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A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE COLLECTION

VOLUME SIX: 1945-1953

Nick Chapple



CHIEF EXECUTIVE'S OFFICE


ENGLISH HERITAGE

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SUMMARY

This is Volume Six in a series of eight reports, which describe the formation of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings from 1882 to 1983 in the context of legislation and other available means of protecting heritage.

The report describes the growth of the collection from the end of the Second World War, and the consequent resumption of ancient monuments activity in the Ministry of Works, to the passing of the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act which marked a significant increase in the government's power to protect the nation's heritage. In the aftermath of the Second World War, and with the social and economic fabric of Britain being remade by a Socialist government, the collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings in the care of the Ministry of Works expanded rapidly. High levels of taxation and shortages of materials and skilled labour made it difficult for owners of all kinds to maintain their ancient monuments adequately and the only body able to save them was central government. Nevertheless, there were still deficiencies in the government's capacity for protecting heritage, in particular with regard to inhabited houses, and much of the work of the Ministry's Ancient Monuments Department was conducted in the shadow of anticipated new legislation, which arrived after much delay in 1953.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the sixth in a series of eight reports which describe the formation of the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings from 1882 to 1983 in the context of legislation and the other available means of protecting heritage. The series was commissioned to inform commemoration of the centenary of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act. This volume covers the history of the National Heritage Collection from the end of the Second World War and the consequent resumption of ancient monuments activity in the Ministry of Works, to the passing of the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act which marked a significant increase in the government's power to protect the nation's heritage.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, and with the social and economic fabric of Britain being remade by a Socialist government, the national collection of ancient monuments and historic buildings in the care of the Ministry of Works expanded rapidly. In England alone monuments were being added to the collection at a rate of nearly one a month. High levels of taxation and shortages of materials and skilled labour made it difficult for owners of all kinds to maintain their ancient monuments adequately and the only body able to save them was central government. Nevertheless, there were still deficiencies in the government's capacity for protecting heritage, in particular with regard to inhabited houses, and much of the work of the Ministry's Ancient Monuments Department was conducted in the shadow of anticipated new legislation, which arrived after much delay in 1953.

THE NATIONALISATION OF HERITAGE

The Labour government of 1945-51 pursued a policy of nationalisation which brought the Bank of England, Cable and Wireless, civil aviation, railways and road haulage, health services, coal mines and gas and electricity provision into state ownership. No such far-reaching policy can be said to have applied in the field of ancient monuments and historic buildings, but the social, economic and political conditions of the time nevertheless combined to create a situation in which central government would increasingly take control of England's heritage away from private owners, local authorities and voluntary groups. In England, 90 monuments were taken over between the end of the war and the end of 1953, increasing the total size of the collection by more than 50 per cent. Another 11 monuments in England were accepted for guardianship during this period, although the legal formalities were not concluded until after 1953.

The model of nationalisation which the Labour government favoured was one in which publicly appointed managers ran monopoly industries in the public interest, but largely free of political interference. It was based on the 'public-minded expert' who could be expected to manage things in a professional and objective way.¹ The protection of the

nation's ancient monuments was in the hands of just such a body of experts: the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments in the Ministry of Works, based at the Ministry's imposing London headquarters, Lambeth Bridge House (fig 1).



Fig 1: Lambeth Bridge House, London, 1947. The Inspectors, Ancient Monuments Architects and ancient monuments administration had their offices on the 3rd floor; while Ministers, the Permanent Secretary and other senior officials were all on the 4th floor. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

In 1947 the Inspectorate for the whole of Great Britain numbered just 14 men (of whom three dealt with Scotland and were based in Edinburgh)², but it grew slowly in response to the increasing workload of the department. By 1950 the total number of Inspectors had grown to 16 and by January 1954 the complement was 22 for the whole country (including the head of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, Leo Biek).³ This small group of experts made recommendations on which monuments needed to be scheduled and which should be taken into guardianship; they scrutinised plans for developments which affected historic sites; they were responsible for conducting excavations at monuments in the Ministry's charge and rescue excavations on threatened sites; they also advised on what preservation work should be carried out at Ministry-run monuments and wrote the guidebooks for them.

The post of Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments was occupied from October 1945 by Bryan O'Neil (1905–1954) (fig 2). Described as 'a forceful character and a tireless worker', O'Neil brought to the post a wide-ranging enthusiasm for preservation of Britain's heritage and a strong belief in the standards and traditions of the Office/Ministry of Works.⁴ After studying Classics at Oxford he joined the Office of Works in 1930, at a time when Sir Charles Peers still dominated the Ancient Monuments Branch. He remained with the Ministry of Works during the War, overseeing emergency excavations, salvage work and the creation of embryonic lists of protected historic buildings. In the autumn of 1945, with the war over, O'Neil succeeded Joscelyn Bushe-Fox as Chief Inspector. It has been said that while he was in charge, the Ministry became 'an increasingly dynamic influence in British archaeology.'⁵

Alongside the Inspectorate was the Architects' Division, five of whom were engaged in ancient monuments work and another two dealt with Royal Palaces and other historic buildings in London. The architects were responsible for recommending and carrying out repair and preservation work at monuments and buildings in the Ministry's charge. This included the upkeep and repair of historic crown buildings such as the Tower of London and Edinburgh Castle. They also provided advisory services to other owners of monuments. Under the direction of the architects was a labour force of skilled specialist workmen – mostly masons – who carried out works on site.

The workforce, which had first been formed in 1912, was reduced during the Second World War (falling from 275 in 1939 to 57 in 1945),⁶ but built up again afterwards. In 1952 it numbered about 450 men in England and Wales.⁷



Fig 2: Bryan O'Neil (centre) with friends at English Island Carn, St Martins, Isles of Scilly in the late 1940s. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

In 1946 Harold Corti Emmerson (1896-1984) was appointed as the new Permanent Secretary of the Ministry, having spent almost all his career at the Ministry of Labour. He found a department which had a depth of experience, but disliked change. As he later recalled,

'The staff of the old Office of Works, which was the foundation of the Ministry, had been somewhat battered by a succession of Ministers of powerful personality, Lord Reith, Lord Portal and Duncan Sandys, during the years 1940 to 1945. Of less importance but also unsettling, I was the fourth Permanent Secretary to appear on the scene in the same period. It was natural that those with years of experience in the old Office of Works should have developed a resistance to change.'⁸

Nevertheless, 'there was a vast store of knowledge and experience' and as a result, 'there were few occasions when Ministerial decisions on policy were needed – or indeed decisions by the Permanent Secretary.'⁹ The head of ancient monuments administration, F J E Raby (1888-1966), had joined the old Office of Works in 1911 and many of the Inspectors and architects had been in post for a long time, military service notwithstanding. Immediately below Emmerson in the departmental structure was the Deputy Secretary with responsibility for ancient monuments and historic buildings, Sir Eric de Normann (fig 3), who had spent nearly his whole career in the Office of Works and 'was steeped in the spirit and tradition of a historic department'.¹⁰ His experience and the willingness of Ministers and the Permanent Secretary to delegate made de Normann a highly influential figure in the building of the national collection in the 1940s. As Emmerson later recalled, 'I knew I could rely on him to carry on with the ordinary run of administration of the agency services while I found my bearings.'¹¹

Eric Norman de Normann (1893-1982) joined the Office of Works in 1920, after military service in the First World War which saw him mentioned twice in dispatches. He remained in the department for the rest of his career (save for a brief stint at the Imperial Defence College). From 1943 to 1954 he held the post of Deputy Secretary. It was said of him that there was 'nothing bureaucratic in his make-up and he was always accessible to new ideas or suggestions, either from colleagues or members of the public'.¹² Like many senior figures in the Ministry of Works, before and since, he was a member of the Athenaeum Club. There he was 'the founder of a loosely composed gathering of "The Sofa", where after luncheon good talk and good fellowship made a pleasant break in the day's work and where de Normann's genial and astringent humour was seen at its best.'¹³



Fig 3: Sir Eric de Normann in 1946 © National Portrait Gallery London

During Sir Harold Emmerson's ten years as Permanent Secretary (1946-56) there were eight Ministers of Works, none of whom had any previous experience of the department. They were all reportedly 'fascinated by those aspects of the work which concerned the old Office of Works – the Royal Palaces, the Royal Parks, ancient monuments, embassies abroad, and so on'¹⁴ but with the exception of the discussions around the 1953 Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act there were no great matters of policy which needed Ministerial involvement. Instead the experienced and tight-knit group of ex-Office of Works staff picked up where they had left off in 1939.

Within the Ministry of Works both the Inspectorate and the civil servants were ambitious to increase the work of the Ancient Monuments Department after the war. The new

Permanent Secretary expressed a wish to make up the backlog of work to monuments in care which had built up during the war and he believed also that there were 'many other monuments which we should take over in the public interest.'¹⁵ The Chief Inspector wrote in 1948 that '...I have bent all my energy to re-establishing this work upon its pre-war basis...and also to extending it or at least to laying plans for its extension. It is indeed capable of considerable extension not only in quantity, but also in range.'¹⁶ These ambitions were reflected in the budget for Ancient Monuments work which more than doubled during this period (see Table 1).

The vast influx of monuments into Ministry care, which reached its peak in 1950, was not caused simply by wartime conditions and their aftermath of austerity. Just as the welfare state was a response to pre-war social conditions, the increased activity in the Ancient Monuments Department was the delayed solution to longstanding problems. Twelve of the properties which were taken into care in this period had been offered initially to the Office of Works before 1939, but either the offers had been declined (usually on grounds of financial constraints) or the negotiations over their transfer had been halted by the war. In addition four properties which came to the Ministry of Works after 1945 had been offered to the National Trust for preservation before the war, namely **Kirkham House**, **Burton Agnes Manor**, **Kingswood Abbey Gatehouse** and **Sir Bevil Grenville's Monument**.

The Office of Works had accepted guardianship of **Eynsford Castle** in Kent from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) as far back as 1935, but negotiations over boundaries and access proved difficult to resolve and were suspended in 1941, for the duration of the war. **Kirkham House** in Paignton had been saved from demolition by Mrs Ada Jennings in 1937 and left to the Office of Works on her death in 1944, the property finally coming into the Minister's care in 1948. At **Conisbrough Castle** and **Shap Abbey**, both of which had been in poor condition before the war, the Office of Works had encouraged an offer of guardianship, but without success. In the special case of **Apsley House**, successive Dukes of Wellington had looked at the possibility of disposing of it since 1934. The 7th Duke later stated that he had nurtured the idea of giving the house and its contents to the nation as a museum for some twenty years by the time it opened to the public in 1952 (see below).¹⁷

Apsley House was one of a number of cases where there had been a demonstrable need before 1945 for action to secure the preservation of the monument, even if no offer of guardianship had been made. Visiting the house in March 1935, the Earl of Crawford was struck by its poor condition and recorded his impressions in typically cutting manner in his journal:

'What a queer place Apsley House is – surely one of the very dingiest of the London palaces. There is no sign of its ever having been occupied by an intelligent owner. The Duke – I mean the first and great Duke – acquired a certain number of fine pictures by chance or by pillage – stuck them up amidst a welter of trash – furnished his palace with third rate furniture – then died, and from that date to

this none of his successors has ever thought of reforming the chaos, or even giving the place a lick of paint. The squalor and ignominy of Apsley House is beyond belief and I should imagine that the new Duke and his Duchess are perfectly incompetent to get the place into order; to do them justice, I think they feel neither shame, nor discomfort in their surroundings.¹⁸

The long campaign to take over **Hadrian's Wall** involved 14 sections being brought into the national collection between 1945 and 1953, but it had begun in the 1930s (see Volume Five) and guardianship or gift of 11 sections was accepted between 1933 and the end of the war.

Rushton Triangular Lodge was reported in June 1939 to have a tree growing out of the roof, elder bushes in the foundations, broken windows and a thick undergrowth of nettles around it. Emergency repairs were carried out in 1945, but guardianship would not be achieved until 1950. Joscelyn Bushe-Fox (Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments 1933-45) visited **Mount Grace Priory** in the early days of the war in 1939 and found the remains of the Carthusian monastery in 'a most deplorable state of neglect.' In wartime circumstances Dr Raby (head of Ancient Monuments administration) could only respond by saying that 'if happier days come, we must try to obtain guardianship.' The happy day finally came in 1952 when the Treasury decided that it would accept the property in lieu of estate duties and transfer it to the National Trust, on condition that the Priory remains were placed in guardianship.¹⁹ In 1926 the owners of the **Cow Tower** in Norwich had received advice on repair after cracks had appeared in its walls. Ministry foremen had supervised work at **Bury St Edmunds Abbey** in 1928 and at **Hailes Abbey** in 1938.

Private Owners

Although the social developments which made it difficult for private owners to maintain monuments belonging to them dated back at least to the 1914-18 war, the Second World War intensified the effects and extinguished the capacity of many more private owners, businesses and charities to maintain ancient monuments. High levels of taxation made it difficult for landowners to afford non-essential work, such as the repair of ancient monuments, or forced them to sell-up. The Earl of Jersey was typical of traditional landowners in his reasons for giving up **Osterley Park**, which was not his main home,

'In view of the current trend of taxation etc I do not think there is any likelihood of my being able again to occupy Osterley myself. Maintenance even when the Mansion is shut up, is quite a big item, and for this expenditure I get no benefit. Supervision takes a certain amount of my time etc. which I could more usefully

employ. I see no point therefore in keeping the place on a care and maintenance basis.²⁰

Cecil Binney, the owner of the medieval **Duxford Chapel**, was delighted in 1948 to learn (via an intermediary, the Curator of the Ipswich Museums) that the Ministry of Works was keen to take over the building, which his father had bought along with the adjacent public house. He had retained the chapel when he sold the pub, in order to try to secure its preservation and had turned down offers from various people who wanted to convert the building to, among other things, a dance hall or a bungalow. Binney admitted that the thatched roof had been 'getting in bad repair' before the war. The cost of repairs, always great, had since 1939 become unsupportable.

The Inspectors were well aware of the predicament of private owners and were not above using it deliberately to their advantage. In 1947 it was agreed that the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for England, P K Baillie Reynolds should write a sympathetic letter to the owner of **Sawley** (or Salley) **Abbey** in West Yorkshire, in an attempt to elicit an offer of guardianship. He wrote to Mr Fattorini that,

'it seemed to me possible that with high taxation and enormously increased costs of labour and materials you might not find it practicable to carry on the work however much you might wish to do so. If that were likely to be the case, would you perhaps consider handing the Abbey over to this Department?'²¹

In the same year, Baillie Reynolds suggested, in connection with **Castle Rising Castle** that, when the Department was in a position to be able to carry out the necessary repairs, 'a detailed report of work required may be useful to frighten the owners into handing over to us.'²² There is a hint of this approach too, in the case of **Housesteads Fort**, which the National Trust was hesitating to offer in guardianship. Although it is not acknowledged elsewhere as a strategy, there were certainly other cases where the offer of guardianship was made in response to a report on necessary repairs from one of the Ministry's architects. Owners as various as a borough council (owners of Abingdon County Hall), Winchester College (St Catherine's Oratory) and the National Trust (Hailes Abbey) responded in this way.

Some monuments had been acquired for preservation many years earlier by local charities or societies, which by the 1940s were no longer able to care for them. The **Old Merchant's House** in Great Yarmouth had been purchased by the Great Yarmouth Historic Buildings Ltd in 1908 who opened it to the public. In 1947, when the Ministry was being offered the Old Merchant's House and the nearby **Greyfriars Cloister**, the company was apparently moribund – all but four of the original shareholders having died – and in the view of the Chief Inspector, Bryan O'Neil, the time had come '...for the Company to seek an honoured grave' and allow the Ministry to take over. A similar situation existed in Gloucestershire where the **Kingswood Abbey Gatehouse** had been vested in a local trust in 1900, but by the late 1930s all the original trustees had died and

not been replaced. The Rector of Kingswood was left to try to find a way of preserving the monument and after being rejected by the National Trust (because there was no endowment) it was given to the Ministry of Works in 1950.

At Ospringe in Kent a medieval hospital known as the **Maison Dieu** (fig 4) had been bought by public subscription in 1922 to house a collection of local finds of Roman pottery. Twenty years of neglect followed, which left the building in danger of becoming no more than 'a heap of ruins and broken pottery'. The vicar and churchwardens were acting as trustees, but were not up to the task of repairing and maintaining the monument, so they offered guardianship to the Ministry. At **Wroxeter Roman City** the Shropshire Archaeological Society had managed the site (owned by Lord Barnard) for over 80 years, but in the 1940s its income had shrunk so much that they were forced to neglect the maintenance of the site. By 1946 they believed the only hope of safeguarding it was for the Ministry of Works to take over.



Fig 4: The Maison Dieu, Ospringe, Kent in 1946. The photograph was taken on a site visit by P K Baillie Reynolds and F J E Raby which led to the building being accepted for guardianship. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

The National Trust as Donor

The motivation of the National Trust in offering sites to the Ministry of Works was a combination of a freely acknowledged lack of expertise in the care of ancient monuments and a shortage of funds. In offering **Bramber Castle** in 1945, James Lees-Milne (Secretary of the Trust's Historic Buildings Committee) admitted that it was 'the sort of property which is always a slight embarrassment to the Trust'.²³ They had bought it in 1945 with part of a legacy left to the Trust, not so much for its archaeological interest as its amenity value and its wide views over the Sussex countryside. Lees-Milne admitted to Dr Raby that ancient monuments were 'the one kind of property in the management of which the Trust has not had very signal success, and...we should at least ask for your expert advice and opinion.'²⁴ Baillie Reynolds agreed that,

'...as a general principle monuments such as castles and abbeys should NOT be in the custody of the National Trust but in that of the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of Works, one of whose primary functions under the A.M. Acts is precisely the care of such monuments. And I therefore feel that when the National Trust offers us the guardianship of a well-known castle we should be failing in our duty if we refused it, even if it were not in itself a very attractive proposition.'²⁵

The abrasive Baillie Reynolds was equally keen, three years later, to accept guardianship of **Wall Roman site** from the Trust: 'On propaganda grounds, it would be quite a good thing that the National Trust, having had this site in its possession for 20 years, should in the end have to hand it over to us because it cannot maintain it.'²⁶ Wall, or Letocetum as it was also known, had suffered as much as anywhere from the neglect of the war years. Lees-Milne visited in April 1947 and wrote in his diary: 'Called at Letocetum which is a lamentable, tumbledown property. The sheds over the Roman remains have collapsed: the exhibits consist of dusty, broken bits of Roman pottery. The whole place unkempt and uncared for. I would like to blow it up.'²⁷

Not everything offered by the Trust was gratefully accepted. Baillie Reynolds did not think the 'scanty fragments' of **Ribchester Roman Fort** in Lancashire worth taking over, especially as the museum was not offered along with the standing remains.²⁸

Ribchester, Wall Roman site and Hailes Abbey were all sites that had been in Trust ownership for several years and had deteriorated during that time. **Bramber Castle**, **Old Soar Manor** and **Mount Grace Priory** on the other hand were monuments that were acquired by the Trust in this period and immediately offered to the Ministry, in recognition of their greater expertise and capacity for looking after ancient monuments. (Bramber would not come into the national collection until 1975, see Volume Eight.)

Two other National Trust properties, **Osterley Park** and **Ham House**, came into the care of the Ministry of Works in the 1940s through sheer necessity. Despite the Trust's

increasing importance and growing collection of properties it had very little money, so was not in a position to make any substantial purchases, or to maintain a house and grounds without an endowment or other form of income. **Ham House**, Surrey, was offered as a gift to the Trust in 1945, but the Tollemache family which owned it was unable to offer an endowment; nor was it in a position to give away the valuable contents of the house, which added greatly to its historical significance. It was clear that the house along with its gardens and contents merited preservation, so the Trust approached the government for financial assistance to make it possible for them to take over the property.

