



Donald Insall Associates
Chartered Architects and Historic Building Consultants

**Response to an application for planning permission
and listed building consent to relocate the Memorial to
Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst,
Victoria Tower Gardens**

For the Curator's Office at the Palace of Westminster

July 2018





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1.0 Introduction

Donald Insall Associates was commissioned by the Curator's Office at the Palace of Westminster in July 2018 to provide a report on the history and significance of the memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens, London in order to advise the Parliamentary Art Committee on the suitability of a planning and listed building consent application to relocate the memorial to Regent's University in Regent's Park, so that a new statue of Emmeline Pankhurst can be erected in Parliament Square. The decision on an earlier planning application for this new statue **[RN: 17/04187/FULL]** was deferred by Westminster City Council in 2017, on the grounds that the memorial which is the subject of this report already represents Emmeline Pankhurst in the vicinity of the proposed new statue. Since then, a new planning application has been submitted.

The investigation of this report has comprised historical research, using both archival and secondary material, and a site inspection. It considers the history and significance of the memorial, in order to understand its value. Sections 2-3 set out the legal status of the memorial, and the statutory protection this affords it. Section 4 provides an illustrated history of the memorial and Section 5 a description of it and its setting. Section 6 is an analysis of its significance. An assessment of the impact of the proposed relocation of the memorial on this significance is in Section 7. Extracts of the relevant planning legislation and policies referred to in Sections 2 and 3 are included in Appendix I, the statutory list descriptions of this and other sculptures and buildings nearby in Appendix II, a bibliography in Appendix III, and list of plates and endnotes in Appendix IV.

2.0 The Memorial and its Legal status

The memorial of Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens comprises a sculpture of the campaigner by Arthur George Walker on a plinth designed by Sir Herbert Baker. It was unveiled in 1930 and enlarged in 1959 to include a memorial to Pankhurst's daughter – and co-campaigner – Christabel Pankhurst and to members of the WSPU more generally, designed by Peter Hills. The structure in its entirety is listed at Grade II and located in the City of Westminster. Victoria Tower Gardens is also listed at Grade II on the Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest. The memorial is located within the Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square Conservation Area.

Historic England is currently considering an application to upgrade the memorial to Grade II* and to revise the statutory list description.

The memorial is within in the setting of several designated heritage assets, the most important of which is the Palace of Westminster (listed at Grade I and designated as a World Heritage Site together with Westminster Abbey and St Margret's Church); Victoria Tower Lodge, which forms part of the Palace, is listed separately at Grade I. Within the immediate setting of the memorial there are also several listed structures including Auguste Rodin's *The Burghers of Calais* (Grade I), the Buxton Memorial Fountain (Grade II*), both situated in Victoria Tower Gardens, and *Knife Edge Two Piece*, an abstract sculpture by Henry Moore (Grade II*) and a surviving portion of the Abbey precinct wall (Grade I), which are located directly opposite the site in Abingdon Street Gardens. The relevant statutory list descriptions are included in Appendix I.

3.0 Summary of Statutory Protection

The relocation of the memorial from Victoria Tower Gardens to Regent's University has been proposed as part of a campaign to erect a new memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst in Parliament Square. As a Grade-II listed structure located in a registered garden and a conservation area, moving the memorial to a new location would require listed building consent and planning permission. A full list of the planning policies that are relevant in determining the application can be found in Appendix II.

The **Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990** is the legislative basis for decision-making on applications that relate to the historic environment. Sections 66 and 72 of the Act impose a statutory duty upon local planning authorities to have *'special regard to the desirability of preserving listed buildings (or listed structures), their settings or any features of special architectural or historic interest which it possess'* and, in regards to conservation areas, *pay special attention to 'the desirability of preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of that area.'*

Section 18 of the **Town and Country Planning (Development Management Procedure) (England) Order of 2015** requires local planning authorities to consult The Garden History Society (now the Gardens Trust) on all applications affecting a Registered Park and Garden.

Under section 5 of the **Public Statues (Metropolis) Act 1854** the consent of the Commissioners of Works needs to be obtained before a public statue can be erected in a public place in the Metropolitan Police District of London. The functions of the Commissioners of Works are now vested in the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. By virtue of the London Government Act 1963 (as amended by the Greater London Authority Act 1999), the Metropolitan Police District of London is now the area of Greater London (excluding the City of London, and the Inner and Middle Temples). Therefore, the relocation of the statue will require the permission of the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

In considering applications for listed building consent and planning permission, local authorities are also required to consider the policies on the historic environment set out in the **National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF)**. The Framework requires local authorities to *'recognise that heritage assets are an irreplaceable resource and conserve them in a manner appropriate to their significance'*. The framework in paragraph 128 requires an applicant to describe the significance of any heritage asset affected, including any contribution made by their setting.

The Framework also in paragraph 132 states *'significance can be harmed or lost through alteration or destruction of the heritage asset or development within its setting. As heritage assets are irreplaceable, any harm or loss should require clear and convincing justification.'* Within the Framework, harm is categorised as either 'substantial' or 'less than substantial'. Where a proposed development will lead to 'substantial harm to or total loss of significance' of a designated heritage asset, the Framework states, in paragraph 133, that, *'local planning authorities should refuse consent, unless it can be demonstrated that the substantial harm or loss is necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss.'*

Where a development proposal will lead to 'less than substantial harm' to the significance of a designated heritage asset, the Framework states, in paragraph 134, that, '*this harm should be weighed against the public benefits of the proposal, including securing its optimum viable use.*'

The proposal to move the memorial to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst should be assessed according to the statutory legislation and planning policy listed here. In the first instance, this requires a thorough understanding of the significance of memorial; Sections 3, 4 and 5, below, provide this.

4.0 History of the Memorial to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens

4.1 A Brief History of the Pankhursts and the Suffragette Movement



1. Photographic portrait of Emmeline Pankhurst, c.1920 (Mary Evans Picture Library)

Emmeline Goulden was born in 1858 to a liberal, politically active and intellectually curious merchant family in Moss Side, Manchester [Plate 1]. Steeped in politics from an early age, Emmeline read avidly and counted Thomas Carlyle's *The French Revolution: A History* among her favourite books, just as her family hosted numerous political activists in their house, including the celebrated American abolitionist, Henry Ward Beecher. Her parents also took a keen interest in women's suffrage and her mother read the *Women's Suffrage Journal* founded and edited by Lydia Becker, a leader in the early British suffrage movement. Aged just 14, Emmeline saw Becker speaking and was captivated, later writing: 'I left the meeting a conscious and confirmed suffragist.'¹ Such early influences inculcated a strong sense of social justice in the young Emmeline, but despite her clear intelligence, appetite for knowledge and her family's liberal views, she was not afforded the same educational advantages as her brothers - something that was to colour her ideas about equality - and instead was despatched to finishing school in Paris - a sojourn that nonetheless proved politically fertile.

In 1879 she married Dr Richard Marsden Pankhurst, a barrister with political aspirations and a campaigner for women's suffrage. In 1880 she was elected onto the executive committee of the influential Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, which held its first public meeting in the Manchester Free Trade Hall in 1868, at which Becker moved the resolution that women should have the same voting rights as men. Emmeline Pankhurst resigned from the committee a year later in 1881, however, and joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP), with which her husband had close associations.

By the time of Richard Pankhurst's death in 1898, Pankhurst was a principal figure in the ILP, but in 1903 the party's ban on women joining some branches forced her to declare that her time in the movement had been wasted. She subsequently formed the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in order to campaign for votes for women on the same terms they were, or might in the future be, granted to men. Membership was limited to women and the organisation aimed to be free from affiliation to any particular social class. Pankhurst was joined in the movement by her daughters, Christabel, Sylvia and Adela.

Pankhurst and the members of the WSPU refused to join Millicent Fawcett's significantly larger but more moderate suffragist movement, the NUWSS, feeling its passive methods had not achieved progress. However, contrary to popular opinion, the WSPU was initially a peaceful movement, leading marches and pageants in their trademark colours of white, green and purple and submitting petitions to parliament. It was not until 1905, when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney interrupted a Liberal Party meeting in Manchester and unfurled a banner which read 'Votes for Women', and were charged for obstruction and sent to prison,

that newspaper coverage made women's suffrage a live issue in an unprecedented way and militant tactics were deployed as the new *modus operandi*.

The WSPU were subsequently involved in the destruction of property, setting fire to pillar boxes, raising false fire alarms, arson and bombing, attacking art treasures, large-scale window smashing campaigns and the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires. Between 1905 and 1914 around 1000 suffragettes – including Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst – were sent to prisons such as Holloway in London as a result of their militant activities. As more suffragettes were jailed however, the NUWSS became increasingly concerned that militancy was detrimental to the cause and therefore increased their efforts to peaceful campaigning through public meetings and demonstrations.

Many suffragette prisoners took to hunger strikes in prison, which resulted in brutal methods of force-feeding to keep them alive. Emmeline Pankhurst said of this experience: 'I shall never while I live forget the suffering I experienced during the days when those cries were ringing in my ears.'² Militant tactics noticeably increased after the failure of the Women's Franchise Bill in 1909, and the rift between the NUWSS and the WSPU intensified.

At the outbreak of the First World War, the WSPU declared an end to their militant tactics and both Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst turned their efforts to persuading women to work on the home front to help fend off the 'German peril'. The war changed everything, and the enormous contribution that women made during the war made it difficult for the government and public to ignore women's claims to enfranchisement any longer. The fact that many working-class returning soldiers, who had suffered so greatly during the War, were also disenfranchised put the issue high on the political agenda. In 1918, the Representation of the People Act was passed by Parliament, granting universal male suffrage and partial female suffrage, restricting the vote to women over thirty years of age and only if they were householders, the wives of householders, occupiers of property with an annual rent of £5 or more, or graduates of British universities.

Following the 1918 Act, the WSPU reformed itself into the Women's Party, which aimed to serve the interests of women voters. Emmeline Pankhurst died on 14th June 1928, and less than a month later the second Representation of the People Act was passed, which gave voting rights to women over the age of twenty-one, on equal terms with men.

The memorial in Victoria Tower Gardens also commemorates Christabel Pankhurst (1880-1958). The eldest of five children of Emmeline and Richard Pankhurst, Christabel was her mother's favourite. She co-founded the WSPU with Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903 and, like her mother, was imprisoned and force-fed for 'the cause'. Christabel is credited with organising the tactics of the militant British suffrage movement. She died in 1958.

4.2 The Statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, and its supporters and opponents

On the death of Emmeline Pankhurst on 14th June 1928, the 'Pankhurst Committee Memorial Fund' was established with the aim of erecting a statue in her memory. The Memorial Committee was run by Emily Katherine Willoughby Marshall, a suffragette who enjoyed the distinction of being a member of Pankhurst's 'bodyguard' team (who protected her from harassment and arrest). Funds were gathered from subscriptions from Pankhurst's many friends and supporters; Lady Rhondda (1883-1958) – a Welsh peer, businesswoman and active member of the WSPU – was Treasurer.

Marshall visited the Office of Works less than two weeks after the death of Pankhurst to enquire about the possibility of erecting a statue of her 'in the neighbourhood of the House of Commons'³. It is clear from correspondence in the National Archives between Marshall and Lionel Earle, the Permanent Secretary of the Office of Works (1912-1933) - a man credited with having re-shaped London's commemorative landscape in the inter-war years⁴ - and the Royal Fine Art Commission, that Earle initially viewed the proposal with patronising hostility. He referred to Emily Marshall as 'the tiresome Mrs Marshall'⁵.

A letter by Marshall set out in clear terms the Memorial Committee's plans to memorialise Emmeline Pankhurst:

It is generally felt that the time has now come to perpetuate the memory of Mrs Pankhurst, whose leadership and self-sacrificing courage gained for women their political enfranchisement. A Memorial Fund of £2,500 is being raised, and the memorial will consist of:

1. *A headstone for the grave in Brompton Cemetery.*
2. *A portrait of Mrs Pankhurst...to be presented to the National Portrait Gallery.*
3. *A statue of Mrs Pankhurst to be erected in Westminster. The statue will be 7ft in height will be in bronze on a Portland Stone base, will be the work of Mr A.G.Walker (ARA) who designed and executed the statue of Florence Nightengale [sic] at the foot of Waterloo Place, and the busts of HRH the Duchess of York and Dr Louisa Aldrich-Blake.*

A statue is the recognised form of tribute paid to historic personalities, the highest and most lasting honour that humanity has ever been able to pay to those who have rendered great services to civilisation. As in former times, so now men commemorate their heroes and liberators by erecting statues; shall not women claim equal honour for her who led them to victory?

It was considered of paramount importance to the sponsors of the memorial in the late 1920s that it be located in the vicinity of Parliament, as this was the primary focus of Emmeline Pankhurst's political activism. Mrs Marshall initially proposed the Green opposite No.10 Downing Street as a suitable location, with the area of grass outside the House of Commons, adjacent to the statue of Oliver Cromwell, as a possible alternative. The Office of Works was not particularly forthcoming about either site, however. On hearing the news that the statue had been commissioned without a site approved by either the Office of Works or the Royal Fine Art Commission, Lionel Earle wrote back to a First Commissioner of Works advising caution and stating (in a letter dated 27th November, 1928):

I do not think we ought to be too willing to provide a site on land under our jurisdiction for a statue of Mrs Pankhurst in the neighbourhood of Westminster. I cannot see that there is any statue to anyone of a similar nature in that neighbourhood...what these ladies are bent on is having a statue somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament and Downing Street, as the chief battle-field of their pre-war agitation. You might like to discuss the question with some of your colleagues in the Cabinet, and sound them regarding their views as to the propriety of a statue to that lady anywhere in the neighbourhood of Westminster at all.

He added in a postscript, *'I am inclined to postpone the matter for a time'*. Nevertheless, Earle advised that the land was under the jurisdiction of the government, and the Memorial Committee would therefore require the support of the Royal Fine Art Commission as well as the Office of Works.⁶

The area of land outside the House of Commons appears to have been discounted fairly early on in the selection process, as by November 1928 Marshall wrote to Lionel Earle stating the preferred sites had been settled on as the Green opposite Downing Street or 'somewhere' in Victoria Tower Gardens.⁷ In one letter written by the First Commissioner of the Royal Fine Art Commission to the Office of Works, it is noted that Mrs Marshall verbally proposed the south end of the garden adjacent to the new Lambeth Bridge, but this site was not mentioned in any further correspondence.

By November 1928, the Memorial Committee had also commissioned the sculptor and painter, A.G. Walker, to design the statue, and a maquette had been produced showing Pankhurst in a characteristic pose with her left arm open, as if addressing a crowd **[Plate 2 and 3]**.⁸ Mrs Marshall advised the Office of Works that the statue was to be 7ft tall, cast in bronze and situated on a stone pedestal with low, curved stone seats to either side; this form is known as an exedra and had classical precedents associated with public debate. Walker, an associate member of the Royal Academy at that time (he became a full Academician in 1936), appears to have been selected due to his successful execution of war memorials and sculptures of notable women, including a statue of Florence Nightingale in Waterloo Place c.1915 and a bust of the pioneering female surgeon Dame Lousia Aldrich-Blake in Tavistock Square, c.1925.

