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THE ROBERT GORDON UNIVERSITY

School of Information and Media

VOLUME I

The development of a national heritage policy for
libraries and book collections of country houses

Peter H. Reid

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.

March 1999

IN MEMORY OF
PETER REID

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father who should have been here
to see its completion.

*One morn I missed him on the customed hill.
Along the heath and near his favourite tree;
Another came; nor yet beside the rill,
Nor up the lawn, nor at the wood was he;*

*The next with dirges due in sad array
Slow through the church-way path we saw him borne.
Approach and read (for thou can'st read) the lay,
Graved on the stone beneath yon aged thorn*

*Here rest his head upon the lap of earth
A youth to fortune and to fame unknown.
Fair Science frowned not on his humble birth,
And Melancholy marked him for her own.*

*Large was his bounty and his soul sincere,
Heaven did a recompense as largely send:
He gave to Misery all he had, a tear,
He gained from Heaven ('twas all he wished) a friend.*

*No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode,
(There they alike in trembling hope repose)
The bosom of his Father and his God.*

Thomas Gray
Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard

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ABSTRACT

This work examines the country house libraries of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Hitherto this is an area largely overlooked both in terms of librarianship and social history.

The first part of the thesis examines the historical development of book collections within country houses. In addition to pure historical bibliography it also examines the two essentials behind their development, the people and the houses. The work goes on to focus on the current situation within the United Kingdom. By means of a near comprehensive survey of extant collections, the current picture is identified in terms of the types of material, the collectors, the condition of material, the methods of preservation and, significantly, the willingness of owners to concede access. All of these issues are fundamental components in the study and have been investigated further in order to enable the attainment of the final objective, the creation of a national heritage policy for these collections. This final element focuses particularly on methods of preservation, the potential for funding and the question of access to collections. The policy relies on evidence acquired at the earlier stages of the research as well as that acquired during a second survey dealing predominantly with preservation, access and funding. This is coupled with the identification of current best practice within the library preservation field. Extensive use has been made of contact with owners and administrators of collections by means of the surveys, interviews, observational visits and correspondence. In addition, heritage organisations and structures within the United Kingdom have been analysed, with emphasis on those with direct impact on the country house. This research is fundamentally about two things: the historical development of collections and the approaches likely to ensure their survival.

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INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

"If the study of all these sciences which we have enumerated, should ever bring us to their mutual association and relationship, and teach us the nature of the ties which bind them together, I believe that the diligent treatment of them will forward the objects which have in view, and that the labour, which otherwise would be fruitless, will be well bestowed."

Plato, *Republic* (Book Seven)

Introduction

This introductory preface seeks to identify the aims and objectives of this research as well as to provide some background and definitions. The introduction proper in Chapter One introduces the subjects themselves and attempts to highlight the social and cultural background to the houses and the people, both of which are essential forerunners to the examination of the libraries themselves. Chapter Five fulfils a similar role when moving on to the examination of 'national heritage' policies and structures. It introduces the subject and attempts to analyse it in terms of what owners and administrators of country houses think.

While the fundamental aim of this research has always been to chart the historical development of country house libraries and to identify how a national heritage policy for their preservation may be created, the specific objectives used in attaining this understanding were more specific and detailed. There are eight, easily identifiable objectives to this research, all of which follow on in one seamless thread. This thread demonstrates, as capably as any other mechanism, the continuous and, indeed, overarching focus of the research. The aims of this research are:

- (1) To identify all relevant literature covering the topic, and to retrieve and collate all documentation on the development of country house libraries, their owners and contents.*
- (2) To synthesise these findings into a coherent historical account of country houses, owners and their library and book collections from the mid sixteenth century and to set them in the proper context of national heritage.*
- (3) To examine the culture of the country house, in its broader sense. This will examine and analyse country houses and their collections and the role which they have to play as cultural tourism entities.*
- (4) To analyse the disintegration of heritage and the resulting loss and diminution of culture. This will focus on the destruction of the country house and the break-up of their collections.*

(5) To investigate, via the survey of houses and collections, the extant situation and policies currently used by the owners or managers of such collections in relation to their maintenance.

(6) Within the context of existing national heritage policies and structures, to establish the view of owners, both private and corporate, in relation to access to, and preservation of, these collections.

(7) To identify the support facilities available to country house libraries from any source and to evaluate how appropriate these are.

(8) To define the aims and objectives for the creation of a national heritage policy for country house libraries. This would examine the fields of cataloguing, arrangement (where applicable), access, preservation, conservation and restoration.

The first four may, on the surface, appear to be rigidly connected with the historical research only but that is not correct. These are dominant themes which run throughout the research while having, like the libraries themselves, their roots firmly in the historical legacy which the country house while still being part of the discussion of contemporary and pressing questions.

Coverage and Scope

Before moving on to discuss the research objectives it is necessary to give an outline of the scope of the research. Firstly, this is a nation-wide study, covering the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It is important to note this geographical scope at the very beginning. In some ways it is impossible to make synthetic divisions between Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland in respect of country house libraries while in other respects differences are quite pronounced. However, in terms of the basic scope, this is a Britain-wide study. One point must be stressed in addition to this and that is that the Republic of Ireland has been omitted. In regard to the historical research this is unfortunate because, as is noted elsewhere, Ireland was part of Great Britain for the bulk of the historical period covered. Yet Irish houses are so distinctively unique - not to say eccentric - that an entire thesis could easily be devoted to them alone. A brief study of them, including their interpretation in Anglo-Irish literature, is included amongst the appendices.

Secondly, however, it is necessary to say something about the scope of the libraries themselves. The perceived need amongst country house libraries tends to relate to those which remain in private hands and this work tends to err on the side of the privately-owned collections (at least in terms of the study, if not always in terms of the recommendations). It can be seen that the National Trusts have their own peculiar

dynamics and here lies a fundamental danger with this type of research. It would be perfectly possible to get 'bogged down' in the structures and policies of the Trusts in general and to lose sight of the libraries and their requirements. Although neither Trust is ignored this work is primarily geared to those collections which are privately owned. Of course, no such distinction can possibly be made in terms of the historical research which deals with the formation and development of collections but the distinction becomes more significant in the later elements of the research, those areas dealing with the development of policy strategies.

One final note on coverage and scope is apposite and that relates directly to the libraries. This work is concerned with books and bibliographic heritage. Archives and muniments are too vast a subject to be dealt with peripherally. Of course, they appear but they do not form a core element of this work. Professional archivists are much better qualified to examine these areas. Yet, as will be demonstrated, lessons can be learned from archives and muniments, the protection of which is, in some respects, far ahead of books in the country house context. Additionally, it is vital to point out that this is not an architectural or interior design history of country house libraries. This would undoubtedly provide for an extremely attractive study but it is not within the scope or remit of this research. In any case, many people, not least the late Gervase Jackson-Stops, have already undertaken this to a certain degree.

Currency

This research commenced, formally, in September 1995 and finished in October 1998. Two separate lines were drawn in the sand as regards the research. Firstly, the historical research is taken to be up until 1st January 1997 while, secondly, the study of policies and structures is taken to be up until 31st October 1998. In many respects the second date is more significant. The period of this research coincided with the change of government. Although this has no direct implications it is allied in a number of respects. To some the support of the Labour government for privately-owned heritage may seem incredible. However, such a view betrays a fundamental ignorance. It should be remembered that it was Earl Attlee's Labour administration which set up the Gowers's Committee, arguably still the most important single examination of the country house. However, the date of 31st October 1998 has importance because of New Labour's alterations of the taxation system. This research has had to chart the constant changes to schemes such as Conditional Exemption, Acceptance-In-Lieu / In Situ during the previous eighteen months. It may be that the Inland Revenue will shortly issue its guidelines and interpretation of these changes and these will result in profound implications for the owners of the national heritage. However, to date they have not and consequently, the thirty-first day of October 1998 must be regarded as the definitive cut-off date for this work.

Authority

The authority of this research lies on two fronts. Firstly, the rigorously-employed methods and approaches which are outlined in Chapter Two ensured credible examination of the subject. Secondly, and arguably as important, is the involvement of owners and administrators. This first hand contact is, in many ways, the only realistic approach for the study of country house libraries which have been so neglected in the past. Previous work has suggested that this realistic approach brings in data which it would otherwise be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Moreover, the involvement of owners and administrators adds credibility to the policy recommendations by removing part of the danger that exists from developing nothing more than high, esoteric theory. Although every thesis must concern itself with theory, this research seeks to inject a healthy dose of practice too and this has been possible only through the authority which is lent to the work by first-hand involvement of owners and administrators. It should be stressed that Chapters Four, Five and Six all rely heavily on data obtained from the two questionnaires and from subsequent interviews and visits. Although this material is referenced at the end of each chapter it is necessary to mention that anonymity was guaranteed to those owners or administrators who requested it. Consequently, the references do not, in every case, name specific individuals.

Research Questions

This research is governed by the eight objectives already outlined and these may be said to represent the research questions. If a hypothesis exists for this work it must surely relate to whether these libraries are unique and whether concerted effort is required to conserve and preserve them for future generations. However, the aims and objectives of the research form its core rather than an hypothesis but it should be noted that the belief that there is something inherently special about libraries in country houses must serve, at least informally, as the backbone of this work. If that be the case then the objectives of the research must seek to address the fundamental reasons for this being true.

Hereditary Libraries

The country house library is not simply a collection of books in the country house. It is an hereditary library, a collection of books which have been built up over many generations of a particular family. Like other aspects of the country house it depends to a very large degree on the hereditary privilege of one particular class, namely those who could afford to occupy country houses. Wealth, rank and privilege are core features in the development of these collections but it is the continuity which heredity or familial succession creates which truly defines them. It is impossible to highlight one single factor which makes them unique but the almost imperceptible mystique of house and family coupled with hereditary succession all have a huge part of play. Interest in genealogy and ancestry has never been higher but that fails to lend any support to the assertion that country house libraries have a unique status for these are not our ancestors' collections. They do, of course, fulfil that role for owners but that does not go far enough to explain their

appeal which essentially lies in the overall romance of the country house and, increasingly, in the desire to understand them socially as well as culturally and artistically. Some may question the validity of that romance because of its reliance on hereditary privilege but the recognition, over the last century, that these houses are something special has resulted in concerted efforts to understand them in their own right.

The book collections of country houses offer something unique if extraordinarily intangible. They demonstrate, as clearly as anything, the interests, the pursuits, the pre-occupations not to mention the literacy of an entire class, men, women and children. They chart the changes in history, tastes and reading habits and, on a lesser level, note the changing history of the book itself. It is oft-stated in this research that country house libraries form part of bigger and wider collections. These collections include portraits which tell us what these people looked like, furniture which tell us of their domestic comforts, archives which tell us of their business and politics. In terms of this process of social history, the books in country house libraries tell us something too. They offer partial but significant access to the psyche of the once-dominant landed class. Books and libraries are as valid a means of examining the social history of the country house as the furniture and the paintings.

General Introduction to the Historical Research

This introduction is intended to amplify the entire historical research both in chapter one and in chapter three. These chapters primarily concern themselves with the identification and analysis of the two essential components: the people and the houses. Therefore, this part of the work may be said to examine the essential historical background. Only through a brief analysis of these is it possible to contextualize the library collections themselves. It also allows for the introduction of the model for the historical research as well as briefly highlighting alternatives within the field. The succeeding chapter builds on this background to deal with the precise details of the historical development of country house libraries in the United Kingdom. The role which collectors played in the development and management of country house libraries is discussed throughout and a biographical summary of persons mentioned in the text is to be found in Appendix One.

On first inspection both of the historical sections of this work may seem to resemble an historical pageant covering the last six centuries. Certainly, the historical coverage is chronological but that is not merely done because of convenience. The aims and objectives of this research, as will be seen, follow a natural progression and to a large extent those aims follow a very definite chronological order. In the first instance, the libraries had to be collected; in the second instance, they played a role within the broader cultural development of country houses and in the third instance they suffered dispersal and destruction due to the changing interests and demands of the time. The historical pageant must be viewed holistically and may be seen as either essential background to the creation of a national heritage policy or as distinct

historical research into the chosen field of study. In either case, the content amounts to the same thing; namely the first documented history of a unique, and hitherto neglected, area of British bibliography and bibliographic heritage.

Objectives of the Historical Research

The objectives of the historical research both in this and the succeeding chapter can be taken collectively and described as the analysis of the historical development of the libraries and book collections of the country house within Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In other words, it represents the entire history of country house libraries prior to 1 January 1997. At all stages, the four component parts of the United Kingdom are equally represented. This is a British rather than a Scottish or English study. As has been mentioned, the historical study is set within the context of aristocratic collecting and scholarship in the country house setting.

The first of the four principal objectives of the historical research was to identify all relevant literature covering the topic, and to retrieve and collate all documentation on the development of country house libraries, their owners and contents. The nature of the historical research means that direct reference has been made to appropriate literature through the chapters. These chapters, which rely heavily on literature based research, incorporate the role of a review of literature for the historical research. As a result of the lack of subject-specific material, considerable use has been made of related sources such as biographies, biographical and genealogical works, histories of the Peerage, Gentry and aristocracy, histories of architectural and interior design, as well as histories of book-collecting. This proves to be the overarching link with the methodology in the historical section for prosopographical techniques all rely on precisely those types of reference and biographical works. In addition to the bibliographic sources which have been consulted, reference has also been made to existing archival material. In many instances, this has been published in works such as the *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*; however, reference has also been made to primary evidence such as the seventeenth century catalogue of the collection of the Earl of Thanet.

The second and arguably most significant objective of the historical research was defined as synthesising the findings of the research into a coherent historical account of country houses, owners and their library and book collections from the mid sixteenth century and to set them in the proper context of national heritage. To a certain extent this element continues throughout the whole work rather than being limited merely to the historical sections. The role of country house libraries as part of the 'national heritage' is a central strand to the whole work. It is picked up later in the examination of the heritage structures, organisations and policies which affect the management of country houses and their collections. In addition, it is the fact that these collections form a particularly distinct element within that 'national

heritage' which both shapes and informs the final policy recommendations for the preservation of country house libraries. However, in the historical sections, this forms the principal element both in terms of substantive theories and in terms of chronology. It is an all-pervading element which is reinforced throughout the chapters.

The third objective, to examine the culture of the country house, in its broader sense, attempts to examine and analyse country houses and their collections and the role which they have to play as cultural entities. This is a natural progression from the first objective. It follows on in simple chronological terms from the initial development of collections within these houses. Within the historical research it examines the cultural attachments of the collectors and the interaction which existed between the country house world and intellectual world of great scholars. Part of this examination involves the study of education and educational reasons for collecting, especially in the early days of aristocratic libraries. It would be erroneous to argue that undue attention has been paid to the educational reasons for collecting. The point cannot be made strongly enough that educational and cultural aspirations played a much more crucial role in the development of country house collections than social status did. The concepts of the virtuosi and dilettante are also equally important. It was these theories and beliefs which led to many of the greatest collections. The great collections are vital to our understanding of the influences and pressures on all country house owners. The actions of men like Lumley, Oxford, Roxburghe, Spencer and Crawford¹ inspired all their fellow occupants of the aristocratic sphere. The great collectors undoubtedly acted as spur to everyone else.

Moreover, the significant collections stand out partly because of the unique nature of their contents, but more significantly because they are not the average or typical country house collection. It would be easy to write about these, because they contain very similar material. What the majority of collections have in common is the fact that they were created by people of essentially the same class, and with the same interest. It is, therefore, acceptable to talk of *a typical country house library* because many are similar. The typical and average are, of course, mentioned but making those the central focus would result in a chapter devoted to the regurgitation of the same material differentiated only by time and location. The more 'typical' types of country house libraries can be seen in those sections dealing with the contemporary situation.

The final element of the historical research is to analyse the disintegration of heritage and the resulting loss and diminution of culture. This focuses on the destruction of the country house and the break-up of their collections with particular reference, of course, to the libraries. After years of near manic collecting the story of country house libraries inevitably ends with the sales and the destruction of some many country house libraries. It is also the most recent element in the research and consequently tends to dominate the

latter stages of the historical research because, as David Cannadine has pointed out, "*from the 1880s works of art were dispersed rather than collected.*"² Again this supports the choice of the chronological style which has been adopted and highlights the fact that a subject approach would, in fact, lead to a very similar arrangement for the historical research. As well as being the most recent significant element within the field of country house libraries it is also one of the over-arching elements of this research and it is, therefore, important to signpost it here at the very beginning. The destruction of country house libraries is an omnipresent element to this research. Not only does it feature strongly (and inescapably) in the historical work but it also features prominently within the contemporary study and is, in many respects, it is the *raison d'être* of the research. It is the fact that so many collections have been destroyed, for whatever reason, that the final element of this work, the construction of a national heritage policy for the survival of collections, is necessary.

Collectively, these objectives provide for an examination of the nobility in terms of their intellectual and bibliographic interests and pursuits. It traces the origins for collecting and attempts to analyse the reasons for it. It highlights the early collectors and then discusses the most important trends in collecting throughout the centuries as well as analysing the social function of the country house library. What is discussed in following chapter is a brief overview of the aristocracy itself while in Chapter III this is expanded to provide a better understanding of the history of country house libraries. Neither section is intended to be merely narrative about specific works in specific collections, which would require a vast work in itself. The early introduction of the sociological model, (Thompson's Inner Social Pyramid of the Landed Interest see Chapter II) attempts to ensure that the work is set within its proper context of social, cultural, economic and political change insofar as they affected the country house library. Having said that, this is very definitely not a discussion of the social position and hierarchy of the aristocracy which simply provide background to the focus of this research. Nevertheless, other aspects of their position and situation do, through necessity, creep in. Sociological models cannot function properly, nor can they underpin specialised research, without occasional mention of factors not directly related to the subject in question. In this chapter external pressures such as land value, the Industrial revolution, political upheavals and war all make fleeting appearances. Where these do appear they are related to the position of both aristocrats and their collections. There is always a link between wider, external factors and those inherent to the group itself and, consequently, neither can be examined in isolation.

Creation of a National Heritage Policy

The final objective of the research - to define the aims and objectives necessary for the creation of a national heritage policy for country house libraries - is, in fact, the principal ongoing theme of the research and may, indeed, be said to be the most significant overarching concept. The continuous thread of this aim can be seen throughout the entire research. However, it may seem, on first inspection, that it is least

transparently so in the historical sections. Consequently, it is necessary to reinforce here the vital nature of the historical research. The academic Simon Ditchfield,³ amongst others, believes that heritage is actually applied history and certainly without historical actions and events heritage is a fairly indistinct concept. The inheritance of today does rely on the activities of the past and to that end the understanding of the past can be the only sure mechanism for the protection of its legacy.

The policy recommendations reflect the dominant themes which emerged in the surveys, interviews and visits. Unsurprisingly, particularly crucial are the issues of access and funding. The discussion of the heritage policy is located within Chapter Seven of the main text while the summative policy recommendations themselves are located as a independent document at the commencement of Volume Two. This is an almost inevitable result of any research into privately owned cultural heritage. To a certain extent, however, it is interesting to note that, although these are pre-eminently important issues both in the overall heritage policy environment and in terms of the internal management dimension, there is a marked tendency to separate and, in some cases, totally divorce, the two concepts. At the heart of the discussion of access lies the distinction which exists between general and intellectual access. This distinction is becoming increasingly important in terms of cultural heritage and particularly that which remains in private hands. Recently, the Heritage Lottery Fund has recognised this distinction but, more importantly, it has embraced the fact that intellectual access is, by its very nature, a limitation but that is not necessarily a bad thing. Intellectual access implies a more sophisticated form of access, in other words allowing some to actually consult the material in a collection.

The move away from general access has been welcomed as adopting a more realistic and pragmatic approach. This has particularly important implications for country house libraries. The majority of country houses have practised something like this for decades, indeed, in some cases since libraries were founded. However, the important factor is that heritage bodies are coming to recognise this. In terms of country house libraries this is important because it sees these organisation come more into line with what has been happening in special or rare library collections in other sectors for many years. In most cases, general or unrefined access to the room for the visitor is always going to be adequate but with the increased profile of intellectual access, the mechanism for more sophisticated access become more important.

Summary

This research is fundamentally about two things: the historical development of collections and the approaches likely to ensure their survival. In the first regard, much has been written over the last twenty years about the social history of the country house but, as Mark Girouard has pointed out in *Life in the English Country House*, no one work will ever be capable of entirely explaining them. Consequently, every new contribution to their study adds a little to the received knowledge of them. That is, essentially,

what the historical research does. It adds to the knowledge of libraries and in so doing adds a little to the study of houses themselves. The approaches to ensure their survival embrace the recent mania for the 'preservation of the national heritage'. All too often this task is viewed in absurdly general terms with others being left to fill in the gaps. Owners are lauded for maintaining their house but sometimes too little thought is given to the strategies which they must employ to do that. The practical policy recommendations seek to fill a glaring vacuum but they also seek to provide a much-needed explanation of what 'preservation of the national heritage' actually means, at least with regard to country house libraries.

Notes and Sources

¹ Biographical details of all deceased collectors and others mentioned incidentally in the text (excluding authors) can be found in Appendix I.

