Lights out over Europe: The Soane Museum in World War One

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The Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum in 1914 when the war began was Walter Lewis Spiers (Fig.1). He was 66, unmarried, and had been Curator since July 1904. He lived in the Curator's apartments on the second floor (what are now once more Soane's private apartments). Trained as an architect, he was a scholar with a particular interest in and knowledge of the topography of London, and had done much to make the collections more accessible to students. We still rely heavily today on his inventory of the Museum's contents, complete with meticulous diagrams showing the location of every fragment, and also on an invaluable series of photos he took of the interiors (see Fig.2)

The other staff of the Museum were the Inspectress (or Housekeeper) Mrs Elinor Daniell who had been in post since 1905, succeeding her mother, Mrs Wookey. She lived out, but had charge of the domestic side of the house and was responsible for the other live-in staff – one man servant and two maidservants. In addition, in the months of the year when the Museum was open (in 1914 March to August and October to November, Tuesdays to Fridays) five male Museum Attendants were hired.

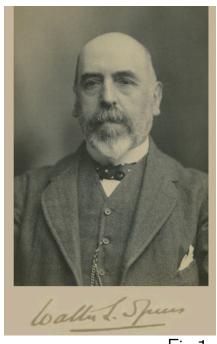


Fig 1



Fig 2

The looming threat of war was not the only source of anxiety for Londoners in 1914. During 1913 and 1914 the Suffragettes' campaign to win the vote for women became more militant and turned from window-smashing to attacks on art in public museums and galleries. On 10 March 1914 Walter Spiers recorded in his diary: 'A Suffragette slashed the Rokeby Venus at the National Gallery'. This was Mary Richardson's attack on Velazquez's The Toilet of Venus. Two days later he reported that all public Picture Galleries were closed. Museums generally remained open, but the British Museum was only open to women by ticket, and since the previous year women had been instructed to leave bags, muffs and parcels in cloakrooms. All this of course affected visitor numbers at the Soane, as the Curator records at intervals over the summer. On 1 July he writes: 'The attendance at the Museum at its lowest ebb – only 20 today!!! The great heat is partly accountable for this – 84 degrees in the Library. Also Henley and the suffragettes scare.' Up to this point visitor numbers had been between 8 and 10,000 per annum.

The outbreak of war in Europe at the beginning of August 1914 of course had a further impact on visitor numbers. On 4 August Spiers records: 'The attendance was small – very small for the time of year – but more than I anticipated owing to the war, as all foreigners are leaving England.' The Annual Report for 1914 later recorded that there had only been 1,400 Colonial or Foreign visitors, as against 1,900 in 1913. Low visitor numbers are a leitmotif of all reports for the rest of the war.

Soon the Trustees were being chivvied by the government to turn their attention to measures to protect the works of art in the Museum from aerial bombardment. One has to remember what a new and frightening concept this was at the time. Flying itself was in its infancy - it was only 11 years since the Wright brothers had made their first flight and only six years since aviation had begun in Europe. The Times editorial of 27 Aug 1914, reflecting on a Zeppelin raid on Antwerp on 24/25 August 1914, commented: '... It marks the beginning of a new epoch in the conflicts of mankind. For the first time in history one of these huge and glittering structures has sailed over the housetops of a sleeping city, dropping death from the skies.' This novelty is reflected in the Curator's first attempt to arrange insurance: 'To the County Fire Office in the afternoon to enquire whether they took 'bomb' risks – but they said none of the Fire Offices were doing so as they thought that there was nothing in it.' Of course they were forced to change their tune before too long, but this slowness to get with the programme meant that the Trustees' initial war insurance had to be with Lloyds of London.

