, especially wrecks'; 'Own research'; 'Talk by the receiver of wrecks to dive club'; 'NAS course'; 'Legal cases heard'; 'It's not law yet and could be considered'; 'involvement in surface archaeology'; 'General archaeology course'; 'Archaeology degree course'; 'Known all life'; 'NAS Part III courses'; 'Diving books I read in the 60s told their story whereby they reported finds to the Receiver of Wreck who was the local customs officer. Our group and Ed Cummings Abergavenny Group were the only people here in Weymouth reporting anything in the 70s/80s let alone the 60s. (all reports lost by the authorities of course). This changed into the 90s and to date by most reporting their finds and adding to the maritime KNOWLEDGE. MMO and English Heritage are ruining that transformation'; 'Law enforcement.'

4.9 Section 9: Information about legislation and policy

4.9.1 AVOQ36 Information about legislation or government policy relating to underwater archaeological, cultural, or wreck material is ACCESSIBLE:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were 'agree strongly' with 28 responses; '**agree slightly**' with **43**; 'neither agree or disagree' with 30; 'disagree slightly' with 18 and 'disagree strongly' with 5 responses.

Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘Couldn’t find anything on a basic Google search, unlike for land, where I quickly found info on the National Historic Preservation Act and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act specific to land/soil discoveries.’

4.9.2 AVOQ37 Information about legislation or government policy relating to underwater archaeological, cultural, or wreck material is ALWAYS CLEAR:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. The response options were ‘agree strongly’ with 16 responses; ‘agree slightly’ with 14; **‘neither agree or disagree’ with 44**; ‘disagree slightly’ with 33 and ‘disagree strongly’ with 22 responses. ≈23% agree with the proposition, ≈44% are undecided and ≈45% disagree.

Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘Clear as mud!’

4.9.3 AVOQ38 Information about legislation or government policy relating to underwater archaeological, cultural, or wreck material is PERIODICALLY CIRCULATED:

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey. Response options: Agree strongly with 9 responses; Agree slightly with 9; **Neither agree or disagree with 47**; Disagree slightly with 32 and Disagree strongly with 31 responses.

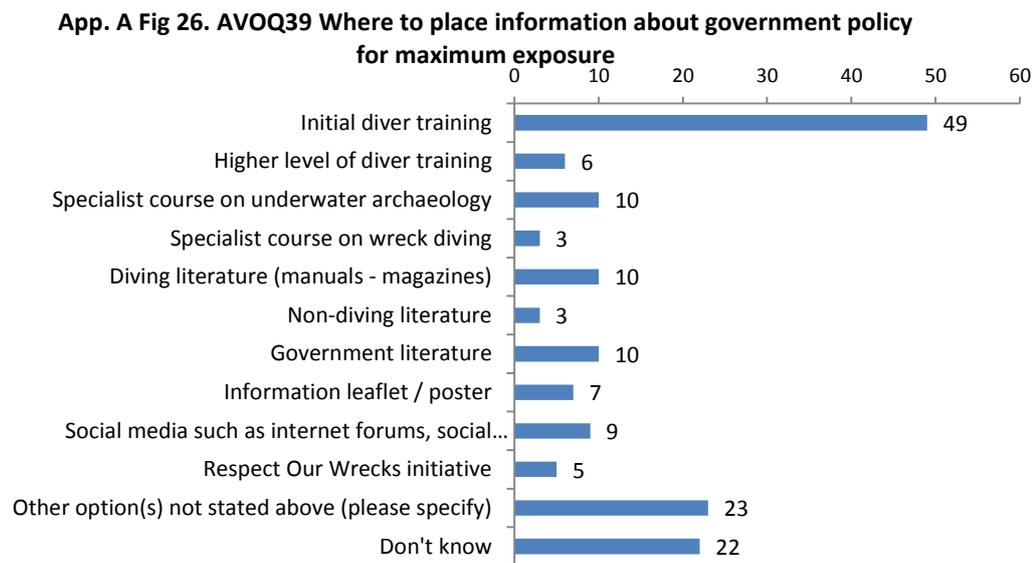
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘Schools.’

4.9.4 AVOQ39 Where would information about legislation or government policy relating to underwater archaeological, cultural, or wreck material be MOST effective (Mark only ONE option):

There is **no** corresponding question in the professional survey.

Appendix A Figure 26. Attitudes about placement of government information for maximum exposure



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘All of the above; Internet access is the most feasible’; ‘Government Information Leaflet/poster at Dive shops; Diving clubs, air/gas pumping stations.’

4.10 Section 10: Additional information

4.10.1 Please add any further comments that you think would be helpful and please specify whether your comments refer to a particular question above:

‘I believe the UNESCO convention on UCH has had a seriously detrimental effect on underwater archaeology as a discipline and on historic shipwreck. Many sites are now slowly being destroyed *in situ* with important knowledge lost as we have now lost the impetus and ability to motivate the amateurs to provide the manpower and self-funding needed to excavate and record sites over the many years required. The public will never wear the cost of state funded underwater archaeology as it will always be very low on the priority list. Amateurs should be encouraged to locate and record sites and recover the important sites with the aid and guidance of the professional archaeologist. Commercial deep-water archaeological recovery should also be allowed even if it has to be part financed by some artefact dispersal. What really counts is the knowledge and the recording not the physical objects. What is really required is a major change to the whole system based on few simple questions: Is Archaeology important to the masses or just interesting to a minority? - Is knowledge more important than physical objects? - Is it better to gain the majority of available knowledge through excavation than gain little or no knowledge by leaving *in situ*? - Should vital public funds be used for underwater archaeology or should it be financed by those undertaking it or by the part sale

of some mass produced items. - Should we concentrate on filling the gaps in our knowledge and the historical record rather than treating all sites the same? - Should state paid archaeologists be forced to increase knowledge as part of their job description rather than adopting a monitoring or legislative role? - Other ideas for the UK - Have regional underwater archaeologists who becomes the point of contact for all UCH in their area, the advisor to all protected sites in their area as well as visiting dive clubs to educate them. - Have licenced/registered artefacts that can be sold but must stay in the UK and have change of ownership recorded (items must be made available via local museum if any researcher needs to see it)- Make commercial archaeological salvors comply to a specific specification with regards to survey, conservation, and recording as well as having to pay for a state appointed archaeologist so they can build in a known entity into their business plan, thus ensuring that all available knowledge is recorded before any disposal is allowed. Wish we could turn the clock back to the 70's and 80's when we were achieving so much'; 'As I am sure you know, the answers to many of the above questions are very subjective, and a number of them, depending on what you wish to gain from the survey, are not really best-served by tick-box responses. I wish you luck with your work, and hope this was useful'; 'Government policy regarding these issues should be made known by any means available'; 'In general, publicizing what has been lost due to previous "salvage" (looting) activities may be a good way to both promote underwater archaeological activities while advancing awareness and protection of these important pieces of history'; 'Followed by info available through underwater archaeology course'; 'Archaeologists need to get out of the way it is the private sector leading the charge and Finding the cultural resources not the arrogant public sector'; 'I went to a lecture at the local history of diving museum here in the Florida keys last night. The lecture was on the history of diving armour, which was interesting. While it was clear most of the motivations for developing early diving suits and diving bells were for Salvage operations, there was very little mention of this nor the importance of preservation from an archaeologist point of view. While I am new to this area and have not had time to contact the local U.A. society, it seems there might be a lot of opportunity for lectures or getting the message out to all these sport people and museum owners in the Keys. As journeyman student, I might consider putting a power point presentation together and approaching the diving history museum to see if I could do a general introduction seminar on the underwater archaeology and its importance'; 'The information needs to be told/informed, instead of people actively have to look for it. It is better that the knowledge become common, so you insure that at least one person on a dive team (or whatever the situation might be) have heard of the legislation and knows how to proceed around archaeological sites'; 'There needs to be a debate regarding a change in the model of funding for all archeology'; 'Lack of funds result in sites being destroyed. This not only impacts our understanding of past cultures but ultimately has a significant economic impact on the tourism industry'; 'What does *SITU* mean? It would made it easier to respond to some questions above as a uch Novice'; 'It is a must to involve professional archaeologists and professions, official, underwater archaeologists in training and lectures for sports divers'; 'As a politician, I have the ability to change law or draft new legislation to

make this a priority in our state'; 'Not very knowledgeable re above but always recommend clear, accessible info.'; 'not a diver so not able to give informative answers many of these questions'; 'I have no experience of underwater as opposed to intertidal archaeology and so have no views on a lot of the questions'; 'For your info: In Canada each province has its special laws regarding heritage. At national level Parks Canada is the main body for underwater archaeology <www.pc.gc.ca/eng/progs/arch/marsea.aspx>. & <www.pc.gc.ca/eng/docs/pc/guide/grammar/page7.aspx>. In Quebec province, underwater archaeology is associated with Historical society for underwater archaeology and the Stuart Museum. See also Canada Shipping Act'; 'Only interested in intertidal zone so many questions do not really apply - but I tried! Good luck'; 'This questionnaire is really aimed at marine archaeologists and is not appropriate or other heritage professionals to complete Chris. I feel that this has been a waste of my time'; 'Wreck sites are a multifaceted resource. Therefore Cultural/social, environmental and indeed economic aspects of individual wreck sites all need to be factored into an effective UCH management plan'; 'I think the MMO legislation was never meant to cover wreck diving, some clever dick must have thought there was an opportunity to bureaucratise amateur diving. The dangers to wrecks are from trawlers and nature in the form of storms etc. 2012 saw a tremendous deposition of peat on Chesil Beach right up to Chesil Cove something I have never seen to that extent in 40 years of diving. It came from the bottom in the 17-20 metres depth range which had been radically disturbed and had exposed many wreck artefacts including large wooden sections. A similar exposure at the 12 metres depth occurred in 1980. The Shipwreck Project has undertaken a great deal of sidescan sonar surveys off Chesil Beach and has turned up many targets. Unfortunately the area is trawled by scallopers and I have seen their damage over the last 40 years to the wrecks off Chesil Beach. Most amateur divers are responsible and they have found most of the wrecks off the UK coast. I remember Margaret [Rule] saying there were no important wrecks off the UK, a good job we didn't listen to her'; 'Every country worldwide almost unhindered or regulated. Except in those days, they were plundering the sites they discovered for its intrinsic value and rarely for its heritage knowledge. [As far back as the Pharaohs] Today we would, could cynically describe them as opportunist thieves turning disreputable entrepreneurial self-interest into acceptable Careers and education. It's only within the last 100 year that "archaeology" has become educational and even then it is struggling with a niche understanding of its own genre. Is it "Art" or "Science" ...despite the rhetoric, there is a vast difference between the two, as any scientist will tell you. Before that they were called thieves and looters now they are euphemistically referred to as treasure hunters or salvors. [Unless you were of the gentry, then you were collecting "curios "or now as a professional commercial enterprise staffed with academically qualified staff.]. Take a look at the British Museum and ask the awkward question... How did it get here and who does it really belong to?, i.e. Elgin Marbles etc., etc. I have previously mentioned the systematic looting of the Titanic debris fields and incursions within the vessel itself and the recovery of artefacts for commercial purposes... Almost none of it was donated by the peoples or country it was "found in" and almost certainly it's not going to be given back to

their rightful owners even although it was removed against existing local laws in some instances. This was cultural and heritage theft at its most blatant and now we celebrate the fact by having it in open public display. It's a hypocritical scenario perpetuated by these same people who are involved in drafting and enacting these heritage laws that are detrimentally impacting on all of us today. The point I'm making is that the establishment and its servants are hypocritical in their attitude and are bankrupt in their moral turpitude yet seek to inhibit the genuine efforts of ordinary people to engage with the historical and archaeological past without their explicit permission.'

5 Pilot Survey aimed at those who are professionally involved in archaeology, heritage management and students

5.1 Development of the Pilot survey

In advance of both surveys a Pilot Professional Survey was circulated that aided the development of the final versions of both surveys. It enabled the author to gain some experience from the reaction to the questions; test the clarity, sequence; order of the questions and answer choices. An additional and equally importantly component was to receive feedback about the research themes, which if positive would help to provide greater confidence in the relevance of the research. Opportunities to trial the Pilot Survey occurred during the UNESCO Foundation Course in Thailand and a Nautical Archaeology Society Tutor Development Course in the USA, in October & November 2010 respectively with several other individuals volunteering to complete the survey.

The foundation course participants represented countries from Asia, as well as the attendant trainers from the Netherlands, Australia and United States; the second opportunity for officers of the United States of America National Park Service and other individuals who were part of the same course. For many of the participants of the Foundation course English was not their first language so some required assistance in understanding the questions, which was anticipated as potentially being a problem in the selection of their responses. This totalled thirty-four people representing fourteen countries mostly from the Asia-Pacific region and USA. All but two received the survey as a printed version, although at this time it was the intention to distribute the survey as an excel file with accompanying explanatory email.

The results of the Pilot Survey gave valuable feedback, which led to changes that were integrated into the final format. One specific problem was that in those questions that stated 'most important factor' led to multiple responses rather than a singular response, which was actually required. Changes to the wording of such questions made it clearer that only one option was to be chosen.

Due to the significant modifications the results of the Pilot Survey have not been added to those results from the final version, but where it is believed there is some correlation, or conversely a wide variation they have been noted. Feedback to the research themes was positive, which provided additional incentive to continue this study. Furthermore, despite the language issues and diversity of the respondents mentioned above the results of the Pilot Survey were quite similar to the final survey, which retrospectively added confidence in the results discussed below.

6 Results of the Pilot Survey

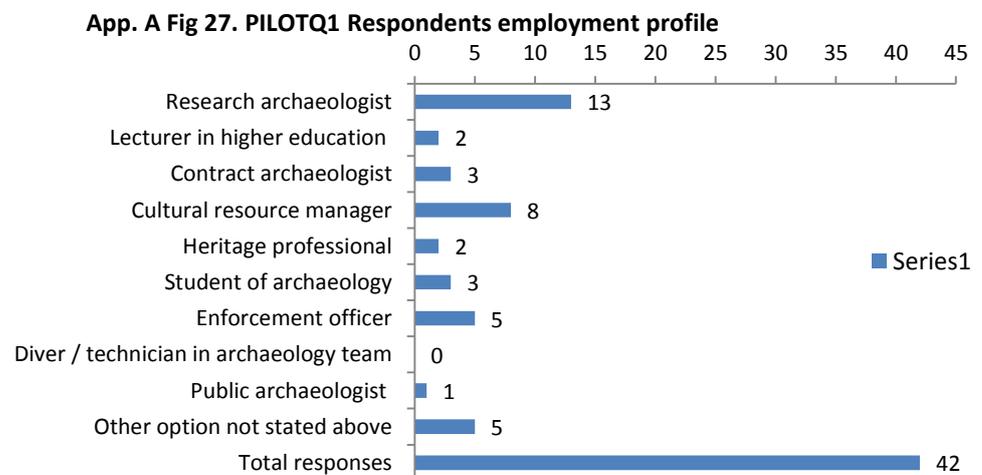
6.1 Section 1 - Respondent profiles

The first four questions were designed to understand the profile of the respondents: occupation, qualifications, experience and responsibility.

