

## Thomas Downing Kendrick 1895–1979

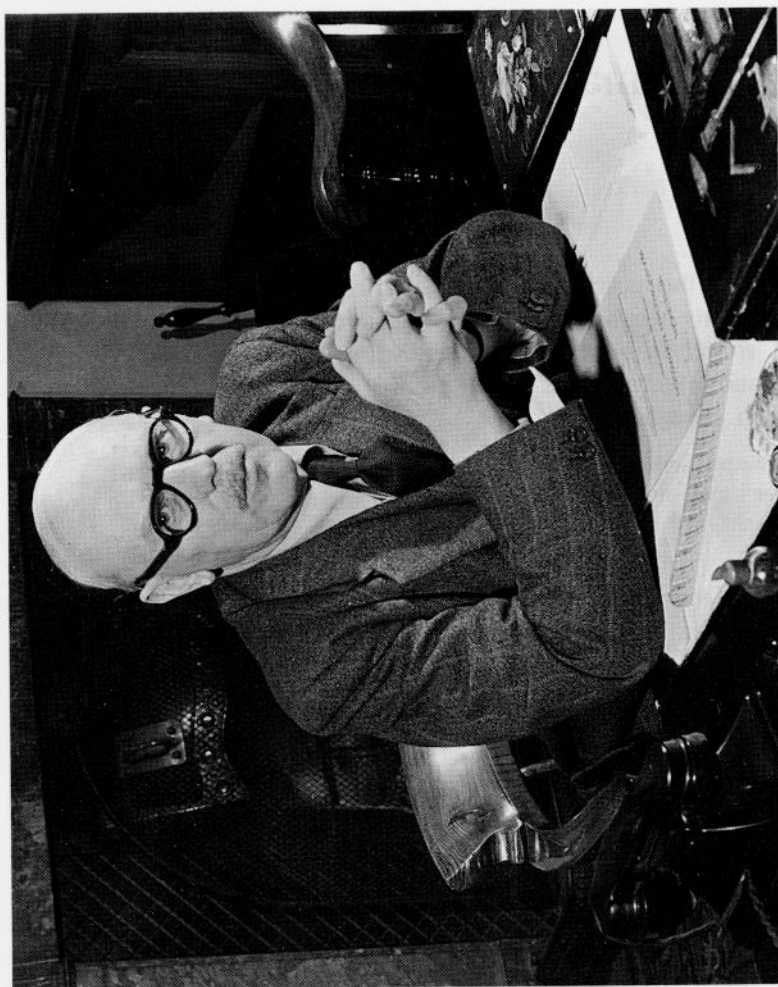
IN attempting this portrait of Tom Kendrick and his life and work I am conscious of my own limitations. It is a formidable challenge to do justice, in short space, to so complex, creative, witty, intellectually brilliant, versatile and private a man. I shall do my best, with the generous help of others who knew him, and

Prune my ambition to the lowly prayer,  
That I may plough the furrow of my tale  
Straight, through the life and loyalties I knew.

[After V. Sackville West, *The Land*]

Thomas Downing Kendrick, Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, was born in Birmingham on 1 April 1895 and died at Dorchester on 2 November 1979. He entered the Museum as an Assistant in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities under Ormonde Dalton in 1922 and thereafter his whole professional life was spent in the Museum's service. He became Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities in 1938, in succession to Reginald Smith. He was elected a Fellow of the Academy in 1941. He was appointed Director and Principal Librarian in 1950, and created KCB in 1951. He retired, earlier than he need have done, in 1958 at the age of 63. A natural writer, he continued scholarly work after his retirement, producing five further books to add to an already formidable output. Kendrick's range of interests within the antiquarian field was quite exceptional, but his major contributions were in the field of Anglo-Saxon art and in the history of antiquarian thought.

Kendrick's father, Thomas Henry Kendrick, a manufacturer of bedsteads, died when Tom was seven, in 1902. Tom was the eldest child and had a younger brother, William. His mother, Frances or Fanny Susan Downing,



T. D. KENDRICK

Walter Stoneman

married again, in 1905, a clergyman, Prebendary Sowter, who thus acquired two stepchildren. By him she had a daughter, Molly, Kendrick's half-sister, reputed to be jolly. They all got on well as a family. Fanny Downing's home was Stourton Hall, nr Stourbridge, but they were *nouveau riche*, not 'county'. Kendrick was born at Island House, Holyhead Road, Handsworth. His stepfather had a parish in Aston, so Tom continued to live in Birmingham, though not for long. He was a lifelong supporter of Aston Villa, he used to go and see them play at Villa Park, and spoke of having been brought up within a sound of the ground. Tom's stepfather was high church, Anglican, and said to have been a very fine and popular preacher, and Tom enjoyed helping with services and taking part in all the normal activities of a busy town vicarage. To the end of his life Tom had a genuine admiration and sympathy for the good hard-working parish priest. Later the family moved to The Old Rectory, Madresfield, near Malvern, which was Tom's home at the time of his going to Oxford and of his application, at the age of 26, in 1921, to join the British Museum, in 1922.

Before going on to Charterhouse, Tom attended a prep school in North Wales, in or near Llandudno. Probably the best source about his early growth is his late novel *Great Love for Icarus*<sup>1</sup> with its portrait of a bright and sensitive boy on holiday in the family holiday home in North Wales (his grandmother's house). His was a comfortably placed upper-middle-class family, as it would have been described in those days. The state and comfort in which his grandmother (if we can follow *Icarus*, which does not claim to be autobiographical but certainly is) presided over her table in her home in Llandudno in 1906 must reflect this background of comfort and privilege which clearly influenced Tom profoundly and helped to form his tastes. Kendrick left Charterhouse from the fifth form and was admitted to Oriel College, Oxford, to read medicine. He passed his science preliminaries in his first year.

When war broke out he immediately joined the Warwickshire Regiment, in which he became a Captain. While fighting in France he was severely wounded in a hand and a leg.<sup>2</sup> His wife Helen once spoke to Hugh Hencken<sup>3</sup> of innumerable unsuccessful operations on his injured knee. As a result Tom walked in a halting fashion all his life, though this seemed in no way to hinder his mobility. He could not bend the knee and had to sit with his right leg stretched out under the table, when possible resting on a

<sup>1</sup> Methuen, 1962.

<sup>2</sup> The belief, even among close colleagues, that Tom had lost a leg (e.g. Basil Gray in *Burlington Magazine*, March 1980, and notably, Diana Bonakis Webster, *Hawkseye*, 1991, pp. 167–8), is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> Later Professor of Archaeology at Harvard, the Director of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

cushion. In general, Kendrick never spoke of his war experiences; Hugh Hencken once remarked on a photograph of Tom in officer's uniform, presumably that of a Captain in the Warwickshire Regiment: Tom's comment was 'I had nothing else to do'. On another occasion he told Hencken that the British soldiers had no defence at all against poison gas and could only pool their urine, dip clothes and handkerchiefs in this and cover their mouths and noses. 'Hugh how would you feel if your mouth and nose was covered with someone else's excretions?'

Tom would never travel on the London Underground. He was afraid that he would become agitated—presumably by memories of being trapped and buried in the trenches, or seeing it happen to his friends and his men. He lost many of his friends and 'could never bear to talk about that time'.<sup>4</sup> Like many of his generation, he went to war a boy, and returned a man, lucky to have survived.

