



Historic England



Association

CONSERVATION STATEMENT AND MANAGEMENT PLAN

Kevin Camidge & Charlie Johns

<i>Association</i>	
Gilstone Ledges, Isles of Scilly	
Conservation Statement & Management Plan	
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Executive Summary

The *Association* was a 90-gun second-rate ship of the line of the Royal Navy, launched at Portsmouth Dockyard in 1697. She served as the flagship of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell in the Mediterranean during the War of the Spanish Succession. Her engagements included the attack on Toulon in summer 1707.

The British naval fleet was returning from Gibraltar to Portsmouth during October 1707. Due to a combination of bad weather and the inability of mariners to accurately calculate their longitudinal position, the fleet lost its way approaching the Isles of Scilly. Subsequently four ships including the flagship *Association* were wrecked on the Western Rocks. Some 1340 men lost their lives, including Sir Cloudesley, whose body was later washed ashore at Porth Hellick on St Mary's.

The Protection of Wrecks Act 1973 came about largely because of the events following the discovery and excavation of the wreck of the *Association* in 1967. The *Association* was finally designated under the Protection of Wrecks Act on 21 March 2014, 41 years after the introduction of the Act.

The site would benefit from the production of a desk-based assessment. The current designated area does not cover all the known wreckage (it is situated too far to the south and is too small). The size and position of the designated area should be reassessed to ensure that all the known archaeological remains at this site are contained within the designated area.

This Conservation Statement and Management Plan has been produced to enable local and regional stakeholder involvement in our aspirations for the conservation management of the *Association*, to balance protection with economic and social needs. The principal aim of the Plan is to identify a shared vision of how the values and features of the *Association* can be conserved, maintained and enhanced.

Management Policy 1 We will seek to develop appropriate visitor access to the site, including virtual access, as a mechanism to develop the value of the site. However, visitor access to the site needs to be considered in the light of the difficult environmental conditions and the high value and portability of the artefacts previously recovered from this site.

Management Policy 2 We will encourage the recording and expert appraisal of the artefact assemblage recovered from the site.

Management Policy 3 We will seek to facilitate interpretive material for the site. This should be locally displayed, ideally to accompany some of the artefacts from the site. The suggested location for this display would be the Isles of Scilly Museum.

Management Policy 4 Through web-based initiatives, we will continue to develop the accessibility of related material and support appropriate links. A virtual dive trail has been developed for this site. This is particularly important as physical access to the site is difficult.

Management Policy 5 Mechanisms will be identified and implemented so as to develop shared ownership and partnership working.

Management Policy 6 Key gaps in understanding the significance of the monument's component parts should be identified, prioritised and addressed so that these significances can contribute to informing the future conservation management of the place.

Management Policy 7 We will seek to commission a staged programme of assessment and research to contribute towards a fuller understanding of the site in its entirety.

Management Policy 8 We will encourage the investigation and survey of the area around the known remains to establish the full extent of the site.

Management Policy 9 Unnecessary disturbance of the seabed within the restricted area should be avoided wherever possible in order to minimise the risk of damage to buried archaeological material.

Management Policy 10 The sale of artefacts recovered from the site should be monitored as far as possible. The UK has adopted 'The Rules', an annex to the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage ('UNESCO Convention') which includes the principle that underwater cultural heritage should not be commercially exploited.

Management Policy 11 This management plan will be reviewed and updated on a regular basis so that it continues to reflect the conditions and state of knowledge pertaining to the site.

Association Gilstone Ledges, Isles of Scilly Conservation Statement & Management Plan

1 Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

- 1.1.1 Wreck sites may contain the remains of vessels, their fittings, armaments, cargo and other associated objects or deposits and they may merit legal protection if they contribute significantly to our understanding of our maritime past. The Protection of Wrecks Act 1973 (PWA) allows the UK Government to designate, in territorial waters, a wreck of historical, archaeological or artistic importance to prevent uncontrolled disturbance. Although the National Heritage Act 2002 enabled English Heritage (now Historic England) to assist in costs relating to works under the PWA, the responsibilities of Historic England for the physical management of designated wreck sites must align with their strategic and research priorities.
- 1.1.2 This document seeks to set out a Conservation Statement and Management Plan for the *Association*, an archaeological site designated under the Protection of Wrecks Act 1973 (hereafter 'the Act'), lying 2.8km to the south-east of the Bishop Rock lighthouse in the Western Rocks, Isles of Scilly (Fig 1). The site was designated under the Act on the 21st March 2014 position 49° 51.73' N, 006° 24.50'W and within 50m radius of this point.
- 1.1.3 The *Association* is attributed to the National Heritage List for England (NHLE); the List Entry Number is 1419276.
- 1.1.4 Historic England has published a set of Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment, designed to strengthen our credibility and the consistency of decisions taken and advice given (English Heritage 2008). These Conservation Principles are intended to support the quality of the decision-making, with the ultimate objective of creating a management regime for all aspects of the historic environment that is clear and transparent in its purpose and sustainable in its application. As such, Conservation is taken to be the process of managing change in ways that will best sustain the

values of a place in its contexts, and which recognises opportunities to reveal and reinforce those values (English Heritage 2008).

- 1.1.5 This Conservation Statement and Management Plan has therefore been produced to enable local and regional stakeholder involvement in our aspirations for the conservation management of the *Association* Protected Wreck site.

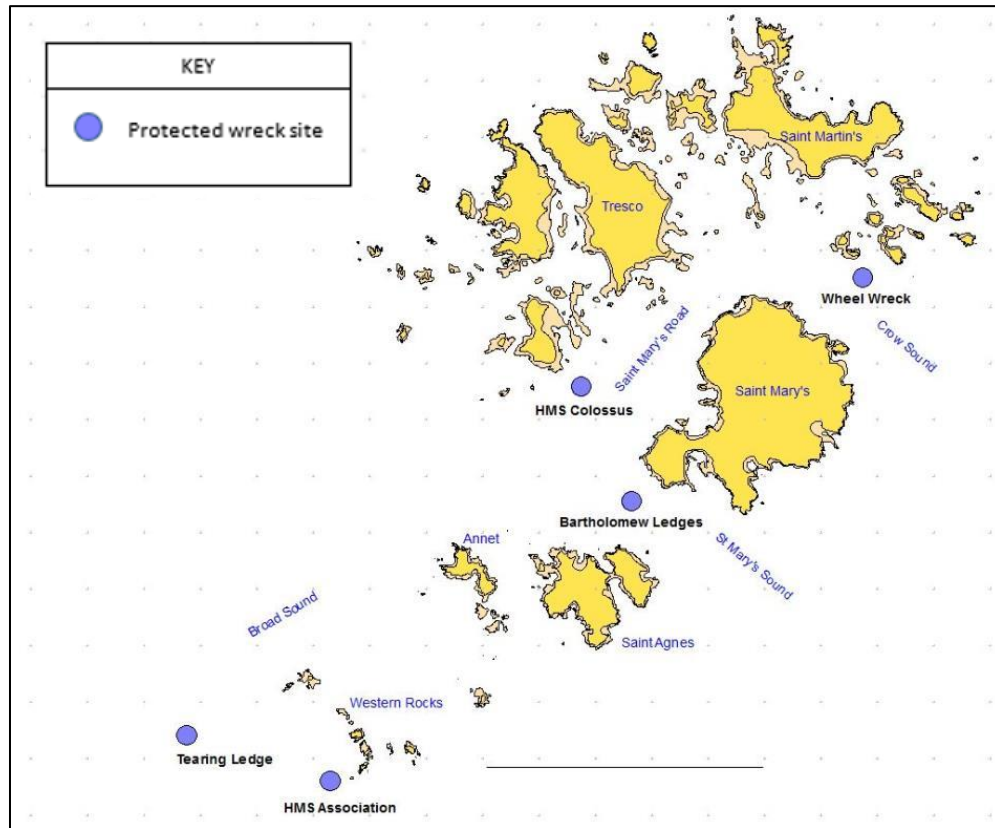


Fig 1: The Isles of Scilly showing the location of five designated wreck sites (blue circles): HMS Association, Tearing Ledge, Bartholomew Ledges, HMS Colossus and the Wheel Wreck.

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- 1.2.1 The principal aim of this Conservation Statement and Management Plan is to identify a shared vision of how the values and features of the *Association* Protected Wreck site can be conserved, maintained and enhanced.

- 1.2.2 This has been achieved through the following objectives:

- Understanding the *Association* Protected Wreck site.
- Assessing the significance of the *Association* Protected Wreck site.

- Identifying where the significance of the *Association* Protected Wreck site is vulnerable.
- Identifying policies for conserving the significance of the *Association* Protected Wreck site.
- Identifying specific potential to realise the public value of conservation.

1.3 SCOPE

- 1.3.1 In 1995, the Archaeological Diving Unit sought to determine factors affecting the stability of Protected Wreck sites (report ref. 95/30). This assessment considered the exposure of archaeological material, the probability of active degradation, site dynamics (energy) and sediment covering. It concluded that many of the sites designated under the Act are actively deteriorating.
- 1.3.2 This assessment was subsequently reconsidered by Historic England, which sought to place an understanding of the physical stability of (and therefore risk to) each designated wreck site against ongoing investigations (through incumbent licensees), ease of access for visitors and potential for wider awareness (publication, signage, etc.). Practical measures that can conserve, maintain and enhance the values and features of the *Association* Protected Wreck site identified as being at risk will be specified in this Conservation Statement and Management Plan.
- 1.3.3 Access to England's Protected Wreck sites is managed through a licensing scheme and authorisation by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport. Of the 57 sites currently protected in England, five are in the Isles of Scilly.

1.4 AUTHORSHIP

- 1.4.1 Contributions to this Conservation Statement and Management Plan will be sought through stakeholder involvement.
- 1.4.2 This document is based on the guidance in *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (English Heritage 2008) and draws on generic management plans for shipwreck sites (e.g., Cederlund 2004).
- 1.4.3 This Conservation Statement and Management Plan was prepared between April and November 2023 for Historic England by Kevin Camidge and Charlie Johns.

1.5 STATUS

- 1.5.1 The final version of this Conservation Statement and Management plan was adopted in xxxx 2024 [date to be confirmed]. Notes on its status (in terms of revision) will be maintained. Stakeholders, please note that this document remains a draft until it is adopted.

2 Understanding the Association

2.1 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE DESIGNATED SITE

The Ship

- 2.1.1 The *Association* was built as part of a group of four second-rate warships ordered in December 1694. She was originally armed with only 80 guns, while her sister ships were all completed as 90-gun ships. However, in the 1703 establishment she was brought into line with them and fitted as a 90-gun ship (Winfield 2009).

Ship	Dockyard	Length (GD)	Launched
<i>Association</i>	Portsmouth	165' 0"	1.1.1697
<i>Barfleur</i>	Deptford	162' 10 ½ "	10.8.1697
<i>Triumph</i>	Chatham	160' 1"	2.3.1698
<i>Namur</i>	Woolwich	160' 9"	28.4.1698

Table 1: Details of the four second-rate warships ordered in 1694.

- 2.1.2 These ships had three complete gun decks –hence the name three-deckers. The lowest gun deck carried demi-cannon (32 pdrs), the middle deck had culverins (18 pdrs) while the upper deck had demi-culverins (9 pdrs). The quarter deck and forecastle carried 6-pound guns of various lengths. These ships were intended to have a crew of 680 men.
- 2.1.3 Second-rate ships were often used as flag ships, because they had the extra space needed to accommodate an admiral and his staff as well as the normal officers and men who ran the ship. They were generally slower than, and did not handle so well as, the smaller third rate, two-decked ships.

Captains of Association		
Captain	From	Comments
Francis Wyvil	July 1697	
John Leake	Jan 1702	
William Bokenham	July 1702	
Richard Hughes	1703	
Samual Whitaker	1705	Flagship of Sir Thomas Dilkes
Edmund Loades*	September 1705	Flagship of Sir Cloudesley Shovell
*Loades was flag captain, Whitaker captain of the ship in 1707		

Table 2: Captains of the Association. (Winfield, 2009)

Sir Cloudesley Shovell

- 2.1.4 Admiral Shovell signed his name variously ‘Sir Cloudisley’ and ‘Sir Clowdisley’, sometimes abbreviated to ‘Sir Clow.’ Contemporary sources also refer to him as ‘Sir Cloudesly’ and, less frequently, ‘Sir Cloudesley’. The ‘Sir Clowdisley’ spelling has its champions, for example, McBride and Larn (1999), Larn (2006) and Newman (forthcoming) while Sir Cloudisley is favoured by May (1960).
- 2.1.5 After much deliberation ‘Sir Cloudesley’ is the spelling adopted for this Plan. This seems to have become the standardised modern form, used by Cooke (1883), Dunbar (1958), Morris (1969), the Ordnance Survey, the National Archives, the National Portrait Gallery, the Royal Museums and the British Museum. It features on HE’s list entry and is inscribed on his memorial at Porth Hellick.

The Final Voyage

- 2.1.6 In 1707 Sir Cloudesley Shovell’s fleet was in the Mediterranean off Toulon. As winter approached, Sir Cloudesley left a squadron in the Mediterranean and set off for England with the rest of his fleet. This fleet consisted of 21 ships (see Appendix 1 below for a list of the ships). Having miscalculated their position, the fleet ran into the Western Rocks off Scilly during the evening of 22nd October 1707. (The date on Navy ships of this period changed at noon, thus on ship the afternoon has a later date than the afternoon on land). Three ships, *Eagle*, *Romney* and Sir Cloudesley’s flagship *Association*, were lost with only a single survivor (from the *Romney*) between them (Larn 1971). The fireship *Phoenix* struck a rock and was eventually beached at New Grimsby (Tresco), where she remained for three and a half months undergoing repairs (Johns *et al* 2004). Another fireship – the *Firebrand* – also struck the rocks but managed to get off again. Leaking badly, she made for the beacon of St Agnes lighthouse, but foundered in Smith Sound close to the island of St Agnes (McBride and Larn 1999, 187). Of *Firebrand*’s crew of 48 only 18 –

including Captain Percy – managed to reach the safety of St Agnes. McBride and Larn 1999 (page 187) list the whole crew of *Firebrand* by name and show 18 saved and 30 drowned. However, other sources say 21, 23 or 25 were saved out of a total of 45 or 50 men on board. Substantial numbers perished in this incident, making it one of the worst disasters in British naval history (Larn, ed, 2006).



Fig 2: Sir Cloudesley Shovell's fleet amongst the Western Rocks (National Maritime Museum).

What went Wrong?

- 2.1.7 Navigation at sea at this time was clearly not a precise science. This is amply illustrated by the dispatch of the frigate *Tartar* from Plymouth to cruise up and down looking for Sir Cloudesley's fleet in order to 'give him advice how the land bears from him'. To enable them to do this, they were instructed to 'make the land every day' (Larn 1999).
- 2.1.8 In 1960 Commander May wrote a detailed analysis of the surviving logbooks from the fleet. The 44 surviving logbooks include those of the captains, masters and

lieutenants, though it should be remembered that the sailing master is the one charged with the navigation of the ship (May 1960, 325). He concluded that the navigational errors were due to a number of different causes, including currents, compasses, and errors in the published navigation tables as well as inability to accurately determine longitude:

‘while the ‘Rennell Current’ and bad compasses might have contributed to the disaster, much more must be attributed to the lack of accurate knowledge of geographical positions and the low standard of accuracy of navigational practice’ (May 1960).

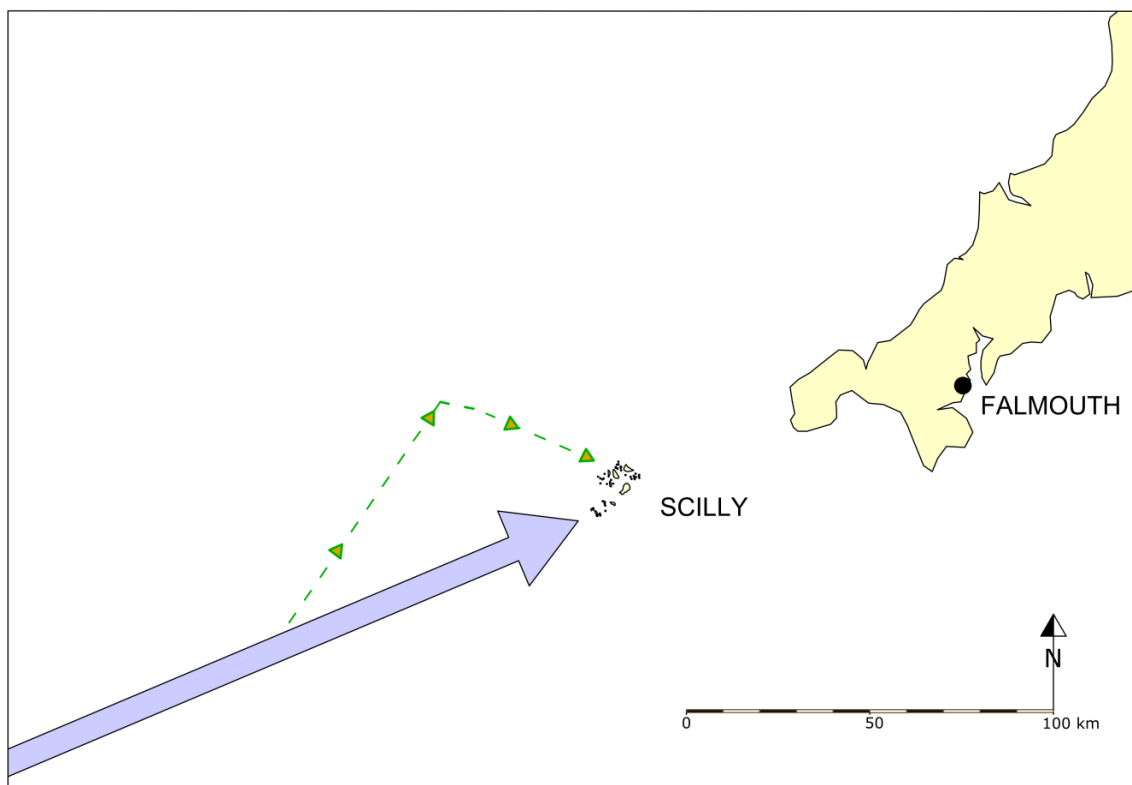


Fig 3: The situation on the 22nd October 1707. The large blue arrow shows the approximate course of the fleet, heading for the Western Rocks of Scilly on an ENE course. At 11 am three vessels were sent to Falmouth for convoy duties, shown as a green dashed line. They depart on a heading of NEbyN, but when they do not encounter the Cornish coast as expected they turn to EbyS and then ESE, which brings them to the Rocks of Scilly.