6.1.1 PILQ1 Which matches your MAIN occupation, role or position in archaeology:

Remained **Q1** in the final version of the survey, but with amendments to the wording. The respondents categorised themselves as follows: **research archaeologists with 13 responses**; lecturers with 2; contract archaeologists with 3; cultural resource managers with 8; heritage professionals with 2; students with 3; enforcement officers with 5; public archaeologist with 1; diver-technicians with 0, and 5 responded as 'other' not stated in the list. Three remained unspecified, with 2 stating, 'research scientist'.

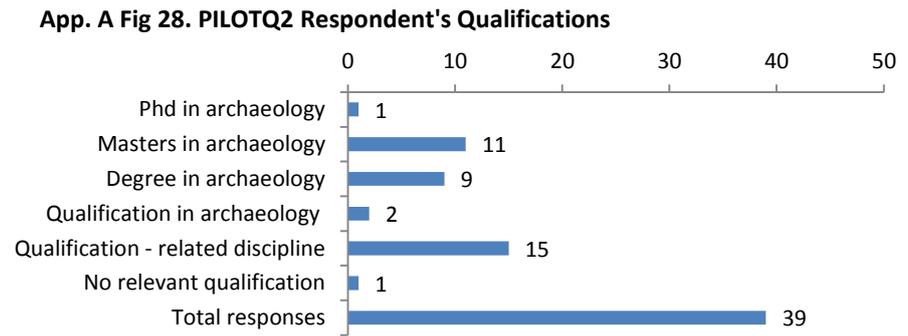
Appendix A Figure 27. PILOTQ1 Respondent's employment profile.



6.1.2 PILQ2 Qualifications:

Remained **Q2** in the final version of the survey, but with minor amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 28. PILOTQ2 Respondent's Qualifications.



Responses: PhD in archaeology with 1 response; **master's in archaeology with 11**; first degree in archaeology with 9; other (unstated) qualifications in archaeology with 2; qualifications in a related discipline with 15, (two stating geo-science) and possessing no related qualification with 1 response.

6.1.3 PILQ3 Archaeological experience:

Remained **Q3** in the final version of the survey, but with minor amendments to the wording.

Responses: More than 20 years with 3; 15-20 years with 7; 10-15 years with 4; 5-10 years with 7; and **0-5 years with 12 responses**.

6.1.4 PILQ4 Does your occupation in archaeology include a managerial role (includes site supervision):

Remained **Q4** in the final version of the survey, but with minor amendments to the wording.

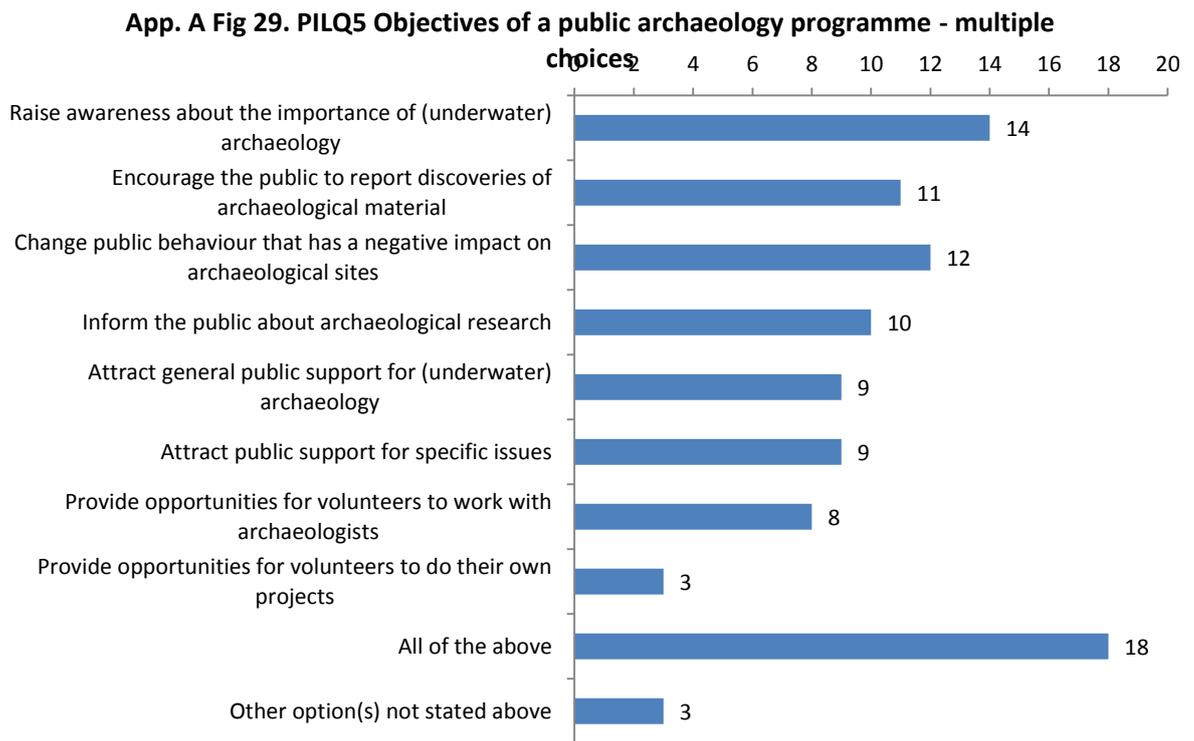
RESPONSES: **YES with 25 responses and NO with 8 and no answer with 1 response**.

6.2 Section 2 – Objectives of public archaeology program

6.2.1 PILQ5 What do you consider are the OBJECTIVES of a public archaeology programme:

Remained **Q5** in the final version of the survey, but with minor amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 29. PILQ5 Objectives of a public archaeology programme - multiple choices



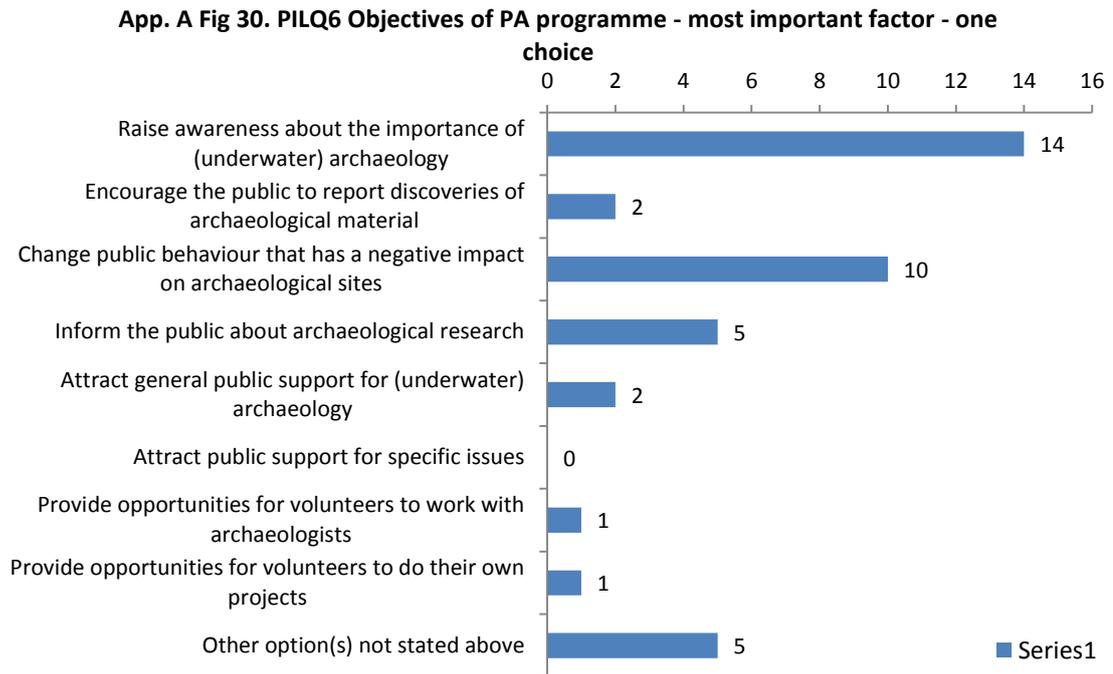
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘Heritage is a social construct that describes the relationship between people and a site or object. Without public engagement in heritage we lose the very element we wish to preserve. Hence public engagement and public participation with heritage is not only necessary, it is intrinsic and vital to the act of preserving heritage’ ; ‘For management agencies to remain engaged with the public and so they can hear some members of the public’s perceptions and issues; Set up dialogue with the public.’

6.2.2 PILQ6 What do you consider is the MOST important objective of a public archaeology programme:

Remained **Q5** in the final version of the survey, but with minor amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 30. PILQ6 Objectives of PA programme - most important factor - one choice



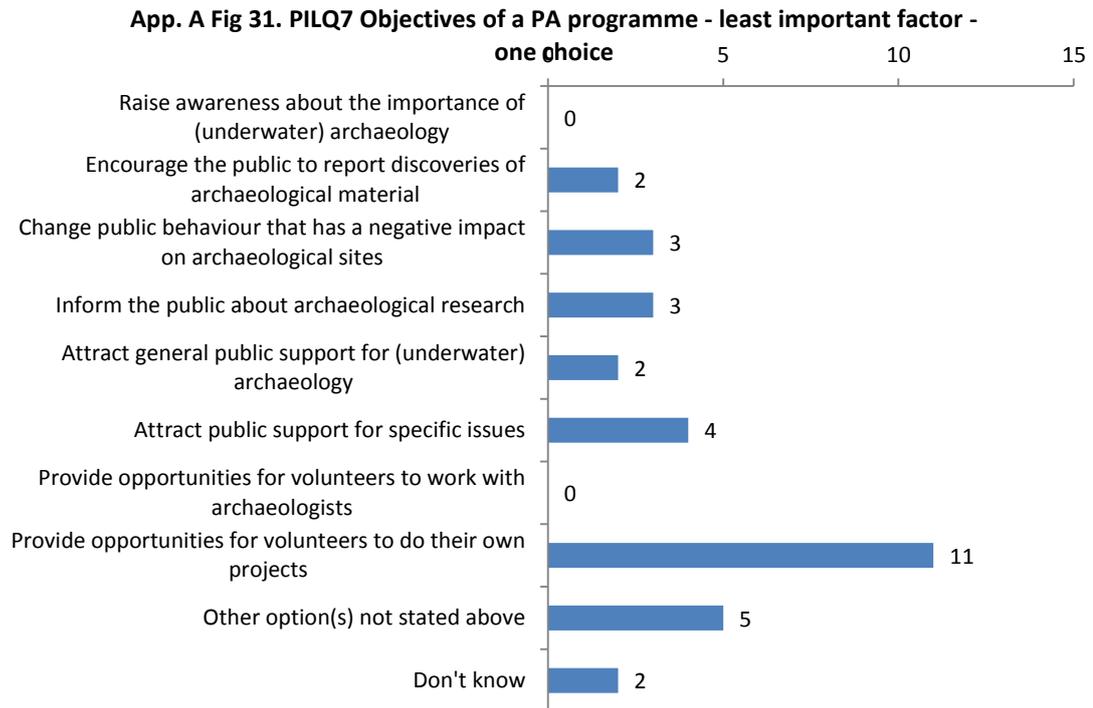
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

‘To give members of the public opportunities to interact with their heritage’. Several responded saying ‘All (were) important.’

6.2.3 PILQ7 Which do you consider is the least important objective of a public archaeology programme:

Remained **Q5** in the final version of the survey, but with minor amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 31. PILQ7 Objectives of a PA programme - least important factor - one choice



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

Three responses stated that *'all were important'*.

6.3 Section 3 - Involvement in Public Archaeology

4.3.1 PILQ8 Is public archaeology part of your organisations aims and objectives:

Remained **Q8** in the final version of the survey, but with minor amendments to the wording.

Responses: **Yes with 32 responses**; No with 1 and No Response with 1 response.

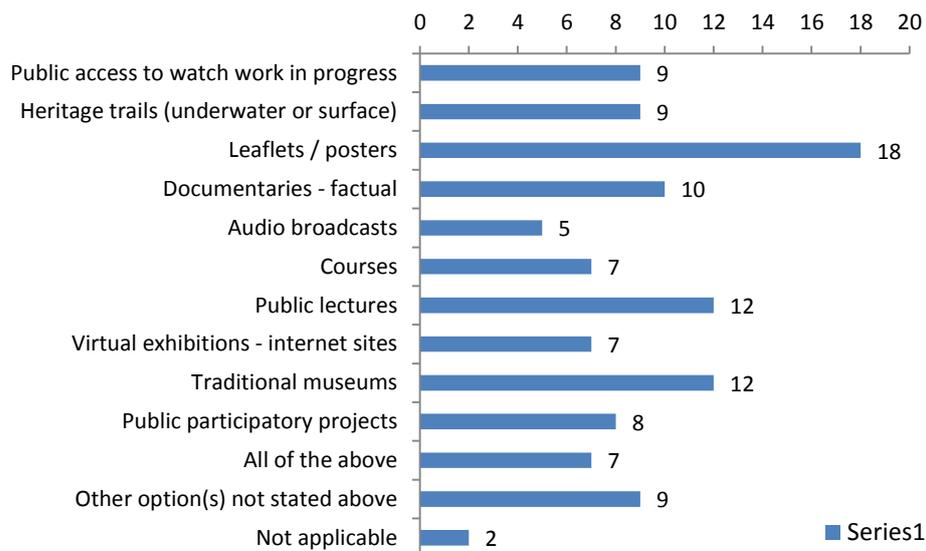
In the final version of the survey there was an additional question (**Q9**) to establish the longevity of organisation's commitment to public archaeology.

4.2.3.2 PILQ9 If yes, which of the following initiatives does your organisation include in its public archaeology programme:

This question became **Q10** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 32. PILQ9 Scope of PA initiatives.