Back at Oxford in 1919 Tom continued with his science course, reading Honours Chemistry for two terms, but (as he told the Civil Service Commissioners in his British Museum job application), found standing at laboratory work-benches too much of a strain for his injured leg, and in the Trinity Term he switched over to the school of Social Anthropology. It was thus his war injury that led to the crucial decision of his life, and determined his subsequent career. At Oriel Tom was elected Secretary of the Junior Common Room in 1918, and the *Oriel Record* records that he coxed the Oriel boat in the Inter Collegiate Fours of the October term 1918, 'when the crew consisted entirely of wounded or invalided officers'.

There is no evidence that he had at this stage, any special interest in antiquarian matters though one source states<sup>5</sup> that he was already interested in the Lisbon earthquake while a boy at Charterhouse.<sup>6</sup>

In the Social Anthropology school Kendrick came under the influence of R. R. Marett, the Reader in Anthropology, and of Henry Balfour, Director of the Pitt Rivers Museum. He was awarded a Diploma with distinction. He took his BA and MA in December 1920 in the Trinity Term, and then, under Marett's guidance and prompting (so far as choice of subject was concerned), began research for a B.Sc. on '*The Megaliths of the Channel Islands and their bearing on the History of Culture*'. The latter part of his title suggests an instinct to place and interpret as well as to record.

<sup>4</sup> Katharine Kendrick, *Memoranda*.

<sup>5</sup> Daily Telegraph, 8 November 1959 in a feature on Kendrick's retirement.

<sup>6</sup> See also p. 468 below.

At Oxford, in the Anthropology School, Kendrick impressed. Marett wrote of him 'no student of these subjects who has ever passed through my hands is better qualified, in my opinion, to fill [a post on the staff of the British Museum] with credit'. 'Mr Kendrick's work for the Oxford Diploma in Anthropology was in the view of his teachers of first-rate quality and the award of Distinction but confirmed this impression . . . his strong points I think are an extensive and accurate grasp of facts and a very cool and critical use of evidence': 'He also has a very good English style, quite plain, but forcible and lucid'. Marett was himself a Jerseyman and well able to assess the research subject he had suggested to Kendrick. Balfour wrote of Kendrick in similar terms, stressing the searching nature of the Diploma examination and the very wide field, Physical Anthropology, Comparative Technology, Prehistoric Archaeology and Comparative Sociology covered by the course. He spoke also of Tom's courtesy and geniality and added 'I very much regretted when his time at Oxford came to an end'.

Already 27 when he joined the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities Kendrick soon made his academic mark. His first publication was *The Axe Age* (Methuen, 1925). Kendrick had hoped to provide a detailed account of the tombs of the Channel Islands and their contents; but it could not be kept abreast of fresh discoveries, and had to be abandoned in that form. *The Axe Age* was the by-product of his Catalogue for the archaeology of Guernsey, and of the card indexes he had prepared for that and for Jersey.<sup>8</sup> The habit of card indexing Tom evolved for his Channel Islands work bore much fruit throughout his career. It was the hard, efficient core behind the surface nonchalance.

*The Axe Age* suffered by comparison with two influential works both referred to in Kendrick's footnotes, although his work for *The Axe Age* was done, it seems, before they appeared—these were Childe's *Dawn of European Civilisation* and O. G. S. Crawford's *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*; and there followed three years later Childe's massive *The Danube in Prehistory*. As against Childe's European synthesis, *The Axe Age* delivered an essay based on a discussion of the Western Seaboard and the Megalithic problem only, and nothing about Central Europe. Instead of the Danube you have Easter Island. The 1920s, however, were a formative period for English Neolithic studies and *The Axe Age* was soon out of date in terms of

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to G. de G. Sieveking, FSA for his comments, on which this account is based or from which it is directly taken.

British prehistory, while in the pan-European perspective it never recovered from comparison with Childe's work: Kendrick's sketch of the local succession was still of interest so far as French and Channel Island prehistory were concerned, and it was read and continued to be of value to the specialist as a source of ideas. In some ways it was remarkably prescient. For example, he proposed that Megalithic tombs had been independently invented in NW Europe (at three centres, p. 105) instead of continuing to bring them from the Eastern or Central Mediterranean, as Childe, Piggott and Daniel continued to do until well after the 1940–5 war.

Kendrick's next work was *The Druids*, (1927) subtitled 'A Study in Keltic Prehistory'. It appeared before his *Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, vol. 1, The Bailiwick of Guernsey (1928) (end product of the B.Sc. thesis he had embarked upon at Oxford in 1920) but the two were connected. His Channel Islands survey had been largely concerned with megalithic monuments, including tombs and their contents. It was the widespread notion that the Druids had built and used the megaliths, the Druid/Megalith link, that led Kendrick into a subject which he found engrossing. He was struck by 'the extraordinary and pervasive popularity of the Druids in the popular imagination', and the fact that it came about largely through the supposed Druid/Megalith connection. *The Druids* was prefaced with a frontpiece of John Aubrey (1626–94) who first tentatively suggested a connection between the Druids and Stonehenge. Tom wanted to get to the bottom of the whole business. His objective was to provide a complete and well-documented summary of the whole of the pertinent material on which a study of this subject should properly be based.

He disposed of the idea that there could be genuine folk memory behind the supposed connection, and he exonerated that ready source of myth, the 12th-century Geoffrey of Monmouth (p. 467 below), separating the Druid/Megalith link from Merlin and Arthurian legend. He then set out the varied evidence needed if a sound picture of the Druids was to be arrived at. Stuart Piggott, who many years later wrote the book which was to supersede Kendrick's, commenting on the three different types of evidence that have to be contended with—archaeology, classical texts, and the development of later notions about the Druids, originating in antiquarian speculations of the 18th and 19th centuries—wrote in his Introduction:—

This tripartite nature of the evidence obviously calls for a most careful handling of the sources . . . But it did not deter Sir Thomas Kendrick who, fifty years ago, wrote the only general account of the problem which has deserved serious attention since that date, and more than that, has stood up quite remarkably well to over a generation's work in the fast-moving subject of prehistory . . . I think, however, there is room for a new treatment of that whole complex of problems which then engaged Kendrick's brilliant mind,

and if my book shows my indebtedness to his on every page, I hope I may perhaps in the end be thought to have added, here and there, a useful, or even sometimes a percipient footnote to *The Druids* of 1927.<sup>9</sup>

Kendrick dealt with all this disparate material extremely effectively, but his particular contribution was to add in, up to date for his time and with proper weight, the archaeological evidence that shed light on the Celtic peoples amongst whom Druidism arose and flourished.

In the following year, 1928, there appeared *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands, Vol. I*, the Bailiwick of Guernsey. A handsome book, illustrated with 131 attractive drawings and engravings and 20 plates, it is concerned wholly (apart from the faintest whiff of Gallo-Roman) with prehistory. Tom presented his work in two parts, the first, *Introduction*, discussed the different categories of material: prehistoric sculptures and engravings of Guernsey; stone and early metal tools; megalithic tombs and stone cists and their ritual features and grave furniture, mostly pottery.

Part II, called *Descriptive*, dealt with each parish in turn, and with the outlying islands of the Bailiwick (Alderney, Sark and Herm), and included all types of features—a buried dug-out canoe, miscellaneous undatable earthworks, a promontory fort and so on. As one might expect it was a thorough and competent piece of work, the culmination of the B.Sc. thesis, on to which B. R. Marett had first put him in 1920. Marett's suggestion had reaped a rich harvest. This, and the Vol. II (Jersey) written by Jacquetta Hawkes on the basis of Kendrick's indexes, are a permanent contribution to the history of the Islands.