A Mr Baines from the Office of Works having pronounced that there were no parts of the Museum which could be made even comparatively bomb proof for the storage of the most precious objects in the collection, Sir Edward Poynter, the representative Trustee for the Royal Academy, undertook to use his influence with the RA to see if they could offer some space in their vaults in Burlington House, Piccadilly, which were being specially protected. And on 30 November 1914 18 pictures were removed to the RA: the large Canaletto, the four Election and eight Rake's Progress paintings, Reynold's Snake in the Grass, all three Turners and the Watteau. The pictures were placed in the vault under Gallery I, temporarily leaned against the walls. Visiting them a couple of weeks later on 14 December the Curator noted: 'They have at present simply been moved from the North to the South wall, but Mr Dixon has promised to have them raised some 18 inches on large empty packing cases.'

The spaces left by the pictures sent to the RA were filled by pictures taken down from the New Picture Room (now the Foyle Space).

Meanwhile other precautions were also taken. On 9 November three carpenters from Dove Brothers spent all day fixing timber framing around the sarcophagus. On 11 November the Curator records: 'The sarcophagus enclosed with sandbags today, the work being finished a little before 6. About 250 sacks were required and it was an awkward job owing to there being such a small space to work in.

However, it was all done without, I believe, any damage to casts or marbles. I am afraid, however, that when the enclosure is removed it will be found that the painted walls will have suffered from the damp sand etc. — a prophetic pronouncement as we will see later.

Spiers also acquired 12 pails from a local firm to act as fire buckets, filling them with sand and placing them around the house on every floor.

It is interesting to note that at this early stage of the war, aerial bombardment was not considered the only threat. The Curator's Letterbook includes a reply from Walter Spiers to the Secretary of the Office of Works dated 26 Feb 1915, acknowledging their communication of the previous day 'with reference to the possibility of bombs being conveyed into Public Buildings for the purpose of destruction, which shall have my careful attention. I regret to learn that there are still enemy aliens at large who are in a position to place these buildings in danger.'

At their June 1915 meeting the Trustees heard a request from Mrs Daniell, the Inspectress, for a temporary addition during the war to the board wages of the domestic staff owing to the great increase in the cost of food and other commodities. It was decided to give a war allowance of 3/- per week to the manservant and 1/6 per week each to the two maid servants. This, of course, was inevitable, but yet another drain on the already stretched finances of the Museum. A further increase was awarded in December 1916 - the weekly bonuses were increased to 6/- and 3/- respectively. On this occasion the pay of the five Museum Attendants was also increased from 9d to 11d per hour. The allowance to the two maidservants was raised again towards the end of the war to £1.5.0 per quarter – that is £10 per annum. Food shortages and rising prices continued throughout the war, partly because of effective submarine warfare and its effect on shipping. Food prices rose by 26% in 1916 and there was a general deterioration in the quality and range of food available. From Dec 1916 under the Land Cultivation Order recreational land such as parks and Hampstead Heath were used for growing vegetables and other food. By the beginning of 1917 bread cost 11d for a 4 llb loaf double the 1914 price, and food prices peaked at 106% in Sept 1917, with restrictions placed on what foods could be served in restaurants and London Clubs. Rationing was introduced in early 1918 - first sugar, then butter, margarine, uncooked meat, bacon and ham.

Zeppelin raids over London began in 1915. The Zeppelin was well developed by 1912 and had been doing regular commercial flights in Germany before the war. They could fly to Britain and back and carry significant bomb loads. Although the flights must have been torturous for the crews, who, until improvements were made later in the war, travelled underneath the main structure in an open gondola. One of the problems at this date for the British defenders was that the shells available at the start of the war were of limited use and couldn't burst aeroplane fabric. And the Zeppelins deliberately flew very high, out of the range of the guns. On 8 September 1915 Walter Spiers noted laconically in his diary: 'Aircraft attack on Central London 10.30 – 11.30 pm. Bombs falling in Queen Square and Red Lion Street, Gray's Inn etc.'