A scheme was devised (seemingly by Edward Hale of the Treasury)²⁹ for the freehold to be vested in the National Trust, which would in turn give a lease to the Ministry of Works to maintain the house, on the understanding it was to be used as a museum; the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) would purchase the contents and administer the museum. The V&A (which was effectively an extension of the government, funded by the Ministry of Education) became involved initially to value the contents, but the museum's director Sir Leigh Ashton was so impressed by the seventeenth-century furniture in the house that he felt it should be in the national collection (that is, vested in the V&A). Ashton went further, suggesting Ham would be suitable as 'something which we have long desired to have, namely, a country house in close proximity to London which we can utilise for all our furniture of a less important nature, which I have always felt was an ideal scheme.'³⁰

For the Trust to take on a house as a museum was unusual, although not unique. The main aim of the Trust's Country Houses Scheme was to provide a means by which the traditional owners could continue to reside in their houses, an aim supported by the Ministry of Works as a method of preservation. In the case of Ham (and also Osterley) the owners no longer wished to remain in residence. Indeed in the view of James Lees-Milne Ham was, 'Quite impossible as a private residence these days, and not suited to any institutional use. The first floor is all state-rooms; the second all intercommunicating rooms. The attic floor not fit for animals, far less for modern servants, where obtainable.'³¹

In these circumstances, museum use was the best solution since it prevented the house becoming a 'white elephant' and kept house and contents together. Nevertheless it took another two years of difficult negotiations for the detailed scheme to be agreed. On 9 March 1948, Lees Milne wrote in his diary: 'An awful meeting at the Ministry of Works on the subject of Ham House. The Admiral [Bevir, Secretary of the National Trust] presiding over a baker's dozen...of dreary subfusc civil servants and attorneys. How I hate their guts. Little achieved owing to huffing, puffing, um-ing and er-ing.'³²

For its part, the Ministry of Works resented the Trust's insistence on controlling what it did to the house and gardens, since its staff had, after all, many years of experience in looking after historic buildings such as Hampton Court and Holyrood House. In view of the extent of government responsibility for the scheme, the involvement of the National Trust was questionable, but as Sir Eric de Normann explained '...the reason for the

presence of the National Trust in the transaction is, I gather, simply to make it acceptable to the present owner...¹³³ (In the contrasting case of Audley End the Trust was squeezed out altogether). Nevertheless the Ministry felt it was getting the worst of the deal. In F J Root's words: 'the position is that the National Trust are taking over a house which is a liability and we are taking all the liabilities.'¹³⁴

Eventually a deal was made and the V&A took over the running of the house on 1 June 1948. The Ministry of Works' 99-year lease commenced on 24 June. Problematic though it was, Ham became a template for the treatment of Osterley Park, another house offered to the Trust which had no future as a residence.

The idea of transferring **Osterley Park** to the National Trust had first been raised in 1938, but nothing had been done about it and during the war the house was taken over by Glyn, Mills Bank while the park was used as a Home Guard training ground. In 1944 the owner, the Earl of Jersey, revived the idea and an arrangement was devised whereby the National Trust would be given the house and 300 acres of land, the contents of the state rooms would be loaned to it for 500 years, and the land beyond the gardens of the house would be let by the Trust to the local councils for recreational use. The councils also undertook to meet any annual deficit incurred by the Trust, up to a maximum of £11,000, an arrangement preferred by the Trust to the alternative idea of selling outlying parts of the estate to fund an endowment. A management committee would be set up including representatives of the councils, the National Trust, the Georgian Group and the RIBA. While the lawyers were working up the details of the gift, a new administration at Middlesex County Council declared its wish to renegotiate the membership of the managing committee. This provoked Lord Jersey's ire and, after initially proposing to sell everything on the open market, he made a new and less generous offer to the Trust. The house and grounds would be given to the Trust, but only if the councils purchased the rest of the land and the Trust the contents (minus the pictures which were removed and taken to Jersey).

With the preservation of Osterley in jeopardy the government was again asked to step in and assist the National Trust. It had already given some consideration to the importance of Osterley in 1947 because the Earl of Jersey owed several thousand pounds in estate duty and the Chancellor Hugh Dalton had agreed that he should be invited to give part of the estate to the nation in lieu of tax. Lord Crawford, the Chairman of the National Trust visited Dalton's successor as Chancellor, Sir Stafford Cripps, on 13 May 1948 to ask him to buy the contents on behalf of the Trust. This request came at a time when the arrangements for Ham House were on the point of being completed, so the Treasury naturally used that as a template for dealing with Osterley.

The Trust's inability to buy the contents of the house, or to maintain the house and gardens, made Osterley a close parallel to Ham. The V&A was again delighted to improve its collections by buying the Adam furniture for which Osterley was famous. The Ministry of Works was less pleased, having made its dislike of this sort of arrangement clear, but

recognised that it must again accept the Trust's involvement. With all the arrangements in place the National Trust accepted the gift of the mansion house and grounds and on 24 November 1949 leased them to the Ministry of Works on a full repairing lease of 99 years. On the same day, the land accepted by the government in lieu of taxation was transferred to the National Trust via the National Land Fund. The house was re-opened to the public in 1953 under the auspices of the V&A.

Local Authorities

Local authorities shared with central government the guardianship powers in the Ancient Monument Acts, so the Ministry of Works was generally reluctant to accept properties from them (see Volume Five for earlier evidence of this attitude). Yet at the same time it also had a low opinion of the ability of most local authorities to care for monuments and occasionally they needed to take action to preserve a local authority-owned monument. When the Ministry heard that the Earl of Yarborough proposed to sell **Conisbrough Castle** to the local council, O'Neil's response was that it would be 'a calamity'. The local authority would be 'unable to do justice to this which is one of the finest castles in England. We should have it.' The council readily agreed to the suggestion of guardianship and effectively had been nothing more than a conduit for the transfer from a private owner to the State.

Abingdon County Hall, which despite its name was owned by the Borough of Abingdon, was not a typical ancient monument, since it was a roofed building and had a beneficial use as a museum. Although the County Hall was 'generally considered to be one of the finest buildings of its kind in the country' and was in a state of decay, it was not the intention of the Ancient Monuments Acts that the Ministry of Works should provide free accommodation in guardianship monuments for local authority services. Yet the Ministry was clearly the body best-qualified to repair and preserve it. The solution was provided by s.9 of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act which allowed the Ministry to accept 'voluntary contributions towards the cost of maintenance and preservation of any monument of which they may become the owners or guardians'. Thus a voluntary rent could be paid by the Borough for the use of the building and it could be repaired by the Ministry's experts, without stepping outside the limitations of the Ancient Monuments Acts.

Temple Manor in Strood, Kent was acquired by the City of Rochester in the early 1930s by accident, because it happened to be on land wanted for industrial development. They failed to find any use for the medieval manor house before the war and a combination of bomb damage and vandalism had reduced it to near-ruination by 1949 (see fig 5). The Ministry had been involved in attempts to find a use for the building in 1934 and had witnessed its decline over the following 15 years. 'This is another example of the inadequacy of a local authority' wrote O'Neil, shortly before an offer of guardianship arrived. The council was not prepared to spend any money on preservation of the

monument, even with grant aid, and with the threat of a Preservation Order hanging over its guardianship was the easy way out.



Fig 5: Temple Manor, Strood, Kent in 1949. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Other Landowners

The other major sources of ancient monuments for the national collection were the Crown and the State in its various forms. The War Office, the Crown Lands Commission, the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster and the Church of England were owners of large numbers of historic buildings and thousands of acres of land, on which stood many ancient monuments. The War Office had a longstanding arrangement with the Ministry of Works for the maintenance of the parts of its estate which were of historic interest (see Volume Two). In this period, when despite the end of the War Britain was still highly militarised, only **Tilbury Fort** and **Pevensey Castle** were transferred. (In the case of Pevensey Castle, the monument was being returned to the national collection having been occupied temporarily by the military during the war). When the Commissioners for Crown Lands were negotiating for the purchase of the Dunster Castle Estate they offered to place four of its ancient monuments, including **Cleeve Abbey** and the **Dunster Yarn Market** in the care of the Ministry of Works. (Two further monuments were on parts of the estate leased to the Forestry Commission and the Ministry was not able to take them over.) The Ministry regarded all the monuments on offer to be of sufficient importance to

be preserved and indeed they had been keen for many years to have control of **Cleeve Abbey** on the grounds that it was practically the only historic monastic building in the country which was still roofed.

The Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster had extensive landholdings and a large collection of castles. Unlike the War Office they did not have a *right* to transfer monuments to the Ministry of Works, but there seems to have been some sense of obligation on the part of the Ministry to accept what was offered and several monuments had been taken over since the 1920s. Discussing **Tutbury Castle** with the Duchy of Lancaster in 1951, Baillie Reynolds said that they would 'feel it a duty to accept guardianship if offered.' Although **Bolingbroke Castle** and **Chichele College** had both been taken over from the Duchy of Lancaster in 1949, the view of Frederick Root (Under Secretary responsible for ancient monuments work in the Ministry) on Tutbury in 1952 was that the Duchy should be encouraged to take responsibility for its own monuments: 'the Ministry will be heavily overloaded if all public bodies seek to hand over their monuments to it.' In the end negotiations simply tailed off without reaching any conclusion. Guardianship of a group of seven monuments on the Isles of Scilly was given by the Duchy of Cornwall in 1950, at the request of the Ministry – a rare example of a targeted approach to collecting. **Launceston Castle**, on the other hand, was a more traditional case of the owner being unable to afford repairs. It was accepted on the basis of its archaeological importance and came into guardianship in 1951.

The first monument taken into guardianship after the end of the war was a piece of church property, a section of **Hadrian's Wall** in the vicarage garden at Gilsland in Cumbria. In dealing with that case it was established that an incumbent was capable of granting guardianship of church land. Another monument in a vicarage garden was **North Elmham Chapel** in Norfolk, which came into guardianship in 1948, at the suggestion of the Bishop of Norwich. Much of the Church's property, including all Episcopal property, was held not by parishes but by the Church Commissioners. Its predecessor body, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, had been prepared before the war to spend money on the repair of ancient monuments such as the remains of **Wolvesey Palace** in Winchester or the **Lincoln Old Bishops Palace**, but after the war the Church Commissioners showed a marked reluctance to do so. As a result Wolvesey Palace, Lincoln Old Bishops Palace and Auckland Deer House (in the park of the Bishop of Durham's palace) were all offered to the Ministry during this period.

Monuments for the Nation

The nationalisation of ancient monuments opened up some hidden or inaccessible parts of England's heritage to the public, but many of the monuments offered to the Ministry at this time were already open to the public, or at least had been up until 1939. Sites owned by the National Trust – **Wall Roman site**, **Hailes Abbey**, **Housesteads Fort** – had naturally been open before, but there were many others in private ownership to which the public had long been admitted. This might be informal, in the manner of **Home's Place Chapel** where the occasional visitor would be allowed to see inside on request (see below) or **Creake Abbey** which Admiral and Mrs Thursfield were happy to show to visitors after they had acquired it in 1947.

Larger monuments such as **Castle Rising Castle** in Norfolk were already well-established attractions with guide books and postcards on sale. **Boscobel House**, with its historical connections to Charles II and the Civil War, had attracted visitors for hundreds of years and the Victorian appetite for romantic history, along with the new Midlands railway, boosted their numbers in the later 19th century. The Roman remains at **Wroxeter** had been a visitor attraction since 1859 when much of the site was exposed for the first time. More recently, the Earl of Jersey had opened up **Osterley Park** to the public in 1939 and that summer 19,000 people were admitted to the house and 27,000 to the grounds. As well as the historic state rooms, visitors could also enjoy exhibitions of contemporary art in some upstairs rooms.

At **Aldbrough Roman Station** in Yorkshire Lady Lawson-Tancred not only allowed visitors to see the *in situ* remains, but also had a small museum to display finds from the site, for which 3d entry was charged. At the time that **Cleeve Abbey** was offered to the Ministry, it was generating about £300 a year in admission fees. Charging an entry fee, rarely more than a few pence, had allowed private owners for many years to cover the costs of maintaining monuments, but in post-war conditions that income was not always sufficient.

The negative consequence of the public having access to a monument was all too often vandalism and it was their inability to prevent this as well as their inability to carry out repairs which motivated some owners to offer sites to the Ministry. Herbert Ford, the owner of **Lilleshall Abbey**, did not feel up to the task of re-opening the monument to the public after the war and had fenced it off with barbed wire. Even so, trespassers had gained access, vandalising the ruins and lighting fires. In the 1930s **Sawley Abbey** had been repaired by the owner, a wealthy Bradford businessman, but after the workmen left the site early in the War, it was over-run by vandals and the condition of the monument declined again.

Most private owners who gave their monuments to the Ministry appear to have been genuinely desirous of preserving them and offered them so that they could receive the right treatment, not simply to relieve themselves of a liability. In some cases this was

straightforward pride in their own property, which may have been a family possession for centuries, but there were also owners who had serious antiquarian or archaeological interests. Lord Ilchester, who gave the Ministry guardianship of **Abbotsbury Abbey** in Dorset in 1948 (and before the war had given nearby St Catherine's Chapel) was a historian, Trustee of the British Museum and Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Lord Harlech, the donor of **Old Oswestry Hillfort** in 1945 had been First Commissioner of Works from 1931 to 1936 and was later Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board for England. The remains of **Creake Abbey** in Norfolk were bought by Admiral H G Thursfield FSA, a friend of Sir Charles Peers, in order to preserve them. When he realised the extent of the work needed to the remains, having already done a little unofficial excavation of his own, he sought to give guardianship to the Minister. Another amateur archaeologist was Richard Du Cane, who in 1950 offered to leave **Carrawburgh Roman Fort** on Hadrian's Wall to the Ministry in his Will. A large part of his motivation for acquiring the site appears to have been the desire to undertake his own excavations, despite having no suitable qualifications for the task. (He did, however, claim that his dog, Adam, had uncovered the centre altar at the Carrawburgh Mithraeum in 1950.) In that case the Ministry was able to persuade him not to do any digging, but the proposed transfer of the monument was never completed.

Even where the owner was not part of the small world of archaeologists and antiquarians, they might still recognise the importance of their possessions to the nation. When a rare set of wallpaintings was discovered in **Longthorpe Tower**, the owner, Captain Fitzwilliam, paid for uncovering, recording and conserving them, but did not feel able to undertake the structural work which was needed to protect the tower as a whole and made a gift of the monument to the Ministry in 1947. **Bemey Arms Windmill**, Norfolk was owned by the Lower Bure, Halvergate Fleet and Acle Marshes Internal Drainage Board, which was run by local farmers to provide land drainage in a low-lying coastal area. When the Board planned to replace it with a modern pumping plant, there was no use for what they considered 'the finest example of a drainage windmill in the district' and after first approaching the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and then the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings they offered the mill to the Ministry of Works as a gift. Even though he could not afford the whole cost of restoration, Mr Briggs, the owner of **Steeton Hall Gateway**, donated £50 towards the monument's repair at the same time as giving guardianship. The Duke of Somerset offered **Totnes Castle** so that the 'general public may derive the full benefit of access'.

The offer of **Apsley House** to the nation by Gerald Wellesley, the 7th Duke of Wellington divided opinion. Some, such as the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, considered it very generous. Others, mindful of the fact that Parliament had provided the money to buy the house in gratitude for the 1st Duke's defeat of Napoleon, thought that his successor was merely returning a gift for which he had no longer had any use. The house was certainly a liability, being barely habitable by the latter stages of the war. The duke therefore offered the house along with a selection of the pictures and other contents associated with the 1st Duke to the government, in return for continued

occupation by the family of the upper part of the house. The matter was considered by the Cabinet on 12 June 1944.³⁵ It was generally agreed that the offer was a generous one and merited consideration, but the Minister of Information, Brendan Bracken, attacked the proposal, arguing that there were other houses in London, such as Bridgewater House, where a bargain of this kind would bring greater advantage. Bracken was in a minority of one, however, and when the Prime Minister, who had not been at the Cabinet meeting was informed of the proposal he responded simply, 'it is a generous offer.'³⁶

It was agreed that the Ministry of Works would take over the house and repair it for use as a Wellington Museum, to be run by the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was also to be used for Government hospitality. The Ministry took a tenancy in January 1947 so that they could carry out repairs in advance of the legal transfer of the house. Since the house had been bought by the Duke of Wellington with money granted by Parliament for his use and that of his successors, transfer to the Ministry of Works could only be achieved by passing another Act of Parliament. The Wellington Museum Act to enable the duke to divest himself of the house and those contents which were classed as Parliamentary heirlooms was given Royal Assent on 31 July 1947.

It took until 1952 for the Museum to be made ready for opening to the public, which gave the the duke cause to reconsider his offer. He wrote to R A Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer on 25 April 1952 that 'an important section of public opinion and of the Press friendly to the present Government has always been hostile to the scheme and considers that I and not the country am the gainer by it.'³⁷ He had come to assume 'that the Government regard the whole business as an embarrassing legacy from their predecessors and that they would be glad to be quit of it.' He proposed a revised arrangement whereby the Government remained owners of the freehold, gave the duke £10,000 to surrender his occupation of the house and all the chattels would be returned to him, with the right to sell even those which were scheduled as Parliamentary heirlooms.

Butler wrote an emollient response, saying that in fact the government were keen to get the museum open and the V&A had even been allowed to exceed its spending limits so as speed progress. The Wellington Museum opened in the summer of 1952 and attracted 150,000 visitors in the first year, paying a shilling each for entrance. Attendance fell after the first year and by June 1956 there was an average of only 587 visitors a week. The *Evening Standard* proclaimed 'this is an unwanted museum, and the Government should close it.'³⁸

Difficult Cases

Not all owners were benign and altruistic and in such cases the limitations of the Ministry's powers could be exposed. At monuments where the owner was deliberately neglectful or was threatening to damage the monument the positive actions available to the Ministry were:

- to seek either freehold acquisition or guardianship by agreement
- to give a grant to the owner for repairs
- to carry out first-aid repairs at the Ministry's expense
- to issue a Preservation Order, which may or may not lead to guardianship

Seeking to take over a monument by negotiation was one possible response to a threat of demolition or damage. In 1948 The Clerk to Binham Parish Council in Norfolk requested permission to have the **Binham Wayside Cross** demolished on the grounds that it was a dangerous structure and the village could not afford to repair it. This was treated as constituting the 3 months notice an owner of a scheduled monument was required to give the Ministry for any intended works.³⁹ Although they feared setting a precedent which might be taken up by every other parish council, the Ministry offered to take guardianship rather than allow the 15th-century cross to be destroyed. **Auckland Castle Deer House**, County Durham, was taken into guardianship in 1952 in response to a threat from the Church Commissioners that they would demolish the dangerous portions of the monument unless the Ministry of Works took over its maintenance. The attitude of the Church Commissioners was that they could not be expected to pay for expensive repairs to a building which was of no use to them. Without much enthusiasm, the Ministry accepted this ultimatum, rather than lose the monument entirely.

The Ministry did not always respond to such threats of demolition by taking guardianship, and sometimes it was prepared to let monuments go. The owners of **Shank Castle** (fig 6), a ruined tower standing in a remote farmyard in Cumbria, wrote to the Ministry in 1949 to give notice of their intention to demolish it because it was unsafe. The Ancient Monuments Board recommended that the structure should be consolidated at the cost of the Ministry, if that would satisfy the farmers. If they would not co-operate, however, the Board did not feel that the importance of the monument justified a Preservation Order. When the owners rejected the offer and re-affirmed their intention to demolish the tower, no further action was taken by the Ministry.