- 2.1.9 A good indication of where the fleet thought they were is given by the illustration of the three ships detached from the fleet to go to Falmouth for convoy duties (Newman forthcoming). When they left the fleet at 11 am on the morning of the disaster, the fleet were sailing ENE towards their encounter with the rocks of Scilly

that evening. But they thought they were clear of Scilly with the Channel open before them. The three detached vessels, *Lenox*, *Valeur* and *Phoenix* set off on a course of NEbyN (about 34° east of north). This course to Falmouth only makes sense if they thought they were in the Channel and east of Land's End. In the event they were west of Scilly so did not encounter the coast of Cornwall as expected and turned eastward, only to run into the Islands where the *Phoenix* was badly damaged on the rocks off Samson and was forced to run aground on the sand flats near Tresco (May 1960, 332). This amply demonstrates that the error the fleet made, and which ultimately cost so many lives, was in calculation of their longitude (location east to west).

Aftermath



Fig 4: Detail from Edmund Gostello's c1710 chart showing the locations of the wrecks (The National Archives MPH1/368).

2.1.10 The ‘establishment’ of each ship, which is the number of men to which she was entitled as crew, is listed below in Appendix 1. The actual number aboard would usually be slightly fewer than this (Winfield 2009; Colledge and Warlow 2006; Larn 1999). The establishment numbers indicate that on the four ships lost that night (*Association*, *Eagle*, *Romney* and *Firebrand*), there would have been 1465 people. Of these, only 19 were saved, giving a nominal number lost of 1446.

- 2.1.11 The estimates of the number of lives lost are as numerous as the different accounts of the '1707 disaster'. One estimate tells us: 'From an examination of the muster lists for the wrecked vessels, it has been established that a total of 1648 lives were lost' (Larn 1999). A complete crew list for the wrecked vessels was published in 1999, and showed that *Association* had 700 on board, *Eagle* 377, *Romney* 236 and *Firebrand* 48, making a total for the four wrecked ships of 1361. There were 19 survivors, so the final tally of lives lost was 1342.
- 2.1.12 Contemporary accounts suggest that Admiral Shovell with three or four gentlemen, either in his barge or on part of the *Association* wreckage, succeeded in reaching St Mary's from the Outer Gilstone, and his body was further washed up at Porth Hellick beach. The exact circumstances remain a mystery (Cooke 1883; Larn, ed, 2006; Swabey 2022) and apparently there is local tradition that the barge was first washed up at Watermill Cove further to the north on the coast of St Mary's (Morris 1969, 79).
- 2.1.13 The Admiral's body was washed up on Porth Hellick beach with his small greyhound dog, whose name was said to be Mumper. The bodies of his two stepsons John and James Narborough; Henry Trelawney, the second son of Bishop Trelawney; Captain Loades, Admiral Shovell's flag-captain also came ashore on St Mary's. There is no mention in contemporary accounts of other bodies, such as seamen or petty officers being washed up on Porth Hellick Beach (Larn, ed, 2006).
- 2.1.14 There is a legend that a local woman murdered Sir Cloudesley for his rings and cut off his fingers to steal them, this is now believed to be untrue (Larn, ed, 2006, 23–4).
- 2.1.15 The contemporary accounts noted make it clear that Sir Cloudesley was buried temporarily in a bank of sand four yards away from the beach. Within a few days his body was disinterred and later taken for reburial in Westminster Abbey. The other bodies were disinterred and reburied at Old Town Church (Swabey 2022). How the bodies of the Admiral and four gentlemen of high social and naval rank appear to have come ashore so far from the scene of wreck, reasonably close together remains a mystery (Larn, ed, 2006).
- 2.1.16 The distance between the Outer Gilstone rock and Porth Hellick is about 11 km. The St Agnes lighthouse, which was lit at the time, is about half way. Supposing there was time to launch the barge from the deck of the wreck and the Admiral, dog and four gentlemen did get aboard along with enough sailors to row it, why

did they not make for St Agnes, as did the captain of the *Firebrand* before she sank? (Larn, ed, 2006).

Early Salvage – The Herbert expedition

- 2.1.17 Two years after the disaster a venture was proposed in London to salvage the wrecked ships, learn about the circumstances of the incident and obtain witness statements from the islanders. Edmund Herbert who arrived in Scilly in 1709 was the expedition's clerk and accounts keeper (McBride and Larn 1999 58–69; Trevor Newman, pers comm).
- 2.1.18 The finding of the bodies at Porth Hellick is well documented in a paper presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1883 by James Cooke, which includes notes by Edmund Herbert which state: 'There came on shore in or very near the same cove the stern of Sir C's barge, which gives ground to believe he had time to get in it with some of his crew, though most people are not of that mind'.
- 2.1.19 The next salvage attempt on the wreck of the *Association* was reported in a newspaper, possibly the *Scots Courant* of 4th–10th August 1710:
- 'We hear from Scilly that the gentlemen concerned in the wreck of Sir Cloudisley Shovell's ship have taken several iron cannon, seven brass guns with a cable, and have found the *Association* in 4 fathoms of water (7.3m/24ft) at low tide, the hull of the ship being whole wherein there is vast treasure. The Queen's plate, several chests of money with great riches from the Grandees of Spain. The divers go down in a copper engine and continue two hours underwater, wherein they have also met with the fireship cast away at the same time as the *Association* [this was the *Firebrand*]. Had not the seas been so very high and boisterous all the treasure before this, (would) have been fished out.' (McBride and Larn 1999, 43–4; Trevor Newman, pers comm).

The Longitude Prize

- 2.1.20 At the time of the disaster there was no accurate way of determining a ship's longitude, which until the 18th century mariners gauged by means of 'dead reckoning'.
- 2.1.21 **Dead reckoning** – This is a plot of the ship's position on a chart, and was constructed from the distance travelled and the course steered. The distance was determined by the use of a log line. This was a piece of wood attached to a line marked out in knots and fathoms; it was cast into the sea and allowed to run out

for a set time (usually 28 seconds – measured with a sand glass). The course and speed were marked onto the log board every ‘bell’ (30 minutes). The master plotted this onto the chart at the end of every watch. The system was prone to many errors, and as each plot began where the last one ended the errors quickly accumulated.

- 2.1.22 **Latitude** (position north to south) – This could be determined with reasonable accuracy by measuring the maximum height of the sun or the pole star above the horizon. This angle could be used to calculate latitude. At the end of the seventeenth century this measurement would usually be made using a back staff.
- 2.1.23 **Longitude** (position east to west) – This can easily be calculated by comparing local noon (highest rise of the sun) with the time of noon at Greenwich (zero degrees longitude). Every four minutes of difference represents one degree of longitude. Unfortunately this requires an accurate timepiece (chronometer) which was not available to mariners in 1707.
- 2.1.24 This could have disastrous consequences and on the night of 22 October 1707, Sir Cloudesley Shovel had mistaken his longitude and was heading for the Western Rocks. The ensuing catastrophic loss of four warships along with the Rear Admiral of England and some 1340 men brought the question of longitude to the forefront of national affairs and precipitated the Longitude Act of 1714 in which Parliament promised a prize of £20,000 for a solution to the longitude problem – the Longitude Prize – which John Harrison eventually won with his invention of the chronometer c 1736 (Sobell 1995).

Rediscovery

- 2.1.25 This year (2023) marks the 50th anniversary of the Protection of Wrecks Act. This legislation came about largely as a result of the events surrounding the discovery and excavation of the wreck of HMS *Association*. These remarkable events read like a *Boys Own* adventure story, and while they engendered the Act designed to protect our historic wrecks – which continues in force to this day - it was over forty years before this protection was extended to the *Association* site itself. There are several differing accounts relating to the discovery of the *Association* and diving activity in Scilly between 1964 and 1973. A narrative history of the events in those years, based on contemporary newspaper reports, archive material, a review of secondary sources and interviews with surviving members of the dive teams is presented below in Appendix 2.

2.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE SURVIVING FEATURES

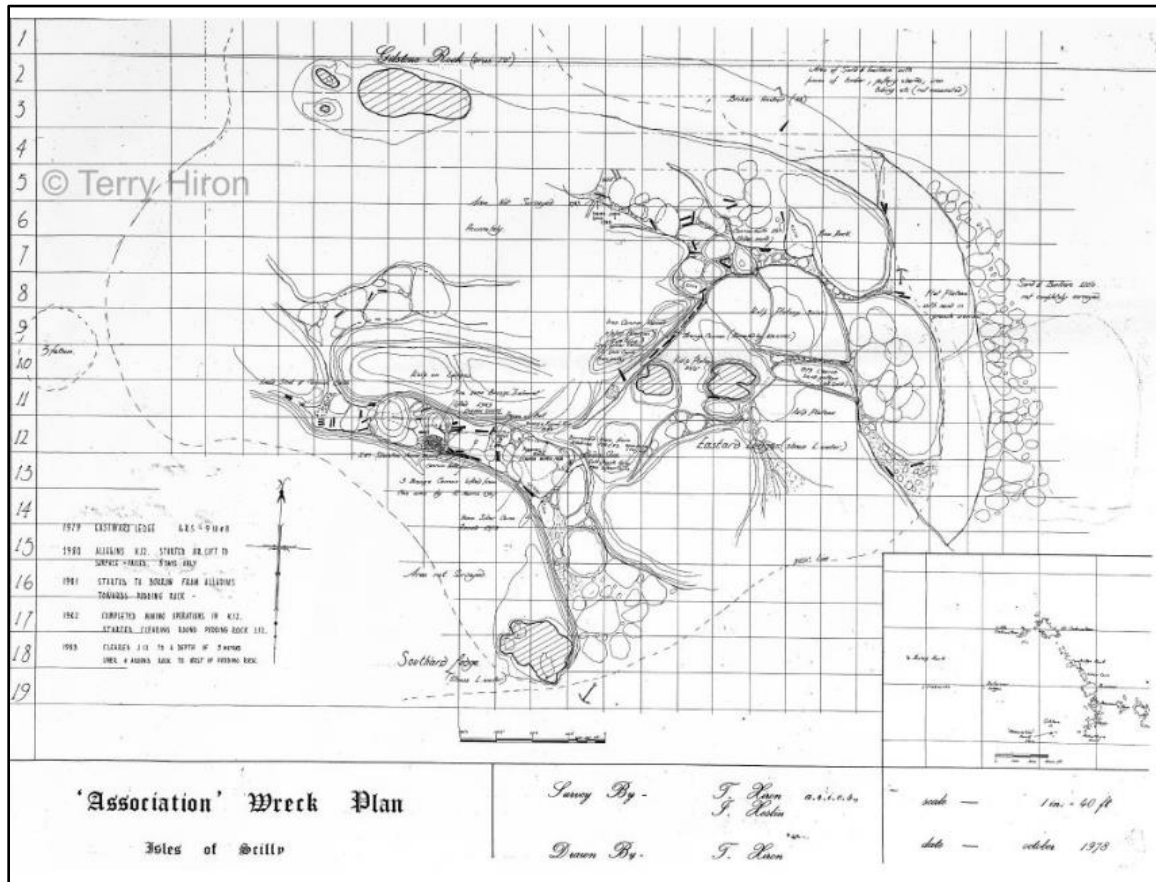


Fig 5: A survey of the Association undertaken in 1978 by Terry Hiron and Jim Heslin (reproduced with kind permission of Terry Hiron).

2.2.1 The site is located in deep rock gullies with large boulders. The depth of water over the site varies between 2 and 35m. On the seabed are over 60 iron guns, at least two anchors and a number of iron concretions including iron shot. Following discovery of the wreck on 4th July 1967, a number of different groups worked on the site including the Navy divers, a team led by Roland Morris, Blue Seas Divers and the Regency/Poseidon team. Some guns and at least two anchors have been removed from the site. Numerous artefacts have been recovered from the site including a considerable quantity of coins. From about 1971 the site was buoyed and worked by Terry Hiron and Jim Heslin. A detailed plan of the site was produced by Terry Hiron (Fig 5).

2.2.2 A multi-beam echo sounder survey (MBES) of the Association was undertaken on 21st April 2017 as part of the Isles of Scilly Designated Wrecks Interpretation Project (Camidge 2017). Of all the designated wreck sites in Scilly, the Association was the

most difficult to survey. A number of rocks which break surface at low tide make navigating a boat in this area either interesting or terrifying depending on your outlook and disposition. Figure 6 below shows the areas which it was not possible to survey; unfortunately, in this case a significant proportion of the known site remains are within areas not surveyed. However, the MBES has provided data allowing us to map the seabed around the site. In the 3D model the missing areas were reconstructed from photographs, video and sketch plans. The iron guns and two anchors are located in deep rock gullies with large boulders. In many cases, the guns are located beneath the boulders. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that none of the guns or anchors are discernible on the MBES survey.

- 2.2.3 A photo and video survey of the designated wrecks was also undertaken by the CISMAS dive team 13th–18th August 2017 (Camidge 2017). The divers entered the site at the eastern end of a deep gulley with large boulders and eroded iron guns. The shot-line was at position 255005E, 5528945N UTM. We believe this is the gulley labelled as ‘Cannon Gulley’ on Terry Hiron’s plan of the site (Fig 5). During the dive, this gulley was explored to the west of the entry point and numerous iron guns and occasional iron concretions were encountered. As the visibility was poor and light levels very low, conditions were not ideal for photography.

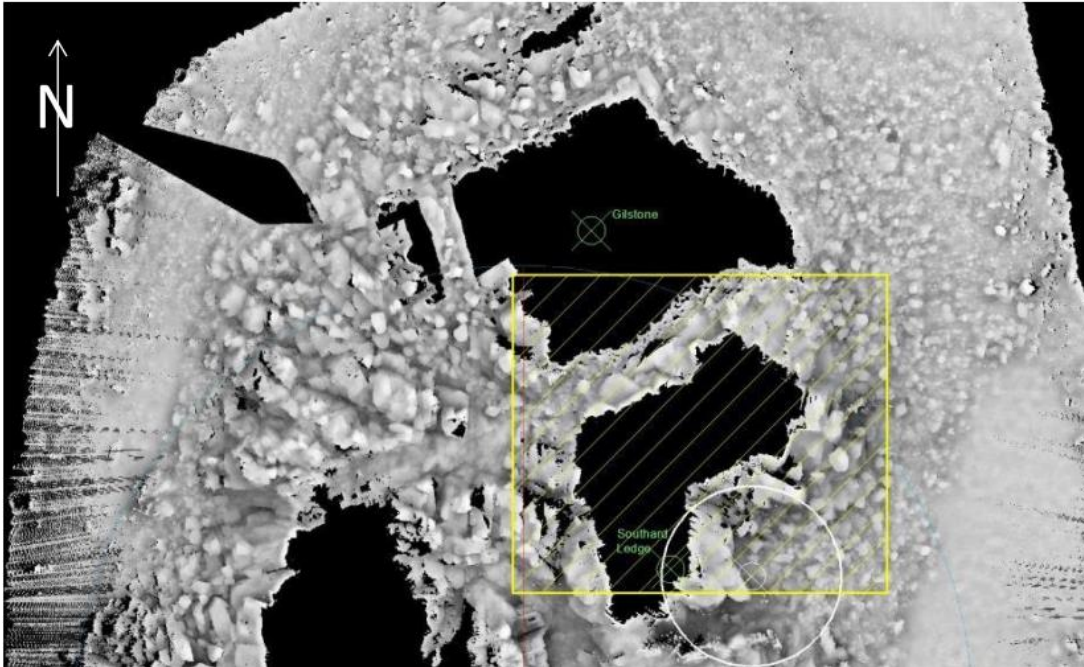


Fig 6: The MBES survey of the Association is plotted above in grey. The black areas are regions which were not surveyed – the ‘black holes’ in the surveyed area represent areas where rocks prevented the boat surveying. The area of known remains on the site (iron guns and anchors) is represented by the yellow rectangle. The white circle denotes the current designated area.



Fig 7: One of the iron guns located within ‘Cannon Gulley’ on the wreck of the Association.