Two years later, in 1930 (reprinted 1968), Kendrick published another major work, his highly regarded *A History of the Vikings*. It represents a change of direction. Kendrick was to return to prehistory in *The Archaeology of England and Wales* (with C. F. C. Hawkes) in 1932, but now we see him entering a new field.

It seems that he was drawn by another major and popular cause where archaeology and literary sources (the Sagas) and the comments of literate onlookers or victims, were interwoven. He set out, as he had with the Druids, to assemble and review the evidence. Here, however, instead of casual and often obscure literary references, myth and speculation, he had an epic and coherent story to tell.

In the Introduction he set forth what he sought to achieve:

<sup>9</sup> S. Piggott, *The Druids*, Thames and Hudson (1968).

There is no substantial book in English exclusively devoted to the Vikings and setting forth the whole of their activities not only in the west and the far north but in the east and south east as well.

Kendrick knew that he had chosen to write at a time when the scene was changing very rapidly.

I shall fail in my duty to the reader if I do not warn him that even now large slices of this history are being industriously shovelled into the melting pot by my learned colleagues and friends.

It was not, he said, for him to write the definitive version of the Vikings, untrammelled by too many footnotes, that he would like to see.

I want merely to be the forerunner of some luckier author of the future and I have done my best for him by trying to set down the complete narrative, as it is at present understood, in a severely plain and useful form.

*A History of the Vikings* is a well-planned piece of work, written in the author's relaxed, chatty style, with visual aids and footnotes—there is a short bibliography. The book shows him in command of the literature that had been produced on the subject between about 1925 and 1930. Henry Loyn has written of it:<sup>10</sup>

Kendrick got the proportions and the context right. He knew that it was matter for Russia, the 'civilisation of the waterways' (as he called it) Iceland, Greenland and North America, as well as for Western Europe. He gave proper attention to the Celtic world as well as to the Germanic. He knew what the archaeologists were doing and he knew how treacherous saga accounts could be. He told his story well. In other words he wrote a good book direct to his own terms of reference and thoroughly deserved his success.

Kendrick did not make much impact in the study of the neolithic/bronze age, but he was, nevertheless, a competent prehistorian who, in the six years before Christopher Hawkes joined the Department, understudied Reginald Smith in those fields. It was he who wrote the first eight chapters of *Archaeology in England and Wales, 1914–1931* covering the periods from 'pre-palaeolithic man' up to and including the Middle Bronze Age, as well as Chapter XII (the Anglo-Saxon Period). The two authors worked independently; 'the most we can do is to say that we vaguely endorse, and in my case admiringly, each other's contributions', as Kendrick put it.

<sup>10</sup> Personal communication.



*Archaeology in England and Wales, 1914–1931* (Methuen, 1932) is an enlarged version of a paper commissioned by Dr Gerhard Bersu, of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission of the German Archaeological Institute, and was first published in German; it was commissioned by Bersu to provide a survey of what had been happening in archaeology in England and Wales since 1914 for the information and use of members of the First International Congress of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, held in London in 1932. It was a clear and readable account of progress in archaeology in England and Wales since 1914, and remained for a good many years an extremely useful work of reference.

In 1932, with *The Axe Age*, *The Druids*, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, *Archaeology in England and Wales, 1914–1931* (Kendrick & Hawkes) behind him, he was a well-known and established figure in the profession. He was asked to give one of the four tails-and-white-tie evening public lectures in connection with the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (another of these by Cyril Fox became his famous *Personality of Britain*). Tom dazzled his audience with a brilliant colour slide of a splendid Anglo-Saxon jewel, the Kingston brooch, and gaily put forward highly subversive ideas about the date and origins of Kentish jewellery. He maintained that the best were made not by Saxons or Jutes but by Britons. In 1932 he was chosen as President of the Archaeology Section of the South Eastern Union of Scientific Societies, which later became the British Association. In this capacity, at their meeting in Reading, he gave another highly original paper, on the nearby Taplow Barrow (the richest Anglo-Saxon burial before Sutton Hoo), an essay in style-analysis in which he put forward his ideas on Animal Ornament in Style 1 and Style 2, introducing his Helmet style and Ribbon Style concepts, based on his analysis of the drinking horns.<sup>11</sup> He was already well advanced with the ideas which were to build up to his two major books on Anglo-Saxon art.

Tom tried in the Museum to do what he could to brighten the displays in the galleries and, with Reginald Smith's approval,<sup>12</sup> to index the collections in various ways; he began a Categories Index, which gave the locations of the specimens, one of several moves in the direction of opening up the collections for use and making the place more inviting.

<sup>11</sup> 'The Art and Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon', *Transactions of the South-Eastern Union of Scientific Societies*, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> Reginald Smith, FSA, had become Keeper on the retirement of Dalton.

Most important perhaps was his welcome to outsiders—foreign scholars, specialists, and students. One of these was the young Stuart Piggott, who had already begun working on the Druids, and wrote to Kendrick for his approval. Piggott had found Reginald Smith, ‘a dead hand and dry as dust’, ‘a fusser over minutiae’. Kendrick, and Hawkes who had recently joined Tom, ‘were like two naughty boys’, and Kendrick was gay and outrageous. Instead of thinking archaeology was awful, Piggott suddenly found that it could be exciting and fun. Kendrick, he said, ‘had a rinsing effect’. Hugh Hencken,<sup>13</sup> then a young American research student at Cambridge, tells how he met Kendrick in 1936. O. G. S. Crawford, who had advised him to turn to the archaeology of the Scilly Isles and Cornwall, suggested that he go to the Office of the British and Medieval Department at the British Museum:

There I found Reginald Smith, who was extremely uninviting. But at the same time I also met Tom, who made me extremely welcome, and gave me a vast amount of material and advice.

Kendrick describes how he and Reginald Smith eventually became friends<sup>14</sup> and Smith was not ungenerous. When in 1936 a Deputy Keepership became available (Tom did not get it—it related to the Antiquities Departments in general), Smith as Keeper wrote to the Trustees:

throughout his fourteen years of service he has shown great industry and ingenuity with the arrangement of the exhibits and has revolutionised the indexing system with a view to rendering every object in the Department accessible without delay . . . His cordial relations with the staff have been eminently useful in organising the galleries and studies and his extensive acquaintance with archaeologists at home and abroad is an important asset, as much due to personal qualities, as to professional reputation.<sup>15</sup>

When, in 1933, surprisingly late, Kendrick was put up for election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, his supporters included most of the great and good in British archaeology.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Later Professor of Archaeology at Harvard, and Director of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

<sup>14</sup> ‘In the 20s’, in *Prehistoric and Roman Studies*, edited by G. de G. Sieveking, pp. 2–8 (British Museum, 1971)—a priceless contribution extracted from Tom by the editor.

<sup>15</sup> BM Archives, Report p. 2067 of 23 April 1936.

<sup>16</sup> 12 January 1933, when he was 38; signatories were the initiator W. J. Hemp (a good mark for a snobbish figure recently stigmatized by Stuart Piggott as ‘pretentious, ignorant and incompetent’—*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 74 (1988), p. 355), Reginald Smith (who had evidently not initiated it), Sir Charles Peers, Sir Alfred Clapham, Sir Frederic Kenyon, O. G. S. Crawford, Alexander Keiller (twice!), E. T. Leeds, Sir George Hill, Miles Burkitt, Henry Balfour, Christopher Hawkes, Charles D. Drew, H. St George Gray, Sir John L. Myres, and J. M. de Navarro.