Fig 6: Shank Castle, Solport, Cumbria in 1951. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Another example of this pragmatic approach is the **Old Market Hall, Bishops Castle** in Shropshire (fig 7), an 18th-century market hall, no longer used as such, which was both scheduled and listed. The town council had long struggled to find a beneficial use for the building and had twice in the 1930s appealed unsuccessfully to central government for a grant towards the cost of repairs. In 1947 the Ministry turned down an offer of guardianship on the grounds that they could not afford the necessary repairs, due to their heavy commitments elsewhere.

So when, in 1950, the town council wrote to give notice of their intention to demolish, the Ministry, advised by the Ancient Monuments Board that the building was not of outstanding merit, opted not to oppose the demolition. In these two cases, the cost of repairs relative to the archaeological and historical importance of the monument deterred the Ministry from taking action, even though both had at one time been considered worthy of scheduling.



Fig 7: The Old Market Hall, Bishops Castle, Shropshire in 1948. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Section 3(3) of the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act gave the Minister the power to grant aid work to a monument of which he was not the owner or guardian, excluding only

inhabited buildings. The power was very rarely exercised, however, because the approval of the Treasury was required in each individual case and as one official stated in 1947, 'when they have consented, they have always rehearsed their extreme reluctance to agree to this sort of thing'. The other drawback of making grants was that it normally required the owner to make some contribution and most were either unable or unwilling to do so. Worst of all, any assistance given to an owner was money taken away from the Ministry's own properties, since there was no separate grants budget. It was easier simply to tell owners that they were unable to spend money on monuments which were not in their control. This was true in the sense that they had no spare funds they could use for grants, but it was a self-imposed restriction. Serious consideration was given to grant-aiding the **Iron Bridge** in 1947-48, as a way of encouraging the County Council to accept Guardianship, but the Ministry of Transport was persuaded to provide grant-aid instead. Generally, however, in this period guardianship was considered ahead of grant-aid as a way of preserving a monument.

The same section of the 1931 Act allowed the Ministry to carry out work on behalf of an owner, at its own expense if necessary. This power was used to carry out emergency repairs on monuments which were in the process of being transferred, but where the need for work was too urgent to wait for all the legal formalities. Work started at **Bishops Waltham Palace** in advance of the conclusion of legal formalities and also at **Appuldurcombe House** where Ministry labour undertook the safe removal of the remaining roofs and floors of a building which was to be presented as a ruin. The Ministry had demolished large parts of **Chiswick House** several years before guardianship of the house was finalised. The same power was also used as a temporary measure to deal with the case of **Rushton Triangular Lodge**, where the owners showed no sign of wishing to maintain their part of England's heritage. Their reluctance to repair the monument, which stood in a quiet corner of the Rushton Hall estate was based on the belief that it would encourage visitors and since they made money out of letting the shooting rights on the estate, anything which was likely to disturb the birds was undesirable. The case was described as one of 'persistent and deliberate neglect'. The owners did make an attempt to carry out some repairs in 1942, but their request for grant aid towards the work was turned down. Instead, after two more years of decay, the Ministry sent their own men to the monument, with the approval of the owner, to carry out first-aid work at the Ministry's expense (fig 8). In the case of **Rushton Triangular Lodge**, a voluntary guardianship was eventually agreed, in 1950.



Fig 8: Rushton Triangular Lodge, Northamptonshire, in 1945, during emergency repairs carried out at the Ministry's expense. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Where owners could not be won round by any means, the Ministry was forced to consider the use of Preservation Orders. The power to make Preservation Orders came from section 6 of the 1913 Act, as amended by section 4 of the 1931 Act. It enabled the Minister to prevent work being undertaken which would damage or destroy a monument of national importance (even if it was not scheduled). While a Preservation Order was in force, the Minister could constitute himself guardian of a monument, without the consent

of the owner. If the owner objected, the Minister would be forced to seek confirmation of the Preservation Order by Parliament to make it permanent, without which it would lapse after 21 months. Two very similar cases arose in this period, which illustrate the difficulties the Ministry had in making use of this power.

Home's Place Chapel, near Appledore in Kent (fig 9), was a rare survival of a small domestic chapel of the 14th century, attached to a farmhouse on a working farm. When the farm was put up for sale in March 1948, an architect from the Ministry visited to see if the chapel was worthy of preservation and as a result it was scheduled on 5 June 1948. This gave the Ministry a stake in the future of the monument and after long deliberation they wrote to the new owners at the end of 1949, suggesting they carry out repairs costing about £750. The response from the owner, Nellie Daines, was that she could not afford to spend that much on the chapel and since it was a national monument, the nation should pay for its upkeep. For good measure, she reported that she had considered stripping the roof because tiles were falling off and landing in the yard. She did, however, offer to sell the monument to the ministry. The Inspectorate attempted to negotiate for guardianship, but the owners were obdurate and repeated their threats to unroof the building on safety grounds. This put the Department in the same position they had been in with regard to Shank Castle (see above). Home's Place Chapel, however, was considered worth fighting for.

A Preservation Order was signed by the Minister on 28 September 1950 and the following day it was delivered by hand to Mr Daines and a copy nailed to the door of the chapel.⁴⁰ When Mrs Daines sent formal notice of her objection to Order, the Ministry recognised this as a 'test case'. Sir Eric de Normann did not see how they could back down 'as we shall only look ridiculous, offend the Ancient Monuments Board, and generally encourage other owners to resist.' On the other hand, it was potentially embarrassing, at a time when Parliament was expecting an announcement on measures to save the great houses of England (in response to the Gowers Report (see p.46) for the Ministry instead to bring forward a Bill for the preservation of a small and obscure disused chapel. Moreover, the cost of putting a Bill through Parliament would be enough to pay for the Ministry to lease the chapel from the farmer. While the emergency repair work commenced on site (see fig. 9), renewed efforts were made to seek voluntary guardianship in face-to-face negotiations.



Fig 9: Horne's Place Chapel, Kent, in 1952, after first-aid repairs to the roof but before full restoration of the monument. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

By March 1951, Mrs Daines had withdrawn her objection, allowing the Preservation Order and compulsory guardianship to stand, without the need for a special Act of Parliament.

In the case of Horne's Place Chapel, the Ministry was quick to seek authority for a Preservation Order, before any serious negotiation had taken place. The owners' attitude was equally confrontational, but at heart it was a refusal to be told what to do by the men from Whitehall. In respect of the access conditions associated with guardianship, Mr

Daines was quoted in the *Evening News* as saying: 'visitors to the district sometimes asked permission to look over the old chapel, and I always agreed. But having to admit people by Government order is a different matter.'⁴¹

The other monument where Preservation Orders played a role was a similar case, but both the monument, and the difficulties involved in securing its preservation were on a larger scale. **Wingfield Manor**, Derbyshire, was a manor house of the 1440s, in which Mary Queen of Scots had at one time been imprisoned. The Department had been involved with the site from at least 1920 when it turned down the chance to purchase the extensive ruins. Since then efforts had been made both to persuade the owners to do repairs and to obtain guardianship. Those efforts were renewed when it was discovered in 1949 that the monument had new owners, two young farmers named Critchlow. A visit was made by Ministry officials and the ruins were found to be in poor condition and one of the Critchlow brothers was described as being prepared to fight to the death to keep his farmstead. A follow-up letter suggesting guardianship and several subsequent reminders were steadfastly ignored by the Critchlows, forcing the Ministry to consider compulsory action. The Ancient Monuments Board was consulted in May 1951 and they advised that the monument was in danger from neglect and a Preservation Order should be issued. F J Root surmised that 'if we issue a Preservation Order the owner will come to heel', but with the Home's Place Chapel case only recently resolved, the Ministry decided to postpone any action. It was thought more prudent to wait a few months for the anticipated new legislation on historic buildings which would contain a simplified process for Preservation Orders. (The new process and the eventual resolution of the Wingfield Manor case are described in Volume Seven of this series.

MAKING A COLLECTION: POLICY

In January 1949 the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments Bryan O'Neil, who had been an Inspector since 1930, remarked that 'at the outset of our ancient monuments work many years ago we ought probably to have aimed at getting a good representative selection of monuments of all types in our charge, whereas we had actually taken them over haphazardly as offers were made.'⁴² This was probably inevitable since the process was essentially reactive, being triggered by a request for help from an owner or by a report that a monument was in poor condition. A considerable amount of work was done in this period, however, to try to define more clearly the monuments which were worthy of preservation at public expense.

O'Neil felt it should be possible to take a more strategic approach to acquisitions and to target the limited number of outstandingly important monuments in the main categories – castles and monastic sites – that ought to be in the hands of the Ministry. In 1949 a short list of desirable monuments (see Appendix 2) was drawn up by O'Neil, under four headings: Norman keeps, other medieval castles, pre-Norman churches and medieval monasteries. Progress on the last category was almost instant, three of the 18 entries being taken over within three years, at which point O'Neil wrote that 'the day is perhaps not far distant when we shall be able to say that we have in our charge all the most important monastic remains in England and Wales.'⁴³ In general, however, the list seems to be of limited practical value. It was acknowledged that some of these were well looked after by their owners, in which case there was no need for the Ministry to take them over. Nor was the acceptance of new monuments limited to the items on the list, even within those few categories.

The Ministry proceeded to take over several monuments which were not on O'Neil's list, but which they could nevertheless declare to be definitely in guardianship class. Just a few years later, **Rochester Castle**, which was omitted by O'Neil, was described by the next Chief Inspector as 'perhaps the most important castle in the country which is not in our hands' and later still by *his* successor as 'a monument of such major importance that it ought to be brought into national custody' (which happened eventually in 1965). When **Leiston Abbey** was put forward for guardianship in 1956, the fact that it had not appeared on O'Neil's list was explained as 'probably an accident' and because the monument was considered first-class it was accepted, despite the financial constraints of the time. Nevertheless, in 1952 O'Neil was looking forward to the 'ultimate conclusion' of the Ministry's work in its traditional fields and to expansion in other areas.

Medieval houses were one area which had hardly been touched before the War, but now saw a significant increase in activity. 'Such monuments are much less obvious than castles and abbeys,' wrote O'Neil, 'and it requires much research before we can be sure we have chosen good examples, but this is worth while.' The Inspectorate was well aware of the excavation history and literature of Roman and Prehistoric sites as well as later castles and

abbeys, but the same resources did not exist to enable judgements to be made so easily on medieval houses which might be offered to the Ministry.

When **Old Soar Manor** was proposed for guardianship, O'Neil wrote that 'although there is no ready reference list of houses of [the 13th] century, I know this to be a good example of its class.' Things were changing, however, and the Inspectorate was able to make use of research by Dr Margaret Wood (published in 1952 as *Thirteenth Century Domestic Architecture in England*). Presenting buildings of this kind was important, O'Neil felt, because in that way 'we can do our bit to educate the public to a full appreciation of English history. Life in medieval times was not confined to castles and abbeys, but this obvious fact is often concealed even from otherwise well-educated people.'⁴⁴

Historic gardens also received some attention in this period. The gardens at **Wrest Park**, Bedfordshire were taken into care in 1946 as an *ad hoc* measure, as much for the statuary and the garden buildings as the landscape itself. The Inspector dealing with that case was George Chettle, who in 1951 was asked to make a list of gardens of historic importance. This was prompted by concerns that where houses had been requisitioned by public bodies there was a tendency to cover their gardens in 'hatted camps'.⁴⁵ Chettle's list was completed by February 1952 and comprised 99 gardens and parks (see Appendix 3). No consideration appears to have been given to taking any of the gardens into guardianship.

Industrial Monuments

'Hitherto we have concentrated nearly all our resources upon medieval monuments', wrote Bryan O'Neil (Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments) in 1948, but in his view the Ministry should look to widen its scope to 'other monuments, both earlier and later in date.'⁴⁶ O'Neil himself was a man of wide historical interests who could be as enthusiastic about a Roman settlement as he could about a medieval church or an 18th-century blast furnace, and through his efforts in particular cases the range of monuments which were considered worthy of guardianship expanded during this period.

The definition of a monument in the Ancient Monuments Acts was so broad as to include anything man-made except a church that was in use for worship. O'Neil, who was a member of the Newcomen Society (which studied the history of engineering and technology), believed that the Ministry should be using the Ancient Monuments Acts to preserve early industrial equipment. In 1947 the Ancient Monuments Board agreed that early industrial equipment could be treated as ancient monuments and approved in principle the scheduling of the best examples. In 1951 the Board discussed industrial monuments and expressed the view that 'the Minister should use all his power to preserve important relics of this nature.'⁴⁷

A start was made by taking over two windmills in East Anglia: **Berney Arms Windmill** in Norfolk (fig 10) in 1950 and **Saxtead Green Post Mill** in Suffolk in 1951. (Acquisition of a third windmill, **Sibsey Trader** in Lincolnshire was agreed in 1952, but fell through when the owner died.) Windmills were fast going out of use as other forms of power took over and it was timely that these three examples should be offered while still in working order. Although they were in a sense industrial monuments, as Baillie Reynolds later commented traditional mills were perhaps better understood as survivals from the middle ages which had 'been suppressed by electric and oil-engines as effectively as the monasteries were by Henry VIII.'⁴⁸



Fig 10: Berney Arms Windmill, Norfolk, in 1949. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

The Ministry's position was more equivocal when it came to monuments of the Industrial Revolution such as early railways, potteries, iron and steel-working and pumping engines. O'Neil foresaw the extinction of such things within a few years unless the Ministry could take them over, and since, as he said, 'the Empire was built on them'⁴⁹ he felt it was important to act. The first definite attempt to take over such a monument concerned **Morley Park Ironworks** in Derbyshire (fig 11).

Two blast furnaces - one late 18th-century and the other early 19th-century - were the surviving remnants of a large iron smelting works, abandoned in what was now a rural landscape. After visiting in 1949, O'Neil recommended acceptance if an offer of guardianship were made, but he could only say that such structures *seemed* rare, and

therefore important, because unlike more traditional types of monument, research on early industrial monuments did not yet exist to confirm this impression. When asked to rank the ironworks with other current offers, however, he put it above the more conventional merits of Bury St Edmunds Abbey.



Fig 11: Morley Park Ironworks, Derbyshire in 1952. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

While the Inspectorate and administrators of the Ministry were prepared to break new ground by accepting guardianship of the Ironworks, the politicians were not. The first offer was rejected in 1951 after the intervention of Lord Morrison who convinced the (Labour) Minister, Richard Stokes, that 'once we start making ancient monuments of old industrial buildings we are committing ourselves to a lot of expense in the future'. The following year the new (Conservative) Minister, David Eccles said that he liked 'the idea of preserving some of the best bits of the industrial revolution', but would not approve the necessary expenditure and the proposal came to nothing.

Another industrial monument was turned down for guardianship shortly after and for similar reasons. The Wortley Ironworks in Sheffield had ceased production in 1929 but the **Top Forge** survived and was seen in 1952 as the best preserved early 18th-century forge in England. The Sheffield Trades Historical Society was attempting to purchase the site when the owners, frustrated by delays in the sale going through, advertised the hammers and water wheels for sale as scrap. The Ministry scheduled the site to protect it, but turned down the offer of guardianship for fear of setting a precedent which might prove expensive later. Instead the Sheffield Trades Historical Society took over the

ironworks in 1953 and were given advice on repair by the Ministry. Other rejected offers of industrial monuments include **Ash Mill** and **Black Mill**, both in Kent, **lford Mill** in Somerset, **Kit Hill Chimney Stack** in Cornwall and **Draper's Mill** in Sussex.⁵⁰ These cases show the difficulty the Ministry had in dealing with novel casework, where there was little research and no established policy to guide them.

Redundant Churches

The redundant parish church was another type of historic building that in the late 1940s the Ministry was forced to deal with for the first time. Ever since the 1913 Act had excluded any 'ecclesiastical building which is for the time being used for ecclesiastical purposes'⁵¹ the Office of Works had followed the policy that the Church in England should take responsibility for the maintenance of its places of worship, even where they were no longer in use. As Sir Charles Peers observed in 1932,

'Much care was taken, when the [1913] AM Act was being drafted, to see that the State should get no sort of control over the churches. But we have on more than one occasion found that when the Church has no further use for an ecclesiastical building, it has been quite ready to shift the responsibility for its maintenance on to the State, that is, onto public funds. I consider that we should view these advances with extreme caution, and certainly in normal cases should take the line that the property of the church, whether in use or not, should be a charge on their own funds, and not on the State, which is normally denied any control over that property.'⁵²

The handful of church buildings that were in the care of the Ministry had been given by private owners, rather than the Church authorities, and their most recent use was more often agricultural than ecclesiastical. By the 1940s, however, there was a clear and growing problem of parish churches and chapels of ease which had relatively recently fallen out of religious use, could no longer be maintained by the parish and yet were of such historical and architectural interest that their preservation was desirable. In the autumn of 1949, a report to the Church Assembly stated that there were about 400 redundant or rarely used church buildings, of which 300 were of historic and architectural importance. The report went on to recommend that the Church should make the necessary legislative amendments to allow for churches 'of sufficient architectural or historical importance' to be offered to the Ministry of Works in guardianship, 'if no other means of preservation appears to be available.'

The Ministry had co-operated with the committee which created the report, on the basis that it would in due course be able to accept into the national collection certain of the best examples from among the buildings which the Church had closed or wished to close. This was a far cry from the attitude of Charles Peers quoted above. While it reflects a general willingness of the Ministry at this time to move into new areas, it fundamentally

came out of a belief in the importance of historic churches. In making a general case for extending guardianship to this class of monument, Bryan O'Neil wrote: 'One of the distinguishing characteristics of the English scene in town and country is the prevalence of old dignified churches.....it is not an exaggeration to say that they form the main part of the English heritage of architecture and art.'⁵³ If we do not preserve the best of these churches, he continued, 'the English-speaking world will be much poorer, since we shall lose a very large number of first-class medieval buildings.'

Dioceses were asked to submit a list of churches which, under the arrangements outlined in the report to the Church Assembly, they would wish to offer to the Ministry for guardianship. A list of 108 churches was received, from which 50 were selected as definitely worthy of guardianship, 27 were rejected altogether and another 31 were classed as 'undecided'. The reason for their decision in each case is not recorded and the chosen churches are a mixed group, almost all medieval in origin, but including some that were restored thoroughly in the 19th century. Although negotiations were only taking place with the Church of England, it was acknowledged within the Ministry that they would 'have to look with strict impartiality at the edifices of all denominations, having regard only to the historic and architectural importance.'⁵⁴

In parallel to these attempts to deal with redundant churches as a class, serious consideration was given to two individual parish churches in particular. **Great Witley Parish Church**, Worcestershire (fig 12) stood bleakly next to the ruins of Witley Court, which burnt down in 1937. Located at a distance from the nearest village it was drifting towards complete disuse. The vicar wrote in 1947 that 'My prime concern is to provide my people with an adequate building in which to worship God. The Church at Witley Court can never do this. It is much too far from where the people live, and set in its scene of desolation is most depressing. The only hope of preserving this Church is to move it.'⁵⁵



Fig 12: Great Witley parish church, Worcestershire, in 1942. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Alerted to the deteriorating condition of the church by the Georgian Group in 1947, the Ministry was in no doubt about the importance of the church but hesitated to act while a general policy was being worked out. O'Neil proposed that 'here and there we might make an exception in our attitude of waiting and endeavour to deal with really good cases. This, it seems to me, is a really good case.'⁵⁶

Meanwhile, in 1951, the Ministry was told by Lord Methuen that **Dodington Park Chapel**, Gloucestershire, which he described as 'one of our Regency gems', was in a serious state of disrepair (fig 13).⁵⁷ Although built as a country house chapel by James Wyatt, it was in use as a parish church and therefore beyond the scope of the Ancient Monuments Acts. It was proposed by the Bristol Diocesan Advisory Committee and the Georgian Group, however, that the chapel should be declared redundant, which would have enabled the owner, Sir Christopher Codrington, to place the building in guardianship. The condition of the chapel was a concern, dry rot spreading rapidly through the interior, but despite the high potential cost of repairs guardianship was accepted in principle in November 1951.