By January 1929, Mrs Marshall had engaged the support of the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, to unveil the statue after the imminent general election, something much of the press of the day supported. The *Daily Express* wrote,

It is announced that Mr Baldwin has consented to unveil the statue of Mrs. Pankhurst, which is to be erected in Westminster. The fact that the Prime Minister has agreed to perform the ceremony will probably be regarded as the most striking tribute that has been paid to the memory of the famous leader of the 'Suffragettes'.

Despite the official announcement that the Prime Minister was to unveil the statue, little had been done to address the issue of its location. However, the support of Baldwin appears to have acted as a catalyst in the process and the Office of Works became suddenly more helpful. Lionel Earle advised Mrs Marshall to send a photograph of the maquette together with the dimensions and height of the plinth to the First Commissioner, who would raise it with the Royal Fine Art Commission.

The site of the Green by Downing Street was immediately discounted by the Royal Fine Art Commission as it was due to be redeveloped. A note with accompanying drawing addressed to the Secretary of the Fine Art Commission, dated February 2nd, 1929, states:

I have considered the possibilities of sites in the small garden in Abingdon Street (directly opposite the Victoria Tower and adjacent but not on Parliament Square) and in Victoria Tower Gardens, and in my view the latter would be preferable...the statue would be well seen from the road, and with a background of greenery on the circular mound...It is, of course, desirable that the Statue should be placed well away from the Burghers of Calais, but the position suggested is, I think, in sufficiently close proximity to the Houses of Parliament.

Following some consideration, the Royal Fine Art Commission felt that the design of the statue was acceptable but advised that rather than being placed in the middle of the central pathway of the gardens, it should be placed westwards, at the edge of the central plantation. The Commission also advised that further consideration be given to the design of the pedestal, which they considered to be too large. Victoria Tower Gardens was also deemed an adequate location as Pankhurst would not be 'isolated like the effigies of statesmen in Parliament Square.'⁹

In April 1929, Lord Londonderry (Charles Stewart Henry Vane-Tempest-Stewart), the First Commissioner of Works, confirmed the site was acceptable subject to certain conditions. A drawing of the original pedestal, also designed by Walker, does not appear to survive, but after it came under criticism from the Royal Fine Art Commission, the Memorial Committee commissioned the eminent English architect Sir Herbert Baker to redesign it and he produced the simple stone pedestal that anchors and elevates the statue to this day.¹⁰

Following assurances that the statue, pedestal and foundations conformed to the stipulations of the Office of Works, the statue was finally given approval in early 1930 and was intended to be unveiled in March 1930. Shortly beforehand, Mrs Marshall wrote to Sir Herbert Baker requesting that a small aperture be made in the pedestal to fit a copper box.¹¹ The box is recorded as containing a number of medals awarded by Emmeline Pankhurst to members of the WSPU including that to Rosamund Massey, a militant stone thrower. The box was laid in the pedestal by Mrs Marshall, shortly before the official unveiling; it is not clear if the box or its contents survived the memorial's relocation in 1956 (discussed in Section 4.3 below). Baker was also asked to design a Portland stone vase to be fixed in front of the statue for the receipt of fresh flowers, which were to be funded by an endowment to The Royal Parks provided by the Memorial Committee.¹² This was added shortly after the unveiling ceremony **[Plate 4]**.¹³



2. A. G. Walker's maquette of the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, c.1928 (National Archives)



3. The pose chosen for the statue was one Emmeline often adopted in real life, using her arms to address an audience (Mary Evans Picture Library)

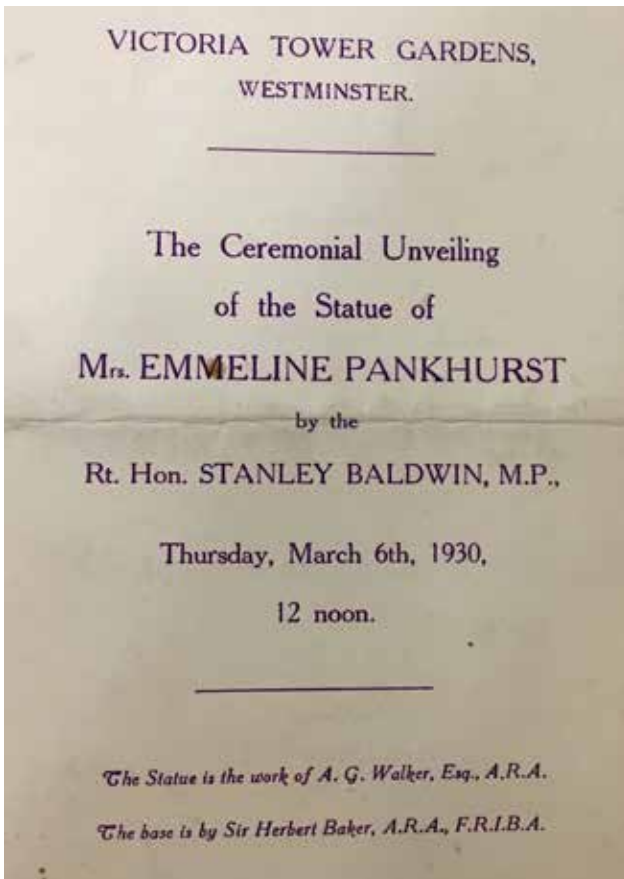


4. Sir Hebert Baker designed the Portland stone pedestal and vase. The vase was added to the statue shortly after it was unveiled (The National Archives)

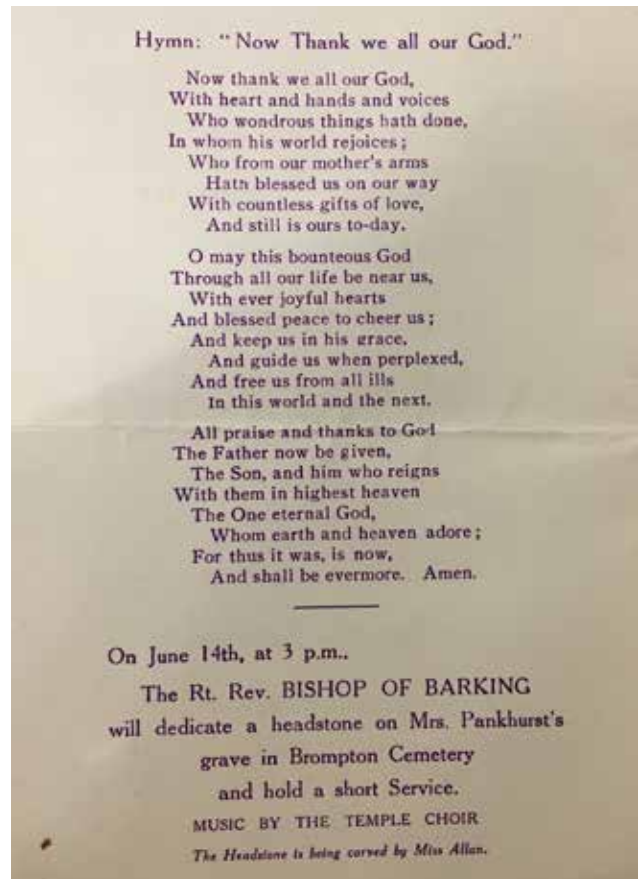
A grand unveiling ceremony was held at 12 noon on 6th March 1930, and was preceded by the Metropolitan Police Band playing a programme of music of a decidedly female and militant bent, including Schubert's *Lilac Time*, Dame Ethel Smyth's *The Wreckers* and *March of the Women*. The infamous suffragette, Flora Drummond, aka 'the general', so-called for her habit of wearing military style uniform when leading marches, was billed on the programme ahead of Stanley Baldwin, F.W. Pethick Lawrence M.P. and Viscountess Rhondda.¹⁴ The ceremony was filmed and can be viewed in the online archival resources of *British Pathé*. The statue itself was unveiled to the Chorale from *The Wreckers*, and, following prayers, wreaths from various women's societies and friends were laid. **[Plates 5 and 6a-c]** Memorial ceremonies have continued to be held at the statue by the Suffragette Fellowship, most notably on the Saturday closest to Pankhurst's birthday on 15th July. **Plates 7a and 7b** illustrate two of these ceremonies, in the 1930s and 1940s, which included the laying of wreaths and flowers.¹⁵ The Suffragette Fellowship was founded by Edith How-Martyn in 1926 to 'perpetuate the memory of the pioneers and outstanding events connected with women's emancipation and especially with the militant suffrage campaign, 1905-14, and thus keep alive the suffragette spirit'.



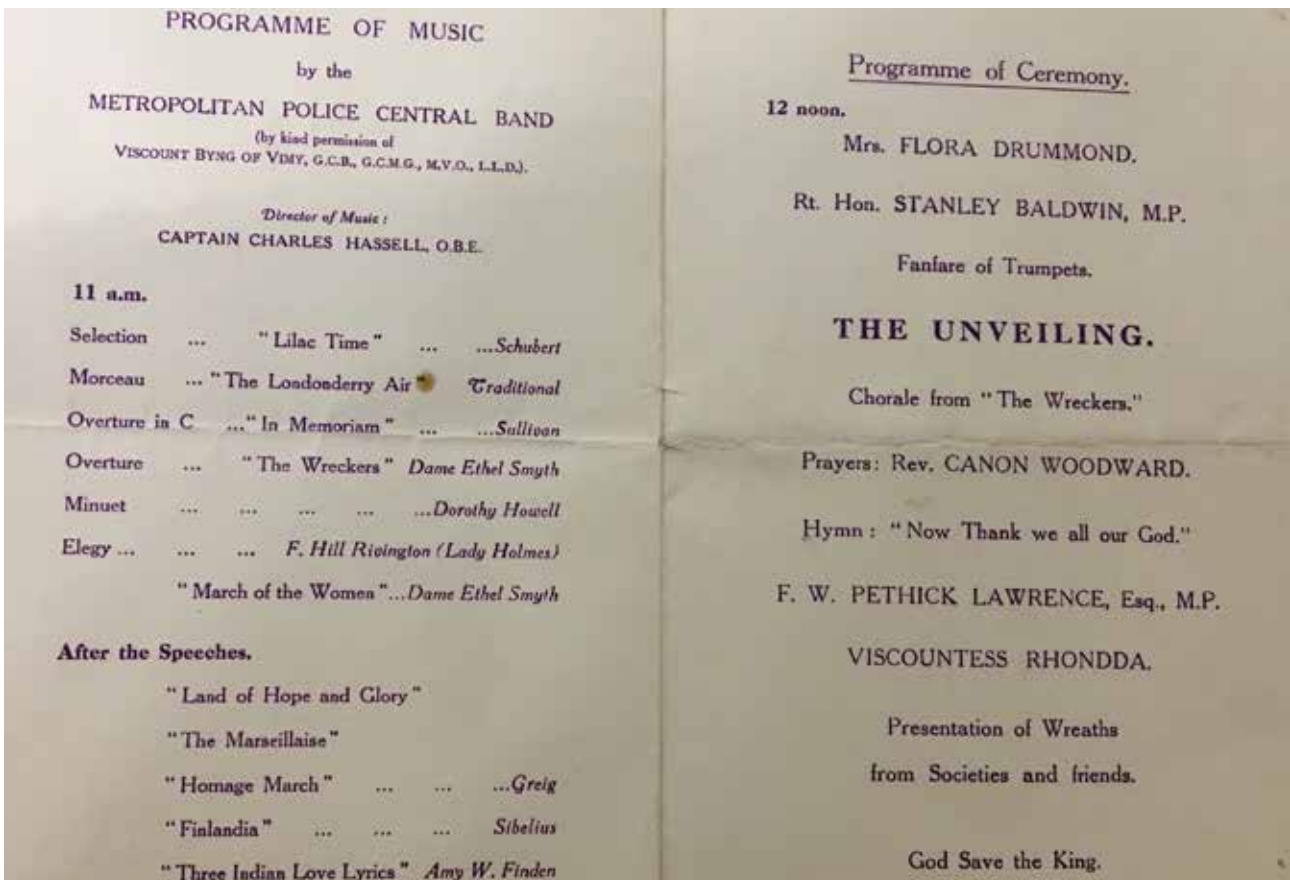
5. The statue was unveiled with a grand ceremony on 6th March 1930 and included a speech by Stanley Baldwin (LSE Women's Library)



6a. Programme for the unveiling of the statue held on March 6th, 1930 (LSE Women's Library)



6c. Programme for the unveiling of the statue held on March 6th, 1930 (LSE Women's Library)



6b. Programme for the unveiling of the statue held on March 6th, 1930 (LSE Women's Library)



7a. The Suffragette Fellowship continued to hold memorial ceremonies at the statue, particularly on the Saturday closest to Pankhurst's birthday on 15 July. This photograph shows a ceremony taking place in the 1930s (LSE Women's Library)



7b. The Suffragette Fellowship laying flowers and wreaths at the statue on Pankhurst's birthday, 1947 (The National Archives)

4.3 The Relocation of the Statue in 1956

In 1956 the memorial was moved to its present position during the re-landscaping of Victoria Tower Gardens, which was driven by a campaign to move Rodin's *Burghers of Calais* to a better position. The statue of Emmeline Pankhurst was originally proposed for a site in the centre of the garden facing onto the embankment **[Plate 8]**.¹⁶ The Suffragette Fellowship was consulted on the plans and objections were led by Miss Enid Goulden Bach, the niece of Emmeline Pankhurst, and Mrs Thelma Cazalet-Kier, a former Conservative MP and suffragette who was unusually also a supporter and subsequent President of the Fawcett Society. On behalf of the Fellowship, they strongly objected to the removal of the statue so shortly after its erection and specifically objected to the fact it was to be moved further away from the Houses of Parliament, which was in conflict with the original aims of the Memorial Committee.¹⁷

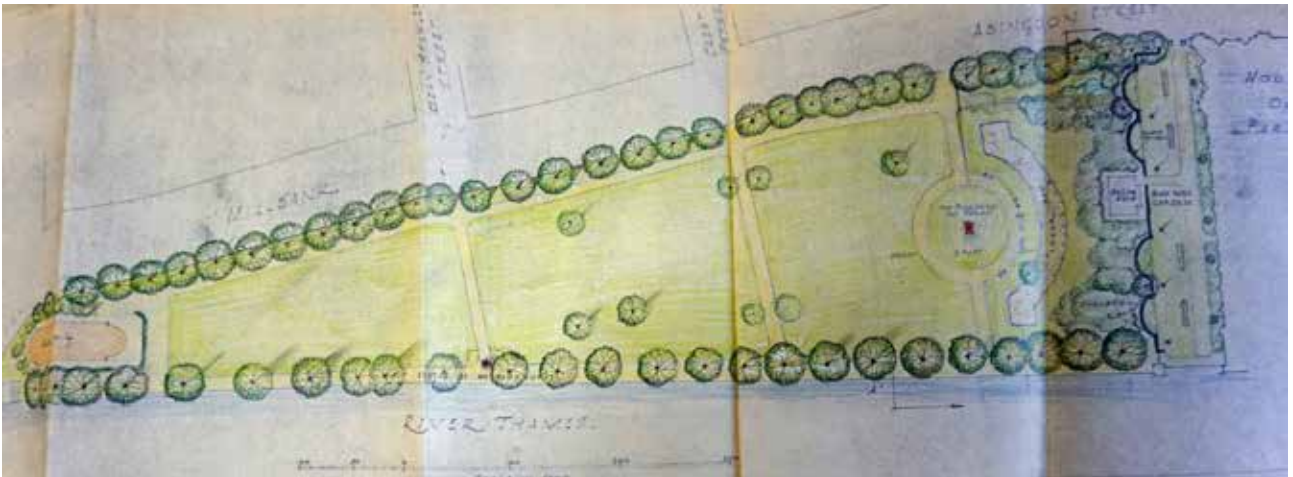
On 28th June 1955, a debate was held in the House of Commons on the relocation of the statue, and a transcript notes that Nigel Birch, the Minister of Works, had met the Fellowship who had 'a sort of metaphysical objection in that (the statue) is 40 or 50 yards further away from the House of Commons.'¹⁸ Some members of the House including Norman Dodds, MP for Erith and Crayford, and Nigel Birch felt the position next to the embankment would allow the statue to be better appreciated by the public. Undeterred, the Fellowship applied pressure on Birch and negotiated the statue to be relocated to its current position. A plan and sketch were produced by the Ministry of Works to demonstrate its new location **[Plate 9 and 10]**.