Kendrick saw that a major gap in the basic documents for his projected art history or history of Anglo-Saxon style, was the very considerable body known to exist of unrecorded and unpublished stone crosses and sculptural fragments. And he set about rectifying it. A body of helpers had to be recruited to cover the wide dispersal of material all over the country. The excitement of it all and the companionship of workers, young and old, appealed to Kendrick who hugely enjoyed himself.

Among Kendrick's helpers was Ernst Kitzinger, later Professor of the History of Art at Harvard and Director of Dumbarton Oaks, and I am indebted to his recollections and correspondence for the substance of this account.

A call was sent out for helpers—people with cameras who could search out and record new sculptured fragments or known items, often in remote and difficult places. One appeal was carried in *Antiquity* (March 1936, p. 3); there were others in amateur photographers' magazines. There was quite a lively response, but only six or eight of the volunteers became suppliers of usable photographs on a continuing basis. Two of these helpers were Miss Mercie Lack and Miss Barbara Wagstaff, school mistresses with a photographic hobby. It was through their connection with Kendrick that they were allowed by C. W. Phillips to take responsibility in 1939 for the photographic recording of the Sutton Hoo ship—a basic record of this unique document, of which they took nearly 500 negatives (The Sutton Hoo Ship-burial, vol. 1, p. 142) and an 8mm film. Professor Lawrence Stone, who later wrote the Pelican History of Art volume on *English Medieval Gothic Sculpture*, then a boy at Charterhouse, was another who answered the appeal. Two who were to exercise a considerable influence on Kendrick's life whom he met through the Saxon Sculpture project were the artist John Piper and his wife Myfanwy. The Pipers had been invited to write a book on pre-Conquest or Norman sculpture, and had already spent much time on photographing Romanesque sculpture at Kilpeck and elsewhere, and Saxon sculpture. Their prospective publishers, oddly enough, however, wanted a *Corpus* of the material, which, Mrs Piper commented to me, 'would have been boring'. Perhaps Alfred Clapham, or indeed Kendrick himself, may have persuaded the publishers that this was what was needed. The publishers referred the Pipers to Kendrick for advice: he visited their home, and returned there often. They became very good friends. The Pipers introduced Kendrick to John Betjeman, with whom he hit it off at once. These three were all kindred spirits and shared Kendrick's general antiquarian interest. When in 1950 Tom published *British Antiquity* it was dedicated:

'Ad Jo. Piperum necnon Jo. Betjehominem Lelandi discipulos'

For the collection of the photographs of Saxon crosses standard cards were prepared, and information was filed with the photographs by counties in the British and Medieval Department. Kendrick published an account of the material in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1941. After the war, when the team had been dispersed, indeed decimated, the assemblage remained in being and we (including Tom) kept it up to date as best we could, and it was kept available to all enquirers. Kendrick would have been here first to welcome enthusiastically the five volumes of *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* now appearing under the auspices of the Academy.

For a good many years Kendrick had been building up to his two important volumes, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938) and *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, (1949) which were together intended to give a complete account of the foundations of medieval style. While not concerned with architecture, they surveyed the background to Anglo-Saxon style in Romano-British and prehistoric Iron Age art; then, the pagan period Anglo-Saxon development; and then, from the introduction of Christianity and with it of Mediterranean influences, gave a thorough survey not only of the metalwork but of manuscript decoration and illustration and of sculpture.

In *Kendrick and Hawkes* (1932) Kendrick had surveyed the field of Anglo-Saxon and Viking period progress since 1914–31 in a lively and balanced way. He now produced a series of brilliantly original papers on ‘Anglo-Saxon Animal Ornament; (*I.P.E.K.*)<sup>17</sup> ‘Polychrome Jewellery in Kent’, and ‘British Hanging Bowls’ (*Antiquity*, 1932, 1933). He saw everything with fresh eyes. A study of St Cuthbert’s pectoral cross appeared in 1937 (*Antiquaries Journal*). *I.P.E.K.* was published in Berlin. Kendrick was making his unorthodox views known in Continental circles where the orthodox opinions were entrenched.

Into Kendrick’s books on Anglo-Saxon Art, and this is their distinction, under scholarly control, went the element of style analysis and aesthetic judgement. Perhaps largely through the influence of his colleague and collaborator in the Saxon sculpture project, Elizabeth Senior, Kendrick became aware and absorbed something of the Continental school of art history. Elizabeth was one of the very early students from the new Courtauld Institute, who, before that, had studied for a year in Munich,

<sup>17</sup> *Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*, 9 (1934), 66ff. (Berlin).

and was now Assistant Keeper in the Department of Prints and Drawings. She introduced Kendrick to Freyhan at the Warburg Institute, where he also met Fritz Saxl<sup>18</sup>—Kitzinger himself, temporarily employed through Kendrick's agency at the Museum, a refugee from Hitler's Germany, had just finished his doctoral thesis and was also a fully trained Continental art historian. Kendrick's contribution was to take the Continental attitude to style as something which tells you something more than just date or period, but is itself a part of, or kind of, history and is a historical fact (if it can be defined) and graft this approach on to the traditional British archaeological approach to the material and to style and art history.

A guiding theme runs through the book; his perception of the strength and persistence of the barbarian tradition, the non-classical element in Anglo-Saxon art, and the meeting, a mixture of accommodation and repulsion, of this barbaric tradition of the native art of the Celtic and Germanic north—non-representational, vigorous, decorative, based on animal ornament and on the exploitation or transformation of Roman derived themes or ideas—with the narrative and representational art, and architectural ornament, of the classical world. Ending at the Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon, Kendrick summed up the theme of his first volume:

My last picture in this book [of one of the Saxon angels above the chancel arch at Bradford-on-Avon] leads us back therefore to that barbaric ornament which has provided the main subject of our survey. I think that it is right that this should be so, for in the long struggle between the naturalistic and the geometric forms of aesthetic expression that has provided our central theme the instinctive urging of the barbaric northerner to make use of vividly patterned spreads of inorganic decoration has continually triumphed over the rare and timid experiments in organic art. Deep in the hearts of the people the inextinguishable spirit that had inspired early British art endured as a perpetual source of cunning intervention and gross travesty that came into operation whenever opportunity occurred for the classical forms to be changed into native idiom.

It was not till many years after, in 1949, that the sequel, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, was published. The war had intervened, George Zarnecki<sup>19</sup> speaks of it as a very remarkable achievement, based as it was on pre-war scholarship; it is a fine combination of historical assessment and stylistic analysis, written by a master inspired by his subject.

On the sculptural side Tom 'made some brilliant observations as well as

<sup>18</sup> Here I am grateful for the comments of Ernst Kitzinger.

<sup>19</sup> G. Zarnecki, personal communication.

many errors', i.e. some of his datings and assessments are now seen to be wrong.

In the manuscripts miniatures and decoration are often found in sensitive preservation, and much of the original aesthetic effect can be got from them. The sculptural record on the other hand is more worn, illegible, fragmented; and on a monumental scale. George Zarnecki regards the chapter on manuscript painting as the best in the book. Here Kendrick was helped by his close contact with Francis Wormald, his British Museum colleague.