² Cannadine, David. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990. p89.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

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"You should study the Peerage, Gerald...It is the best thing in fiction the English have ever done"

Oscar Wilde, *A Woman of No Importance*, 1893

Introduction

*"What were country houses for?"*¹ This is the question with which Mark Girouard begins his pioneering work *Life in the English Country House*, arguably the first serious attempt at a social rather than architectural or dynastic history of the country house. It is indeed pertinent to ask the same question here with the supplementary one, what were country house libraries for? Dr Girouard suggests that it is easier to identify what country houses were not - namely just large houses in the country in which rich people lived. Rather they were *"power houses - the houses of a ruling class...the house of a squire who was like a little king in his village and ran the county in partnership with his fellow J.P.s at quarter sessions"*.² He also points out that people did not live in country houses unless they possessed power or were, at least, making a bid to gain power of some description. What is clear is that these houses existed not in isolation; they were the houses of a ruling class. Collectively, they formed a network of those who held power either locally or nationally. This highlights the importance of the people who occupied them; not simply rich people living in the country but *"the dominating class [who] ran the country"*.³ All of these houses were created to suggest the status of their owners: *"trophies in the hall, coats of arms over the chimney-pieces, books in the library and temples in the park could suggest that he was discriminating, intelligent, bred to rule and brave"*.⁴ Country houses were not just power houses of the aristocracy, they were symbols of the wealth and status of their inhabitants.

In order to comprehend the motives for the development of country house libraries it is necessary to define, analyse and understand these two essentials: the power houses and the ruling class. Firstly, it is vital to understand the people; who they were, why they had arrived at the status they enjoyed and, secondly, why they created these houses and why they filled them with works of art and antiquity and, above all as far as this work is concerned, with books. As a ruling class, the aristocracy was not *"of course, dominant in every one of the varied aspects of economic, administrative, social, religious, literary and artistic activity which go to make up the life of the nation, for to that it has never aspired and for that it was never qualified. In politics, church and army, however, and in society as we see it defined in those newspaper columns which deal with the daily lives of the great, England remained down to 1914, or more precisely until 1922, not*

merely an aristocratic country, but a country of a landed aristocracy". ⁵ Yet in all of the fields mentioned above the hand of the ruling class can be seen to varying degrees at some time or another.

This work focuses on the history and development of country house libraries and in developing methods by which they can be preserved and maintained for the future. Initially it relies on relevant literature covering the topic, which has been retrieved and collated into a coherent historical account of country houses, owners as well as their library and book collections from the mid sixteenth century. These aims are supplemented by the need to examine the culture of the country house, in its broader sense, requiring the examination and analysis of country houses and their collections and the role which they have to play as cultural entities as well as of the disintegration of heritage and the resulting diminution of culture. In order to attain this understanding the historical research follows what Michael Hall has called, sound chronology. Chapters one and three particularly adhere to this concept, not to create a historical pageant but because these aims and objectives largely follow a chronological pattern. The aristocracy had to develop sufficiently in order to create houses and libraries before a role in the cultural aspirations of the nation could be created for them. More significantly, these aspirations eventually, chronologically, developed into an over-zealous mania which resulted in the destruction of so many country houses and the break-up of their collections. Whether development is good, bad or indifferent is irrelevant, but it is chronological and, consequently, so too is the narrative.

Origins of Aristocracy

What is the aristocracy and where does the British aristocracy come from? It is, of course, impossible to give a definitive answer to such a question. The word aristocracy itself comes from the Greek and means literally 'government by the best'. The semantics of the term may be easy but, in truth, the origins of the aristocracy cannot be simply and neatly packed into easily identified compartments. As Bence-Jones and Montgomery-Massingberd point out, "*in the British Isles 'the aristocracy' and 'the nobility' do not necessarily mean the same thing*". ⁶ The term '*nobility*' is taken to mean only one small group of the aristocracy, namely the peerage. ⁷ This has led to a fictitious division of the aristocracy into the nobility on the one hand and the gentry on the other. The generic term *aristocracy* includes the titled nobility (perceived to be the Peerage) as well as the gentry (or untitled aristocracy). The Baronetage occupy "*an uncomfortable no-man's-land in between*." ⁸ They should be mere gentry but, thanks to the publishers of reference works, they have come to be regarded as an appendage to the nobility. The aristocracy is a largely undefined element in British life, yet the (titled) nobility (i.e. the Peerage) is a legal institution enshrined in law and in the Constitution, while the aristocracy taken as a whole includes a great many other families whose legal position is no different from anyone else in these islands.

Reference works which have, for upwards of two centuries, concerned themselves with the aristocracy have contributed to the general confusion. The publishers of these works, most notably Burke, Debrett, Lodge and Dod, have continuously brought out works such as *The Peerage and Baronetage*, thus creating the idea of the titled nobility as a single entity and raising the Baronetage to the upper strata of the aristocracy. They have further polarised the aristocracy by creating companion volumes for the untitled aristocracy (i.e. the aristocracy who do not belong to the nobility).⁹ However, these volumes, particularly *Burke's Landed Gentry*, have as their *raison d'être* the fundamental law of aristocracy, namely that "*land is the bedrock of the aristocratic life.*"¹⁰ In that, at least, they were correct. Another problem results from the fact that all of these terms appear to be interchangeable. The nobility can be described as the titled aristocracy while the gentry can equally, if somewhat inaccurately, be described as the untitled nobility. The only steadfast term is that of the Peerage, which describes a specific entity. However, today the Peerage has become the synecdoche for the entire aristocracy as the gentry declines in the public consciousness.

Social Hierarchy

In order to make sense of this undefined element it is necessary to examine the aristocracy in terms of a model. The concept of aristocracy (often something quite indistinct) is conferred by birth. In the British Isles this hierarchy has been evident for at least one thousand years, since the time of the Conquest. The fundamental model around which understanding of the aristocracy can be centred was defined by F.M.L. Thompson in his *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Essentially the model he uses was limited to the structure of landed society but in reality it goes far beyond that. Thompson states that "*the landed classes themselves formed an inner social pyramid within the structure of society at large, and here also the relation between the parts, were moulded and re-moulded by the forces of ideas and economic change.*"¹¹ Lawrence Stone, author of *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, has also noted this interpretation of the aristocracy. Writing of the Peerage, Stone notes "*the titular peerage formed the top layer of this hierarchical, pyramidal structure.*"¹² and demonstrates his belief in the constant remoulding of this hierarchy when he says "*it has been the readiness of the landed class to accept on equal terms wealth from any source at one generation's remove which has given the...social framework its remarkably stability*".¹³

However, others, notably the father of sociology, Max Weber, have not accepted this view which in some respects appears to be simplistic. Although Weber, like Karl Marx, accepted that class is founded on economic conditions, he believed that there were a greater number of factors which were important in the formation of class structures. Weber identified one of these factors as *status* which he used to refer to the social honour or prestige which groups within society are accorded. He argued, unlike Stone and Thompson, that such distinctions may operate and, more importantly, be sustained independently of perceived social hierarchies or class divisions. Weber also believed that status or social honour could be

either negative or positive. In terms of this work it is interesting to highlight one of the examples which he chose. Genteel poverty, for example, refers to the high status which is accorded to those from traditionally aristocratic backgrounds who continue to enjoy significant social advantage in spite of losing their fortunes. On the other hand, new money may be looked down on. To a certain extent, Weber has identified the heart and soul of the credo of the British aristocracy: status counts, often independently of economics. Weber, Stone and Thompson all agree that economic factors cannot be the sole determinant of class.

Whether society is formed along the lines of Weberian theory or is more akin to Stone and Thompson is largely irrelevant. What is more important is the fact which they all acknowledge, namely that an elite class or hierarchy exists. In Great Britain that elite results in around six per cent of the population consistently maintaining around sixty-five per cent of personal wealth in the country.¹⁴ Similarly, however, within the nobility there were subdivisions and groups, many of which fulfil the criteria of *status* which Weber defined. Although writing about England in 1641, Stone could have been discussing any part of the British Isles at any time in the last five centuries when he highlighted that "*there were 121 peerage families and there were probably another 30 or 40 upper gentry families who were as rich as the middling barons and richer than the poor ones.*"¹⁵ Equally, there were rich families who never received titles, poor men who did and formerly rich old families who became poor.¹⁶ Here Stone is highlighting the importance of social honour and status as well as economics and is, consequently, not very far removed from Weber. Collectively, this highlights the constant and pragmatic remoulding of the aristocratic hierarchy according to the times. *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis* (times change and we change with the times) could indeed be said to be the motto of the British aristocracy throughout the ages. It also demonstrates the fact that there have always been vertical sections within and overlapping the traditional horizontal layers of landed society and that only the sum of economics and status can define the nobility and aristocracy.

It is the relationship between the parts of this social hierarchy which is important in terms of this work. Being titled and being aristocratic are not the same thing. The aristocracy has always been split into what is known as *nobilitas maior* and the *nobilitas minor*. The peerage, those bearing *hereditary* titles, namely Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts and Barons, were viewed as the *nobilitas maior*.¹⁷ Some traditionalists have always been immune to the idea of readily accepting new money and they might well have argued that there are significant numbers of the Peerage who were not aristocratic at all and owe their status to thoroughly ignoble pursuits. On the other hand, the *nobilitas minor* comprised the Baronets, Knights-of-the-Shires and the Gentry. Stone eloquently summed this division up by saying "*one was the flower, the other the root.*"¹⁸ Consequently the aristocracy included the majority of Peers and Baronets but it also incorporated the untitled nobility, affectionately known as the *squirearchy* or, in Scotland the

lairdarchy.¹⁹ These terms represents the 2,000 or so families who either own or have owned landed estates, often for many generations, but who seldom, if ever, acquired titles or as Simon Winchester describes it "*the fiddle-faddle of the noble art*".²⁰ The gentry's lack of distinctions has been a source of disappointment to some: "*It seems a pity, lamented Burke's Landed Gentry in 1883, that so important an hereditary order should possess no designating mark of distinction*"²¹ However, these synthetic divisions by manufactured rank mask an important fact, namely that there was an equally important division according to wealth.

Warrior Knights

It is a common misconception that the aristocracy, both titled and untitled, is of largely Norman origin. In England it is true that the two centuries after the Conquest were dominated by nobles who were predominantly of Norman origin. However, many of these families died out and were later replaced by native families. Relatively few members of the aristocracy can trace an unbroken line from the times of the Conquest. Some families, of course, do have an unbroken line of descent from the Norman Knights of 1066, and as often as not these families are represented in the higher reaches of the Peerage. The Fitzalan Earls of Arundel and the Courtenay Earls of Devon are prime examples amongst the titled nobility, while the Le Stranges of Old Hunstanton are a prime example from the untitled landed gentry. Indeed the Courtenays even supplied Emperors to Byzantium and, according to Sanford and Townsend in their *The Great Governing Families of England*, (1865), "*there is no pedigree in England - and very few in Europe which can vie with the Earls of Devon - and, unlike most it is not of heralds' manufacture.*"²² Numerous families can also trace distaff descents from the Norman nobility; for example, the Beauclerk Dukes of St Albans proudly proclaim their descent in the female line from the de Vere Earls of Oxford by ensuring that every member of their noble line includes de Vere as their last Christian names. However, there are also a tiny handful of families which can claim descent from the old Anglo-Saxon nobility, most notably the Wake Baronets of Courteenhall who descend from Hereward the Wake. The stranglehold of the Normans was never complete nor was it absolute.

Yet the concept of a Norman nobility is an anathema to much of Scotland and Wales. Few of the great dynasties in these parts of Great Britain can claim descent from Norman warriors and even fewer would wish to do so. In Scotland, in common with the other Celtic fringes of Britain, the nobility takes on a completely different character. The great chieftains are predominantly of Celtic origin, for example the Lords MacDonald, the Dukes of Argyll. In Ireland the descendants of the ancient High Kings have been successfully incorporated into the Nobility with the elevation of the O'Briens and the O'Neills to the Peerage and with the incorporation of families such as the O'Conors into the landed gentry, although they never sought entry into that much-maligned group called the Ascendancy. However, many Norman knights formed the core of the Ascendancy in Ireland; the FitzGerald, the Butlers, the de la Poërs and so

on all became cornerstones of the Irish nobility.²³ These families were later supplemented by imports from Scotland. Planters such as the Hamiltons and Conynghams settled mainly in Ulster and soon became central players in the aristocratic life of Ireland.

In England it was under William I that the feudal system became established and was gradually strengthened under his successors. It was out of this feudal structure that the English and later the British aristocracy grew. All land was held in tenancy from the King whose obligation it was to maintain law and order and ensure the peace of the realm. The tenants were obliged, as peers, to fight for the King when the need arose and to attend upon the King's court. These chief tenants granted sub tenancies to their followers who were then bound to the Lord in much the same way as the Lords were bound to the Sovereign. These chief tenants were primarily Barons and Earls. The title of Duke was introduced only in 1337, that of Marquess in 1385 and that of Viscount as late as 1440. In general, however, the title of Duke was restricted to the Blood Royal. Throughout this period the nobility in England was an entity very much connected with the old-fashioned ideas of chivalry and valour. On the whole it was an odd assortment of individuals connected, in one shape or form, with the Royal House. In much the same way, libraries were later established by men who were an integral part of the Court or of the Royal House. This, more or less, remained the case until that defining moment, the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485, when it can be argued that the old, noble England died. With the advent of the opportunistic House of Tudor the character of the English nobility changed. The new Royal House was eager to reward people who in some way reflected the origins of the Tudors themselves. In many cases that meant the new class of people whose origins lay not with crusading knights but with county merchants.

From Chivalrous Atavism to Merchant Meritocracy

This movement away from a culture of chivalrous atavism to one of merchant meritocracy began to recognise the foundations which had been laid in the fourteenth century by wealthy merchants. One such merchant was Stephen Russell of Weymouth in Dorset, whose family had been Marshals of the King's Buttery. Although he came from a well-connected family, Stephen was a self-made man who served as Bailiff of Weymouth and made his money as a shipowner.²⁴ Arthur Foss has said "*the history of the Russells is acknowledged as the cleverest in Europe*".²⁵ This can be amply demonstrated by the fact that Stephen Russell, not content with his merchant status, reinforced his position by marrying the heiress of an old Norman family, the de Blynchesfields. Through this alliance, Stephen secured his status and established a dynasty which, in the succeeding generations, became Earls of Bedford. The first Earl did extremely well out of the Dissolution of the Monasteries and acquired both the Abbey of Tavistock, in Devon, and the Abbey of Woburn in Bedfordshire. With these acquisitions the stage was set for further advancement. The guarantee of power was land and through the Dissolution of the Monasteries hundreds of hitherto wealthy merchant families seized the opportunity to buy the one commodity which could ensure

social status and assist advancement. For the Russells it was only a matter of time before the Earls became Dukes and constructed for themselves a great palace at Woburn as their principal seat.

Likewise, Sir William Cavendish, the heir to the Lordship of Cavendish in Suffolk, made his mark as Usher to Cardinal Wolsey, and had the good sense to marry one Elizabeth Hardwick, the daughter of an obscure Derbyshire squire. The Cavendishes claimed a descent from the Seigneurs of Gernon in France but this has never been proved. It was through the match of William and Elizabeth that the fortunes of this little-known Suffolk family changed. Elizabeth persuaded her husband to invest in acres of bleak land in the Peak district, upon which she built two houses. One was called Chatsworth and the other was called Hardwick. Elizabeth, immortalised in history as Bess of Hardwick, went on to marry two more husbands, the final one being George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and one of the wealthiest men in the Kingdom. Within a century of the deaths of William and Elizabeth, the Cavendish family had acquired the Dukedom of Newcastle and the Dukedom of Devonshire, and so the latter continues to this day.

What these two families represent is the impossibility of compartmentalising the origins of the British aristocracy. Bence-Jones and Montgomery-Massingberd highlight this when they say that the aristocracy has *"managed to avoid becoming a closed corporation, and has always recruited itself from outside"*.²⁶ By the seventeenth century many of the most noble families in England owed their origins to Medieval merchants, not to Norman knights. As Stone put it: *"unattractive though it may be to those with romantic illusions about rank and title, it has been the successful fusion of new blood, new wealth, and political careerism that has given the peerage its remarkably capacity for survival."*²⁷ The origins of the aristocracy had indeed changed but this change was essentially superficial. New blood and new wealth still relied upon land for entry to the aristocratic structures of society. Throughout history it is fair to say that if new money is judiciously managed then it will, in time, become old and established; indeed that is the story of much of the British aristocracy. Each of these individual family paradigms are essentially the same, in terms of the story they tell, throughout British history up until the early years of this century.

Monastic Lands and Merchant Princes

It was the Dissolution of the Monasteries, in which vast tracks of monastic land became available, which allowed these new, self-made men to gain access to the aristocracy, because it was only through the possession of land that wealth and status could be guaranteed. It was one of the most significant examples of the remoulding of the social pyramid amongst landowners and, consequently, the aristocracy remoulded themselves by accepting the entry of these new merchant princes. Land was the essential pre-requisite for the acquisition of a peerage, and remained so until the beginning of the twentieth century. Mark Girouard wrote *"for centuries the ownership of land was not just the main but the only sure basis of power. Both power and money could be acquired by other means: by trade, by commerce, by fighting, by useful services*

to the government or by personal services to the king or queen. But money unsupported by power was likely to be plundered, power based only on personal abilities was at the mercy of time and fortune, and the power to be won through trade and commerce was limited. Until the nineteenth century the wealth and population of England lay in the country rather than in the towns; landowners rather than merchants were the dominating class". ²⁸

The Dissolution of the Monasteries was remarkable not only for the changes in the landed structure and the origins of the nobility, but also for the change in the pyramid of domestic architecture. As with learning, spectacular architecture had been regarded as a province of the church. ²⁹ However, many of the new men and women on the landed scene wished to proclaim their power and wealth by building spectacular country seats. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I the concept of the country house began to emerge and before long had replaced fortified manor houses and castles as the main residence of the aristocracy. The beauty of domestic architecture as typified by houses like Oxburgh or Igham Mote was replaced with the stately power of Longleat or Burghley. As John Julius Norwich has said, *"for a great potentate a small house was unimaginable."* ³⁰ Consequently, the new grandees such as William Cecil built immense houses as a symbol of their power. Indeed Burghley, the house which Cecil built for himself, became so important in his general scheme of things that later, when he was ennobled, he took the name of the house for himself, becoming Lord Burghley. James Lees-Milne defined three categories of country houses: *"the house created by a great man; the house which became the retreat of a great man; and the house which created a great man."* ³¹ Burghley is one of those rare houses which fits into all three categories.

Power Houses

As aristocracy was bound to the land - *"part of his nature through the ages"* ³² - the focal point of their lives were the houses on their estates. This inevitably meant that the British aristocracy lived out much of their lives in the country rather than at Court or in the towns as was the case on the continent of Europe. In Britain the term *great house* is synonymous with that of *country house*. This is in direct contrast to continental Europe where the nobility, particularly the French, tended to gravitate towards the Court and the cities. ³³ The ownership of a country property was not merely a retreat or a source of income for British aristocrats, it was the place they regarded as home. Consequently, as has been said earlier, Mark Girouard has rightly argued that country houses were never just large houses where rich people lived, they were very definitely *"power houses - the houses of a ruling class...they were the seats of greater or lesser magnates whose power was based on land."* ³⁴

Even in the mid-seventeenth century rank alone counted for nothing. The bastard sons of King Charles II were all granted Ducal titles but that was not sufficient. Each of these Ducal progeny had to be supported with estates and sinecures; so Euston became the seat of the Graftons and Goodwood the seat of the

Richmonds. When, after the Revolution of 1688, King William III sought to honour his Dutch favourites, Arnold Joost van Keppel and Hans Willem Bentinck, it was not enough to make them Earls of Albemarle and Portland respectively, they had to be given grants of land in addition to their titles.³⁵ Portland received the Honour of Denbigh, but Parliament decided it was too generous a gift and revoked it.³⁶ Indeed, so extensive were King William III's grants that the House of Commons decided that the estates should not pass to private individuals but be maintained for national purposes.³⁷

The incorporation of people such as Keppel and Bentinck has led some to consider that the British peerage was open to virtually anyone. This is, however, not the case. Both of these men came from the aristocracy in the Netherlands. Thompson has pointed out that *"historians have tended to imagine that there was greater degree of fluidity in the peerage and landed aristocracy in Great Britain than in other continental countries."*³⁸ In Britain it was easy to join the aristocracy but difficult to get a title, while abroad it was difficult to join but, once there, it was relatively easy to get a title. It is true that the British peerage never required stringent guarantees such as the system of sixteen quarterings which was used in many European countries, but when King James I introduced the Baronetage as a means of making money in 1611 he ensured that it was only open to gentlemen whose arms had been borne for at least three generations. This perceived fluidity was essentially a mirage, as Thompson goes on to point out: *"it remained the theoretical privilege of the Sovereign to confer titles on whomever he or she pleased, and in whatever numbers he or she thought fit. However, in practice it was difficult to be elevated without secure independent means which were essentially a pre-requisite for an hereditary peerage right up until the beginning of this century."*³⁹ As Girouard pointed out, *independent means* was effectively a euphemism for *land*.