At this time, the Fellowship also asked the Ministry to remove the Portland stone vase designed by Baker, which had proved troublesome to maintain with flowers as they were frequently stolen, and requested it be replaced with the inscribed tablet that is currently at the base of the statue, in order to explain its significance. The tablet reads, 'This statue of Emmeline Pankhurst was erected as a tribute to her courageous leadership of the movement for the enfranchisement of women.'¹⁹

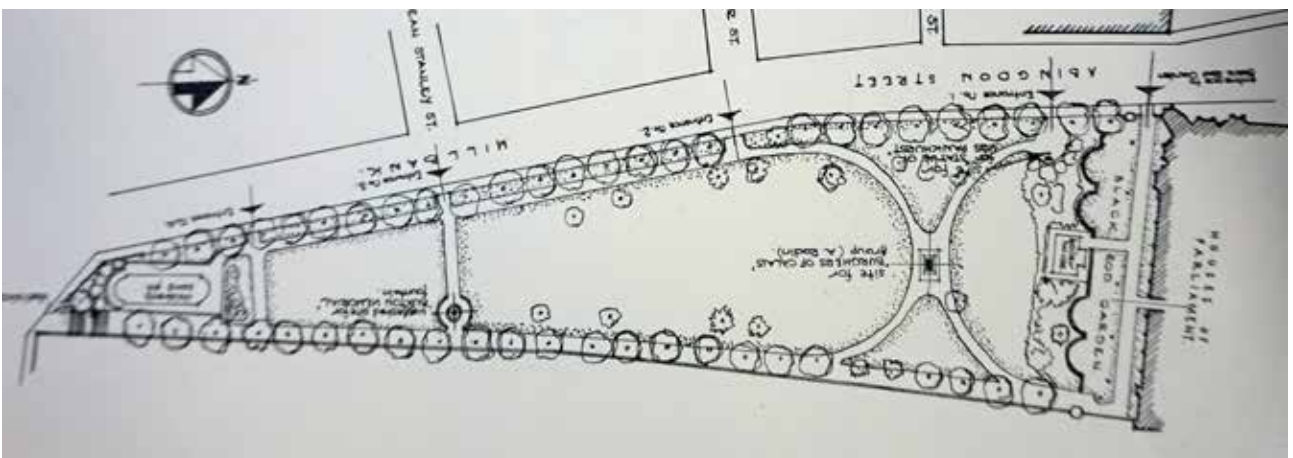
During the discussion around the relocation of the statue, the Fellowship asked for a guarantee that its new location was to be its final one. The Fellowship wrote to Mrs Jean Mann, MP for Coatridge and Airdrie, who expressed in the debate in the Houses of Commons that they

*Do not like the idea of this noble lady being pushed around because of the *Burghers of Calais*, and they wish to have a definite assurance that there will be no more pushing around of Mrs. Pankhurst.*

Assurances were also sought by other MPs including Jo Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party from 1956-1967. Birch responded to these requests stating, 'I cannot bind succeeding governments, but I have given the most categorical assurance to the Suffragette Fellowship that there is no intention of any kind of moving the statue again.'²⁰



8. During the re-landscaping of Victoria Tower Gardens, the statue was first proposed to be relocated to the centre of the garden, facing onto the embankment. The plan dates to 1955 (The National Archives)



9. The Suffragette Fellowship successfully campaigned for the statue to be moved closer to the Houses of Parliament, in accordance with the original aims of the Memorial Committee. The plan dates to 1956 (Parliament Archives)



10. A sketch by the Ministry of Works showing the proposed new location of the statue adjacent to the Victoria Tower, 1956 (The National Archives)

4.4 The Addition of the Memorial to Christabel Pankhurst in 1959

On the death of Pankhurst's daughter and co-campaigner Christabel on 13 February 1958, a Memorial Committee was established with the aim of providing Christabel Pankhurst with a memorial in Westminster. Dame Vera Laughton Matthews was the Chairman and Lady Pethick-Lawrence was treasurer.²¹ The Memorial Committee commissioned Peter Hills to expand the statue to Emmeline Pankhurst to include Christabel and members of the WSPU more widely. Hills designed a low curved Portland stone wall, reflective of the form of the exedra that was originally proposed for the statue by Walker but not executed, terminated by Portland stone piers. The piers included inscriptions and two bronze roundels, one depicting a portrait of Christabel and the other of a WSPU prisoner's badge. The statue was unveiled on 13th July 1959 by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, and a video of the ceremony can be viewed online on the *BBC Archive* [Plate 11].²²



11. A photograph of the unveiling of the memorial to Christabel Pankhurst and members of the WSPU. The statue was unveiled by the Lord Chancellor on 13 July 1959 (Mary Evans Picture Library)

4.5 The site: Victoria Tower Gardens

Victoria Tower Gardens originally formed part of the land of the Westminster Abbey Mill. From 1650 buildings began to be developed on the site, the majority of which were wharfs or factories with jetties projecting into the Thames [Plate 12 and 13].²³ In 1868-70 the land was acquired under the provisions of the Houses of Parliament Act, 1867 'for the improvement of the approaches thereto and of the embankment thereof'; it was also considered to be 'expedient for the security' of the Palace of Westminster.²⁴ Following the acquisition, the land was embanked and designed with a small garden by Joseph Bazalgette, which is depicted on the 1872 Ordnance Survey Map [Plate 14].²⁵ In 1879 Mr W.H. Smith, a member for Westminster, donated £1000 to acquire the land to the south of the garden and to have it cleared for use as a public park. The 1894 Ordnance Survey Map shows that the garden was divided by paths lined with trees and included a central circular lawn [Plate 15].²⁶

In 1900, the London County (Improvements) Act allowed the London County Council to build a new embankment and raise the ground between the river and Millbank. The northern end of the garden was redesigned at the same time with the circular lawn positioned further south. In 1914 Rodin's *The Burghers of Calais* was erected in the north-west corner of the garden. In 1924 the south end of the garden was re-landscaped to provide a sandpit and fountain, which was paid for by a private donor.

The garden was re-landscaped in 1956.²⁷ When the memorial was proposed to be moved, it was the source of great concern to the Suffragette Fellowship that it remain close to the Palace of Westminster, and they successfully negotiated its new position adjacent to Parliament. *The Burghers of Calais* was also moved to its present positions at this time and the Buxton Memorial Fountain was moved to the south-east end of the garden from its original location in Parliament Square; the latter commemorates the MPs who advocated the abolition of slavery in Britain, in 1807 and throughout the British Empire, in 1834, including William Wilberforce and Thomas Fowell Buxton [Plates 16 and 17].

In 2017 it was announced that a national memorial to the Holocaust would be constructed at the southern end of the garden to the designs of Adjaye Associates and Ron Arad Architects. The site has been the subject of widespread debate and the proposals have yet to be submitted for planning permission.

The garden is currently administrated by The Royal Parks.



12. Ordnance Survey Map, 1869, showing the wharfs and jetties that had developed from c.1650 on the site of Victoria Tower Gardens (LMA)



14. Ordnance Survey Map, 1872, showing the original and much smaller size of Victoria Tower Gardens (LMA)



15. Ordnance Survey Map, 1894, showing the 1879 extension of Victoria Tower Gardens to much of its present size and appearance (LMA)



13. An oil painting showing the historic development of Victoria Tower Gardens with wharfs and factories, c.1860 (Collage)



16. Rodin's The Burgher's of Calais, Victoria Tower Gardens, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)



17. Buxton Memorial Fountain by S.S. Teulon that was moved from Parliament Square in 1949 to Victoria Tower Gardens, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)

4.6 The Sculptor: Arthur George Walker (1861-1939)

Arthur George Walker was born on 20 October 1861 in Hackney, London [Plate 18]. In 1883 he enrolled into the Royal Academy where he studied as a sculptor but he also practised as a painter, illustrator and mosaicist. He was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1925 and became a full Royal Academician in 1936.

Walker built up a reputation as a memorial sculptor before the First World War gave cause and opportunity to develop his career further. He designed the striking Boer War Memorial in Bury St Edmunds in 1906 (listed at Grade II) and a memorial to Florence Nightingale in Waterloo Place, London in 1915 (also Grade II). The Boer War Memorial is notable in depicting a soldier in active combat (in contrast to the conventions of the time which favoured allegorical or classical figures). In the aftermath of the First World War, Walker continued this approach, designing a war memorial showing a British infantry soldier, in full battle dress, carrying a backpack and with additional kit slung from his belt, and standing at ease. Walker sketched his design for the 'Tommy' from life; the model was a soldier, recently returned from Flanders, with whom the artist corresponded on his return to the trenches. According to Walker the man survived to see photographs of a finished statue. The design was used at Chesham and Heston in west London (in stone) and in Dartford and Sevenoaks in Kent, Heath Town in Wolverhampton and Ironbridge in Shropshire (in bronze). Other war memorials to Walker's credit are at St Silas Church in Pentonville and St Anne's Church in Limehouse both in London, Dickleburgh in Norfolk, Shrewsbury School, Derby and Horsham. All the war memorials are listed at Grade II.

Walker also designed several memorial reliefs, busts and statues of women including a relief of Constance Kerr, Marchioness of Lothian in Blicking Hall (1904); various reliefs of Florence Nightingale, including one in alabaster for St Thomas's Hospital, London (1917) and several panels as part of the Crimean War Memorial, London (1920); a statue of Georgina, Baroness Mount Temple in Torquay (1903); and the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens (1930).²⁸ He also worked in mosaic, designing for the Greek Orthodox Cathedral Church in Bayswater (listed at Grade I). Other work for places of worship included sculpture for the Church of the Agapemone in Clapton, London (listed at Grade II*) and the Chapel of Whitelands College in Chelsea (Grade II). Walker designed the exterior stone statuary of Dante, Aristotle and St. Augustine for Gladstone's Library at Hawarden in Wales (listed at Grade I). Walker also frequently worked in ivory, wood and precious metals creating busts, drinking cups, and statuettes. He died at Parkstone in Dorset in 1939.



18. A self portrait of Arthur George Walker, c.1910 (Mary Evans Picture Library)

5.0 Description of the Memorial and its Setting

The memorial is situated roughly 10 metres inside the north-west entrance of Victoria Tower Gardens (a Grade-II Registered Park and Garden), facing onto Abingdon Street. The statue, which is framed by trees and planting, is visible from the road and can also be seen from Abingdon Street Gardens on the opposite side of the street **[Plate 19]**. The memorial is in close proximity to the Palace of Westminster, in particular the Victoria Tower, but clearly (it might be said poignantly) outside the Palace precinct. Parliament forms a fundamental part of the memorial's backdrop and setting, and of its visual impact. To the south, Victoria Tower Gardens is an open space and there is limited visibility of the statue from within the gardens or from the site of the statue to the garden and the River Thames beyond.



19. The memorial of Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst in its current setting, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)

The statue itself is cast in bronze and is 2.15m high. Emmeline Pankhurst is depicted wearing a long dress, a calf-length coat with a fur collar and a necklace. Her right hand is outstretched; a pose often adopted during her speeches, and in her left hand is a pair of glasses. Although the pose was chosen before the precise site was located, the memorial has been positioned so that her outstretched hand appears to point to Parliament. Walker signed the statue on the left hand side of the base with an inscription 'A.G. Walker A.R.A'; on the rear is the maker's mark: 'A.B. Burton/ Founder.' In the late 20th century the statue was covered with a protective layer of black coating; it would be beneficial if this was removed and the sculpture cleaned, restored and regularly maintained.

The statue stands on a 2m high Portland stone pedestal designed by Sir Herbert Baker which has inset Doric pilasters on the four corners and an ogee moulded plinth supporting the statue. The centre of the pedestal is inscribed with the words:

Emmeline Pankhurst: 1858-1928

Some green staining from the bronze statue has marked the top of the plinth; the corners and inscription have greatly weathered and require restoration.

At the base of the plinth is a plaque set into the floor, which replaced with the original Portland stone vase when the statue was relocated in 1956 **[Plate 20]**. It reads:

This statue of Emmeline Pankhurst was erected as a tribute to her courageous leadership of the movement for the enfranchisement of women.

At the sides of the statue there is a low curved Portland stone wall terminated with two Portland stone piers. The right hand plinth contains a bronze portrait roundel of Christabel Pankhurst with the inscription carved in the stone below to read **[Plate 21]**:

Dame Christabel Pankhurst D.B.E L.L.R 1881-1958.

On the outside face of the pier there another inscription which reads:

These walls and piers have been erected in memory of Dame Christabel Pankhurst, who jointly with her mother Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst inspired and led the Militant Suffrage Campaign.

On the left hand pier is a bronze roundel depicting a WSPU prisoners' badge, with the following inscriptions **[Plate 22]**:

W.S.P.U Prisoners' Badge 1905-1914. Replica of the badge, a broad arrow on the Westminster Arms, given by the Women's Social and Political Union to over 1000 women who suffered imprisonment for women's enfranchisement.'

The walls, plinths, bronzework and inscriptions date to 1959 but the curved walls take the form of the exedra which was originally proposed by Walker for the statue in c.1928-9.