Before either of these parish churches could be taken into guardianship, however, some fundamental issues had to be resolved. Under existing church legislation it was not legal to dispose of a church building for preservation as a monument, so although the Ministry of Works could accept a closed church, the Church authorities lacked the power to place a building in the Ministry's charge. Conversely, the Church wished to offer guardianship only if it was able to revoke the agreement in the event of the building being needed again for parish use at some point in the future. In this case it was the government which lacked the requisite powers, because guardianship under the Ancient Monuments Acts was irrevocable. (It seems that the question of the churches being sold or leased to the Ministry – both of which mechanisms would have allowed for reversion to the Church – was not explored.)

A power for the Minister to revoke guardianship with six months notice was included in an ambitious draft 'heritage' Bill in 1951, but did not appear in the final, simplified form of the legislation. New ecclesiastical legislation – the Union of Benefices Measure 1952 – did allow for church buildings to be preserved as monuments after closure, but without the corresponding secular legislation it was a dead letter. As for the two pioneering cases, Great Witley was saved by the Historic Churches Preservation Trust which stepped in to pay for repairs while the Ministry was still debating what to do and the church remains in use as a place of worship today; Dodington was declared redundant in the summer of 1953, but its condition had worsened so much by that time that the Ministry, 'in sorrow', withdrew its agreement to take it over, believing the building to be beyond repair. In 1954 the National Buildings Record made a photographic record of the building in anticipation of demolition (fig 13), but the chapel was later repaired with a historic buildings grant from the Ministry of Works.

Eventually the Ministry was forced to give up the idea of taking over a large number of churches. In the words of the Bridges Report of 1960 a 'period of national financial stringency ensued and the proposal was dropped.'⁵⁸ This was a polite gloss on the real events by an experienced Whitehall mandarin (who was Permanent Secretary to the Treasury at the time). Essentially there was a failure on the part of the government as a whole to appreciate the importance of the issue and the proposal was reduced to a narrow argument between Treasury and Ministry of Works officials over Ancient Monuments expenditure.

The Ministry estimated modest expenditure of £30,000 for initial repair of 60 church buildings and a further £30,000 per annum for maintenance and custody. Initially the Treasury argued for deferral of any decision on redundant churches pending the new historic buildings legislation that was in preparation; then that it was not appropriate to earmark funds for any one class of monument. Eventually it agreed that £10,000 could be allocated out of an increased provision for 1954-55 to 'make a start' on redundant churches, with Great Witley parish church suggested as a suitable first candidate.⁵⁹ This was a long way short of the funds needed if the Ministry was to make a major commitment to solving the problem of redundant churches. Three ruined churches (**Knowlton Church**, **Mistley Towers** and **Bristol Temple Church**) were accepted for guardianship in 1954-55 but the wider problem had effectively been shelved for the time being.



Fig 13: Dodington Park Chapel, Gloucestershire, in 1954. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Although the efforts of the Church and the Ministry of Works came to nothing in the short term, they did pave the way for the Pastoral Measure of 1968 which created a workable framework for securing the future of redundant churches. The

recommendations of the 1949 *Report of the Committee on Disused Churches* anticipated the later legislation in a number of ways. The recommendation that the DAC be asked to advise on the architectural and historic interest of closed churches prefigured the Advisory Board set up after 1968. The Report recommended that a closed church building should be vested in the Diocesan Board of Finance; this was later made law in the Union of Benefices Measure 1952 and was retained as the mechanism for disposing of churches in the Pastoral Measure 1968. The Report also contained a recommendation that churches of high architectural or historical interest should be offered to the Ministry of Works for preservation and that this should be done in such a way as to allow for the building's return to ecclesiastical use in the future. Both of these measures were recommended again in the Bridges Report and were legislated for in 1968.

Country Houses

By the end of the Second World War it was universally accepted that England's country houses faced a bleak future. The pressures which were forcing landowners in this period to surrender ancient monuments to the care of the government were also affecting their ability to maintain their family homes. Yet under the Ancient Monuments Acts it was impossible for the Ministry of Works to accept guardianship of an inhabited house in the way it might a ruined castle or an earthwork on the same owner's estate. It was possible by other means for the Ministry to take over an inhabited house (ie assuming freehold ownership by gift or purchase) but the cost would have been so great compared to the sort of monument with which it normally dealt that to take on more than a handful would not have been a practical proposition. The National Trust's Country House Scheme, made possible by legislation passed in 1939, did some of the work that the Ministry could not, but it was limited to those buildings where an endowment could be provided to pay for future maintenance.

The problem of country houses which faced the Ministry of Works had two sides: how to preserve houses of architectural or historic interest where the owner no longer wished to live there; and how to save a house from decay where owners did not wish to give up residence. The Ministry was involved with both types of house in the second half of the 1940s. Having always operated on the assumption that inhabited houses were entirely beyond its sphere of activity, in 1943 the Ancient Monuments Department realised that in fact the 1913 Act enabled them to acquire such buildings by purchase or receive them by gift, even though they were excluded explicitly by s 3(2) from guardianship. When, in November 1945, Lord Methuen initiated a debate in the House of Lords on a motion which called for increased government powers for the preservation of historic buildings, the Ministry took the opportunity to advertise their potential role in this area. Lord Henderson, speaking for the Ministry, stated that it was able to accept inhabited houses 'as a gift, with or without an endowment, or to buy them'.⁶⁰



Fig 14: Brede Place, East Sussex: '*par excellence*' the sort of house that the Ministry wanted to take over. © Crown Copyright. EH

In January 1946 the Ministry received its first (and - as it turned out - only) approach on these lines from an owner of an occupied country house. Clare Sheridan, an eccentric sculptress and a cousin of Winston Churchill, offered her house, **Brede Place** in Sussex (fig 14), as a gift to the government on the basis that she would be able to live in part of it. Sir Eric de Normann's response was that he 'certainly should like to see [the Ministry of Works] taking over some of the finer old houses' and he believed that if they could come to an agreement with Mrs Sheridan it would encourage other owners to offer their houses on similar terms. O'Neil visited the house in May 1946 and wrote afterwards: 'it is *par excellence* the sort of inhabited house we had in mind, when Lord Henderson drew attention to our powers in the House of Lords.' After some negotiation, however, the owner withdrew her offer, put off by the conditions attached to the deal by the Ministry and on the advice of Winston Churchill.

Unlike Mrs Sheridan of Brede Place, Henry Neville of **Audley End House** in Essex no longer wished to occupy the stately home he had recently inherited. In 1943, while Audley End was requisitioned for military use, his cousin the 8th Lord Braybrooke had died and both house and title passed to him. After meeting the new Lord Braybrooke in May 1944, James Lees-Milne described him as 'embarrassed by his inheritance' and 'at his wits' end what to do with Audley End.¹⁶¹ Braybrooke had approached Lees-Milne to ask if the National Trust might take it over. Two lots of death duties had to be paid on the estate and he could not afford to live in the house, although he sincerely wished to see it

properly preserved. With many owners facing similar problems, the Trust was entering its 'golden age of country-house acquisition'⁶² when such major houses as Attingham Park, Stourhead, Knole and Lyme Park came into its care.

Normally the Trust would only accept a house as a gift, with an accompanying endowment – in cash or in land – to provide for its future maintenance. In the case of Audley End, however, Lord Braybrooke was prevented by his trustees from giving the house away as a gift and could not afford to provide an endowment. It was necessary therefore to find both a tenant (to pay for the upkeep) and the purchase money if the National Trust was to take over the house. Lees-Milne attempted to interest a number of potential users and came close to setting up the sale of the house to the Earl of Wilton, but by 1946 he was forced to turn to the government for help. Sir Alan Barlow of the Treasury gave a sympathetic response initially and wrote to the Ministry of Works asking for confirmation of the Trust's view that the house was in fair condition.

Sir Eric de Normann replied by putting in an unsolicited bid for the house on behalf of his Ministry. If 'this extremely important house is to be acquired for the public, only if the Treasury put up the £30,000, we think that it ought to come to us to look after and shew [sic] to the public, rather than be given to the National Trust.'⁶³ Officials of the Ministry had a considerable sense of rivalry in relation to the Trust and believed they were better qualified to look after historic buildings as well as ancient monuments. Audley End must have appeared an ideal opportunity to prove their case. 'One or two country houses of this supreme quality', de Normann continued, 'ought, we think to be available for full inspection by the public, like Hampton Court in London. Houses like Audley End are at present known to very few except from photographs and descriptions in books not readily available.'

The Treasury was for the time being inclined to continue dealing with the Trust, attracted by their idea of an educational use combined with opening the State rooms to the public. Reluctant generally to find money for the work of the Ancient Monuments Department, the Treasury was particularly against the idea of maintaining 'white elephants' at public expense if a viable use could instead be found for a building. The National Trust informed them that they were in negotiation with the Cambridge University department of extra-mural studies to use the house as a residential college. In doing so they were unwittingly destroying their own chances of taking over Audley End.

Treasury officials considered that it made more sense for the user of the house to be responsible for it and Cambridge University did after all have long experience of caring for ancient buildings. The Treasury was also keen not to advertise its generosity, and while the purchase money could be wrapped up in the normal annual grant to the University, without the need for any special provision, a grant to the National Trust would inevitably become public knowledge. Quite apart from embarrassing the Treasury when it was trying to restrict government spending as a whole, it might also undermine the willingness of country house owners in future to give their property away for nothing, if they knew

the government might purchase instead, and the flow of donations to the Trust might dry up.

Cambridge University eventually decided that the house was not suitable for its use, and London University later came to the same conclusion. At that point, to general surprise, the Ministry of Education came forward to propose that it should use the house for residential education conferences and as an 'educational laboratory', with the house vested in and maintained by the Ministry of Works. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hugh Dalton, who had taken a personal interest in the case, approved this proposal 'with great satisfaction' and the Ministry was asked to proceed with the purchase of the house on behalf of the government. Lees-Milne was crestfallen: 'I *am* sorry that the NT has not got it...because I am convinced that they will present houses better than the tasteless Ministry of Works.'⁶⁴

Negotiations nearly came to grief in 1948 because the two parties could not agree on the (monetary) value of the house, but they were saved by the intervention of Sir Edward Bridges, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury.⁶⁵ He argued that 'any valuation for a property such as Audley End at the present time is bound to be rather unreal' and it was more important to focus on the principle of whether the State 'should find means of preserving a limited number of the great country houses of the land.' To his mind, Audley End was certainly in the 20 or 30 greatest houses in England and it deserved the skilled attention that only the Ancient Monuments Department could give. 'All this, no doubt, is a very unorthodox minute for a Permanent Secretary to the Treasury to write; but it happens to be what I feel about the subject.'⁶⁶

On 2 February 1949 the Ministry of Works took possession of the house, on the basis that they would open it as a 'show-place' in the interim, until the work necessary for the Ministry of Education use could be undertaken. Plans were made for a new building on the north side of the mansion to accommodate student bedrooms, staff quarters and a dining room and kitchens, which could not be provided within the house. Ironically, since they had pressed hard for a beneficial use for the house as a condition of its purchase for the nation, the Treasury refused to release money for the new building and by the beginning of 1951 it had been postponed *sine die*. Thus Audley End House became a permanent, state-owned 'show-place', not the outcome that most of those involved in the process had intended, but a coup for the Ancient Monuments Department. The public was admitted for the first time on Easter Monday (18 April), 1949.

The case of Audley End prompted the Treasury to look seriously for means of positive preservation of historic buildings and in particular country houses. A few days after Sir Edward Bridges had urged his colleagues to consider the principle of whether the state should be preserving a small number of the best houses, the Ministry of Works was asked to provide the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a list of houses of



Fig 15: Visitors queuing at the Lion Gate, Audley End House, Essex in May 1950. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

notable historic or architectural interest which should be 'preserved at all costs'. A list was quickly compiled of 52 'important country houses' in England and Wales which were not already protected by the National Trust, local authorities or the government (see Appendix 3).⁶⁷ It ranged in time from 12th century Boothby Pagnell to 18th century Compton Verney. No 19th century houses were included, so there is no work on the list by the likes of Soane, Nash or Barry (except his alterations to Harewood House).

Shortly after, another list was produced for the Treasury, of 'typical houses worthy of preservation' (see Appendix 4), which rather than concentrating on great houses was aimed at giving a representative selection of the best domestic architecture of various kinds. Hence, in a list of 41 individual houses, there were, in addition to famous Tudor and Georgian mansions, examples of manor houses (Hemingford Grey), castles (Stokesay) and town houses (44 Berkeley Square). The most recent house on the list was Dodington Park in Gloucestershire, a house by James Wyatt of c 1800. More remarkably, nearly 20 years before protection for conservation areas was put on the statute book, examples were given of streets (such as Bridge Street [presumably intended to be Broad Street] in Ludlow) and groups of houses (for example the Royal Crescent at Bath or Bedford Square in London) which were worthy of preservation. The inclusion of these groups stemmed from an intimation by Treasury officials that they were prepared to consider acquiring houses, squares or even a village, if that was what the experts advised.

MAKING A COLLECTION: PRACTICE

Despite sporadic attempts to make policy to guide their choices, the selection of monuments to be taken into the care of the Ministry was still largely done on an *ad hoc* basis. The aim was always to take only first-class monuments, but factors beside archaeological and historical importance could influence the decision. At the beginning of this period the decision-making process was remarkably informal and unbureaucratic. The only essential steps once an explicit offer had been received were to obtain the recommendation of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments and an estimate of the likely cost of repairs from an architect. The decision to accept or reject was taken within the Department (provided expenditure was below the threshold at which Treasury approval was required). In the early 1950s the process started to become more formal and long-winded and the politicians in the Ministry started to get involved. Thus the ability of the experts to make the collection as they might have wished was reduced.

The vast majority of monuments taken into guardianship were judged by the Inspectorate to be of the highest importance within their own category. This was judged by a mixture of personal knowledge, evidence from excavations, documentary sources and occasionally the advice of external experts. The Chief Inspector, Bryan O'Neil had excavated **Old Oswestry Hill Fort** in 1939-40, so when it was offered in 1945, he could declare authoritatively that it ranked 'as one of the world's most imposing ancient sites.' One of his areas of expertise was in the development of medieval fortifications, so he was also able to speak from his own detailed knowledge in recommending the acceptance of monuments such as **Totnes Castle** – 'amongst the nine most important of its kind in Britain' – or **Conisbrough Castle** – 'it demonstrates the principle of defence of its day as well as any keep.' O'Neil's comment on **Hardknott Roman Fort** reveals the extent to which monuments were collected on reputation: 'I have never seen Hardknott Castle, but feel quite sure from its reputation among archaeologists that it should be under our direct control'. Nevertheless, Baillie Reynolds was sent to inspect, so reputation alone was not sufficient in that case.

Not all sites taken into guardianship in this period were scheduled – there was no requirement for a monument to be designated in order for it to be taken over by the Ministry – and some were largely or wholly unknown. Excavations sometimes revealed or proved that a site was worthy of preservation. **Deddington Castle** in Oxfordshire was accepted after trial excavations carried out by E M Jope in 1947 had revealed a keep and curtain wall of the 12th century and a 13th-century chapel and eight superimposed layers of 12th-century pottery. The chance to extend the excavations and reveal the complete layout made it an 'eminently desirable example' and it came into the national collection as a gift in 1951. **Stanwick Camp** was the subject of Ministry-funded excavation at the suggestion of Sir Eric de Normann; the work was supervised by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Although carried out purely for research purposes, the results ('the most spectacular thing I have done in this country' said Wheeler) persuaded O'Neil that it should be in

guardianship and it came into the national collection in 1953. **Caister Roman Site** was subject to a rescue excavation carried out in advance of a housing development, but the discoveries were considered so valuable that authorisation was obtained to purchase the site and it was eventually acquired in 1954.

At a time before the large-scale inventories of the built heritage, undocumented monuments might still be offered. **Burton Agnes Manor** appears to have been totally unrecorded when in 1946 O'Neil was invited to inspect it by the architect Sir William Milner, a relation of the owner (and formerly a member of the Ministry's panel of architects advising on its wartime Salvage Scheme (see Volume Five)). On the basis of his visit, O'Neil judged it to be 'of very great historical and architectural merit' and strongly recommended acceptance. While **Longthorpe Tower** had been written up in the Victoria County History, its special claim to preservation was the newly-discovered set of 14th-century wallpaintings and the Ministry was advised by Clive Rouse FSA on their importance. He believed them to be a unique survival in a domestic building, which was enough to make the building of guardianship class, (although later discoveries showed that they were not in fact unique).

Longthorpe was one example of an external expert being relied upon to inform the Inspectorate on the importance of a monument. Similarly, in the area of medieval houses, they were aided by recent research by Dr Margaret Wood (published in 1952 as *Thirteenth Century Domestic Architecture in England*). When windmills started to be considered as possible guardianship sites, external expertise persuaded the Ministry to accept their first two examples: a list provided by the SPAB ranked **Berney Arms Windmill** as number one in a selection of important mills, while the mills expert Rex Wailes convinced O'Neil of the importance of **Saxtead Green Post Mill**.

Other organisations also had an influence on the formation of the collection and in this period the Georgian Group was probably the most influential. Formed in 1937, it acted as a 'cheerleader' for 18th and early 19th-century buildings at a time when they were under threat. In 1946 it was the Georgian Group which drew the Ministry's attention to **Appuldurcombe House** on the Isle of Wight after they learnt of the owner's plans to demolish it. Claud Phillimore's plan for **Chiswick House** had been promoted by the Georgian Group and after a meeting with the Ministry in June 1947, it was agreed that the Chairman of the Georgians, Lord Rosse, would discuss the SPAB's opposition to the plan with its Chairman Lord Esher, instead of the Ministry itself pursuing the matter.

The Georgian Group also worked, unsuccessfully, to have **Great Witley parish church**, Worcestershire, **Dodington Park Chapel**, Gloucestershire and the **Palladian Bridge at Prior Park**, Bath, taken into guardianship. In each case the Ministry was entirely convinced of the architectural and historical importance of the monument, but other factors prevented the transfer from being accomplished. It was more successful in the case of **Mistley Towers**, Essex, which was offered to the Ministry in 1952 and came into guardianship after being repaired by the Georgian Group, with Raymond Erith acting as their architect.

An innovation in this period with which Bryan O'Neil can be credited was the Ministry's acceptance in guardianship of a series of monuments in a single area that illustrated the history of that area over a span of more than 3000 years. In 1950, seven monuments on the **Isles of Scilly**, which between them represented life on the islands from 1600BC to 1600AD, were transferred as a group from the Duchy of Cornwall to the Ministry of Works. (Similar exercises were undertaken with monuments on Arran and Caithness in Scotland at around the same time.) Hitherto there had been no guardianship sites on the Isles of Scilly, despite intermittent attempts to take some over. Reviewing the record of the Ministry in this area O'Neil commented that the file made 'doleful reading and would delight the hearts of newspaper writers, who love to deal in the procrastination of Government'. He made a four-day inspection of the monuments of the islands in April 1947, becoming the first member of the Inspectorate to visit since 1908. On his return he sought permission to negotiate for the transfer of six monuments. The Duchy readily agreed and even offered one additional monument.