The Most Visible Contribution to European Civilisation

The seventeenth century witnessed the beginning of a country house revolution with the early stages of the classical movement. However, it was in the eighteenth century that country houses became a synonym for elegant, refined living. The Baroque had drastically redefined the style of the time, but it was the extraordinary revival of Palladian architecture in the early 1700s which helped make country houses *"our most characteristic visible contribution to the riches of European civilisation."*⁴⁰ Palladianism vigorously attacked the flowery Baroque of Wren and Vanbrugh and replaced it with a cool, elegant simplicity. Palladian architecture was boosted by the publication, in 1715, by Colen Campbell of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and by the work of the most remarkable double-act of cultural history, that of Lord Burlington and William Kent. In time the theories of Palladianism spread throughout the country house world. Men such as Capability Brown came along to transform the natural environment; to make it complement the built one. As James Lees-Milne pointed out *"quite apart from its size it was noticeably different from its neighbours in that its carefully groomed elevations and sprucely mown lawns radiated a beneficent well-being denoting authority and ease."*⁴¹

It was this sense of authority and ease which led to the belief in the supreme prestige of nobility. In the early eighteenth century there was an attempt to limit the Peerage and make it a closed entity. However, the ill-fated attempt by Earl Stanhope and the Earl of Sunderland to turn the peerage into a legally exclusive and limited club was never repeated after the failure of the Peerage Bill in 1719.⁴² The failure of this bill ensured that the change in the ancestral structure of the titled nobility became more pronounced. Perhaps the zenith of this, in the pre-Pitt days, was when Sir Jacob de Bouverie was elevated to become Viscount Folkestone, on 29 June 1747. The new Viscount was the son of one Sir William de Bouverie, whose lineage was essentially Flemish and who was, according to Burke, *"an eminent Turkey merchant."* However, despite ennoblements such as de Bouverie, the Peerage (as opposed to the Landed Gentry) remained, as Thompson points out, *"at a fairly constant size (less than 200 from the Revolution until the time of Pitt the Younger)"*.⁴³ The principal reason for this was the fact that land generally descended with the family title and thus the source of power remained in tandem with the symbols of it. Thompson takes this one stage further as justification for aristocracy in Britain being a class rather than a caste: *"Primogeniture ensured that the nobility never became a caste in England as they did in other countries. Estates, properties and titles were not distributed amongst all heirs, only the eldest."*⁴⁴ In other countries the reverse accounted for the vast size of the nobility. At a time when Britain had only 19 dukes, 3 marquesses and a total of 152 earls, viscounts and barons, Naples had 119 princes, 156 dukes, 173 marquesses and several hundred counts. The distribution of land led to the distribution of titles but, in Britain, the creed of primogeniture ensured that this seldom, if ever, occurred.⁴⁵

Plebeian Aristocracy and Patrician Oligarchy

The scale of creations rapidly accelerated under Pitt the Younger. During his time in office, from 1784 until 1801, there were fifty-one new creations and sixty-six promotions. Almost a century later Disraeli lamented that Pitt had *"created a plebeian aristocracy and blended it with a patrician oligarchy."*⁴⁶ The reaction to the elevations made by Pitt was led by that patrician oligarchy who developed a desire *"to see themselves adequately differentiated in style from the newly ennobled"*.⁴⁷ Pitt believed that anyone worth £10,000 a year was worth a peerage. He is alleged to have given his banker, Robert Smith, a peerage rather than give him the privilege of riding through Horse Guards.⁴⁸ Pitt, with his liking for a good balance sheet, had a particular liking for ennobling bankers. Smith was not the only one ennobled; it was under the Younger Pitt that the Baring family started their collection of Peerages. It was just this sort of activity which appalled Disraeli: *"He made peers of second-rate squires and fat graziers. He caught them in the alleys of Lombard Street, and clutched them from the counting houses of Cornhill."*⁴⁹ Yet the ever romantic Disraeli was bewitched by the myth that the old nobility had unbroken lineages from great Medieval warrior knights.⁵⁰ Pitt's creations were in fact nothing new. It was another pragmatic modification of the social structure and yet another redefinition of the social pyramid.

The fluidity which Pitt created essentially stemmed from the huge size of the lesser landed families into which *arrivistes* could quite easily be accepted. He allowed them to be promoted further and also made it possible for a small number of pure *arrivistes* to climb higher to the middle ranking nobility, to the rank of Baron or Viscount. Yet throughout the eighteenth century and even throughout Pitt's time there was a pronounced distinction between the middle and upper nobility. This did not preclude intermarriage of course, but it could preclude advancement and did affect status. The chain reaction which Pitt started can be clearly seen by the change in the pre-occupations of families in the social pyramid during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Certain elements of the older nobility resented this flood of new peers. Two centuries later the changes were still lamented by some. Harold MacMillan warned an author that "*to write a book about the hereditary peers is a vulgar idea...the trouble with them is that so many are unspeakably middle class...Mr Pitt created scores of the fellows, many just too awful. To write about the Peerage is about as difficult as writing a book about everyone in England whose names begins with the letter G*".⁵¹

The old families began a rather weak attempt at damage limitation. However, they were not entirely successful, since several families who were commoners in 1784 had penetrated as far as earldoms fifty years later. The Lascelles, Pelham, Grey and Lambton families were all commoners in the eighteenth century but by the mid nineteenth they were Earls of Harewood, Yarborough, Grey and Durham. More importantly, however, there were significant numbers of the older nobility who conspicuously failed to attain higher rank.⁵² The fall-back position of the old nobility was an exercise in retrenchment. They began a drive to sort out the nobility into ranks proper to differing sizes of estates and degrees of general consequence. This led to the stifling rigidity of social class in the nineteenth century.⁵³

Jockeying for Position in the Ancestral Pecking Order

Whereas the first half of the eighteenth century had seen a rigid distinction *between* higher and lower ranks, especially when it came to advancement, the end of the century heralded a much weaker distinction between the traditional ranks of the pyramid. With Pitt's 'flooding of the peerage' the nobility, instead of being upper, middle and lower, began to merge into a homogenous whole, a bulwark against the vulgarity of the incomers. Origin became as important as rank. This attempt at homogeneity had its roots in the attempt to create respectable lineage from "*the crazy patchwork of the most diverse, and sometimes dubious, origins*".⁵⁴ This was a belated attempt to draw a distinction between themselves and the ever-growing number of new families who were gaining admittance to the aristocracy and increasingly the nobility. They could not stop the advance of the newcomers but they could differentiate themselves from them. The old nobility and gentry busied themselves with the "*internal jockeying for position in the ancestral pecking order*."⁵⁵ Genealogy was used as a means of distinction, as indeed it had been for centuries. Stone pointed out that "*genuine genealogy was cultivated by the older gentry to reassure*

*themselves of their innate superiority over upstarts; bogus genealogy was cultivated by the new gentry in an effort to clothe their social nakedness."*⁵⁶

It was the increased mobility in the social pyramid which led the traditional grandees and old aristocracy to wrap themselves in some romantic nostalgia of *nobility* and to create a society which was both 'upwardly mobile' and stiflingly rigid at the same time. Social rigidity was obvious right across society: as W.L. Burn noted, *"the Duke of Omnium and the small squire were half a world apart" and this was something that even the most ignorant patrician could scarcely fail to know*".⁵⁷ This was spurred on by the uncertainties unleashed by the Industrial Revolution which increased the number of self-made men who were acquiring the traditional attributes of gentlemen, namely land, rank and titles. By the nineteenth century it was much easier for men of trade to gain admittance to the aristocracy and to the nobility. Many of the nineteenth century creations owe their origins to the Industrial Revolution. *"Sykes of Sledmere from a merchant of Hull to landowner of the East Riding. Peel, Arkwright, Fielden and Strutt from cotton, Ridley, Cookson and Cuthbert from coal, Whitbread from brewing."*⁵⁸ In the two centuries since these families arrived on the scene they have collected estates and houses, baronetcies, baronies, viscountcies and Earldoms, county Lieutenancies and even Garters. Their origins may be well-known but they have been absorbed, like countless others before them, into the heart of the British aristocracy. Curiously, however, during the nineteenth century status became a much more potent symbol. Victorian Dukes were awesome individuals and society became bound by a more rigid social pecking order than ever before. Of course, land was still at the heart of it, but in those instances where there was a deficiency of landed estate, a peerage was an essential element in the retention of aristocratic status. Very occasionally, as in the case of de Lisle of Garendon or Legh of High Legh, possession of sound claims to really ancient descent might suffice by themselves, without any title.⁵⁹

A Pre-Eminent Status Group

Yet Thompson was correct in his assertion that *"the landed aristocracy has always remained a body wider in membership than the nobility"*.⁶⁰ Many families such as Cornish Bassets, Lancashire Blundells and Cliftons, the Lincolnshire Chaplins and Vyners and the Wiltshire Wyndhams remained honourably content with the rank of county family.⁶¹ As a result of this confused situation the new creations inaugurated a tendency towards a greater distinction between the two categories. The fortunes of families such as Lascelles and Pelham had their origins in trade, but yet they, like the traditional, older families, became inextricably bound to land. They saw themselves as magnates and their peerages were necessary to disguise the origins of wealth and to establish themselves at the highest possible levels. The prestige of British nobility, whether old or new, carried tremendous weight throughout Europe. *"As a status group, the British patricians were equally pre-eminent in continental terms. In France, titles had been abolished at the time of the Revolution, and were restored in the nineteenth century only for as long as the monarchy*

itself was restored: thereafter they had no legal existence, and lacked the legitimating influence of an hereditary sovereign." ⁶² In other parts of Europe titles were so widespread and easy to obtain that their prestige was severely diminished. The absence of primogeniture meant that *"in Prussia, there were already 20,000 titled families in 1800. In Russia some 20,000 ennoblements took place between 1825 and 1845, and in 1858 there were altogether 600,000 hereditary nobles. In Austria-Hungary, there were 9,000 ennoblements between 1800 and 1914, which brought the total patrician population of the Empire to 250,000."* ⁶³ Inevitably when compared with such large patrician classes elsewhere, the British peerage appeared small and select. Even including the landed gentry the aristocracy remained, as Cannadine noted, *"an astonishingly tight and tiny status elite"*. ⁶⁴

By the end of the nineteenth century the water had become very muddy. The titled nobility included many people without noble origins. Jokes circulated about the *Beerage* as an ever increasing number of brewers received Peerages. Doctors, engineers and civil servants were rewarded with titles. When Queen Victoria once remark that she liked Baronetcies, because they ennobled the middle classes without encumbering them with grand titles, she highlighted the vast changes in society and the vast changes within the social pyramid. Yet even the admission of men like Beaverbrook or Northcliffe only reinforced the time honoured remoulding of the social pyramid. Older families may not have liked it, but they knew that their own origins were not necessarily pure, so they reluctantly accepted every change in their society. As Thompson put it: *"the distinguishing mark of the English aristocracy was not its readiness to absorb newcomers and siphon off new wealth and talent as it arose, but acceptance and discharge of the authority and responsibility which absences of any apparatus of centralised administration left to them"*. ⁶⁵

The milieu of aristocracy maintained itself in spite of these constant changes. Thompson pointed out that *"the Duchess, her house party and her guests, of 1910 were superficially similar to their counterpart of 1790, but basically different"*. ⁶⁶ The First World War changed things again, and deference began to disappear. By the time the last truly Tory government (of Bonar Law) collapsed and the patrician Curzon was denied the Premiership in favour of the plebeian Baldwin in 1923, Britain had ceased to be an aristocratic country. The ritual of aristocracy continues but the substance has gone. In this century, hereditary peerages have generally been awarded to politicians and soldiers alone, and now even that trickle has dried up. Advancement amongst the older nobility ceased during the First World War. ⁶⁷ The House of Lords remains, but not for much longer perhaps. Many lines have become extinct, mirroring the fate of numerous country houses and their collections. Those that remain, however, have a new role as decorous parts of county life, maintaining, where they can, their houses and their unique collections. The aristocracy is an inheritance from the past and part of their role as we approach the second millennium is in preserving other parts of heritage which they have brought down through the centuries.

Summary

The status of the British aristocracy during the last thousand years has remained largely unaltered in spite of the economic changes which have occurred. During that period new money has eventually been accepted and, in time, its origins carefully obscured. The hierarchical pyramid may still exist in monetary terms but today the aristocracy are more interested in concealing rather than flaunting their wealth and many distinctly non-aristocrats are at least as wealthy. Their position at the upper echelons of society may interest the gossip columnists but it counts for little in the real world. In any case, society as the aristocrat used to understand it no longer exists. Today there is no rear-guard action to preserve themselves in some pre-eminent position. The aristocracy are, in the words of the Duke of Devonshire, "*a spent force*"⁶⁸ who have, in the words of the Marquess of Londonderry, "*had their day*".⁶⁹ Yet as long as birth counts for something then the aristocracy will survive and a title, house and estate will mean something. However, it is curious that modern media-led thinking seems to suggest that everyone is increasingly middle-class, the romantic aura of ancient titles and stately homes still remains.

More recently, the nobility and gentry have increasingly retreated to their country houses, those which still survive, and have returned to the land which is still largely the bedrock of their very existence. As the apparatus of the state has slipped from their grasp they have, by and large, adapted to this change by resuming, in many cases, worthy, if somewhat dull, country lives. Are country houses still power houses then? The answer must surely be no, or at least not in the conventional sense. They are no longer the houses of a ruling class but perhaps they are the ruling class of houses. Country houses are now appreciated more than ever for what they are aesthetically, artistically and culturally. They are, in many cases, the *crème de la crème* of what might be described as Britain's national heritage. To a certain extent, the aristocracy may be said to form part of that national heritage themselves, but for the most part, they are now content to be seen, very publicly, as the heroic guardians of that heritage. Their clever transformations from being the hate-figures of Lloyd George to valorous men and women who keep the roof on the most visible British contributions to European civilisation has displayed their remarkable ability to survive. Indeed the story of the British aristocracy is in fact the story of survival.

The historical research is, however, a pre-cursor to the study of the current situation within country house libraries. It should be seen in this light and, as this work progresses, emphasis shifts, subtly, from the essential historical context to the contemporary challenges and trends of modern management of country houses, their libraries and their unique bibliographic inheritance.

Notes and Sources

¹ Girouard, Mark. *Life in the English Country House*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980. p2.

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- ² *Ibid.* p2.
- ³ *Ibid.* p2.
- ⁴ *Ibid.* p3.
- ⁵ Thompson, F.M.L. *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963. p1. It would be more accurate to say Britain remained essentially aristocratic until 1923. This argument is borne out later in this chapter.
- ⁶ Bence-Jones, Mark and Montgomery-Massingberd, Hugh. *The British Aristocracy*. London: 1979. p1.
- ⁷ *Nobility* meaning those with the attributes of nobility, i.e. titles.
- ⁸ Bence-Jones, &c, *Op. cit.* p1.
- ⁹ A distinct contrast exists and must be noted between the highly objective Peerages and Baronetages and the subjective Landed Gentry.
- ¹⁰ Thompson, *Op. cit.* p1.
- ¹¹ Thompson, *Op. cit.* p2.
- ¹² Stone, Lawrence. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. p53.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* p53.
- ¹⁴ Personal wealth of the different sections of the population in Britain, 1987. *New Society*, 24 April 1987, p44.
- ¹⁵ Stone, *Op. cit.* p57.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.* p57.
- ¹⁷ The gulf between the various elements within both *nobilitas maior* and *nobilitas minor* goes to the heart of the usage of the social pyramid. Stone discusses it in Chapter One of his book.
- ¹⁸ Stone. *Op.cit.* p53.
- ¹⁹ See Innes of Learney, Sir Thomas. *Scottish Heraldry*. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1956. 2nd edition, for statistical evidence about the Scottish nobility.
- ²⁰ Winchester, Simon. *Their Noble Lordships: the hereditary Peerage today*. London: Faber and Faber, 1981. p43.
- ²¹ Cannadine, David. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990. p13.
- ²² Thompson. *Op. cit.* p26.
- ²³ The Irish Ascendancy (now more accurately the Descendancy) are worthy of a study of their own and are not within the scope of this work.
- ²⁴ *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, 1959*. London: Burke's Peerage, 1959. p188.
- ²⁵ Foss, Arthur. *The Dukes of Britain*. London: Herbert, 1984. p54.
- ²⁶ Bence-Jones, &c, *Op. cit.* p21.
- ²⁷ Stone, *Op. cit.* p59.
- ²⁸ Girouard, *Op. cit.* p2.
- ²⁹ Furtado, Peter et al. *The Country Life Book of Castles and Houses in Britain*. London: Guild, 1986. pp14-15.
- ³⁰ Private Source.
- ³¹ James Lees-Milne in Strong, Roy, et al. *The Destruction of the Country House*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974. p13.
- ³² Montgomery-Massingberd, Hugh. *Great Houses of England and Wales*. London: Laurence King, 1994. p9.
- ³³ In France, of course, the Court at Versailles was at the heart of aristocratic life and the châteaux became occasional retreats instead of principal residences.
- ³⁴ Girouard, *Op. cit.* p2.
- ³⁵ It is a misconception that Keppel and Bentinck formed a Dutch clique at King William III's Court. Although both favourites of the King, Bentinck and Keppel, in fact, hated each other.
- ³⁶ Turberville, A.S. *A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners*. London: Faber and Faber, 1939. Volume ii, p6.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.* p12.
- ³⁸ Thompson, *Op. cit.* p21. As Britain's nobility is quite unlike that in the rest of Europe, it is impossible to make comparisons between various countries. It is often said that the ranks of the British Peerage can be

equated to Continental ones; this is not the case because of the proliferation of titles in Europe. Only Dukes are roughly comparable across Europe. Problems arise with other ranks, for example a British Earl cannot be compared with an European Count although, on paper, they are in the same position in the hierarchy. Most significantly, however, those countries which had hereditary second chambers did not have an hereditary membership comprising the entire nobility. Hereditary membership of such diets (e.g. Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg and Hungary) was an additional honour, held on top of titles. Some differences, especially preoccupation with rank, are evident by comparing the standard British works such as *Burke* with European equivalents such as *Almanach de Gotha* or *Der Adel Österreichs* both of which are divided by rank into (i) Die Königlichen Häuser (ii) Die Standesherrlichen Häuser (iii) Die Fürstlichen und Graflichen Häuser. Similarly, the concept of morganaticism never took off in Britain.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p21.

⁴⁰ Christopher Hussey in Montgomery-Massingberd, Hugh. *Op. cit.* p1.

⁴¹ Lees-Milne, James. Landed Properties and Proprietors. (Essay in *Burke's Landed Gentry*. London: *Burke's Peerage*, 1965-72).

⁴² The Peerage Bill of 1719 attempted to limit the number of creations. The only other attempt at this appeared in the Act of Union (Ireland) 1800. Under the terms of the Irish Peerage Act (Act of Union), henceforward Peerages of Ireland could only be created if the extinctions of three Irish Peerages extant at the Union, were cited in the Letters Patent. Therefore it took the extinction of three old Peerages for the creation of a single new one. Consequently, relatively few new Irish Peerages were created after 1800, the last being the Barony of Curzon of Kedleston in 1898.

⁴³ Thompson, *Op. cit.* p21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p21.

⁴⁵ Bence-Jone, *Op. cit.* p21.

⁴⁶ Disraeli, Benjamin. *Sybil or The Two Nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. p39. *c.f.* Lacey, Robert. *Aristocrats*. London: Fontana, 1983. p107.

⁴⁷ Thompson, *Op. cit.* p13.

⁴⁸ Lacey, *Op. cit.* p108.

⁴⁹ Disraeli. *Op. cit.* p42 *c.f.* Lacey, *Ibid.* p108.

⁵⁰ Disraeli, with his notions of chivalry and lineage, had a particular passion for making territorial grandes cabinet ministers regardless of ability, especially if they were Dukes with an illustrious lineage. Robert Blake gives this as the reason behind Disraeli's appointment of the Duke of Northumberland to the post of Lord Privy Seal.

⁵¹ Winchester, *Op. cit.* p31.

Ibid. p14.

⁵² The older nobility were not nearly so successful in obtaining promotions as the newcomers were in achieving creations. The Bridgwater estates were devised upon Lord Alford with the proviso that he should attain the rank of Marquess or Duke within five years of his inheritance. Lord Alford, almost inevitably, failed to achieve this. In any case it was a ludicrous clause in Lord Bridgwater's will and was later overturned by the Courts.

⁵³ This led to the aristocracy in general and the old nobility in particular adopting a near caste-like attitude. One manifestation of this was the importance of marriage. The reasons for this, as Thompson (*Op. cit.* p19.) put it, were: "*Social compatibility, adequate provision for children and widowhood, desirable connections, advancement of family standing*". Perhaps the most outstanding example of this was the fate of the seven daughters of the 1st Duke of Abercorn, all of whom married Peers. Namely, Harriet to the Earl of Lichfield; Beatrix to the Earl of Durham; Louisa to the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry; Katherine to the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe; Georgiana to the Earl Winterton; Alberta to the Duke of Marlborough and Maud to the Marquess of Lansdowne.

⁵⁴ Stone, *Op. cit.* p23.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p23. This was common throughout Europe. See the chapter in Robert Lacey (*Op. cit.*) on the German Mediatized Princely House of Thurn and Taxis and the manufacture of their pedigree.