2.3 RECOVERED ARTEFACTS

- 2.3.1 The Isles of Scilly Museum on St Mary's has a collection of artefacts from the *Association* and the other 1707 wrecks, much of it gifted by the Navy divers including a breech-loading swivel gun and a small muzzle-loading cannon. Other material includes large bronze pulley-wheels from rigging blocks, a large brass tap from the *Association's* galley kettle, fragments of the copper kettle itself, wooden pulley-sheaves, lead items and various shot. A rare 17th century sail-maker's brass seaming tool, silver spoons and a pewter chamber-pot possibly belonging to Sir Cloudesley are all part of this unique collection. The Museum's Baxter Library holds a large amount of research material and documentation concerning the 1707 disaster (Larn, ed, 2006, 41).
- 2.3.2 There are some artefacts on display at the Charlestown Shipwreck Museum, but these have not been recorded (*Association* was not designated when the recording of material from designated sites was undertaken).
- 2.3.3 In July 1968 the Morris team found a silver plate with the crest of Sir Cloudesley Shovell engraved on the rim. The plate is now on display in the Guildhall Museum, Rochester (see below Appendix 2).
- 2.3.4 One particular private collection includes two bronze breech-loaders, a bronze signal gun and two musketoon. Another contains numerous small artefacts including shoe buckles, brass taps, sounding leads, lead inkwells, a pewter surgical syringe, eating utensils, watch parts, several gold rings and original letters signed by Sir Cloudesley prior to 1707 (Larn, ed, 2006, 41).
- 2.2.5 Many of the artefacts recovered from the site are in private ownership; the location of many of them is not known.

2.4 OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CURRENT USE

- 2.4.1 As a former warship, the *Association* remains property of the Crown (MoD) for there is no evidence that the wreck has been disposed of. The seabed around the Isles of Scilly is also owned by the Crown and administered by the Crown Estate.

2.5 GAPS IN EXISTING KNOWLEDGE

- 2.5.1 The career of the *Association* and the circumstances of her loss are described by many commentators, including Cooke (1883), Morris (1969), McBride and Larn (1999) and Larn (2006). Confusion about the events leading up to and following

- her rediscovery in 1967 has been clarified by research for this Plan (see below Appendix 2).
- 2.5.2 The exact circumstances of how Sir Cloudesley came to be washed up at Porth Hellick and the bodies other gentlemen from the *Association* to come ashore on St Mary's remains a mystery.
 - 2.5.3 We do not know where the bodies of those seamen who were washed ashore were buried. Legend has it that that there is a mass burial site on St Agnes on the site of what is now the sports ground. A geophysical survey of this area in 2007 did not produce any positive results (Mulville *et al* 2007).
 - 2.5.4 Human bone from at least one skeleton and two skulls were recovered from the *Association*. We do not know how much more human bone or other organic material survives in anerobic deposits in gullies on the site. But bone, leather, wood and fabric have all been reported.
 - 2.5.6 We need to understand more about the many recovered artefacts from the site. In particular, the current whereabouts of the objects needs to be established. The surviving artefacts should be assessed by an appropriate specialist.
 - 2.5.7 An archive should be compiled covering all the existing site records and artefacts. This is probably best achieved by undertaking a desk-based assessment for the site.
 - 2.5.8 A formal programme of staged assessment and research is required to contribute towards a fuller understanding of the site in its entirety.

3 Assessment of Significance

3.1 BASIS FOR ASSESSMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

- 3.1.1 Significance means the sum of the cultural and natural heritage values of a place (English Heritage 2008). Cultural heritage value has many aspects, including the potential of a place to yield primary information about past human activity (evidential value, which includes archaeological value), the ways in which it can provide direct links to past people, events and aspects of life (historical value), the ways in which people respond to a place through sensory and intellectual experience of it (aesthetic value, which includes architectural value) and the meanings of a place for the people who identify with it, and communities for whom it is part of their collective memory (communal value).

- 3.1.2 In addition, the historic environment is a cultural and natural heritage resource shared by communities characterised not just by geographical location but also by common interests and values. As such, emphasis may be placed upon important consequential benefits or potential, for example as an educational, recreational, or economic resource, which the historic environment provides. The seamless cultural and natural strands of the historic environment are a vital part of everyone's heritage, held in stewardship for the benefit of future generations.
- 3.1.3 The basis for assessing significance therefore enables consideration of the varying degrees of significance of different elements of the site. By identifying those elements which are vital to its significance and so must not be lost or compromised, we are able to identify elements which are of lesser value, and elements which have little value or detract from the significance of the site.

3.2 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Evidential Value

- 3.2.1 The evidential value of the *Association* Protected Wreck site lies in the array of artefacts surviving on the seabed comprising over 60 iron guns, at least two anchors and a number of iron concretions including iron shot.
- 3.2.2 Evidential value also lies in the recovered artefacts. It could be argued that this artefactual evidence is more significant, as it is easier to access and to appreciate compared to the seabed remains.

Historical Value

- 3.2.3 As the flagship of Sir Cloudesley Shovell, Rear Admiral of England and Admiral of the White, the historical significance of the *Association* Protected Wreck site lies in its connection with the calamity which befell Sir Cloudesley's fleet amongst the Western Rocks on the night of the 22nd October 1707. The extent of this tragedy was exceeded only by the 'Great Storm' of 1703, in which 13 warships and 2000 seamen were lost, as the worst peacetime disaster that the Royal Navy has ever suffered (McBride and Larn 1999).
- 3.2.4 At the beginning of the 18th century there was no accurate way of determining a ship's longitude. Sir Cloudesley had miscalculated his longitude and was heading for the Western Rocks, an error he almost certainly realized by the afternoon of 22nd October. The loss of a Rear Admiral of England, along with four warships and about 1340 men brought the question of longitude to the

forefront of national affairs and precipitated the Longitude Act of 1714 in which parliament promised a prize for the solution of the longitude problem – the Longitude Prize – which was eventually won by John Harrison’s invention of the chronometer in c 1736 (Sobell 1995).

Aesthetic Value

- 3.2.5 The site is located within the Gilstone to Gorregan Marine Conservation Zone, Isles of Scilly MCZ and the Isles of Scilly Special Area of Conservation (SAC). The land mass of Scilly down to Lowest Astronomical Tide is designated as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB).
- 3.2.6 The wreck site has a bleak aesthetic. It can be very dark, and the deep narrow gullies and thick kelp growth often give a gloomy and somewhat eerie feeling. Swimming down the deep rock gullies, it becomes apparent that most of the cannons are broken and trapped under huge boulders, an intimation of the great forces at play on the site during stormy weather. All you see (if you are lucky enough to find the right gulley) is dull grey broken cannon, and amorphous masses of iron concretion.
- 3.2.7 There is considerable aesthetic value in the artefacts recovered from the wreck which are now in museum and private collections.



Fig 8: Sir Cloudesley Shovell’s memorial at Porth Hellick, St Mary’s, Isles of Scilly.

Communal Value

- 3.2.8 Of the countless shipwrecks that have occurred in Scilly, the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and four ships of his fleet was one of the worst disasters – the other being the wreck of the *SS Schiller* in 1875 (Over 1993). The story of the 1707 calamity is part of Scillonian collective memory and folklore.
- 3.2.9 There are a great number of local myths and legends about the circumstances of the wreck and the discovery of Sir Cloudesley's body at Porth Hellick.
- 3.2.10 The spot where his body was found is now marked by a rough stone monument (Fig 8). The Rev Troutbeck wrote in c 1794 'A little pit in the sand, upon Porth Hellick Bar, still shews where the soldier and his wife buried Sir Cloudesley Shovel's body; the pit never fills up with sand, and what is remarkable, no grass ever grows upon it'.
- 3.2.11 There are also more recent myths and legends about the rediscovery of the *Association* in 1967 and the 'gold rush' that followed.
- 3.2.12 The local community retains a keen interest in the site and may be viewed as 'unofficial custodians'. Some members of the community have published their own interpretations of the site. In this capacity, the community investigates and to some extent monitors the site and self-regulates visiting divers. In addition, *Association* may be seen to provide recreational (and therefore economic) resource by virtue of diving tourism. Local educational value may be viewed in relation to the display in the Isles of Scilly Museum.
- 3.2.13 Designation of the *Association* under the Act is, in itself, an expression of communal value.
- 3.2.14 Whereas historical and communal values contribute to the assessment of significance of the *Association* Protected Wreck site, these values cannot stand alone. Without the continued enhancement of certain values, interest in the *Association* site would be diminished. As such evidential material remains on the seabed are vital to the significance of the site, they must therefore not be lost or compromised
- 3.2.15 The following table seeks to summarise these values of the *Association* Protected Wreck site, by noting how they relate to the surviving fabric and its constituent parts:

Evidential	<p><i>Relating to the potential of Association to yield primary information about past human activity.</i></p> <p>The evidential significance of the Association site lies in the array of artefacts surviving on the seabed: over 60 iron guns, at least two anchors, cannon balls and iron concretions.</p> <p>Evidential value also lies in the recovered artefacts. It could be argued that this artefactual evidence is more significant, as it is easier to access and to appreciate compared to the seabed remains.</p>
Historical	<p><i>Relating to the ways in which Association can provide direct links to past people, events and aspects of life.</i></p> <p>The historical significance of the Association Protected Wreck site lies in its connection with the catastrophe which befell Sir Cloudesley Shovel's fleet amongst the Western Rocks on the night of the 22nd October 1707. This was the second worst peacetime disaster that the Royal Navy has ever suffered. It brought the question of longitude to the forefront of national affairs and precipitated the Longitude Act of 1714 in which Parliament promised a prize for the solution of the longitude problem eventually won by John Harrison's invention of the chronometer in c 1736.</p>
Aesthetic	<p><i>Relating to the ways in which people respond to Association through sensory and intellectual experience of it.</i></p> <p>Association is located in the Gilstone to Gorregan Marine Conservation Zone and the Isles of Scilly Special Area of Conservation (SAC). The land mass of Scilly down to Lowest Astronomical Tide is designated as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB).</p> <p>The wreck site has a bleak aesthetic. It can be very dark, due to the deep narrow gullies and thick kelp growth; this can often give the site a gloomy and somewhat eerie feeling.</p> <p>There is considerable aesthetic value in the artefacts still upon the seabed and those recovered from the wreck which are now in museum collections</p>
Communal	<p><i>Relating to the meanings of Association to the people who identify with it, and whose collective memory it holds.</i></p> <p>Of the countless shipwrecks that have occurred in Scilly, the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and much of his fleet was one of the two worst disasters – the other being the wreck of the SS Schiller in 1875 (Over 1993). The story of 1707 calamity is part of Scillonian collective memory and folklore.</p> <p>Designation of the Association under the Act is, in itself, an expression of communal value.</p>

Table 3: Summary of the Evidential, Historical, Aesthetic and Communal values of the Association.

3.3 GAPS IN UNDERSTANDING SIGNIFICANCE

3.3.1 Despite the acknowledged need for a formal programme of staged assessment and research, the assessment of significance has not been acutely hindered by any gaps in knowledge identified in Section 2.5 above. However, certain key gaps in our understanding of the significance of the component parts of the site may need to be filled so that these significances can contribute to informing its future conservation management. Most notable among these would be to establish the full extent of the site and to identify any surviving structural remains (contributing to our understanding of the evidential value of remaining components).

3.3.2 We do not know how much more human bone or other organic material survives in anerobic deposits in gullies on the site.

3.3.3 We do not know how many artefacts have been removed from the site or how they have been dispersed.

3.3.4 The site has not been visited by the diving contractor to Historic England.

3.4 STATUTORY AND OTHER DESIGNATIONS

3.4.1 Designation History: Designation Order: 753 Made: 18th March 2014 Laid before Parliament: 20th March 2014 Coming into force: 21st March 2014 Protected area: 50 meters within 49 51.73 N 006 24.50 W.

3.4.2 The Isles of Scilly were designated as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) in 1975 while the Isles of Scilly Special Area of Conservation (SAC) was designated on the 1st April 2005 under SI No. 2716 Conservation (Natural Habitats) Regulations (1994), pursuant to the EC Habitats Directive 92/43/EEC on the Conservation of Natural Habitats and of Wild Fauna and Flora (1992). The Isles of Scilly inshore Marine Conservation Zone (MCZ) was designated in November 2013 and the *Association* lies within the Gilstone to Gorregan area of the MCZ.

3.4.2 Public authorities who operate in England must consider what they can do to conserve and enhance biodiversity in England. This is the strengthened 'biodiversity duty' introduced by the s.201 Environment Act 2021. [Complying with the biodiversity duty - GOV.UK \(www.gov.uk\)](https://www.gov.uk/guidance/complying-with-the-biodiversity-duty)

4 Issues and Vulnerability

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 This section summarises the main conservation and management issues that specifically affect, or may affect, the significance of the monument and its component parts and elements. The ways in which the significance of the site may be vulnerable will also be identified.

4.1.2 Vulnerability (and therefore risk) may be assessed against environmental factors (such as natural processes) and human impact on the site, including the setting. Research should be undertaken to assess site specific marine environments to provide a better understanding of the level of risk to assets or whether the site is in a stable condition. Current assessment may indicate that such sites are at medium or high risk, unless they are completely buried below bed level during successive tidal cycles.

4.1.3 It is accepted that all wreck sites are vulnerable simply because of the nature of their environment, though sites will be considered to be at risk when there is a threat of damage, decay or loss of the monument. However, damage, deterioration or loss of the monument through natural or other impacts will not necessarily be considered to put the monument at risk if there is a programme of positive management. Practical measures that affect site stability, preservation *in situ* and increased visitor access will be addressed here, while the necessity to address the sites' post-excavation back-log is recognised.

4.1.4 Issues relate specifically to the values identified in Section 3.2 above and are presented here thematically rather than in order of severity or priority for remedial action. Relevant issues cover a wide range, including - but not restricted to:

- The physical condition of the site and its setting.
- Conservation and presentation philosophy.
- Visitor and other legal/ownership requirements.
- The existence (or lack) of appropriate uses.
- Resources, including financial constraints and availability of skills.
- Lack of information or understanding about aspects of the site.
- Conflicts between different types of significance.

4.2 THE PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE SITE AND ITS SETTING

4.2.1 As described above in Section 2.2, the site is located in deep rock gullies with large boulders (Fig 9). There are over 60 iron guns, at least two anchors and a number of iron concretions including iron shot (Fig 10). Some guns and two anchors have been removed from the site. Numerous artefacts have been recovered from the site including a considerable quantity of coins.

4.2.2 The site is exposed to unhindered Atlantic swells . Cannons are buried under huge boulders, hence the boulders must have moved since 1707 to lie over the cannon.

4.2.3 It is worth looking at the descriptions of the site by those who spent many hours underwater on the wreck in the late 1960s.

‘Huge boulders, some as large as a house had been rolled onto sections of the ship, crushing the pulp out of any remaining fragment of oak, turning the glass, cups and plates into a scattered mass of broken china... Every section of the site was the same, solidified and as hard as concrete. The only way to recover any items was to use a hammer and chisel’ (Rogers nd c 1970).

‘A treasure site as big as a football pitch with ups and downs of 120 feet’ and ‘vast treasure. The Queen’s plate, several chests of money, besides 10 chests of Sir Cloudesley’s own’ (Mike Hicks, reported in *The Cornishman* 20 March 1969).

‘It’s like the surface of the moon with gullies and boulders and ridges – and cannon scattered here, there and everywhere’ (Morris 1969, 65).

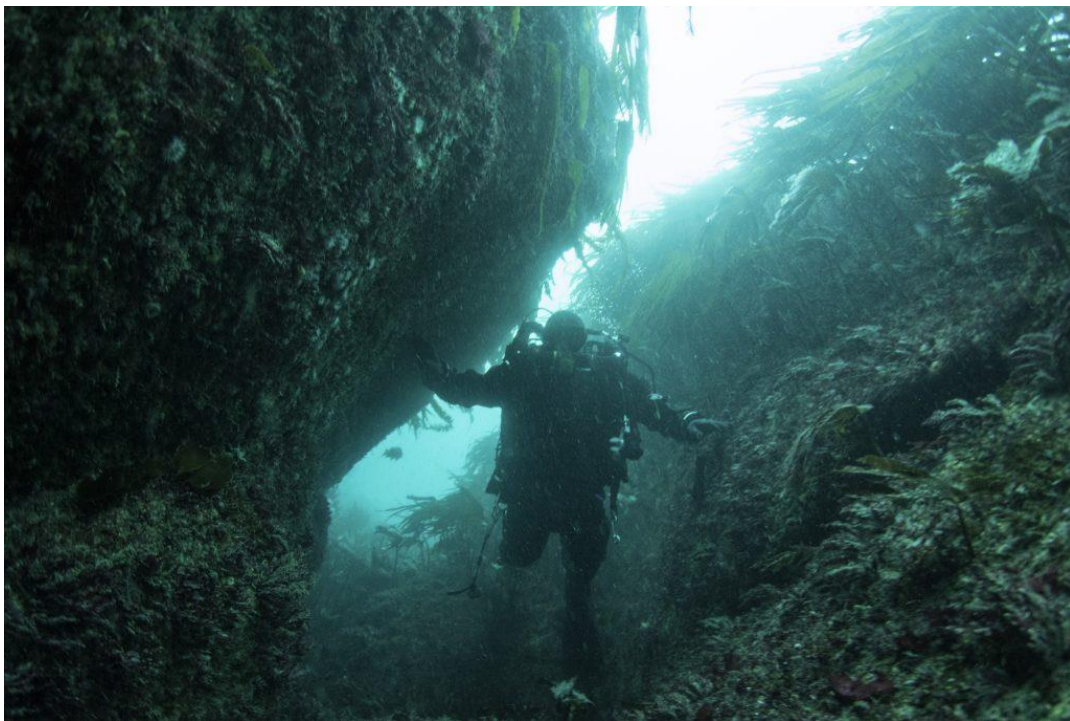


Fig 9: CISMAS volunteer Brendon Rowe. This picture gives some idea of the deep rock gullies in which most of the wreck remains now lie.