*Fig 16: Bury St Edmunds Abbey in 1952: '...in the woods, where once was a famous abbey'.
Reproduced by permission of English Heritage*

In a few cases monuments were accepted despite not being rated very highly by the Inspectorate. When he heard that **Creake Abbey** had been accepted, O'Neil wrote, 'I regret very much that AS 22 have decided directly against our advice to accept this monument. There are many others more worthy of the small efforts we can now make.'

Similarly, **Bury St Edmunds Abbey** was a monument 'for which I cannot raise much enthusiasm, yet it is one which we could hardly refuse, if offered.' (fig 16). He was no more impressed when he visited three years later, in 1952: '[I] wandered in the woods, where once was a famous abbey. It is a wreck. What a pity we have been pushed into taking it over. Of course we can make a show of it, but the money would be better spent elsewhere.'⁶⁸ In the case of **Ludgershall Village Cross**, O'Neil simply commented, presumably with a future site visit in mind, 'I have no observations except to express pleasure at seeing that the cross is so close to a Public House.'

One thing which everyone in the Ministry was keen to avoid was to taking on responsibility for a 'white elephant', that is a building rather than a ruin, which is capable of use but for which no user can be found. In the normal course of their work this was not a concern since most monuments were ruined or at least roofless and clearly could not be expected to have a use. Occasionally, however, roofed buildings were offered to the Ministry and in these cases, the potential for use had to be considered and weighed against the archaeological and architectural importance of the building.

Attempts were made to find a use even for such unpromising structures as the **Blakeney Guildhall**, which consisted of a single dark and damp vaulted chamber, the undercroft of a medieval merchants house, and the **Berney Arms Windmill**; it was in due course realised that the idea of using the 'Guildhall' as a library was impractical while the Fire Inspector would not approve use of the windmill as a youth hostel. **Fitzharris House** in Abingdon (fig 17) was transferred to the Ministry of Works from the Ministry of Supply in 1948, so that it could be preserved while a use was sought. A custodian was even installed to deter vandals. Once it was concluded that no use was likely, however, the house, which was not considered to be of outstanding interest, was demolished. It would later, after the 1953 Act, be more common for the Ministry to acquire, repair and pass on a building capable of use, with the costs charged to the National Land Fund, but in this period, within the constraints of the Ancient Monuments budget, it was not feasible.



Fig 17: Fitzharris House, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, in 1950. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Lyddington Bedehouse, which had been part of a medieval palace and then an almshouse, was accepted into guardianship for presentation as an ancient monument despite being a complete building. When the Ministry later received a suggestion that the building be tenanted, it was stated that 'if in fact the Bedehouse had been capable of re-use as a dwelling house after it had been repaired, we would not have taken it into guardianship.' In this case the modernisation necessary for occupation was considered too damaging to the building's archaeological and architectural importance. In the case of **Denny Abbey**, Cambridgeshire, the remains of a Benedictine abbey were encased in a later farmhouse which was partially occupied at the time that the offer of guardianship was made. Since, in the opinion of the Ministry, 'the ideal treatment of the remains of the Abbey requires the removal of the post-medieval portions of the house', the building would have to be rendered uninhabitable. **Chiswick House** can be cited as another example of a house capable of use, which was instead considered worthy of display as a museum piece, because of its important place in architectural history.

Audley End House and **Wrest Park** were both acquired as by-products of the Ministry of Works' role in providing accommodation for government departments and other public bodies, and it is very doubtful that either would have been bought simply as showplaces. **Wrest Park** in Bedfordshire had been empty for several years before it was purchased in 1939 by the Sun Insurance Company which wanted to move its headquarters out of London for the duration of the war. In 1944 the Ministry of Works was asked to find accommodation within reach of both London and Cambridge, with substantial acreage,

for the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering (NIAE), a body which developed and tested agricultural machinery under the aegis of the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Works had nothing suitable on its hands at the time, but the Director of the NIAE, Lord Radnor, suggested Wrest Park. Although the mansion house itself was larger than was needed, the land around it was ideal for the Institute's purposes, in terms of its soil types and topography. Once the Sun Insurance Company had confirmed that the house would be available, the Ministry was instructed to negotiate the purchase on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture, which at that time had no powers to buy buildings.

The purchase of Wrest was put in the hands of the Estates Surveyors in Cambridge. After an initial site visit in June 1945 it was reported that the house was in very good condition and neither initial repair nor future maintenance would be particularly costly. The historic nature of the house was clearly of secondary importance to the Surveyor, compared to the basic structural facts: 'The Mansion was erected between 1834/36 and is of stone construction with slate mansard roof; small lead and asphalt flats surmount the mansard. Joinery is in oak and mahogany. Decorations are in fair condition and some are ornate.'⁶⁹ He was slightly more appreciative of the gardens: 'The grounds were apparently laid on the lines of a Palace at Versailles [sic] by the famous "Capability" Brown and contain much statuary in lead and stone, as well as a small orangery and pavilion. The Park is noted for its valuable timber.'

In July 1945 AS22 (ancient monuments administration) was notified of the proposals and asked for its observations. Although those observations are not on file, they were clearly to the effect that the gardens were worthy of preservation for on 28 July 1945 F C J Howard, in a letter to the Ministry of Agriculture, referred to them as 'probably one of the finest gardens in England'. In August, George Chettle (Inspector of Ancient Monuments) attended a site meeting at Wrest, the minutes of which record,

'Mr Chettle, representing the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments said that he was not interested in the Mansion, but he was interested in the preservation of the ornamental pleasure grounds which as at present designed were the work of "Capability" Brown and were, it was believed, the only remaining example of the kind. The upkeep of the ornamental grounds could be limited to the maintenance of lands and sanded carriage drives.'⁷⁰

By 1946 the sale was being negotiated and it was reported to the Treasury that:

'We [the Ministry of Works] are making arrangements for the maintenance of the gardens, which are extremely fine (designed by Le Notre, landscape architect of Versailles, and altered by "Capability" Brown), but are in a somewhat neglected state. We propose to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent them deteriorating further, and have hopes that the N.I.A.E. ...will take them over from us. The grounds are also full of statuary and garden architecture of high merit;

indeed, ranking as ancient monuments. These also are somewhat dilapidated, and it is incumbent on us to preserve them.'⁷¹

When the purchase was made in November 1946 the exact lines of responsibility and the status of the gardens were still uncertain and this inevitably led to conflict. In 1948 the NIAE moved in and started to carry out work to the property, such as felling trees and making a new road, without informing the Ministry of Works. They also stored manure in the Banqueting Hall and repaired heavy machinery in the Orangery. Relations between the Institute and the Ministry became acrimonious and the Ministry of Agriculture, which had been granted new powers to hold property, pressed to be able to take over the freehold.

The Ministry of Works was determined that, since Wrest was 'an historic building or ancient monuments [sic] with which we must concern ourselves', it must retain the freehold.⁷² In May 1950 it was decided by the Treasury that the Ministry of Works should retain the property and grant a lease to the Institute. The lease (completed on 1 October 1953, for a term of 99 years beginning on 1 October 1949) conveyed the land, mansion house and other buildings and fixtures to the NIAE, except for the Pavilion, Banqueting Hall, Grotto, Orangery and several other garden buildings and statues (fig 18). The gardens, including paths, walls, hedges, fences and watercourse were to be maintained by the Institute, which would need to obtain written consent for any alteration of the layout or design of the ornamental gardens or trees. The Institute was also required by the lease to open the gardens to the general public, under the supervision of the Ministry, from 2pm till dusk on all Saturdays, Sundays and Bank Holidays from March until October inclusive.



Fig 18: Statue of Pandora in the gardens at Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, 1949. Whereas the gardens and their statues and buildings were considered important, the house (in the background) was not. © Crown Copyright. EH

Work on the historic features in the garden began in 1949, focussing initially on the Pavilion, Banqueting Hall and Orangery. Meanwhile the Institute did a great deal of work on the garden itself, which in 1961 was reported to have been 'completely transformed from its initial shambles and restored to something approximating to its original form.'⁷³ Attempts were made in the 1980s and 1990s to undertake a more thorough historical restoration of the gardens but each time the results fell short of initial expectations. In 2006 the Silsoe Institute closed and English Heritage assumed management of the whole property, allowing the house, which in the 1940s had been thought to have little historic

interest, to be shown to the public, while another ambitious restoration project for the gardens was begun.

Taking an ancient monument into the ownership or guardianship of the Minister of Works was the most expensive way for the state to protect it and the largest constraint on new acquisitions was financial. Some monuments which the Ministry was not entirely happy about taking over had to be repaired before they would be accepted. The owner of **Abbotsbury Abbey**, Lord Ilchester, had to repair it before handing over to the Ministry so that it would not be a drain on resources that were desperately needed for more important monuments. The repairs were duly carried out and the monument came into guardianship in 1948. In contrast **Morley Park Ironworks** did not come into guardianship because its prospective local saviours were not prepared to carry out the repairs to the Ministry's standards and could not afford the high cost of so doing. It was a sign of what was to come later in the 1950s, when in 1953 **Beeston Castle** was accepted for guardianship in principle, on the condition that the significant sum of £15,000 (out of the estimated cost of repairs of £35,000) was raised locally.

HM Treasury had the power to keep close control of expenditure on ancient monuments. The purchase of any monument under the Ancient Monuments Acts required Treasury approval. Since the 1930s its approval had also been needed before the Ministry accepted a guardianship monument which would cost more than £10,000 to repair, or would require more than £2,000 of expenditure in any one year. By the early 1950s those figures had been rendered out-of-date by rises in building costs and at a meeting in July 1951 it was agreed that the Treasury would be consulted where initial repair of a guardianship monument would cost more than £30,000. Any grants or work done on monuments which were not under the control of the Ministry also needed specific authorisation from the Treasury.

Although the department's budget nearly trebled from 1945 to 1954 – from £119,500 to £348,250 (see table 1) – this was not enough to catch up with the increase in its liabilities, as it continued to take on more monuments. Outstanding commitments in England and Wales were estimated in October 1950 at £2.3m. Despite a further increase in the budget, that had grown to £2.7m by March 1953. To have such an increase in expenditure on ancient monuments against the gloomy economic background of 'Austerity Britain' (and particularly after the cuts of 1950-51 which resulted from the doubling of defence spending in a matter of months) was remarkable. Yet in about 1951 a tipping point seems to have been reached, after which the ancient monuments budget was more often overspent than not.

Table 1 *Money voted by Parliament for the Ancient Monuments subhead of the Ministry of Works budget and expenditure, 1945-1954*

Year	Vote £	Expenditure £
1945	119,500	
1946-47	142,500	81,096
1947-48	165,630	155,106
1948-49	173,155	156,721
1949-50	210,450	232,152
1950-51	225,000	207,183
1951-52	300,000	316,603
1952-53	315,000	321,298
1953-54	348,250	355,737

Sources: National Archives T 218/311 and T 165/326

The Ministry of Works as a whole had a poor reputation with the Treasury because of its inability to manage its budget, but there was also a cultural divide between the officials of the Ministry and the Treasury. In 1947, Dr Raby wrote to warn Dorothy Johnstone of the Treasury that it was likely **Chiswick House** would be acquired by the Ministry and they would need to spend between £80,000 and £100,000 on it. Mrs Johnstone – who would be the principal Treasury official dealing with the Ministry throughout this period – wrote an extraordinary memorandum to a colleague which expressed her personal views on the matter, but also touched on the extreme financial difficulties with which the government had to deal. She conceded that among ‘educated people’ there was a sentimental attachment to old buildings.

‘This is all very well in normal times, but we are not likely to live in ‘normal times’ for many years to come. It is possible that very soon our first question on having a proposal to spend any money put up to us will be that favourite question of the B.B.C.’s 20 Questions game “Can you eat it?”, or, reduced to official jargon, “will it assist our efforts to alleviate our present economic difficulties?”

‘Now Raby would doubtless forego his dinner for a week or two to preserve an obscure tumble-down 17th century hovel but, without wishing to seem a Philistine, it seems to me better that my grandchildren should enjoy a reasonable standard of life and see pictures of old buildings than that they should creep about undernourished, ill-clad and ill-housed scarcely able to appreciate the monuments we have so dutifully left for them.’¹⁷⁴

She had the grace to admit this was extremist and exaggerated, but nevertheless added that ‘we must not let Raby bite and infect us’. Money was found for Chiswick, but Mrs Johnstone was able later to put a stop to the Ministry’s plans for taking on redundant

churches, for the sake of £30,000 for initial repairs to 60 buildings and an ongoing expenditure of £30,000 for their maintenance and custody.

Just two months before the new delegation limit for guardianship cases was agreed with the Treasury (in July 1951), another important change was made in the Ministry's own internal processes. Some heavy liabilities had been taken on during the 1940s (notably **Chiswick House** and **Audley End**) and with the Department's outstanding commitments growing inexorably the politicians were no longer prepared to give their officials such a free rein. It was the case of **Appuldurcombe House** that triggered a change in procedure. As an alternative to demolishing the ruined mansion (fig 19), which was neither listed nor scheduled, the owner had agreed to offer guardianship to the Ministry of Works. Officials were minded to accept, but the conditions under which the offer was made – that there should be no parking spaces for coaches and no tea room on site – reduced the value of the site as a tourist attraction and therefore the ability of the monument to pay its way. There was also concern about whether considerable amounts of money (£18,000 for consolidation of the house alone) should be devoted to preserving ruined houses when there were so many important, intact country houses which needed help.



Fig 19: Appuldurcombe House, Godshill, Isle of Wight, 1947. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

In April 1951 Lord Morrison, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry, told the Permanent Secretary that he thought a very poor bargain had been struck over Appuldurcombe which would involve considerable expenditure in the future. He decided not to prevent the acceptance of guardianship since the Ministry was effectively committed to it, but asked that in future he was informed of proposals before a definite commitment was made. In May 1951 it became the policy of the department that in future the Parliamentary Secretary would be informed before any guardianship commitments were made. The consequences were felt almost straight away when, in August 1951, Lord Morrison intervened to stop the acceptance of **Morley Park Ironworks**, which the Chief Inspector had been passionate about saving.

TREATMENT OF MONUMENTS

The 1931 Ancient Monuments Act conferred on the Minister broad powers over the monuments of which he was guardian. Under section 3(1) of the Act he could 'do all such things as may be necessary for the maintenance of the monument and for the exercise of proper control and management with respect thereto'. In the mid-20th century, the normal state of any ancient monument not in the care of the Ministry appears to have been overgrown, ivy clad and crumbling, more a feature of the landscape than an intelligible artefact in its own right.

The first task of the Ancient Monuments Department was therefore to consolidate the fabric of such a monument, clearing vegetation and removing fallen debris. They then endeavoured to make it intelligible to visitors, on the ground and in guidebooks, which could involve excavation and, more controversially, the removal and destruction of more recent layers of a monument's history. Although O'Neil claimed in 1952 that the Department heard 'no criticism of our proceedings except occasionally from dilettanti, who worship ruins', there was in fact a good deal of opposition to their work in several cases.

The **Dunster Yarn Market**, Somerset, was a more conspicuous monument than most, standing as it did in the main street of a West Country town popular with summer tourists. The work done by the Ministry after they took it over from the Crown Estate in 1951 was therefore carried out in full view of local critics. What the Ministry's men found when they started work was a building which had been altered in a lot of small ways from its original form and wore a pleasing (to some) air of antiquity (fig 20). On inspection, the condition of the building was judged to be much worse than originally thought and a thorough programme of restoration was begun.

The Ministry was accused of destroying the character of the market by smashing the old stone slates, removing every trace of lichen on the roof, allowing 'modern' glass to remain in the windows and changing the shape of the roof valleys (fig 21). The Ministry defended itself on every point but its defence reveals a pragmatic approach rather than rigid adherence to a set of principles. Investigation of the fabric revealed that the roof valleys had originally been angled and that the swept valleys



Fig 20: Dunster Yarn Market, Somerset, in 1938, before treatment by the Ministry of Works. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage



Fig 21 Dunster Yarn Market in 1953 after the Ministry had finished work on the monument. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

with which the locals were familiar were the product of later attempts to stop the valleys leaking. The architect in charge, J A Wright stated that 'we have adhered in accordance with our policy to the original form of construction' and therefore the roof was remade with angled valleys. By contrast, the windows had apparently been glazed for the first time about 60 years before, but because the glass was considered not unsightly and performed the useful function of keeping the weather off the timber structure inside, the Ministry decided to keep it, even though it was not original.

Hadrian's Wall was the subject of an ongoing dispute between the Ministry and the National Trust. The focus in this period was **Housesteads Fort**, which the National Trust had first indicated they would like to place in guardianship in 1943. The Ministry did not press for guardianship as it was overloaded with more urgent work, while some in the Trust were against letting the Ministry take over. As G M Trevelyan, a powerful figure within the Trust, wrote to Professor Eric Birley in 1948:

'The fact is that there is a general feeling on the Estates Committee of aesthetic objection to the methods of the Office of Works dealing with Roman remains. Rightly or wrongly they feel that the ruins at Corstopitum, for instance, look very bleak and "like a cemetery" as one person said, and they prefer the look of Housesteads and the adjacent bit of Wall with a certain amount of grass and weeds at the edges.'⁷⁵

There had been differing views on how best to preserve the Wall ever since the first piece, at Corbridge, was taken into guardianship in 1933. The National Trust preferred the dry-stone wall and turf-capping method, which had been used since the 19th century on exposed parts of the Wall. This had the drawback of not withstanding the weather very well, so the parts of the wall treated in this way were more susceptible to rain and frost. They also suffered more from stock damage and from people walking on the top of the wall.

The Ministry considered cement capping and lime pointing more appropriate to a national monument which they wish to preserve for as long as possible. This was a standard method which they used on monuments of various kinds to prevent dampness penetrating to the wall core. The highest courses of face work were often loose and out of line, so they were taken down and rebuilt, having first been numbered so they could be returned to their original position. To its detractors, the Ministry's practice of dismantling sections of masonry and rebuilding them (in a more secure fashion) was creating a fake Roman wall, without any feeling of antiquity about it. O'Neil defended the Ministry's methods, observing that '... all men who are reasonable consider that, if one has to choose between stability and appearance, one chooses stability. Otherwise one might as well repeal the Ancient Monuments Acts.'

At a meeting on site in March 1949, O'Neil reportedly described the National Trust view as 'reactionary' and strongly denied that the Ministry of Works approach could be called 'restoration'. One of the National Trust representatives at the meeting recorded that,

'Mr O'Neill [sic] seemed concerned only to protect the reputation of the Ministry of Works and to get Housesteads under its guardianship. He did not hesitate to use the threat of compulsory acquisition if our [National Trust] methods did not meet with the Ministry's approval. The committee are asked to decide whether to preserve the atmosphere at Housesteads – or take the drastic and irretrievable step of handing it over to the Ministry of Works and having it reduced to the same soulless level as the rest of the Wall which is under their tidy guardianship.'⁷⁶

Later in 1949 the argument spilled over on to the letters pages of *The Times* but a compromise was eventually reached: the turf-capping would be allowed to stay on the Wall itself, but the Ministry would have a free hand with the Fort walls and buildings.

The Ministry of Works and the SPAB took different, but equally well-established approaches to the treatment of historic fabric. Andrew Saunders later claimed that the Ministry's treatment of monuments was based on 'a philosophy which belongs to the teachings of William Morris but is expressed as a modification of the Morris doctrine that it was enough 'to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering and to show no pretence of other art'.⁷⁷ It is questionable whether the Ministry's approach would be better described as a modification or a contradiction and the tension between the two approaches can be seen in a number of cases from this period.