⁵⁷ Cannadine. *Op. cit.* p22.

⁵⁸ Thompson, *Op. cit.* p21.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p26.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p14.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p15.

⁶² Cannadine. *Op. cit.* p20.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p20.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p20.

⁶⁵ Thompson. *Op. cit.* p8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p8.

⁶⁷ Apart from the Creations of 1983-84 (Tonyandy, Whitelaw and Stockton) no non-Royal hereditary Peerages have been created since Margdale in 1964, the last significant promotion being the Earl of Aberdeen to Marquess in 1915. (Other promotions have taken place since, e.g. Halifax and Rochdale, but these were second or third generation peers whereas Aberdeen was seventh generation).

⁶⁸ Private Source.

⁶⁹ Private Source.

CHAPTER II

Methods and Approaches

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Science is nothing but trained and organised common sense, differing from the latter only as a veteran may differ from a raw recruit: and its methods differ from those of common sense only as far as the guardsman's cut and thrust differ from the manner in which a savage wields his club.

TH. Huxley, *Collected Essays*, 1893-94.

Introduction

In order for this work to be meaningful, it is necessary to outline clearly the methods which have been employed throughout the research. The purpose of the methodology chapter is to provide what Robert Yin calls "*the chain of evidence*"¹ It is fair to say that this thesis is primarily driven by the examination of the topic rather than by the use of ground-breaking methodologies. Nevertheless, the mechanics of how this work has been carried out are equally important as the what, when, where and why of the country house libraries themselves. Consequently, this chapter will deal with the methods and approaches adopted within this work.

Firstly, it is necessary, however, to provide a definition of research itself. Too often research within the field of library and information science can remain an obscure process. Peter Heron has pinpointed this crucial fact and has provided a definition of research. He states that "*research is an inquiry process that has clearly defined parameters and has as its aim the: discovery or creation of knowledge, or theory building; testing, confirmation, revision, refutation of knowledge and theory; and/or investigation of a problem for local decision making.*"² The term 'local decision making' may equally be substituted with the phrase 'research problem' or 'area of study'. In that sense, the defined parameters which Heron has identified may be said to be those by which this work, on country house libraries, has operated.

The methodology for this research, like the research itself, rests on four principal areas. These are:

1. the historical study
2. the examination of the current position
3. the identification of practice and strategies for progression
4. the construction of policy

Inevitably, the methods employed were used in conjunction with the aims and objectives as defined in the introduction; however, the methodologies reflect a broader, holistic approach in order to make the research something more than simply the sum total of its constituent parts. For that reason, this methodology chapter will examine the research holistically but within the context of the four identifiable sections mentioned above. This enables a broader examination than would be possible if each aim and objective

were taken in isolation. In order to understand the four broad areas it is necessary to identify how and where each of the individual objectives fits into these wider aims. In this chapter they are set out separately with relevant discussion of the methods employed to carry them out.

The Historical Study

The first broad aim of the work was to represent the entire history of country house libraries, within Great Britain and Northern Ireland, prior to 1 January 1997. This was achieved with reference to a number of more specific objectives. Firstly, by identifying all relevant literature covering the topic, and by retrieving and collating all documentation on the development of country house libraries, their owners and contents. Secondly, by synthesising these findings into a coherent historical account of country houses, owners and their library and book collections from the mid sixteenth century and setting them in the proper context of national heritage. Thirdly by examining the culture of the country house, in its broader sense. This examines and analyse country houses and their collections and the role which they have to play as cultural entities. Fourthly, by analysing the disintegration of heritage and the resulting loss and diminution of culture. This focuses on the destruction of the country house and the break-up of their collections. Collectively, these objectives form the historical study within the research as well as forming a chronological sequence which has been reflected in the actual narrative of the thesis. Michael Hall has highlighted in *Archival Strategies and Techniques* the strong importance of a sound chronology and this has been adhered to throughout.

Methods for the Historical Study

Lyn Gorman has pointed out that *"the historical method is often overlooked in qualitative research texts, it certainly embodies most of the characteristics of qualitative methodology"*.³ However, the historical approach to investigation is among the most established methods of research in many fields, including librarianship. It can be a crucial factor in attempting to analyse and understand human behaviour and organisations. This understanding is, to quote Gorman, *"the underlying raison d'être for qualitative research"*.⁴ History plays an important role within the organisation of a library or an archive. Yet it is not simply in terms of collection development, important though that element may be. All organisations which have evolved over a period of time are rooted in the realities of history. This is particularly true of country house collections which are essentially an historical legacy.

It was Gorman who also highlighted the fact that *"organisations exist in a historical continuum, so organisational case studies are both historical and qualitative"*.⁵ To understand anything it is necessary to understand the historical background and how it has changed over time. In reality this can best be done by an effective study of the historical sources which exist, combined with the knowledge of those who have witnessed the changes. The literary sources must be supplemented with other material, as often as not

interviews. Gorman identifies this by saying that the historical method can only function efficiently if it *"relies on documentary evidence plus first-hand observation"*.⁶ This concept may be said to be one of the central definitions of this research; the historical section deals with the documentary side while the contemporary elements rely on first-hand experience and observation. Gaye Tuchman has taken this one stage further by asserting that history is an absolute essential to all social science research, her basic premise being that all adequate social science includes a theoretical use of historical information. Any social phenomenon must be understood in its historical context.⁷

However, Tuchman's assertion has one major problem, namely the fact that historical enquiry is often seen as somehow divorced from social science. History is, as Gorman points out, often neglected in terms of qualitative texts because it cannot be neatly pigeon-holed in terms of its essential definition. John Tosh, in his book, *The Pursuit of History*, has pointed out that *"the truth is that history cannot be defined as either a humanity or a social science without denying a large part of its nature; history is a hybrid discipline valuable both for its own sake in its contemplation of the past and for its practical social role"*⁸ In some respects it is because of this hybrid role that history has such a wide variety of uses and possibilities. Fundamentally, however, it demonstrates the infinite variety of people and their achievements. Yet this hybrid nature can cause problems and result in historical investigation being viewed with suspicion as somehow distinct and separate. One of the most significant consequences of this hybrid nature of historical investigation is the fact that it is, essentially, best suited to hybrid research. Country house libraries offer that hybrid character for they require the examination of such diverse topics as history and culture, libraries and management, not to mention both public and private policy combined with a dash of politics.

Historical Research as a Gateway

Historical investigation is the only method by which it is possible to achieve an appropriate and realistic perspective, not only of the past but of how, collectively, we have arrived at the present. It also highlights what is, in Tosh's words, *"durable and what is transient or contingent in our present condition."*⁹ It is that sense which can be used successfully when estimating change. However, another important aspect is the ability which historical investigation possesses in terms of identifying myths which either distort or simplify the received wisdom about the past. Historical investigation must draw a distinction between history as 'what actually happened' and history as 'the collective representation of what happened'.¹⁰ Historical investigation is a gateway which leads not only to the past but eventually to the final destination of the present. Taking this gateway and following the historical path allows a more realistic understanding of that final destination.

In this research, historical investigation is evidently necessary and the strength of its function can be seen by the fact that it blends with other methodologies. It was O.L. Shiflett who most succinctly singled out the

importance of historical research within librarianship and information science and its suitability in terms of other, complementary methods. Writing in *Library Trends* in 1984, he said "*the role of historical study must be interactive with other forms of research. The very looseness of historical methods allows the historian to explore a vast number of problems that are approachable only in one or two aspects by other methodologies.*"¹¹

The fundamental difference between history and other methods is the fact that it is solely determined by the past. However, here it is necessary to restate what Tosh has highlighted as the difference between "*history*' as what actually happened in the past, and '*history*' as the representation of the past in the work of historians."¹² No historical investigation can recreate the circumstances of the past as is mentioned in the first sense. Consequently, this research, on country house libraries, is primarily concerned with the second, the written accounts which are the products of historians who work with evidence surviving from the past. That is not a pejorative admission for it is the lack of concerted information on the area of investigation which makes any research problem worth examining. This research is no different; from the very start of the research process it has been the obvious lack of data in any collected or analysed form which has suggested that the field does provide worthy scope for investigation.

Although sources may be uncollected they invariably exist for even the most obscure subject. Consequently, it is important to examine the relationship which exists between historians and their sources. The distinguished historian E.H. Carr noted in the early nineteen-sixties that "*history is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts*"¹³ Of course, there are many arguments about what exactly constitutes a 'historical fact' and whether or not it can exist without interpretation. Consequently, it is vital that there is constant interaction between the historian or researcher and the facts, not least in order to prioritise what is important and relevant and what is unimportant and irrelevant. Carr has said that this process is the "*unending dialogue between past and present*".¹⁴ Arthur Marwick has also noted this dialogue and has said that history is "*the interpretations of historians based on the critical study of the widest possible range of relevant sources, every effort having been made to challenge, and avoid the perpetuation of a myth*".¹⁵

Interpretation

In view of the importance of the interpretation of historical facts it is important to bear in mind that in all works, and this one is no exception, "*historians bring to historical research certain interpretative frameworks shaped by their own social and historical background. We do not study the past from a vacuum*".¹⁶ E.H. Carr also said that "*the historian does not exist who is unaffected by his upbringing and background*."¹⁷ Lawrence Stone¹⁸ has also emphasised that this particular statement is a universal truth of history. All researchers bring, either consciously or subconsciously, their own concerns and priorities to

the examination of the past. In this work, it is fair to say that awareness of personal preoccupations and preconceptions have been paramount. It is because of the need to ameliorate possible conflicts between personal subjectivity and the required objectivity that the harder analytical tools of surveys and questionnaires have been used at appropriate stages. However, it is still necessary to point out here in the methodology that this work, like all others which contain any historical investigation, must be viewed critically. Theoretical positions, prejudices, preferences, motivations are all inescapable in terms of what is examined, interpreted and omitted. However, as will be seen, these are in fact the raw materials for the creation of new interpretations.

These interpretations are critical because the researcher is unable to enter the world which he or she is examining. This is particularly true of the historical background to country house libraries. To a certain extent, history in this area is not so much a continuum as a legacy in the sense that collecting libraries is no longer an extant preoccupation, certainly not in the sense it was in centuries past. Today the process of maintaining what survives is the primary objective; owners are now curators and seldom collectors. The world of Lord Burghley or the Earl of Sunderland or the Duke of Roxburghe has vanished and cannot be recreated. Consequently, this research has focused on what Lyn Gorman describes as the *"best efforts to understand those subjects in the light of perspectives prevailing during the period under study"*.¹⁹

The historical research in this work has been conducted in the standard way by identifying and locating relevant sources; studying these sources, applying the critical method; interpreting the evidence found in these sources and by communicating the interpretation in written form. Here it is important to highlight the obvious distinction between primary and secondary sources. Similarly, however, a distinction must be made between what has become known as deliberate testimonies and accidental testimonies; in other words, those sources which set out from the start to provide an account and those which have, by chance, become relevant. This research was typical of most historical investigation; it took the customary, if apparently perverse, first step of consulting the secondary sources first and used them as the tool by which other, primary material could be located.

Critical Appraisal

The sources which were consulted reflected the research being carried out and also highlighted, as Lyn Gorman suggests all good sources should, the most effective methods by which they can be interrogated. In general, however, appropriate methods must be crucial to the understanding and use of sources. This is the essence of John Tosh's remark that *"all historical enquiry...must be conducted in accordance with the rigorous critical method which is the hallmark of modern academic history."*²⁰ Many of the most effective methods for the evaluation and interpretation of historical sources owe much to the German historian, Leopold von Ranke, whose methods for interpreting primary document sources have become

central to credible historical research. This piece of research has been based on the two varieties of critical appraisal of sources; external source criticism and internal source criticism. The former, as Tosh defines, "is concerned with establishing the authenticity of the document; the latter with interpreting its content".²¹ In terms of internal source criticism - the evaluation of the contents - it is possible to witness the convergence of basic historical methods and concept analysis, a more familiar social science technique.

Arthur Marwick has discussed the questions which must be answered in this process. Throughout the historical research these questions have been applied to the sources which have been identified and located as well as to the perceived 'historical facts'. Each source was analysed in terms of a brief checklist of questions:-

1. Is the source authentic? Is it what it purports to be?
2. Where did the source come from? What is its provenance?
3. When was the source produced? What is its date? How close is its date to the events related? How does it relate chronologically to other sources?
4. What type of source is it? (Private letter, official report etc.)
5. Who created the source? What were his or her attitudes, prejudices, vested interests? For what purpose was the source created? To whom was it addressed?
6. To what extent is the author in a position to provide first-hand information on the topic of interest to the historian? What is the role of hearsay?
7. How was the document understood by contemporaries? What exactly did it say?²²

The technique is self-explanatory and requires little amplification here. In any case the variety of source material used throughout this thesis has been extensive (as can be seen by the notes, references and bibliography).

Application of Techniques

Having identified the historical sources it was necessary to apply suitable and appropriate methods in order to obtain meaningful evaluation. Michael Hill, who produced a work entitled *Archival Strategies and Techniques* as part of the Qualitative Research Methods series, has noted that historical investigation should be based on sound chronology.²³ Although primarily concerned with the organisation of archival data in socio-historical research, the three strategies which he identifies hold good in the broader domain of historical investigation. Setting aside as irrelevant to this research his first and more general strategy, of spatiotemporal chronologies, his second, involving networks and cohorts (data on interpersonal contacts, intellectual influences, financial support, political action, organisations and affiliations), and his third, backstage perspectives and processes (involving information on motivation and personal preferences), can be seen as central to the historical investigation within this research.

The historical methods used for analysing and evaluating the evidence - both the networks and cohorts and perspectives and process - which the sources have revealed are quite distinct from the other methodologies used in the research. The historical section is not merely a preface to the current situation, it is a serious piece of research in its own right. Consequently, particularly rigorous use has been made of recognised historical research methodologies for this element of the research. As a result, it is a piece of focused historical research indicative of the whole picture, not merely a series of decorous family histories. The historical research is to ensure that the cart does not come before the horse. It, along with the survey evidence, ensures that conclusions are not drawn before the evidence is collected. This can be a real danger because of preconceived ideas about the society in question.

Prosopography

The historical investigation was primarily achieved using one of the most valuable and most familiar techniques of the research historian, namely prosopography. Put very simply prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. Lawrence Stone has emphasised that this method is employed to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions of the group. Prosopography may be used to determine a number of historical problems such as determining the roots of political action, social structure and social mobility as well as intellectual or religious movements - all areas also highlighted by Michael Hill as essential to attaining historical understanding. It is the intellectual movement which is of particular importance in terms of this work. Sir Lewis Namier, in his work on mid-eighteenth century British politics,²⁴ first highlighted prosopography in terms of family arrangements and kinship links as political bonds. This research has drawn out that method one stage further by allaying these arrangements and kinships not to political bonds but to intellectual pursuits as a means of identifying a common thread through the development of the country house library. Prosopography has a unique interpretative role to play in the analysis and understanding of the motives for collecting and the application of this technique is most clearly seen in this context in both Chapters Three and Four.

Prosopography is often called collective biography by modern historians, multiple career-line analysis by sociologists. Generally, however, the name prosopography, the preferred term of classical historians has come to represent the technique in all its different facets. Lawrence Stone succinctly described it thus: *"in the eyes of its exponents, the purpose of prosopography is to make sense of political action, to help explain ideological or cultural change, to identify social reality, and to describe and analyse with precision the structure of society and the degree and nature of the movements within it"*.²⁵ There are two principal branches of prosopography and the major contributors to this technique tend to fall into one or other of the categories. The first school of prosopography is centred around the elitist approach and is concerned with the interaction, in terms of family, marriage, and economic ties, of a restricted number of individuals,

usually a powerful elite within society. This version of the method relies on meticulously detailed investigations into genealogy, business interests and political as well as cultural activities. Here the method presupposes and, in the words of Stone, *"attempts to demonstrate the cohesive strength of the group in question, bound by common blood, background, education, and economic interests, to say nothing of the prejudices, ideals and ideology."*²⁶ The second school is centred around the more statistically orientated mass approach and is deliberately inspired by the techniques of the social sciences rather than those of the pure historian. The mass approach tends towards the belief that history is determined by the fluctuations in popular opinion rather than by elites or great men. It is their contention that human needs cannot be explained only in terms of money and power.

All pieces of individual research or investigation fall into one category or the other and the historical research within this work is elitist. The characters under investigation in the historical chapter form the aristocracy, arguably the most elite of the elite; they are bound by interaction amongst their own kind, in terms of family, marriage and economic ties. They form a restricted part of the population as a whole and they represent a powerful class within society. The historical research may be said to rest on an elitist elite because they are a basic elite in that they do not represent the whole population and they are a specific elite in that they are restricted in terms of their own membership. Having established the population to be studied it is much more important to understand how that group was examined and how prosopography as a method was employed in that analysis.

The elitist approach to prosopography is concerned with the interaction, in terms of family, marriage, and economic ties of a restricted number of individuals. Consequently, the three principal 'raw materials' of prosopography have been used in order to facilitate the historical research. These can be said to be *"bare lists of names and holders of certain offices or titles, or professional or educational qualifications; family genealogies; and full biographical dictionaries, which are usually built up in part from the first two categories and in part from an infinitely wider range of sources"*²⁷ in addition to regular use of works concerning cultural or intellectual movements. The collection of biographical material has existed much longer than prosopography as a method. Scholars, antiquarians and diligent clergymen have been producing biographical information for generations. As Stone pointed out the list of biographical material is almost endless; M.P.s, peers, baronets, gentry, archbishops of Canterbury, London clergy, national clergy, lords chancellor, judges, army officers, Huguenots, university alumni and so on. This type of material all rests on the theory of elite prosopography as all the groups form a single element bound together by common threads. Collectors of biographical material may resent Stone's assertion that they rank alongside collectors of butterflies and stamps but there is little doubt that they are just as obsessive. Part of the obsession stems from pride or affection in a particular institution, sect or corporation. However,

much of the passion for biographical material stems from the passion for genealogy and ancestor-hunting which has *"gripped large sections of the upper classes since the sixteenth century."*²⁸

The use of prosopography certainly highlights the evidence but it does not always explain the reasons or justifications behind perceived historical facts. Lyn Gorman has pointed out the necessity of cause and effect in terms of history. She wrote: *"the establishment of causative relationships is an important aspect of historical research; it is this that helps to make the past intelligible"*.²⁹ Consequently, it has been vital to ally prosopographical techniques with a sociological framework. The framework which was used to make sense of the evidence achieved in the historical investigation was defined by F.M.L. Thompson in his book *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Thompson states, *"the landed classes themselves formed an inner social pyramid within the structure of society at large, and here also the relation between the parts, were moulded and re-moulded by the forces of ideas and economic change."*³⁰ This framework for the aristocracy has, at its core, the benefit of being capable of re-interpretation to cover libraries themselves. It indicates that the nobility were constantly subject to social pressures which remoulded their environment and highlights the fact that the concept of ideological or cultural change has had profound implications for both the development and dispersal of libraries.

However, it is vital to be conscious of the two significant flaws in this prosopographical approach to historical research methodology. Firstly, as Stone points out, *"it is essentially static and descriptive, and is consequently ill adapted to explain change; but if history is not concerned with change, it is nothing"*.³¹ The response to that is the approach that the sociological framework brings in the theories of change and confusion and compels the historical narrative to confront aristocratic chaos. It provides, as Gorman notes, *"the ability to conceptualise and synthesis is essential to identify patterns and show relationships among past events"*.³² The second flaw is the reliance on family connections and business or political interests because archival material on these has generally survived. This approach, which Sir Lewis Namier made his own, presupposes that humans are fundamentally motivated by these factors. This theory takes no notice of the changes in structure, ideology, and environment. Again the sociological framework acts as a counterbalance to this trend in historical methods, by placing the focused research (the libraries) within the broader structure of the society. As Stone says, *"the life of no man can be fully understood without reference to the framework of institutions, traditions, and ideas within which it has been enacted"*

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In reality, however, the answer to both of these problems - and to almost any other complaint about an interpretation of history - lies in the hands of the historian. Investigation, analysis and evaluation are all vital but, as Gorman says *"imagination is always necessary in order to fill in the gaps left by the sources since they are always incomplete and fragmentary"*³⁴, otherwise history is simply the statistically

commonplace and, without, what Stone calls "*the wine of human personality*",³⁵ makes for dry and unpalatable reading. When Sir Herbert Butterfield protested to Namier that "*human beings are the carriers of ideas, as well as the repositories of vested interests*",³⁶ he was in fact highlighting a point which Lyn Gorman has recently reiterated, namely that "*empathy is important to enable the historian to look at events or issues from the perspective of people in the past and to identify prevailing value system*".³⁷ Prosopography was used to identify the population and the relevant evidence but, in the final analysis, the history of book collecting within the country house can only be measured effectively only in terms of human beings carrying particular ideas, as will be shown in Chapter III.