20. The 1956 inscription tablet at the base of the statue, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)



21. Bronze roundel portrait of Christabel Pankhurst by Peter Hills, which was added to the statue in 1959 together with the memorial of the WSPU more generally, and the low curved Portland stone wall, 2017 (Donald Insall Associa



22. Bronze roundel of a WSPU prisoner's badge which was added to the statue in 1959 together with the memorial to Christabel Pankhurst and the low curved Portland stone wall, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)

6.0 The Wider Context of Memorials to the Campaign for Women's Suffrage

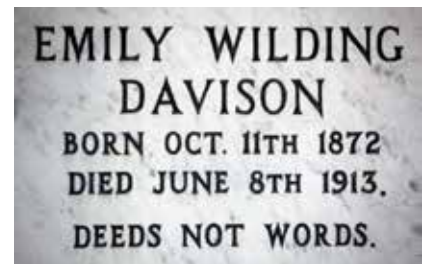
Memorials commemorating campaigners for women's suffrage (both militant and non-militant) dating to before the Second World War are very rare. One example – but this a building rather than a sculpture – is the Millicent Fawcett Hall on Marshall Street in Westminster, the HQ of the London and National Society for Women's Service (now the Fawcett Society); Millicent Fawcett laid the foundation stone in 1929, the year that she died, and it later became her memorial. An earlier example is the grave of Emily Wilding Davison in Morpeth, Northumberland which is inscribed 'Deeds not Words' [Plate 23]. Minne Lansbury was commemorated in a memorial clock on a building in Bow Road, East London, in the late 1920s.

The memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst, erected in 1930, is the most public and prominent of these early markers and is interesting in deploying a traditional form of commemoration – a bronze sculpture on a Portland stone plinth – to celebrate a mould-breaking political activist. In this respect, it is a fitting tribute to the complexities of Emmeline Pankhurst's politics and campaigning. For the sponsors of the memorial, themselves militant suffragettes, the memorial was an opportunity for the movement to commemorate its leader in the traditional military manner, through public statuary. The alterations of 1959 are, similarly, an early instance of recognition of the role of the suffragettes in 20th-century British history, predating the wider appreciation which came about as a result of the work of feminist historians and activists from the late 1960s.

The 'Second Wave' feminist movement brought about, in 1970, the erection of a bronze scroll-shaped sculpture to commemorate the suffragettes in Christchurch Gardens, Victoria, London [Plate 24]. This was commissioned by the Suffragette Fellowship and designed by Edwin Russell. The text of the scroll reads:

This tribute is erected by the Suffragette Fellowship to commemorate the courage and perseverance of all those men and women who in the long struggle for votes for women selflessly braved derision, opposition and ostracism, many enduring physical violence and suffering.

The late 1970s also saw a campaign to prevent the demolition of the Pankhurst's home and the location of the first WSPU meeting at 62 Nelson Street, Manchester. The building is now listed at Grade II* and is a small museum and heritage centre. There are also a number of blue plaques at the homes of prominent suffragettes and suffragists, and the graves of individual campaigners have – since Emily Wilding Davison – been a powerful focus of remembrance. Three suffragette graves are recognised through listing: to Davison, Emmeline Pankhurst in Brompton Cemetery and to Lady Constance Bulwer-Lytton at Knebworth Park in Hertfordshire (the latter is a particularly important mausoleum, architecturally).



23. An early example of a suffragette memorial is the grave of Emily Wilding Davison in Morpeth, Northumberland which is inscribed 'Deeds not Words' (Google)



24. In 1970 a bronze scroll-shaped sculpture was erected in Christchurch Gardens, Victoria to commemorate the suf-fragettes. The sculpture was commissioned by the Suffragette Fellowship and designed by Edwin Russell (Google)



25. There has been a fresh impetus to commemorate the campaign for women's suffrage more recently and a two-dimensional silhouette of Sylvia Pankhurst was erected in Mile End Park in 2011 (Google)



26. In 2016, New Dawn, an abstract work of stained glass by Mary Branson, was installed in Westminster Hall to commemorate 150 years since the campaign for women's votes began in Parliament (Google).

There has been a fresh impetus to commemorate the campaign for women's suffrage more recently. A stained glass window, designed by Shona McInnes, was installed in the Palace of Westminster in 2002 and incorporates symbols, such as handcuffs, connected to the movement. A two-dimensional silhouette of Sylvia Pankhurst was erected in Mile End Park in 2011 [Plate 25], and in 2013 a plaque was unveiled to the militant suffragette, Emily Davison, at Epsom Racecourse, where she died under the hooves of the King's horse. In 2016, *New Dawn*, an abstract work of stained glass by Mary Branson, was installed in Westminster Hall to commemorate 150 years since the campaign for women's votes began in Parliament [Plate 26]. Approval has recently been granted for a new statue of Sylvia Pankhurst to be erected in Clerkenwell Green. A statue by the artist Gillian Wearing depicting the suffragist Millicent Fawcett was unveiled in Parliament Square in 2018. In 2018 Historic England revised the listing descriptions of a number of historic buildings to mark the centenary of the Representation of the People Act. The listings now describe the associations between listed buildings and the campaign for women's voting rights. These include the Houses of Parliament, the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, Kew Gardens, the Royal Albert Hall, the Prince's Stand at Epsom, and other lesser known locations such as letter boxes which were set alight in protest. All relate to the campaigning activities of the suffragettes.

The memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens is unique in representing the official commemoration of the suffragette movement, sponsored by its participants, in the immediate aftermath of its success.

7.0 The Significance of the Memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst

The Memorial to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst is of high significance, which is not fully recognised through its listing at Grade II. An application has been made to Historic England to upgrade the memorial to Grade II*. This is based on it having 'more than special interest', in terms of its aesthetics, history and setting. Its significance in these respects is as follows:

7.1 Aesthetic Interest

The memorial to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst is a notable work of art in its own right. The sculpture provides a vivid and realistic depiction of Emmeline Pankhurst in the act of speaking in public, a highly unusual pose for a female subject and one which expresses powerfully Pankhurst's message of a woman's right to full participation in public life.

Its sculptor was A.G. Walker, who was chosen for his work in depicting extraordinary women including Florence Nightingale and Dame Lousia Aldrich-Blake, the first female British surgeon. Walker was a Royal Academician (elected ARA in 1925, RA in 1936) and a Fellow and Honorary Member of Royal Society of British Sculptors. His nomination to the Royal Academy of Arts was sponsored by the elite of British sculpture of the time including Thomas Brock, Alfred Briscoe Drury, George James Frampton and Frederick William Pomeroy. This places Walker firmly in the second generation of the New Sculpture movement of the late 19th and early 20th century. 'New' sculptors explored a greater degree of naturalism and wider range of subject matter than their predecessors, who followed neo-classical models. Whereas the major French sculptors of the same period, chief of which was Auguste Rodin, increasingly left the accurate representation of the human body behind, the New Sculptors were interested in a more dynamic and vibrant representation of the human body. Walker's war memorials, particularly the memorial to the Boer war in Bury St Edmunds and his depiction of a British 'Tommy' commemorating the dead of the First World War, evidence these ideas. The sculpture of Emmeline Pankhurst displays many of the same characteristics: the use of contemporary dress; the lifelike depiction of the human form; and the dynamic and active pose.

The aesthetic significance of the memorial extends to the totality of its fabric, not just the statue by A.G. Walker. The plinth was designed by a prominent architect, Sir Herbert Baker. The curved stone walls and terminating plinths with bronze-work and inscriptions, alterations of 1959, are also of a high architectural quality. They reflect the intended setting for the memorial, designed by Walker in the 1920s, but not implemented in the original location.

7.2 Historic Interest

The statue of Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens was the first public memorial erected to Pankhurst after her death in June 1928. It was also the first public monument commemorating the important part the suffragette movement played in the campaign for the enfranchisement of women, a seminal event in British history.

The story of the suffragettes and the campaign for women's votes is now widely celebrated, and there is a growing impetus to erect more statues to pioneers of women's rights. The memorial in Victoria Tower Gardens is unique, however, in being sponsored by the suffragettes themselves in the immediate aftermath of their campaign. It wasn't until just a few months after Emmeline Pankhurst's death that the Representation of the People Act of 1928 gave women the right to vote on equal terms to men. The sculpture – erected just two years later – is a vivid memorial to those events. For the suffragettes who sponsored the memorial, it was critical that their heroine was recognised in the traditional manner. As the committee stated:

As in former times, so now men commemorate their heroes and liberators by erecting statues; shall not women claim equal honour for her who led them to victory?

The form and location of the commemoration was of immense importance to its sponsors, and the memorial and the circumstances of its erection bears witness to their struggle for recognition.

The memorial was also the first instance of 'official' recognition of the suffragettes and their campaign, and this is an important part of its historic interest. It was unveiled by Stanley Baldwin, and located in the public realm and in close proximity to Parliament. In this respect, it differs from graves and tombs to prominent suffragettes, such as that to Mrs Pankhurst in Brompton Cemetery (listed Grade II*) and to Emily Wilding Davison in Morpeth (listed Grade II), which – although attracting much interest historically and to the present day – were more intimate and personal tributes.

The decision about the memorial's location was fraught, both before it was unveiled and when it was moved in 1959. Campaigners insisted that proximity to the House of Commons was essential to its power and poignancy. This aspect of the history of this memorial is unique and distinguishes it from other memorials to the suffragettes.

The memorial is also important in that it is the sole public memorial to Christabel Pankhurst, whose arrest with Annie Kenney in 1905 began the militant phase of the WSPU's activities. Christabel was arguably as important as her mother in the fight for women's rights and, having ended her days in the USA where she was buried, is not commemorated elsewhere in the United Kingdom.

7.3 Setting

The position and setting of the memorial is of very high significance. The memorial was originally located in the centre of Victoria Tower Gardens and the site was chosen by the suffragettes on the Memorial Committee who commissioned the statue, together with the Office of Works and the Royal Fine Art Commission. Although it was not the first choice of the Memorial Committee, who originally wanted the statue to be as close to the House of Commons or Downing Street as possible, the location in Victoria Tower Gardens was considered to be a success. It was considered of paramount importance to the sponsors of the memorial in the late 1920s that it be located in the vicinity of Parliament, as this was the primary focus of Emmeline Pankhurst's political activism. When the memorial was proposed to be moved during the re-landscaping of Victoria Tower Gardens in 1956, it was the source of great concern to the Suffragette Fellowship, and they negotiated its new position closer to the Houses of Parliament. The Fellowship also wanted reassurance from the Ministry of Works that this was to be the final resting place of the statue, as they did not want it to be moved again in the future.

The debates about the location in the late 1920s reflect opposing contemporary responses to Pankhurst and her campaign in its immediate aftermath. This story is an important part of the memorial's special interest. The present location of the memorial is an eloquent expression of its subject's cause. Located just outside the precinct of the Palace of Westminster, the memorial is representative of the historic exclusion of women from Parliament and the struggle that both Emmeline and Christabel endured to win the vote and a place for women in public life. The setting of the memorial is dominated by the Palace of Westminster, which forms a fundamental part of the memorial's backdrop and its visual impact. Also important is the proximity of the Buxton Memorial Fountain, another memorial to political campaigners.

8.0 Commentary on the Proposal to Relocate the Memorial

8.1 Description of the Proposals

It is proposed to relocate the listed memorial to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens to the forecourt of Regent's University in Regent's Park, London. The memorial would be carefully dismantled, transported to the new location, and re-erected in a new landscape setting facing the Herringham Building at Regent's University; the work would be undertaken by conservation specialists.

The proposals have emerged in response to the resolution of the Westminster City Council Planning Applications Sub-Committee (2) in considering an application for the new memorial (17/04187/FULL) at a meeting on 19 September 2017:

That whilst the Sub-Committee was supportive of the application it be deferred in order for the applicant to submit a listed building consent application to remove/relocate the existing memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst located in Victoria Tower Gardens.

It is not clear at present whether or not it is explicitly stated in official policy that there cannot be more than one memorial to the same person in the immediate vicinity of an existing memorial. Westminster City Council's supplementary planning document *Guidance for the Erection of New Monuments* does not give the existence of an historical monument as a reason to refuse permission for a new monument; indeed it does not consider this question at all. Instead, it states that decisions on new memorials will be taken on the basis of the strength of associations between the site and the person commemorated, the aesthetic quality of the proposed monument, and the '10-year-rule' which requires a decade to have passed since a subject's death before a memorial will be considered; it also states that there should be 'an exceptionally good reason' for a new monument within the 'monument saturation zone' (which is defined in the *Guidance for the Erection of New Monuments* as the area around the Palace of Westminster, Whitehall, St James' and the Embankment, and in the Royal Parks).

The case has been put by the new monument's sponsors that there are exceptionally good reasons to erect a new memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst in Canning Green. It is not the purpose of this report to consider the merits of this case, but rather to concentrate on the harm caused by the proposed loss of the existing, historic memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens.

8.2 Planning Legislation and Policy

In undertaking any assessment of proposals which affect a listed structure and a conservation area, the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 requires that considerable weight and importance is given to the desirability of preserving the listed structure and its setting and to the desirability of preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of the conservation area.

The National Planning Policy Framework requires that the proposal to relocate the listed memorial should be assessed according to the potential impact on the significance of the memorial. It should also be considered in light of the potential impact on the significance of Victoria Tower Gardens, listed at Grade II on the Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest, and on the character and appearance of the Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square Conservation Area.

8.3 Impact of the Proposals on the Listed Structure

The significance of the memorial has been defined above as having three components: aesthetic interest, historic interest, and setting. The impact of the proposals on these three aspects of its significance is described below.

8.3.1 Aesthetic Interest

The aesthetic interest of the memorial would not be substantially harmed by its removal to Regent's Park, as the relocation would be undertaken by conservation specialists. Also, the memorial was designed before its final location was settled, which could support the principle of its relocation. However, the memorial was always intended for the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament; the suffragettes who formed the memorial committee in 1928 sought a location on the 'chief battle-field of their pre-war agitation' and A.G. Walker's design was undertaken in response to this. Some harm would, therefore, be caused to the structure's aesthetic interest by its removal from its intended context.

8.3.2 Historic Interest

The historic interest of the memorial would be substantially harmed by its removal to Regent's Park. Its location was, and remains today, a critical part of its history and power. The form of memorial and its location were of immense importance to its sponsors, and the memorial and the circumstances of its erection bears witness to their struggle for recognition. The decision about the memorial's location was fraught, both before it was unveiled and when it was moved in 1959. Campaigners insisted that proximity to the House of Commons was essential to its power and poignancy. This aspect of the history of this memorial is unique and distinguishes it from other memorials to the suffragettes. This history would not necessarily be forgotten if the memorial were to be relocated to Regent's Park, but its meaning would be substantially diminished. In effect, those who sought to frustrate the suffragettes' efforts to honour their leader in the late 1920s, and in particular those who were against granting permission for a memorial to Pankhurst near Parliament, would be granted the last word. This would cause substantial harm to the significance, meaning and power of the listed memorial.

The memorial is also important in that it is the sole public memorial to Christabel Pankhurst, whose arrest with Annie Kenney in 1905 began the militant phase of the WSPU's activities. Christabel was arguably as important as her mother in the fight for women's rights and, having ended her days in the USA where she was buried, is not commemorated elsewhere in the United Kingdom. If the memorial were removed, Christabel Pankhurst would no longer be commemorated in Westminster, which was the principal focus of her campaigning activity; indeed she stood for election in 1918, but narrowly lost, adding further poignancy to the memorial's location adjacent to Parliament.