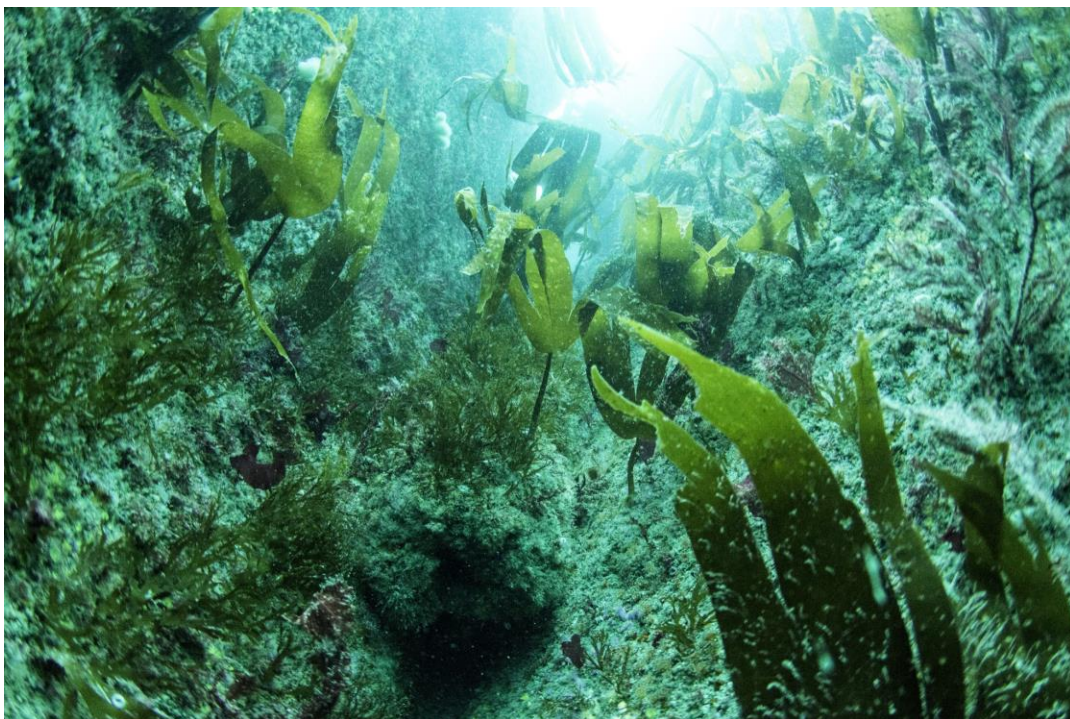


Fig 10: All that remains visible of the Association on the seabed today are the iron objects: cannons, anchors. These are to be found in rock gullies such as can be seen here.

4.3 CONSERVATION AND PRESENTATION PHILOSOPHY

- 4.3.1 There is some interpretive information available for the site online. Material is currently available on the Historic England, CISMAS and Wikipedia web sites.
- 4.3.2 There is an imaginative online project called 'Shovell and the Longitude' on the website 'Crayford History – the story of our town through time' which includes an interactive booklet with illustrations by Michael Foreman. Now in the London borough of Bexley, Crayford was formerly in Kent. In 1695 Sir Cloudesley moved to Crayford after becoming the local Member of Parliament. Shovell and the Longitude, Crayford History
- 4.3.3 The *Association* features in Episode 2 of the BBC4 TV series 'Shipwrecks: Britain's Sunken History'.
- 4.3.4 The Isles of Scilly Museum on St Mary's has a collection of artefacts from the *Association* and the other 1707 wrecks. The former Museum building in Church Street was built to house the finds from Nornour and opened by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in 1967. Sadly, due to structural problems it was necessary to close it to the public in 2019 and investigations revealed that it was beyond economic repair. The collections were put into storage or temporarily returned to their owners. The new home for the Museum will be the Town Hall with the addition of a performance space and supporting facilities to create a combined heritage and cultural centre for the islands. The Museum is currently located in the existing Town Hall with limited space for displays (which include the *Association* and 1707 wrecks). The museum's temporary closure puts the collection at risk and therefore makes a stronger case for improvement of the dive trail as one of the key outcomes of the management plan.
- 4.3.5 There is a small display at the Charlestown Shipwreck Museum, Cornwall.
- 4.3.6 In July 1968 the Morris team found a silver plate with the crest of Sir Cloudesley Shovell engraved on the rim. The plate is now on display in the Guildhall Museum, Rochester (see below Appendix 2).
- 4.3.7 Most of the artefacts recovered from the site are in private ownership. Many of the objects recovered are no longer available for study; the location of many of them is not known.

4.4 VISITOR AND OTHER OCCUPANCY REQUIREMENTS

- 4.4.1 Public access to the site is achieved by licence under the Act. This licensing is currently administered by Historic England. The dive charter boats operating in Scilly have annual licences to visit for the protected wreck sites of *HMS Colossus*, the *Association*, Tearing Ledge and Bartholomew Ledges (see below Appendix 5 for a list of licensees).
- 4.4.2 A web-based virtual site tour has been produced for the *Association*, funded by Historic England (Camidge 2017). The virtual site tour consists of a base image (constructed where possible, from the MBES survey) with clickable links to video, photographs and text for that part of the site (Fig 11).

<https://vdt.cismas.org.uk/trails/association/association-3d-site-plan/>

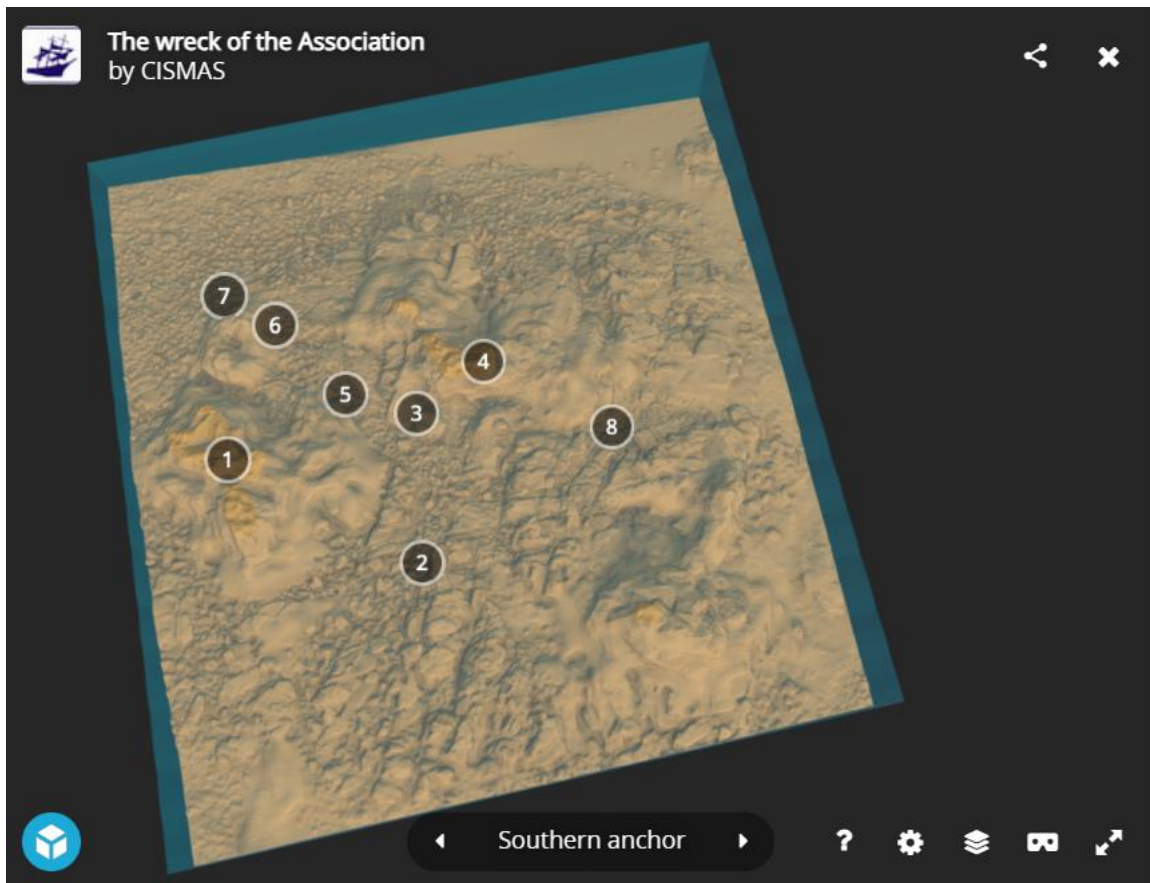


Fig 11: 3D model of the Association Protected Wreck site.

5 Conservation Management Policies

5.1 INTRODUCTION

- 5.1.1 The *Association* Protected Wreck site forms a unique record of past human activity which reflects the aspirations, ingenuity and investment of resources of previous generations. In addition, it is an economic asset, and provides a resource for education and enjoyment.
- 5.1.2 It is intended that the policies will create a framework for managing change on the *Association* Protected Wreck site that is clear in purpose, and transparent and sustainable in its application. Our aim is to achieve implementation through the principles of shared ownership and partnership working so as to balance protection with economic and social needs.
- 5.1.3 Policies are also compatible with, and reflect, *Conservation Principles Policies and guidance* (English Heritage, 2008) and Historic England's published policies and guidelines, as well as the wider statutory framework.

5.2 THE ASSOCIATION IS A SHARED RESOURCE

- 5.2.1 In addition, the conflict between the desire for access to the site and the restrictions imposed by conservation needs and legislative limitations will be reconciled through continued flexible and appropriate visitor management.
- 5.2.2 Therefore, we should sustain and use the *Association* Protected Wreck site in ways that allow people to enjoy and benefit from it, but which do not compromise the ability of future generations to do the same.

Management Policy 1

We will seek to develop appropriate visitor access to the monument, including virtual access, as a mechanism to develop the value of the site. However, visitor access to the site needs to be considered in the light of the difficult environmental conditions and the high value and portability of the artefacts previously recovered from this site.

Management Policy 2

We will encourage the recording and expert appraisal of the artefact assemblage recovered from the site.

Management Policy 3

We will seek to facilitate new interpretive material for the site. This should be displayed locally, ideally to accompany some of the artefacts from the site in the Isles of Scilly Museum.

5.3 EVERYONE CAN PARTICIPATE IN SUSTAINING THE ASSOCIATION

- 5.3.1 Stakeholders have the opportunity to contribute to understanding and sustaining the *Association* Protected Wreck site. Judgements about its values and decisions about its future will be made in ways that are accessible, inclusive and transparent.
- 5.3.2 Practitioners should use their knowledge, skills and experience to encourage others to understand, value and care for their heritage. Practitioners play a crucial role in communicating and sustaining the established values of the wreck, and in helping people to articulate the values they attach to it.
- 5.3.3 Education at all stages should help to raise awareness and understanding of such values, including the varied ways in which these values are perceived by different generations and communities. It should also help people to develop, maintain and pass on their knowledge and skills. Where appropriate we shall encourage the use of the site as a training resource.
- 5.3.4 Building on this success, we will develop provision for a flexible voluntary management agreement for the *Association* Protected Wreck site. This will enable greater partnership, better planning, a reduction in individual licence applications and a more holistic approach to the needs of the *Association*.

Management Policy 4 Through web-based initiatives, we will continue to develop the accessibility of related material and support appropriate links, as well as do more to enlist effective local support.

Management Policy 5 Mechanisms will be identified and implemented so as to develop shared ownership and partnership working.

5.4 UNDERSTANDING THE VALUE OF THE ASSOCIATION IS VITAL

- 5.4.1 The significance of the *Association* Protected Wreck site embraces all the interdependent cultural and natural heritage values that are associated with it. To identify and appreciate those values, it is essential first to understand the structure and ecology of the place, how and why that has changed over time, and its present character.

- 5.4.2 Judgements about values are necessarily specific to the time they are made. As understanding develops, and as people's perceptions evolve and places change, so assessments of significance will alter and tend to grow more complex.
- 5.4.3 We acknowledge that records of previous activities on the *Association Protected Wreck* site form an irreplaceable resource to identify previous values and assist with maintaining a cumulative account of what has happened to the site, and with understanding of how its significance may have been altered.
- 5.4.4 Further, a formal programme of staged assessment and research is required, to contribute towards a fuller understanding of the site in its entirety. Such work will conform to the *Management of Research Projects in the Historic Environment* (Historic England 2015) and is likely to comprise the following stages:
- Collation of the site's artefactual and documentary archive.
 - Assessment to determine academic potential of the archive.
 - Determination of further work to fulfil this academic potential.
 - Preparation of a research archive.
 - Report text for publication,
 - Publication.

Management Policy 6 Key gaps in understanding the significance of the monument's component parts should be identified, prioritised and addressed so that these significances can contribute to informing the future conservation management of the place.

Management Policy 7 We will seek to commission a staged programme of assessment and research to contribute towards a fuller understanding of the site in its entirety.

Management Policy 8 We will encourage the investigation and survey of the area around the known remains to establish the full extent of the site.

- 5.5 THE ASSOCIATION WILL BE MANAGED TO SUSTAIN ITS VALUES
- 5.5.1 Conservation is the process of managing change in ways that will best sustain the values of a place in its contexts, and which recognises opportunities to reveal or reinforce those values.
- 5.5.2 Changes in the *Association Protected Wreck* site underwater are inevitable and

it is acknowledged that all wreck sites are vulnerable simply because of the nature of their environment. It is therefore justifiable to use law and public policy to regulate the management of the *Association* Protected Wreck site as a place of established heritage value.

- 5.5.3 However, measures taken to counter the effects of natural change will be proportionate to the identified risks, and sustainable in the long term.
- 5.5.4 Other changes will be devised so as to avoid material harm. Irreversible intervention on the *Association* Protected Wreck site may nonetheless be justified if it provides new information about the past, reveals or reinforces the values of a place or helps sustain those values for future generations – so long as the impact is demonstrably proportionate to the predicted benefits.
- 5.5.5 The effects of changes to the condition of the *Association* Protected Wreck site will be monitored and evaluated, and the results used to inform subsequent action.
- 5.5.6 If retaining any significant part of the *Association* Protected Wreck site is not reasonably practicable, its potential to inform us about the past will be exploited. This involves the recovery of information through survey and controlled excavation, followed by analysis, archiving and dissemination of the results at a standard appropriate to its significance.
- 5.5.7 The costs of this work should normally be borne by those who initiate the change.

Management Policy 9 Unnecessary disturbance of the seabed within the restricted area should be avoided wherever possible in order to minimise the risk of damage to buried archaeological material.

Management Policy 10 The sale of artefacts recovered from the site should be monitored as far as possible. The UK has adopted 'The Rules', an annex to the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage ('UNESCO Convention') which includes the principle that underwater cultural heritage should not be commercially exploited.

Management Policy 11 This management plan will be reviewed and updated on a regular basis so that it continues to reflect the conditions and state of knowledge pertaining to the site.

6 Forward Plan

6.1 INTRODUCTION

- 6.1.1 In order to commence the implementation of the proposed Management Policies outlined in Section 5, Historic England is seeking to initiate a range of projects that will increase our understanding of the value and setting of the *Association* Protected Wreck site. These projects are outlined below.

6.2 PROPOSED FUTURE WORK IN RELATION TO THE ASSOCIATION

- 6.2.1 This management document prompts review of the position of the wreck. The current designated area does not cover all the known remains (it is situated too far to the south and is too small).
- 6.2.2 This management document recommends that review and appraisal of all the surviving artefacts recovered from the site should be undertaken by a finds specialist.
- 6.2.3 This management document highlights a need to collate all the surviving records, list all the known finds and their current location and to reconcile the various site plans which exist. The simplest way to achieve these objectives would be to produce a desk-based assessment for the site.
- 6.2.4 This management document recommends that when resources are available, we will seek to initiate a survey of the area around the known remains to establish the full extent of the site. This should take into account the past recoveries of human remains from the site.
- 6.2.5 This management document recommends that we update the virtual dive trail and aim to produce a small guide slate including a site plan for the site (similar to the one produced for HMS *Colossus*). This would be available on board the visiting dive charter boats to inform visiting divers about the site.

7 Implementation

7.1 CONSULTATION

- 7.1.1 An agreed draft of the *Conservation Statement and Management Plan* for the *Association* Protected Wreck site was internally reviewed by Historic England.
- 7.1.2 The draft *Conservation Statement and Management* was circulated for a four-

week stakeholder consultation to refine how the values and features of the *Association Protected Wreck* site can be conserved, maintained and enhanced. Responses to the consultation have been considered and the *Plan* revised as appropriate.

7.1.3 21 different organisations and individuals were consulted. Those who responded are listed below. Their comments have helped formulate the final version of this document.

1. Cornwall Archaeological Unit
2. Historic England
3. Marine and Coastguard Agency – including the Receiver of Wreck
4. Richard Larn
5. Terry Hiron
6. Mike Williams
7. Nautical Archaeology Society
8. British Sub-Aqua Club
9. Trevor Newman
10. Navy Secretariat Heritage
11. Historic England South West

7.2 ADOPTION OF POLICIES

7.2.1 The final *Conservation Statement and Management Plan* will be adopted in 2024 [date to be confirmed]. Stakeholders, please note that this document remains a draft until it is adopted.

7.2.2 A programme that identifies a realistic timescale for implementing the updated plan – taking into account those areas which need immediate action, those which can be implemented in the medium or long term, and those which are ongoing - will be devised.

7.2.3 Responsibilities for implementation of the *Management Plan* lie with Historic England, though consultation with stakeholders will be maintained throughout. In addition, provision will be made for periodic review and updating of the *Plan*.

8 Acknowledgements

This Conservation Statement and Management Plan for the Association was funded by Historic England through their Heritage Protection Commissions Open Programme. We would like to thank Hefin Meara, National Listing Adviser (Marine) Historic England and Jenni Butterworth of Drakon Heritage and Conservation, the Project Assurance Officer for Historic England.