Study of Current Situation

The second major area of investigation, flagged at the start of this chapter, was the study of the current situation. Emphasis was placed on how collections had developed, who had collected them (both following on from the historical research) and whether or not they were actively being conserved. With regard to the last element, this stage did not seek to examine the precise details of conservation management, rather it examined the broader provision. An important overlapping feature is the dispersal of country house collections which continues and which, consequently, endangers bibliographic heritage. These elements were investigated by means of a nation-wide survey of houses and collections. In other words, the broad aim was identification of the present situation. Following on from the historical study, this aim highlights the fact that history is fundamentally a gateway to the understanding of the present and this aim may be said to represent the process of bringing history up to date.

It may be argued that postal surveys are not a particularly sound method for data collection because they can simply be disregarded by recipients or result in unsatisfactory and brief responses. However, it must be pointed out that the postal questionnaire was the only effective method by which data could be collected in the first instance. This is due to the large number of houses which required to be surveyed; visits to such a huge number would have been totally impossible. Whereas the historical research relies on surviving documentary evidence which is available to anyone who cares to examine it, this evidence does not afford us a glimpse into the position today. Much does survive and it is because of that survival factor that it has been necessary to acquire and present evidence on the current position which supplements the existing historical documentary material. The principal tool for acquiring and presenting the contemporary evidence has been the survey of country house libraries and book collections.

Objectives of the Survey

One of the primary justifications for describing country house libraries as unique (in terms of bibliographic heritage) is the fact that these collections are, by and large, the testimony of successive generations of a particular family. It is only in the private library that the family link is noticeable. The uniqueness of these

collections goes to the heart of this research. Another primary motivation is the fact that these collections are largely unknown to the world at large. In the past, studies of country house collections have limited themselves to a handful of houses, the corollary of which is the widely recognised need for a larger, more wide-ranging study to examine the group as a whole. However, in addition to the scholarly justification for the survey, it must be stressed that it was the most practical and most effective tool by which to inform this research about the state of collections at the end of the twentieth century. The survey sought to obtain quantifiable data from the questions it asked, but equally important were the attitudes (conscious or subconscious) which were conveyed in the responses. In many ways the latter give a better indication of the often elusive *interest* factor. Moreover, all of the objectives of the survey were not stated explicitly in the questions which were asked. For this reason it is important to demonstrate both the explicit and implicit objectives.

Explicit Objectives

The survey set out to establish a series of key points. These can be divided into explicit and implicit objectives. The explicit objectives centred around the individual collections themselves and the main function of the survey was to elicit basic data on what the collections contained; who the main collectors were; what, if anything, has been sold; the condition of the works, as well as testing the waters by asking basic questions about attitudes towards access and conservation, these latter elements being crucial to the work and to the methods of progression to later stages. Here, however, the questions were not in-depth on these topics because the survey aimed towards examining the current state of collections. The results of these explicit questions can be viewed individually in terms of one collection or as a whole in terms of the national picture. When assembled into a meaningful group and analysed in context both the survey itself and the results which it produced can be viewed in terms of more abstract and more implicit objectives.

Implicit Objectives

The implicit objectives of the survey are more difficult to define. In order to ensure that the survey was meaningful it was necessary to devise it with the broader landscape always in sight. The implicit objectives represent that broader landscape, and although they can only be clearly seen in the context of explicit data, they establish a foundation on which the wider picture can be seen. In order to understand the implicit objectives it is worth mentioning the recommendations of the Waverley Committee on the export of works of art. In 1952 that committee recommended that historical worth, aesthetic importance and educational merit should always be considered before the granting of an export licence for any work of art.³⁸ Thus the national interest in maintaining cultural heritage was succinctly defined. Despite the fact that the Waverley Committee reported more than forty-five years ago, their guidelines remain in place and are the only workable framework which is available. With those three tests in mind the implicit objectives of the survey considered three points:-

1. Are these collections so significantly associated with our historical and cultural life that their destruction would materially disadvantage the nation?
2. Are these collections valuable to the study of a branch of learning?
3. Are these collections significantly important to justify a concerted effort to preserve them? ³⁹

None of these implicit objectives was intended to be implemented with regard to specific collections, for it is always possible to argue a case for preservation in individual instances. In any case, historical and educational merit in individual instances tends to be in the eyes of the beholder unless a strict criteria can be rigorously enforced. It should also be stressed that the third point did not specifically seek to deal with the minutiae of defining and constructing conservation policies. Rather, in combination with the other implicit objectives, it concerned itself with the primary background of whether there was any practical merit in pursuing methods of conservation and preservation for these collections. However, all of these implicit objectives have been readopted within the actual heritage policy as part of the entry qualifications and criteria.

Distribution and Response

The numerical analysis of the first survey can be located in Appendix II; however, as part of the methods and approaches, it is necessary to highlight the basic distribution and response of questionnaires:-

	Distributed	Responses	
England	634	292	(46.1%)
Scotland	191	122	(63.9%)
Wales	37	17	(46.0%)
Northern Ireland	24	11	(45.8%)
TOTAL	886	442	(49.9%)

The research took care to ensure that there was bias in the selection of houses for the survey and aimed to have a comprehensive and statistically-valid sample. A wide range of houses owned by private individuals, charities and corporate organisations, both open and closed, were included with the emphasis most firmly on privately owned properties. The survey set out to be as comprehensive as possible in terms of the distribution of the questionnaires. In terms of the survey one of the most important methodological points was the compilation of the mailing list. This drew heavily on the standard reference works in the field (Peerages, Gentries, Directories of houses). Every effort was made to produce as full a mailing list as possible, with named individuals in the vast majority of cases. However, it is important to draw a distinction between the distribution and the response rates. The survey did attempt to be as comprehensive

as possible in terms of distribution by obtaining details on as many houses as possible. On the other hand only a one hundred percent response rate would have ensured a comprehensive survey which is a highly improbable result. Consequently, the distribution aimed to be comprehensive while the response rate at 49% was robust enough to sustain research generalisations.

There are a number of issues which arise from the distribution selection and from the response rates. While these are discussed more fully in the methodology it is necessary to summarise the salient points here. With regard to the distribution and responses of Wales and Northern Ireland, it appears on first inspection that the sample size was unduly small. However, in both Wales and Northern Ireland the number of country houses is comparatively small. Indeed it is reckoned there are only about thirty traditional landed estates with country houses in Ulster. Consequently, twenty four in the survey population does constitute a significant sample (somewhere approaching seventy per cent). Likewise in Wales the number of extant country houses is relatively small for the size of the country. In Wales the culture of the country has never been as strong as in other parts of the United Kingdom. This factor was taken into account in designing the research tools and analysing the findings. Wales has always been a country more geared towards the lesser nobility and gentry than the grandees and, where the latter have existed, they have tended to be English with their principal interests lying elsewhere. This is certainly the case with the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, Radnor, Denbigh, Glamorgan (Beaufort) and Carnarvon. Yet even the lesser gentry is now particularly invisible in Wales. As Kenneth Morgan noted: *"only a few great houses remain, while the gentry subsided as if they had never been."* ⁴⁰

It will be seen from the response rate listed above that the response from Scotland was significantly higher than those from the other parts of the United Kingdom. The reasons behind this cannot easily be identified. The Scottish responses should not be misinterpreted as demonstrating a greater desire to participate, nor should it be said to represent the greater realisation that country house libraries are in need of attention. There are, however, a number of factors at work which may have contributed to this significantly higher response rate. Firstly, the research is based at a Scottish university, which many of the respondents would have been aware of. Secondly, previous research in the North East of Scotland resulted in a high response rate (nearer seventy per cent). Consequently, the already well-disposed owners in the North East contributed a healthy response rate which boosted the national total. Thirdly, is a more abstract reason, although no less important. The Scottish landed interest forms a much more homogenous entity than in England. This is not to say that everyone knows everyone else, but a significantly large proportion are 'networked' to the rest. Consequently, personal contacts throughout the 'network' may, perhaps, have played a part in ensuring a high response rate.

Of those houses which did not respond the main reason cited was security. One owner, while acknowledging the genuine nature of this study, pointed to the fact that she "*might be setting a dangerous precedent*" by responding to the survey. There were a number of houses where the failure to respond was profoundly disappointing. The omission of the Northumberland collections at Syon House and Alnwick Castle and of the Salisbury collection at Hatfield House in England and the Gladstone collection at Hawarden Castle in Wales are among this category. Most disappointing in terms of the response was the National Trust in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, especially after intricate security guarantees were given to their security adviser. The surveys were distributed to the individual properties rather than to the Library Adviser for a number of reasons. Firstly, the need to be consistent throughout the management of the survey; secondly, to prevent the adviser being swamped with surveys (which would also have undermined the security factor by revealing the coding system to an outsider); and thirdly, it was deemed important to obtain the information first hand from either the owner or administrator of the house, in other words from the person who dealt with the collection on a day-to-day basis. A significant number of Trust administrators warmly welcomed the survey and responded directly; others passed it on to the library adviser, who had originally encouraged the survey. He then requested that the directly returned Trust surveys be sent to him in order "*to maintain consistency*". The result was the conspicuous absence of National Trust surveys months after the original distribution. Fortunately, all the relevant data from those National Trust responses which were returned was extracted before the originals were sent to London. The comprehensive nature of the survey addressing all appropriate country houses, not just National Trust properties, allows the research to be viewed in a truly national perspective.

Survey Contents

Four principal areas were identified as being of particular importance and the survey was accordingly divided in four sections (*see* Appendix II). The first section of the survey dealt with the background to the house, the library, and its general arrangements for access (i.e. whether the house in general and the library in particular were open to the public). The second section dealt with the history, origins and fate of the library or book collection. The third, entitled collection development, was designed in order to obtain details of key collectors, subject areas and publishing periods. The fourth section was the largest and dealt with basic collection management. This section asked about the number of volumes, the inclusion of non-book material, the existence of catalogues, arrangement, additions, condition, conservation, previous interest and access. The analysis and interpretation of results provided for the identification of the current picture and are discussed at length in chapter four. Combining the historical research and the survey facilitated the understanding of both the history and development of collections as well as the problems of today. This enabled the research to move forward to address the issues of policy and practice which are central themes of this work.

Progression

The third major element in the research can be described as methods for progression or bridging the gap between the historical investigation and study of the current position on the one hand and the identification of policy recommendations on the other. Progression could only be achieved within a particular contextual framework. Consequently, the basic premise of establishing the view of owners, both private and corporate, in relation to access to, and preservation of, these collections was done within the context of existing national heritage policies and structures. Equally important and equally relevant to those elements was the identification of the support facilities available to country house libraries from any source and the evaluation of how appropriate they are. This stage also, inevitably, focused on taxation and the various schemes which impinge on the country house and the preservation of its collections.

Second Survey

This was undertaken to include the funding issue which can not be examined in isolation but only with regard to the organisations, structures and policies which currently exist. This element is central to the development of the later stages of the research programme. This study of policy and structures was broadly based but concentrated on heritage policies and the country house at national, regional and local levels. It considered the interaction between the Department of National Heritage and the various organisations which have a role to play within country house management. Prominent amongst these are English Heritage, Historic Scotland (as the principal funding agencies), the two National Trusts and the Historic Houses Association, particular emphasis being placed on the future role of the National Heritage Memorial Fund. This organisation is responsible for the allocation of grants from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, especially in the light of the National Heritage Act 1997. This study also gave consideration to the legislative framework in which these organisations operate and the impact of taxation legislation on the country house.

This study of the heritage structure and national policy offered a number of important opportunities, not least in advancing the methodological techniques by adopting a selection criteria for the distribution of the second survey. All of this process was designed to inform the analysis and discussion of funding, which plays a vital role in the developed techniques and the construction of policy recommendations during the final phase of the research programme. The study of funding aimed to identify the methods by which existing public money could be secured for the preservation of bibliographic heritage within the country houses setting, as well as identifying the guarantees which the funding bodies require in return for financial aid. This process readily acknowledged the fact that funding relies heavily on the willingness of owners and administrators to grant some type of access to the collections. Only through the study outlined above could owner opinion be adequately measured. This study of owner opinion formed two distinct parts and

this was reflected by the approaches taken, using, firstly, a survey and, secondly, through observational visits and interviews.

Firstly, the second survey, which was distributed to owners and administrators. The distribution of the second survey was rigorously controlled and did not target all of those surveyed in the initial questionnaire. In order to enable the methodological approaches to progress, a selection criteria was adopted in order to produce a meaningful cross-section. The principal division which was made, irrespective of problems within the collection, was by size. The survey results showed an average collection within a country house may be said to be under 5,000 volumes, an above average may be said to be 5,000-15,000, while an exceptional collection may be defined as those above 15,000 volumes. Categorisation by size is an effective approach because collections of similar size suffer from similar problems. There are, of course, problems which are common to some and not others and there are some problems which are cross-category. The next stage of the selection criteria ensured that all of these other elements were fairly represented within each of the respective divisions. These elements included the provision (or not) of catalogues, preservation policies and access as well as the interest and willingness shown by owners and administrators in the first survey. Finally, but perhaps most importantly, the selection criteria took into account the responses to the types of material noted in the first survey. It is important to stress that small collections may contain very important material while large collections may not. This factor was used to ensure that categories were neither synthetic nor superficial. The selection criteria, taken as a whole, reduced the target sample to manageable proportion. It also ensured that the heritage policy element would be capable of being structured in such a way as to be of genuine practical value to all types of collections.

The survey, while highlighting the links between funding and access, also concentrated on those areas which owners and administrators felt required particular attention: the types of assistance they felt were required; the types of access they would be prepared to concede in return for some form of financial support and whether listing, or the creation of a National Register of Historic Libraries, was viewed as desirable. The final area, that of listing and the creation of a National Register, represented a particularly important allied strain to this research, which was neutral on both of these issues. This examined the problems and benefits of a listing technique for historic libraries in much the same way as the architectural listing system operates. Such a system might provide a safety-net, as well as assisting in the procuring of financial support for collections, preliminary evidence having suggested that, in spite of the potential benefits of such a system, it would not be generally welcomed. All of this was dealt with in terms of the way in which owners or administrators approach the issues of library management.

In addition, however, the survey must be regarded as a tool. It was not simply an end rather it was a means to an end. The analysis of the results from this survey formed a central part in the progression of the

research by allowing for the selection of a number of properties where studies of actual practice could be carried out. Again these reflected the various categories of collections which were identified earlier. This too was designed to ensure the practical value of the final policy outcomes for all types of collection. Here it is important to stress that the second survey was a tool to link both the early and later stages of the research; it was not simply a technique for data collection.

Distribution and Response

The detailed narrative which emerged from the second survey forms the core elements of Chapters Five and Six, while the numerical data of the second survey can be located in Appendix V. However, the basic details of distribution and response are necessary here:-

	Distributed	Responses	
England	71	45	(63.4%)
Scotland	25	20	(80.0%)
Wales	6	4	(66.7%)
Northern Ireland	6	5	(83.3%)
TOTAL	108	74	(68.5%)

The sample represented around one-ninth of that used during the first survey and provided a significantly high response rate which was noticeably higher in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland than it was in England. No closing date for the survey was made because of the relatively manageable amount of surveys which had been distributed and because the addition of late responses was relatively easy at any time during the analysis process. The survey fulfilled two purpose. Firstly, it was intended to supply relevant and valid data on the questions it asked while, secondly, it was intended to be capable of being used as a selection device in order to identify a smaller number of houses where either observation visits or interviews could be carried out. These visits and interviews were to examine good or bad, best or worse practice and, again, reflected the various categories of collections which were identified earlier in terms of the original selection criteria for the survey. This mechanism also went some way to ensure that the final policy outcomes would have relevance to all types of collections.

As this survey was smaller and with a more focused sample, selecting using the selection criteria, it is more important to clarify the distribution structure. All of the questionnaires were sent to respondents to the first stage with four exceptions. These exceptions were Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire, Arniston House, Lothian, Balcarres House, Fife, and Caledon Castle, County Fermanagh. These properties were included in the second survey despite their refusal to participate in the first stage. The reasons for their inclusion were all connected to the key elements being examined in this second survey. Consequently, it was necessary to

attempt to obtain more data from them, particularly in connection with the key questions of funding and access. Individual letters were accordingly addressed to the owners of these properties highlighting the factor that the initial comments they had made were now particularly germane to the research questions and that amplification would enhance the work. The two surveys, although linked in methodological terms, were capable of being viewed as free-standing entities and, consequently, non-participation in the first did not prejudice inclusion in the second. The findings from the second survey were not affected by this in any way. This approach led to three out of the four completing the second questionnaire.

The second element of this objective focused on two distinct strands. Firstly, the examination of collections which may be said to be in particularly poor condition or have poor management techniques. Observation of such collections facilitated the development of a basic criteria from which the heritage policy can operate with public resources becoming available only after such a basic criteria of merit has been met. This element is important because the preservation of *all* collections can only ever be an Utopian ideal and the basic condition and merit of collections must be examined in order to define the entry qualifications to the heritage policy. It is inevitable that some collections will simply not meet a basic criteria in terms of size, content and condition. Taken at its most elementary, this study could be interpreted as defining the entry qualifications to the final stage of the research, i.e. the definition of the heritage policy.

The second strand progressed one stage further by examining best practice within a number of country houses. It was anticipated that at least two houses would be examined from each of the categories defined above. The selection of appropriate houses would ensure that they represented a particular type of collection in order to guarantee the validity of the practical outcomes to all types of collections. This part of the research programme adopted an empirical approach, observation being made of the methods of management employed, the practical merit of the approaches and the evaluation of these in terms of the various categories and in terms of the wider picture. An adjunct to this empirical approach was the interviewing of owners and administrators in connection with both the survey and the observed actions.

Observation

The second strand, observation and interviews, focused on two separate subdivisions. Firstly, it was necessary to examine collections which may be said to be in particularly poor condition or have poor management techniques. Observation of such collections facilitated the development of a basic criteria of evaluation leading to entry qualifications above which the heritage policy can operate. The mechanics of the heritage recommendations can only be activated once the basic criteria of merit has been met.

Secondly, the other half of this process concentrated on the identification and examination of best practice within a number of country houses. This ensured that consideration was given to the adequate representation of all types of collections in order to guarantee the validity of the practical outcomes to all types of collections. Both of these elements involved the adoption of an empirical approach. Observation was made of the methods of management employed, the practical merit of the approaches observed being evaluated in terms of the various categories and in terms of the wider picture. A crucial adjunct to this empirical approach was the interviewing of owners and administrators in connection with the survey, the observed actions, the management process and the all-important issue of funding and access.

The observation which was used in this research was broadly unstructured. It highlighted the continuity of the research by focusing on and, to a certain extent, reacting to the data which had been collected in previous stages. Like the interviews which followed, the observation of collections relied on recording events or situations which were relevant to the research programme. This process was 'open-ended'. Gorman and Clayton describe observation as a focused activity because it occurs at a point in most research when data collection is being narrowed and the pinnacle of the research question is being addressed. In this research the observation of country house collections was exploratory in its own right but it was also reactive to the data which had previously been obtained. In some respects it was the litmus test of the credibility and validity of the surveys.

One of the principal defects of observation is the fact that individuals are always aware of being observed. However, this research was not so much concerned with observing individuals as an attempt to observe situations. In terms of the examination of country house libraries, observation was of a 'reality-verifying character' ⁴¹ It allowed for the examination of libraries as they really are rather than as owners or administrators chose to portray them. In this research observation was focused towards the questions being investigated and the environment being examined rather than subjects or individuals. This reality verification allowed for comparison between what the owners and administrators actually said, in other words their 'espoused beliefs', with what was actually the case in practice. Gorman and Clayton have said that this method of observation is, in reality, attempting to distinguish between the 'Do as I say' or 'Do as I do' philosophies. ⁴² In terms of country house libraries it was important to evaluate current practice not only in terms of what owners said and thought but also in terms of what is done. In this sense visits to collections would either reinforce or weaken the previous statements. As such it facilitated the construction of validity of evidence.

It is important to stress that the observation did not seek to identify good practice only. In terms of the research the revelation that practice did not match written theories was as important. Only through the ability to see worst practice is it possible to establish an effective starting point for future procedures. The

combination of observation with survey evidence assisted, at a later stage, the creation of a bench-mark standard in terms of basic suitability for proceeding along the route of good management. The identification of a suitably defined threshold for maintaining collections is one of the continuing themes of this research. In that sense, observation was not only a necessary tool for bridging the divide between past, present and future but it was also a vital tool for rooting the policy stage in the pragmatic reality of assisting **appropriate** libraries in **appropriate** situations rather than in an utopian fantasy of assisting all libraries in **all** situations. Although the discussion of how this could be done occurs later in the research (and the background is discussed later in this methodology chapter in sections dealing with the creation of a national heritage policy), it is important to signpost it here because observation, surveys and interviews were the vital tools in the process. In addition, the origins of that process begin long before the actual definition of policy recommendations.

Two key questions were central to the observation. Firstly, what is happening in this collection? and secondly, is this what was hoped or expected in terms of the other evidence? The first is obviously the more important and goes to the heart of the matter. Physical presence in the setting of the library allowed the examination of a number of factors, not least the verification of existing data. Considering the essentially static nature of country house libraries, the ability to view what is happening in the collection is not a matter of ingress and egress. Rather it is an opportunity to validate by addressing such questions as whether or not the collection reflects the descriptions which have been given; whether or not the cataloguing is reliable; whether or not conservation and preservation is a reality or where the collection sits in relation to others. Like the critical appraisal in the historical methods, the second question acts as a check against personal prejudices or preconceptions. Taken together these guidelines for observation highlight the holistic approach, taking both the research and its constituent evidence in its entirety at each stage rather than creating unhelpfully fictitious divisions. The surveys and observing activities combined to ensure that the gap could be narrowed between the present and the desired future and enabled it to be closed in the interviews because that final element was based on the results of rigorously conducted research.