He made also an important contribution in defining and demonstrating the part played by the Scandinavian styles, the result of Viking activity and settlement and especially the 'Urnes style'.

To me Kendrick's greatest service was perhaps to bring together, in his 96 black and white plates, for the first time in the span of a book for general use, a wealth of unfamiliar illustrative material supplemented by sensitive notes on colour and a commentary that conveyed their aesthetic impact and closely integrated the pictures with the text.

In writing of *Late Saxon and Viking Art* George Zarnecki has commented on Kendrick's prose (e.g. talking about the acanthus leaves on the Bury Gospels)

... though formally and symmetrically posed and unmistakably English in character, can nevertheless be described as storm beaten in as much as they lean crazily across each other at violently inclined angles.

adding 'I wish I could write like that.'<sup>20</sup>

What must be stressed is the novelty of such masterly writing, and of such an approach to the art of the period, in relation to all that had gone before.

Not many of Tom's personal letters (I am not thinking of official correspondence) are known to survive, but he was a sparkling, witty correspondent. One recipient, close to Tom's heart, writes of his letters:

They were wonderful—and just think what there must have been to and from so many great characters—Lethbridge, Betjeman, Wheeler, the Pipers, etc. My own view was always that Tom lived a much fuller and more articulate life on paper, and so funny.

<sup>20</sup> Personal communication.

The same correspondent speaks of her own contacts with Tom when she was growing up—‘a state of permanent childlike nonsense’, which Tom kept up with her children in turn—‘he was brilliant with children’.

Tom’s widow, Katharine, also wrote ‘He was marvellous with children, no child was ever shy with him, and they found him highly amusing and entertaining’.

Kendrick was certainly no *dong with a luminous nose*. He was charming and personable, but some analogy with Lear is there—the writing of nonsense, wild comic cartoons, scraps of verse, and the gift to communicate with and captivate the child. With them it seems his Lear-like shyness was shed, allowing a part of his true self to find expression.

Some of Tom’s best letters were written on his journeys to photograph Saxon sculpture, from hotels in strange places—letters to his co-workers. There were *jeux d’esprit*, also, like the mock correspondence penned in the Savile Club between the legendary Sir Charles Hercules Read (whose tired-looking portrait by Augustus John hangs prominently in the Athenaeum) and Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, about the Roman bronze head from Saxmundham. Tom had the habit also of coining rhymes when he felt moved to. As a postgraduate student at Oxford he and his friend Louis Clarke attended a lecture on Petra at the Ashmolean. As they were coming out, Tom stopped on the steps and exclaimed:

The dating, ‘half as old as Time’  
 You must reject *in toto*.  
 It represents that *horrid* crime,  
*Ignotum per ignoto*.

As Director, Kendrick had agreed to write a preface to the costly colour-facsimile edition of the Museum’s great treasure, the Lindisfarne Gospels. A very large part of the fat commentary volume was taken up with the exhaustive analysis of the 10th century interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss by Professor A. S. C. Ross.<sup>21</sup> The work had been going on for years as a kind of fatigue on to which Ross’s students were put. Every occurrence of every word is meticulously recorded. The entry for ‘he’, for example takes up 13 columns of small type on the very large pages. When Tom sent the proofs back to Julian Brown, then a young Assistant Keeper engaged, in his palaeographical commentary, on his first important publication, a note was pinned on, without comment.

<sup>21</sup> Index Verborum Glossematicus, 1–176 (separately paginated) by A. S. C. Ross & E. G. Stanley, in *Codex Lindisfarnensis* (Kendrick *et al.*), Urs Graf Verlag, Olten and Lausanne, Commentary Volume 1960.

31:xii:59

There was a Professor called Ross  
 Whose class was put onto a gloss.  
 For thirty long years  
 Those youths were in tears —  
 But it had no effect on their boss.

It is not surprising that under Kendrick a profound change came over the official correspondence. When I joined I was given some of his letters as an example. Our replies to the public grew cordial, informal, friendly and to the point.

In 1940 Kendrick was elected to the Secretaryship of the Society of Antiquaries,<sup>22</sup> first held by William Stukeley. This office he greatly valued and enjoyed, for he loved the Society, its history and traditions, and was working with people he liked and admired over the whole broad range of antiquarian studies. He served with three Presidents, Sir Alfred Clapham, Sir Cyril Fox and Sir James Mann. Initially he had to contend with the wartime situation. The Society's paintings and manuscripts and great numbers of the more valuable books were packed and sent for safety to the houses of Fellows and friends in the country. The Subject and Author Catalogues were removed to the Aldwych Tube, where the British Museum were storing the Elgin Marbles, the newly-discovered Sutton Hoo finds, the Lindisfarne Gospels and such treasures. Kendrick, with the help of Philip Corder, the Acting Librarian, and one of Kendrick's protégés, the Czech refugee scholar, Dr Edith Stiasny, supervised this operation. At the British Museum Tom had organized a wartime exhibition; now, single-handed, he organized an exhibition in the Library of early illustrations of British archaeology, which was a great success within the Society. The wartime anniversary addresses of the President show the Society's fortunes and notable initiatives in the war years, during which the Council continued to meet, to consider current problems and look to the future. In 1945, the second of a new series, Occasional Papers, was published—*Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries*—short biographies (brief lives) of those who held the office from Peter le Neve (elected 1717) to Lord Dillon (whose term ended in 1904). It appeared anonymously, but was written by Kendrick. He resigned the Secretaryship (in which I succeeded him) in 1950, on his appointment as Director of the Museum.

<sup>22</sup> J. Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, (OUP, 1956), pp. 424, ff.



As Keeper (he had succeeded Reginald Smith in 1938) Kendrick set about the cleaning of the collections. The historic series of Iron Age bronzes from Stanwick,<sup>23</sup> in N. Yorkshire, alas, were over-cleaned and stripped, revealing light engraved designs, but destroying the patina (the work is of course done in the Research Laboratory, but the curatorial staff remain responsible): but a great success was the cleaning of the Department's splendid Roman and Early Christian silver; and bright colours and mirrors were introduced into the displays.

Kendrick established close links with the Research Laboratory, whose reputation under Harold Plenderleith was unrivalled, and helped to enlist their skills in the cause of important antiquities from outside the Museum. Perhaps in response to a request for advice from Kit Battiscombe, the Chapter Clerk at Durham, where the Dean and Chapter had embarked upon a publication of St Cuthbert's relics, (Tom had already published a study of the pectoral cross)<sup>24</sup> or at least with his active support, the relics of St Cuthbert were brought to London *en masse*, and studied afresh from all points of view, while being cleaned and restored at the V & A (textiles) and in the BM. Kitzinger had earlier published the wooden reliquary coffin of 698, which had been wrongly put together, with new half-scale drawings. *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* volume, published by the Dean and Chapter and edited by C. F. Battiscombe, followed, incorporating the new results. Kendrick's Hon. D. Litt. from Durham shortly after arose, one suspects, in no small degree from this. In 1938, St Manchan's shrine was brought over from Dublin, and when study and restoration were completed, a paper on it all was read at the Antiquaries by Kendrick and Elizabeth Senior, and published in *Archaeologia*.<sup>25</sup>

It was on the occasion of the arranging of the marvellous exhibition of the cream of all Departments in the Edward VII gallery after the war<sup>26</sup> that, as John Brailsford describes in his biographical account,<sup>27</sup> there occurred a revealing incident. Brailsford, who had only just joined the Department, was arranging prehistoric exhibits on the top shelf of a surround case between two bays when he dropped a bronze axe. The glass shelf shattered and smashed into the exhibits below with an almighty crash. Kendrick, who was working opposite on the other side of the

<sup>23</sup> Referred to by Kendrick in his Museums Association address, see pp. 464–5 below.