8.3.3 Setting

It could be argued that the fact that the memorial has been moved once before is justification for moving it again. The repositioning in 1956 was not detrimental to the relationship between the memorial and its context, however, in that it was moved a relatively short distance and within the same public space. The move was also undertaken in consultation with the Suffragette Fellowship and brought the memorial closer to Parliament and to greater public view from the street. It arguably better fulfilled the original objectives of the Memorial Committee – that the sculpture be located close to the House of Commons – than the original location. The memorial has now been in its present location for over 60 years, much longer than it was in its original location. The memorial to Christabel Pankhurst, added in 1959, has never been moved.

The relocation of the memorial and the consequent loss of its historical context and setting would have a profound impact on the significance of the listed memorial. Its position and location are fundamental to its special interest. The present location of the memorial is an eloquent expression of its subject's cause: that women have the right to participate in democracy on the same terms as men. Located just outside the precinct of the Palace of Westminster, the memorial is representative of the historic exclusion of women from Parliament and the struggle that both Emmeline and Christabel endured to win the vote and a place for women in public life. Its location apart from the statesmen and figureheads commemorated in Parliament Square also has meaning: Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst were radicals, working beyond the lawful methods of protest and campaigning. The focus of their activism – the Palace of Westminster – dominates the memorial's setting and forms a fundamental part of its backdrop and visual impact. All this would be lost if the memorial were moved to Regent's Park, causing substantial harm to the listed memorial.

The location in Regent's Park would not mitigate this harm. While many suffragettes were graduates of Bedford College (the original name for Regent's University), and there is a clear link between the institution and the broader movement for women's rights, there are no particular links between Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst and Bedford College. Christabel Pankhurst was a graduate of the University of Manchester and Emmeline Pankhurst did not attend university. Westminster City Council's guidance on siting memorials requires that 'any proposal for a statue or monument must have a clear and well defined historical or conceptual relationship with the proposed location'; this is not the case here. In addition, whilst the proposed site in the forecourt in front of Regent's University is accessible to members of the public, the memorial would be located some way back from the road and would be shielded behind vegetation. It would not be within view of passers-by. Therefore, public access to the memorial is likely to be diminished, which would further harm its significance. Put simply, there is no reason for the memorial to be here other than a present-day desire to move it away from where it is now.

For the reasons set out above, the proposed relocation of the memorial from Victoria Tower Gardens to Regent's University would not preserve the special interest or setting of the Grade-II listed memorial, as required by Section 66 of the Planning (Listed Building and Conservation Areas Act) 1990. Nor would it comply with Westminster City Council's *Guidance for the Erection of New Monuments*.

8.4 Impact of the Proposals on Victoria Tower Gardens, the Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square Conservation Area and the World Heritage Site

The impact of the proposals on the wider areas should be considered in respect of the Grade II-listed Victoria Tower Gardens and the Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square Conservation Area. The memorial also forms part of the wider setting of the Westminster World Heritage Site, so this is a further consideration.

As regards the listed Victoria Tower Gardens, the impact of the loss of the statue is clearly substantial and wholly negative. The Westminster World Heritage Site Management Plan mentions this sculpture (along with the Rodin) as particularly important to Victoria Tower Gardens. Pankhurst and the suffragettes are the most prominent and well-known of those commemorated in Victoria Tower Gardens and the interest of the garden would be substantially reduced by the loss of this memorial.

The impact on the Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square conservation area is more complex, because the proposals are prompted by an application to erect a new memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst in Parliament Square. It might be suggested that the loss of the historic memorial would be mitigated or balanced by the new memorial, and the overall effect on the conservation area and World Heritage Site would be neutral. This is to fundamentally misunderstand the importance of the historic memorial, however. The memorial has a degree of authenticity which cannot be replicated, as the first public monument commemorating the important part the suffragette movement played in the campaign for the enfranchisement of women, a seminal event in British history. It was sponsored by the suffragettes themselves in the immediate aftermath of their campaign, and unveiled just two years after the Representation of the People Act of 1928 gave women the right to vote on equal terms to men. The loss of this historic memorial would have a clear negative impact on the character and appearance of the conservation area. This should be categorised as 'less than substantial harm' but only because this is a conservation area of such richness that it would require a major catastrophe to cause 'substantial harm'. Within the range of 'less than substantial' harm, the impact of the proposal to move this memorial on the conservation area should be considered to be very serious indeed; it is perhaps best described as a high level of 'less than substantial harm'.

The impact on the World Heritage Site is also adverse. Again, the outstanding universal value of the area means that the loss of any single monument, even one of the most important, cannot be considered to place it in peril. However the principle of removing memorials of the past, even those which express powerfully the values of the present day such as this one, presents a worrying precedent which would, if followed elsewhere in the Westminster World Heritage Site, diminish its considerable richness and depth. There are numerous UNSECO treatises on conservation which warn against moving buildings or structures of cultural value. The Venice Charter of 1964 states simply in Article 7:

A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs. The moving of all or part of a monument cannot be allowed except where the safeguarding of that monument demands it or where it is justified by national or international interest of paramount importance.

And the Burra Charter of 1979 in Article 9 states:

The physical location of a place is part of its cultural significance. A building, work or other element of a place should remain in its historical location. Relocation is generally unacceptable unless this is the sole practical means of ensuring its survival.

It would be against good practice in building conservation to move the memorial.

The loss to the surrounding area of the historic memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst would be permanent and profound. For the reasons set out above, the proposed relocation of the memorial from Victoria Tower Gardens to Regent's University would not preserve the character and appearance of Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square Conservation Area, as required by Section 72 of the Planning (Listed Building and Conservation Areas Act) 1990. The proposed location would also have an adverse effect on Victoria Tower Gardens, which is listed at Grade II, and the Westminster World Heritage Site.

8.5 Substantial Harm

Sections 6.2 and 6.3 above set out the reasons why the proposals do not meet the test set out in the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 for the preservation of listed buildings and of conservation areas, as well as other legislation related to Registered Parks and Gardens and World Heritage Sites.

The proposals must also be assessed according to the policies set out in the National Planning Policy Framework. These state that

When considering the impact of a proposed development on the significance of a designated heritage asset, great weight should be given to the asset's conservation. The more important the asset, the greater the weight should be. Significance can be harmed or lost through alteration or destruction of the heritage asset or development within its setting. As heritage assets are irreplaceable, any harm or loss should require clear and convincing justification.

The framework requires that any harm caused to the significance of the designated heritage assets affected, in this case the Grade-II listed memorial, the conservation area, the registered park and garden and the World Heritage Site, be categorised as either 'substantial' or 'less than substantial'. Guidance on this is provided in the National Planning Policy Guidance documents, which accompany the Framework. This states that:

In general terms, substantial harm is a high test, so it may not arise in many cases. For example, in determining whether works to a listed building constitute substantial harm, an important consideration would be whether the adverse impact seriously affects a key element of its special architectural or historic interest.

The test for substantial harm referred to here – 'whether the adverse impact seriously affects a key element of its special architectural or historic interest' – of the listed structure is clearly satisfied by these proposals. The setting of the memorial is a key element of its special interest and this would be obliterated by the proposals, a serious effect; this is discussed in detail in section 6.2.3 above. There would also be

harm to the historic interest of the memorial, as described in section 6.2.2 above. The harm to Victoria Tower Gardens, a registered park and garden, would also be 'substantial' as the memorial is a key element of its interest and it would be lost. The harm to the conservation area and the World Heritage Site should be categorised as 'less than substantial'.

8.6 Harm vs. Public Benefits

Paragraph 132 and 133 of the National Planning Policy Framework states:

Substantial harm to or loss of a grade II listed building, park or garden should be exceptional. Where a proposed development will lead to substantial harm to or total loss of significance of a designated heritage asset, local planning authorities should refuse consent, unless it can be demonstrated that the substantial harm or loss is necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss, or all of the following apply:

- the nature of the heritage asset prevents all reasonable uses of the site; and
- no viable use of the heritage asset itself can be found in the medium term through appropriate marketing that will enable its conservation; and
- conservation by grant-funding or some form of charitable or public ownership is demonstrably not possible; and
- the harm or loss is outweighed by the benefit of bringing the site back into use.

Paragraph 134 states:

Where a development proposal will lead to less than substantial harm to the significance of a designated heritage asset, this harm should be weighed against the public benefits of the proposal, including securing its optimum viable use.

Clearly, the bullet-pointed criteria in paragraph 133 are not relevant to these proposals, as there are no concerns relating to the use of viability of the memorial. Therefore, the only justification for the harm that would be caused to the memorial of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst by the proposals, in the case of the substantial harm caused to the listed structure and to Victoria Tower Gardens, is that it is 'necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss'. The justification for the 'less than substantial harm' which would be caused to the conservation area and the World Heritage Site also relates to public benefits, although a lesser order of benefit would be required given the lesser degree of harm.

There is certainly a clear public benefit in the proposed new memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst. There would also be a public benefit in marking the struggle for women's rights in the vicinity of Regent's University. However, these public benefits would not outweigh the substantial harm to the historic interest of the listed memorial or the complete loss of its setting and context. The preservation of the historic memorial, for its connection to the people whose struggle it commemorates and its powerful setting, is of greater public benefit than a new memorial.

However the question need not be a zero-sum game. The harm which would be caused to the original memorial and the loss of its context is in no way necessary for the public benefits of proposed new memorial to be realised. There is no reason, for example, why there cannot be two memorials to Emmeline Pankhurst in the vicinity of Parliament. Alternatively, if there is no desire to duplicate the commemoration of Emmeline Pankhurst, then the proposal for a new statue of a suffragette could honour on of the many other prominent suffragettes such as Emily Wilding Davison, Annie Kenney, Constance Bulwer-Lytton, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Flora Drummond, Sophia Duleep Singh, Lydia Becker, Louisa Garrett Anderson or indeed Christabel Pankhurst, who has never been commemorated in a sculpture (there is a current proposal to raise a statue to Sylvia Pankhurst on Clerkenwell Green). If there is strong hope for a memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst at Regent's University, the new commission could be erected there. If the immediate setting of the historic memorial to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst is not considered satisfactory, this could be re-landscaped or further works of art or sculpture added to it, reflecting current interest in the suffragettes. These options would offer the same or a greater degree of public benefit without the harm to the existing listed memorial.

9.0 Conclusion

The Memorial to Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst is of high significance, which is not fully recognised through its listing at Grade II. An application has been made to Historic England to upgrade the memorial to Grade II*. This is based on it having 'more than special interest', in terms of its unique history, its artistic quality and the importance of its setting next to the Houses of Parliament. This proposal to move the memorial from Victoria Tower Gardens to Regent's Park would cause substantial harm to the significance of the memorial, as well as harm to the Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square Conservation Area. The public benefits of the proposal for a new sculpture of Emmeline Pankhurst on Canning Green would not outweigh that harm and, in any case, the harm to the historic memorial is not necessary to achieve these public benefits. Therefore the tests for sustainable development in the National Planning Policy Framework are not met. Nor do the proposals satisfy the requirements of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990, which place considerable weight on the desirability of preserving listed structures and of preserving or enhancing conservation areas. The proposal to move the memorial, therefore, should not be granted planning permission or listed building consent.

Appendix I – Planning Policy

Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990

The Act is legislative basis for decision making on applications that relate to the historic environment.

Sections 66 and 72 of the Act impose a statutory duty upon local planning authorities to consider the impact of proposals upon listed buildings and conservation areas.

Section 66 of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 states that:

in considering whether to grant permission for development which affects a listed building or its setting, the local planning authority, or as the case may be the Secretary of State shall have special regard to the desirability of pre--serving the building or its setting or any features of special architectural or historic interest which it possesses.

Similarly, section 72(l) of the above Act states that:

... with respect to any buildings or other land in a conservation area, special attention shall be paid to the desirability of preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of a conservation area.

Town and Country Planning (Development Management Procedure) (England) Order of 2015

Section 18 of the Town and Country Planning Order requires local planning authorities to consult The Garden History Society on all applications affecting a Registered Park and Garden and Historic England on applications affecting a Grade-I or II* Registered Park and Garden. Representations made by consultees must be taken into consideration in determining an application.

Public Statues (Metropolis) Act 1854

Under section 5 of the Public Statues (Metropolis) Act 1854 the consent of the commissioners of works needs to be obtained before a public statue can be erected in a public place in the Metropolitan Police District of London. The functions of the commissioners of works are now vested in the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport. By virtue of the London Government Act 1963 (as amended by the Greater London Authority Act 1999), the Metropolitan Police District of London is now the area of Greater London (excluding the City of London, and the Inner and Middle Temples).

National Planning Policy Framework

Any proposals for consent relating to heritage assets are subject to the policies of the NPPF (2012). This sets out the Government's planning policies for England and how these are expected to be applied. With regard to 'Conserving and enhancing the historic environment', the

framework requires proposals relating to heritage assets to be justified and an explanation of their effect on the heritage asset's significance provided.

The NPPF has the following relevant policies for proposals such as this:

14. At the heart of the National Planning Policy Framework is a **presumption in favour of sustainable development**, which should be seen as a golden thread running through both plan-making and decision-taking.

The NPPF sets out twelve **core planning principles** that should underpin decision making (paragraph 17). Amongst those are that planning should:

- not simply be about scrutiny, but instead be a creative exercise in finding ways to enhance and improve the places in which people live their lives;
- proactively drive and support sustainable economic development to deliver the homes, business and industrial units, infrastructure and thriving local places that the country needs. Every effort should be made objectively to identify and then meet the housing, business and other development needs of an area, and respond positively to wider opportunities for growth. Plans should take account of market signals, such as land prices and housing affordability, and set out a clear strategy for allocating sufficient land which is suitable for development in their area, taking account of the needs of the residential and business communities;
- always seek to secure high quality design and a good standard of amenity for all existing and future occupants of land and buildings;
- support the transition to a low carbon future in a changing climate, taking full account of flood risk and coastal change, and encourage the reuse of existing resources, including conversion of existing buildings, and encourage the use of renewable resources (for example, by the development of renewable energy);
- conserve heritage assets in a manner appropriate to their significance, so that they can be enjoyed for their contribution to the quality of life of this and future generations;

With regard to the **significance** of a heritage asset, the framework contains the following policies:

129. Local planning authorities should identify and assess the particular significance of any heritage asset that may be affected by a proposal taking account of the available evidence and any necessary expertise. They should take this assessment into account when considering the impact of a proposal on a heritage asset, to avoid or minimise conflict between the heritage asset's conservation and any aspect of the proposal.

In determining applications local planning authorities are required to take account of significance, viability, sustainability and local character and distinctiveness. Paragraph 131 of the NPPF identifies the following criteria in relation to this:

- the desirability of sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage assets and putting them to viable uses consistent with their conservation;

- the positive contribution that conservation of heritage assets can make to sustainable communities including their economic vitality; and
- the desirability of new development making a positive contribution to local character and distinctiveness.

With regard to potential **'harm'** to the significance designated heritage asset, in paragraph 132 the framework states the following:

...great weight should be given to the asset's conservation. The more important the asset, the greater the weight should be. Significance can be harmed or lost through alteration or destruction of the heritage asset or development within its setting. As heritage assets are irreplaceable, any harm or loss should require clear and convincing justification.