When the Ministry accepted guardianship of **Old Soar Manor** in Kent from the National Trust it planned, in accordance with normal practice, to remove later work to reveal the monument as they conceived it, which consisted of the remains of a manor house of c 1290 (figs 22 and 23). The most transformative aspect of this work was to recreate some of the windows which had been wholly or partially blocked up. When work was already on site, the National Trust asked to see the detailed drawings for the proposal. They in turn passed the drawings on to the SPAB for comment. The SPAB reportedly thought it unfortunate that so much new stonework was being contemplated and recommended adopting 'the true medieval practice of forming the tracery'.

On hearing of this Mr Baillie Reynolds commented loftily, 'I am not influenced by the views of the SPAB.' The Ministry's line was that it was only introducing new stonework where stonework to the original design was so badly damaged that it needed to be renewed. A meeting was held on site and in the event the visiting SPAB representatives 'had nothing but praise for all we had done'. The question of whether it was right to restore lost elements of the monument does not seem to have been a source of any disagreement in this case.

Not all differences between the methods of the SPAB and the Ministry could be so easily resolved. The Ministry's dislike of SPAB methods was deep-rooted. A building licence was denied to the owner of **Rycote Chapel** in 1946 (prior to its transfer to the Ministry) because his architect, H S Goodhart-Rendel, proposed the use of tile repair (a method advocated by the SPAB) on the external elevations. When **Tutbury Castle** was considered for guardianship in 1951, the Ministry's architect reported that, although there were only £2,000 to £2,500 worth of urgent repairs, a further £15,000 to £17,500 of work was needed to undo earlier repairs which showed every sign of having been carried out under the direction of the SPAB. They were, said the architect, 'offensive to our standards'. In the event the castle was not transferred to the Ministry's care, but the fact that it was considered worth spending such a sum on the undoing of SPAB work shows the extent of the Ministry's disapproval. It was a similar attitude that delayed the acceptance of **Wolvesey Castle** into guardianship for nine years. The ruins had been restored by W D Carøe for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the 1920s, but the work was done 'in the worst S.P.A.B. manner.'⁷⁸ In 1949 the Inspectorate argued strongly that it would be an embarrassment to the Ministry to allow the public to



Fig 22: Old Soar Manor, Kent, 1946, before treatment by the Ministry of Works. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage



Fig 23: Old Soar Manor in 1952, after the Ministry had finished re-medievalising the monument. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

visit a monument in its charge which had been treated in a way that was contrary to all their standards and practices.

The differences between the Ministry and the SPAB have echoes of those between the SPAB and the church restorers of the 19th century. While claiming to operate a 'treat as found' policy which echoed the SPAB manifesto, the Ministry was notoriously keen to destroy what it saw as modern accretions on valuable monuments, rather like the Georgian chancels, box pews and galleries that Victorian architects removed from medieval churches. Treating or at least presenting 'as found' was fairly easily accomplished with fragmentary ruins of principally archaeological interest, but the more complete the monument and the more its interest was architectural, the harder it was to adhere to the principle. Where monuments were in very poor condition – as they often were – some element of restoration was needed. Yet without the Ministry's intervention these monuments may have been lost entirely, as many medieval churches in the 19th century would have been without the care of the restorers.

The Ministry was prepared to make significant changes in order to create a monument out of the fabric it was given. At **Duxford Chapel**, for instance, the roof had collapsed and needed rebuilding (fig 24). The most recent covering of the roof had been thatch, but the Ministry replaced it with tiles (fig 25). The barn doors which had been inserted in the south wall of the chapel and which told of its former agricultural use were removed and replaced with masonry matching the surviving wall. This in no way meets the stated aim of

O'Neil to 'treat monuments in such a way that, when we have finished, they look just as they did when we received them but secure and clear.'⁷⁹

The major example of the Ministry 'creating' a monument in this period is **Chiswick House** in Middlesex. The great Palladian villa of Lord Burlington had been sold to Middlesex County Council in 1929, but neither they nor Chiswick and Brentford Borough Council to whom it was leased were able to maintain it (see fig 26). In 1938 they were looking to dispose of the house, but the war prevented any resolution to the negotiations that had started. In 1947 the architect Claud Phillimore described the scene at Chiswick evocatively:

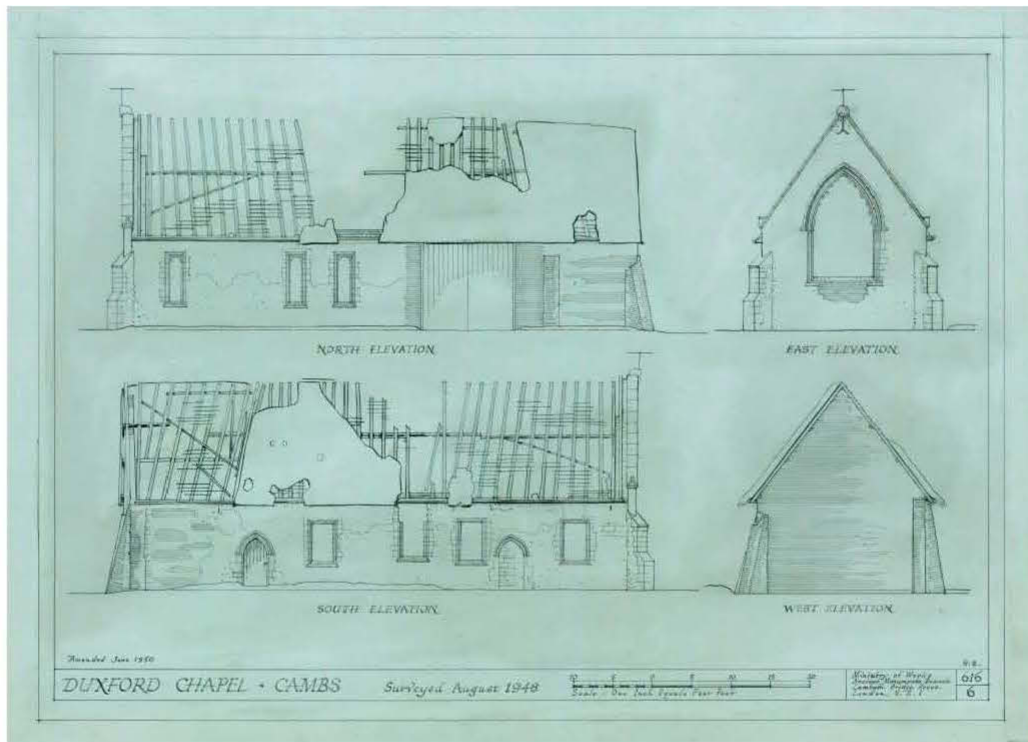


Fig 24: A survey drawing of Duxford Chapel showing its state before the Ministry started work on restoring it. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage



Fig 25: Duxford Chapel during restoration, 1953; the former roof covering of thatch is being replaced with tiles. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

'The house is battered by bombs and corroded by dry-rot and disuse. The temples are crumbling, the statues decayed, while the walks and groves which they once graced and emphasised degenerate daily.'⁸⁰

Phillimore, however, had a plan, which he promoted energetically to anyone who had an interest in the future of the house, including the Ministry of Works. The plan was to remove the substantial wings which had been added by Wyatt, in order to reduce the house to more manageable proportions and to restore it to its original state as designed by Lord Burlington. It was felt that the importance of the original building could justify such a move, and since the villa was so well-documented, it could be recreated where necessary, without resorting to conjecture.



Fig 26: The east front of Chiswick House, Middlesex, in 1947. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

Phillimore compared the situation to that of the **Queen's House** at Greenwich, the restoration of which he believed no one could regret and which 'was achieved only by the ruthless removal of modern additions.'⁸¹

The Phillimore plan was supported by the Georgian Group, but opposed by the London County Council, the SPAB and the Royal Fine Art Commission. There were practical arguments about the usefulness of the rooms within the wings and their state of repair as well as the more abstract questions of whether the Wyatt wings had architectural and historical value in themselves and how important it was to preserve them as part of the building's historical development. The Ministry of Works, which was offered the house as a gift on 9 July 1947, came down in favour of a slightly modified version of the Phillimore plan, which involved reverting to the form of the house before Wyatt's additions, rather than going right back to the original design.

They recognised the principle of retaining all the layers of a building's history, but believed that Chiswick was an exceptional case. Since it was to be treated as a museum piece, one

of the finest achievements of English architecture, it could not also be presented as a document of changing taste. George Chettle, the Inspector responsible for historic buildings in London who had carried out the recent restoration of the Queen's House, Greenwich, waxed lyrical about the possibilities for a restored Chiswick:

'Burlington's villa, restored, would be as perfect a gem of architectural beauty as Inigo Jones's miniature palace at Greenwich and could have its own perfect setting, which the Queen's House has lost. Its only rival would be the Petit Trianon at Versailles'⁸²

Demolition began before the transfer of the property had been completed (fig 27). Ironically in the late 1970s a new extension to the house was being contemplated, to provide visitor and staff facilities, for which there was no space in the reduced Villa.



Fig 27: Demolition of the Wyatt wings at Chiswick House in progress, October 1950. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage

A contrasting challenge faced the Ministry at **Audley End House**, where the intended use by the Ministry of Education entailed the construction of an additional building in the grounds of the historic mansion. New building in a historic context was not an issue in which the Ancient Monuments Department was generally involved, but in this case they

had strong views for, as the architect Aubrey Bailey commented, the new building would be 'held as an example of what or what not to do so near to an important ancient monument.'⁸³ At the beginning of 1950 the requirements of the Ministry of Education were placed in the hands of Cyril G Pinfold, a 'New Works Architect' in the Cambridge office of the Ministry of Works. Pinfold's preliminary scheme was for a two-storey, T-shaped building adjacent to the north-east corner of the historic house. He suggested that 'the building be designed with a high pitched roof in plain tiles, walls and gables faced with 2" red facing bricks with stone dressings'. Windows would be 'of the mullioned type in red bricks' and the whole was to be 'generally in keeping with the early 17th century brick tradition.'⁸⁴ In a typically robust response, Bryan O'Neil described the proposal as 'almost unbelievable' and only acceptable 'if an iron curtain were to be hung between it and the mansion.' He went on to criticise both the position - within the historic garden and right next to the house - and the choice of materials, which would be incongruous next to the ashlar-faced facades of the historic house. He concluded by saying: 'I am not for imitating the old, but I am against incongruity.'⁸⁵ Happily the hall of residence was never built because the Treasury would not approve the necessary expenditure and the Ministry's ability to build appropriately in a historic context was not put to the test.

Another criticism of the Ministry's treatment of monuments was the slow pace of their work. Their normal practice was to spread the available funds over the largest number of monuments so that each year the majority of monuments that were still in need of work were allocated some money. The result was that it took could take several years for work on a newly-acquired monument to be completed, and until it had been the public would not be admitted. **Bishop's Waltham Palace**, a large monument with major repair needs, came into guardianship in 1952 but did not open to the public until 1964. The **Cow Tower** in Norwich, which was a much smaller monument but required sheet piling around it to stop in falling into the River Yare, also opened 12 years after coming into guardianship. Even a relatively small monument with more modest repair needs, such as **Creake Abbey** in Norfolk, would take over ten years to excavate and consolidate. Using contract labour would have been quicker, but the Ministry preferred to use its own workforce, trained up to its own standards. 'We may be slow,' wrote O'Neil, 'but that is because such work cannot be hurried' and it was more important to maintain standards.⁸⁶

There is no doubt that the Ministry did set themselves very high standards and with the criticism there was also praise. Despite nearly falling out at one stage over the work at **Old Soar Manor**, Robin Fedden later wrote after a visit there that the building 'has been admirably restored, and I should like to congratulate you.' In the same year, 1952, Jack Rathbone, Secretary of the National Trust visited **Hailes Abbey** for the first time and wrote afterwards to say that 'it really is a tremendous credit to your department and I felt I really ought to let you know how delighted I was with everything I saw there.' A local Dunster man wrote to the Superintendent of Works for the repair of the **Yarn Market** that he thought the way it had been restored was excellent and that many people in the town felt 'great satisfaction and appreciation' for the Ministry's work there.

THE GOWERS REPORT AND THE 1953 ACT

The work of the Ancient Monuments Department in this period was conducted in the shadow of emerging legislation which was eventually enacted as the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953. From 1948 until 1953, the Department was both hopeful and uncertain about the impact it might have on their work. The stimulus for the new legislation was the plight of country house owners, struggling to maintain their historic possessions, which were generally recognised to be an enormously important part of the national heritage. After a meeting at the Treasury in May 1948, Sir Eric de Normann reported that 'the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Sir Stafford Cripps] was sympathetic to suggestions that houses of architectural and historic interest, which are threatened, should be preserved.'⁸⁷ A source of funding had already been identified in the form of the National Land Fund, which had been created in 1946 by Chancellor Hugh Dalton to buy for the nation areas of unspoilt countryside and coastline but which had hardly been touched in the intervening years.

The National Land Fund

The origins of the National Land Fund lay in Chancellor Hugh Dalton's attack on unearned wealth in his post-war budgets. He revived a provision in Lloyd George's 1910 Finance Act which permitted the handing over of land to public ownership in payment of death duties. In a note to his Permanent Secretary Sir Edward Bridges at the end of 1945, Dalton sketched out a scheme whereby proceeds from the sale of surplus war stores would be put into a special fund, to be spent 'on real estate only, e.g. in providing National Parks; in aiding National Trust; in making good Death Duty revenue when payment of this is in land.'⁸⁸ He later told the Earl of Crawford, Chairman of the National Trust, that he regarded the Trust as a typically British 'example of Practical Socialism in action'. As such 'a Labour Government should give it every encouragement greatly to extend its activities.'⁸⁹ Dalton's socialism had been formed by his membership of the Fabian Society, in which he took an active part after joining at the end of his first term at Cambridge in 1906. His early reputation as a political thinker was based on his book *Some Aspects of the Inequality of Incomes in Modern Communities*, published in 1920. Fabianism had come to seem sentimental and impractical by the 1930s and Dalton reinvented it as 'Practical Socialism', of which the Land Fund was an example.

Dalton envisaged that the fund should be a memorial to those killed in the war. He told the House of Commons that it was 'surely fitting in this proud moment of our history, when we are celebrating victory and deliverance from overwhelming evils and horrors, that we should make through this fund a thank-offering for victory, and a war memorial which many would think finer than any work of art in stone or bronze.'⁹⁰ Those last words reinforce the general emphasis in Dalton's vision on the landscape and places of natural beauty. (Dalton had a passion for walking and was later President of the Ramblers

Association.) Although the National Trust was in his mind from the start, this was related more to its role as a landowner than its relatively recent incarnation as the owner of country houses. Prior to the 1953 Act the Fund was used to reimburse the Inland Revenue when property was accepted by the government in lieu of estate duty. Mount Grace Priory in Yorkshire was accepted and transferred to the National Trust on this basis, as was part of the Osterley Park estate. The scope of the Fund was broadened in 1953 to cover chattels and in 1956 to cover works of art. By the late 1950s the Fund had nevertheless grown to £53million and after a critical report from the Public Accounts Committee, the Chancellor Peter Thorneycroft reduced its capital to just £10million. In the words of Hugh Dalton, this was a 'drab gesture, discouraging good deeds' and it led ultimately to the abolition of the Fund.⁹¹

The Gowers Report

Dalton was replaced as Chancellor in November 1947 by Sir Stafford Cripps, who very soon became involved in the issue of preserving country houses. As early as January 1948 the Ministry of Works was being asked to provide him with a list of important houses and after a meeting at the Treasury in May

Sir Eric de Normann reported that the Chancellor was 'anxious to be informed of principles on which an agreed policy [on preservation of historic houses] could be built up'.⁹² Cripps wished to obtain independent advice (perhaps wary of the vested interests of the Ministry of Works) so he appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Ernest Gowers, a retired civil servant, to look into the matter. Established in December 1948, the committee's appointed task was 'to consider and report what general arrangements might be made by the Government for the preservation, maintenance and use of houses of outstanding historic or architectural interest which might otherwise not be preserved, including, where desirable, the preservation of a house and its contents as a unity.'⁹³

The Gowers Committee heard evidence from several country house owners and a range of organisations including the amenity societies, the National Trust, the Ministry of Works and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. At this time the Ministry of Works held no country houses in the national collection, but it was on the point of purchasing **Audley End** and the decision was taken that it should make a case for expansion of its work in this field, at the expense of the National Trust. The officials of the Ministry felt that the Trust was ill-qualified and under-funded for the work of looking after historic buildings. They envisaged amendments to the Ancient Monuments Acts to give the Minister of Works the same powers over inhabited houses as he already had over ancient monuments, including the ability to accept guardianship. Under such arrangements owners of larger country houses could be relieved of the whole cost of maintenance by agreeing to guardianship while smaller houses could be helped with grants or expert advice. In an internal meeting in the Ministry of Works, on 7 March 1949, it was agreed that 'we should

claim all historic houses as our domain, leaving to the National Trust places of natural beauty.'⁹⁴

The Gowers Report was published in June 1950.⁹⁵ It strongly asserted the claim that houses of outstanding importance were best preserved as private houses, occupied by the families connected with them. This, it was argued, should be facilitated by generous tax arrangements in return for public access. Owners (including the National Trust and local authorities) would also be able to benefit from grants or loans provided by new independent statutory bodies called Historic Building Councils (of which there would be one for England and Wales and another for Scotland). There was no support for the ambitions of the Ministry of Works to add country houses to the national collection, or to extend its existing powers to include inhabited buildings. New powers of acquisition would instead be given to the Historic Buildings Councils, albeit with the aim of repairing houses and passing them on to new owners, rather than creating a parallel national collection.

By the time the government finally responded to the Gowers Report - after another change of Chancellor, Hugh Gaitskell having succeeded Cripps in October 1950 - it had decided that there was almost nothing in it that could be accepted unaltered. The Treasury immediately rejected both the tax proposals and the idea of historic building councils with executive powers, thus fundamentally undermining the whole Gowers scheme. An alternative policy concocted in the Treasury replaced executive councils with advisory bodies reporting to the Minister of Works, who would provide the funding and whose staff would support the councils' activities. Crucially for the future of the national collection, it was decided that 'houses remaining in the occupation of owners should continue to be dealt with by the National Trust, who would receive financial assistance from the Ministry of Works.'⁹⁶ The decision to favour the National Trust showed the continuing influence of Hugh Dalton (at that time Minister of Town and Country Planning) and his wife Ruth. Both wrote to Gaitskell with their ideas after the Gowers Report had been published and he admitted to his Cabinet colleague in April 1951 that the new policy owed much to their suggestions.⁹⁷

New Legislation

Despite the rejection of its detailed recommendations the Gowers Report nevertheless acted as a catalyst for new legislation, which the Minister of Works was asked to prepare, along lines proposed by the Chancellor and agreed by the Cabinet in April 1951.⁹⁸ Although it took the government's response to the Gowers Report as its starting point, the Ministry's draft Bill was an ambitious and far-reaching set of proposals which sought to solve more than just the problem of country houses. The introduction to one draft of the instructions to Parliamentary Counsel stated that the legislation would reduce to a single code the law embodied in both the Ancient Monuments Acts and sections 29 and 30 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1947. In other words the legal distinctions between

ancient monuments and historic buildings would be abolished. 'Neither consolidation nor amendment is proposed. It is intended to deal with the whole subject afresh.'⁹⁹

The draft Bill of 7 July 1951 embodied the Cabinet's decision that all of the negative preservation work of the Ministry of Local Government and Planning, including listing, should be transferred to the Ministry of Works so that there was one central authority for the preservation of historic buildings. Anticipating listed building consent by 17 years, a consent process analogous to planning permission was also proposed. It would be administered by the 'protecting authorities', which in most cases would be local councils, except where 'outstanding' buildings and monuments or those of primarily archaeological interest were concerned; these would be dealt with at a national level by the Ministry of Works. Grants or loans towards the cost of repairs could be made by any protecting authority. Guardianship of any protected building would be possible but, in a crucial change from the 1913 Act, the agreement could be revoked by the Minister.