App. A Fig 32. PILQ9 Scope of PA initiatives



6.3.3 PILQ9 Where would information about legislation or government policy relating to underwater archaeological, cultural, or wreck material be MOST effective (Mark only ONE option):

Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Arrange different types of exhibition on traditional culture / archaeology in collaboration with local people' and four added 'journals' and 'spending time with a particular community when doing assessments (1 - 2 weeks).'

6.3.4 PILQ10 Which age groups does your organisation include in its programme:

This question became **Q11** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Responses: Retired 0; 40-65; 18-40 with 6; 12-18 with 1, younger than 12 with 4, **all the above 22**, not applicable with 2.

6.3.5 PILQ11 Approximately what proportion of your organisation's time is devoted to public archaeology (includes administrative time):

This question became Q12 in the final version of the survey retaining the same wording.

Responses: more than 75% with 5; 50-75% with 1; 25-50% with 4; 10-25% with 14; less than 10% with 4; don't know with 1 and not applicable with 5 responses.

6.3.6 PILQ12 What proportion of your time is devoted to public archaeology (includes administrative time):

This question became **Q13** in the final version of the survey retaining the same wording.

Responses: more than 75% with 7; 50-75% with 3; 25-50% with 3, **10-25% with 14**; less than 10% with 2 and not applicable with 5.

6.3.7 PILQ13 Has the proportion of your time devoted to public archaeology in your current position (includes administrative time):

This question became **Q14** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Responses: **increased with 19**; decreased with 1; remained the same with 7 and not applicable with 7.

6.3.8 PILQ14 If your organisation does not have a public archaeology program is there a specific reason:

This question became **Q17** in the final version of the survey. Responses from those whose organisations do not have a Public Archaeology Program: Lack of experience in public archaeology: Lack of funds for a program with 1 response; Not part of the organisations aims and objectives with 2 and other option(s) not stated above with 1 response.

6.3.9 PILQ15 Do you devote your own (outside work) time to public archaeology initiatives:

This question became **Q18** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Responses: **Yes with 24 responses** and No with 10 responses.

6.4 Section 4 - Change in public knowledge or understanding

6.4.1 PILQ16 Do you think that the public are more aware of archaeology now than when you became involved in archaeology:

Responses: **Yes with 18 responses**, No with 11 and Don't Know with 5 responses. The range of answers was changed to adapt a form known as a Likert Scale: Agree strongly; Agree slightly; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree slightly; Disagree strongly. The question became **Q19** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

6.4.2 PILQ17 If yes, do you think that the change has been over the past:

This question became **Q20** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

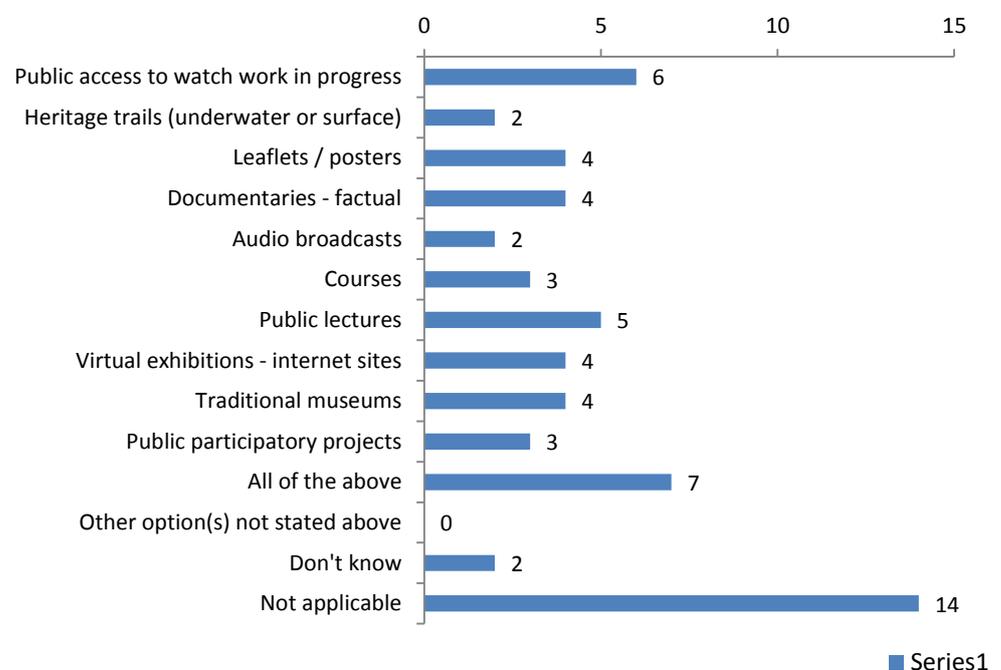
Responses: 25 years with 3; 15 years with 4; 10 years with 8; 5 years with 1; don't know with 3 and not applicable with 16.

6.4.3 PILQ18 If yes which do you think have been the factors:

This question became **Q21** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 33. PILQ18 Factors - increased awareness

App. A Fig. 33. PILQ18 Increased awareness - factors - multiple choice

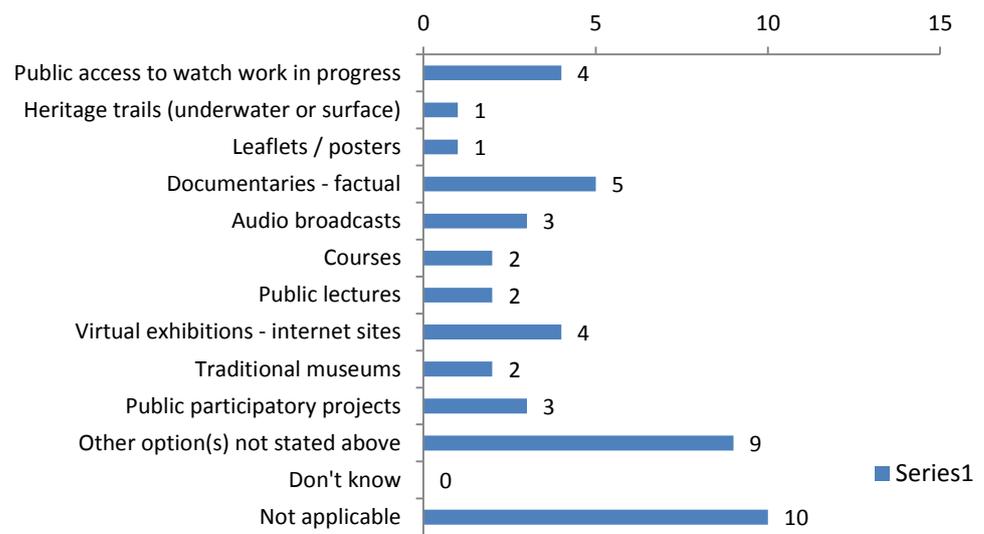


6.4.4 PILQ19 Which do you think is the MOST effective factor that has had an impact on the public's knowledge and understanding of underwater archaeology:

This question became **Q22** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 34. PILQ19 Increased awareness - most important factors - one choice

App. A Fig. 34. PILQ19 Increased awareness - most important factors - one choice



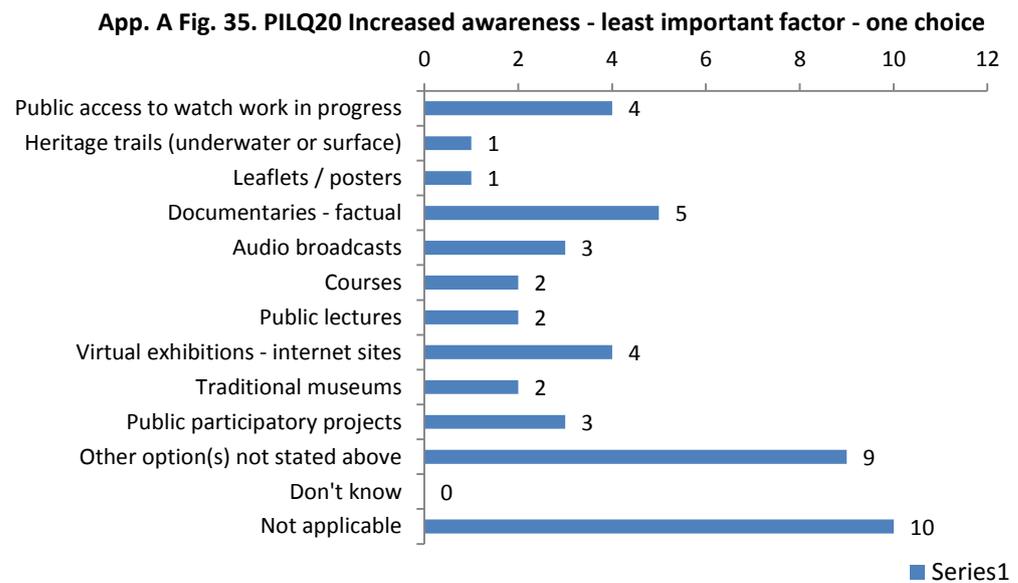
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Yes- less than 5% of the public dive. The majority of the public are reached through mass media not particular focussed approaches'; all of the approaches above that are limited to a small target group can be considered ineffective. However it is the combination of communication techniques that makes the sum total'; 'local people' and 'all important.'

6.4.5 PILQ20 Which do you think is the LEAST effective factor that has had an impact on the public's knowledge and understanding of underwater archaeology:

This question became **Q23** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 35. PILQ20 Increased awareness - least important factor - one choice



Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

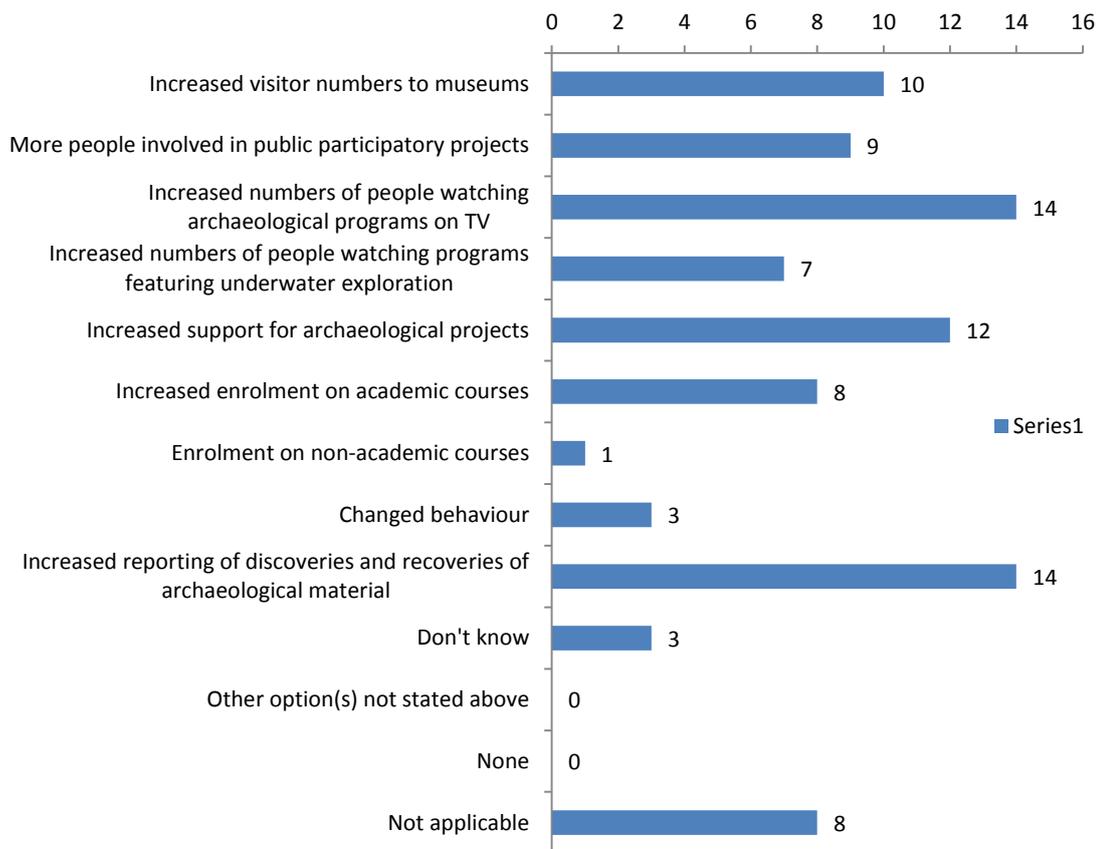
'All important'.

6.4.6 PILQ21 What evidence is there that public archaeology initiatives are improving the public's knowledge and understanding of underwater archaeology:

This question became **Q24** in the final version of the survey with the wording fundamentally changing, but retaining the same choice of answers.

Appendix A Figure 36. PILQ21 Awareness and changing public behaviour - multiple choices.

App. A Fig. 36. PILQ21 Awareness and changing public behaviour - multiple choices



6.4.5 Questions deleted from the final version of the Professional Survey

Q22 and **Q23** were deleted from the final survey due to the decision to use Question **Q21** of the Pilot version of the survey as a foundation for assessing what had become known from existing public sources. In addition the results from the **AVOCATIONAL SURVEY** would point to how their own initial and continuing interest and the development of their knowledge had been influenced by the listed options. There was additional benefit in shortening the professional survey.