<sup>24</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*.

<sup>25</sup> *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 105: the paper was read 28 Nov. 1938, not 1935, as in Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

<sup>26</sup> Referred to by Martin Robertson in his Memoir of Bernard Ashmole (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 75 (1989), pp. 322–3). It was the only gallery then fit for use.

<sup>27</sup> See acknowledgements below.

gallery, never even turned round. I will vouch for this, because I was there.

Two major events of Tom's Keepership, one before and one after the war, were the discoveries of the Mildenhall Treasure of Roman silver, and the Sutton Hoo ship-burial. Kendrick, more than anyone, was in 1939 thrilled by the Sutton Hoo discovery, central to his field of Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology. Two splendid photographs taken by O. G. S. Crawford of Kendrick visiting the excavation on a great day, with Sir John Forsdyke, can be seen in the Museum's publication of 1986.<sup>28</sup> Charles Phillips, the excavator, recalls how on an earlier visit he met Kendrick at Woodbridge station, and the dramatic moment when he drew him into the waiting room, and produced from his pocket one of the perfect small gold and garnet buckles and the scale of the discovery became clear to him.<sup>29</sup> Tom attended the Coroners Inquest and sat with Mrs Pretty, and no doubt charmed her. Taking Stúart Piggott's arm at the end, Tom whispered 'I think I've got it, I think I've got it'.<sup>30</sup> Tom put on an exhibition in the Front Hall of the Museum of such things as were in exhibitable state, with graphics, and I recall blown-up photos of the excavation; but almost immediately the finds had to be taken to a place of safety. Tom organized, with admirable expedition, a preliminary publication of the discovery, in the *British Museum Quarterly* issue on Sutton Hoo (1939) and in *Antiquity* (1940), contributing his own assessment of the gold jewellery and of the large hanging-bowl. He got Ernst Kitzinger to contribute a classic account of the Byzantine silver.

In many ways the war seemed to mark a watershed in Kendrick's life and career. He had lost interest in his (much delayed) *Late Saxon and Viking Art*. He seemed to turn his back on what had gone before and on old friends. I think that his active mind, always probing forwards into new areas of enquiry and fresh lines of thought, had become engrossed with the antiquarian themes the history of ideas and human credulity, that led shortly to some of his best work.

Kendrick's appointment as Director and Principal Librarian in 1950 came at a moment that was not propitious for the development of new

<sup>28</sup> *The Sutton Hoo Ship-burial*, by A. C. Evans (BM Publications, 1986), Plates 1 and 2.

<sup>29</sup> C. W. Phillips in *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain*, ed. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, pp. 159–60.

<sup>30</sup> Personal communication. Actually the story was not so simple. Many strange things happened before Mrs Pretty, who had a strong interest in spiritualism, got in touch with her late husband, who came down on the side of the BM.

schemes or for radical action, even if Tom had been that sort of Director. It coincided with the outbreak of the Korean War.

The frustration of the staff of the Museum was most deeply felt at the slow rehabilitation of the building and the lack of money to invest in new displays—a matter close to Kendrick's heart—and for purchases—equally important in his eyes. Bentley Bridgewater, the Museum's Secretary, worked closely with Kendrick as Director, and was indeed his right-hand man in the running of the office and preparation of business for the Trustees, and was privy to much of what went on.

According to Bridgewater, Kendrick went to his new post as Director 'full of bright ideas and clear vision' but soon found that he could not get the money to implement them. There was in the office at this time a very small back-up staff. The Director's Office had not embarked upon the monstrous growth it later assumed. The view was, and Kendrick embodied it, that it was indecent to ask for more staff in the Office for administration when the Departments (the heart and soul of the Museum) had such obvious and radical needs. Kendrick had no doubt where his priorities lay. With him, the Office came last. He was greatly distressed when, under R. A. Butler's cuts, he was forced to close the upper floor of the Museum on alternate days. Then there was the inability to restore war damage, which had been severe.

It was a quarter of a century—in my own time as Keeper—before the burnt out galleries at the head of the great staircase, which had housed the prehistoric collections, were rebuilt. The same was true of the Greek Vase rooms and other parts of the building. Peter Brown, who was the Museum's Assistant Secretary and was later to become the Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, wrote that the Korean War was 'a great thing in Kendrick's Directorship'—'the terrifying economies—staff cuts and ceilings or expenditure capping, leading to the closures of the Upper Floor Galleries'. This 'knocked Kendrick sideways—his morale went down—his terrific *élan* went'. Brown writes that Kendrick 'had a marvellous capacity for sizing up a situation in one'. 'He did not have the kind of practical intelligence for administrative action characteristic of his predecessors, Kenyon, Hill and Forsdyke,' (or indeed his successor Sir Frank Francis) 'but he had intuitive intelligence—he used the telling phrase to penetrate to the heart of the matter'.

Sir David Wilson has given me this impression of Tom as Director:<sup>31</sup>

he managed the affairs of the Museum in the reconstruction period with great skill. He fought the Treasury to reopen the galleries on a full time basis. He

<sup>31</sup> Personal communication.

set a new standard of guide book and book production, and did a great deal to prepare the way for his successor to take on this burden (of carrying through the major reconstruction work) . . . When I have come across papers written by Kendrick or notes of action taken by him, I am deeply impressed by his ability to deal, not only with the standard academic world, but also with Whitehall.

As one of his Keepers, I knew that I could count on a courteous reception whenever I went to discuss something with the Director, and was always confident that he knew exactly what the issues were and that he would bring to bear upon them a judgement based upon a thorough understanding of what mattered, and of the Keeper's point of view. He was on the same wave-length as all of the 14 Keepers that he represented; he took a great interest in what was going on and—though not, as Director, any longer himself responsible for any part of the collections—was often to be seen in the Galleries. It was immensely encouraging to members of staff, often junior Assistant Keepers, to be stopped by the Director and told—‘I do like your new arrangement in the 12th century bay’—or to be congratulated warmly on a new acquisition just put on display, and told how splendid it looks.

In 1951, as Director and Principal Librarian, Tom was asked to give a paper to the Museum's Association Conference at Belfast. He no doubt chose the theme ‘The British Museum and British Antiquities’<sup>32</sup> himself, for it was a subject that he knew all about, and one which chimed with his own interest in the history of antiquarian thought. The result was a hilarious survey of the laggard way in which the Museum's Trustees awoke to a realization of the value and potential of their own national archaeology. There was also a splendid depiction of the ideal Museum of National Antiquities of Ruritanea, round which Tom was being taken on a conducted tour which passed via the new Room of Romano-Ruritanian Antiquities, ‘surpassing all that has gone before’.

It is artfully contrived to represent in successive stages, the interiors of a forum, a temple, baths, a villa and a fort. Mosaic pavements spread out on the floor; the Roman fountain, which sprouts, though itself obviously bogus, undeniably genuine water into a little Roman garden where is to be found one of the most fascinating exhibits in this great Museum, a living colony of edible snails. It is all beyond praise, and continues to be splendid in all the

<sup>32</sup> *Museums Journal*, 51, No. 6 (Sept. 1951), 139–49, subsequently reprinted in *Antiquity*, 38 (1954), 132–42.

rooms representing succeeding periods. ‘By Jove’ my friends say to me as we progress, ‘you must be green with envy’!