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No damage was recorded to the Museum, but it was all very close, and the raids caused major fires in Holborn. Overall in London that night 22 were killed and 87 injured and £530,787 worth of damage suffered – the greatest total of any single air raid on GB throughout WWI. One of the staff of the old Public Record Office (now the Maughan Library, King's College London) in nearby Chancery Lane was on duty that night and recorded in his incident report: 'I kept observation with the Police Sergeant until 10.50 pm when the anti-aircraft guns all around us opened fire and the searchlights showed a large Zeppelin advancing slowly from SE to NW and after dropping bombs in the City she turned W, coming directly over this Office with a furious fire directed on her from the guns. I heard a large piece of shell strike one of the roofs. I went on to the Repository roof with the sergeant but saw nothing. The Zeppelin was then receding towards the NW rising all the time. The fumes from the guns were very noticeable but did not penetrate into the Repository. I remained on duty till 1.00 am when all was quiet and no fires observed anywhere near the Office."

The next raid noted by Spiers was on the night of 13 October 1915: 'Aircraft attack on Central London 9.20 – 40. Bombs in Kingsway, Chancery Lane, Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn and Strand. One square of glass broken in the Blue Room' (in other words the large front room on the second floor, then the Curator's Sitting Room, now restored as Soane's Model Room) (Fig. 2).





Fig 3

Fig 4

Across the Fields at Lincoln's Inn, one bomb struck 8 & 9 New Square, and another landed outside the Chapel in Old Square and partially destroyed two 17th-century stained glass windows (Figs 3 & 4). A plaque on a display case in solicitors' offices at No.9 New Square, Lincoln's Inn records: 'These three articles are mementoes of a Zeppelin raid on London which occurred during the night of 14 Oct 1915. (I) The handle of the bomb which fell on the roof of No.9 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, and destroyed six rooms belonging to Messrs Hunter & Haynes. (2) A Piece of the Shell. (3) Piece of Shrapnel which was found embedded in a bundle of papers, a portion of which still adheres. This bomb was only destructive to property but another bomb which fell at the same time killed a Porter of the Inn and damaged Lincoln's Inn Chapel').

And not far away 17 people were killed in Wellington Street, Strand. Rose Macaulay wrote that Chancery Lane 'had been the scene of that wild terror and shrieking confusion which is characterised by a euphemistic press as "no panic". For reasons of morale, the Government had decided that incidents such as these could not be reported on in any detail at all in the press, and moreover, until much later in the war, no warnings of air raids were given.

Within the Museum concern began to be felt for the Lawrence portrait of Soane, still hanging over the fireplace in the Dining Room. Plans were made for it to be taken down on 9 November 1915 and to be taken to join the other pictures at the Royal Academy. However, in the event it proved impossible to take it down without removing the panelled mirrors surrounding it (which had iron plates behind them) and the attempt was abandoned for fear of breaking the glass.³⁴

The following month the Trustees invested heavily in the new $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent War Loan, selling out their holdings in Consols to do so.³⁵

An intriguing note is struck in February 1916 when Walter Spiers records in his diary on 10 February: 'I left here at 12 in order to take part in the examination of some English prisoners of war latterly returned to England by exchange and now at the Alexander Military Hospital, Millbank'. I have been unable to shed any further light on this, though I think it may have something to do with the fact that before the war Spiers had been an enthusiastic member of the Artists' Volunteer Brigade for many years.

In July 1916, writing home to Australia, General Sir John Monash gave a striking portrait of a city in the grip of dread: 'The Zeppelin scare is just as if the whole place was in imminent fear of an earthquake. At night the whole of London is in absolute darkness, every window heavily screened, no street lamps, no lamps on vehicles, all trains with windows closed and blinds drawn, constant street accidents and traffic blocks, and a bewildering pandemonium of confusion in the streets.'

Writing his Annual Report to the Trustees for 1916 at the beginning of 1917 Walter Spiers opined: 'the new year finds the Great Powers of Europe still engaged in the gigantic struggle, on the one side for freedom, and on the other for domination, and all the resources of the countries involved, whether human or material, are being expended with a lavishness that has no parallel in any previous epoch. But whilst it must be fervently hoped that before many months have passed a decision will be reached, it must be only one which will ensure in the future the complete safety from aggression of the countries, great or small, who are fighting against the great central empires.³⁸

It was bitterly cold at the beginning of 1917, with spells at the end of January and beginning of February where the temperature didn't rise above freezing and went down to as low as minus 10 degrees centigrade. Fog and heavy frost continued and there was heavy snow in April. There was also a great shortage of coal in London, with coal rationing introduced from October. The war was certainly taking its toll on the Curator.