Help with the historic research was given by Richard Larn OBE, Terry Hiron and Trevor Newman. Kate Hale facilitated access to the Isles of Scilly Museum to view their display and helped organise an outreach event and pop-up display. Rachael Utting provided a list of finds held by the Museum.

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Appendix 1: Sir Cloudesley Shovell's homeward bound fleet, October 1707

Ship (guns)	Class	Crew*	Captain	Comments
Royal Anne (100)	First Rate	750	William Passenger	Flagship of George Byng
St George (96)	Second Rate	680	Lord Dursley	
Association (90)	Second Rate	680	Samuel Whitaker	Flagship of Sir Cloudesley Shovell
Somerset (80)	Third Rate	476	John Price	
Torbay (80)	Third Rate	476-520	William Faulkner	Flagship of Sir John Norris
Eagle (70)	Third Rate	460	Robert Hancock	
Lenox (70)	Third Rate	460	Sir William Jumper	
Orford (70)	Third Rate	460	Charles Cornwall	
Swiftsure (70)	Third Rate	440	Richard Griffith	
Monmouth (66)	Third Rate	440	John Baker	
Panther (54)	Fourth Rate	280	Henry Hobart	
Romney (54)	Fourth Rate	280	William Coney	
Rye (32)	Fifth Rate	145	Edward Vernon	
Valeur (24)	Sixth Rate	110	Robert Johnson	Ex French warship La Valeur
Cruizer (24)	Sixth Rate	115	John Shales	Ex French warship Le Meric
Weasel (10)	Sloop	80	James Gunman	
Isabella (10)	Yacht	30	Finch Reddall	
Vulcan (8)	Fireship	45	William Ockman	
Firebrand (8)	Fireship	45	Francis Percy	
Griffin (8)	Fireship	45	William Houlding	
Phoenix (8)	Fireship	45	Michael Sansom	Damaged but not lost

* This is the official complement not the actual number carried

Appendix 2 Discovery of the *Association* and diving activity in Scilly 1964 to 1973.

Rediscovery

The archaeologist John Dunbar led a diving expedition to Scilly in 1956; this may have been the first use of Self-contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus (SCUBA) equipment in the islands. He was looking for the historic wrecks of *Colossus* and *Association* and found no trace of either although he was aware that *Association* was wrecked on the outer Gilstone (Dunbar 1958).

The wreck of the *Association* was rediscovered on 4 July 1967 by Naval Air Command divers. It was not a chance discovery; they had been searching for the wreck since their first expedition to Scilly in 1964. That year they recovered iron cannon from the inner Gilstone which led to the following by-line in the local paper: 'Relic of historic wreck found by divers off Scillies – cannon from HMS *Association*' (*Cornishman*, 2 July 1969). They soon realised that this was not the site of *Association*; in fact the St Mary's lifeboat coxwain, Matt Lethbridge, informed them that the outer Gilstone was, by long standing Scillonian tradition, the site of the wreck (Richard Larn, pers comm).

The team of Navy divers had a number of different names, such as 'annual expedition training week' and 'Fleet Air Arm'. The Naval Air Command Sub-Aqua Club (NAC-SAC) had been established in 1960 or 1961 and were part of the expedition but were not referred to by name by the media until 1971. They returned to the Islands for a week of diving every summer, usually with 12 to 18 divers. Their Diving Officer was Chief Petty Officer Radio Mechanician Richard Larn, who had first started researching the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovell's ships in 1947. When they returned to the islands in 1965 the local paper was informed that: 'The team hope to find the *Association* around the Gil-stone, about three quarters of a mile north-east of the Bishop lighthouse ... it is estimated plunder on the admiral's ship is worth about £1,000,000' (*Cornishman*, 1 July 1965)

A million pounds worth of 'plunder' was bound to attract some attention. When the Air Arm divers returned to Scilly in 1966 there was another team - 'Blue Sea Divers' - already there: 'Also in the Isles of Scilly searching for the *Association* is a private group ... they have an arrangement with the Admiralty to share the spoils fifty-fifty' (*Cornishman*, 14 July 1966). Two team members are named – Bob Rogers and David Harrison. Their salvage agreement was not actually signed until 9th of August that year – the same date as Roland Morris signed his very similar agreement with the 'Admiralty'. Blue Sea Divers claimed to have already found the wreck of the *Association*, but they had only been seen diving

around the inner Gilstone where the Air Arm divers had recovered a cannon the previous year. The Fleet Air Arm expedition had no luck in 1966: 'HMS Association keeps her secret – Weather defeats Air Command divers' (*Cornishman*, 21 July 1966).

Finally, on their fourth attempt, the Fleet Air Arm divers located a significant wreck site on the outer Gilstone: 'Scillies treasure hunt – Mystery of Sir Cloudesley Shovell's flagship nearly solved? Navy divers find bronze cannon' (*Cornishman*, 13 July 1967). They also found over 20 iron cannons on that first day, as well as gold and silver coins. The find was of such significance that two further Navy expeditions to Scilly were undertaken in August and September of that year, making a total of five weeks on the site in 1967 (Graham in R Larn (ed) 1967, 28-37). In August they raised one of the large bower anchors and placed it in shallow water 'south-east of Nut Rock' for safe keeping (*Cornishman*, 31 August 1967). The anchor was declared to the Receiver of Wreck on 25 August 1967, donated to the Islands council and accepted by them at their October 1967 meeting (*Cornishman*, 5 October 1967).



Fig 12 The anchors

Left: The Fleet Air Arm anchor seen here in a field on St Mary's in 2017.

Right: The Morris anchor now attached to the gable of Captain Cutter's house in Chapel Street, Penzance



The anchor, however, remained on the seabed until 2013 when it was rediscovered by local divers, raised and placed in a field on St Mary's. The divers thought it might be one of the missing anchors from HMS *Colossus*, but it was soon realised to be the anchor raised by the Fleet Air Arm divers in 1967. Is this the first time the same object has been declared to the Receiver of Wreck twice? In 1968 the Morris team also raised a large bower anchor from the site; this anchor is now attached to the gable of the house which housed Morris' first nautical museum in Chapel Street, Penzance (*Cornishman*, 9 May 1968).

The Gold Rush Begins

If there was ever any doubt that HMS *Association* had caused a gold rush, the newspaper headlines would soon dispel them. First out of the traps was the local paper, the *Cornishman*, with ‘Will undersea gold rush follow discovery of old cannon?’ (*Cornishman*, 27 July 1967). This soon went national; ten days later the *Times* followed with ‘Frogman’s gold rush off the Isles of Scilly’ (*Times*, 7 August 1967). It is interesting that many parts of the *Cornishman* article are repeated in the later *Times* story – perhaps both submitted by the same Scilly correspondent. By the middle of August there were several rival dive teams searching for treasure on the site of the *Association*, as well as a steady stream of more casual underwater treasure seekers. The Navy divers were joined by at least three other organised dive teams: ‘Rival expeditions dive at Scilly – Four different teams’ (*Cornishman*, 17 August 1967). Blue Sea Divers had been in Scilly for a number of years, raising sponsorship for a salvage operation on the wreck of the *Association*. This team was initially led by Bob Rogers and Mike Ross, joined later by Jim Heslin and Terry Hiron who were to work on the wreck for many years to come. A third team, led by established salvager of historic wrecks Roland Morris of Penzance, included at various times Geoff Upton, Mark Horobin, Terry Parr, Mike Hicks and Dougie Rowe. Finally, there was a team with the title Operation Poseidon, including – amongst others – Colin Hart, Leonard Bush and Peter Grosch. This latter team were the only ones without an agreement with the Ministry of Defence (MoD), but this did not appear to hamper them in their activities on the wreck site. The agreements did not prevent others from salvaging material from the site; they mainly dictated the proportion of any treasure which went to the MoD and the salvor.

Less than two months after the site was discovered there were signs that relations between the rival teams were deteriorating. In ‘Explosives used in Scillies underwater search’ (*Cornishman*, 31 August 1967) Air Arm divers describe scenes of underwater devastation caused by explosives used by Morris’ divers in freeing a bronze cannon. The following week, Morris replied in the same paper that ‘they had used explosives to blow away an edge of rock about two foot and never used more than one-pound charges, the size of a dog biscuit. Only about three of all the iron cannon ... have been damaged by explosives, and they were all decomposing’ (*Cornishman*, 7 September 1967). Things only got worse when a small cave yielding over 1600 silver and gold coins was discovered by Geoff Upton, one of Roland Morris’ divers. As always, this was soon making news: ‘Underwater Klondyke to follow treasure cave discovery’ (*Cornishman*, 28 September 1967). There are alternate narratives about who actually discovered what later became known as ‘Aladdin’s Cave’ and apparently yielded over 10,000 coins – the stuff of a diver’s dreams; it is small wonder that the Islands were awash with enterprising SCUBA divers.

From the start, the newspapers had made a bad situation worse by the use of terms such as 'plunder' and 'treasure'. There were large numbers of reporters on the islands that year. The Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, had a holiday home on Scilly and usually spent much of August there. He was in the habit of giving press briefings on remote parts of the Islands. Famously, in August 1965, he gave a press conference to over 40 reporters on the uninhabited island of Samson. In addition, a few weeks after the discovery of the site, the Royal Family visited Scilly on board the Royal Yacht - an event widely covered in the national press. The presence of newly landed historic bronze cannon on the Quay and gold coins changing hands in the Island pubs will not have escaped their notice. The press were hot on the trail, and when in September a team of three 'Midland divers' arrived in a private plane and chartered a local boat – *Shiralee* – to dive on the site, they were hotly pursued by 'a large party of pressmen in the local boat *Sea King*' in conditions said to be too rough for diving. Coincidentally Rob Sherratt, the finder and original licensee of the *Royal Anne Galley* later owned a 36-foot ex fishing vessel called *Shiralee* (FY123) which he used for working on the *Royal Anne* – probably the same vessel. Afterwards, one of the divers declared that they had seen a cannon. They then flew out and were not seen again (*Cornishman*, 28 September 1967). Everyone wanted a share of the treasure, and the Islands council decided to seek legal advice about making a claim on the 'treasure of the Association' (*Cornishman*, 5 October 1967).

During that first year, the activities of the competing dive teams led many to predict that there would be accidents. They did not have long to wait. In September *Regency*, the vessel one of the dive teams had been using, was lost at sea after a fire in the engine room: 'Treasure ship *Regency* sinks off Wolf Rock'. All five crew members were rescued by a French fishing boat. Less than a month later, a vessel belonging to rival group Blue Sea Divers sank on the approaches to Scilly: 'Treasure search ship sinks...The 42ft landing craft *Salvor* overturned and sank like a stone' (*Cornishman*, 19 Oct 1967). The three crew members were rescued by local boats.

The Fleet Air Arm divers who had found the wreck were understandably uncomfortable with the situation and made their views known to the local papers when they arrived at Scilly in 1968: 'The divers were not anxious to find an historic or valuable wreck this year, feeling that until the law is changed it was better for the sea to keep its secrets' (*Cornishman*, 25 July 1968).

Despite the bronze cannon and piles of gold and silver coins, several of the divers working on the site have asserted that the enterprise was a 'financial disaster'. The site is impossible to access in all but calm conditions and once underwater it is one of the most

challenging sites to work on in UK waters. But they were probably driven by the excitement of the quest and the theoretical possibility of riches, rather than actual financial gain. As one of the divers told the *Cornishman*: 'In a way it has been a disappointment. We have lost money, but treasure hunts never pay ... I would have hated sitting at home reading about it' (*Cornishman*, 20 March 1969).

The treasure was mounting up. The Fleet Air Arm divers had recovered four bronze guns (two large muzzle loaders and two smaller breach loaders). Roland Morris had also raised three ornate bronze guns as well as the 1600 coins found in the 'treasure cave'. All four teams had found gold and silver coins; the Poseidon team were claiming to have found 1000 silver and 20 gold coins. In the same newspaper article Mike Hicks, a local boatman, reports: 'a treasure site as big as a football pitch with ups and downs of 120 feet' and 'vast treasure. The Queen's plate, several chests of money, besides 10 chests of Sir Cloudesley's own' (*Cornishman*, 20 March 1969). Who could resist underwater treasure, apparently lying on the seabed by the chest load?



Fig 13 The Silver Plate

Left: Shovell's crest. Centre: The rear of the plate. Right: Detail of the inscription on the back of the plate.

Photos of the plate back by Jeremy Clarke, Guildhall Museum, Rochester.

In July 1968 the Morris team found a silver plate with the crest of Sir Cloudesley Shovell engraved on the rim. This was an important find for Morris, as without a positive identification of the wreck his agreement with the MoD would not apply. It appears in the local press with just a hint of doubt suggested by a question mark: 'Cloudesley silver plate confirms Association site?' (*Cornishman*, 18 July 1968). A more detailed piece in the same paper the following year says that the solid silver plate weighs about a pound and mentions an enigmatic inscription on the back of the plate '16=1=1/2' (*Cornishman*, 20

March 1969). The plate is now on display in the Guildhall Museum, Rochester and they were able to confirm the presence of this inscription. It has been suggested that this could denote that the plate weighed 16 ounces, 1 pennyweight and ½ grain – such markings on historic silverware are often called scratch weights. However the significance of these markings needs to be investigated by an expert in silver of this period.

In 1969 the Morris team started to move on to other wrecks: ‘Romney found by Roland Morris diving team’ (*Cornishman*, 17 July 1969). What they had actually found was probably HMS *Eagle*. In the same article we are told that items sold at auction from the *Association* had realised £12,354. And while there are reports of litigation involving Morris against the Lyonesse Salvage Co in 1970, there are no further newspaper reports of Morris’ team at the *Association*. He ultimately turned his attention to the wreck of HMS *Colossus*, which he discovered in 1974. Similarly, the last we hear of Poseidon and Colin Hart is in 1969 when he is reported in the local press as saying he is unlikely to return the following year (*Cornishman*, 20 March 1969). Bob Rogers appears to have ceased his partnership with Heslin and Hiron in 1971, and to have left the Islands around 1972.

By 1971 the site had largely been left to Jim Heslin and Terry Hiron, who continued working it when conditions allowed and by about 1975 had recovered over 10,000 coins from the area around Aladdin’s Cave (Terry Hiron, pers comm). Jim and Terry had set up a diving holiday business in 1970, and this gave ordinary divers access to the wreck of *Association* on the rare occasions when sea conditions were suitable. They were joined in the early 1980s by Mac Mace and together they continued working the site until about 1988 when, like Morris before them, they turned their attentions to *Colossus* and other wrecks (Terry Hiron pers comm).

‘Nothing but Specie, Cannon & Anchors’

There is a general perception that the *Association* site consists only of coins, cannon and anchors with little else surviving. Indeed, this case was argued by Roland Morris in partial defence of his use of explosives on the site: ‘Mr. Morris denies that there is a "wreck" involved at all. After 200 years of sea action there are merely the remains of metal objects lying on the sea bed’ (*Cornishman*, 7 September 1967). In fact, a surprising amount of organic material has been variously reported from the site. The first intimation of this occurred in 1968 when Colin Hart reported finding the keel of the ship: ‘Aqualung divers are uncovering the wooden keel of the wreck at the Gilstone-LEDGES, Isles of Scilly, thought to be of HMS *Association*’ (*Cornishman*, 8 August 1968). Terry Hiron (pers comm) says there was about 20 feet of substantial timber in the bottom of ‘Cannon Gulley’. Pieces of

wood were also recovered by all four of the dive teams and a number were reported to the Receiver of Wreck.

Similarly, most of the teams have reported human bone. Several skulls have been recovered, and Colin Hart apparently found: 'thousands of human bones' (*Cornishman*, 20 March 1969). Bob Rogers of Blue Sea Divers published a photograph showing an almost complete human skeleton, which 'took two months to carefully chisel out' (Rogers nd c 1970, 20). An article in the *British Dental Journal* tells of a skull of a 13- to 18-year-old: 'Skull of cabin boy on HMS *Association* brought up from 12 fathoms' (*Cornishman*, 29 January 1970). The Morris team found several leather shoes, including one containing the remains of a human foot (Larn, ed, 2006, 27). Several pieces of rope were recovered as well as a number of gun wads. Even fabrics seem to have survived; Bob Rogers declared a three-inch square of sailcloth in November 1969. Finally, on All Fools' Day 1968, Roland Morris declared and handed in a single grain of corn allegedly found on the wreck (Trevor Newman, pers comm). Practical jokes aside, what is clear is that for such a high energy, rocky site a significant amount of organic material survived well enough to be recovered and handed in to the Receiver of Wreck. It is also clear that significant quantities of human bone have been found on the site.

Myths and Legends

The presence of four different dive teams in Scilly in the late 1960s, all working on the same 'treasure wreck', was bound to lead to interesting tales. The most persistent of these is of historic coins being used in the St Mary's taverns to buy drinks. When subsequently questioned, those who were there asserted that this had actually happened. We are also assured that gold coins from the *Association* changed hands in the toilets of those same taverns for as little as £30 (others say £5 but this seems unlikely). Whether true or not, this has become embedded in Scilly folklore and was a regular part of the Island 'tripper boat' commentary until very recently. There are also rumours of fortunes being made from the treasure recovered from the *Association*; the fact that most of those working the wreck had moved on to other things by 1971 is probably proof enough that this was not always the case.