Where a proposed development will lead to **'substantial harm' to or total loss of significance** of a designated heritage asset paragraph 133 of the NPPF states that:

...local planning authorities should refuse consent, unless it can be demonstrated that the substantial harm or loss is necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss, or all of the following apply:

- the nature of the heritage asset prevents all reasonable uses of the site; and
- no viable use of the heritage asset itself can be found in the medium term through appropriate marketing that will enable its conservation; and
- conservation by grant-funding or some form of charitable or public ownership is demonstrably not possible; and
- the harm or loss is outweighed by the benefit of bringing the site back into use.

With regard to **'less than substantial harm'** to the significance of a designated heritage asset, of the NPPF states the following;

134. Where a development proposal will lead to less than substantial harm to the significance of a designated heritage asset, this harm should be weighed against the public benefits of the proposal, including securing its optimum viable use.

In terms of **non-designated heritage assets**, the NPPF states:

135. The effect of an application on the significance of a non-designated heritage asset should be taken into account in determining the application. In weighing applications that affect directly or indirectly non-designated heritage assets, a balance judgement will be required having regard to the scale of any harm or loss and the significance of the heritage asset.

In relation to the consideration of applications for development affecting the **setting of a designated heritage asset**, paragraph 137 of the document states the following:

Proposals that preserve those elements of the setting that make a positive contribution to or better reveal the significance of the asset should be treated favourably.

With regards to the loss of a building (or other element) which makes a positive contribution to a **Conservation Area**, paragraph 138 states this should be treated:

...As substantial harm under paragraph 133 or less than substantial harm under paragraph 134, as appropriate, taking into account the relative significance of the element affected and its contribution to the significance of the Conservation Area...as a whole.

City of Westminster

The following policies from the City of Westminster's Unitary Development Plan (2007-parts saved 2010) are relevant to the proposals:

POLICY DES 7: TOWNSCAPE MANAGEMENT

(A) Public artworks

- 1) The provision of public artwork, including sculpture, statuary and mural decoration, will be encouraged where permission is sought for suitable schemes of development or redevelopment.*
- 2) Such artwork should be a) of a high standard of design and execution, using high quality materials, and*
- b) spatially related to the development scheme in question and, where fixed to a building, integral to the design of that building.*

(B) Street furniture and floodlighting

- 1) Where the placement of street furniture requires planning permission, it shall be of a suitable standard of design, accord with the patterns of items already in use and generally be sited so as to be visually unobtrusive, having regard to the character and quality of the existing townscape.*
- 2) Where the installation of floodlighting fittings and associated cabling and equipment requires planning permission, it shall be done in a visually discreet manner, having regard to the character of buildings and land on or within which it is to be located.*
- 3) Where such installations are needed for the purposes of development for which permission is sought, they shall be designed to prevent or minimise light pollution or trespass and may be restricted as to maximum hours of operation or levels of illumination, especially in residential areas.*

(C) Boundary walls and railings

- 1) In schemes of development, the loss of boundary walls and railings will be resisted where they form an important feature of and make a positive visual contribution to the street scene*
- 2) Permission will be granted for the addition of boundary walls and railings where*
 - a) they replicate an existing or traditional pattern which is characteristic of the immediate locality*
 - b) they are of a design and employ materials appropriate to the existing or proposed building, in the case of there being no prevalent or traditional pattern in the locality.*

(D) Off-street parking and hardstandings

Permission (where required) will not be granted for the formation of hardstandings

1) where they are located in garden ground that is important to the character or appearance of a conservation area or for residential amenity

2) where such development is located in garden ground of importance to the immediate setting of a listed building or a recognisably uniform group of buildings

3) where it would involve the loss of much of the front garden area or any tree of townscape significance or require the demolition of front garden walls or railings.

(E) Paving

The City Council will use suitable paving materials in all areas and will require the sensitive treatment of paving in private schemes to accord with the character of adjacent buildings and surrounding areas.

POLICY DES 9: CONSERVATION AREAS

(A) Applications for outline planning permission in conservation areas.

In the case of outline planning applications within designated conservation areas it may be necessary to require additional details to be produced in order that the physical impact of the proposed development may be fully assessed.

(B) Planning applications involving demolition in conservation areas

1) Buildings identified as of local architectural, historical or topographical interest in adopted conservation area audits will enjoy a general presumption against demolition

2) Development proposals within conservation areas, involving the demolition of unlisted buildings, may be permitted

a) If the building makes either a negative or insignificant contribution to the character or appearance of the area, and/or

b) If the design quality of the proposed development is considered to result in an enhancement of the conservation area's overall character or appearance, having regard to issues of economic viability, including the viability of retaining and repairing the existing building

3) In any such case, there should also be firm and appropriately detailed proposals for the future viable redevelopment of the application site that have been approved and their implementation assured by planning condition or agreement.

(C) Planning application for alteration or extension of unlisted buildings

Planning permission will be granted for proposals which:

1) Serve to reinstate missing traditional features, such as doors, windows, shopfronts, front porches and other decorative features

2) Use traditional and, where appropriate, reclaimed or recycled building materials

3) Use prevalent facing, roofing and paving materials, having regard to the content of relevant conservation area audits or other adopted supplementary guidance

4) In locally appropriate situations, use modern or other atypical facing materials or detailing or innovative forms of building design and construction

(D) Conservation area audits

The existence, character and contribution to the local scene of buildings or features of architectural, historical or topographical interest, recognised as such in supplementary planning guidance, such as conservation area audits, will be of relevance to the application of policies DES 4 to DES 7, and DES 10.

(E) Changes of use within conservation areas

Permission will only be granted for development, involving a material change of use, which would serve either to preserve or enhance the character and appearance of the conservation area, bearing in mind the detailed viability of the development.

(F) Setting of conservation areas

Development will not be permitted which, although not wholly or partly located within a designated conservation area, might nevertheless have a visibly adverse effect upon the area's recognised special character or appearance, including intrusiveness with respect to any recognised and recorded familiar local views into, out of, within or across the area.

(G) Restrictions on permitted development in conservation areas

1) In order to give additional protection to the character and appearance of conservation areas, directions may be made under article 4(2) of the Town and Country Planning (General Permitted Development) Order 1995. Types of generally permitted development to which such directions may apply will include:

- a) painting, cladding or rendering of building facades*
- b) insertion or replacement of doors and windows*
- c) removal or replacement of boundary walls and fences*
- d) alteration of roof profiles and replacement of roofing materials.*

2) Such added powers of planning control may be applied to designated conservation areas the subject of adopted conservation area audits or to buildings or groups of buildings therein identified as being of architectural, historical or topographical interest.

3) The existence of such directions will be taken into account in the authorisation of development that may itself be made subject to the removal of permitted development rights, in appropriate individual cases.

POLICY DES 10: LISTED BUILDINGS

(A) Applications for planning permission

Applications for development involving the extension or alteration of listed buildings will where relevant need to include full details of means of access, siting, design and external appearance of the proposed development in order to demonstrate that it would respect the listed building's character and appearance and serve to preserve, restore or complement its features of special architectural or historic interest.

(B) Demolition of listed buildings

1) Development involving the total demolition of a listed building (or any building listed by virtue of being within its curtilage) will only be permitted if, where relevant, the following criteria are met:

- a) it is not possible to continue to use the listed building for its existing, previous or original purpose or function, and b) every effort has been made to continue the present use or to find another economically viable use and obtain planning permission, with or without physical alteration, and*
- c) the historic character or appearance of the main building would be restored or improved by the demolition of curtilage building(s),*
or
- d) substantial benefits to the community would derive from the nature, form and function of the proposed development, and (in all cases)*
- e) demolition would not result in the creation of a long-term cleared site to the detriment of adjacent listed buildings*

2) If development is authorised in conformity with any of the above criteria, it may be made subject to a condition, agreement or undertaking that any consequential demolition shall not be carried out until all the relevant details of the proposed development have been approved and a contract has been entered into for its subsequent execution.

(C) Changes of use of listed buildings

Development involving the change of use of a listed building (and any works of alteration associated with it, including external illumination) may be permitted where it would contribute economically towards the restoration, retention or maintenance of the listed building (or group of buildings) without such development adversely affecting the special architectural or historic interest of the building (or its setting) or its spatial or structural integrity.

(D) Setting of listed buildings

Planning permission will not be granted where it would adversely affect:

- a) the immediate or wider setting of a listed building, or*
- b) recognised and recorded views of a listed building or a group of listed buildings, or*
- c) the spatial integrity or historic unity of the curtilage of a listed building.*

(E) Theft or removal of architectural items of interest

In order to reduce the risk of theft or removal of architectural items of interest or value from historic buildings during the course of development, the City Council may require additional security arrangements to be made while buildings are empty or during the course of building works.

POLICY DES 12: PARKS, GARDENS AND SQUARES

(A) Development adjacent to open spaces

Permission will only be granted for proposals adjacent to parks, public and private squares which:

- 1) safeguard their appearance, wider setting and ecological value*
- 2) preserve their historic integrity*
- 3) protect views into and out of these spaces*
- 4) will not project above existing tree or building lines.*

(B) Development on or under open spaces

Permission will not be given for development on or under those parks, landscaped spaces and public or private gardens, where the open spaces:

- 1) form an important element in the townscape, part of a planned estate or street layout*
- 2) are characteristic features of conservation areas*
- 3) provide the setting of a listed building*
- 4) are of significant ecological value.*

POLICY DES 16: WORLD HERITAGE SITE

Permission will only be granted for developments that protect and conserve the character, appearance, setting and ecological value of the World Heritage Site

Also relevant are the policies contained in Westminster City Council Core Strategy Document (2016):

POLICY S11 ROYAL PARKS

The Royal Parks, their settings, views and tranquillity will be protected from inappropriate development and activity. Developments will only be allowed where they are essential and ancillary to maintaining or enhancing the value of the park as open space, and that do not harm the parks':

- Open landscape character;*
- Heritage value;*
- Nature conservation value;*
- Tranquillity; or*
- Value as a public open space.*

Reasoned Justification

Because of their location and role as Central London attractions, the five Royal Parks are all included within the Central Activities Zone. However, there is substantial pressure on these open spaces, and their importance in providing a more tranquil environment and respite from the activity of other parts of the city, needs to be carefully protected.

POLICY S25 HERITAGE

Recognising Westminster's wider historic environment, its extensive heritage assets will be conserved, including its listed buildings, conservation areas, Westminster's World Heritage Site, its historic parks including five Royal Parks, squares, gardens and other open spaces, their settings, and its archaeological heritage. Historic and other important buildings should be upgraded sensitively, to improve their environmental performance and make them easily accessible.

Reasoned Justification

The intrinsic value of Westminster's high quality and significant historic environment is one of its greatest assets. To compete effectively with other major, world-class cities the built environment must be respected and refurbished sensitively in a manner appropriate to its significance. Any change should not detract from the existing qualities of the environment, which makes the city such an attractive and valued location for residents, businesses and visitors.

Planning SPD: Guidance for the Erection of New Monuments

If the statue were to be relocated in Westminster City Council it would be subject to the planning guidance set out in the document '*Guidance for the Erection of New Monuments*'. Practically, the relocation of the statue would be subject to four policies, which include:

Site Specificity

Any proposal for a statue or monument must have a clear and well defined historical or conceptual relationship with the proposed location.

Saturation Zone

Applications for new statues and monuments within the saturation zone [which includes Parliament Square] will not be permitted unless there is an exceptionally good reason.

Ten year Principle

No statues or memorials should be erected before ten years have elapsed from the death of the individual or the event commemorated.

Quality

Must be of a sufficient quality in terms of its design, material, scale and visual relationship to its surroundings.

Appendix II - Statutory List Descriptions

Statue of Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst

Grade: II

Date first listed: 5 February 2107

List entry:

Statue of Mrs Emmeline 5.2.70 Pankhurst G.V. II Statue.

Erected 1930 and moved to present site in 1956, A.G. Walker sculptor.

Bronze statue of the women's suffrage leader on stone pedestal with side screens.

Victoria Tower Gardens

Grade: II

Date first listed: 1 October 1987

List entry:

Public garden laid out in 1879 and extended in 1914, with the layout revised in 1955-6.

Historic Development

The Houses of Parliament were built by Charles Barry (1795-1860) and Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-52) between 1837 and 1858, and in 1867 an Act was passed allowing land to be obtained to construct an embankment to the south. The OS 1st edition map (surveyed 1872) shows the new Houses of Parliament with the Victoria Tower in the south-west corner and a small area of ground to the south which had been embanked to provide a vehicular entrance to the south side of the buildings. The remaining ground to the south had not been embanked and was occupied by wharves, a cement works, an oil factory, and flour mills. In 1879 a gift of £1000 from the Rt Hon W H Smith was supplemented by £1400, voted by Parliament, towards 'enclosing and laying out for the use of the public the ground to the south of the Houses of Parliament which has recently been embanked' (Works file 11/63). A design for the garden dated November 1879 (Works file 11/63) shows a simple formal design of four grass lawns around a central circular lawn, all divided by paths. There were shrubberies with a grass verge around the south, west, and north sides, and a row of trees along the embanked east side. The gardens occupied the square northern end of the present gardens. This scheme is shown on the OS 2nd edition map (revised 1894-6), with regularly placed trees on the grass plats. These trees (plane, lime, Pyrus, elm, and thorn) were shown on early C20 plans (Works file 16/826), symmetrically positioned on each lawn. The land to the south of the gardens was still unembanked and occupied by wharves.

In 1909 there were proposals under the London County Council (Improvements) Act 1900 to extend the embankment and continue the gardens along the line of it. The plans were approved in 1912, the gardens laid out in 1913, and opened in 1914. The northern end of the gardens were redesigned at the same time with the circular feature positioned further south and the Burghers of Calais statuary group by Auguste Rodin positioned near the north-west corner. The revised layout is shown in the

3rd edition OS map (revised 1914).

In the 1920s the southern end of the gardens was redesigned as a children's play area (Works file 16/1214) and was partially altered by the building of the new Lambeth Bridge, completed in 1932. In 1933 the gardens were simplified in order to give clear views to the Houses of Parliament and trees (remaining from the 1870s scheme) and some of the shrubberies (from the 1890s scheme) were removed. The north lawn was also kept clear of people, the middle lawn was open but ball games were forbidden except in the summer holiday, and the south lawn was for children (Works file 16/1510).

The gardens were altered to their present appearance in the 1950s. In 1952 there were proposals for resiting the statues and for the incorporation of the Buxton Memorial Fountain from Parliament Square. A scheme for altering the gardens was finally agreed in 1955 and carried out in 1956, with the resiting of the Burghers of Calais and the Pankhurst statue, the installation of the Buxton Memorial Fountain, the planting of new shrubberies at the northern and southern ends of the gardens, the removal of the circular feature, and alterations to some of the paths and entrances (all references Works file 16/1940-1). The shrubbery at the northern end was designed to mask a new boiler house in Black Rod Garden and a fence which was realigned around it.