As early as June 1915 he had announced to the Trustees that owing to the possibility of damage occurring through aircraft raids he had not slept away from the Museum since the previous September, and he had decided that, unless things altered for the better, it would be inadvisable for him to leave London for his usual autumnal holiday, as he felt there should always be some responsible person on the premises at night in the event of any mishap. On 3 May 1917 he discussed leaving the Museum for four to six weeks because of his health. By now Arthur Bolton (who was to become the next Curator of the Museum) had become a trusted confidante of Spiers, who he would have known through the Society of Antiquaries and the London Topographical Society), because of his researches at the Museum on the work of the Adam brothers, and it was proposed that he would take over on the four public open days. On 9 May the Dr diagnosed a complete breakdown of the nervous system and ordered bed rest. When Bolton visited on 23 May Spiers's bed had been moved into the large bedroom on the third floor (now the staff Common Room) and a nurse had been engaged. On 25 May Spiers was not well enough to discuss anything but the most urgent matters. On Monday 28 May Bolton called to enquire but did not see Mr Spiers, understanding that he was not worse. The following day he called and found that Walter Spiers had died (rather unexpectedly) at about midday the previous day, shortly after his visit. The Museum was closed for the four public open days of that week as a token of respect. Bolton made no secret of the fact in his Annual Report to the Trustees for 1917 that Spiers's unremitting service to the Museum during the war had, in his opinion, brought about his untimely and unexpected death.

Bolton (Fig.5) was put in temporary charge of the Museum and was appointed Curator on 9 August 1917. Born in 1864, he was 53 when he was appointed Curator. He was a practising architect, and also an architectural historian with a particular interest in the work of the Adam brothers. He was married with five children and had a house in Hampstead and an office at 10 Lincoln's Inn Fields. But nevertheless, he continued to use the Curator's apartment at Lincoln's Inn Fields in accordance with the requirements of his post.

On a lighter note, the importance of technology that we now take totally for granted is highlighted in a letter to Bolton of 17 August 1917 from a Henry Fletcher of Gray's Inn Square. Accepting Bolton's invitation to tea, he enquires whether the Museum is on the telephone since 'On Wednesdays I am on reserve for Red Cross duty and therefore must be on call.'

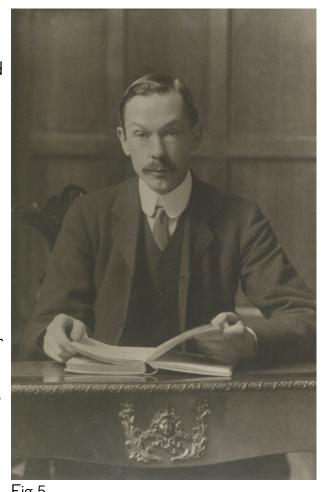


Fig 5 6

Air hostilities had resumed in the spring of 1917 but now the attacks were by aeroplane. The first of the heavy bombing planes perfected by the Germans was the Gotha – a twin-engine biplane with a payload of 13 bombs. By early 2017 23 were in service. There were bombing raids on London in May, June and July. The raid on the morning of 13 June 1917 was the most destructive of the war in the whole of Britain with 145 Londoners killed and 382 injured, 18 children killed and 34 injured in a school in Poplar, 16 people killed at Liverpool Street Station and 19 at Fenchurch Street. Up until this point it had been government policy, as mentioned above, not to issue air raid warnings. After the raid on 7 July 1917, a new system was announced: two maroons (or sound rockets) would be fired from selected police and fire stations, supplemented by police blowing whistles and sporting 'Take Cover!' notices. The all clear was sounded by special constables ringing handbells or by bugle calls. However, this was only in the daytime, there was still to be no public warning at night – a great mistake as all the Gotha raids until the end of the year were at night.