The Protection of Wrecks Act 1973

On the 4th of March 1970, St Ives MP John Nott introduced a private member's Bill designed to offer protection to historic shipwrecks. Mr Nott had been approached by members of at least two of the competing dive teams on Scilly (The Fleet Air Arm team and Roland Morris). His speech in the Commons included the following statement:

‘My attention was first drawn to the unsatisfactory nature of the present law following the discovery of the "*Association*" off the Isles of Scilly by some naval divers in 1967. I have no time today to describe that incident, but it led to considerable damage to a famous archaeological wreck’ (Historic Wrecks Bill, First Reading – HC 797: 415-417)

Like so many other private members’ bills it was not enacted, but the deficiencies of UK law in respect of historic shipwrecks had been exposed (*Cornishman*, 5 March 1970). Three years later the Act was introduced; it was only intended as ‘an interim measure of protection’ until a ‘comprehensive review of wreck legislation, with particular reference to historic wrecks’ had been carried out. The Wreck Law Review Committee met for the first time 24 July 1970 (Firth 1999, 10-24). They reported in 1975, and the following year the government announced that they no longer thought changes in the law were required. Thus we still have the Act half a century later. The the Parliamentary debates in Hansard on the Bill cites the *Association* as one of three examples of why legislation is required, the others being the *Girona* and the *Mary*. The Hansard record of the debates states: ‘they must be protected in the interests of our national heritage’. The *Mary* was designated under the Act ten months later, the *Girona* 20 years later, while the *Association* had to wait 41 years to benefit from the Act it had engendered (Hansard HC Deb 2 March 1973 vol 851).

Why did it take so long to designate the *Association*?

There seem to have been some concerns about the Protection of Wrecks Bill:

‘...salvage interests and subaqua divers in particular were concerned about the impact of the Bill upon their freedom at sea’ (Firth 1999).

This was a Private Members Bill so opposition needed to be carefully managed to ensure that it was passed. Once the Bill was enacted, the sites to be designated were selected by the Advisory Committee for Historic Wrecks, which held its first meeting in July 1973. They clearly had some difficult decisions to make, especially as they had been directed by the Secretary of State to designate no more than six sites in the first instance:

‘The Government has indicated during the passage of the Bill through Parliament that it is envisaged that the number of sites designated at the outset will be confined to not more than about half-a-dozen’ (Note by the Secretary to The Advisory Committee on Historic Wreck Sites, 18 July 1973 and minutes of the first meeting of ACoHWS, 31 July 1973. [HE archive]).

The Committee agreed on four designations at this, their first meeting: *Amsterdam*, *Mary Rose*, *Mary* and *Grace Dieu*. Consideration of a number of other sites, including *Association* and the Cattewater wreck, was deferred until a later meeting (Minutes of first meeting of ACoHWS, 31 July 1993 [HE Archives]). On the 5 September 1973, the Cattewater wreck was designated by emergency procedure, and thus became the first site to be designated by the Act (Firth 1999).

At the second meeting of the Committee later that year, the designation of the *Association* was considered 'at some length'. It was said that:

'...there appeared to be general acceptance that no part of the structure of the ship remained... Moreover there appeared to be something to be said in favour of there being at least one wreck site where the diving fraternity were free to carry out explorations and hunt for treasure without restriction. In this way it could be seen that the Act was not being operated oppressively'

This seems astonishing to modern sensibilities, but fifty years ago it was probably considered a necessary sacrifice in order to safeguard the Act. The Committee decided that:

'the Minister should be advised that the *Association* was not now of such archaeological interest as to justify designation' (Minutes of second meeting of ACoHWS, 20 November 1973 (HE Archive)).

Thus the *Association* was not designated, even though active salvage work was taking place on the site.

This was clearly not to everyone's taste. The following is from a memorandum submitted to the Advisory Committee by the Council for Nautical Archaeology:

'Certain sites and situations are proving recalcitrant to the control offered by the Act. Unfortunately these are just those most in the public eye through past notoriety and scandal. They tend to be under special scrutiny as test cases for the Act - eg *Association* site off the Isles of Scilly; the *Mary* site off Anglesey.

A) We would like to see *Association* and the related Shovell wreck site (perhaps *Romney*) which are usefully considered as an entity, immunised and cease to be a cause of dissension and uncontrolled treasure-hunting and a nuisance to the peace of the Islanders. There is until Spring to think out how this may be done. (The amateur hordes will not return till then for more coin-picking now systematised by

a firm running guided underwater tours)' (Memorandum by the Council for Nautical Archaeology submitted to the second meeting of the ACoHWS (14 November 1973) but not considered until the third meeting of the ACoHWS (12 March 1974).

Even those involved in the excavation were not happy. Writing in *Sunken Treasure* 1975, Roland Morris had this to say:

'The *Association* does not lie within a Protected Site ... The authorities, in their infinite wisdom, have decreed that *Association* does not warrant a protection order. They say she has been so badly treated by the scuba hordes that she is unworthy of such an honour... My humble assessment of this wreck is that, methodically excavated, she is capable of producing a vast wealth of historic objects the like of which has not, so far been recovered from any wreck in British waters. Before we were driven from this wreck by gold-hungry divers we had but scratched the surface ... we shall never return that is for sure, but I advise those who are young in heart to have a go; if they can dodge the 'diving scholars' (everything you find must be handed in to teacher) they will not be disappointed'

Part of the *Association* site was finally designated under the Act on 21 March 2014, 41 years after its introduction.

Appendix 3: Rediscovery Timeline

Date	Who	Events	Source
1947	Richard Larn	RL started researching the 1707 loss of Shovell's ships at the Bodleian Library in Oxford in 1947 at the age of 16.	Pers Comm 12.06.2023
1956.03	John Dunbar	Expedition to Scilly with SCUBA equipment to search for historic shipwrecks including <i>Association</i> and <i>Colossus</i> . He was aware <i>Association</i> was wrecked on the outer Gilstone. First use of SCUBA on Scilly?	The Lost Land Dunbar 1958
1964	Air Arm / Naval Air Command (NAC)	First NAC expedition to Scilly, recovered an iron gun from inner Gilstone (Old Town) and donated it to IoS museum – but it disintegrated. McBride & Larn (1999) gives the year as 1963 but all other sources say 1964, including Roy Graham (in Larn, ed, 2006).	McBride & Larn 1999, p72–75
1964.07.02	RNAS Culdrose	RELIC OF HISTORIC WRECK FOUND BY DIVERS OFF SCILLIES – CANNON FROM HMS ASSOCIATION Culdrose divers recover an iron cannon from the Gilstone 'off the island of St Marys'. The cannon was left on the quay at Hugh Town but 'in its contact with the air it completely disintegrated'	Cornishman p9 2 July 1964
1964.07.09	RNAS Culdrose Cap P Beale Lt Comm Baldwin Roland Morris	DIVERS SALVAGE MORE OF FRIGATE ANSON – PENZANCE MAN CLAIMS SALVAGE RIGHTS Culdrose divers salvage a copper alloy rudder fitting from the <i>Anson</i> and intend to recover some cannon. Roland Morris points out he purchased the sole salvage rights to the wreck in 1961. He has already recovered 3 cannon from the site. Morris tells of using explosives on the site	Cornishman p3 9 July 1964
1965.07.01	HMS Puttenham Lt A Linsey CPO Larn Naval Air Command	18 DIVERS LOOK FOR WRECKS – NAVAL EXERCISE OFF SCILLIES Naval Air Command diving week. Diving officer CPO Radio Mechanician Richard Larn who said 'We reckon we are going to find HMS <i>Association</i> ' he told them a great deal of research had gone into the wreck of <i>Association</i> . 'The team hope to find the <i>Association</i> around the Gil-stone, about three quarters of a mile north-east of the Bishop lighthouse' 'it is estimated plunder on the admiral's ship is worth about £1,000,000'	Cornishman p6 1 July 1965

Date	Who	Events	Source
1965.07.15	HMS Puttenham CPO Larn Naval Air Command Lt A Linsey	UNDERWATER EXPEDITION FINDS UNCHARTERED ROCK PINNACLE AND WRECK OF ITALIAN SHIP – BUT NO SIGN OF HMS ASSOCIATION They raised a bronze 40mm stern gun from the wreck of the Italia but did not find the wreck of the <i>Association</i> with its one million pounds worth of plunder. Roy Graham says the gun was 140mm in Larn (ed) 2006	Cornishman p6 15 July 1965
1965.08.11	Harold Wilson	QUESTION TIME MOVES TO THE WILSON ISLAND PARADISE Prime minister Harold Wilson holds a press conference on the uninhabited Scilly island of Samson. Wilson has a holiday home on St Mary's and often spends time there in the summer	Times p8 11 Aug 1965
1966.07.14	HMS Puttenham CPO Larn Bob Rogers David Harrison	AIRMEN DIVERS OFF SCILLIES – UNDERSEA PLUNDER IN WRECK? 'For the third successive year, a team of fleet air arm divers are working at the Isles of Scilly. As in previous years, they hope to find the wreck of the HMS <i>Association</i> ' Also mentions rival team looking for the wreck Bob Rogers and David Harrison	Cornishman p3 14 July 1966
1966.07.21	HMS Puttenham Naval Air Command Blue Sea Divers	HMS ASSOCIATION KEEPS HER SECRET - WEATHER DEFEATS AIR COMMAND DIVERS Team of 19 NAC divers were unable to search around the Gilstone due to unfavorable weather. Bob Rogers and David Harrison (Blue Sea Divers) claim they have already found the wreck of the <i>Association</i> – but they have been seen diving the Gilstone rock off the east side of St Mary's where NAC divers raised an iron gun in 1964	Cornishman p6 21 July 1966
1966.08.09	Roland Morris Blue Sea Divers Robert Rogers Mike Ross Sec of State for Defence	Nonexclusive salvage agreement signed between Morris and SoSfD. Covering <i>Association, Eagle, Firebrand, Romney, Phoenix</i> and <i>Colossus</i> . 50-50 split of valuables between SoSfD and Morris Same day same contract signed between Rogers & Ross of Blue Sea Divers – except their contract does not include <i>Phoenix</i> or <i>Colossus</i> . NAC were issued a similar contract	Treasury Solicitors TS68-2
1967.07.04	Lt Cmdr HET Barter CPO (Bomber) Brown Jack Gayton	CPO (Bomber) Brown and Jack Gayton were the two divers who first found the wreck of <i>Association</i> at 11.30am on 4 July 1967	The Scillonian Winter 1968/9 No 176 P259

Date	Who	Events	Source
1967.07.04	NAC/Air Arm	NAC divers discover the wreck. First day c.20 iron guns, ornate bronze gun, iron anchor plus gold and silver coins. Richard Larn sent to Singapore shortly before the expedition begins	Admiral Shovell's Treasure, McBride & Larn 1999 p79
1967	NACSAC Fleet Air Arm Lt Roy Graham	The expedition to Scilly was extended allegedly through the intervention of Harold Wilson 1 st Expedition -2-14 July 2 nd Expedition – 19-25 August 3 rd Expedition 9 – 22 September	Lt Roy Graham In Poor England has lost so many men pp32–37
1967.07.13	Fleet Air Arm XFV Putenham	SCILLIES TREASURE HUNT - MYSTERY OF SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVELS FLAGSHIP NEARLY SOLVED? NAVY DIVERS FIND BRONZE CANNON Large bronze gun raised by 'Navy divers' and landed on St Mary's quay. Gun weighs 2 tons	Cornishman 13 Jul 1967
1967.07.20	Roland Morris	THREE-YEAR SEARCH FOR SUNKEN TREASURE RM planning a 3-year expedition to hunt for the buried <i>Association</i> treasure off the Gilstone reef, IoS The 'keep the cannons in Scilly' petition now has over 600 names on it	Cornishman p5 20 Jul 1967
1967.07.27	George Naish Roland Morris Geoffrey Upton W Read	WILL UNDERSEA GOLD RUSH FOLLOW DISCOVERY OF OLD CANNON – SCILLONIANS FEAR LOSS OF LIFE The Times had FROGMAN'S GOLDRUSH OFF IOS in early August (see below) 'Are the Western rocks at the Isles of Scilly going to become a frogman's Klondike following the recent discovery of over 50 old cannon lying on the seabed close to Gilstone reef. Fears raised that there will be loss of life, cost to ratepayers of flying bent divers to Plymouth and use of explosive all discussed. Petition to keep the cannon in Scilly	Cornishman 27 Jul 1967

Date	Who	Events	Source
1967.07	Roland Morris Geoff Upton David Regalado Michael Reynolds Doug Rowe Terry Parr John Rhodes Colin Gregory	At the end of July Roland Morris and his team arrive in Scilly. Morris made an agreement with the Telegraph to supply them with colour photographs. He says the agreement was later dissolved Morris team later joined by Doug Rowe and Terry Parr, Rowe supplied the explosives Morris tells of using an <i>Association</i> gold coin to pay for drinks in the Mermaid as a joke Morris says silver plates with Shovell's name on them were salvaged from the wreck of the Schiller – does not say when or by who Morris recovers a bower anchor from <i>Association</i> shank 18ft 4in, bill to bill 10ft 6in Morris makes a 3D model of the site in Plasticine. John Rhodes joins the team They recover 'half-a- hundredweight' of silver coins, 1400 in number New team member Colin Gregory Winter 1967-8 Doug Rowe left the Morris team but remained in Scilly	Island Treasure Morris 1969 p32 p39 p81 p82 p91 p107 p154 p162 p176 p178-9 p189 p217
1967.08.03	Roland Morris Michael Hicks	DIVERS WORK ON WRECK OFF SCILLIES Team of three 'lung-divers' working on wreck believed to be HMS <i>Association</i> . Using the launch <i>Sea King</i> skippered by Michael Hicks. They have also found the wreck of SS <i>Little Western</i> While searching for the wreck of HMS <i>Colossus</i>	Cornishman p3 3 Aug 1967
1967.08.03	Fleet Air Arm divers NAC Lt Terry Montgomery CPO Dick Larn Lt Cm Jack Gayton Lt Roy Graham	IS SCILLIES WRECK THE ASSOCIATION? FAA/NAC divers last month the <i>Association</i> ? Speculation on the value of treasure on-board between 1 and 5.5 million pounds 'newspapers have played up the treasure hunting theme'. They fear other 'lung divers' trespassing on their wreck. Raised 3 bronze cannon French gun 9ft 7 inch long Signal gun 20 inch long Breach loader 3ft 2 inch Other finds include: Portuguese gold coin 1704, silver crown 1696, pulley wheels, cannon balls, musket shot and sounding lead. Expedition leader Terry Montgomery became interested in <i>Association</i> 4 years previously while on holiday in Scilly. He and Dick Larn have spent many hours researching the wreck. TM is said to be writing a book about the wreck	Cornishman p3 3 Aug 1967

Date	Who	Events	Source
1967.08.03	IoS Council BBC Chronicle	SCILLIES WANT OLD CANNON IoS council sent petition with 800 signatures to PM Harold Wilson requesting the bronze gun remains on the islands. BBC Chronicle features the gun (which for some reason they took to London) allegedly broadcast 3.8.1967	Cornishman p3 3 Aug 1967
1967.08.07	Roland Morris London Consortium Regency General Marine Services Fleet Air Arm	FROGMAN'S GOLD RUSH OFF ISLES OF SCILLY Many similarities to the Cornishman article of 27.07.1967	Times p8 7 August 1967
1967.08.10	Royal Family	Royal Yacht <i>Britannia</i> with royal family on board visit Scilly – big press coverage	Cornishman p6 10 Aug 1967
1967.08.17	Roland Morris FAA/NACSAC Regency – Bill Sutton Blue Sea Divers Bob Rogers Mike Ross <i>XSV Shiphham</i> Comdr HET Barter Mr Baxter Lt Jack Gayton Lt Montgomery	RIVAL EXPEDITIONS DIVE AT SCILLY Four different teams are described. The navy divers (FAA/NAC) Jack Gayton & Terry Montgomery Roland Morris Team Geoffrey Upton, Michael Reynold & David Regalado Regency Consortium [Poseidon] Bill Sutton (skipper) [Colin Hart] Blue Sea Divers Bob Rogers & Mike Ross [Michael Colin Vaughn Ross] Also mention of bronze guns and gold coins raised	Cornishman p5 17 Aug 1967
1967.08.31	Roland Morris Service Divers	EXPLOSIVES USED IN SCILLIES UNDERWATER SEARCH Services divers have been surveying the site and describe an underwater scene of devastation caused by explosives used by the Morris team. They claim at least six cannon shattered by explosives More gold and silver coins recovered. Air arm divers lifted 'five ton' anchor from the site and deposited it on the seabed 'south-east of Nut Rock'	Cornishman 31 Aug 1967
1967.09.07	Roland Morris ASV Odiham Syndicate Team	MORE TREASURE HUNTING OFF SCILLIES Three teams at work on the <i>Association</i> . 'Mr Roland Morris who has led a successful free enterprise team of Frogmen diving on the site...' Morris goes on to defend his use of explosives on the site, claiming he has only damaged three iron cannon – which were decomposing anyway. See quote 1 below	Cornishman p5 7 Sep 1967