Interviewing Methods

Having applied the selection criteria, the next stage was to consider the formulation of an appropriate interview framework. Gorman and Clayton highlight the five specific advantages to interviewing as being *"immediacy, mutual exploration, investigation of causation, personal contact and speed"*.⁴³ In this research one of the key points has been the personal contact: interviewing provides for a friendlier approach, giving more personal emphasis to the data collection process. In the case of country house libraries this was an important factor, because the information being sought was generally being requested from private individuals and was questioning details of private property. As a result, owners and

administrators welcomed the approach and were happy to be able to 'put a face to the name'. In addition, a previous lack of interest from interested parties, such as the Royal Commission on Historic Manuscripts, was on occasions replaced by those being approached being positively happy to actually have someone come and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of owning and maintaining library collections.

Consequently, for owners used to little interest being taken in their books, personal contact was of added importance. In addition it was advantageous in terms of confidential and sensitive areas. This is another strength which has been identified by Gorman and Clayton. While there is relatively little polemic in this field, owners and administrators appeared more willing to be candid and forthright during face-to-face interviews than in the previous written questionnaires. As has been mentioned, "*the immediacy element which is often missing with other form of data collection*",⁴⁴ is provided by the interview and an important adjunct to this is the fact that with interviews it was also possible to view the collection simultaneously and to witness, first-hand, the problems being discussed. Another important benefit is that interviews "*allow both parties to explore the meaning of questions posed and answers proffered, and resolve any ambiguities*".⁴⁵ These potential benefits were central to the strategies adopted for the interviewing process. In the final analysis, success can be measured only in terms of the contribution which the interviews have made to the research as a whole. The perspective of the researcher, who is, as Michael Brenner points out, a principal determinant of value, is that the interviews formed a significant and invaluable part of the research methodology.

Structure and Practice

Minichiello points out that structured or survey interviews are those where the "*questions and the answer categories have been predetermined by the interviewer*".⁴⁶ Unstructured interviews have neither exactly worded questions nor are the answers predetermined, although an informal set of question is usually prepared. Within this research the interviews were semi-structured in the sense that the questions were predetermined by category and the answers were *anticipated* but not predetermined. Each interview was allowed to develop into a conversation which happened to be based around certain predetermined question. Questions were only altered if it was felt at the time, that the respondent had already answered a particular point during their response to a previous question.

A purposive sample technique was adopted in order to select the candidates for interview. In other words, the interviewees were "*chosen by the researcher to include representatives from within the population being studied who have a range of characteristics relevant to the research project*".⁴⁷ Here, however, it is vital to make an important distinction. Much of the literature on interviewing within research projects is geared to the examination of the organisation or the organisational context. In the case of this research, country house libraries are difficult to categorise as organisations in the true sense of the word. As the

introduction has highlighted they are essentially different in character from other library collections and, in the organisational sense, they tend to be largely one-man operations, if that. Country house collections tend to be static and in most cases their management is part of a much broader policy domain with few possessing a dedicated collection manager. Consequently, the purposive sample tended towards selecting representative *libraries* rather than selecting representative *people* from the various houses. Those interviewed were chosen because of the characteristics of their library rather than as part of a stratified approach to the organisational structure. In most cases that organisational structure was, at best, tenuous or, at worst, completely absent, therefore there were not particular groups or strata within organisational context of country houses libraries. In those few instances where some structure was sufficiently evident, one person would still have responsibility for the library and the accompanying policies.

The questions which were asked followed on from the initial postal questionnaires. Like them there were two basic rules inherent within their construction. Firstly, do the questions relate directly to things which it is necessary to know? and secondly, do they cover everything about which it is necessary to know? Various revisions and amendments were carried out before any interview took place and the final drafts were approved by the supervisor as is suggested by Gorman and Clayton. An initial trial was undertaken although it was not a pilot in the strict sense of the word. Rather it was with a reliable but unbiased respondent to the survey; someone who would have been interviewed in any case and whose response to the trial interview has proved as valid as the subsequent full interviews. The flexibility which the semi-structure technique provided allowed a pragmatic approach to the interviews which facilitated successful data collection.

The interviews within this research took place at the end of the second year of the project, by which time particular themes had emerged strongly. However, these themes and beliefs were not used to direct or to influence the conduct of interviews. Only afterwards, in determining the value and validity of the information gathered in the interviews, were these themes and beliefs brought into play. The conduct of the interview relied heavily on the description of interviews characteristics which Michael Brenner has described: *"it is one of the characteristics of interviewing that the interviewer should follow rules in his/her relationship with the informant. For example, he/she must try to obtain accounts on all the topics listed in the interview guide; his/her questioning must always be non-directive; that is, must never suggest a 'right' answer or direction of answering; he/she must take care that the accounts obtained are adequate (as complete as possible, linguistically comprehensive, free of internal inconsistencies, for example); he/she must also enact a facilitator role by being non-judgmental and supportive"*.⁴⁸

In this research the results of each interview were assessed in terms of their value to the project as a whole. Gorman and Clayton point out that the interviewer is a *"principal determinant of the value of any*

interview".⁴⁹ However, because of the selection of suitable and representative interviewees, each of the interviews undertaken was deemed of relevance to the research. It is important to stress that preconceptions or particular opinion did not form a part of the interviews. As with historical research, the interviewer has not been born who does not possess particular views or beliefs about the topic being discussed.

Construction of Recommendations

In some respects the construction of the recommendations brought this research full-circle because it witnessed a shift away from primary data collection back towards literature-based research methods. It represented the culmination or perhaps even the sublimation of an inexorable process which began with the historical research, continued through the study of current provision, heritage policies and structure, and owner opinion. The construction of recommendations and policy guidelines represented the continuity of the research by suggesting and highlighting suitable methods by which these collections may be better managed as they enter the twenty-first century. These recommendations may turn out to be instructive for the future of country house libraries.

To a certain extent, the construction of the recommendations returned the research to its literature-based origins. For here, the analysis and understanding of what library conservation and preservation is, relied heavily on a return to the literature. It relied on the guidelines of bodies such as the National Preservation Office, the Library Association, the International Federation of Library Associations and, perhaps most significantly, the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. However, in addition, to these organisations, importance must be attached to those individual specialists in this field, the work of John Feather, Ross Harvey, Judith Fortson and many others. The crucial aspect, however, was the marriage between, on one hand what the professions stated and, on the other, the views of the owners and administrators. That linkage is, indeed, a central theme of the research. It would have been easy to lay down recommendations at the very start but, with the previously outlined studies of the environment and policies which affect country houses in general and their libraries in particular, it would have been a pointless exercise. Here the methods and practices merge into one in order to take into account the diversity of country house library collections.

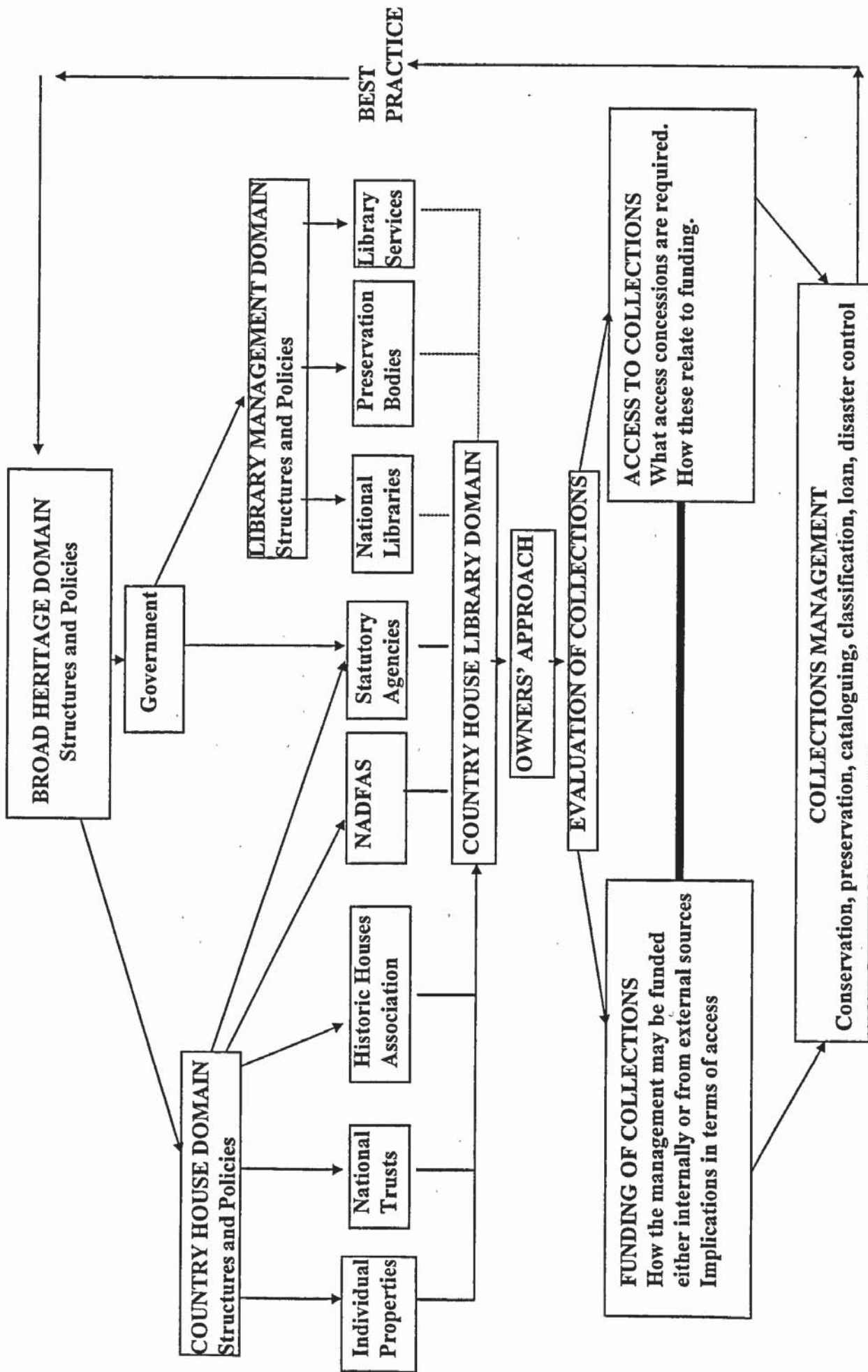
Policy Structure

The final element of the research - the construction of a national heritage policy for country house libraries and book collections - acts as the summation of the entire process. It draws upon the evidence which has been acquired throughout the earlier stages of the research and seeks to apply this evidence within the context of recognised conservation and preservation policies, the unique element being that this is the first attempt to make that application with specific regard to country house collections. However, this study of

the specifics of conservation and preservation policies has been carried out within the context of a broader examination of heritage policy. To a certain extent this final element returned to literature-based sources for the analysis of conservation and preservation policies. However, the policy structure is integral to the research because it adopts a structure which reflects the way in which owners and administrators approach the management of library collections within the country house. This framework operates with both the external and internal heritage landscapes and is informed and influenced by examples of best practice through the various domains. The tabular form of this concept can be viewed overleaf. Much use of this table and the concepts and relationships which it displays has been made in Chapters V and VI, but is supplied here in order to reveal the sets of relationships to which the methodologies were applied.

A crucial determinant in the preservation of country house library collection relates right back to the initial stages of the research, which laid particular emphasis on the recommendations of the Waverley Committee in 1952. A vital element in the development of the heritage policy is identification of a threshold above which the assistance is available and, indeed, desirable. As the Waverley Committee has been central to much of this work it is almost inevitable that their recommendations should be re-adopted here. The methods adopted for this enactment of this threshold are that the historical worth, aesthetic importance and education merit should always be considered⁵⁰ in the same way as these factors must be considered before the granting of an export licences for any work of art in accordance with the Waverley Report. As has been mentioned earlier, this succinctly defines the national interest in cultural heritage. Consequently, the overarching concepts derived from the recommendations of the Waverley Committee may be said to apply across this research.

As has been noted earlier in this chapter, the fact that the Waverley Committee reported more than forty-five years ago is almost immaterial because of the universal validity of their conclusions. The literature-based analysis of practical conservation and preservation techniques can only be applied to country houses once certain criteria have been fulfilled. These criteria should address the significance of collections before allowing the heritage policy mechanism to go into operation. The factors, already highlighted which must be taken into account relate to whether these collections are so significantly associated with our historical and cultural life that their destruction would materially disadvantage the nation; whether they are valuable to the study of a branch of learning or whether they are significantly important to justify a concerted effort to preserve them.⁵¹



Summary

What then does the methodology show in terms of the research as a whole? It may be said that the historical research ensures that the cart does not come before the horse and, equally, the methodology ensures that the cart has wheels. It is the essential structure for the research; it is the foundations on which the rest is built. At the commencement of this chapter Robert Yin is quoted as saying that the purpose of a methodology chapter is to provide "*the chain of evidence*"⁵² but it is more than that. The methods and approaches used within this research work represent a distinctive element within the whole project. The primary research itself may represent the 'what' and the 'why' of the research but the methods represent the 'how' and that, in itself, is crucial.

Furthermore, however, this research, which is essentially hybrid in nature, points to one important aspect of methodological approaches. Namely, that in order to deal with diverse questions it is necessary to embrace a wide-range of methods. It is unacceptable to try to pigeon-hole this as a piece of information science or social science research. Certainly, these elements are dominant but the historical research is equally important. The methods, like the research project itself, must be reactive to the nuances of the work even in these like this where it is primarily driven by the examination of the topic rather than by the use of ground-breaking approaches. Methods which exist in other fields and disciplines, such as historical research, can be successfully merged to form a seamless thread in even the most diverse of research. If one lesson can be learned from the methods and approaches in this thesis it should be this: there is always scope to adopt or adapt approaches from other fields. Doing so can often result in difficulties but just as often it can result in clarity of research. The methods used here were proven to be both sound and reliable but, perhaps most significantly, they are appropriate to the areas of study.

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CHAPTER III

Historical Development of Country House Libraries

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"Your lerning do not deminish...for lerning will increass if it be cherished, and cannot be lost but by negligence, and besyde that, lerning will serve you in all ages, and in all places and fortunes. But I must add to you that this lerning wherof I wryte must be governed allweiss with the knolledg and feare of God, for otherwise it will prove but for a vanyty and leade you to folly"

William Cecil, Lord Burghley to Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, 1589

Introduction

The origins of the people and their houses remain the essential precursor to the story of their libraries and book collecting. The idea of collecting books and gathering them into a library took a long time to emerge as a suitable pursuit for noblemen. This is remarkable in view of the long and complicated roots of the aristocracy. In the Middle Ages the aristocracy was primarily made up of people who were in some way related, either by blood or by marriage, to the Royal house. Consequently, the handful of great magnates who actively collected books and manuscripts in that period were primarily connected with the Court. Chaucer was an highly esteemed member of the court, while Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447), the brother of King Henry V, was described as a scholar and a patron of scholars. His collection now forms the nucleus of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, while the other significant collector of the time, Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was the Lord Steward of the Household. Another Earl of Worcester, John Tiptoft, was noted for collecting a library of manuscripts while he resided in Padua. Yet as Lawrence Stone remarks, *"two swallows like John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester do not make a summer."*¹

However, as far as the majority of the aristocracy was concerned, learning was an extension of the province of the church. Relatively few sons of noble houses were sent to Oxford or Cambridge. On the whole bravery in the field was a talent prized more highly than intellectual gifts and scholarship. Indeed, Gervase Jackson-Stops has pointed to a social stigma being attached to intellectual pursuits, with one squire remarking in 1480 that he would *"rather his son should hang than study letters, a pursuit which should be left to the son of rustics"*.² Thomas Starkey noted *"gentlemen study more to bring up good hounds than wise heirs"*,³ while Edmund Dudley thought that the English nobility were *"the worst brought up for the most parte of any realme of christendom"*.⁴ The case was slightly different north of the border in Scotland. It can be argued that the Scots have always attached a greater importance to education and scholarship. Shortly after that recalcitrant English Squire made his remarks, the Scottish parliament, the Estates, passed a law compelling the sons of Lairds to attend one of the several universities. Even in the fifteenth century Scotland had four universities while England only had two.

Education and Literacy

Hard evidence on the education of the aristocracy at this time is patchy. It is impossible to make sweeping generalisations on education, scholarship and culture amongst the titled nobility, let alone the landed gentry. Certainly, as Stone points out, Sir John Fortescue's claim in *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* that the gentry were crowding the Inns of Courts in the late fifteenth century was an exaggeration.⁵ Scholarship and education depended as much on one's location as one's social status. As late as the 1560s the landed gentry in remote Northumberland were not particularly advanced; only 92 of the leading 146 gentry could sign their own name. Even although the titled nobility have always been a more identifiable group than the gentry, both are difficult to analyse at this period. Of course, there were exceptions, even amongst the gentry. The Paston family, who were extraordinarily literate, took books very seriously, but they neither prove nor disprove any hypothesis.

Renaissance Influences

As the Renaissance began to make itself felt a greater importance was attached to learning. This was exemplified by King Henry VIII who was an active scholar and produced his famous defence of the Holy Roman Church which earned him the title of Defender of the Faith. As the century progressed one of the most significant developments was the thirst for learning. According to Lawrence Stone the increased attachment to education and learning enabled the landed classes to *"fit themselves to rule in the new conditions of the modern state, and they turned the intelligentsia from a branch of the clergy into a branch of the propertied laity"*.⁶ There were two reasons for this. Firstly, the influences of the Italian humanists which were permeating Northern European society, and secondly, the nobility and the gentry were increasingly concerned about their ability to maintain a grip of key political, legal and court positions. The latter was a reaction by the established families to the rule of men such as Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell. It was not only the social structure of the landed interest which changed with the Dissolution of the Monasteries, but also the political structure. The clergy was replaced in political and administrative duties by *"talented laymen from the lesser gentry"*.⁷ This not only worried the old aristocracy, but it prompted them to reclaim their rightful place in the councils of the nation. This period marked the most drastic redefinition of the inner pyramid since the Conquest and the old aristocracy's reaction to this sociological change was inevitable. As the pyramid of the landed aristocratic interest evolved, the desire to maintain the social hierarchy also increased, yet as late as the early part of the reign of Elizabeth I there was at least one Privy Councillor who could not read or write.⁸

Generally, however, by the mid sixteenth century all branches of the aristocracy had embraced the explosion of the Renaissance. For whatever reasons, this flowering of scholarship was one of the most crucial factors in the development of the libraries of nobles. Indeed one cannot even use the phrase

'gentlemen's libraries' at this period because it even embraced, temporarily, the daughters of noble houses. The daughters of the More, Howard and Grey families were educated to a level which seems astonishing in comparison to the later shameful neglect of women. Much of this scholarship was for the sake of learning alone. Stone has gone as far to say that "*in this first, heroic, phase...peers and gentry possessed an enthusiasm for scholarship that far outran the practical needs of an administrative élite*".⁹

Bibliographic Study

Academic and bibliographic study became highly organised. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's proposed academy for noble wards of circa 1570 listed Latin and Greek, law, philosophy, rhetoric, diplomacy, political theory and divinity as areas of study. Barely a century earlier, in the time of King Edward IV, riding, tilting, courtesy, manners and dancing were viewed with the awe later attached to academic disciplines. By the time of Gilbert's academy Cicero and Erasmus, Aristotle and Plato were more crucial to young nobles than the joust and the tilting yard. Lord Burghley, arguably one of the most important men in the whole story of private British libraries, recommended Cicero to Sir John Harington not only for his philosophies but also for the style of his Latin. William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley was the most powerful man in Elizabethan England; as Lord High Treasurer he had an unrivalled position in the political affairs of the nation, but as Chancellor of Cambridge he also had unrivalled influence in the intellectual life of the state. He also played a significant part in the foundation of the love affair which the British aristocracy carried on with Rome for upwards of two centuries. Through Burghley's admiration for him Cicero became the cornerstone of the British sense of *noblesse oblige*, emphasising as he did the requirements of aristocracy: duty to the state, loyalty to oneself and one's class. Aristocracy was at last defined in its true sense - government by the best.