There were raids on five nights between 24 Sept and 1 Oct 2017, and the aircraft now included the new Giants, which were larger than any plane bombing London in World War II and carried a payload of bombs weighing almost two tons. Relentless bombing caused great strain. Locally, 13 people were killed on 24 Sept outside the Bedford Hotel in nearby Southampton Row (most said to be watching the raid from the street). A lot of people sheltered elsewhere every night – e.g. in tube stations, also the Rotherhithe and Blackwall tunnels and the Greenwich and Woolwich foot tunnels, and in large buildings like church crypts and town hall basements.⁴⁹

And raids continued in October, November and December. The Museum sustained minor damage in a raid of 18/19 December 1917, when two windows were damaged. Nearby at Lincoln's Inn, a bomb exploded outside Stone Buildings. There is a bronze plaque (Fig. 6) fixed to the wall of No.10 Stone Buildings which records: 'The Round Stone in the Roadway opposite this point marks the spot where on Wednesday the 18th December 1917 at 8.10 pm a bomb from a German aeroplane struck



Fig 6

the ground and exploded, shattering the windows in Stone Buildings and doing other material damage.' You can also still see pockmark scars caused by shrapnel in the stonework of Stone Buildings. One of the Benchers, Sir Arthur Underhill, later recorded in his memoirs that during this raid some of them took refuge in the wine cellar, where there was a barrel of oysters in the larder, and passed the time eating oysters to the accompaniment of champagne.

By the beginning of 1918 there was general concern that the air raids in the spring would be much more severe with much heavier bombs being used. The Office of Works came up with a plan for London Museums and Galleries to store some of their most important collections in the Post Office Tube. This was an underground railway built to connect Post Office buildings around London. Begun in 1914, it was largely complete by 1917 but couldn't be fitted out because of the war.

So, some of the stations were fitted with blast-proof doors at either end and used for storage of works of art. The Paddington District Office was used to house items from the Wallace Collection, West Central for many exhibits from the British Museum, including the Egyptian mummies, and King Edward Building for the collections of the National Portrait Gallery and the Tate Gallery, to give just a few examples. Two people were employed at each of these tunnels to watch and patrol. Documents in the files at the National Portrait Gallery Archive show that there were strict security precautions with a system of passes for authorised visitors. No smoking was allowed and the attendants had to check the pictures and objects daily and periodically to count them against the stack lists: 'He will pay particular attention to any signs of leakage, undue dampness or any great variation of temperature which is likely to cause damage or injury to the objects in his care.' Electric radiators were supplied and a hydrometer and also electric hand torches to replace colza and paraffin lamps in the event of electric lighting failure. At the King Edward Building the portraits were to be lowered into the building by a specially installed lift and there were maximum dimensions for pictures and crates which could be accepted. Racking was provided for framed pictures.

The Trustees sought permission from the Office of Works to join in this scheme and were allotted space in the tunnel under the King Edward Building close to St Paul's Cathedral. Arthur Bolton was tasked with choosing which items from the collections should be sent and supervising the packing - no small task. He took advice from the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum about the type of cases to order. They each measured 3ft x 2ft 3" x 1ft 8" deep and were to weigh two hundredweight each when full, and he had them double-lined with black, canvas-lined waterproof paper which he obtained from the Packing Materials Association in Manchester. I think I have identified a surviving sample - I've long been rather puzzled by the wrapping found on one manuscript in the Archive and now I think it was Bolton characteristically using up some which was left over (Fig. 7).





Fig 7a & 7b

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Bolton's list of what was packed in each of the cases survives. I won't go through it in exhaustive detail, but he summarised his strategy thus: 'The principle of selection adopted was in general not to send printed books except early printed books prior to 1603. A further exception was made for copies of Soane's own books, of books with autographs of Reynolds, Chambers etc. and of certain early books that Soane had in 1767 etc. The drawings selection was chiefly of buildings of national interest, i.e. the Bank etc. and of some of Soane's chief buildings as the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Ealing etc., also some of his work which has been destroyed. It was thought best to keep the entire Adam collection together as all the volumes are inter-related.' The cases were all packed in the back Drawing Room on the first floor and certain valuable small objects were also interspersed in one or two cases in small boxes, such as the Naseby jewel, the Napoleonic medals and the Wren watch, but not the gems and cameos, which remained on display at LIF.⁵⁸

All the cases were screwed down with at least 12 screws and had three printed labels on with the name of the Museum and the number on the list.