Why I am looking green is my own business. It happens that I should myself prefer the national antiquities of Ruritania to be housed in a dark, draughty and entirely unsuitable old castle, with plenty of spiral staircases . . .

Kendrick understood perfectly well the new techniques and ideas which he himself as Keeper had, within the limits of the possible, prior to the rebuilding of the Department’s galleries, sought to introduce. But he was not one to prostitute the museum to the needs of tourism, or compromise its essential health, strength and functions for the general cause of education at large.

The real interest of his Museums Association Paper is to me its exposure, in his peroration, of his love for the collections and of the depth of his convictions on the issues he was addressing.

In his peroration, worth quoting in full, he proclaimed his personal *credo* against the setting up, advocated by some, of a Museum of National Antiquities, devoted solely to our national archaeology.

It is not by a priggishly virtuous discipline that we (the BM) resist nationalist self-glory. It is because we are—unless we lose all sense of proportion—prevented by our own great collections from indulging in such stupidity.

After all, even the most distinguished British antiquities would look remarkably silly if we promoted them to take the honoured place of the pediment sculptures of the Parthenon.<sup>33</sup> It is a very important thing that the great museums of London share with many other museums the duty reflecting in a microcosm God’s total creation. Both branches of the British Museum, the Science Museum, The Geological Museum, the Victoria & Albert Museum, and the National Gallery, have, put together, a cumulative purpose that ascends to the Heavens and descends to the depths of the sea; that comprehends in intention the stars on high and the innermost core of the earth, and the full story of man in this world, of his multifarious handiwork, noble and ignoble, everywhere. Our united song is Psalm 104, and not Psalm 105.

In the British Museum we are not concerned with comment upon the felicity of the chosen. We say ‘Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour: until the evening’, and we mean Palaeolithic man, Mesolithic man, Neolithic man, the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, the Teuton and the Celt, man in Europe, man in Asia, man in Africa, man in America, man everywhere. Sir Hans Sloane said of his collection that it was ‘tending in many ways to the manifestation of the glory of God’. Its purpose is summarized by the psalmist: ‘O Lord how manifold are thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all. The earth is full of thy riches.’ This principle is still our principle. To anyone who thinks we do not sufficiently

<sup>33</sup> This was before Sutton Hoo came along. It might just have got by.

exalt the antiquities of the British Isles, I can answer only by repeating the words that I treasure and that serve as our governing text:

‘Behold, the nations are as a drop in a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance; behold he taketh up the isles as a very little thing.’

Kendrick was heavily involved in the plans for a new site for the British Museum skilfully designed to occupy the area opposite the Museum and between it and Oxford Street, but preserving Hawksmoor’s neo-classical church of St George. Great Russell Street was to go over this part of its length. I recall that he had a difficult time at the public enquiry, when the scheme was violently opposed by the Camden Council. More happily he presided over two centenaries, the bicentenary of the Museum’s foundation, a glittering party, graced by the presence of the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, and the centenary of the Reading Room. By the end of his Directorship the fine new offices of the Dept. of Coins and Medals had been opened and the Room of Greek and Roman Life, which had been totally destroyed, was almost ready for opening.

When Tom retired, after the tribulations of his ‘eight lean years’ he was able to write to Stuart Piggott.

I am glad to say I hand over in a mood of optimism as the worst of the economic oppression is over and the prospects, at least as regards staff and money, are now quite comfortable for 59/60. Frank Francis can now start planning the Library in quite a cheerful mood.<sup>34</sup>

But Tom did not enjoy his time as Director.<sup>35</sup> Latterly he contrived to spend a good deal of time in the library. Bentley Bridgewater had to run him to earth there to get his signature. And when he left, in spite of coaxing from all sides, Tom absolutely declined to have his portrait painted to hang in the boardroom, where the likenesses of Founders and Directors by leading artists of the day are traditionally hung.

*British Antiquity*, appeared in 1950, shortly after Kendrick had become Director.

In the Preface he tells us that ‘the book is based on notes I have made under the heading “Britain” while studying some general varieties of antiquarian thought in Europe’. The British chapter, covering the period from the late 15th to early 17th century, seemed interesting enough to stand as a story by itself, being in the main concerned with 16th-century

<sup>34</sup> Kendrick to Stuart Piggott, 3.2.59.

<sup>35</sup> Katharine Kendrick, *Memoranda*.

England and the transition there from medieval to modern antiquarian thought. The British or English essay, from the greater work contemplated, thus fortunately got written, though the major work hinted at, of European scope, never materialized. Fortunately, because *British Antiquity* is one of Kendrick's best and most highly regarded achievements.

His theme was to trace antiquarian thought in Tudor and Elizabethan England and to show how antiquarian thinking and method gradually emerged, with considerable travail, from blind acceptance of the fictitious version of British origins and history invented by the 12th-century chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth, and propagated in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which Kendrick calls 'this brilliant book that became one of the principal successes of European secular literature in the Middle Ages'. Finally, the new learning triumphed over the medievalist view, and 'with Geoffrey disposed of the way was clear for original work based on the first-hand examination of documentary and archaeological evidence'.<sup>36</sup> Tom traces the growth of the Geoffrey of Monmouth story (by which the British people were of Trojan origin, descendants of the Trojan immigrant Brutus) and follows this with biographical portraits of two genuine antiquaries of the 15th century, John Rous (1411–91), artist and scholar and maker of the heraldic Rouse Roll, and William of Worcester (1415–82). He then provided in 20 pages, the first full length study of one of our greatest antiquaries, John Leland (d. 1552) (a fount of biographical information, often cited in the DNB; topographer and recorder of the libraries of Britain).

Kendrick traces 'The battle over the British History' and 'The eclipse of the British History' at the hands of Elizabethan scholars, writers and men of letters, and the development of original topographical studies culminating in Camden's great *Britannia*.

No single coherent account had previously been written of this evolution, or revolution, in the approach to the past in Tudor and Elizabethan times, that led on to the antiquarian scholarship of the 19th century and to modern archaeology. For this reason, if for no other, *British Antiquity* is a most notable achievement.

Tom's next book, *The Lisbon Earthquake* is another remarkable work. The earthquake occurred on 1 November 1755. It was calamity that reverberated through European literature and on down the years, a shattering disaster to a rich and famous city. About 15,000, including a

<sup>36</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Antiquaries Journal*, 30 (1950), pp. 96, 97.

good many of the English community, were killed, and the horrors of the earthquake itself were made worse by the Tagus pouring over its banks and a terrible fire that burnt out the whole centre of the town. Was this God's vengeance on the sins of the inhabitants? Or a warning to the pride of mankind at large?

Kendrick follows events minute by minute, quoting contemporary accounts and eye-witness reports, and describes the measures taken to deal with the damage and disorder and the reactions of Europe's men of science. But the heart of the book is the effect that the disaster had upon the minds of men and especially on the philosophers of the Age of Reason; as Tom put it in his introduction, 'the book is mainly concerned with the related themes of 18th century earthquake theology' ('there is no divine visitation which is likely to have so general an influence upon sinners as an earthquake' John Wesley wrote in 1777), 'and the end of optimism'. There was a kind of watershed, a reversal in the climate of thinking, in the middle of the century, and the Lisbon earthquake was the catalyst.