By the time of the 1951 general election the Monuments and Buildings (Protection) Bill was almost ready to put before Parliament, but the victory of the Conservatives in the General Election brought a new Minister, David Eccles, and he was not prepared to proceed with the Bill in its existing form. Eccles was a cultured man, a collector of books, paintings and sculpture and a member of the Georgian Group, who might have been expected to be keen to act but he declared the Bill as it stood to be 'too Socialist for my liking'.¹⁰⁰ His decision to review the legislation meant further delay in what was generally agreed to be a matter of great urgency. As a result the government came under pressure from the likes of Lord Rosse of the Georgian Group and the Chairman of the National Trust, Lord Crawford, to act.

A debate in the House of Commons on 6 February 1953, called by Conservative MP Arthur Colegate, helped to maintain the pressure in Parliament. The Minister was urged from all sides of the House to bring in the legislation quickly. Eric Fletcher, a Labour MP, seconded the motion and reminded the House that while the government delayed 'the tide of destruction mounted with increasing fury.' He read out a list of recent losses such as **High Sunderland Hall** in Yorkshire - the original 'Wuthering Heights'- and **East Cowes Castle**, John Nash's mansion on the Isle of Wight.¹⁰¹ David Eccles defended himself by explaining that the delays were caused by a crowded Parliamentary timetable and the difficulties of devising a scheme which could be practical and effective with a budget of just £250,000, the sum allocated by the Treasury.¹⁰²

A simplified Bill was eventually introduced which focused on the creation of Historic Buildings Councils and new grant-making powers for the Minister of Works. The Bill was widely supported in Parliament but the sums of money allocated for the exercise of the new powers were heavily criticised for being inadequate. Eccles said at the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons that it was 'presented in the belief that half a loaf is better than no bread.' He asked MPs to see it as 'a start in the right direction'¹⁰³ and effectively a pilot scheme which could be extended later if it proved successful. The Bill

was quickly passed by Parliament and received Royal Assent on 31 July 1953. Although the Act fell a long way short of the ambitions of the Gowers Committee and the intentions of the Ministry of Works, and the funds allocated for its implementation were meagre, it nevertheless marked the start of a new age of heritage protection.

ENDNOTES

Where quotations in the text refer to an individual monument and are not referenced, the source is the site file listed in the bibliography below.

- 1 This characterisation is taken from Kynaston, 24
- 2 **'Guide to the Ministry of Works Headquarters 1947', National Archives file WORK 22/689**
- 3 **R P Cooke to Mr Winter 22 January 1954 on National Archives file WORK 22/481**
- 4 Jope, 9
- 5 Ibid, 10
- 6 These figures come from a memo from G E Clouting to AS 22 dated 10 January 1945, National Archives file WORK 14/2327
- 7 Bryan O'Neil 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1951' 12 March 1952, National Archives file WORK 82/10
- 8 Emmerson 1978, 79
- 9 Ibid, 78
- 10 Ibid, 76
- 11 Ibid
- 12 *The Times* 28 January 1982 Issue 61143 p 14 col F
- 13 Ibid
- 14 Emmerson 1978, 80
- 15 Sir Harold Emmerson to Sir Eric de Normann 29 October 1947, National Archives file WORK 14/2199
- 16 Bryan O'Neil to Sir Eric de Normann 9 February 1948, National Archives file WORK 14/2199
- 17 Duke of Wellington to R A Butler 25 April 1952, National Archives file T218/49
- 18 Journal entry, 12 March 1935, Vincent, 559
- 19 Dorothy Johnstone to Robin Fedden, 7 October 1952, English Heritage file AA16233/3
- 20 Quoted in Knox and Palmer, 62-3
- 21 P K Baillie Reynolds to John Fattorini 18 December 1947, English Heritage file AA20300/3 part 1
- 22 P K Baillie Reynolds to ASS 22, 28 August 1947, English Heritage file AA40523/3 part 1
- 23 James Lees-Milne to A Miller 13 August 1945, English Heritage file AA50588/3 part 1
- 24 James Lees-Milne to F J E Raby 9 November 1945, English Heritage file AA50588/3 part 1
- 25 File note by P K Baillie Reynolds 28 August 1945, English Heritage file AA50588/3 part 1

- 26 P K Baillie Reynolds to Bryan O'Neil 21 January 1948, English Heritage file AA90995/3
- 27 Diary entry for 18 April 1947, Lees-Milne 2004 edn, 154-5
- 28 P K Baillie Reynolds to Bryan O'Neil 18 August 1951, English Heritage file AA100572/3
- 29 Edward Hale to Sir Alan Barlow 20 June 1946, National Archives file T227/349
- 30 Sir Leigh Ashton to Sir Alan Barlow 22 June 1946, National Archives file T227/349
- 31 Diary entry for 21 February 1945, Lees-Milne 2003 edn, 167
- 32 Diary entry for 9 March 1948, Lees-Milne 2005 edn, 33
- 33 Sir Eric de Normann to Dennis Proctor 20 March 1948, National Archives file WORK 17/177
- 34 F J Root to W A Proctor 13 March 1948, National Archives file WORK 17/177
- 35 CAB/65/44/34. Available online at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk
- 36 Memorandum 14 June 1944, annotated 24 June by Churchill, National Archives file PREM8/51
- 37 Duke of Wellington to R A Butler 25 April 1952, National Archives file T218/49
- 38 Evening Standard, 18 June 1956
- 39 As required by section 6(2) of the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act
- 40 Section 4(3) of the 1931 Act stipulated that a copy of the Preservation Order must be 'fixed on some conspicuous part of the monument'
- 41 Evening News 30 October 1950. A copy of the article is on English Heritage file AA50508/3 part 1
- 42 Note of a meeting held on 20 January 1949, National Archives file WORK14/2199
- 43 Bryan O'Neil 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1951' 12 March 1952, National Archives file WORK 82/10
- 44 Ibid
- 45 Note of a meeting held on 25 June 1951. See National Archives file WORK 14/2199
- 46 Bryan O'Neil to Sir Eric de Normann 9 February 1948, National Archives file WORK14/2199
- 47 Minutes of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, 25 May 1951
- 48 P K Baillie Reynolds to Kenneth Newis 6 April 1955, National Archives file WORK14/2924
- 49 Bryan O'Neil, memorandum on 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1951' 12 March 1952, National Archives file WORK82/10
- 50 These examples are taken from a list of guardianship offers in a minute from M E I Waterman to N Digney 27 May 1953, National Archives file WORK14/2924
- 51 Section 22 of the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act
- 52 Memorandum 16 June 1932 on the scheduling file for Howden Minster, English Heritage file AA20298/1. Despite the critical tone of these comments, Peers was nevertheless a member of two of the diocesan advisory committees (London and Oxford) set up to scrutinise proposed works to parish churches as part of the church's response to the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act

- 53 Memorandum 25 March 1950, National Archives file WORK 14/2350
- 54 Kenneth Newis to Dorothy Johnstone 3 September 1953, National Archives file WORK14/2350
- 55 Rev S J Davey to Angus Acworth 13 October 1947, English Heritage file AA90770/3 part 1
- 56 Bryan O'Neil to AS22 11 January 1949, English Heritage file AA90770/3 part 1
- 57 Lord Methuen to Anthony Dale 29 January 1951, National Archives file WORK14/1947
- 58 Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Redundant Churches 1958-60, para 30
- 59 Miss M E I Waterman to Kenneth Newis and G R Armstrong 13 January 1954, English Heritage file AA90770/3 part 1
- 60 House of Lords debate 21 November 1945 Hansard vol 137 c1085
- 61 Diary entry for 4 May 1944 in Lees-Milne 2033 edn, 58
- 62 Bloch, 171
- 63 Sir Eric de Normann to Sir Alan Barlow 3 October 1946, National Archives file T218/419
- 64 Diary entry for 20 February 1948 in Lees-Milne 2005 edn, 29
- 65 Sir Edward Bridges, later Lord Bridges, was the son of Poet Laureate Robert Bridges. He was Permanent Secretary to the Treasury 1945-56 and later chairman of the Royal Fine Art Commission and the Pilgrim Trust and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Trust. The 'Bridges Report' on redundant churches (1960) led to the creation of the Churches Conservation Trust
- 66 Sir Edward Bridges to Mr Trend, HM Treasury, 9 January 1948, National Archives file T218/418
- 67 The covering note to the list is dated 22 February 1948. See National Archives file HLG 126/16
- 68 Entry in Bryan O'Neil's notebook 9 September 1952, National Archives file WORK82/42
- 69 Note of site visit 22 June 1945, National Archives file WORK 12/378
- 70 Note of site meeting 27 August 1945, National Archives file WORK 12/378
- 71 W A Procter to E C Woods 4 June 1946, National Archives file WORK 12/378
- 72 R K Jago to E J R Edwards 5 April 1950. English Heritage file AA46293/2]
- 73 J R Gilbin to Alan Cunliffe 21 November 1961, English Heritage file AM46293/01
- 74 Dorothy Johnstone to W V Wood 19 March 1948, National Archives file T218/311
- 75 G M Trevelyan to Professor Eric Birley 11 November 1948. A copy is on English Heritage file AA110014/3 part 1
- 76 George Howard quoted in Leach and Whitworth, 85
- 77 Saunders, xvii
- 78 P K Baillie Reynolds to Bryan O'Neil on English Heritage file AA61103/3 part 2
- 79 Memorandum on 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1951' 12 March 1952, p 6, National Archives file WORK82/10
- 80 *Country Life* vol CII, 18 July 1947, 126-7

- 81 Ibid
- 82 Report by George Chettle 10 September 1947, National Archives file WORK 14/1214
- 83 T A Bailey to J A Wright, 12 April 1950, English Heritage file AM 46205/2F
- 84 Cyril G Pinfold to Regional Surveyor 30 January 1950, English Heritage file AM 46205/2F. Copies of the plans are in the English Heritage Archive, reference MP/AEH1031
- 85 Bryan O'Neil to AS22, 29 March 1950, English Heritage file AM46205/2F
- 86 Bryan O'Neil, memorandum on 'Ancient Monuments & Historic Buildings 1945-1951' 12 March 1952, p 6, National Archives file WORK82/10
- 87 Memorandum by Sir Eric de Normann 6 May 1948, National Archives file HLG126/16
- 88 Quoted in Pimlott, 455
- 89 Quoted in Pimlott, 456
- 90 House of Commons debate 9 April 1946 Hansard vol 421 c1840
- 91 Dalton, 120
- 92 Memorandum by Sir Eric de Normann 6 May 1948, National Archives file HLG126/16
- 93 Report of the Committee on Houses of Outstanding Historic or Architectural Interest, I
- 94 File note by R A Barker 8 March 1949, National Archives file HLG126/16
- 95 The report and its recommendations have been discussed in some detail elsewhere, for example Peter Mandler 'Nationalising the Country House' in Hunter or Marcus Binney 'The Future of the Country House' in Strong, Binney, Harris.
- 96 Note of meeting held at the Treasury 23 October 1950, National Archives file HLG126/17
- 97 Hugh Gaitskell to Hugh Dalton 12 April 1951, National Archives file HLG103/15
- 98 The proposals in Cabinet paper CAB129/45/35 were approved in Cabinet on 23 April 1951 (see CAB/128/19)
- 99 Instructions to Parliamentary Counsel on the Monuments and Buildings (Protection) Bill. Undated, but must date to around June/July 1951. On National Archives file T218/10
- 100 David Eccles 20 November 1951, National Archives file WORK 14/2358
- 101 House of Commons debate 6 February 1953 Hansard vol 510 cc2198-2199
- 102 House of Commons debate 6 February 1953 Hansard vol 510 cc2201-2211
- 103 House of Commons debate 3 July 1953 Hansard vol 517 c755

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Abbotsbury Abbey, Dorset	AA 60503/2 part 1 AA 60503/3	
Abingdon County Hall, Oxfordshire	AA 60506/3	
Aldborough Roman Town, North Yorkshire		WORK 14/1014
Appuldurcombe House, Isle of Wight	AA 66349/3 part 1	WORK 14/1979
Apsley House, London		T 218/49 TS 27/916 TS 27/1245 WORK 17/199 PREM 8/51
Auckland Castle Deer House, Co Durham		WORK 14/1876
Audley End House, Essex	AA 46205/2F AM 46205/01/C	T 218/419 WORK 14/3126
Barnard Castle, Co Durham	AA 16079/3A	
Bayards Cove, Dartmouth, Devon	AA 70966/3	
Beeston Castle, Cheshire	AA 102229/3 part 1	
Berney Arms Windmill, Norfolk	AA 46226/3	
Binham Wayside Cross, Norfolk	AA 40624/3	
Birdoswald Fort, Cumbria		WORK 14/1723
Bishops Waltham Palace, Hampshire	AA 60235/2 AA 60235/3	
Blakeney Guildhall, Norfolk	AA 40628/3	
Bolingbroke Castle, Lincolnshire	AA 30551/3	
Bow Bridge, Cumbria	AA 100601/3	
Bramber Castle, West Sussex	AA 50588/3 part 1	WORK 14/1890
Brede Place, East Sussex		WORK 14/1201
Burton Agnes Manor, East Yorkshire	AA 26351/3	

Bury St Edmunds Abbey, Suffolk	AA 46225/3 parts 1, 2	
Caister Roman Fort, Norfolk	AA 40703/2	
Carrawburgh Roman Fort, Northumberland		WORK 14/2100
Castle Rising Castle, Norfolk	AA 40523/2 part 2 AA 40523/3 part 1	
Chiswick House, Middlesex	AA 56286/3 parts 1, 2	WORK 14/1214
Christchurch Norman House, Dorset	AA 60558/3 part 2	
Cleeve Abbey, Somerset	AA 76249/3	
Conisbrough Castle, South Yorkshire	AA 10559/3	
Norwich Cow Tower, Norfolk	AA 40944/3 part 1 AA 40944/2 part 1	
Creake Abbey, Norfolk	AA 46294/3	
Deddington Castle, Oxfordshire	AA 60740/3	
Denny Abbey, Cambridgeshire	AA 46317/3	
Dodington Park Chapel, Gloucestershire		WORK 14/1947
Dunster Yarn Market, Somerset	AA 71013/2 part 2	WORK 14/3143
Dunster Butter Cross, Somerset	AA 71011/3	
Dunster Gallox Bridge, Somerset	AA 71012/3	
Duxford Chapel, Cambridgeshire	AA 40730/3 part 1	
Eynsford Castle, Kent	AA 50771/3 parts 1, 2	
Fitzharris House, Oxfordshire	AA 60508/3 part 2	WORK 14/1851
Great Witley Parish Church, Worcestershire	AA 90770/3	
Greyfriars Cloister, Gt Yarmouth	AA 40818/3	
Hadleigh Castle, Essex	AA 46241/3	
Hailes Abbey, Gloucestershire	AA 71749/3A parts 1, 2 AA 71749/2A part 2	
Ham House, Surrey		ED 23/859 T227/349 WORK 17/177
Hardknott Roman Fort, Cumbria		WORK 14/708
Home's Place Chapel, Appledore, Kent	AA 50508/3 part 1	
Housesteads Fort, Northumberland	AA 110014/3 part 1	

Howden Minster, East Yorkshire	AA 20298/1	
Iron Bridge, Ironbridge, Shropshire		WORK 14/2011
Isles of Scilly monuments	AA 71685/3 part 2	
Itchen Abbas Roman Villa, Hampshire	AA 60635/3	
Kingswood Abbey Gatehouse, Gloucestershire	AA 71249/2B	WORK 14/1795
Kirkham House, Paignton, Devon		WORK 14/1708
Launceston Castle, Cornwall	AA 70102/3A part 1 AA 70102/3B part 1	
Leiston Abbey, Suffolk		WORK 14/2582
Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire	AA 90100/3	
Lincoln Old Bishops Palace, Lincolnshire	AA 30692/3	
Longthorpe Tower, Cambridgeshire	AA 43248/2 part 1 AA 43248/3	
Ludgershall Village Cross, Wiltshire	AA 71340/3	
Lyddington Bedehouse, Rutland	AA 30823/3 part 1	
Mistley Towers, Essex	AA 40098/3 part 1	
Morley Park Ironworks, Derbyshire	AA 30767/3	
Mount Grace Priory, North Yorkshire	AA 16233/3 AA 16233/2	HLG 71/396
North Elmham Chapel, Norfolk	AA 40925/3	
North Leigh Roman Villa, Oxfordshire	AA 60858/3	
Old Market Hall, Bishops Castle, Shropshire		WORK 14/1705
Old Oswestry Hillfort, Shropshire	AA 90855/3	
Old Soar Manor, Kent	AA 56212/3 part 1 AA 56212/2 part 1	
Ospringe Maison Dieu, Kent	AA 50782/3 part 1	
Osterley Park, Middlesex		T226/95 WORK 17/189
Palladian Bridge, Prior Park, Somerset		WORK 14/1869
Ribchester Roman Fort, Lancashire	AA 100572/3	
Rochester Castle, Kent	AA 50986/3 part 1	
Rushton Triangular Lodge, Northants	AA 30903/3 part 1	WORK 14/1726
Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire		WORK 14/1727

St Catherine's Oratory, Isle of Wight	AA 60538/3	
St Paul's Monastery, Jarrow, Co Durham		WORK 14/607
Sawley Abbey, Lancashire	AA 20300/3 parts 1, 2 AA 20300/2 part 2	
Saxtead Green Post Mill, Suffolk	AA 41007/3	
Shap Abbey, Cumbria		WORK 14/1138
Sibsey Trader Windmill, Lincolnshire	AA 30920/3 part 1	
Sir Bevil Grenville's Monument, Oxfordshire	AA 70579/01 AM 70579/100	
Stanwick Camp, North Yorkshire	AA 10157/3	
Steeton Hall Gateway, North Yorkshire	AA 20041/3	
Temple Manor, Strood, Kent	AA 50985/2 part 2 AA 50985/3	
Thetford Warren Lodge, Norfolk	AA 41052/3	
Totnes Castle, Devon	AA 70134/3F	
Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire	AA 90123/3	
Wall Roman Site, Staffordshire	AA 90995/3	
Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire	AA 30935/3 part 1	
Wolvesey Castle, Hampshire	AA 61103/3 part 2	
Wortley Top Forge, Sheffield, South Yorkshire	AA 20049/2	
Wrest Park, Bedfordshire	AA 46293/2J AM46293/01	WORK 12/378
Wroxeter Roman City, Shropshire	AA 90778/3 part 1	