Bolton had also reported to the Trustees on 20 March 1918 that the stained glass was in the process of being removed from windows and would be stored in the Monk's Cell in the basement in one of the special cases he had ordered.⁶⁰

On 9 May 1918 nine packed cases were removed by the Office of Works and taken to the Post Office tube - not without difficulty given their size and weight — Bolton records that 6 men were required to carry each case. At the same time the Office of Works collected the pictures which had been in store at the RA since the beginning of the war. To these were added six more: the Lawrence and Hunneman portraits of Soane, two drawings by Piranesi and two by Bibiena. Lionel Earle of the Office of Works wrote to Bolton saying: 'Although our sanctuaries are perfectly dry and have scientific instruments in them recording all changes of temperature, humidity, dryness etc., both day and night, I should like to know whether you intend to keep your MSS and books etc in their cases, or whether you would like the cases opened so that they might be periodically inspected to that that the contents are in no way suffering.' Bolton declined the offer, saying that he had had all the cases double-lined with waterproof paper. 'Unless it is found that other cases are being affected I do not think that ours should need to be opened. If it shall become necessary I shall have to attend as, on the initiative of the Trustees, besides books, MSS etc certain other valuables were placed in one or two cases.' In the event he did pay a visit on 8 July 1918, but evidently found all in order.

I have by no means detailed all the raids over London. Between May 1915 and May 1918 Zeppelins and bombing planes had killed 668 people in the Metropolitan Police District, injured 1,938 more and caused damage to the value of over £2 million.

The end of the war, anticipated since October 1918, came with the armistice at 11.00 am on 11 Nov 1918 to great rejoicing in the streets. Bolton records in his diary that at 11.00 am guns

fired and cheering crowds could be heard from the Strand and Holborn. He also describes how people came out on to balconies all around Lincoln's Inn Fields. Later he went to the Bank of England to transact some business and recorded that all traffic was suspended, the streets were crowded and there were flags and rejoicing and dancing in some places.⁶⁶

At the Trustees' meeting on 11 Dec 1918 it was recorded that 'In regard to the provision of flags for the decoration of the Museum at the Peace Edwin Freshfield (one of the Trustees) had offered a large Union Jack for the purpose. I suspect that this is the flag we still have packed carefully away, which was still being used on state occasions in the 1980s and 90s in Peter Thornton's Curatorship (1984-1995), the flagpole projecting from the then Secretary's Office on the 2nd floor, now restored as Mrs Soane's Morning Room.

It was also decided to remove the sandbags from the sarcophagus and to receive back the nine cases of books and 24 pictures in the latter part of January 1919.

At the March 1919 meeting of the Trustees Bolton reported that the sarcophagus had suffered no injury. Of the 200 sandbags, 160 had been removed with not much trouble but the last 40 had decayed and the sand had to be shovelled out and removed in baskets. Sand vapour had been all over the Museum and had involved much extra cleaning and it would be some time before it was entirely rid of it.

On the return journey from King Edward Building however, there was one mishap: 'The van jumped over a bad place in the road, with the result that the pictures were thrown forward' and the glass of the large Canaletto had been broken. Bolton tried to claim compensation from the Office of Works, as, he argued, it was a large sheet and not covered by insurance, but to no avail. ⁷²

Bolton also reported that before the rehang, which he largely accomplished himself, together with the Hall Porter, with the larger pictures being hung by Dove Brothers, that the Hogarth frames had been repaired, 24 missing paterae being replaced and the gilding, where damaged, touched up. In a brief note written later, probably in 1939, he recorded: 'During the Great War 1914-18 when pictures were stored against Air Raids they suffered from it, involving restoration.'