6.4.6 PILQ22 Can you match increased public awareness, knowledge, interest or involvement in underwater archaeology to a specific initiative:

Responses Yes with 27 responses and No with 4. – **DELETED FROM THE FINAL SURVEY**

4.4.7 PILQ23 If yes to the previous question is it:

‘Romantic ideas about salvage and/or treasure hunting with 14; Because it is hard to distinguish between archaeology and salvage and/or treasure hunting with 16; Documentaries that feature underwater archaeology / salvage / treasure hunting with 10; Scientific publications with 1; Fictional films that feature underwater archaeology / salvage / treasure hunting with 15;

Impact of fictional books that feature underwater archaeology / salvage / treasure hunting with 4; Lack of impact of public archaeology initiatives with 3; Don't know with 0; Other option(s) not stated above; other option with 1 and Not applicable with 5 responses'. **DELETED FROM THE FINAL SURVEY**

4.5 Section 5 – Public Understanding

4.5.1 PILQ24 Do you think that the public confuses underwater archaeology with salvage and / or treasure hunting:

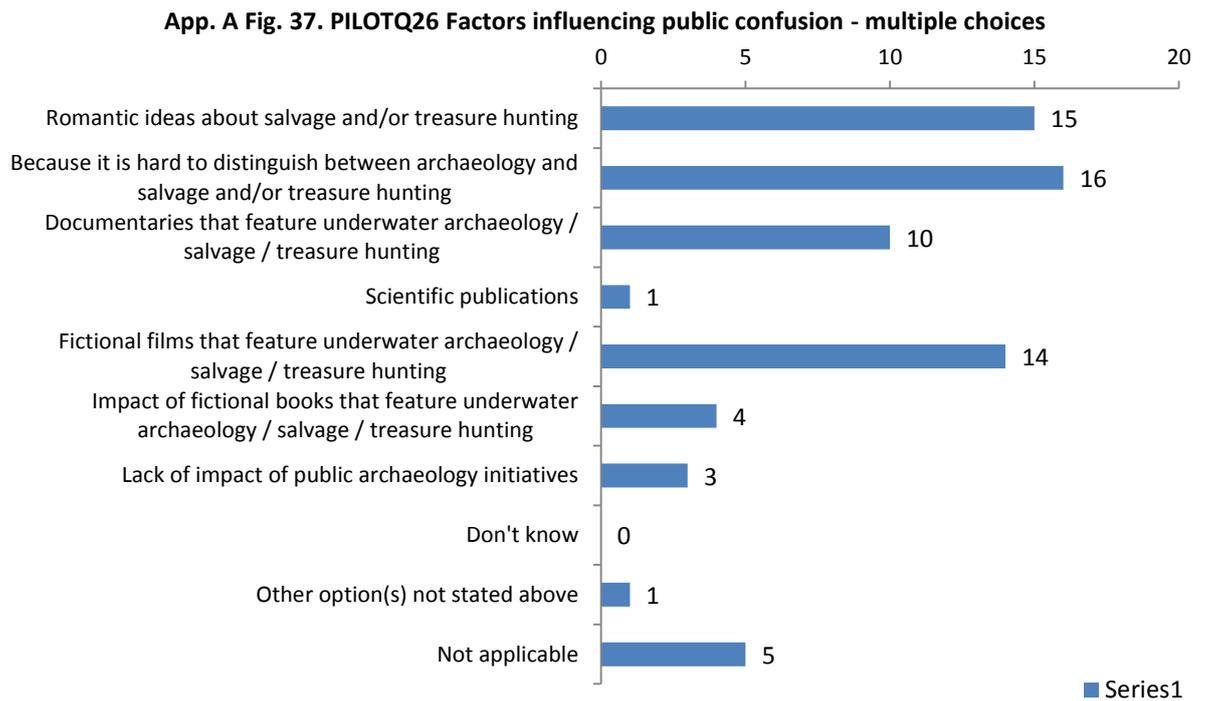
The range of answers was changed to adapt a form known as a Likhert Scale: Agree strongly; Agree slightly; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree slightly; Disagree strongly. This question became **Q25** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Responses were **Yes with 27 responses**; No with 4 and don't know with 1 response.

4.5.2 PILQ25 If yes to question 22 what do you think are the main factors (mark more than one answer if applicable):

This question remained **Q26** in the final version of the survey, but with significant amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 37. PILQ25 Factors influencing public confusion - multiple choices.



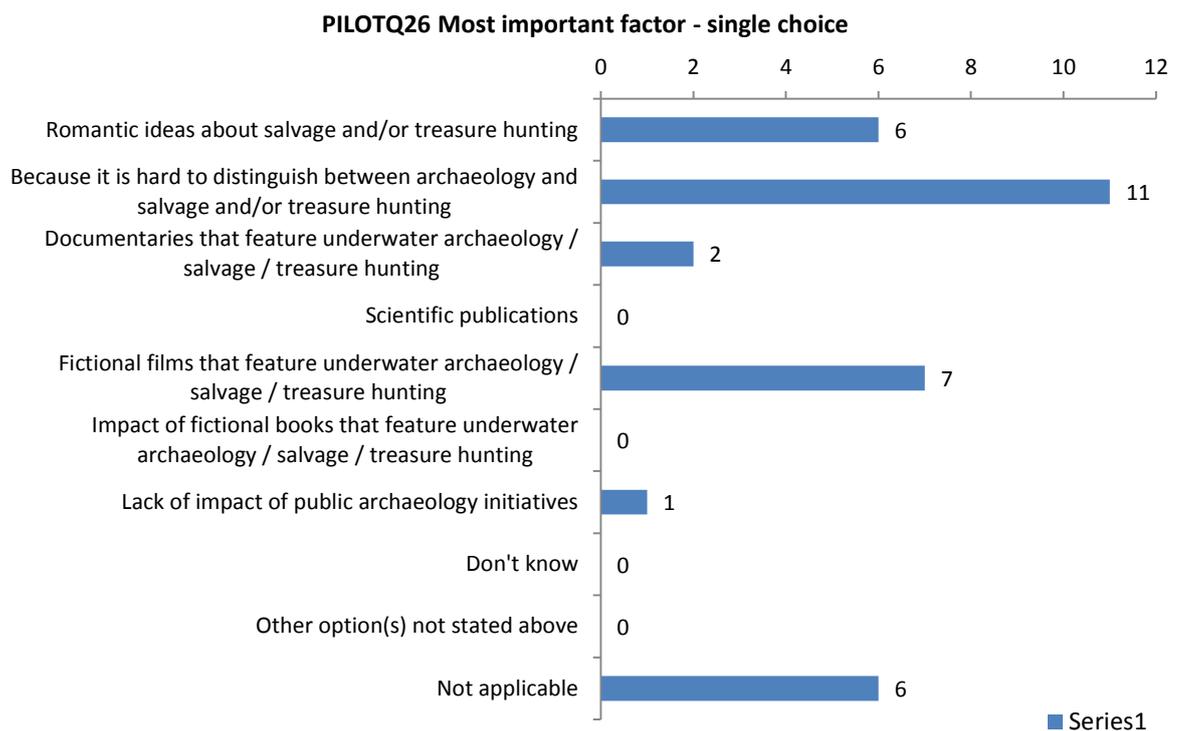
Other option(s) not stated above (please specify):

'Archaeologists need to be more proactive'.

4.5.3 PILQ26 If you had to choose one main factor which would it be:

This question became **Q27** in the final version of the survey, with significant amendments to the wording.

Appendix A Figure 38. PILQ26 Most important factor - single choice



4.5.4 PILQ27 Does your organisation's public archaeology program compete for resources with its other archaeology functions?

The question became **Q15** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Responses: **Yes with 10 responses**; No with 15; don't know with 6 and not applicable with 3 responses.

4.5.5 PILQ28 Is a public archaeology project or initiative usually given priority?

The question became **Q16** in the final version of the survey, with amendments to the wording.

Responses: Always with 1 response; **project dependent with 7**; never with 0 and not applicable with 25 responses.

¹ A Likert scale is a psychometric scale often used in research that involves questionnaires.

² Survey Monkey. Available from: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/?ut_source=header>. (Accessed 19 October 2014)

Appendix B: Development, structure, compilation of the databases and additional charts in support of chapter eight

1 About the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)

The BBC's mission is: 'to enrich people's lives with programmes and services that inform, educate and entertain' (About the BBC 2014).

The BBC is incorporated by Royal Charter, first granted by King George V in 1926. Its current charter is due to run for a customary ten year period, which expires 31 December 2016, at which point is subject to periodic review and renewal. The Charter continues to recognise the peoples 'widespread interest' (DCMS 2006, 1) in audio, and visual media, with the charter ensuring the organisation's independence to provide these services. The broadcaster's main function is to 'serve the public interest' (DCMS 2006, 2) by:

'sustaining citizenship and civil society; promoting education and learning; stimulating creativity and cultural excellence; representing the UK, its nations, regions and communities; bringing the UK to the world and the world to the UK; in promoting its other purposes, helping to deliver to the public the benefit of emerging communications technologies and services and, in addition, taking a leading role in the switchover to digital television' (BBC Charter, 2).

Part of its charter is an obligation to consult its viewers. This is done through Audience Councils that serve as conduits to the BBC to express 'divergent perspectives' (DCMS, 21) on how the corporation was performing in fulfilling its objectives. The BBC is funded, part by an annual public license fee, which is used primarily for television, radio and online services of the BBC. In 2013-14, revenues from the license amounted to £3,726 billion, of which £607.8 million was provided from Government sources, out of total revenues of £5.066 billion.

The *BBC online news* website used for this study (bbc.co.uk and bbc.com) recorded 'record global traffic' (BBC Media centre) in January 2013, amounting to sixty-four million visitors. These visitors viewed: News, Business, Sport, Weather, Lifestyle and Technology, as well as In-depth analysis. This represented an 8.7% year on year increase from January 2012. The BBC retained its number one status in Europe with an 8.4% improvement; North America improved performance by 9.1% compared with January 2013. There were similar improvements achieved in Asia-Pacific and India 'bbc.com' remaining at the top of the ranking, with a 27% year improvement over the same period (BBC Media Centre). It is therefore a very significant global media platform that influences public understanding and perceptions. As such it should not be ignored by archaeologists –

heritage professionals and avocationalists as a mechanism for outreaching – marketing heritage to the public.

2 Description of the BBC online website

The BBC online news website can be described as resembling a newspaper, with a headlines page, most popular news items and different sections covering sport, business, world affairs, etc. Although there was no advertising when it was launched in November 1997, these are now a feature. The website's evolution is described in BBC Online and has continued to evolve during the course of this study. Although on a daily basis it is broadly similar to a newspaper in its format that is where the resemblance ends. Including its archived free to view content, in 2006 it reputedly contained over two million individual news pages (Wikipedia BBC 2014).

2.1 Structure of the BBC website

Entering the website's 'Home page' (as of March 2015) shows global news headlines, with links to individual sections: News, Sport, Weather, Shop, Earth, More, (extends to numerous subdivisions including history). The News page includes Video, World, UK, Business, Tech, Science, Magazine, Entertainment & Arts, Health, In Pictures, More, Also in the News, Special Reports, Explainers and The Reporters.

Selecting the UK link retains the Home, Video,...etc., but with a second tier that covers the home countries of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, UK Politics and Education. By selecting England, option portals are found to various news options, and links to the ten broadcasting regions of England and to local news within individual counties. This structure has enabled the examination of the distribution of news reports, by continent, by country, and by region, which reveals variations in interest in maritime events.

2.2 Structure of the news databases

The news databases, which form a substantial aspect of this study are divided into a number of categories and recorded on different worksheets (Excel 2010). The main reasons, primarily to visually recognise patterns and frequency of news on a month by month basis as the databases grew. The Children's BBC (CBBC) *Newsround* brings mainstream news to a younger audience and the Guardian Newspaper reports are recorded separately. Individual worksheets form part of the overall database: RMS *Titanic*, HMS *Victory*, *Mary Rose*, all other BBC news, Children's BBC (*Newsround*), Guardian Newspaper online and National Geographic DVD archive collection (1884-2009).

2.3 Compilation of the news database

To compile the database it was first necessary to design the fields. From left to right horizontally on the page they are: Source; Identity [of site/event] if known; Site type and location; subjective ID [identity] of event - key words; date [of site] if known; archaeological period¹; Audio report; In pictures [photographic report]; Video report; 3D interactive; Stat Planet²; Country of event³; Regional news designation⁴ [includes UK]; Country news designation; County news designation; URL; Year from 1997, 1998...and News Headline.

2.4 Extract from the Excel worksheets to illustrate the content and format

Appendix B Figure 1 The figure is an extract of the worksheet with some of the fields deleted to accommodate the format of this document.