General administrative and policy files

NB: all of the following files are held by the National Archives

Deputy Secretary's progress meetings (1947-52)	WORK 14/2199
Future of redundant churches (1947-51)	WORK 14/2350
The Gowers Committee of Houses of Outstanding Historic or Architectural Interest (1948-50)	HLG 126/16
The Gowers Committee of Houses of Outstanding Historic or Architectural Interest (1950-51)	HLG 126/17
The Gowers Report on Houses of National Importance: correspondence (1951)	HLG 103/15
The Gowers Report (1951-52)	WORK 14/2358
Preservation of houses of historical or architectural interest (1950-51)	T218/10
Preservation of houses of historical or architectural interest (1951-52)	T218/11
Notebook of jottings belonging to B H Stj O'Neil (1952)	WORK 82/42
Report on the work of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate 1945-51 by B H Stj O'Neil (1952)	WORK 82/10
Ministry of Works expenditure on ancient monuments (1934-60)	T218/311
Treasury control of new commitments and discussions about future provision (1950-59)	WORK 14/2202
Draft bill: proposed amendment of the Ancient Monuments Act 1931 (1952-56)	WORK 14/2225
Guide to the Ministry of Works Headquarters (1947)	WORK 22/689
Early industrial monuments: guardianship policy (1953-59)	WORK 14/2924
Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments: Assistant to the Chief Inspector (1954)	WORK 22/481
Post-war programme of works on ancient monuments (1943-45)	WORK 14/2327

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Monuments added to the National Heritage Collection 1945-53

Monument	County	Year	Type of acquisition
Hadrians Wall (HW): Gilsland Vicarage	Cumbria	1945	Guardianship
Pevensey Castle	East Sussex	1945	Transfer
HW: Chesters Bridge Abutment	Northumberland	1946	Guardianship
Old Oswestry Hill Fort	Shropshire	1946	Guardianship
HW: Sewingshields Roman Wall	Northumberland	1946	Guardianship
HW: Birdoswald Fort	Cumbria	1946	Guardianship
HW: Harrow Scar Milecastle	Cumbria	1946	Guardianship
HW: Willowford Bridge Abutment	Cumbria	1946	Guardianship
HW: Milvain East & West	Cumbria	1946	Guardianship
Christchurch Norman House	Dorset	1946	Gift
Ospringe, Maison Dieu	Kent	1947	Guardianship
HW: Brunton Turret	Northumberland	1947	Guardianship
Duxford Chapel	Cambridgeshire	1947	Guardianship
Totnes Castle	Devon	1947	Guardianship
Wroxeter Roman City	Shropshire	1947	Guardianship
Longthorpe Tower	Cambridgeshire	1947	Gift
Apsley House	London	1947	Gift
Steeton Hall Gateway	North Yorkshire	1948	Guardianship
Kirkham House, Paignton	Devon	1948	Gift
Hadleigh Castle	Essex	1948	Guardianship
Thetford Warren Lodge	Norfolk	1948	Transfer
Shap Abbey	Cumbria	1948	Guardianship
Hailes Abbey	Gloucestershire	1948	Guardianship
Abbotsbury Abbey	Dorset	1948	Guardianship
Eynsford Castle	Kent	1948	Guardianship
Old Soar Manor, Plaxtol	Kent	1948	Guardianship
North Elmham Chapel	Norfolk	1948	Guardianship
Burton Agnes Manor	East Yorkshire	1948	Guardianship
Tilbury Fort	Essex	1948	Transfer
Binham Wayside Cross	Norfolk	1949	Guardianship
Audley End House	Essex	1949	Purchase
Chichele College	Northamptonshire	1949	Guardianship
Portland Castle	Dorset	1949	Transfer

Wall Roman Site	Staffordshire	1949	Guardianship
Bolingbroke Castle	Lincolnshire	1949	Guardianship
Hardknott Roman Fort	Cumbria	1949	Transfer
Old Merchants House	Norfolk	1949	Guardianship
Bow Bridge Barrow-in-Furness	Cumbria	1950	Guardianship
Berney Arms Windmill	Norfolk	1950	Gift
Bants Cam Burial Chamber	Isles of Scilly	1950	Guardianship
Cromwells Castle	Isles of Scilly	1950	Guardianship
Harry's Walls	Isles of Scilly	1950	Guardianship
Innisidgen Burial Chambers	Isles of Scilly	1950	Guardianship
King Charles' Castle	Isles of Scilly	1950	Guardianship
Old Blockhouse	Isles of Scilly	1950	Guardianship
Port Hellick Down	Isles of Scilly	1950	Guardianship
Norwich Cow Tower	Norfolk	1950	Guardianship
Greyfriars Cloisters	Norfolk	1950	Guardianship
Lilleshall Abbey	Shropshire	1950	Guardianship
HW: Banks Hill	Cumbria	1950	Guardianship
Hylton Castle	Tyne & Wear	1950	Guardianship
Conisbrough Castle	South Yorkshire	1950	Guardianship
Temple Manor, Strood	Kent	1950	Guardianship
Kingswood Abbey Gatehouse	Gloucestershire	1950	Gift
Creake Abbey	Norfolk	1950	Guardianship
Homes Place Chapel, Appledore	Kent	1950	Guardianship
Row III Hse	Norfolk	1950	Purchase
Reculver Towers and Roman Fort	Kent	1950	Guardianship
Rushton Triangular Lodge	Northamptonshire	1951	Guardianship
Dunster Yarn Market	Somerset	1951	Guardianship
Dunster Gallox Bridge	Somerset	1951	Guardianship
Dunster Butter Cross	Somerset	1951	Guardianship
Cleeve Abbey	Somerset	1951	Guardianship
Deddington Castle	Oxfordshire	1951	Gift
Launceston Castle	Cornwall	1951	Guardianship
Itchen Abbas Roman Villa	Hampshire	1951	Crown Transfer
Saxtead Green Postmill	Suffolk	1951	Guardianship
HW: Housesteads Fort	Northumberland	1951	Guardianship
Sawley Abbey	Lancashire	1951	Guardianship
Ludgershall Village Cross	Wiltshire	1952	Guardianship
Abingdon County Hall	Oxfordshire	1952	Guardianship
Bishop Auckland Deer House	Co.Durham	1952	Guardianship
Appuldurcombe House	Isle of Wight	1952	Guardianship
Appuldurcombe Freemantle Gateway	Isle of Wight	1952	Guardianship
Bishops Waltham Palace	Hampshire	1952	Guardianship

St Catherine's Oratory	Isle of Wight	1952	Guardianship
Barnard Castle	Co.Durham	1952	Guardianship
Donnington Castle	Berkshire	1952	Gift
Rycote Chapel	Oxfordshire	1952	Guardianship
HW: Lea Hill Turret	Cumbria	1952	Guardianship
HW: Piper Sike Turret	Cumbria	1952	Guardianship
Lyddington Bede Hse	Rutland	1952	Guardianship
North Leigh Roman Villa	Oxfordshire	1952	Guardianship
Denny Abbey	Cambridgeshire	1952	Guardianship
Aldborough Roman Town	North Yorkshire	1952	Guardianship
HW: Denton West	Tyne & Wear	1952	Transfer
Mortimers Cross Water Mill	Herefordshire	1953	Guardianship
HW: Carrawburgh Temple of Mithras	Northumberland	1953	Guardianship
Stanwick Camp	North Yorkshire	1953	Guardianship
Sir Bevil Granville's Monument	Avon	1953	Guardianship

APPENDIX 2: 'Ancient Monuments which are desirable for Guardianship in England and Wales'

The list was first compiled c1949 but appears to have been revised over time. A covering note written by Sir Eric de Normann in 1951 (on the guardianship file for Beeston Castle) explained the contents: 'The attached list refers to monuments not yet in our charge, the acquisition of which would complete the gaps in our holdings of the outstanding monuments in each category. Some of the monuments on the list we are unlikely to get as they are quite well maintained by their owners who make sufficient profit out of takings to pay for maintenance. Of course if the families die out, we may eventually be asked to take over.'

Where monuments later entered the national collection the date is given (for those in England only).

Norman Keeps

Name of monument	County	Date entered the national collection
Corfe	Dorset	
Sherborne	Dorset	1956
Hedingham	Essex	
Castle Rising	Norfolk	1958
Prudhoe	Northumberland	1966
Mitford	Northumberland	
Clun	Shropshire	1991

Other medieval castles

Beeston	Cheshire	1959
Trematon	Cornwall	
Bayards Cove	Devon	1954
Berry Pomeroy	Devon	1977
Rufus Castle	Dorset	
Longtown	Herefordshire	1973
Wigmore	Herefordshire	1995
Tattershall	Lincolnshire	
Caister	Norfolk	
Barnwell	Northamptonshire	
Aydon	Northumberland	1966
Belsay	Northumberland	1980
Harbottle	Northumberland	
Thirlwall	Northumberland	
Newark	Nottinghamshire	

Hopton	Shropshire	
Ludlow	Shropshire	
Stokesay	Shropshire	1986
Tamworth	Staffordshire	
Bungay	Suffolk	
Mettingham	Suffolk	
Orford	Suffolk	1962
Amberley	Sussex	
Bodiam	Sussex	
Camber	Sussex	1967
Warwick	Warwickshire	
Dudley	Worcestershire	
Bolton	Yorkshire	
Tickhill	Yorkshire	
Dryslwyn	Carmarthenshire	Date unknown
Dynevor	Carmarthenshire	Date unknown
Hawarden	Flintshire	
Castell Morgraig	Glamorgan	
Chepstow	Monmouthshire	Date unknown
Carew	Pembrokeshire	
Manorbier	Pembrokeshire	

Pre-Norman Churches

St Peter, Bradwell-on-Sea	Essex	
South Elmham 'Old Minster'	Suffolk	

Medieval Monasteries

Fountains	Yorkshire	Cistercian	1966
Kirkstall	Yorkshire	Cistercian	
Beaulieu	Hampshire	Cistercian	
Ford	Hampshire	Cistercian	
Jervaulx	Yorkshire	Cistercian	
Reading	Berkshire	Benedictine	
St Mary's York	Yorkshire	Benedictine	
Lewes	Sussex	Cluniac	
Wenlock	Shropshire	Cluniac	1964
Mount Grace	Yorkshire	Carthusian	1955
Beauvale	Leicestershire	Carthusian	
Hinton	Somerset	Carthusian	
Clare	Suffolk	Austin Friars	
Hulne	Northumberland	Carmelite Friars	
St Radegunds	Kent	Premonstratensian	

APPENDIX 3: 'Historic Gardens and Parks'

A list compiled by G H Chettle, Inspector of Ancient Monuments in 1952. A copy is National Archives file WORK 14/2199. The original spelling and use of old county names have been followed throughout.

County	Garden or Park	Town or Parish
Bedfordshire	Southill Park	Southill near Biggleswade
	Woburn Abbey	Woburn
Berkshire	Coleshill House	Coleshill near Faringdon
	Wrest Park	Silsoe near Bedford
Buckinghamshire	Fawley Court	Fawley near Henley-on-Thames
	Hartwell House	Hartwell near Aylesbury
	Stowe School	Stowe near Buckingham
	West Wycombe Park	West Wycombe
Cambridgeshire	Wimpole Hall	Wimpole near Royston
Cheshire	Eaton Hall	Eaton near Chester
Cornwall	Antony House	Antony near Saltash
Derbyshire	Chatsworth	Chatsworth near Bakewell
	Foremark	Foremark near Derby
	Haddon Hall	Haddon Nether near Bakewell
	Hardwick Hall	Hardwick near Chesterfield
	Kedleston Hall	Kedleston near Derby
	Melbourne Hall	Melbourne near Derby
	Renishaw Hall	Renishaw near Chesterfield
Devonshire	Saltram House	Plymouth
	Ugbrooke Park	Chudleigh
Dorsetshire	Cranborne Manor	Cranborne
	Milton Abbey	Milton Abbas near Blandford
	Sherborne Castle	Sherborne
Gloucestershire	Badminton	Badminton near Chipping Sodbury
	Dodington Park	Dodington near Chipping Sodbury
	Owlpen House	Owlpen near Dursley
Hampshire	Broadlands	Broadlands near Newport, Isle of Wight
	Stratfieldsaye House	Stratfieldsaye near Basingstoke
Hertfordshire	Bayfordbury	Bayford near Wincanton
	Hatfield House	Hatfield
	Moor Park	Rickmansworth
	Woodhall Park	Hertford
Huntingdonshire	Kimbolton Castle	Kimbolton near Huntingdon
Kent	Knole Park	Sevenoaks
	Mereworth Castle	Mereworth near Maidstone
	Mersham-le-Hatch	Mersham near Ashford
	Penshurst Place	Penshurst

Lancashire	Stoneyhurst	Stoneyhurst near Clitheroe
Leicestershire	Belvoir Castle	Belvoir near Grantham
	Quenby Hall	Hungarton near Leicester
	Staunton Harold Hall	Staunton Harold near Ashby-de-la-Zouch
Lincolnshire	Belton House	Belton near Grantham
Middlesex	Chiswick House	Chiswick
	Syon House	Isleworth
Norfolk	Felbrigge Hall	Felbrigg near Cromer
	Holkham Hall	Holkham near Wells
	Houghton Hall	Houghton near Fakenham
	Melton Constable Hall	Melton Constable
	Raynham Hall	Fakenham
Northamptonshire	Althorp Park	Althorp near Northampton
	Apethorpe Hall	Apethorpe near Wansford
	Burghley House	Stamford, Lincolnshire
	Canons Ashby	Canons Ashby near Daventry
	Easton Neston	Easton Neston, Towcester
Northumberland	Alnwick Castle	Alnwick
	Belsay Castle	Belsay near Morpeth
	Wallington	Wallington Demesne near Morpeth
Oxfordshire	Blenheim Park	Blenheim near Woodstock
	Ditchley Park	Ditchley near Woodstock
	Nuneham Courtney	Nuneham Courtney near Oxford
	Rousham	Rousham near Woodstock
	Thame Park	Thame
	Wotton House	Wotton Underwood, Berkshire
Somersetshire	Brympton d'Evercy	Brympton near Yeovil
Staffordshire	Chillington Park and Hall	Chillington near Ilminster
Suffolk	Heveningham Hall	Heveningham near Saxmundham
	Ickworth House	Ickworth near Bury St Edmunds
Surrey	Claremont Park	Claremont near Esher
	Clandon Park	West Clandon near Guildford
Sussex	Ashburnham House	Ashburnham near Battle
	Goodwood	Goodwood near Chichester
	Petworth House	Petworth
	Up Park	Up Park near Petersfield
Warwickshire	Charlecote Park	Charlecote near Stratford-on-Avon
	Compton Verney	Kineton
	Stoneleigh Abbey	Stoneleigh near Kenilworth
	Warwick Castle	Warwick
Westmorland	Levens Hall	Levens near Kendal
Wiltshire	Bowood Park	Calne
	Corsham Court	Corsham near Chippenham
	Littlecote Park	Littlecote near Hungerford
	Longford Castle	Salisbury

	Longleat	Warminster
	Stourhead House	Mere
	Trafalgar House	Salisbury
	Wardour Castle	Tisbury
	Wilton House	Wilton near Salisbury
Worcestershire	Croome Court	Croome d'Abitot near Pershore
	Hagley Hall	Hagley

APPENDIX 4: 'Important Country Houses in England and Wales'

The following list was compiled by G H Chettle, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, in early 1948. A covering memo is dated 22 February 1948. It does not include those already protected by the National Trust, local authority or the government. A copy of the list and covering note are on National Archives file HLG 126/16.

County	Name of house
Durham	Raby Castle
North Yorkshire	Castle Howard
East Yorkshire	Burton Agnes Hall
West Yorkshire	Harewood House
West Yorkshire	Wentworth Castle
West Yorkshire	Wentworth Woodhouse
Derbyshire	Chatsworth
Derbyshire	Hardwick Hall
Derbyshire	Kedleston
Derbyshire	Haddon Hall
Lincolnshire	Belton House
Lincolnshire	Boothby Pagnell Manor House
Northamptonshire	Althorp
Northamptonshire	Apethorpe
Northamptonshire	Castle Ashby
Northamptonshire	Deene Hall
Northamptonshire	Easton Neston
Northamptonshire	Drayton House
Northamptonshire	Burghley House
Northamptonshire	Boughton House
Nottinghamshire	Welbeck Abbey
Bedfordshire	Woburn Abbey
Essex	Langleys
Hertfordshire	Hatfield House
Huntingdonshire	Kimbolton Castle
Norfolk	Holkham Hall
Norfolk	Houghton Hall
Norfolk	Raynham Hall
Suffolk	Hengrave Hall
Dorset	Sherborne Castle
Dorset	Forde Abbey
Hampshire	The Vyne
Oxfordshire	Broughton Castle
Oxfordshire	Blenheim Palace
Gloucestershire	Great Badminton

Gloucestershire	Dyrham House
Gloucestershire	Berkeley Castle
Somerset	Brympton d'Evercy
Wiltshire	Bowood
Wiltshire	Longleat
Wiltshire	Longford Castle
Wiltshire	Wilton House
Denbighshire	Erddig Hall
Monmouthshire	Powis Castle
Shropshire	Stokesay Castle
Warwickshire	Compton Verney
Warwickshire	Compton Wynyates
Westmoreland	Sizergh Castle
Kent	Leeds Castle
Kent	Penshurst
Surrey	Loseley House
Surrey	Sutton Place

APPENDIX 5: 'Typical houses worthy of preservation'

The list was attached to a memorandum on the 'Preservation of Houses of Architectural and Historic Interest' sent to the Treasury on 28 May 1948. It is arranged in chronological order and the dates are those given in the original document. A copy of the list and covering note are on National Archives file HLG 126/16.

Century	Date	Name of house	County
C12	c 1150	Hemingford Grey Manor House	Huntingdonshire
	c 1150	Sutton Courtenay 'Norman Hall'	Berkshire
C13	c 1210	Appleton Manor	Berkshire
	c 1280	Aydon Castle	Northumberland
	C13 and later	Stokesay Castle	Shropshire
	C13 and later	Haddon Hall	Derbyshire
C14	C14 and later	Raby Castle	Durham
	c 1350 and later	Penshurst Place	Kent
	C12 to C14	Berkeley Castle	Gloucestershire
		Powis Castle	Monmouthshire
C15	C14 to C18	Drayton House	Northamptonshire
	c 1480	Great Chalfield Manor	Wiltshire
C16		Horham Hall	Essex
	c 1520	Compton Wynyates	Warwickshire
	1523-5	Sutton Place	Surrey
	1525-30	Hengrave Hall	Suffolk
		Burghley House	Northamptonshire
		Longford Castle	Wiltshire
	c 1594	Hardwick Hall	Derbyshire
C17	c 1610	Hatfield House	Hertfordshire
	c 1630	Raynham Hall	Norfolk
	1633-49	Wilton House	Wiltshire
	1650	Ashdown House	Berkshire
	1650-62	Coleshill	Berkshire
	1654	Thorpe Hall	Northamptonshire
	1683 and later	Erddig	Denbighshire
	1687 and later	Chatsworth	Derbyshire
	1689	Belton House	Lincolnshire
	1698	Dyrham	Gloucestershire
C18	1700	Langleys	Essex
	1700	Castle Howard	North Yorkshire
	1705	Blenheim Palace	Oxfordshire
	1722	Houghton House	Norfolk
	1725 and 1738	Wentworth Woodhouse	South Yorkshire
	1734	Holkham Hall	Norfolk

	1747 and late C18	Woburn Abbey	Bedfordshire
	1744	44 Berkeley Square	London
	1755	Spencer House	London
	1760	Kedleston	Derbyshire
	1790	Heveningham Hall	Suffolk
	c 1800	Dodington Park	Gloucestershire

Streets such as Chipping Campden
 Bridge Street [sic], Ludlow
 Bewdley, Worcestershire
 Blandford, Dorset

Squares, Crescents, Terraces

Bath, eg The Circus, The Royal Crescent, Lansdown Crescent
 and many others
 Cheltenham; laid out chiefly by J B Papworth
 London, eg Bedford Square, Regents Park, Carlton House Terrace



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