Reorganised and redefined the aristocracy found focus. The scions of the nobility and gentry went to school; Eton and Westminster flourished, but so too did the universities. Increasingly tutors formed a necessary part of the nobleman's household. Noblemen became men of letters. The Herberts at Wilton and the Sydneys at Penshurst were responsible for the development of Arcadian and pastoral poetry; Lord Buckhurst wrote tragedies; Lord Oxford wrote comedies. Literature was more and more part of the publishers remit. However, the majority of works coming from the presses were not the products of the literary imagination. The presses concerned themselves with history, law, philosophy, science and, of course, divinity. Theology found a ready market amongst men such as Lord Stourton, who wrote two treatises on religion or the Earl of Bedford who wrote ten folio volumes of theological reflections

Proto-Bibliophiles

Burghley, the personification of the Renaissance man, had one of the largest collections in England. In *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*¹⁰ his collection is listed as containing "*very many*" volumes

rather than a specific amount. However, it was Burghley's great bibliographic rival John Lord Lumley (1533 - 1609) who had the greatest collection. He was probably the first true bibliophile in British history. He possessed a library of 3,600 books and manuscripts, some inherited from Archbishop Cramner, and some inherited from his father-in-law Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel. It was one of the earliest and most significant examples of an homogenous *nobleman's library*. King James VI & I later purchased parts of it and eventually it was presented to the British Museum.¹¹ However, here it is vital to reiterate the fact that these libraries were collections of books rather than rooms. Yet one is the essential forerunner of the other. This situation was to remain the case for the next fifty to sixty years. Lumley was a noted benefactor of University College, Cambridge, and bequeathed to it all the books in his collection which the library of the college did not contain. He wrote of his intention to the Vice-Chancellor on 24th August 1587: "*My purpose is to confer the cataloge of your bookes with myne, and the Authors which I find duple and be wantynge in your Librarye, I promise shalbe yours*".¹² This was one of the very first examples of a private library passing to an educational establishment. This process of cataloguing collections, mentioned by Lumley, takes on a unique importance for those engaged in current investigations into historic bibliography. The survival of these catalogues aid not only historical investigation but also provide important pointers for research into modern management practice of such collections.

However, apart from Burghley and Lumley there is evidence that at least a dozen other nobles owned significant collections. As early as 1556, Lord Stafford was recorded as possessing 302 books, while the Duchess of Suffolk had a chest full ¹³ while the Earl of Bedford had over 215.¹⁴ Yet these collections of books were still very much the exceptions to the rule, not only in England, but throughout the British Isles. The relatively small number of books which are to be found in the majority of Elizabethan houses cannot be entirely explained by their high cost and difficulty in obtaining them. Even the most perfect of all Elizabethan houses, Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, had only six works listed in the 1601 inventory. Yet Bess of Hardwick was, after Queen Elizabeth, the richest and most powerful woman in England. It was Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher and tutor to Bess's grandson, the 2nd Earl of Devonshire, who compiled the 1601 inventory. All of the books were kept in Bess of Hardwick's own bedchamber. Of the six one was a work by Calvin, another was *Saloman's Proverbes* while another was a book of meditation. As Gervase Jackson Stops points out "*these were works for instruction and edification rather than pure enjoyment*".¹⁵ In fairness, it must be pointed out that in spite of his obvious learning and scholarship Thomas Hobbes was not a bookish man, describing reading as "*a pernicious habit, which destroys all originality of sentiment*".¹⁶ With that belief in mind it is perhaps hardly surprising that books occupied so small a place in the general scheme of things as far as some aristocrats were concerned.

Despite this manifest antipathy there were, by the early seventeenth century, a number of serious collectors in addition to Lord Lumley. At this period it is more important to stress the fact that there were collectors

and bibliophiles rather to dwell than the fact that it was not widespread throughout all reaches of the aristocracy. Lawrence Stone highlighted several of the key collectors of the time: the 11th Lord Cobham had 722 books; the 1st Earl of Salisbury (Burghley's son) had 1,094; the 4th Lord Paget had 1,555; the 1st Lord Knyvett had 1,870, and the 3rd Earl of Southampton had 2,200.¹⁷ Most of these collections would have been housed in a closet in the private apartments, often just adjacent to the nobleman's bedchamber. The inventory of Loseley in Surrey, home of Sir William More, provides a useful indication of what these proto-libraries looked like. Sir William possessed 273 books, mostly political, religious, classical, legal and medical as well as some maps, and the closet contained a desk, two chairs, a coffer, scissors, pens, seals, a rule, a slate to write on, an ink-stand and a counting board. It was not until the eighteenth century that these closets were to become libraries in the sense of a room rather than a collection of books. It was to take the genius of men like William Kent to transform the purely functional by adding a creative and aesthetic dimension.

However, size is not everything. It is equally important to have some indication of what these people bought and why. The Renaissance encouraged the spirit of the polymath and this is clearly seen by the breadth of coverage in the majority of libraries. As early as 1566 the collection of Sir Thomas Smith, a representative of the gentry not the nobility, contained sixty works on theology, fifty on civil law, one hundred on history, seventy on philosophy, fifty on mathematics, twenty on medicine and sixty on grammar and poetry. This was typical in all categories except theology, which was unusually barren. Smith's collection on theology was only one seventh of the whole, whereas in the collections of Salisbury and Paget it amounted to a quarter.¹⁸ The collections half a century later were very similar in coverage. Lord Paget's catalogue of 1617 was classified into sections on theology, law, history, philosophy, medicine and chemistry, mathematics (including architecture), grammar and vocabulary, rhetoric, logic, poetry, war and fortification, letter-writers and miscellaneous.¹⁹ Listing these disciplines may be regarded as labouring a point, but there is one vitally important reason for doing so. That reason is the simple fact that Paget's collection represents the subjects which have, throughout the ages, made up virtually every country house library collection in every part of the British Isles. Paget's collection, later supplemented by works on travel, local history and genealogy, could easily have formed a country house collection of the eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth centuries.

Inevitably, there were some exceptions to this polymath heaven. Puritans like the Duchess of Suffolk and 2nd Earl of Bedford maintained very strong theological collections. Catholics such as Viscount Montagu used their collections as a source of inspiration for their faith. Later recusant families such as the Throckmortons of Coughton, the Arundells of Wardour or the Annes of Burghwallis would maintain collections which reflected their Catholic heritage. There was, however, one group which collected professional libraries - lawyers. The Earl of Marlborough, Lord Coventry and the Earl of Manchester all

had first rate legal collections. Yet these were seldom maintained by inheritance, rather they were bequeathed to suitable legal establishments.

It is difficult to assess how typical these libraries were at the time. Although the great libraries of grandees tend to dominate this period it is clear that lesser collectors took considerable pride in their books. Yet the emphasis firmly lay with libraries being defined as a collection of books as opposed to a specific room housing them. Lucy Lady Latimer was the first of the aristocracy to mention books in her will of 1582, but this was quickly followed by a succession of others.²⁰ Viscount Grandison catalogued his collection by his own hand and bequeathed them in his will as heirlooms, beginning the trend of the entailment of bibliographic and manuscript works, which was to become a considerable inconvenience to descendants who wished to sell in centuries to come.

It cannot be argued that these collectors were purely bibliophiles and the founders of country house libraries. It is necessary to stand back from the point of view of the bibliophile and examine the trends from the perspective of the historian. By understanding what has gone before the historian is better able to comprehend the future. To that end, the collectors of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries performed an important function. While the group was too small to be typical of the whole sample of the aristocracy, it was large enough and significant enough to promote book-collecting on a wider scale. These aristocrats primarily collected books which were of practical use to them in their daily lives and only later would the bibliophile emerge more generally. However, the net had been cast sufficiently widely to ensure that these later generations would reap the rewards in the shape of the creation of libraries within the country house. They also highlight the fundamental reasons behind collecting: education, learning, culture, scholarship and, generally, all of these held good for the next three hundred years. More importantly, however, they set a definitive example for other, later noblemen who did, very definitely, form their collections into country house libraries. It is, perhaps, unnecessary and, indeed, unsatisfactory to draw a distinction between book-collections and libraries, but in most cases the room has become as integral a part as the books. Although perhaps not the *de facto* founders, people like Burghley, Lumley, Smith, More and Paget and all the others were certainly the *de jure* progenitors of country house libraries.

The Virtuosi

As Stone points out, by the time of Grandison's will in 1630 the concept of virtuosity had become the established creed of the cultured nobleman. The virtuosi were brilliant and talented amateurs, aristocrats to a man (or woman). For them wealth and status were not an end in themselves, but they were the means to the end. With wealth and status came the ability to indulge in the arts, in literature and in scholarship. This indulgence would be viewed by the civilised world as the responsible and cultured use of aristocratic time and power. Much of this credo harked back to the ethos of Burghley, but it also owed much to that most

cultured, and most misguided, of monarchs, King Charles I. Stone articulately synthesises the definition of virtuosity when he says: "*he is a gentleman of leisure whose ambition is to deepen his appreciation of the arts and to build up a famous collection*".²¹ This concept influenced far more than bibliographic collecting, but it did also help to boost it. Virtuosity relied on knowledge and, then as now, books were the repositories of wisdom and learning. In addition, virtuosity started the trend of filling great country houses with magnificent treasures, beginning with paintings, continuing with furniture and eventually including bibliographic wonders.

Reading widely was, of course, central to virtuosity. For the younger sons of the gentry it was to enable them to get ahead in the professions and for the elder sons of squires and noblemen it was a "*way to fit them for public service and to give them the polish needed for conversation in polite society in the age of the virtuosi*".²² One of the earliest of these virtuosi was Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (*The Wizard Earl*). This most cultured of noblemen had a remarkably eclectic collection covering virtually every subject, including architecture, engineering and the classics, all annotated in his exquisitely neat hand. Northumberland was even allowed to take part of his considerable library into the Tower of London after his imprisonment when implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. However, the most important feature of the Earl's collection is the fact that they were all bound in uniform vellum (occasionally calf) bindings, each embossed with the Percy arms. This is one of the earliest examples of the trait which later became known as *livery bindings*. Later, livery bindings were to become one of the most important, and certainly the most charming, features of country house libraries. Today the remainder of the collection is housed at Petworth House in Sussex. Ironically, this increase in education and scholarship, as personified by Percy, helped to doom the monarchy in the Civil War. There were too many educated noblemen and gentry to fill government offices and the titled nobility had been so inflated that many traditional aristocrats came to resent the King and his government. Consequently, many were less than willing to take up arms for the Royalist cause.²³

The Restoration

It was the Restoration, Jackson-Stops suggested, which can be pinpointed as the moment when the gentry took up reading as a serious pursuit. Indeed, shortly after the Restoration saw the creation of what has become the oldest-surviving country house library - in the sense of a room rather than a collection. The Duke of Lauderdale's library closet at Ham House in Middlesex was fitted up with proper shelving and a built-in cabinet and writing desk. The establishment of the Royal Society is often given as the reason for the boom in publishing. While it undoubtedly played a part, the desire for learning was not new amongst the upper reaches of the aristocracy, but the Restoration did encourage others, in lower parts of the social pyramid, to sow the seeds of bibliographic collecting. The Earl of Thanet's collection, listed in 1664, was typical of the vast majority of collections of the nobility and the gentry. The Tufton Manuscripts in Kent

Record Office show that Thanet had around one hundred volumes, including chronicles and histories, a dictionary and lexicon, fifteen books of Latin and French, five of law, a book of statutes, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, and the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. In the words of Stone "*a useful working library for a fairly cultivated man of affairs.*"²⁴

It was during King Charles II's reign that the aristocracy also began tinkering with the art of writing to a greater extent than had been seen in the past. This was exemplified by the work of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester and by the first British woman to publish books in her own right. Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1673) was, by any standards, a remarkable woman; an early feminist, a philosopher and a scholar, she was, perhaps, the only female member of the *virtuosi*. When not writing, she would sit in Welbeck Abbey, that great palace in Nottinghamshire, reading book after book on philosophy. However, her forthright views, expressed in print, often meant that Her Grace found herself in hot water and eventually led to her being known as *the whore of Welbeck*.²⁵ The Duchess was a legend in her lifetime. Both she and her husband were the *virtuosi*, brilliantly talented amateurs, satirised by Shadwell in his *Sullen Lovers* (1669). She also appears in Dryden's *Mock Astrologer* (1668). Her renown ensured that she was also the basis for Pope's *Phoebe Clinket* of 1717 (some forty years after her death).

Yet it was also during King Charles II's reign that the *virtuosi* gave way to the dilettante, which Stone has described as "*the curse of the English governing class ever since*".²⁶ Nevertheless virtuosity, resting on the twin pillars of antiquarian research and scientific experiment, continued in a less vocal form amongst the aristocracy until the beginning of this century. This helped to preserve the influence of the aristocracy in the arts and increasingly in literature. Virtuosity did leave a legacy and by the beginning of the eighteenth century a passion for intellectual pursuits and bibliographic collecting was regarded as an essential part of the nobleman's life. Eventually, this spread right across landed society, so that the majority of people within the inner social pyramid established libraries, of varying degrees, within their family seats.

The Literati

The literati were soon willing to give praise where it was due. Evelyn wrote of the young Earl of Sunderland: "*a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his age, and ingenious*".²⁷ Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland, whose seat was Althorp in Northamptonshire, started to collect books seriously in 1693, when he was nineteen. In the words of Georgina Battscombe there was "*one field, however, he was supreme. His precocious love of learning blossomed into an overmastering passion for books*".²⁸ By the age of twenty-five he had become one of the great bibliophiles of his day. His only rival was his enemy in politics Robert Harley, subsequently 1st Earl of Oxford. Battscombe has said that he was "*the owner of what was described as an incomparable library*".²⁹ He did, as so many bibliophiles have done through the ages, spend very heavily on the collection, but, like the very best connoisseur, he did so with

tremendous knowledge and judgement. At one point, Sunderland found himself in considerable financial trouble and was compelled to go to his kinsman the Duke of Marlborough for a loan, which was guaranteed on the Sunderland library. However, the Earl steadfastly refused to consider selling the collection in spite of an offer from the bibliophile King of Denmark who offered him the astronomical sum of £30,000. In the eighteenth century books were of crucial importance to the life of the country gentleman. For people like Sunderland, education was at the root of his appreciation of the art of antiquity just as much as his belief in political liberty.³⁰

At a time when grandees all owned town houses as well as palatial seats in the shires, it is interesting to examine the reasoning for the development of libraries in the country rather than the town. Gervase Jackson-Stops pointed to the fact that in the country there was "*the leisure to study them*".³¹ Undoubtedly, this was the case, but it was only one side of the coin. The other side was the fact that London offered the nobleman far more diversions. Of course, this explanation is limited to the upper strata of the social pyramid. Those aristocrats who were further down the social pyramid did not, on the whole, have houses in London, and for them there was nowhere else to keep their modest collections. Books required more work and time than an Old Master painting, so it made perfect sense to keep one's Van Dyck in London to show off to the world. It was only in the country that noblemen and squires had the time to sit and read. This was primarily a means of improving one's mind; however, it also fulfilled a social function. That function was centred around the mania for house parties. A fine library could ensure that one could attract a wide circle of *litterati*, whose erudite and witty conversation could relieve the often crushing boredom of country society. Jackson-Stops equates the visits of these *litterati* to the disputations of the Greek philosophers.

It is important not to underestimate the social and philosophical role which these libraries had, particularly in the eighteenth century. From the late Elizabethan days the greatest English philosophers were, in Jackson-Stops words "*habitués of the country house*".³² Hobbes, Locke, Swift, Prior, Pope, Gibbon and Burke were very much part of the social and intellectual scene of the country house, in much the same way as Sir Walter Scott was a century later. Indeed John Evelyn was a considerable connoisseur of country house libraries and remarked upon every one he found in a private house. Contact with great men such as these encouraged learning and enquiry. Eventually, this filtered down through the various levels of country society. Even those whose primary interest was in riding to hounds and shooting partridges over their broad acres gradually took up intellectual pursuits.

Bibliotheca Harleiana

There were many who were influential in bringing great men of letters to the country house, but none more so than Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford (1689-1741). He had many advantages, not least being the son

of Robert Harley (Sunderland's rival both politically and bibliographically) who was probably the greatest English bibliophile of his day. Harley senior had started the unrivalled Harleian Collection in 1705, with the first considerable purchase of books from the D'Ewes collection. By the time the son inherited, the manuscript portion of the library alone consisted of nearly 6,000 volumes, 14,000 charters and 500 rolls. After his marriage to Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, the daughter of the Duke of Newcastle and heiress to Welbeck Abbey in Nottinghamshire, Oxford found himself in a position of fabulous wealth. True to the ideals of the *virtuosi*, Oxford saw his wealth as not the end, but the means to the end, which in his case was the creation of a truly great library. In the words of *The Complete Peerage*, "the 2nd Earl added considerably to the collection by large (but not always judicious) purchases".³³

He was a close friend of Pope who wrote to him in the summer of 1730 of his eagerness to see "your new roofed library and to see what fine new lodgings the Ancients are to have".³⁴ Even in the eighteenth century the more general ethos of the *virtuosi* still had a powerful influence. Lord Oxford's library at Wimpole was reached through three small 'cabinets' which contained his collections of coins, cameos, seals and manuscripts. Lord Oxford's vast collection of some 50,000 printed books, 41,000 prints, and 33,000 pamphlets, was catalogued and conserved by his full-time librarian, the antiquarian Humfrey Wanley. However, the Harleian library was conceived on too great a scale to last. According to George Edward Cokayne, the library "much impoverished his large fortune".³⁵ The result was the sale of the collection shortly after the death of the Earl. The bulk of it was purchased by one Mr Osborne, a bookseller, for £13,000, this sum, according to George Edward Cokayne, "being considerably less than the binding had cost".³⁶ It was the first example of a truly important library disappearing in the auction house. Initially, the famous Harleian manuscripts were retained by the family; indeed, the work entitled 'Harleian Miscellany' edited by Oldys (first printed in eight volumes 1744-46) contains a selection of scarce pamphlets and tracts which were in the Harleian Library at this period. However, these went the same way as the books when, in 1753, his widow sold the famous Harleian Manuscripts to the nation for £10,000. The collection, of 7,639 volumes and 14,236 rolls, charters and deeds, is now in the British Library.

The Age of Enlightenment: Libraries at the heart of family life

At the time of the sale of the Harleian collection something important was happening to the country house library. It was reinforcing what Lord Oxford had done at Wimpole Hall and was to give impetus to aristocrats of all degrees. Libraries were becoming more and more an accepted part of the country house. Increasingly they were featured prominently in the plans for new houses. Sir Robert Walpole, later Earl of Orford and the personification of the gentry, had a delightful little library included in the plans of his new house, the Palladian wonder Houghton Hall in Norfolk. These new libraries, like Lord Oxford's at Wimpole, were no longer merely rooms for books. William Kent, the architect of Houghton, gave libraries real architectural status. Time and effort was devoted to the aesthetic appearance of the room and of its

furnishing. By the time Kent was designing his ultimate masterpiece, Holkham Hall, for that other personification of gentry, Coke of Norfolk, the library was established at the heart of family life. Kent included the library at Holkham amongst the family apartments rather than the state rooms. This was reinforced later by Hogarth's portrait of the Cholmondeley family. The painting depicts the Cholmondeley's in their library, suggesting that it was at the very heart of family life. For the aristocracy the library had become something central to their domestic well-being. Furthermore, records in various country houses, not least Eaton Hall in Cheshire, show that neighbours frequently borrowed from each other's collections. Indeed the Grosvenor Library at Eaton Hall has a record of all the books lent between 1711 and 1749, proof, if any were needed, that country house libraries served as a useful resource for the surrounding community.³⁷

The Apogee of the Country House Library

At the time of Hogarth's painting, the country house library was approaching its apogee which was to last until the early decades of the nineteenth century. In many houses, the library became the most informal room in the house; it frequently doubled as the principal family sitting room. Mrs Lybbe Powys, that veritable chronicler of polite society in the eighteenth century and latter day Celia Fiennes, noted, on a visit to Middleton Park, Oxfordshire, that it was "*a most excellent library out of the drawing room - in this room, besides a good collection of books there is every other kind of amusement, as billiard and other tables, and a few good pictures*".³⁸ Most collections contained, in the words of Mark Girouard, "*handsomely designed bookcases....likely to contain an all-round collection of several thousand books, both new and old, a good many of which were still being read by the occupants of the house....it was a comfortable, relaxed and sympathetic sitting room*".³⁹ Interesting, however, is the fact that Girouard notes that the books were being read, because a century later this was not the case. By the mid-nineteenth century, the older and more-established collections witnessed the neglect of older material while many newer collections were merely status symbols with shelf upon shelf of unread volumes as wallpaper because, as the title of a novel by Anthony Powell points out, books do furnish a room.

The Grand Tour

All of these influences and perceptions in the eighteenth century owed much of their prominence to the omnipresence of the Grand Tour amongst the aristocracy. The concept had its origins in the latter part of the Renaissance. As early as 1561 Lord Burghley sent his eldest son abroad to complete his education. Stone has argued that its role in education was minimal, rather it was geared to ensuring that the nobleman could gain a sound knowledge of "*the institutions and political systems of Europe*"⁴⁰ as he was expected to enter into the administrative or diplomatic service of his own state. However, as time passed the Grand Tour became more closely connected to education and for two centuries from the early 1600s it was quite acceptable to travel Europe to learn aesthetics, art history and antiquarian knowledge.⁴¹ In many respects

the Grand Tour extended libraries beyond the confines of books alone. A library according to the social trend of Grand Tourists was made up of many more antiquities. Lord Oxford's library at Wimpole reflected this. As has been mentioned his collection of books was reached through three small cabinets which contained his collections of coins, cameos, seals and manuscripts. Each of these facets went to make up the refined collections of the country house and each was viewed as a complement to the scholarly content of the library itself.