Identity if known	Site type and physical location	Subjective ID of event - key words	Archaeological Time Period (People and the Sea)	URL	Headline
Receiver of Wreck	All wreck	Legal / Protection / Management	Multi period	http://n	What happens if you discover Treasure
Salcombe Cannon Site	Protected shipwreck (1973) under water	Exhibition / Display / Tourism / Visitor Centre	High to Post-Medieval AD 1000 - c. 1650	http://n	UK treasure trove goes on show
Zhiyuan - Chinese wreck recovery	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000	http://n	China to raise sunken ship
HMAS Sydney - Second World War	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Australia probes World War II naval mystery
SS Empress of Ireland - First World War	Shipwreck under water	Legal / Protection / Management	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	Salvation Army against salvage
Jönköping - First World War	Shipwreck under water	Legal / Protection / Management	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	A bubbly Baltic battle
Jönköping - First World War	Shipwreck under water	Sale / Purchase of Cultural Material	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	Bubbly from the briny
Jönköping - First World War	Shipwreck under water	Sale / Purchase of Cultural Material	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	Eighty-year-old champagne pops up from the bottom of the
Jönköping - First World War	Shipwreck under water	Sale / Purchase of Cultural Material	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	Wreck surrenders champagne cargo
Jönköping - First World War	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	Champagne hunters' hopes dashed
The Matthew	Replica vessel - operational or static	Exhibition / Display / Tourism / Visitor Centre	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000	http://n	Sailing ship returns home
Alexandria - sunken city	Non wreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Pre-	http://n	Ancient diver sees light of day
Jönköping - First World War	Shipwreck under water	Sale / Purchase of Cultural Material	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	Still bubbly after all these years
Bonhomme Richard	Protected shipwreck (1973) under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Early Modern and Industrial AD 1650 - 1850	http://n	Divers find wreck of warship
SS Castor - Receiver of Wreck	Shipwreck under water	Legal / Protection / Management	Roman Period AD 43 - 400	http://n	Britain returns ancient marbles to Turkey
First World War	Shipwreck under water	Anniversary / Commemoration / Memorial / Remembered	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	The war to end all wars
HMS Caroline - First World War	Historic vessel - operational or static	Preservation / Conservation / Restoration	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (First World War)	http://n	Training ship makes history
Burntisland	Protected shipwreck (1973) under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Early Modern and Industrial AD 1650 - 1850	http://n	Losing their heads over Charles I
HMS Bulldog - Second World War	Non wreck on land	Entertainment / Visual / Audio / Literary / Other	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Hollywood hijacks history
HMS Gloucester - Second World War	Protected shipwreck (1986) under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	UK 1939 Warship sunk by blunder
Brunei Treasure	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	High to Post-Medieval AD 1000 - c. 1650	http://n	Divers salvage treasure from Brunei waters
Unspecified site - object or site	Shipwreck under water	Legal / Protection / Management	High to Post-Medieval AD 1000 - c. 1650	http://n	Undersea Treasure chest stirs up tensions
Vrouw Maria Baltic shipwreck	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Early Modern and Industrial AD 1650 - 1850	http://n	Finnish wreck may reveal lost artwork
Liberty Bell 7	Non wreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000	http://n	Sunk space capsule to be salvaged
The Nimrod	Shipwreck under water	Sale / Purchase of Cultural Material	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000	http://n	Welsh divers put maritime history on the internet
SS Great Britain	Historic vessel - operational or static	Preservation / Conservation / Restoration	Early Modern and Industrial AD 1650 - 1850	http://n	Bid to keep historic ship afloat
Unspecified site - object or site	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Multi period	http://n	Treasure Hunt at HK Disneyland site
Alexandria - sunken city	Non wreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Pre-	http://n	Divers find Pharaohs' lost city
Nazi treasure - Second World War	Non wreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Divers seek Nazi's last secrets
Unspecified site - object or site	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Early Modern and Industrial AD 1650 - 1850	http://n	Captain Kidd's flagship 'found'
MV Lucy	Shipwreck under water	Sale / Purchase of Cultural Material	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000	http://n	Treasure sold on internet
Unspecified site - object or site	Shipwreck under water	Sale / Purchase of Cultural Material	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000	http://n	Treasures of the deep bring £10000
Battle of the Atlantic - Second World War	Shipwreck under water	Anniversary / Commemoration / Memorial / Remembered	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Veterans mark Atlantic conflict
Battle of the Atlantic - Second World War	Shipwreck under water	Anniversary / Commemoration / Memorial / Remembered	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Atlantic conflict marked by veterans
Alexandria - sunken city	Non wreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Pre-	http://n	Divers find Pharaohs' lost city
RMS Lancastria - Second World War	Shipwreck under water	Anniversary / Commemoration / Memorial / Remembered	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Secret disaster remembered
RMS Lancastria - Second World War	Shipwreck under water	Anniversary / Commemoration / Memorial / Remembered	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Lancastria in pictures
RMS Lancastria - Second World War	Shipwreck under water	Anniversary / Commemoration / Memorial / Remembered	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Thousands of Lancastria victims remembered
U-110 - Second World War	Submarine wreck under water	Entertainment / Visual / Audio / Literary / Other	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Capturing the real U-571
U-571 - Second World War	Submarine wreck under water	Entertainment / Visual / Audio / Literary / Other	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Storm over U-boat film
Stonehenge - monument	Non wreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Neolithic 10,000 - 4,000 BC	http://n	Attempt to salvage sunken stone
Galgá	Shipwreck under water	Legal / Protection / Management	Early Modern and Industrial AD 1650 - 1850	http://n	Spain wins shipwreck case
Titicaca - high altitude lake	Non wreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Pre-	http://n	Ancient temple found under Lake Titicaca
Unspecified site - object or site	Cultural Heritage	Funding / Donation / Grant	Multi period	http://n	Lottery cash for historic projects
Unspecified site - object or site	Cultural Heritage	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Multi period	http://n	Treasures beneath the sand
Nazi treasure - Second World War	Shipwreck under water	Search / Discovery / Survey / Excavation / Recovery	Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000 (Second World War)	http://n	Hunt for sunken Jewish treasure

2.5 BBC archive keyword searches

An extensive range of key words were chosen to search for maritime related events. The results of the each individual search using the generic terms revealed articles on specific news reports that matched these themes with URL's. Connecting to each individual news item led to related news items. For example a search using 'underwater archaeology' on 27 October 2014 found the report, 'Haiti wreck not Columbus flagship – UNESCO' (BBC 2014). It is listed under Latin America – Caribbean section and lists a second article on the *Santa Maria*, 'Christopher

Columbus's Santa Maria wreck 'found' in the news on 13th May 2014. This news item was of sufficient international public interest to appear on the BBC World News the same day.

3 Compilation and keyword searches

3.1 BBC On-line News Database CBBC & Guardian Newspaper

3.1.1 Generic searches – key words

Underwater Archaeology; Maritime Archaeology; Nautical Archaeology; Protected Wrecks; Protected Shipwrecks; Treasure Hunting; Marine Salvage; Treasure; Treasure Hunting; Wreck; Shipwreck; Aircraft Underwater; Submarine; Mediavel Ship; *Protection of Wrecks Act 1973*; *Protection of Military Remains Act 1986*; Maritime Museum; Historic National Historic Fleet and Maritime Museum.

3.1.2 Individual Site Names - Protection of Wrecks Act 1973

Amsterdam; Anne; Bartholomew Ledges; Bonhomme Richard; Burntisland; Cattewater Coronation; Dartmouth; Diamond; Mary Rose (NHF); HMS Colossus; HMS London; Swan; Resurgam, Salcombe Cannon Site; HMS Invincible; HMS Resolution; Rooswijk; HMS Campania; Holland V; Kennermerland; Needles Wreck; Richard Montgomery (1973 Act Section 2); Tearing Ledge; Grace Dieu; Mary; Restoration; Rill Cove; St Anthony; Iona II; Wrangels Palais; Normans Bay Wreck; Admiral Gardner, SS Castillian (1973 Act Section 2) and Swash Channel.

3.1.3 Individual Site Names - Protection of Military Remains Act 1986:

HMS *Affray* (Channel Islands); *E18*; HMS *Hood* (Atlantic); HMS *Natal*; HMS *Royal Oak* (Scotland); HMS *Repulse* (Asia); SS *Stora* (England); Sunderland Flying Boat (Wales); HMS *Exmouth* (both United Kingdom).

3.1.4 Individual Vessel Names - UK's National Historic Fleet:

HMS *Victory* 1805 NHF; *Mary Rose* NHF; *Cutty Sark* NHF; SS *Great Britain* NHF; *City of Adelaide* (Carrick) NHF; SS *Nomadic* NHF; HMS *Caroline* NHF; HMS *Trincomalee* NHF; SS *Robin* NHF; HMS *Alliance* NHF; HMS *Cavalier* NHF; HMS *Warrior* NHF; *Holland I* NHF; *Reaper* NHF; *Spartan* NHF; *MTB 102* NHF.

3.1.5 Individual Site Names - Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979:

German High Seas Fleet (Scapa Flow); *Louisa* (Wales).

3.1.6 Individual events

Battle of the Atlantic.

3.1.7 Replica vessels

Matthew, a 15th century caravel associated with John Cabot.

3.1.8 Submerged sites

Alexandria (Egypt); Port Royal (Jamaica); Bouldnor Cliff; Doggerland and Seahenge (all in UK waters).

3.1.9 Other Individual Vessel Names

Arandora Star (Atlantic); *Asterix Gallo-Romano Ship*-Channel Islands); *Bismarck* (Atlantic); *Bluebird* (England); *CSS Hunley* (USA); Elizabethan Ship (Channel Islands); *HMS Victory 1744* (Channel Islands); *HMS Investigator* (Canada); *Jönköping* (Finland); *Mercedes* (Mediterranean); Newport Ship (Wales); *Pollux* (Italy); *Scylla* (England); *RMS Titanic* (Atlantic); *RMS Lancastria* (France); *Royal Charter* (Wales); *U-534* (Denmark/Sweden); *SMS Karlsruhe* (Scotland); *HMHS Britannic* (Cyprus); *SS Gairsoppa* (Atlantic); *SS Laurentic* (Republic of Ireland); *SS Lusitania* (Republic of Ireland); *SS Mantola* (International Waters); *SS Port Nicholson* (100nm off USA East coast); *Queen Anne's Revenge* (USA) and *Vasa* (Sweden).

3.2 BBC News events characterised by activity

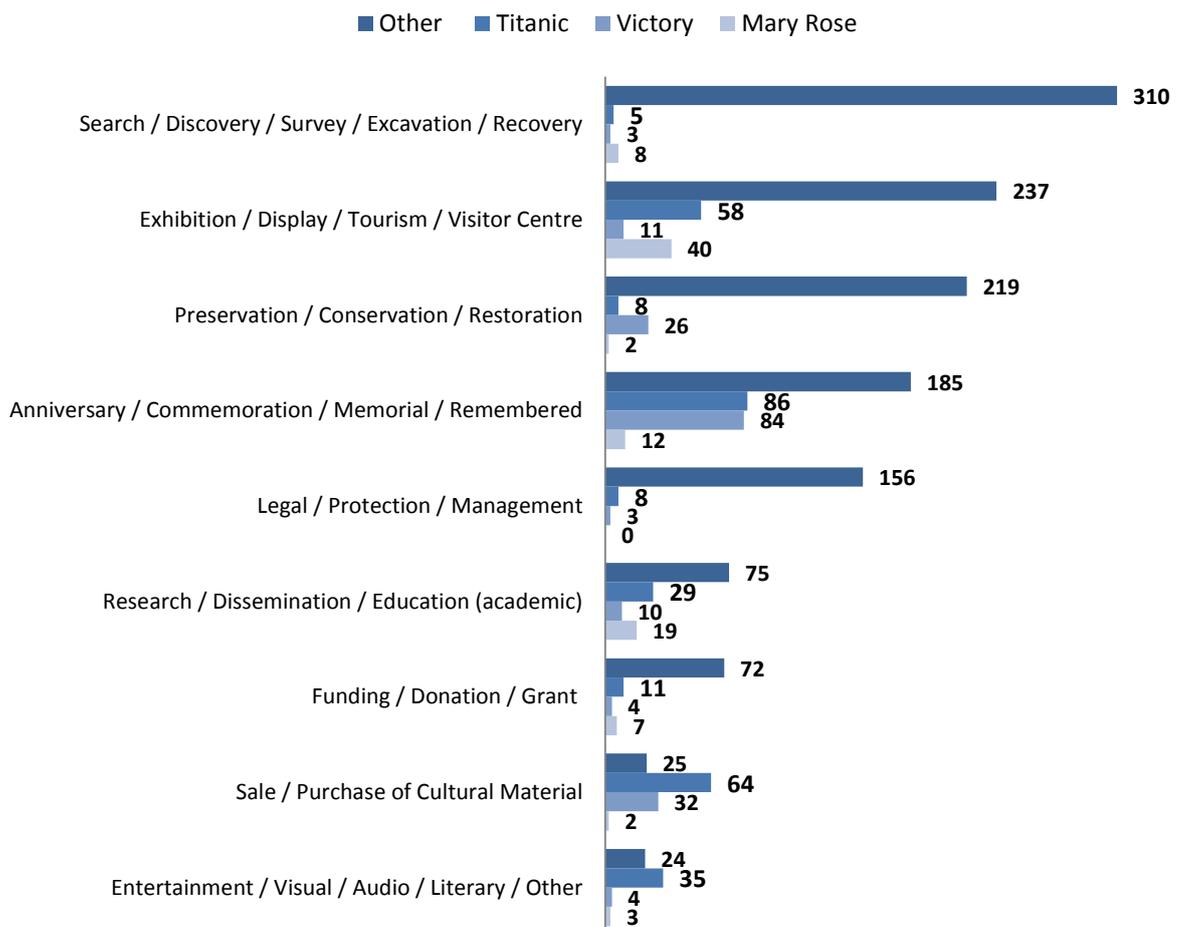
To investigate different interests of the media the events were sub divided.

'Search – Discovery – Survey – Excavation – Recovery' describes those events that are specifically related to field-work. 'Search' can include manual or remote techniques and desk-based searches; 'discovery' is an event that can either be dependent on desk-based research or accidental; 'survey' relates to a specific activity aimed at recording a specific site using manual or remote techniques, with 'recovery' being the removal of cultural heritage material from its original context; **'Preservation – Conservation – Restoration'** describes any action to preserve, conserve or restore cultural heritage material; **'Exhibition – Display – Tourism – Visitor Centre'** describes activities that are related to public enjoyment or dissemination; **'Sale – Purchase of Cultural Material'**, are news events covering the sale or purchase of cultural events, including articles that describe an historic cultural object that will, or has been for sale; **'Entertainment – Visual – Audio – Literary – Other'**. Although these activities are quite closely related to tourism,

they are passive in so far they are not directly related or in contact with cultural heritage. In a sense they can be described as ‘remote access and enjoyment’ of cultural heritage; **‘Funding – Donation – Grant’** describe funding from such sources as the government, Heritage Lottery Fund, private donations, philanthropy or other sources; **‘Research – Dissemination – Education (academic)’** cover post field related activities or are in parallel with preservation or conservation related techniques that are released into the public domain; **‘Legal – Protection – Management’** are those that specifically cover legislation, policy, its implementation, as well as criminal activity related to cultural material; **‘Anniversary – Commemoration – Memorial – Remembered’** include significant maritime events such as mysteries, battles, the loss of ships and aircraft or their discovery, stranding, survivors or fatalities consequential of maritime events’. Figure 39 shows the numerical distribution of this categorization.

Appendix B Figure 2 The chart shows the characteristics of the news events for *Titanic*, *Victory Mary Rose* and all other events according to each of the sub-divisions.

App. Fig 2. BBC news events charaterised by activity

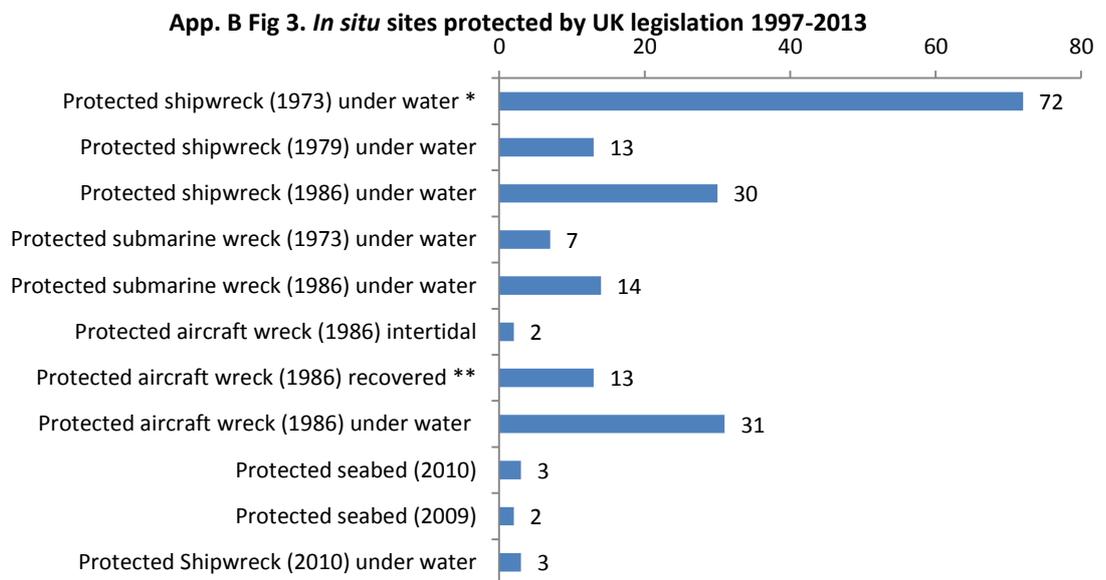


3.3 BBC News events characterized by location

A range of categories were chosen to describe the type of site and its physical location. This provided the opportunity to understand if there some types of site or locations were of greater public interest. The following were chosen: 'Aircraft wreck under water'; 'All wreck'; 'Artificial diving site'; 'Cultural Heritage'; 'Historic submarine - operational or static'; 'Historic vessel - operational or static'; 'Misc.'; 'Non wreck intertidal'; 'Non wreck on land'; 'Non wreck under water'; 'Replica vessel - operational or static'; 'Shipwreck intertidal'; 'Shipwreck recovered'; 'Shipwreck on land'; 'Shipwreck under water'; 'Submarine wreck under water'; 'Submarine wreck recovered' and 'Watercraft on land'.