Description

Location, Area, Boundaries, Landform, Setting

Victoria Tower Gardens, c 2.5ha, lie within the London Borough of Westminster, immediately south of the Houses of Parliament (listed grade I), and c 150m south-east of Westminster Abbey (listed grade I). The gardens are bounded by Abingdon Street and Millbank to the west, the Thames to the east, Lambeth Bridge to the south, and Black Rod Garden with the Houses of Parliament to the north. The entrance to Black Rod Garden from Abingdon Street lies immediately north of the gardens (outside the area here registered), and is marked by a small octagonal lodge with iron gates (Barry and Pugin c 1850-60, listed grade I). The approximately triangular gardens are laid out on level ground with excellent views looking north to Victoria Tower (on the south-west corner of the Houses of Parliament) and east over the River Thames. The boundaries to the west and north are marked by iron railings, to the south by the retaining wall of Lambeth Bridge, and to the east by the granite embankment wall (northern section 1870s, southern section 1913, listed grade II).

Entrances and Approaches

The gardens are entered from four gateways along the west side. The northernmost entrance leads from Abingdon Street and was made in 1955-6, replacing the original late C19 entrance, which was aligned on Great College Street. The middle two entrances, aligned on Wood Street and Great Stanley Street on the far side of Millbank, were made when the gardens were extended in 1914. The southernmost entrance on the west side was formed in the 1930s, and replaced the 1914 entrance which was c 20m to the south. A fifth entrance is from Lambeth Bridge to the south and was formed when Lambeth Bridge was rebuilt in 1929-32. The gate is on the bridge, beside an obelisk, and to the north of the gate a flight of steps leads down to the gardens.

Gardens and Pleasure Grounds

Just inside the northernmost entrance to the gardens there is a circular area of asphalt with a bronze statue of Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst (A G Walker, listed grade II) on the eastern edge, facing west and backed by a shrubbery. The statue was commissioned in 1929 and was unveiled in 1930, and was positioned on the western edge of a circular shrubbery in the centre of the gardens, facing west along the line of Wood Street. It was moved to its present position in 1956 as part of the revised layout of the gardens (all references Works file 20/188). The shrubbery which backs the statue is on a slight bank, and runs east from this point along the northern boundary of the gardens, masking a fence and boiler house which were installed in 1955-6.

A shrubbery runs along the northern end of the west boundary (between the two northern entrances) but the central area of the gardens is laid out as open lawn, kept clear of planting to preserve the views. The areas of lawn are divided at the northern end by arching paths, which cross just east of the centre, with the northern branches leading to the north-west and north-east corners of the gardens, and the southern arms joining onto straight paths which run south along the west and east boundaries. At the point where the paths cross, c 60m south-east of the northern entrance, there is a large bronze statuary group of six figures by Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), known as the Burghers of Calais (first version 1895, listed grade I). The group was donated by the National Arts Collection Fund and erected in the gardens in 1914. Because of the outbreak of the First World War and anxiety of offending the French Allies, the statuary group was not formally unveiled but the tarpaulin was removed informally in 1915. It was sited approximately on the present position of the Pankhurst statue, on the west end of a path which ran west/east across the north end of the garden. This path was removed and the Burghers of Calais were resited as part of the alterations to the gardens in 1955-6. The original position had been chosen by Rodin, who had also requested that the piece was placed on a high plinth (the versions in Calais and Copenhagen had been placed on lower plinths). Objections to the high plinth were made from the start on the basis that it was difficult to view the piece properly and the piece was therefore placed on a lower pedestal when it was resited in 1955-6 (all references Works file 20/124 and 20/243).

The open lawns in the centre of the gardens are lined by rows of planes along the perimeter paths on the west and east sides. The east path, which forms a terrace walk along the embankment wall, has a row of benches set on high pedestals looking out over the river. A path crosses the gardens from west to east, aligned on the entrance opposite Dean Stanley Street. At the east end of this path, dominating the southern end of the gardens, is the Buxton Memorial Fountain (S S Teulon 1865, listed grade II) c 200m south-east of the northernmost entrance. The octagonal gothic fountain has a limestone and granite pavilion which supports a pyramidal spire roof decorated with enamelled metal. The fountain was erected in Parliament Square (qv) in 1865/6 but was removed in 1950, following the Parliament Square Improvements Act 1949. It was finally resited in Victoria Tower Gardens in 1955-6 (Works file 20/266 and 20/301-2).

A path runs west/east from the southernmost entrance across to the terrace walk, with a shrubbery (planted in 1955-6) on the south side dividing a children's playground from the rest of the gardens. The southern end of the playground is terminated by a curving screen wall incorporating a seat, three wall drinking fountains, and carved animals at each end of the wall (all references Works file 16/1214). The wall and seat

were part of a scheme laid out in 1923 to the designs of Philip Tilden. The playground now has play features on asphalt, surrounded by the 1920s paving. The centre of the 1920s scheme was taken up by a sandpit, which was extended in 1927, and filled in with asphalt in the late C20. The area to the south and east of the playground was altered in 1932 following the building of Lambeth Bridge (Works file 16/1216). To the south of the curving fountain wall is a works area with shrub planting surrounding rose beds and storage within the wall of Lambeth Bridge. The southern end of the eastern perimeter path terminates at the flight of steps up to Lambeth Bridge.

References

B Cherry and N Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 1 The Cities of London and Westminster* (3rd edn 1973), p 598 B Weinreb and C Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia* (1988)

Maps OS 25" to 1 mile: 1st edition surveyed 1872, published 1879 2nd edition revised 1894-6, published 1897 3rd edition revised 1914, published 1916

Archival items Victoria Tower Gardens files: Works 11/63; 16/826; 16/1214; 16/1510; 16/1940-1; 20/124; 20/188; 20/243; 20/266 (PRO)

The following designated heritage assets are located in the immediate setting of the memorial:

Palace of Westminster, Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church

Details: World Heritage Site inscribed by the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO in 1987.

List Entry:

Westminster Palace, rebuilt from the year 1840 on the site of important medieval remains, is a fine example of neo-Gothic architecture. The site - which also comprises the small medieval Church of Saint Margaret, built in Perpendicular Gothic style, and Westminster Abbey, where all the sovereigns since the 11th century have been crowned - is of great historic and symbolic significance.

Criteria

This entry is compiled from information provided by UNESCO who hold the official record for all World Heritage Sites at their Paris Head Quarters. This entry is provided for information only and those requiring further assistance should contact the World Heritage Centre at UNESCO.

Criterion (i): Westminster Abbey is a unique artistic construction representing a striking sequence of the successive phases of English Gothic art.

Criterion (ii): Other than its influence on English architecture during the Middle Ages, the Abbey has played another leading role by influencing the work of Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Pugin in Westminster Palace, in the "Gothic Revival" of the 19th century.

Criterion (iv): The Abbey, the Palace, and St Margaret's illustrate in a

concrete way the specificities of parliamentary monarchy over a period of time as long as nine centuries. Whether one looks at the royal tombs of the Chapterhouse, the remarkable vastness of Westminster Hall, of the House of Lords, or of the House of Commons, art is everywhere present and harmonious, making a veritable museum of the history of the United Kingdom.

Statement of Significance

Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey, and St Margaret's Church together encapsulate the history of one of the most ancient of parliamentary monarchies of present times and the growth of parliamentary and constitutional institutions.

In tangible form Westminster Abbey is a striking succession of the successive phases of English Gothic art and the inspiration of the work of Barry and Pugin on the Palace of Westminster.

The Palace of Westminster illustrates in colossal form the grandeur of constitutional monarchy and the principle of the bicameral parliamentary system, as envisaged in the 19th century, constructed by English architectural reference to show the national character of the monument.

The Palace is one of the most significant monuments of neo-Gothic architecture, as an outstanding, coherent and complete example of neo-Gothic style.

Westminster Hall is a key monument of the Perpendicular style and its admirable oak roof is one of the greatest achievements of medieval construction in wood.

Westminster is a place in which great historical events have taken place which have shaped the English and British nation.

The church of St Margaret, a charming perpendicular style construction, continues to be the parish church of the House of Commons and is an integral part of the complex.

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Houses of Parliament the Palace of Westminster

Grade: I

Date first listed: 5 February 1970

List entry:

Houses of Parliament with the surviving parts of the Palace of Westminster. Westminster Hall 1097-99, remodelled 1394-1401 by Henry Yevele with Hugh Herland, carpenter; St Stephen's Chapel "crypt", probably c.1292-97 and c.1320; St Stephen's Cloister and chantrey chapel 1526-29 (considerably restored after World War II bomb damage; Houses of Parliament (the New Palace of Westminster). 1835-60 by Sir Charles Barry with detailing, interior decoration and furnishings by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin; offices against side of Westminster Hall, 1888 by J L Pearson; House of Commons and Lobby rebuilt after World War II bombing.

Stone with slate roofs and galvanised cast iron plate roofs to Barry's work which also has an internal fireproof construction of iron joists and brick jack-arches. Cruciform, axial spine plan and massing by Barry combining symmetry on the river front terrace with the asymmetry of the major vertical accents: Victoria Tower, Big Ben and the central fleche and turrets above the roof line. Pugin's 5 particular contribution the perpendicular Gothic detailing of rhythmic buttresses and bay windows, the close panelling with open and blind tracery and the wealth of sculpture, carved crockets, pinnacles and finials. Great vaulted Royal Entrance at foot of Victoria Tower; Lords entrance with buttressed, pinnacled porch in centre of Old Palace Yard range; St Stephen's Porch gatehouse across south end of Westminster Hall (giving access to cross-axis of plan); north entrance to Westminster Hall with great window above and crocketed finialed gable flanked by square battlemented towers (restored 1820); 3 gateways in E M Barry's cloister-arcade to east range of New Palace Yard terminating in virtually free-standing clock tower of Big Ben. Perpendicular fenestration with shallow oriels. The riverside terrace has cast iron ornamental lamps on the buttress-piers of the Embankment wall.

Interiors: Westminster Hall has vast hammerbeam roof of exceptionally early date and scale and outstanding late C14 figure sculpture flanking dais arch; St Stephen's Chapel "crypt", though much restored, retains perhaps the earliest surviving lierne vault; Pugin's interiors are the best preserved and most complete example of the quality and ideals of his secular decoration including all details and furnishings and are combined with a complete programme of mid C19 and early C20 wall paintings. (Loose items of furniture not covered by listing.) The Houses of Parliament; M H Port [R C R M] History of the King's Works Survey of London: Vol X

Victoria Tower Lodge and Gates to Black Rod Garden

Grade: II

Date first listed: 1 December 1987

List Entry:

Lodge and gates. c.1850-60 by Sir Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, part of the rebuilding of the Palace of Westminster as the Houses of Parliament.

Magnesian limestone, Gothic/Tudor domestic. Small octagonal lodge; 1 storey with pointed arched doorway to side and small cusped lancet lights. Stepped and weathered plinth, scroll moulded string capping wall head with miniature crewel cresting, pyramidal stone roof. Tudor-Gothic panelled octagonal gate piers with Puginesque Gothic ironwork to gates.

Statuary Group of the Burghers of Calais

Grade: I

Date first listed: 5 February 1970

List entry:

Statuary Group of the Burghers of Calais I Statuary group. Erected in 1915, Auguste Rodin sculptor. Bronze group of figures on stone pedestal, resited and pedestal reduced in height according to Rodin's tenets.

Buxton Memorial Fountain

Grade: II*

Date first listed: 5 February 1970

List entry:

II* Drinking fountain, erected 1865-6. Designed by Samuel Sanders Teulon, with what appears to have been a considerable creative contribution from Charles Buxton.

Limestone and granite, with an enamelled roof, made by Skidmore, and mosaic decoration. Elaborate and delicate Gothic pavilion with rich use of polychrome materials. Octagonal with pointed arched shafted openings and pyramidal spire-roof of brightly enamelled iron with finial. Inside, four granite drinking basins arranged around a central shaft. Eight metal figures of British rulers, by T. Earp, which once stood at eaves level, were stolen, some in 1960, the rest in 1971. These were recast in 1980, but have since disappeared. The fountain is no longer working. It was restored by the Royal Parks in 2007.

The original plaques were subsequently removed, and two plaques have been added to the monument in the twentieth century. On the west side a plaque gives an incorrect date for the erection of the fountain: 'Erected in 1835 / by Charles Buxton M.P. / in commemoration of / the emancipation of slaves 1834 / and in memory of his father / Sir T. Fowell Buxton / and those associated with him / Wilberforce, Clarkson, Macaulay, Brougham / Dr Lushington and others'. A plaque on the east side of the fountain reads, 'This plaque / commemorates the / 150th anniversary of / The Anti-Slavery Society / 1839-1989'.

The fountain was originally sited in Parliament Square, but was removed in 1949, and placed in Victoria Tower Gardens in 1957.

History

The Buxton Memorial Fountain was erected by Charles Buxton to celebrate the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, and the achievement of his father, Thomas Fowell Buxton, and his associates, in bringing it about. The Act, which came into force in 1834, made the ownership of slaves throughout the British colonies illegal. Following the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the men commemorated by this fountain strove to secure the full emancipation of slaves. To this end, the Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1823, principally by Buxton, Wilberforce, Clarkson and Macaulay.

Wilberforce had been foremost in driving the 1807 Act through Parliament, Clarkson having gathered much of the evidence on which the campaign was built. Buxton, named by Wilberforce as his successor in the fight against slavery, was especially active the second part of the campaign, culminating in the Act of 1833, and in promoting the interests of former slaves in subsequent years. He once observed of himself and his achievements that, 'with ordinary talents and extraordinary perseverance, all things are attainable.' Zachary Macaulay, a prominent campaigner, was for several years governor of Sierra Leone, the colony for emancipated slaves from the United States and Nova Scotia founded in 1787. Henry Brougham, a promoter of abolition, was Lord Chancellor when the 1833 Act was passed. Stephen Lushington, lawyer and MP, was a particularly close associate of Thomas Fowell Buxton's in the anti-slavery movement.

Charles Buxton was the third son of Thomas Fowell Buxton. He served as a Liberal MP for fourteen years, as well as being a partner in the brewing firm of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton & Co. of which his father had been director. He was an amateur architect, and is believed to have contributed to the design of this fountain.

The fountain was erected in Parliament Square in 1865-6, possibly in connection with the abolition of slavery in America at that date. It is thought that Charles Buxton took over the project from the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain Association, which, since its inception in 1859, had wished to build 'a costly and handsome fountain in Palace Yard'. By 1949 the fanciful Gothic design of the fountain had few admirers, and it was removed when the Government redeveloped Parliament Square in preparation for the Festival of Britain. Speaking in the House of Lords, Viscount Simon defended 'a memorial erected in the symbolic heart of the Empire to record one of the greatest Parliamentary events in our history'. In 1957 the fountain was re-erected in Victoria Tower Gardens, where it joined Rodin's sculpture of The Burghers of Calais and a statue of the suffragette, Emmeline Pankhurst (both listed).