Date	Who	Events	Source
1967.09.14	Douglas Rowe	Rowe and his team of divers are searching for the wreck of <i>Association</i> . Recovered a small bronze weight marked with a crown and the letter 'A'	Times p3 14 September 1967
1967.09.21	<i>Regency</i>	TREASURE SHIP REGENCY SINKS OFF WOLF On the return journey from Scilly fire broke out in the engine room - Crew of 5 rescued by French trawler. The <i>Regency</i> was said to be on charter Some say that the <i>Regency</i> was scuttled	Cornishman 21 Sep 1967
1967.09.21	Fleet Air Arm <i>Regency</i> syndicate	GOLD AND SILVER COINS RECOVERED FAA team on third expedition of the year and continue to recover gold and silver coins Several of the <i>Regency</i> team were left in Scilly – they found nearly a hundred coins this week	Cornishman 21 Sep 1967
1967.09.28	Roland Morris Geoff Upton Florence Marshall Toney Dean	UNDERWATER KLONDYKE TO FOLLOW TREASURE CAVE DISCOVERY Geoff Upton discovered a treasure cave and 1600 gold and silver coins recovered already. RM hints they could be worth £1m. The treasure has to be handed to RoW, if no claims after a year the items are auctioned and proceeds go to the state then a 'generous' salvage award is paid to finder. See quote 6 Mrs Florence Marshall (84) says she is the nearest living relative to Sir Cloudesley Shovell, and that a large part of the treasure would be his personal fortune. Three Midland divers fly in and proceed to the Gilstone pursued by a boatload of pressmen. Their leader, Toney Dean says one of their team saw a cannon quote 6	Cornishman 28 Sep 1967
	Aladdin's Cave Doigie Rowe Peter Grosch	'Aladdin's Cave - originally found by Dougie Rowe and Peter Grosch it yielded somewhere near 1000 mainly English coins . The bulk of the coins that we found at a later date were NOT in Aladdin's Cave but about 6 meters to the north under a massive boulder which also covered part of what was known as Aladdin's Cave '	Pers Comms Terry Hiron Oct 2023
1967.10.05	Roland Morris	Flew to Scilly but bad weather holding up diving on the wreck of HMS <i>Association</i>	Cornishman p5 5 Oct 1967

Date	Who	Events	Source
1967.10.05	IoS Council	SCILLIES MAY CLAIM ON TREASURE IoS council to seek legal advice about making a claim on the 'treasure of the <i>Association</i> ' <i>Association</i> anchor recovered and placed in shallow water by Samson – see quote 2 [Roy Graham says this anchor was raised 23 Aug and says it was placed by Nut Rock]	Cornishman p5 5 Oct 1967 Poor England...
1967.12.07	MoD IoS Council	WRECK FINDS In a letter to IoS council the MoD says it has not yet decided whether to lodge a claim against finds from the alleged wreck of the <i>Association</i>	Cornishman p5 7 Dec 1967
1967.10.19	Blue Sea Divers J Ridgway	TREASURE SEARCH SHIP SINKS The 42ft landing craft <i>Salvor</i> 'overturned and sank like a stone' near Trinity Rock, 2 miles east of St Mary's. The three crew took to a rubber boat and were rescued. Sleeping bags, diving suites and some personal items were recovered. The craft was to be used by Blue Sea Divers for their work on <i>Association</i> and was on voyage from Penzance to St Mary's when it sank	Cornishman p7 19 Oct 1967
1968.01.04	Roland Morris	SCILLIES WRECK DIVERS AT HOLIDAY SHOW RM and his team of divers 'who discovered the gold treasure from...HMS <i>Association</i> ' will be a visitor to the stand of the SW Travel Association at Waterloo station from January 8-20 [?]	Cornishman p3 4 Jan 1968
1968.03.21	Roland Morris Geoffery Upton	MORE BULLION FINDS OFF SCILLY ISLES Upton finds 2 silver coins at Porth Hellick in 'fairly shallow water' [local rumour is that this was a ploy to lead other teams astray – Morris does not appear to return to this site] RM now said to own <i>Ros Guill</i> . RM promises prosecution of any divers who 'trespass' on the wreck	Cornishman 21 Mar 1968
1968.04.11	IoS Museum A.G.Linsley	COINS FROM WRECK Special exhibition of objects from <i>Association</i> 'this was the first opportunity for most islanders to see some of the treasure which was recovered last summer' Another special display was of 'frogmen's equipment' by A.G.Linsley of NACSAC – he showed slides and gave a public talk about work on the wreck	Cornishman p9 11 Apr 1968
1968.05.02	Lt Montgomery Colin Hart EG Browne (RoW) Operation Poseidon	WEDDING RING FOUND BY SKIN DIVERS – TWO TEAMS DIVE OFF ISLES OF SCILLY Montgomery hands in finds to RoW (2 gold coins, 30 silver and inscribed wedding ring. Also 'perfectly preserved almond nuts'. Colin Hart handed in 12 pieces of silver and other	Cornishman p6 2 May 1968

Date	Who	Events	Source
		items including lead inkwell and some leather.	
1968.05.09	Roland Morris Anchor Iron Cannon George Naish NCfNA	FOREIGN DIVERS FOR SCILLIES? Photo of anchor and iron cannon recovered by RM from Gilstone Ledges site. Rumours of dive teams from Norway and France reported. RM says bronze breach-loading gun he recovered is French. George Naish of NMM and chair of CfNA wishes everything had been thoroughly plotted. But does not think any great damage can be done to this particular site. Joan du Plat Taylor of the Institute of Archaeology says that they have been pushing for something to be done See quote 3	Cornishman 9 May 1968
1968.06.20	Roland Morris Colin Hart Bronze guns Coins	WRECK CANNON FROM SCILLY Bronze gun transported to PZ by <i>Scillonia</i> for treatment at RM's workshop A Mr Colin Hart handed in 116 assorted silver coins to RoW at St Mary's	Cornishman 20 Jun 1968
1968.06.27	Minister of State	CANNON FOR SALE? Minister of state announces the cannon will be sold if no claim of ownership is made	Cornishman p9 27 Jun 1968
1968.07.11	Royal Naval Auxiliary (RNA) NACSAC CPO Dick Larn Lt Roy Graham Lt Cmdr Ted Barter	NAVY DIVERS TO SURVEY WRECK SITE AT SCILLY NACSAC to survey the <i>Association</i> site for CoNA to assess the effects of gales and explosives has had on the site. States that NACSAC discovered the site last July.	Cornishman 11 Jul 1968
1968.07.18	Roland Morris Silver Plate Mark Horrobin	CLOUDSLEY SILVER PLATE CONFIRMS ASSOCIATION SITE? Silver plate with Shovel's crest found on site by Mark Horrobin – one of RM's divers. Many descendants of Shovel are said to have submitted claims to a share of the treasure	Cornishman p3 18 Jul 1968
1968.07.25	David Blackman Fleet Air Arm	NAVY DIVERS LEAVE SCILLY – BUT LITTLE TREASURE FOUND Fleet Air Arm and Navy Auxiliary members finished annual expedition. Made survey and were accompanied by marine archaeologist David Blackman – see quote 4 More discussion of explosives	Cornishman p5 25 Jul 1968
1968.08.08	Colin Hart Operation Poseidon	KEEL OF HMS ASSOCIATION? NEW FIND OFF SCILLIES First report of ship structure. See quote 5 TH says about 20ft long in Cannon Gulley	Cornishman 8 Aug 1968
1968.08.08	Colin Hart	PIECES OF EIGHT FROM WRECK Two silver coins and gilded lid with crowned	Cornishman p5 8 Aug 1968

Date	Who	Events	Source
		lion rampant found	
1968.09.12	Roland Morris	TREASURE FROM WRECK OF ASSOCIATION ON DISPLAY Roland Morris showed items from the <i>Association</i> to the press at the Benbow in PZ. Including a silver plate, gold chain, timber, pottery, glass, dagger hilt, brass cannon, 72 gold coins and 'a hundred pieces of eight'	Cornishman 12 Sep 1968
1968	Blue Sea Divers Bob Rogers Mike Ross Ian McClelland James Heslin Terry Hiron	'Blue Sea Divers originally comprised Robert Llewelyn Rogers and Michael Ross who were joined in October 1968 by James Heslin and myself (rogers and Ross were backed financially by an Ian McClelland'	Pers Comms Terry Hiron Oct 2023
1969.03.20	Roland Morris Douglas Rowe* Geoffrey Upton Mark Horobin Terry Parr Michael Hicks Operation Poseidon Colin Hart Leonard Bush Peter Grosch Douglas Rowe* Blue Sea Divers Bob Rogers Mike Ross	HOW ONE MAN'S ENTERPRISE AND THE COURAGE OF A TEAM RAISED TREASURE FROM THE OCEAN BED 'Nothing angered and united the divers more than the newspaper and television men who went to Scilly looking for fights between the treasure seekers' Often 3 or 4 boats on site at once. Douglas Rowe logged 106 hrs on site this year RM purchased <i>Ros Guill</i> for work on <i>Association</i> . Quote from Morris saying he was 60 this year and was born in Hayle [he was 64 and born in Portsmouth] Quote M Hicks 'a treasure site as big as a football pitch with ups and downs of 120 feet' and 'vast treasure. The Queen's plate, several chests of money, besides 10 chests of Sir Cloudesley's own' Wreck identified by silver plate found between two guns by Mark Horobin. The plate weighed 'about a pound' with crest identified as Sir Cloudesley and his wife. Intriguing inscription mentioned on the back '16=1=1/2' [? 16 oz 1 pennyweight ½ grain ?] Upton & Rowe named as the two divers who descended the 'chimney' to Aladdin's Cave filled with coins. Colin Hart / Poseidon have found 1000 silver and 20 gold coins, the keel and 'thousands of human bones'. 'He (Colin Hart) was a member of the Operation Poseidon diving team, who's base ship, the converted minesweeper <i>Regency</i> , sank off Wolf Rock Lighthouse last September'. Hart said 'it has been a disappointment. We have lost money, but treasure hunts never pay' but he went on to	Cornishman p13 20 Mar 1969

Date	Who	Events	Source
		say that he would hate sitting at home reading about it. Hart says he is unlikely to return next year Blue Sea divers 'had an Admiralty 50/50 salvage agreement' This is a whole page piece Good coverage of the main teams – but not a single mention of the NACSAC team who found the site – and very unusually for the Cornishman is signed 'M.W.' [probably Mark Williams who wrote <i>Sunken Treasure</i>].	
1969.04.17	Roland Morris Cannons to London	Photo – two bronze guns loading onto rail truck for transport to Sotheby's along with other treasure from <i>Association</i>	Cornishman p9 17 Apr 1969
1969.07.17	Roland Morris <i>Association</i> <i>Romney</i>	ROMNEY FOUND BY ROLAND MORRIS' DIVING TEAM – HIGH PRICES FOR ASSOCIATION TREASURE Two bronze cannon fetched £3000 each at Sotheby's, RM has kept the third bronze cannon he raised. His divers have found what they believe to be the wreck of the <i>Romney</i> in over 100 ft of water [actually the <i>Eagle?</i>]. Items from the <i>Association</i> fetched £12,354 at the auction. A further two auctions are likely to dispose of other recovered items. Morris divers are spending time searching for the wreck of <i>Colossus</i>	Cornishman p9 17 July 1969
1969.07.24	Roland Morris <i>Romney</i>	MORE TREASURE FOUND ON WRECK OF HMS ROMNEY – GOLD AND DIAMOND RINGS RECOVERED Two gold rings, pieces of eight and a 2cwt bell have been recovered from Crebinnick site - <i>Romney</i> [<i>Eagle?</i>]. Morris quote 'gold and silver coins have been found in satisfying quantity'	Cornishman p3 14 Aug 1969
1969.08.14	Nautical Museum Penzance Roland Morris	RM opens his museum of Nautical Art in Penzance on Chapel Street. Includes a reconstruction of the famous underwater 'treasure cave'. Two photos – treasure cave reconstruction and bronze cannon	Cornishman 14 Aug 1969
1969	Roland Morris Leaves <i>Association</i> <i>Romney</i>	'Although our work on ... <i>Association</i> was nowhere near complete we abandoned her to the scuba hordes... and went exploring for new wrecks'	Sunken Treasure Morris 1975

Date	Who	Events	Source
1969-70	Roland Morris Rival Dive Teams Sale of coins	'But treasure and trouble go hand in hand ... divers arrived from everywhere; one could hardly mistake their profession as they persisted in wearing their suites on every occasion. Some were quite nice, and others were not quite so nice, a few were wide boys and one or two were crooks known to have done time ... to my certain knowledge there was fighting' 'Sir Cloudesley's gold and silver coins could be purchased freely in any of the pubs. Gold coins ... could be obtained for as little as £5'	Sunken Treasure Morris 1975
1969.09.11	Bob Rogers Roland Morris Mike Hicks	ASSOCIATION SITE DAMAGED BY BLAST 4cwt ornate bronze cannon raised by 'Bob Rogers and a team of skin divers'. Rival dive teams accuse each other of using 'heavy charges of dynamite'. Mike Hicks, a Scilly boatman, reports extensive damage at the site. See quote 7	Cornishman p11 11 Sept 1969
1969.10.23	Roland Morris	OLD CANNON FIRES AGAIN A cannon recovered by RM from <i>Association</i> in 1968 was fired to celebrate the 164 th anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar	Cornishman p3 23 Oct 1969
1970.01.29	Bones	SKULL OF CABIN BOY ON HMS ASSOCIATION BROUGHT UP FROM 12 FATHOMS [72 feet] Reported in the British Dental Journal the well-preserved skull found in '3 feet of sediment' on <i>Association</i> . Skull was from 13- to 15-year-old. Other bones were from a 20 yr old. Xrays mention	Cornishman p6 29 Jan 1970
1970.02.05	Roland Morris Sotheby's	ISLES OF SCILLY TREASURE SOLD FOR £10,000 Roland Morris paid £2100 for the silver plate he recovered from <i>Association</i> 'bearing the arms of Sir Cloudesley Shovell'. Also auctioned were gold and silver coins and a pewter chamber pot	Cornishman p6 5 Feb 1970
1970.02.05	SWC Tutthill	PIECES OF EIGHT AT LONG ROCK Two coins from <i>Association</i> part of a talk to WI at Long Rock	Cornishman p10 5 Feb 1970
1970.03.04	John Nott	John Nott MP for St Ives introduces a Private Members Bill to amend the law on salvage - designed to protect historic wrecks, but this was 'not acceptable to the government of the day' and was dropped. Quote 8	Hansard Protection of Wrecks Bill 2 Mar 1973

Date	Who	Events	Source
1970.03.05	IoS Museum Sotheby's	OVER 17000 PEOPLE VISITED ISLAND MUSEUM Display of 'treasure' items from <i>Association</i> purchased at the Sotheby's auction. Including coins, a ring and a silver spoon recovered by the Fleet Air Arm bearing the crest of an officer known to have been on board <i>Association</i>	Cornishman p7 5 Mar 1970
1970.03.12	John Nott	St IVES M.P. MAKES MOVE TO PROTECT WRECKS Bill to 'Preserve some relics of our island history, some traditions of my constituency and some archaeological remains of our and other nations' great seafaring past' introduced by John Nott who said 'his attention was first drawn to the unsatisfactory nature of the present law following the discovery of the <i>Association</i> off the Isles of Scilly by some naval divers in 1967 ... [which] led to considerable damage to a famous archaeological wreck'	Cornishman p9 12 Mar 1970
1970.06.04	Lyonnesse Salvage Co Roland Morris Blue Sea Divers RL Rogers	DIVERS STOPPED SALVAGING FROM ASSOCIATION AND ROMNEY In a high court hearing Roland Morris is asking for a continuation of a temporary injunction preventing Lyonnesse Salvage, led by RL Rogers [one of the original partners in Blue Sea Divers]. Morris argues that Blue Sea, who have an agreement with MoD are now defunct. He also accuses Lyonnesse of indiscriminate use of high explosives [something Morris has been accused of in the past] Justice Dunn stated that no one could stop sightseeing diving on the site 'the whole of Penzance can do that if they like'	Cornishman p8 4 Jun 1970
1970.06.11	Lyonnesse Salvage Co Roland Morris Blue Sea Divers RL Rogers	RIVAL SALVAGE TEAMS MAY DIVE FOR SUNKEN TREASURE The injunction was lifted, and the matter would be determined in the high court, possibly in November	Cornishman p10 11 Jun 1970
1970.06.18	Fleet Air Arm Roland Morris Peter Grosch (Peter Grosch also appears as Peter Grotsch in some accounts)	NAVAL DIVERS AT WORK IN SCILLY – SHIP'S BOW SECTION DISCOVERED Navy divers and RM think remains recently found at Crimrocks by Peter Grosch are the bow of the <i>Eagle</i> – Navy divers searched in vain for the rest of the wreck	Cornishman p9 18 Jun 1970

Date	Who	Events	Source
1970.10.29	Air Arm Divers	AIR ARM DIVERS UNCERTAIN ABOUT WRECK FIND FAA divers surveyed a wreck site for the 'committee of nautical archaeology' Site, located at the Crim Rocks, was first discovered by Peter Grosch, a crayfish diver working for Roland Morris. CPO Richard Larn says if it is the <i>Eagle</i> then it is only the bows. A bell raised from the wreck suggests it may be a much older wreck says RL.	Cornishman p3 29 Oct 1970
1970.11.12	Anthony Grant David Mudd MP	WHOSE BELL IS THIS? David Mudd asks Secretary of State whereabouts and status of the bell recovered from the wreck of 'the <i>Eagle</i> ' by NACSAC divers on 9th June.	Cornishman p3 12 Nov 1970
c.1970	Terry Hiron Jim Heslin	Terry Hiron and Jim Heslin set up their holiday diving business. One of the attractions they offer is the opportunity to dive on the <i>Association</i>	Pers comms Terry Hiron June 2023
1973.03.02	Iain Sproat	THE PROTECTION OF WRECKS BILL The bill receives its second reading. Paragraph two specifically mentions the <i>Association</i> (quote 9). The wrecks of the <i>Girona</i> and <i>Mary</i> are also mentioned. The bill states that 'They must be protected in the Interests of our national heritage'. The bill is only intended as a temporary measure: 'The then Minister of State, Board of Trade, the right hon. Member for Caernarvon (Mr. Goronwy Roberts), undertook to put in hand a comprehensive review of wreck legislation, with particular reference to historic wrecks' [see 4. Mar.1976]	Protection of Wrecks Bill 2 Mar 1973 HANSARD 1803–2005
1973.07.18	Advisory Committee	First meeting of the Advisory Committee on Historic Wrecks. Decision on the 1707 wrecks and <i>Colossus</i> deferred until a later meeting. What is clear is that the Committee have been instructed that no more than 'half a dozen' wrecks to be designated in the first list	ACHWS Minutes of 1 st Meeting 18 July 1973
1973.09.03	Terry Hiron Jim Heslin IoS Underwater Centre	Letter from Terry Hiron to ACHWS Asking to be considered as licensees in the event that <i>Association</i> is designated	Letter TH to ACHWS 3 Sept 1973
1973.10.22	Terry Hiron Jim Heslin Roland Morris Blue Sea Divers	Letter from Terry Hiron to ACHWS States that TH and JH worked on <i>Association</i> with Blue Sea from 1968. Says their work was a 'financial disaster'. Mentions detailed plan and work with 'a team from Oxford University'	Letter TH to ACHWS 22 Oct 1973