3.5 BBC News events characterised by location

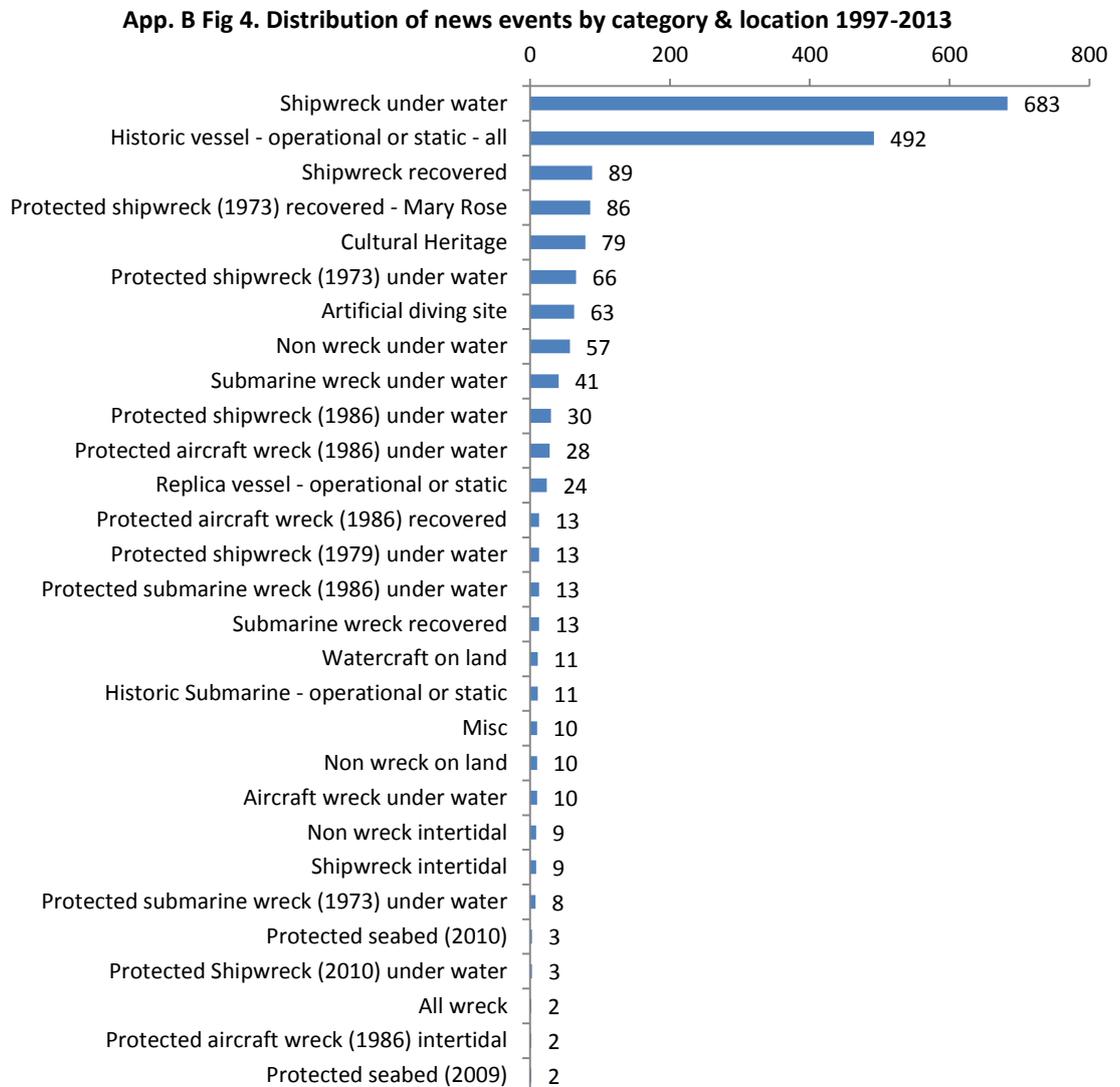
Appendix B Figure 3 *In situ* sites protected by UK legislation.



* Includes *Mary Rose* investigations 2002-2005.

** Includes the Dornier Bomber salvaged and recovered in 2013.

Appendix B Figure 4 Distribution of news events by category and location shows the dominance of shipwreck media reports, but for the full picture all other subdivisions need to be added. The shipwreck category includes 304 reports for RMS *Titanic*.



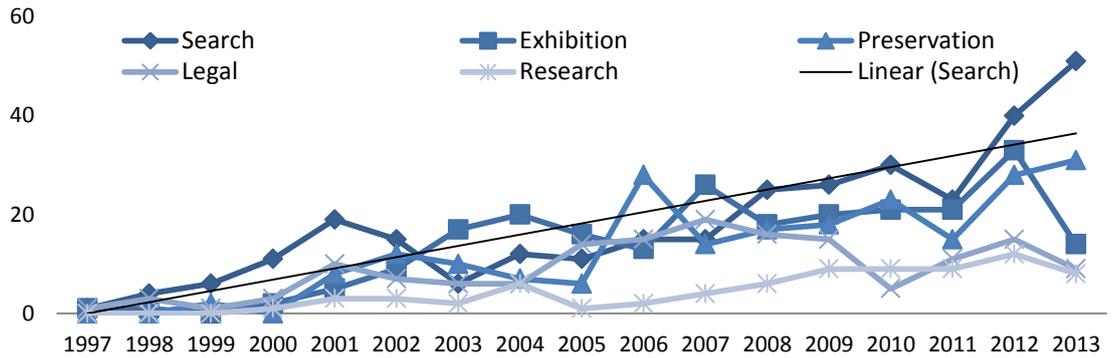
3.6 BBC News events characterised by archaeological time periods

With the same overall objective as ‘site type and physical location’ the databases were categorised according to their archaeological time period. For this purpose the time classifications in ‘People and the Sea: A Maritime Archaeological Research Agenda for England’ (Ransley *et al* 2013) were utilised: Modern AD 1850 - c. 2000, Early Modern and Industrial AD 1650 – 1850, High to Post-Medieval AD 1000-c. 1650, Early Medieval AD 400 – 1000, Roman Period AD 43 – 400, Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Pre-Roman Iron Age 1500 BC - AD 43, Mesolithic 10,000 -

400 BC, Neolithic 10,000 - 4,000 BC. Multi period was used as an additional category to cover news events that were more generic or unspecific. See chapter seven for the chart.

3.7 News events characterised by activity

Appendix B Figure 5 BBC news events showing the growth in activities in Search...Exhibition... Preservation...Legal... and Research... and a linear trend line to illustrate the rise in the curve representing Search.



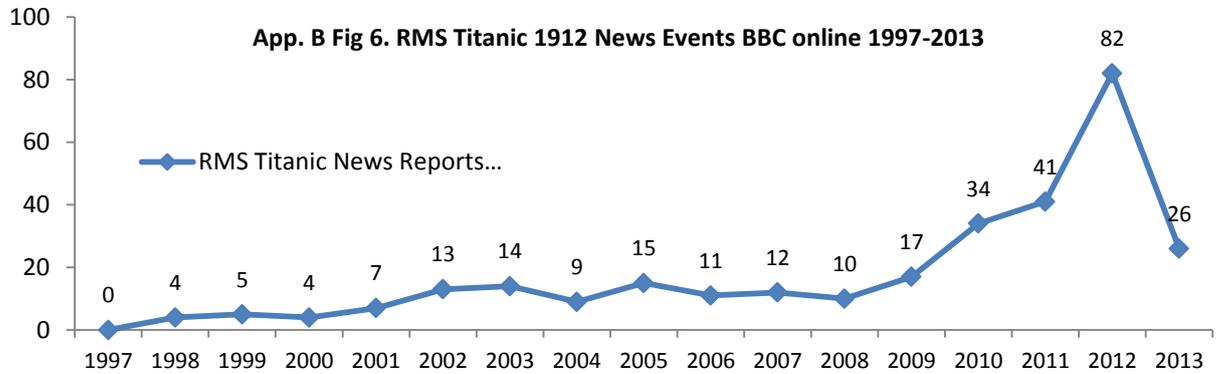
3.8 Keyword Search in the Headline of the News item

It was observed that there was a tendency for the well-known ships to use their name in the headline. Although an assessment was not an objective a number of searches for keywords in the BBC news revealed that the following were used in headlines: Treasure – 57; Pirate – 5; Sale – 2; Purchase – 0; Discovery – 2; Discovered – 3; Found – 55; Recovery – 5; Recovered – 11; Gold – 9; Silver – 4; Gems – 0; Platinum – 1; HMS – 72; Bronze [Bronze Age] – 18; 16; Iron [Iron Age] – 2; Medieval – 36; World War [Both] – 41; Ship 363; Vessel – 8; Submarine – 40; Sunken City – 36; Plane and Aircraft – 3.

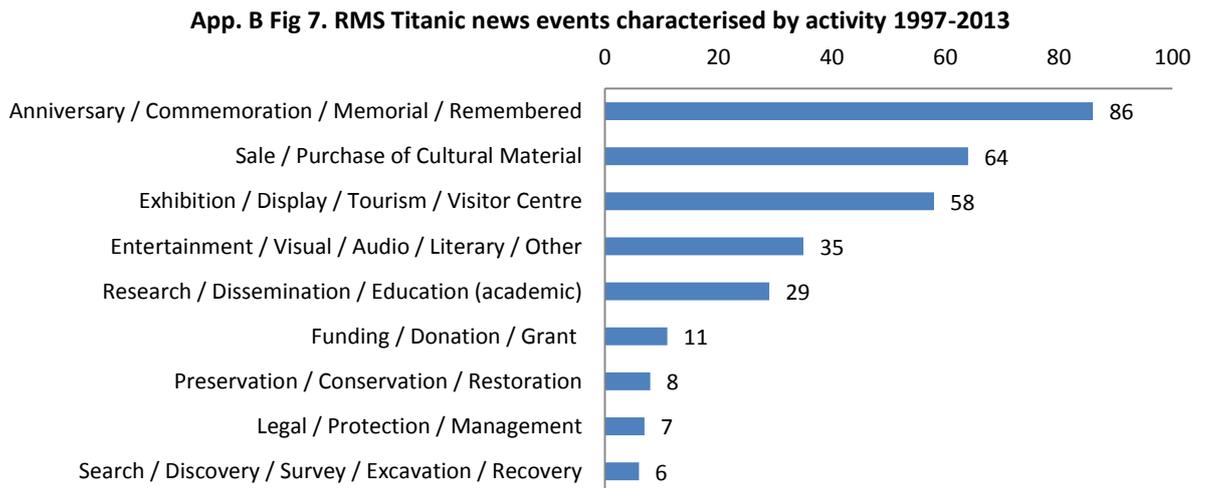
4 Individual ship characteristics not shown in the chapter 7

4.1 RMS Titanic (1912)

Appendix B Figure 6 Annual distribution of RMS *Titanic* news events.



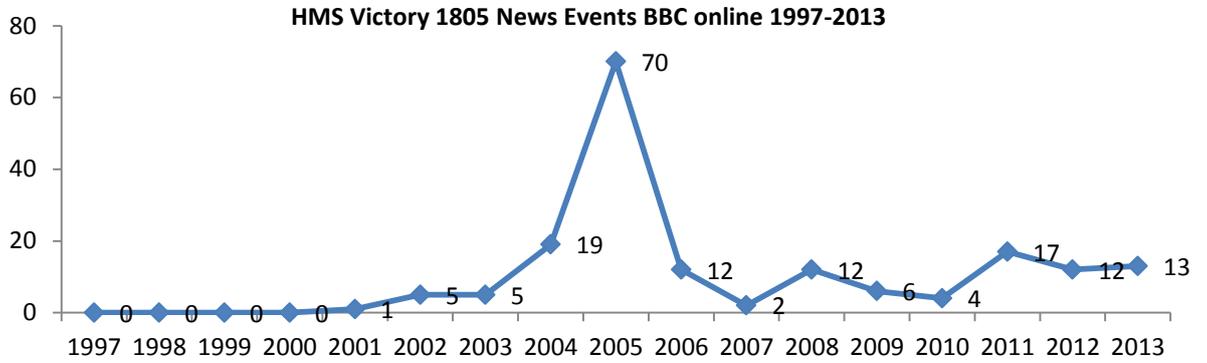
Appendix B Figure 7 News events for RMS Titanic characterised by activity.