Finally at the same March 1919 meeting Bolton recorded that large numbers had visited the Museum since the opening and there had been many press notices. He concluded his Annual Report to the Trustees for 1919, perhaps slightly smugly: 'It has been shown that Sir John Soane's Museum has reacted in the most satisfactory manner in response to the cessation of war, and that its popularity has been in no way affected by the difficulty of the times.'

There is an interesting coda to this whole story, which I will just touch on briefly. Walter Spiers wasn't the only one whose health was affected by the war. Mrs Elinor Daniell, the Inspectress, had carried the unsung and perhaps the less glamorously perceived task of keeping the

domestic side of the Museum running for four years, against a background of constantly rising prices, drastic food and fuel shortages and no doubt having to soothe the fears of the young housemaids in her charge. At the war's end she sought the permission of the Trustees to go away for a while to recuperate. Arrangements were made to take over her duties, and from an interesting small cache of letters in the Archive I have discovered that she went to France with her daughter to join the Womens' Legion. This organisation was founded in July 1915 by Edith, Lady Londonderry of Mount Stewart. It became the largest entirely voluntary body in World War I, numbering some 30,000 personnel. It wasn't formally under Government control or part of the army, but its members adopted a military-style organisation and uniform. It was initially designed to provide cooks for the army, and went on to develop administrative and clerical branches and an agricultural section. But what is clear from these letters is that after the war the Legion was working in France and Belgium with the British troops clearing up. She describes cooking for up to 30 people over a wood fire; the departure of German prisoners for the Fatherland; a convoy of broken down ambulances and the slowness of transport; and the terrible cold of living in huts in November when the first snow has just fallen. She was back in England in May 1920 and resumed her duties in August, going on to serve as Inspectress until 1945 (and thus enduring another World War at the Museum, as also, of course, did Arthur Bolton the Curator).

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- [59] SM Archives Annual Report 1918
- [60] SM Archives Trustees Minutes 20 March 1918
- [61] SM Archives Trustees Minutes 19 June 1918; SM P11, P400, P1 (I haven't been able to identify which two Bibiena and Piranesi drawings were sent)
- [62] SM Archives Bolton Box 1, Letters May-June 1918, Lionel Earl to Bolton 9 May 1918
- [63] Ditto Bolton to Earl 11 May 1918
- [64] SM Archives Curator's Diary 1918, entry for 8 July
- [65] White op. cit. p.252
- [66] SM Archives Curator's Diary 1918, entry for 11 November
- [67] SM Archives Trustees Minutes 11 December 1918
- [68] SM X1308
- [69] SM Archives Trustees Minutes 11 December 1918
- [70] SM Archives Trustees Minutes 19 March 1919
- [71] SM Archives Trustees Minutes 19 March 1919
- [72] SM Archives Bolton Box 1, Letters January-June 1918, Bolton to Office of Works 4 Feb 1919
- [73] SM Archives Trustees Minutes 19 March 1919
- [74] SM Archives Bolton Box 4, notebook entitled 'Curator's Information Book'
- [75] SM Archives Annual Report 1919
- [76] SM Archives Bolton Box 1, Letters July-December 1919, E D to AB 18 Sept, 15 Oct, 2 Nov 1919; Correspondence Jan-Dec 1920, ED to AB 11 May 1920.

Captions

- Fig. 1 Photograph of W L Spiers
- Fig. 2 Photograph of Curator's Sitting Room, taken by W L Spiers
- Fig. 3 Plaque at Lincoln's Inn commemorating the bomb which struck the Chapel on 13 October 1915. Photo:

Peter Dodge

- Fig. 4 Display case in solicitors' offices at 9 New Square, Lincoln's' Inn. Photo: Peter Dodge
- Fig. 5 Photograph of Arthur Bolton
- Fig. 6 Plaque at 10 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn
- Fig. 7 Sample of the canvas-lined waterproof paper used by Bolton to line the packing cases