Blest eighteenth century! propitious clime!  
Enchanted island in the sea of time!<sup>37</sup>

had become the *siècle infame, siècle atroce* of P-D Edouard le Brun.<sup>38</sup> Voltaire's poem *Sur le désastre de Lisbon* was followed up by *Candide*.

Kendrick shows a great range of reading and marvellous control over a wealth of material. He begins and ends the book with chapters about London—first in 1750, where before the Lisbon disaster minor quakes had stirred the dovescotes—and after, in 1755–6.

Tom's writing of the book, he says, arose out of his own small collection of earthquake pamphlets and sermons. It may also have been stimulated by his friend Louis Clarke's<sup>39</sup> possession of a MS copy of Voltaire's poem *Sur le Désastre de Lisbon* and of an autograph letter in Voltaire's hand discussing it.<sup>40</sup>

The book followed closely upon the heels of *British Antiquity*. Kendrick was by now a perceived master of the genre, writing with ease and authority.

<sup>37</sup> James Laver, *Ladies Mistakes*.

<sup>38</sup> *The Lisbon Earthquake*, p. 141.

<sup>39</sup> L. C. G. Clarke, Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge (1922–37); Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, (1937–46). The point was noted by Basil Gray, *Burlington Magazine*, March 1980 (see acknowledgements below).

<sup>40</sup> See also p. 448 above, where it is indicated that his interest in the Lisbon earthquake went back to his schooldays.



Tom married in 1922 Helen Kiek, who had been a fellow student at Oxford and was the daughter of Louis Holland Kiek, a merchant banker. She was an excellent pianist and a kind and friendly hostess. They had one daughter, Frances (Mrs Atkin). Helen died in 1955, and Tom married in 1957 Katharine Elizabeth Wrigley, who, with her family, were old friends of the Kendricks. Her father, for whom Tom had a great affection, had been Kendrick's senior Officer, and Katharine could speak warmly from experience of Helen's 'kindness and hospitality'. Katharine was to outlive Tom by only six months.

Kendrick was a Life Trustee of the Sir John Soane's Museum, an institution, if one can call it such, much after his own heart; he received honorary degrees from Durham, Oxford and Dublin and was made an Honorary Fellow of Oriel College in 1952, though no one recalls his having taken advantage of it. He was a Foreign Member of the Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquity, and he was also an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was made KBE in 1952.

Tom's retirement, at Organford Farm, near Poole, in Dorset, where he gardened and wrote, was productive and happy. His infectious enjoyment of whatever interested him was undimmed, so far as his temperament allowed. I think he had his despondencies and could be difficult to live with, but his winning enjoyment of whatever interested him was undimmed. Working steadily, in addition to *Icarus* and his 'aberration' (as a young publisher's reader felt) *The Creeper in the Second Quad*, he wrote three more Spanish studies. *St James in Spain* and *Mary of Agreda*, which were duly published, and *Philip IV of Spain* completed but rejected. Space does not allow for discussion of these books here, but *Icarus* seems to me of biographical importance, apart from its literary merits, and *St James in Spain* is a notable achievement.

Kendrick's high spirits never deserted him, as his correspondence showed. In 1962 I wrote to thank him for a copy of the newly published *Icarus* which had in fact been sent by Peter Wait of Methuen's without Tom's knowledge. Tom's disclaimer ended:

If anyone asks you why I have started reviewing books (on subjects about which I know nothing) in the Daily Telegraph, the answer is that they ring up and start whining at me during Z-Cars or Coronation Street. I just give in.

Writing to Stuart Piggott in 1967, thanking him for the gift of a copy of his new *The Druids*, Tom urged Stuart to go in for the Directorship of the British Museum, now falling vacant again:

The post is a precious prize. Practically no responsibilities. Just occasionally signing a letter or two that someone, who can write better letters than you can, has written for you. Honey-sweet relations with the dear, friendly Trustees, and turtle-cooing with the Staff Side at Whitley Councils. Above all, abundant opportunity to get on with your own work and no need to hide it under the blotting-paper when you have callers. Any library-book brought to you within minutes. You can even have the Rosetta Stone wheeled in. And, of course, at the end a reasonable expectancy of a life-peerage and the Garter. It's worth it, Stuart.

Tom became blind in his last years, but his mind remained sharp and clear as a bell, his wit unimpaired. But his death was not untimely. He was terrified of outliving Katharine who was known to have cancer. John Mitchell (of East Anglia University, son of Tom's old friend Charles Mitchell, the art historian) recalls a visit with a friend, not long before Tom's death, when though blind and physically dramatically wasted, Tom received them with extreme courtesy and discussed horses, a subject of great interest with him, with the knowledgeable guest. There was an extraordinary atmosphere of joy, even hilarity.

Tom supported his local church when able-bodied in the earlier part of his retirement, and Katharine was a pillar of it. What epitaph can one find for this great quicksilver-minded scholarly and witty man, with his voracious interest in all of life, and his gifts of empathy and expression? Perhaps, a sentence from his last and sparkling speech, in November 1971, as the guest of honour at a dinner that followed a one-day conference on Iron Age Art in Dorchester:

All my life I have been taking trains to the wrong destinations, but oh, my dears, how enchanting have been the views out of the window.

RUPERT BRUCE-MITFORD

*Note.* In preparing this memoir I am greatly indebted to Professors Ernst Kitzinger and Stuart Piggott for their reminiscences and for access to Kendrick letters. Gale Seiveking has advised me on Kendrick as prehistorian and I have quoted his comments freely. J. W. Brailsford, my late colleague, the first Keeper of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities, who greatly admired Kendrick, himself essayed a biographical account. Ill health prevented its adequate completion. I have had the benefit of access to his typescript.<sup>41</sup> Others to whom I owe much have been Kendrick's daughter Frances, Mrs Atkin; Bentley Bridgewater, Secretary of the Museum during Kendrick's Directorship, Peter Brown, the Assistant Secretary, afterwards the Librarian of Trinity College,

Dublin, and the staff of the Society of Antiquaries Library and the Society's Secretary General, Hugh Chapman. Mr and Mrs John Piper; Miss Armide Oppé, former Secretary to the Royal Commission on Museums and Art galleries and Mrs Sally Mellersh. Professor Henry Loyn and Sir David Wilson have given me the benefit of their views on Kendrick's *A History of the Vikings*, and in the latter's case on aspects of Kendrick's Directorship. I am especially grateful to the British Museum Archivist, Mrs Janet Wallace, who provided me with the photograph that accompanies this Memoir, and to her assistant Christopher Date. They have provided copies of some of the papers relating to Kendrick's Museum career. Also I am grateful for the help of the Archivist of Oriel College, Oxford, Mrs Elizabeth Boardman and of the present Secretary of the British Museum, George Morris. The late Professor Hugh Hencken and his wife, Thalassa, helped with their personal recollections. Peter Wait, of Methuen's, who was concerned with the publication of all Kendrick's books, and has given me information about Kendrick and his unpublished novel.

Others who have helped me to get a picture of Kendrick's life following his retirement have been Miss Brenda Inkster (Bampton) a friend of his second wife Katharine, and John Mitchell (University of East Anglia), and his father, the art historian Charles Mitchell, who knew Kendrick very well before and during the war. I am grateful also to our late Fellow Basil Gray for his recollections and comments and for the use I have made of his obituary of Kendrick (*Burlington Magazine*, March 1980).

<sup>41</sup> Deposited in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.