4.2 HMS Victory (1805)

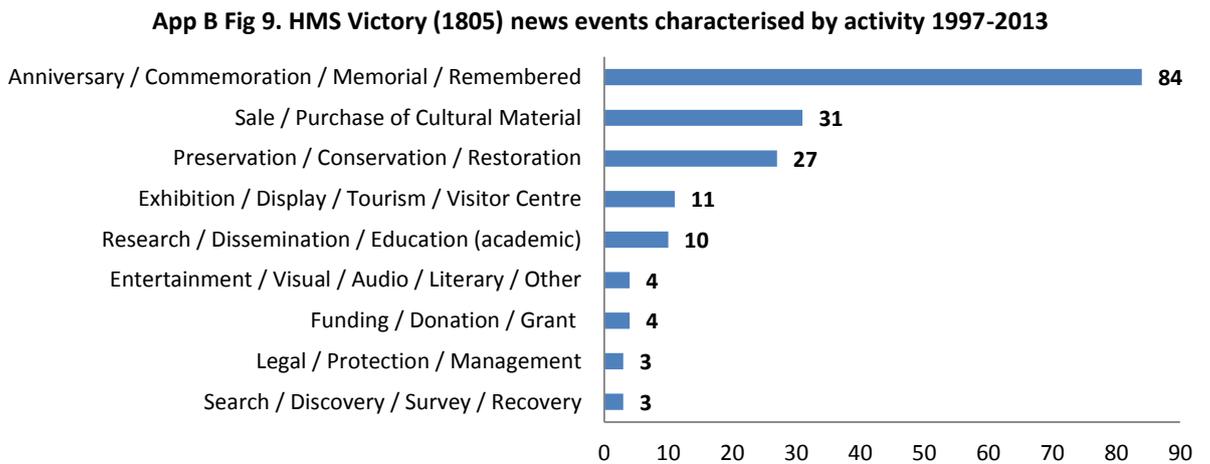
4.2.1 Annual distribution of HMS Victory news events

Appendix B Figure 8 Annual distribution of HMS *Victory* news events.



4.2.1 HMS Victory news events characterized by activity.

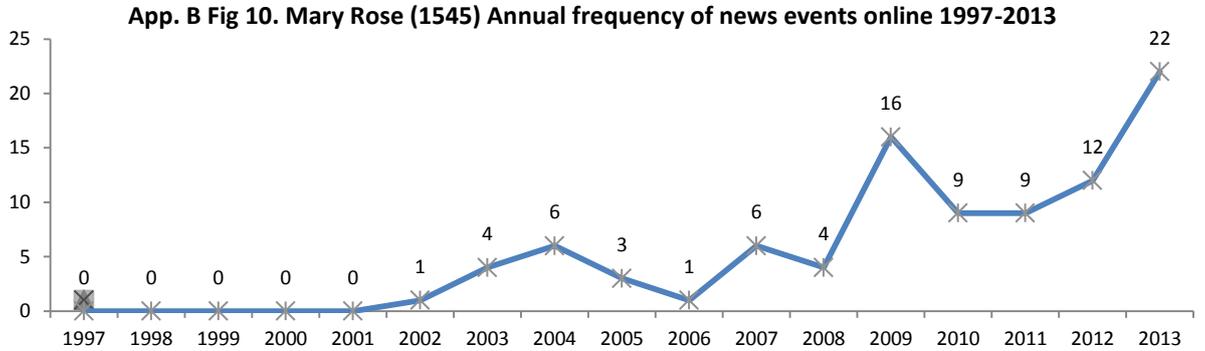
Appendix B Figure 9 HMS Victory news events characterised by activity.



4.3 Mary Rose (1545)

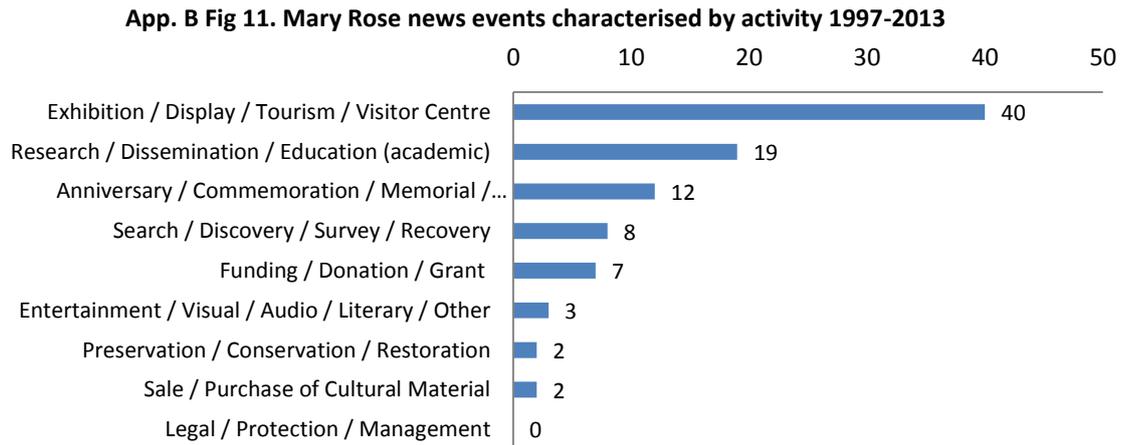
4.3.1 Annual frequency of *Mary Rose* news events

Appendix B Figure 10 Annual frequency of *Mary Rose* news events, the vertical scale showing the number of news events.



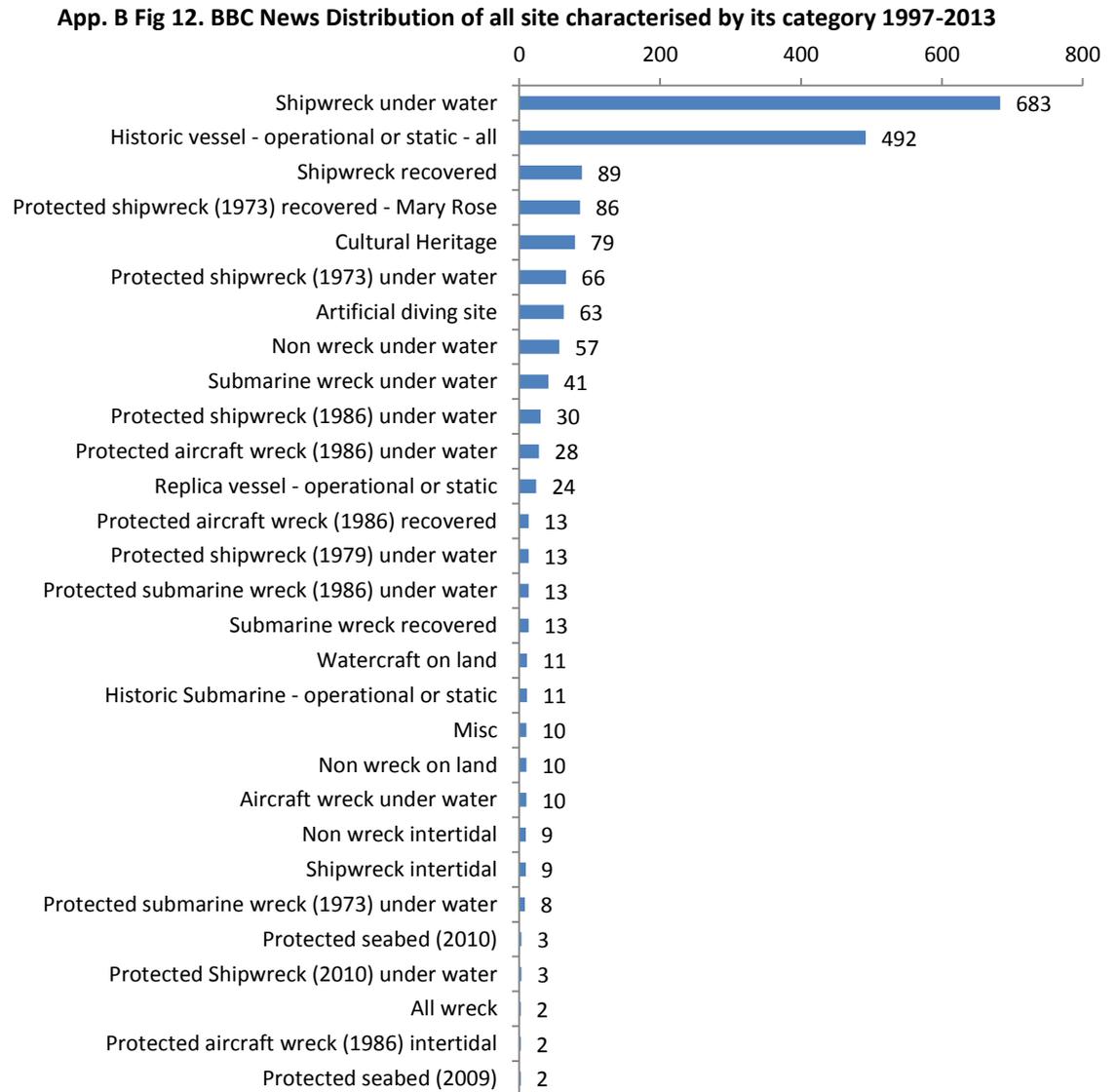
4.3.2 Mary Rose news events characterised by activity.

Appendix B Figure 11 Mary Rose news events characterised by activity.



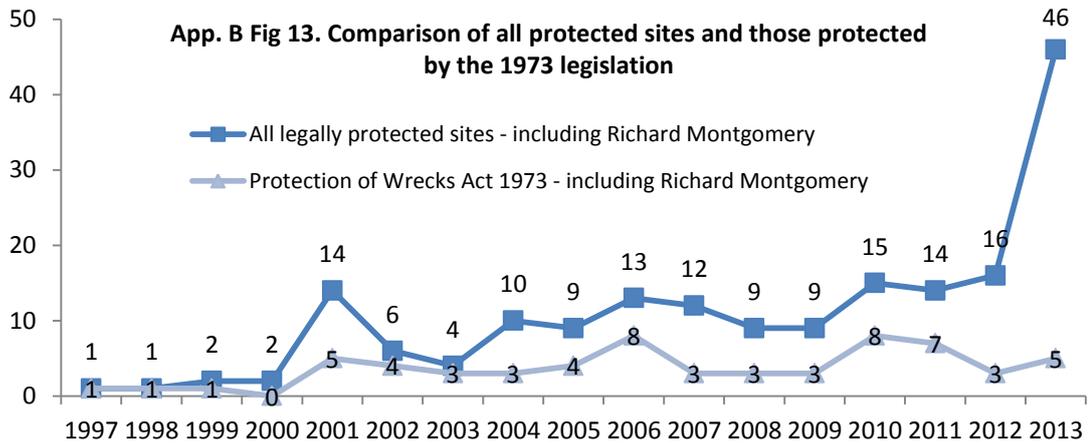
4.4 Distribution of all events by category

Appendix B Figure 12 Distribution of all sites characterised by type of site and its location.



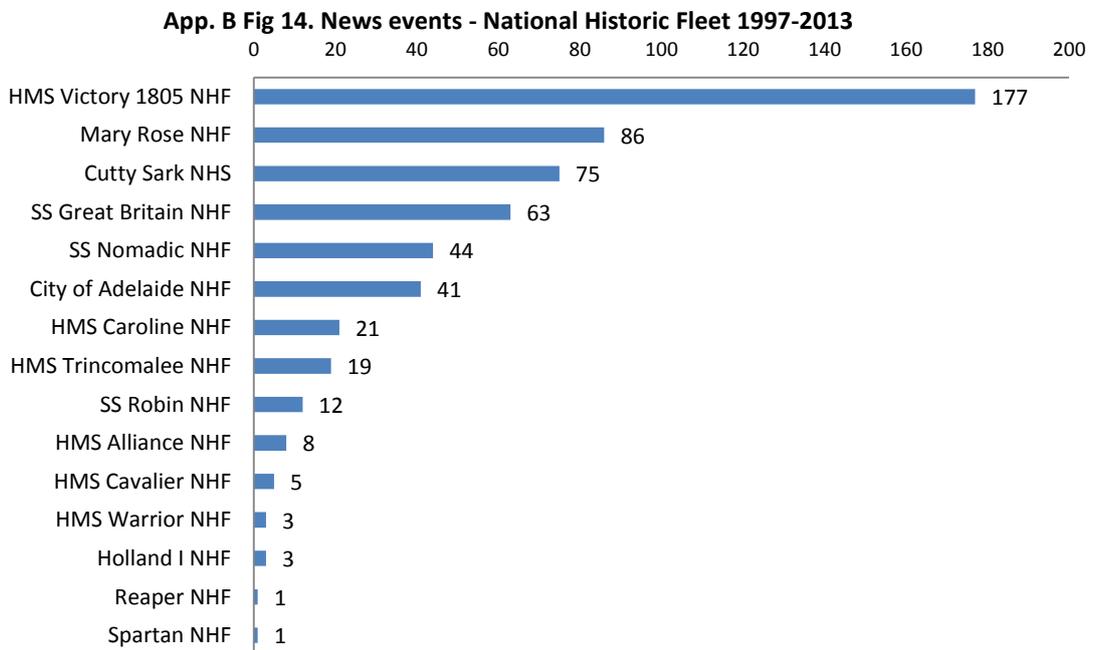
4.5 All sites legally protected *in situ* compared to those protected by the 1973 legislation

Appendix B Figure 13 This chart shows upper curve that represents all sites legally protected in the UK with lower curve representing those protected by the 1973 legislation.