Sources

J. Oldfield, 'Chords of Freedom', (2007), pp. 57-9; S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 6: Westminster* (2003); *Dictionary of National Biography*; *The Times*, 14 December 1949

Reasons for Designation

The Buxton Memorial Fountain is designated at Grade II* for the following principal reasons: * An unusual and exuberant example of the work of S. S. Teulon, in association with Charles Buxton * A notable landmark in an important setting, next to the Thames, and alongside the Palace of Westminster; the colourful Gothic pavillion makes a light-hearted companion to the giant of Victorian Gothic architecture * Lavish and imaginative use of materials, especially in its enamelled roof * The fountain is of particular historic interest having been erected to celebrate the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. The significance of the monument is enhanced by its location; it commemorates one of Parliaments most momentous Acts, and its principal dedicatee is the parliamentarian responsible for ensuring the passage of that Act. This monument was upgraded from II to II* in 2007, the bicentenary year of the 1807 Abolition Act.

River Embankment from the Houses of Parliament to Lambeth Bridge

Grade: II

Date first listed: 1 December 1987

List Entry:

River Embankment from the Houses of Parliament to G.V. II Lambeth Bridge Embankment wall. Mid C.19, contemporary and of a piece with Barry and Pugin's Palace of Westminster. Granite. Battered river wall with mooring rings and weather coped parapet; to landward side a plinth, die and coping cranked in 2 stages. The mouldings break round canted buttresses at frequent intervals. Southernmost portion isolated by western abutment of Lambeth Bridge.

Knife Edge Two Piece Sculpture

Grade: II*

Date first listed: 19 January 2016

List Entry:

Knife Edge Two Piece sculpture, executed 1962-64, erected 1967, by Henry Moore.

Reasons for Designation

Knife Edge Two Piece, executed 1962-64, erected 1967, by Henry Moore, is listed at Grade II* for the following principal reasons:

- * Aesthetic quality: a high-quality, fully-abstract piece consisting of bold, voluptuous, interlocking forms, monumentalised in bronze;
- * Historic interest: by one of the most highly-regarded and influential sculptors of the C20, and representative of the abstract form his work took in the latter half of his career;
- * Group value: for its place in an architecturally and historically rich area with a tradition of display of public sculpture and memorials, with numerous highly graded listed structures.

History

The period after 1945 saw a shift from commemorative sculpture and architectural enrichment to the idea of public sculpture as a primarily aesthetic contribution to the public realm. Sculpture was commissioned for new housing, schools, universities and civic set pieces, with the counties of Hertfordshire, London and Leicestershire leading the way in public patronage. Thus public sculpture could be an emblem of civic renewal and social progress. By the late C20 however, patronage was more diverse and included corporate commissions and Arts Council-funded community art. The ideology of enhancing the public realm through art continued, but with divergent means and motivation.

Visual languages ranged from the abstraction of Victor Pasmore and Phillip King to the figurative approach of Elisabeth Frink and Peter Laszlo Peri, via those such as Lynn Chadwick and Barbara Hepworth who bridged the abstract/representational divide. The post-war decades are characterised by the exploitation of new – often industrial – materials and techniques including new welding and casting techniques, plastics and concrete, while kinetic sculpture and 'ready made' (using found objects) demonstrate an interest in composite forms.

Henry Moore (1898–1986) is widely recognised as one of the most important English sculptors of the 20th century. He was born in Yorkshire and attended Castleford Grammar School, where he reluctantly taught from 1916, before serving in the Army between 1917 and 1919. His artistic education began at Leeds School of Art, before he achieved his ambition of a place at the Royal College of Art (RCA), London, in 1921. He went via Paris to Italy on a travelling scholarship in the mid-1920s, and between 1925 and 1932 taught at the RCA, and then at the Chelsea School of Art from 1932 to 1939. His first solo show was in 1928, and he had his first public commission the same year - a relief for Holden's Underground Building, St James's. He was prolific in the 1930s, exhibiting at home and abroad, and during the Second World War won great acclaim for his drawings of people sheltering in the London underground. His first major foreign retrospective was held at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1946. Following bomb damage in the war, Moore and his wife moved from Hampstead to Perry Green, Hertfordshire, where he remained for the rest of his life. Philanthropic in his outlook, Moore established a charitable foundation in 1977 to encourage public appreciation of the visual arts; he bequeathed his estate at Perry Green to the foundation prior to his death, and donated hundreds of works to galleries and institutions internationally.

'Knife Edge Two Piece' is the first non-architectural Moore sculpture to be erected in central London. The sculpture was a gift to the nation by the Contemporary Art Society and Moore. The Society's offer of a 'substantial work', understood to be by Moore, would depend on the site offered by the Ministry of Works. The Abingdon Road Gardens were laid out in 1963-64 on the roof of the subterranean car park. Moore was keen on the prospect of the site, particularly for its proximity with Rodin's 'Burghers of Calais'. 'Knife Edge Two Piece' is the second cast of an edition of three, the first of which was sold to Nelson Rockefeller, and the third was erected in the Queen Elizabeth Park in Vancouver. A fourth casting was retained by the artist and remains at Perry Green.

The unveiling took place on 1 November 1967, and was attended by the Minister for the Arts, Jennie Lee, the Minister of Works, Robert Mellish and Sir Kenneth Clark. The piece was initially positioned c15m to the south of where it now stands, and was moved, with Moore's approval, turned around, and raised onto the granite-faced pedestal in 1970. The sculpture was restored in 2013.

Details

Knife Edge Two Piece sculpture, executed 1962-64, erected 1967, by Henry Moore.

Materials

The sculpture is cast in bronze and sits upon a rectangular concrete pedestal faced in granite.

Description

A fully abstract work consisting of two curvaceous forms separated by a narrow diagonal gap. c2.75m high and 3.6m long, on a 70cm high pedestal inscribed: 'KNIFE EDGE BY HENRY MOORE / PRESENTED TO THE NATION BY / THE CONTEMPORARY ART / SOCIETY AND THE SCULPTOR 1967'.

Appendix III – Sources of Reference and Bibliography

Parliament Archives

PWO/1/145 – Victoria Tower Gardens, general maintenance, 1956-7

PWO/1/146 – Mrs Pankhurst Statue, details of re-erection, 1956

PWO/1/148 – Victoria Tower Gardens, drawings and specifications, c.1955-6

PWO/7/29A – Victoria Tower Gardens, no date

PWO/16/21 – DS3 – Houses of Parliament – Victoria Tower Gardens, general papers, c.1955-70

National Archives

Ref: WORK 35/335 – sketch showing proposed location of the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, Ministry of Works, 1956

Ref: WORK 20/188 – Miscellaneous, Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst, Victoria Tower Gardens, c.1928-30

Ref: WORK 20/306 - Miscellaneous, Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst, Victoria Tower Gardens, c.1946-50

Ref: WORK 16/1940 – Victoria Tower Gardens layout, c.1952-5

Ref: WORK 16/2865 – Victoria Tower Gardens: history and relationship with the Palace of Westminster

London Metropolitan Archives (LMA)

Ordnance Survey Maps, 1:2500, 1869, 1872, 1894, 1912, 1932, 1958, 1972

Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)

Ref: BAH/10/6 – British Memorials and gravestones, Sir Herbert Baker Papers, pedestal for a statue to Emmeline Pankhurst

Biographical File: Sir Herbert Baker

LSE Women's Library

Ref: 7RMB/A/10 – invitation to unveiling of Mrs Pankhurst's statue, 1930

Ref: 7JCC/O/02/156 – photograph of unveiling of the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, 1930

Ref: 7VJH/1/3/07 – programme for ceremonial unveiling of statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, 1930

City of Westminster Local Archives

Ref: E.138.1 Victoria Tower Gardens (002) – View of Statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, c.1981

Ref: E.138.1 Victoria Tower Gardens (004-006) – View of Victoria Tower Gardens, Millbank, c.1900

Ref: E138 Millbank Street (006) – Millbank Street looking towards the houses of Parliament and Victoria Tower, c.1859

Westminster Online Planning Archives

All applications relating to Victoria Tower Gardens

Mary Evens Picture Library

Portrait of Mrs Pankhurst, no date

Photograph of Mrs Pankhurst making a speech at Trafalgar Square c.1912

Photograph of the unveiling of the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, c.1930

Published Sources

Books and Articles

June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002)

Nikolaus Pevsner and Simon Bradley, *London 6: Westminster: Buildings of England* (London: Yale University Press, 2003)

Philip Jackson-Ward, *Public sculpture of Historic Westminster* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011)

City of Westminster, *Westminster Abbey and Parliament Square Conservation Area Audit* (2008)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: *Emmeline Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst and Sylvia Pankhurst*

Cf. Stephen Heathorn, 'The Civil Servant and Public Remembrance: Sir Lionel Earle and the Shaping of London's Commemorative Landscape, 1918–1933', *Twentieth Century British History*, Volume 19, Issue 3, 1 January 2008, pp.259–287.

Websites

Arthur George Walker, *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951* (http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1203446958, accessed 19 January 2018)

Appendix IV - List of Plates and Endnotes

List of Plates and Endnotes

1. Photographic portrait of Emmeline Pankhurst, c.1920 (Mary Evans Picture Library)
2. A. G. Walker's maquette of the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, c.1928 (National Archives)
3. The pose chosen for the statue was one Emmeline often adopted in real life, using her arms to address an audience (Mary Evans Picture Library)
4. Sir Hebert Baker designed the Portland stone pedestal and vase. The vase was added to the statue shortly after it was unveiled (The National Archives)
5. The statue was unveiled with a grand ceremony on 6th March 1930 and included a speech by Stanley Baldwin (LSE Women's Library)
- 6a. Programme for the unveiling of the statue held on March 6th, 1930 (LSE Women's Library)
- 6b. Programme for the unveiling of the statue held on March 6th, 1930 (LSE Women's Library)
- 6c. Programme for the unveiling of the statue held on March 6th, 1930 (LSE Women's Library)
- 7a. The Suffragette Fellowship continued to hold memorial ceremonies at the statue, particularly on the Saturday closest to Pankhurst's birthday on 15 July. This photograph shows a ceremony taking place in the 1930s (LSE Women's Library)
- 7b. The Suffragette Fellowship laying flowers and wreaths at the statue on Pankhurst's birthday, 1947 (The National Archives)
8. During the re-landscaping of Victoria Tower Gardens, the statue was first proposed to be relocated to the centre of the garden, facing onto the embankment. The plan dates to 1955 (The National Archives)
9. The Suffragette Fellowship successfully campaigned for the statue to be moved closer to the Houses of Parliament, in accordance with the original aims of the Memorial Committee. The plan dates to 1956 (Parliament Archives)
10. A sketch by the Ministry of Works showing the proposed new location of the statue adjacent to the Victoria Tower, 1956 (The National Archives)
11. A photograph of the unveiling of the memorial to Christabel Pankhurst and members of the WSPU. The statue was unveiled by the Lord Chancellor on 13 July 1959 (Mary Evans Picture Library)
12. Ordnance Survey Map, 1869, showing the wharfs and jetties that had developed from c.1650 on the site of Victoria Tower Gardens (LMA)
13. An oil painting showing the historic development of Victoria Tower Gardens with wharfs and factories, c.1860 (Collage)
14. Ordnance Survey Map, 1872, showing the original and much smaller size of Victoria Tower Gardens (LMA)
15. Ordnance Survey Map, 1894, showing the 1879 extension of Victoria Tower Gardens to much of its present size and appearance (LMA)
16. Rodin's *The Burgher's of Calais*, Victoria Tower Gardens, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)

17. Buxton Memorial Fountain by S.S. Teulon that was moved from Parliament Square in 1949 to Victoria Tower Gardens, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)
18. A self portrait of Arthur George Walker, c.1910 (Mary Evans Picture Library)
19. The memorial of Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst in its current setting, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)
20. The 1956 inscription tablet at the base of the statue, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)
21. Bronze roundel portrait of Christabel Pankhurst by Peter Hills, which was added to the statue in 1959 together with the memorial of the WSPU more generally, and the low curved Portland stone wall, 2017 (Donald Insall Associates)
22. Bronze roundel of a WSPU prisoner's badge which was added to the statue in 1959 together with the memorial to Christabel Pankhurst and the low curved Portland stone wall, 2017(Donald Insall Associates)
23. An early example of a suffragette memorial is the grave of Emily Wilding Davison in Morpeth, Northumberland which is inscribed 'Deeds not Words' (Google)
24. In 1970 a bronze scroll-shaped sculpture was erected in Christchurch Gardens, Victoria to commemorate the suffragettes. The sculpture was commissioned by the Suffragette Fellowship and designed by Edwin Russell (Google)
25. There has been a fresh impetus to commemorate the campaign for women's suffrage more recently and a two-dimensional silhouette of Sylvia Pankhurst was erected in Mile End Park in 2011 (Google)
26. In 2016, *New Dawn*, an abstract work of stained glass by Mary Branson, was installed in Westminster Hall to commemorate 150 years since the campaign for women's votes began in Parliament (Google)

Endnotes

- 1 June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.12
- 2 Ibid. p.252
- 3 National Archives: Ref: WORK 20/188 – Miscellaneous, Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst, Victoria Tower Gardens, c.1928-30
- 4 Cf. Stephen Heathorn, 'The Civil Servant and Public Remembrance: Sir Lionel Earle and the Shaping of London's Commemorative Landscape, 1918–1933', *Twentieth Century British History*, Volume 19, Issue 3, 1 January 2008, pp.259–287.
- 5 National Archives: Ref: WORK 20/188 – Miscellaneous, Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst, Victoria Tower Gardens, c.1928-30
- 6 Ibid
- 7 Ibid
- 8 Ibid
- 9 Ibid

- 10 RIBA: Ref: BAH/10/6 – British Memorials and gravestones, Sir Herbert Baker Papers, pedestal for a statue to Emmeline Pankhurst
- 11 Ibid
- 12 Ibid
- 13 Statement informed by the photograph of the unveiling in March 1930 (Plate 5) and comparison with later photographs
- 14 LSE Women's Library: Ref: 7VJH/1/3/07 – programme for ceremonial unveiling of statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, 1930
- 15 National Archives: Ref: WORK 20/306 - Miscellaneous, Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst, Victoria Tower Gardens, c.1946-50
- 16 National Archives: Ref: WORK 16/1940 – Victoria Tower Gardens layout, c.1952-5
- 17 Parliament Archives: PWO/1/146 – Mrs Pankhurst Statue, details of re-erection, 1956
- 18 Ibid
- 19 Ibid
- 20 Ibid
- 21 Parliament Archives: PWO/16/21 – DS3 – Houses of Parliament – Victoria Tower Gardens, general papers, c.1955-70
- 22 Philip Jackson-Ward, *Public sculpture of Historic Westminster* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011)
- 23 LMA: Ordnance Survey Map, 1:2500, 1869
- 24 National Archives: Ref: WORK 16/2865 – Victoria Tower Gardens: history and relationship with the Palace of Westminster
- 25 LMA: Ordnance Survey Map, 1:2500, 1872
- 26 LMA: Ordnance Survey Map, 1:2500, 1894
- 27 National Archives: Ref: WORK 16/2865 – Victoria Tower Gardens: history and relationship with the Palace of Westminster
- 28 Arthur George Walker, *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951* (http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1203446958, accessed 19 January 2018)