Date	Who	Events	Source
1973.11.20	Advisory Committee Terry Hiron Association Romney Rex Cowan	Site considered for designation by The Advisory Committee on Historic Wreck Sites at their second meeting. General acceptance that no part of the structure of the ship survived – ‘something to be said in favour of there being at least one wreck site where the diving fraternity were free to carry out explorations and hunt for treasure without restriction. In this way it could be seen that the act was not being operated oppressively’. The committee agreed that ‘the <i>Association</i> was not now of such archaeological interest as to justify designation’	ACHWS Minutes of 2 nd meeting 20 Nov 1973
1974.01.12	Mary	The wreck of <i>Mary</i> designated PWA – 10 months after the act is introduced	
1974.03.12	Advisory Committee	Submission to the Advisory Committee on Historic Wrecks (third meeting) by the Council for Nautical Archaeology (dated 14.11.1973) Essentially saying something must be done about <i>Association</i> and <i>Mary</i> See Quote 10	ACHWS Minutes of 3rd 12.03.1974
1975	PoW Act Roland Morris	‘The <i>Association</i> does not lie within a Protected Site ... The authorities, in their infinite wisdom, have decreed that <i>Association</i> does not warrant a protection order. They say she has been so badly treated by the scuba hordes that she is unworthy of such an honour... My humble assessment of this wreck is that, methodically excavated, she is capable of producing a vast wealth of historic objects the like of which has not, so far been recovered from any wreck in British waters. Before we were driven from this wreck by gold-hungry divers we had but scratched the surface ... we shall never return that is for sure, but I advise those who are young in heart to have a go; if they can dodge the ‘diving scholars’ (everything you find must be handed in to teacher) they will not be disappointed’	Sunken Treasure Morris 1975
c.1975	Terry Hiron Jim Heslin	End of work in ‘Aladdin’s Cave’. Ultimately over 10,000 coins recovered from this area by TH & JH	Pers comms Terry Hiron June 2023
1976.03.04	PoW Act Wreck Law Reveiw	The Wreck Law Review Committee reported in 1975. A statement was made by the Secretary of State for Trade in March 1976 stated that the government no longer thought changes in the law were required. Thus the Interim PoW Act became, in effect permanent	Firth 1999 P12

Date	Who	Events	Source
c.1980	Terry Hiron Jim Heslin Mac Mace	Mac Mace joins the team and they together carry out work on the site until about 1988 when they concentrate on the <i>Colossus</i> site (which was de designated in 1984)	Pers comms Terry Hiron June 2023
1992.06.15	Roland Morris	Times obituary RM died on 11 June at 87	Times p17 15 June 1992
1992.06.18	Roland Morris	Cornishman Obituary	Cornishman p3 18 June 1992
1993.04.22	Girona	The wreck of <i>Girona</i> designated PWA – 20 years after the act was introduced	
2014.03.21	Association	The wreck of <i>Association</i> designated PWA – 41 years after the act was introduced	

Quote 1 (1967.09.07)

Mr. Morris said to "The Cornishman" last week he was surprised so little acknowledgment had been given to the marvellous feat of salvaging performed by his divers when recovering three large bronze cannons. Instead there was a lot of ill- informed criticism of alleged destruction caused by explosives and even a move to prevent his team diving on the remains

NO "WRECK"

Mr. Morris denies that there is a "wreck" involved at all, After 200 years of sea action there are merely the remains of metal objects lying on the sea bed. When Mr Geoffrey Upton of Chapel-street Penzance, first found the third cannon, it was buried deep down between two crevices under iron cannon, and only a small part of the muzzle could be seen. Mr Morris said: "There was about 30 ton of rock on top, and one rock must have weighed four-and-a-half tons. With the aid of a trawler and various devices we rocked this large boulder to one side. This gave us 18 inches to spare to get the cannon out. I doubt if anybody else could have got it up." They had used explosives to blow away an edge of rock about two foot and never used more than one-pound charges, the size of a dog biscuit. Only about three of all the Iron cannon- and there may be about 80-have been damaged by explosives, and they were all decomposing.

[Alan Bax spoke to Upton & Rowe August 1967 and says they reported using '8 ½ pound of PE not SBG' PE = Plastic Explosive, SBG= Submarine Blasting Gelignite] BAX Notes. RGM photos of made up charge of about this size in KC collection]

Quote 2 (1967.10.05)

The Council also decided would like to accept an offer of huge anchor, thought to be from Association which Fleet Air divers moved from the wreck site to shallow water south of Samson. The anchor, which has a shank 19ft high and is 14ft across the arms, was left underwater in case it should disintegrate in the air. Mr. Stephenson felt the anchor would be a very good feature for the

islands. Other members were worried about the cost of treatment to prevent it disintegrating and whether the Council had a legal right to accept it. Ald. Short understood the problem of treatment was not great because the anchor was of wrought iron and not cast iron. He thought it would be of enduring and great interest mounted in the park.

Quote 3 (1968.05.09)

One who has kept an open mind on whether the wreck is indeed the Association is Mr. George Naish, curator of models at the National Maritime Museum and chairman of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology. He wishes everything had been thoroughly plotted before recoveries were made but does not think any great damage can be done to this particular site. He expects little to be found of historical interest except coins.

The Committee for Nautical Archaeology is pressing the government to impose some restrictions on aqualung divers searching wrecks, and there is particular concern about the so-called Association site. The secretary, is Miss Joan du Plat Taylor of the Institute of Archaeology said to "The Cornishman": "The wreck problem of the Association is very much in our minds and please assure the people in the Scillies We are doing our best, Ever since last summer we have been pushing and pushing for something to be done. We are working with the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Defence and I think you will find the Board of Trade is going to be more strict this summer. The Receiver of Wreck at St Mary's Mr. E.G. Brown is expecting to hear a policy decision from the B.O.T.

Quote 4 (1968.07.25)

SEA'S SECRETS

The divers were not anxious to find an historic or valuable wreck this year, feeling that until the law is changed it was better for the sea to keep its secrets. On Friday and Saturday the team was joined by a specialist in marine archaeology and one of the few individual members of the Committee for Nautical Archaeology, Mr. David Blackman (30) of Bristol University. He said afterwards: "There must be new legislation to protect such historic wrecks. It is very disappointing that we have had to learn a bitter lesson from such a valuable wreck.'

Mr. Blackman feels there should be a period when salvaging work is suspended on newly discovered wrecks. During this moratorium, scientists and archaeologists would evaluate the wreck. He thinks this measure might be the most acceptable as it would involve little change in the present salvaging laws. Many of the expedition's divers felt reports of damage to the site had been overstressed. There was no wreck lying in sand or mud, but simply, articles lying amid bare rock after being disturbed by years of sea action. They said; "The Association has given everybody a warning with little real harm being done, "one member of the team said.

Quote 5 (1968.08.08)

KEEL OF HMS ASSOCIATION?

New Find Off Scilly Isles

Aqualung divers are uncovering the wooden keel of the wreck at the Gilstone-LEDGES, Isles of Scilly, thought to be of HMS Association. Although many discoveries have been made during the last 13 months at the site, this is the first AND of any part of the ship. The discovery was made by Mr. Colin Hart and his group of divers. Mr. Hart says efforts will be made to raise the keel but a lot of excavation work will be necessary. A human skull and some rib bones have been recovered, and Mr. Hart has offered the skull to the Isles of Scilly Museum.

Quote 6 1967.09.28)

For years the Association eluded those who searched for her until early this summer, when a Royal Navy team of divers brought up a bronze cannon from the spot where the flagship was supposed to have sunk... Mr Morris and his team went into action and brought up three more cannons. Divers have counted over 80 such cannons...Mr Upton said last week that they had been trailing coins scattered over the seabed, and following the line where they lay thickest.

"THE CHIMNEY"

"We came upon this forbidding looking hole," he said. "It was so uninviting that for a time we left it. A few days ago, I decided to have a go at it, and went down the chimney into complete darkness," Using lamps, he found a crack in the wall. He took off his diving gear to enable him to squeeze through, the crevice, until he found himself in a small cave. To my amazement, I found myself standing on a carpet of gold and silver coins. I could hardly believe it. The gold coins were shining as new, but the silver ones were encrusted with marine growth and cemented together. The coins had to be chipped off in chunks and passed out in containers. The work was slow, for only one could work in the Cave at a time, and it was possible to stay there for only a few minutes. The finding of the treasure confirms the theory of the Fleet Air Arm that the stern of the Association was covered by a rock fall from the Gilstone Rock. In those days it was the practice for Admirals to keep any treasure they won in their day cabins, which were in the stern of warships.

The forecast made in "The Cornishman" in July that a frogmen's Klondyke might be about to break on the Isles of Scilly, with the traditional ingredients of gold rushes, greed, irresponsibility and death, still looks like coming true, although none of the remarks have applied to any of the teams

so far. The forecast that in the end there would be no fortunes made seems like being wrong, but reports of carpets of gold and a million worth of treasure already recovered have jumped the gun.

COUNCIL CLAIM ?

Ald. Tregarthen Mumford said the council would probably consider at today's meeting whether they should put in a claim. Light heartedly he said: "I have been waiting for something like this since the islands were made to pay income tax." The Fleet Air Arm team of divers who first found the wreck site in July, left the islands on Friday. Inevitably they were more than despondent about the turn of events, but they were generous their praise of the successful team

On Sunday night a group of three Midland divers arrived at Mary's in a private plane. Their leader Mr. Tony Dean, from Birmingham, is one of the few members of the National Under Water Instructor's Association, which has been formed under the aegis of the Royal Navy. The three men dived in rough conditions on Monday morning, going out to the scene in a St Mary's boat, the Shiralee. They were pursued by a large party of Pressmen in the Sea King. It was the opinion of many boat men and divers that the conditions were unfit for diving. The Midlanders said afterwards they had a successful exploratory dive and one of them saw a cannon.

Quote 7 (1969.09.11)

ASSOCIATION SITE DAMAGED BY BLAST

Another important find has been made on the Scillies, this time it is a bronze cannon found by Mr. Bob Rogers and a team of skin divers. Three stern cannon, said to be the finest yet round in the wreckage of the flagship Association, wrecked off the Scillies in 1707, is 5ft 6inches long and "in superb condition" The fore end of the barrel is fluted and it is decorated with a crest above the trunnion pins. Other decoration is visible, such as a coat of arms, but the heavy incrustation will have to be removed before further identification can be made. The cannon weighs approximately 4 cwt.

Diving teams are accusing each other over the alleged use of heavy charges of dynamite at the wreck site. All the teams who are searching the wreck of the Association for the fortune in gold coins which is believed to be there deny using blasting technique. When recovering cannon from the wreck last year Mr. Roland Morris and his divers did use small charges of dynamite but, since then, unidentified people have been using much bigger charges. Mr. Mike Hicks has been diving on the wreck for two years and he reports extensive damage at the site which he saw when diving there over the weekend. Mr. Hicks is the St. Mary's boatman.

Quote 8 (1970.03.04)

An attempt was made to provide a remedy when amendments to the Merchant Shipping Bill, designed to protect historic wrecks, were moved in March 1970 by my hon. Friend the Member for St. Ives (Mr. Nott), supported by my hon. Friend the Member for Woking (Mr. Onslow) and other Members. The amendments were not acceptable to the Government of the day because they raised wide, complicated issues. The then Minister of State, Board of Trade, the right hon. Member for Caernarvon (Mr. Goronwy Roberts), undertook to put in hand a comprehensive review of wreck legislation, with particular reference to historic wrecks. I understand that the review is likely to take a considerable time yet. In the meantime, before the review is completed and before legislation based on it can be passed, important sites are at risk and important new sites are likely to be discovered.

Therefore, with the help and support of the Department of Trade and Industry I am seeking to have the Bill passed to provide an interim measure of protection. It has been widely discussed with all the many interests involved and I think I can say that it has fairly general acceptance from them.

Quote 9 (1973.03.02)

I shall deal first with historic wrecks. The growth of aqualung diving as a hobby and its use by persons engaged full time in the search for treasure has led to the discovery of an increasing number of wrecks around our shores. Some of the finds have attracted a great deal of publicity. For example, there was the discovery of the remains of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell's flagship HMS "Association", in which were found cannon, gold and silver coins, silver plate and other artefacts. The site was worked by competing teams of divers.

From the remains of the Spanish Armada galleass "Girona" off the coast of Northern Ireland a large collection of jewellery was recovered. That wreck was excavated very well by the Belgian diver Mr. Robert Stenuit. The collection, is now displayed in the Ulster Museum.

There has been a number of other finds, including the remains of Charles II's yacht "Mary". With the growth of the hobby we may expect more and more wrecks to be discovered around our shores. They must be protected in the interests of our national heritage.

Quote 10 (1974.03.12)

Certain sites and situations are proving recalcitrant to the control offered by the Act. Unfortunately these are just those most in the public eye through past notoriety and scandal. They tend to be under special scrutiny as test cases for the Act - eg Association site off the Isles of Scilly; The Mary site off Angelsey.

A) We would like to see Association and the related Shovell wreck site (perhaps Romney) which are usefully considered as an entity, immunised and cease to be a cause of dissension and uncontrolled treasure-hunting and a nuisance to the peace of the islanders. There is until Spring to think out how this may be done. The amateur hordes will not return till then for more coin-picking now systematised by a firm running guided underwater tours.

Appendix 4: Arms for Potatoes



Fig 14 The Royal Coat of Arms is mounted on the wall of the Guildhall in St John's Hall, Penzance.

A large Royal Coat of Arms is mounted on the wall of the Guildhall in St John's Hall, Penzance. The room was formally used as a council chamber and magistrates court. It has not been possible to measure the Coat of Arms but it is certainly in excess of 2m wide. Folklore has it that this Coat of Arms was from the wreck of HMS *Association*. P.A.S. Pool in his history of Penzance tells us:

'The Guildhall is dominated by the massive Royal Coat of Arms which is believed to have come from the stern of HMS *Association*, the flagship of Sir Cloudesley Shovel which was wrecked on Scilly in 1707. It is believed that the Arms were washed ashore on Scilly, preserved there for many years, and presented to Penzance as a token of gratitude for relief sent during a famine; if this story is correct the famine was probably that of 1818' (Pool 1974, 147-8).

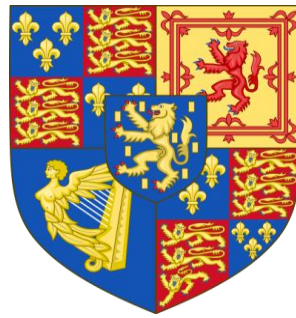
The earliest reference to the legend so far seen is in the Penzance Official Guide book of 1876 where the crest is said to be 'of Queen Anne's time'. The story came to prominence in 2006, when the Council of the Isles of Scilly proposed transporting the Coat of Arms to St Mary's for their commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the 1707 disaster. For various reasons the crest remained on the wall in the Guildhall. This did however raise doubts

about the tradition that it came from the *Association*. The Coat of Arms changed in 1689 when William and Mary came to the throne, and reverted to the old Arms in 1702 when Queen Anne became monarch. The Penzance Arms are those of James I - James II (1603-1689) or those of Queen Anne (1702-1707). *Association* was ordered in 1694 and launched in 1697, thus *Association* should have borne the Royal Arms of William III (1689-1702), which is different from the Arms in the Guildhall, Penzance.

Of the four ships wrecked on the night of 22 October 1797 – *Association* (90), *Eagle* (70), *Romney* (54) and *Firebrand* (8) the only one constructed during the period of the Penzance royal crest was The *Eagle*, ordered in 1667 and launched in 1679, during the reign of Charles II (The *Eagle* was rebuilt in 1699-1700 at Chatham (Winfield 2009)).



1603-1689 and 1702-1707



1689-1702

Fig 14 The Royal Coat of Arms of the United Kingdom – Images from Wikimedia Commons.



Fig 15 The Coat of Arms of William III (1689-1702) thought to be from Deptford Dockyard

Queen's House, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

Photo K Camidge

Appendix 5: Association – Licensees

Association – Designated Under the Protection of Wrecks Act 1973 – Licensees											
Licensees	Licence Type	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Nigel Hodge	Visit	√	√								
Christopher Pritchard	Visit	√	√	√	√						
Tim Allsop	Visit	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Chris Linzell	Visit	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√
Todd Stevens	Visit		√								
Kevin Camidge	Survey				√						
John Adkins	*				√						
Richard Wells	Visit					√	√				
Chris Hastie	Visit							√			
Edward Gollop	Visit										√
*Visual Monitoring / Photography / Videography											