4.6 National Historic Fleet

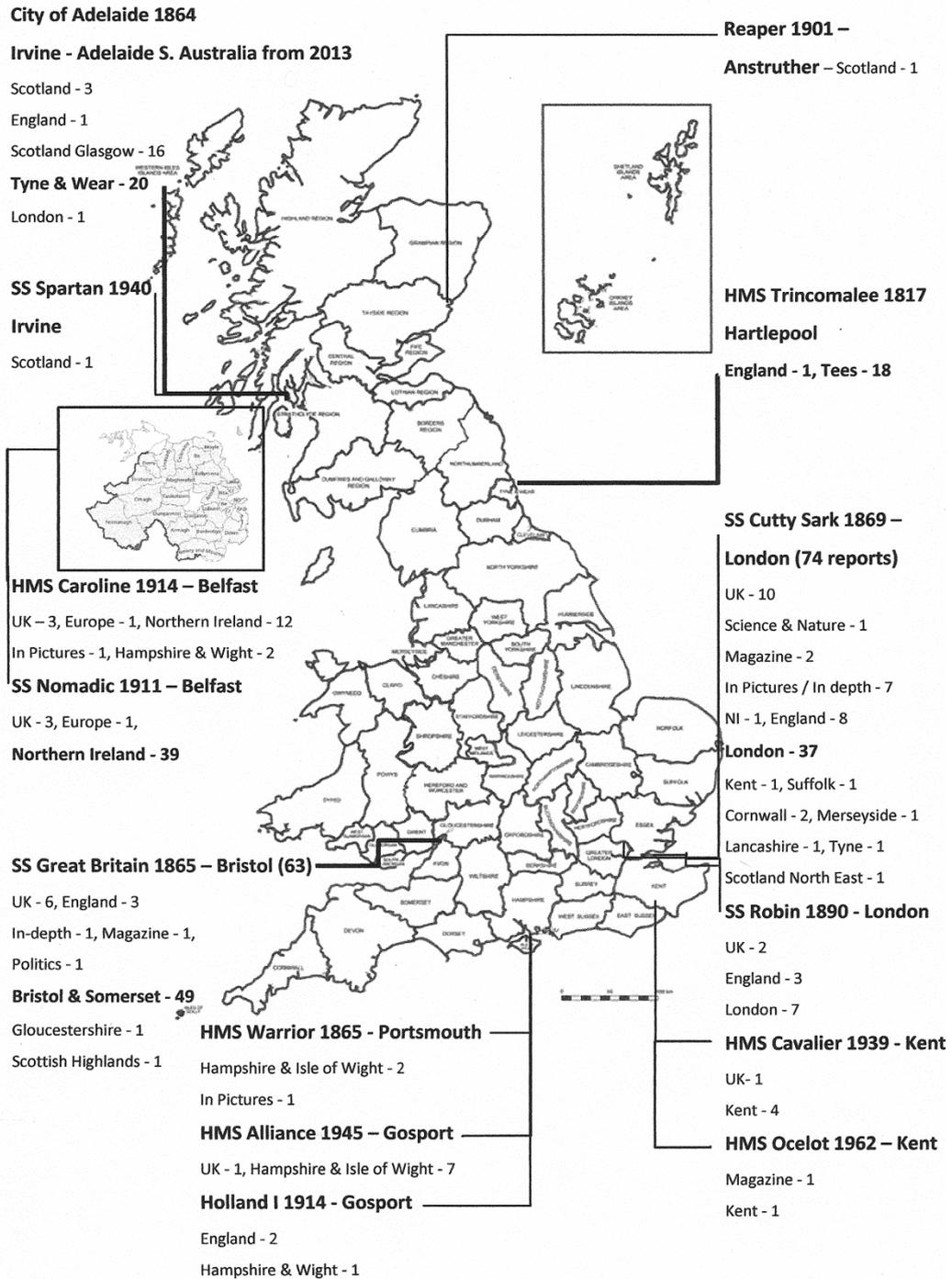
Appendix B Figure 14 News events of ships from the UK’s National Historic Fleet.



4.7 Geographic distribution of news events for Historic Ships

4.7.1 Map 1 News events 1997-2013 representing over 200 historic vessels

All News Events - Geographic distribution - 1997-2013
Historic Ships – National Historic Fleet
 (Mary Rose & HMS Victory shown separately in Maps 4 & 5)



¹ The date ranges are taken from the research framework 'People and the Sea' as a reference.

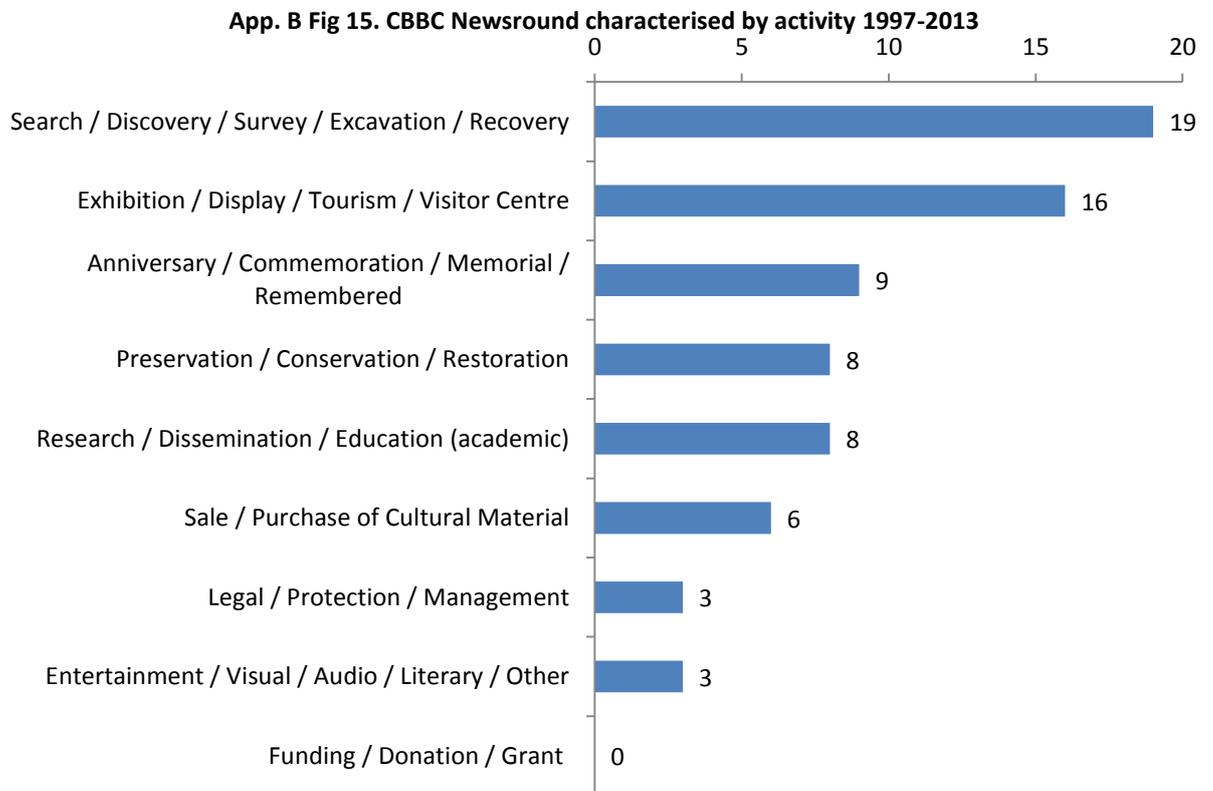
² Stat Planet can be used to show the global distribution of the news, but due to the limitations of the software, England, Scotland, Wales and NI are aggregated as the UK, similarly with the separate islands of Sark, Guernsey, Jersey and Alderney which form the Channel Islands.

³ This column records the individual countries, rather than UK or Channel Islands.

⁴ To avoid a similar merger of England, Scotland, Wales and N Ireland, the UK is under regional news, for representational purposes only.

6 Children's BBC (CBBC) Newsround

Appendix B Figure 15 Distribution of CBBC *Newsround* events characterised by activity. The horizontal scale shows the number of events.



6.1 CBBC Newsround: Is it right to dig up shipwrecks?

Table 1 The table reveals the sentiments of children between the ages of 8-13 years about the recovery of the silver from the *Gairsoppa*, Source *Newsround* 28 January 2011, Available from: <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/15076877>>. [Accessed 19 March 2015].

Salvage	Recover - Research -Display	Leave the wreck undisturbed
"Why not dig it up? It's not going to do any harm, the only thing that will happen is that some people might be slightly richer. What is the problem?"	"To be honest I think we should dig it up because we can find out about more that has happened!"	"I think it should be kept under the water because it's like a grave for the captain and soldiers!"
"Ethan thinks it's a good thing because maybe money made from the treasure could be given to poorer people."		"Molly thinks it's a bad thing because people have memories that are sad so people may get upset by talking about sad times. Some also felt those people who died should be respected."
	"I think it would be a good idea to share it with the world step by step. First of all take some photographs and put it in a museum. Then if people agree to move it, display it in that museum but in an underwater tank so people can see it the way it was in the sea."	I don't think people should dig it up because it is a good memory for the people who died and it is a reminder of what happened in WWII.
	I think it's right, because we could dig it up, clean it and put in a museum, so everyone could see it and honour the people who died."	I think that the shipwreck should stay in the sea. It's almost a gravestone for the brave soldiers who died. Nobody would like it if you lifted up their grave and I don't think that taking the ship out of the water would be the best thing to do."
	"I think it's right, because if you dig it up then it can be made into a museum and really honour the ones who died. We can also learn about what really happened and other interesting stuff."	"I don't think they should retrieve the treasure because it's a memorial ground for the people who died on the ship. Also, people will most likely sell the silver for lots of money and will not even consider the people who died on the boat."
		"I don't think we should be digging up this ship, it would be an insult to the memory of the brave men who died fighting and bringing supplies during World War 2."

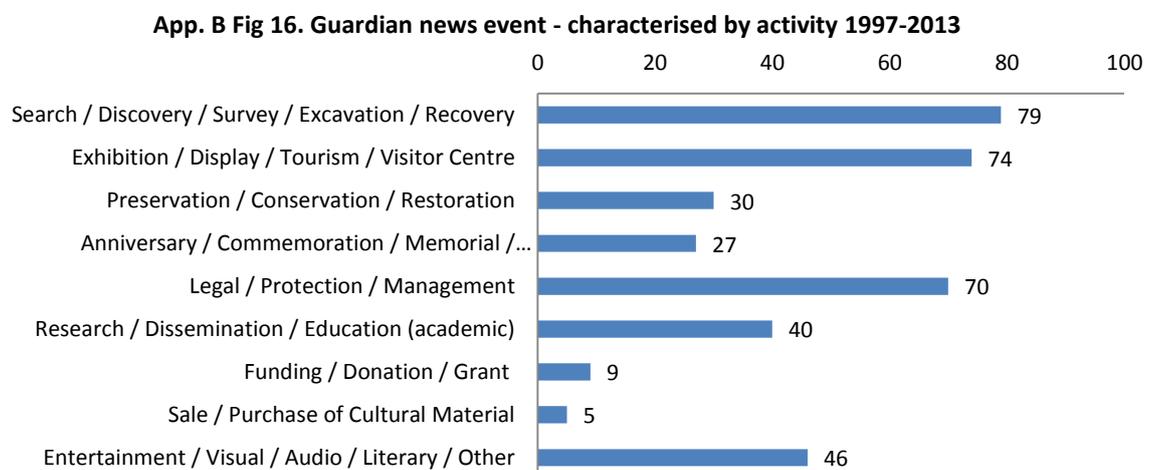
		I don't think it's right for people to go on a shipwreck and take sailors' possessions or treasures. They should leave things how they've been left for many years."
		I think that they should leave it where it is as a reminder for future generations to know about WWII."
		"I think that the treasure should be left underwater because if we bring it to land then everyone will want a share and the people who found it might get all the money and waste it, when it should just be left underwater or somewhere where everyone can see it!"
		"I think the precious metals should be left down there because it is like a memorial to those who died when the ship sank. It's also like leaving flowers on the grave of the people who were on board SS Gairsoppa."
		"My opinion is that the shipwreck should be left as it is a grave and it isn't respectful to dig up the graves of the people who died in this tragedy."

7 Guardian News Paper Online Database Maritime Heritage / Archaeology News – 381 events

7.1 Demographic

Readers of *the Guardian Online news* are typically young professionals, travel and holiday regularly whose incomes are 30% above the UK average. The users tend not to read the print version or visit alternative news outlet, which reinforces the relevance of print and digital options.

Appendix B Figure 16 Distribution of *Guardian* online news characterised by activity. The horizontal scale shows the number of events.



Appendix C: Further questions for interviewees

Name:

Questions:

1.1 What do you think needs and can be done to raise awareness, understanding and value of underwater cultural heritage among the general public?

- Awareness can be limited to knowledge of the existence of UCH. Understanding can be awareness of the fragility and threats to its survival. Value can be social, educational or economic.

1.2 What do you think needs and can be done to raise awareness, understanding and value of underwater cultural heritage among the government?

- By government, this is those who formulate and or make strategic policy decisions about the future directions and priorities of the United Kingdom, or on behalf of the devolved governments of Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales.
- Awareness can be limited to knowledge of the existence of UCH.
- Understanding can be awareness of the fragility and threats to its survival.
- Value can be social, educational or economic.

1.3 What were the motivating factors or events that made you learn to dive and subsequently become involved in underwater cultural heritage?

1.4 If your response was yes, to Question 18 of the original professional survey: *Do you devote your own time (outside work) to public archaeology initiatives*, please explain your motivation?

Please add any other comment(s) that you feel would be useful.

Appendix D: NAS Newsletter article

1 Protection, Preservation, and Access – Have your say!

1.1 Personal introduction

Chris is a Researcher at the National Institute of Anthropology, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Here he presents his research on issues of heritage protection, preservation, and access, and seeks your contribution through the completion of a survey.

1.1.1 Article

Archaeologists, whether professional or amateur, or recreational divers, who enjoy access to underwater cultural heritage sites continue to discuss the issues that surround what is implied by protection, preservation, and access. Is there broad consensus on the issues?

One of the current issues relates to the *Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009*, new legislation that is having an impact on the way we investigate UCH sites around the coast of the UK (e.g. the possible administration fees payable for licences for work conducted on sites). In addition, there is an on-going debate among archaeologists, and within the NAS, on practical aspects such as the use of lifting bags; some argue that when faced with the need to rescue archaeological material under imminent threat of loss or destruction it is important to be able to use them without first applying for a licence, whilst others suggest that a general exemption would allow the uncontrolled recovery of cultural material and therefore would prefer an exemption to be limited to their use on objects that have only been submerged for a relatively short period of time. As the debate continues on this and other such practical issues, some may think that the goodwill between archaeologists and divers is being rapidly eroded, even though they are all in the same boat. Some fear that there may be a return to the old entrenched positions, which would badly affect the management, research and enjoyment of UCH.

Furthermore, the debate over the preservation *in situ* of the UCH has been affecting everyone, who is involved in the study of underwater archaeological remains. This principle is considered a fundamentally important component to heritage management in the *UNESCO Convention for the Protection of the UCH* (2001). Article 2 Objectives and General Principles, which reads “...the preservation *in situ* of underwater cultural heritage shall be considered as the first option before allowing or engaging in any activities directed at this heritage”. By some this has been interpreted to mean that UNESCO sees this as the only option; this isn’t the case, but this perception remains

popular. Finally, access to the UCH remains an issue. Public access is also a fundamental component of the 2001 UNESCO Convention: "...convinced of the public's right to enjoy the educational and recreational benefits of responsible non-intrusive access to *in situ* underwater cultural heritage, and of the value of public education to contribute to awareness, appreciation and protection of that heritage". However, although access to designated sites in the UK is a growing activity, in other places there is still a debate about open access to sites.

I would like to invite the NAS members to have their say about these important issues by completing a survey that forms part of a research project that aims at a better understanding of stakeholders' opinions and involvement in the study of UCH.

If you would like to complete the survey please copy-and-paste this URL into your web browser: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/NAS2013> or follow the links that will be circulated in the NAS weekly updates.

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