The country house has long figured in the literary imagination of the British novelists. By the time of Jane Austen the country house library was also making an appearance in literature, symbolising, like Hogarth's painting, that it was at the heart of civilised existence. Miss Bingley, in *Pride and Prejudice*, even remarks to Darcy on how fine his library at Pemberley is. Darcy's reply is characteristic of someone at the apex of the untitled nobility: "*It ought to be good," he replied, "it has been the work of many generations...I cannot comprehend the neglect of a family library in such days as these"*.⁴² Austen as ever is accurate; she sums up the moment and the attitude to libraries, while at the same time prophetically allows the word *neglect* to creep into this Elysian scene. The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy novelist, Maria Edgeworth, left an interesting account of the library at Bowood in Wiltshire where, as a guest of the Marquess and Marchioness of Lansdowne, she put the collection to good use in her literary researches. "*The library 'tho magnificent' she wrote 'is a most comfortable, habitable looking room...it was very agreeable in the delightful after breakfast this day'*".⁴³

Aristocratic Bibliomania

A few decades after the dispersal of the Harleian collection one of the truly great, noble libraries in British history was created by John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe (1740-1804). The Duke was a true bibliophile, a bibliomaniac in fact. The reason for his interest was rooted in tragic melancholy. As George Edward Cokayne noted in *The Complete Peerage*, "*he [Roxburghe] paid his addresses to Christiana Sophia Albertina eldest daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, but when, soon afterwards (Sept 1761), her younger sister Charlotte was affianced to King George III it was deemed necessary on political grounds to break off the intended match. Both parties evinced the strength of their attachment by devoting their after-lives to celibacy. In consequence he devoted himself to building up the finest library in Great Britain"*.⁴⁴ Roxburghe was a great grandee, whose "*lofty presence and felicitous address suggested Lord Chesterfield"*.⁴⁵ His collection was based on the traditional elements of classical education, much the same as Lord Paget's had been almost two centuries earlier. However, Roxburghe's interests extended to bibliographic treasures. The sublimation of this interest was his purchase of the exquisite Valdarfer *Boccaccio Decamerone* of 1471, the gem of the library. Roxburghe, more than any other, was responsible for the explosion in collecting incunabula for aesthetic as well as literary reasons. Remarkably, his Grace spent only £5,000 on the collection; however, when it was auctioned in the famous Roxburghe Sale of

1812, it made £23,341. This sale marked a sea-change; the collection was dispersed and this trend has continued to the present time. It represents a critical factor in terms of the preservation of surviving collections and influences not only what *has* survived but also the recognition that so much has been lost.

The reason for the sale of the collection was the fact that the succession to the Dukedom had been unclear and the case before the House of Lords went on until 1812. The eventual victor, Sir James Innes of that ilk, expended so much on the claim that something had to be sold to raise the money. The axe fell on the library of the 3rd Duke. It was sold at his house in St James's Square in 9,353 lots, between 18th May and 8th July 1812. The auction of the collection aroused considerable interest; *The Morning Chronicle* on 24th May 1812 noted, "*At no time did the Bibliomania rage with more violence than at present at the Duke of Roxburghe's sale*".⁴⁶ The gem of the collection, The Valdarfer *Boccaccio* of 1471, was sold to the Marquess of Blandford, later 5th Duke of Marlborough, for the then stupendous sum of £2,260. Blandford and his cousin Earl Spencer had fought an 'auction duel' over the *Boccaccio*. To celebrate this event the bibliophile, the Reverend T.F. Dibden, librarian to Spencer at Althorp, assembled a dinner that evening, (17th June) at St Alban's Tavern in St Alban's Street. The party consisted of eighteen bibliophiles, who founded the Roxburghe Club. Amongst them were the Marquess of Blandford, Earl Spencer and Earl Gower and his brother Lord Francis Leveson-Gower. Six additional members were co-opted on the spot, while seven more were added the following year.⁴⁷

Bibliotheca Spenceriana

Most significant amongst the founders of the Roxburghe Club was George 2nd Earl Spencer (1758-1834). He created a library of legendary proportions and quality, indeed it was probably the finest private library in the world. According to Battiscombe "*he was certainly a man of scholarly tastes*".⁴⁸ He carried out many alterations to his seat, Althorp in Northamptonshire, but no one remembers him for that. As a bibliophile George Spencer was second to none and he gave Althorp its unique glory. Yet Spencer was no amateur like so many collectors; "*not only was he an enthusiastic collector but he was an unusually well-informed one*".⁴⁹ He was thirty before he started collecting seriously. In 1793 he acquired the collection, remarkably cheaply, of the Hungarian Diplomat Count Revicski. This collection was particularly strong on early printed editions of the Greek and Roman classics. Battiscombe believes this was inspiration for the rest of his collection: "*this splendid acquisition determined the nature of the Althorp library which was to be famous chiefly for its incunabula or early printed books. Revicski had sought out books in mint condition, having a great dislike of manuscript notes, no matter how interesting or important*".⁵⁰ Spencer maintained Revicski's tradition, always attempting to find the most perfect edition for his collection and selecting the finest of bindings.

The Revicski collection was supplemented with the addition of the library of the Neapolitan Duke of Cassano-Sera. This addition was, not surprisingly, particularly notable for examples of the work of early Sicilian and Neapolitan printers. Spencer then acquired the library of a Mr Stanesley Achorne, which contained early English books, including several from the press of Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde.⁵¹ The library became his over-riding passion. He appointed a full-time Librarian, the celebrated Reverend T.F. Dibden, who wrote of the library in his famous work *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (1814-1815) and again, together with the art works at Althorp, in *Aedes Althorpianae* (1822).⁵² According to Battscombe, the Earl, "after his retirement from political life in 1807 he devoted himself to the care and improvement of his library, supervising the business of cataloguing, and haunting book shops and sale rooms in the hope of discovering yet more treasures. Though so enthusiastic a collector he was not the least a selfish one. He was delighted if a chance came his way to benefit the library of a friend, and he scorned the practice of buying up copies of books he already possessed simply to prevent them from falling into the hands of rival collectors".⁵³

The Complete Peerage noted that when George Spencer died in 1834 he had formed at Althorp the finest private library in Europe.⁵⁴ It was not so much a library as a testament to the origin and development of printing in Europe. It contained over 40,000 volumes including 3,000 incunabula, of which 58 were Caxtons. There were numerous examples of the work of printers such as Wynkyn de Worde and the presses associated with Gutenberg. Althorp had over 800 Aldines, and countless works from the early Italian and French presses. "One special treasure was a coloured block-print of St Christopher, dated 1423, the earliest piece of European printing that can definitely be dated. Among later books were a remarkable collection of Bibles, the first four Shakespeare folios, the very rare 1609 edition of the Sonnets, all the earliest editions of Chaucer, and splendid editions of Milton, Spenser, Bunyan, and Isaak Walton, to name but a few out of this vast galaxy of rare and beautiful books".⁵⁵ Truly, Althorp was conceived on a monumental scale. Spencer's epitaph might well have been *si monumentum requiris, circumspice*.

For men like Spencer, the Roxburghe Sale which dispersed one of the great private libraries, and coming a little over half a century after the sale of the Harleian collection, heralded an important change in the way the aristocracy built up their country house libraries. Bibliographic heritage was not sacrosanct. Sales dispersed collections, but they also enhanced others. Country house libraries were viewed very pragmatically, much more so than say the family portraits; only through the destruction of one collection could another flourish. Of course, from the first days of collecting libraries had always been dispersed through sales or curious twists of inheritance. Indeed A.N.L. Munby has pointed to the fact that "in the nature of things the foundation of libraries of older books is dependent on the dispersal of other libraries".

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Book to fill shelves not to be read

By the end of Spencer's life a new generation of self-made men were on the scene and they too played an important role in collecting history. For these new players the sale of older collections, either in part or in whole, were crucial not only to the acquisition of a library but also to the acquisition of status. One of the new men arriving on the scene was James Alexander, 1st Earl of Caledon. His money, made in the East India Company, was put to good use as he purchased the estate of Caledon in County Tyrone. He also acquired a Barony, then a Viscounty and finally an Earldom and, in time-honoured fashion, set himself up as a country gentleman. Alexander's advancement highlighted the new vertical mobility within the social pyramid. His son purchased *en masse* the library of Bishop Percy of Dromore and commissioned the Regency architect John Nash to design a library. It is probably the finest Nash room outside Buckingham Palace. Bishop Percy's collection was a peculiar choice as all of the works were highly academic and heavily annotated. However, what Lord Caledon wanted was a library, any library. A gentleman's house required a library and Bishop Percy's was convenient in both size and location. The novelist Sir Shane Leslie, writing in 1963, related the local tradition: "*books were brought in carts, wrapped in straw, to Caledon to fill shelf spaces, where, needless to say, they were never read*".⁵⁷ What the Caledon-Percy collection tells us is that libraries acquired for scholarship could quite easily become mere status symbols. This depended on two factors. Firstly, the motives of the new people who chose to purchase and secondly, the regular sale of earlier collections.

As has been said the sale of collections, like the broader question of the destruction of the country house, was not a new phenomenon. From the time of King Henry VIII's Palace of Nonsuch until the early nineteenth century, houses appeared and disappeared with monotonous regularity. The common thread, however, was the fact that they were generally replaced with grander houses, more in keeping with an elevated status, for example. So with the elevation of the Cavendish Earls of Devonshire to a Dukedom, the old Chatsworth was submerged in the splendid building we know today. However, in the post South Sea Bubble era in Great Britain, some houses declined and vanished altogether. Canons, the vast palace at Stanmore in Middlesex on which "*the Princely Duke of Chandos*"⁵⁸ lavished £200,000, was sold for its materials immediately after the Duke's death in 1744. Yet it was still a relatively uncommon phenomenon. More likely was the sale of collections by a cash-strapped aristocrat. The wastrel grandson of Sir Robert Walpole sold off the outstanding collection of Old Masters from Houghton Hall in Norfolk to Catherine the Great of Russia. They now form the core of the Hermitage in St Petersburg. William Kent's priceless furniture at Houghton would have gone the same way had Sir Robert's son-in-law not stepped in and bought the lot.

Selling the Caxtons

Selling books was, of course, a much easier and less painful option. Their place in the general scheme of family identity was less clear. Whereas the family portraits were crucial to maintaining the image and reason of nobility, books were considered secondary, even tertiary by non bibliophile members of some families. Munby is correct in his assertion that "*if funds were needed, they [the libraries] were usually the first source to be tapped*".⁵⁹ Libraries disappeared for a whole host of different reasons, ranging from death duties to dry rot, stud fees to divorce settlements. "*The loss of the Caxtons was, after all, much less conspicuous than the loss of the Van Dycks or the Gainsboroughs, and an enthusiasm for old books maintained over several generations is unusual in families*".⁶⁰

The sale of the Roxburghe collection inevitably benefited numerous other collections. Yet this period was marked by an extraordinary divergence between the upper and lower levels of the landed pyramid. The Grandees were conceiving collections, both bibliographically and otherwise, on such vast scales that many were in danger of ruining themselves. They were not collecting for practical purposes but to impress. The lower levels, especially the *nobilitas minor* and landed gentry, were still remaining loyal to the type of collections exemplified by Lord Thanet's of 1664. They were not collecting to impress, nor for status; their collections were modest and practical. This divergence became visible only a few years after the Roxburghe Sale. Ironically, it was the winner of the Valdarfer, George Spencer-Churchill, 5th Duke of Marlborough (1766-1840), who was compelled to sell his collection. According to George Edward Cokayne "*his library occasioned him great expense*".⁶¹ Although a founder member of the Roxburghe Club, the Duke was forced to disperse most of the collection in his lifetime. Indeed, the Valdarfer *Boccaccio* was sold in 1819 to his cousin, fellow Roxburghe Club founder and arch-rival, Earl Spencer, for 875 guineas. The whole of His Grace's magnificent library, housed not in the splendour of the long library in the west wing of Blenheim, but at his other home, Whiteknights, was disposed of in 4,701 lots. The sales realised much less than the Duke had given for it. Appropriately, *The Annual Register, 1840*, noted in its obituary of the Duke that during his latter years "*he lived in utter retirement in one corner of his magnificent palace, a melancholy instance of the results of his extravagance*".⁶²

At least by selling the library the Duke had retained the other treasures of Blenheim, and had not ruined himself or his dynasty completely. Yet what had happened to Marlborough was symptomatic of the drastic redefinition of the social pyramid of the aristocracy and the country houses with the progression of the Industrial Revolution. The grandees were no longer able, on the whole, to expend vast sums in the pursuit of pleasure or even learning. It also affected the members of the untitled gentry. In 1823, the pariah of the landed gentry, William Beckford, *the Caliph of Fonthill*, was compelled to sell both his collection and the Gothic monstrosity he had created. It was with some perverse satisfaction that he lived to see the huge tower at Fonthill collapse sometime later. The economic dependence on land was gradually waning and

this led to a new uncertainty. Part of the cause of this uncertainty was industrialisation and it led the aristocracy, particularly those old families in the upper half of the social pyramid, to develop and promote an increased attachment to the nostalgia of bygone days. The Earl of Eglinton capitalised on this with his famous Tournament in 1839. It was the certainty of uncertainty which motivated, or perhaps more accurately scared, the nobility throughout the nineteenth century. In the Tudor age they had reacted to change by becoming more educated, but now the emerging middle classes were educated too. The aristocracy faced the realisation that they no longer had a monopoly of wealth. More worrying was the realisation that they would soon lose their monopoly of power too. However, one event was to rock the nobility to its core. There was one single, defining moment, which can, from one hundred and fifty years distance, be regarded as the first outbreak of an epidemic which would go on to attack countless other country houses and their collections.

All the world is talking Stowe

The single event which shook the British aristocracy, both titled and untitled, to its very heart was the financial difficulties in which the 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos found himself. Of course, lesser noblemen had found themselves in financial trouble for centuries (and continued to do so), but Buckingham was *not* a lesser nobleman. No, Richard Plantagenet Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, came from the very apex of the social pyramid. He was a Duke; he was a Grenville; he was possessor of Stowe, of its outstanding collections, of its landscape; he was a Grandee; he was a Knight of the Garter. More importantly, however, he was the heir to a dynasty which had ruthlessly worked the system to accumulate wealth, power and status. The Grenvilles had done everything that the aspiring noblemen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were supposed to do.

Yet there was a sneaking suspicion amongst the nobility that the haughty Grenvilles at Stowe were finally getting their just desserts. The Grenvilles were never popular but they *were* grantees and fabulously wealthy. Stowe was one of England's greatest houses. Their library of 40,000 volumes was one of the finest in Europe; their collection of paintings and portraits was magnificent. The origins of their wealth and status, like the origins of most of the nobility, were carefully obscured, but as Vicary Gibbs pointed out a century later, everyone knew that "*George Grenville* [afterwards Marquess of Buckingham and grandfather of the 2nd Duke] *and his two brothers Thomas and William had drawn around £900,000 from the public purse*".⁶³ All of this 'acquired' wealth was lavished on enhancing the position of the family. Peerages and houses were acquired, parliamentary seats and government offices purchased, and the collections of the family became the rivals of many a longer established dynasty. "*Never indeed was a family so well provided for during an entire century as the Temple Grenvilles*" wrote the Earl of Rosebery in his biography of the Earl of Chatham.⁶⁴

The Grenvilles were easy targets for the wits and gossips of the time. Although he was referring to the 1st Marquess of Buckingham, Horace Walpole could have been writing about any of the Grenvilles when he said: "*he was weak, proud, avaricious, peevish, fretful...and had every one of those defects in the extreme with their natural concomitant, obstinacy*".⁶⁵ The 2nd Marquess obtained a Dukedom in 1822 from Lord Liverpool as part of an underhand deal to secure the Grenville interest for the Tory Party. Lord Holland remarked at the time that "*all articles were now to be had at low prices except Grenvilles*".⁶⁶ The Duke was a greedy politician who was never satisfied and always asking for more. Sir Charles Bagot wrote "*I am glad that the Grenvilles are taken into government; and they come tolerably. I see no objection to a Dukedom in the head of the Grenville family, but I see a great many to giving it to the actual blubber head who now reigns over them*".⁶⁷

In fairness to the Grenvilles, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham was far more of a *blubberhead* than his father, the 1st Duke, had ever been. In spite of an annual income of £66,000 in gross rental, the Duke had over-extended himself to an extraordinary degree. By 1844 he had amassed a debt of over one million pounds, secured chiefly on his life interest in the Grenville estates. The state of affairs was nothing new; he had been in debt since his time at Eton thirty years earlier. At one point it seemed as if the financial problems would be resolved with the sale of some of the family's lesser properties. However, the Duke quarrelled with his Duchess, his son, his trustees, his solicitors and by the end of the troubled 1840s the debts had rapidly gone out of control. The Duke of Wellington wrote that Buckingham had "*squandered his riches*" and was only interested in "*indulging in every fancy*".⁶⁸ The *Economist*, meanwhile, pointed to the Duke's mania for buying up land "*at high prices for reasons of prestige*".⁶⁹ In fact, this was symptomatic of the problems which countless other noblemen were encountering. The Industrial Revolution, coupled with the agricultural depression, was steadily undermining the traditional structure of the aristocracy; the result was a gradual disintegration of the landed society, of the country house tradition, and of their unique collections.

By 1847, the situation had deteriorated so badly that the Duchess's wardrobe had been seized by Sheriff's officers. The courts were involved and inevitably the doomsday scenario became the only option left to the family; the contents of Stowe would have to be sold. The trustees resolved that the plate, books, manuscripts, prints, paintings, china, sculptures had to be sold, everything, in fact, except the furniture. The sale of 1848 lasted over forty days. Disraeli wrote to Lady Londonderry "*all the world is talking Stowe*".⁷⁰ Many could not believe it; the unthinkable was actually happening - a grandee's palace emptied of its treasures in a mad panic to bail out a bankrupt Duke. The correspondent of *The Times* noted that it reminded him of "*the sacking of Priam's Palace by the Homeric warriors*".⁷¹ After the end of the sale it was *The Times* which bluntly pointed to the moral of the story: "*..the Duke's collapse was more than*

*personal ruin...it was a public treason, a blow at the confidence of Englishmen in the aristocratic order of society".*⁷²

The sale of contents from Stowe heralded the beginning of one hundred and fifty years of the painful disintegration of country house collections. From that moment onwards no one was immune to financial pressures. Stowe marked the beginning of an inexorable process whereby the nobility, titled and untitled, *nobilitas maior* and *nobilitas minor*, grandee and squire, would divest themselves of treasures. For the aristocrat, the collections in their houses became the inevitable source of extra finance. More often than not the sale of one or two fine paintings would suffice. Yet for many, their under-used library was by far the easiest source of extra cash and, in any case, selling *mere* books was far less humiliating than repeating the disgrace of Richard Grenville, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. In the century and a half since Stowe the disintegration of collections has been far more significant than the construction of them.

Disintegration and Dispersal

The incomparable collection of manuscripts which the Grenville family possessed was entirely dispersed in the sale at Stowe. One of the principal purchasers was Bertram 4th Earl of Ashburnham (1797-1878). The Earl had been one of the great collectors of his time. However his library, housed at Ashburnham Place near Battle in Sussex, was both created and dispersed in the course of the nineteenth century. His collection included large numbers of important early books as well as an extraordinarily diverse collection of manuscripts. The Earl divided his library into four sections; the Libri collection, the Barrois collection, the Stowe collection and the 'Appendix' of assorted codices, manuscripts, books and correspondence.

The sale of the Ashburnham library almost caused a diplomatic incident. In 1883, the 5th Earl offered the four sections to the British government for £160,000. However, the French government lodged an objection, claiming that between 160 and 170 of the manuscripts in the Libri and Barrois collections had been stolen and illegally removed from France. These manuscripts alone were valued at £24,000. After protracted discussion the trustees of the British Museum recommended the purchase of the remainder for £136,000, but the Treasury declined to be party to the proposal. Finally, in July 1883, the government agreed to the purchase of the Stowe manuscripts for £45,000, the English portion being placed in the British Museum, with the Irish portion being loaned to the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. The following year the Italian government bought the bulk of the Libri collection (some 1,923 manuscripts) and the Dante collection from the 'Appendix' for £23,000. These collections were deposited in the Laurenzian Library in Florence. The remainder of the collection was retained by the Earl.⁷³

Subsequently, the majority of the Barrois collection went to the French government for £24,000, while Ashburnham's miscellanies, known as the 'Appendix', were sold to Henry Yates Thompson for £30,000.

In 1897 and 1898 two sales dispersed the remainder of the books. The sale included Lord Ashburnham's two Gutenberg Bibles (one on vellum, the other on paper). The two sales realised £67, 712. The final sale from the collection took place in 1901, when the remaining portion of the Barrois manuscripts was sold for £33,217. The 4th Earl of Ashburnham had spent fifty years collecting; it took his son, the 5th Earl, just over twenty to sell the entire collection.

Throughout the life of Ashburnham a variety of simultaneous methods of collecting had existed. These were very closely connected to the sociological model. One's ability to collect a library related very definitely to one's position within the hierarchy. To a certain extent everyone took their cue from the great collectors who had established the status of country house libraries. However, these grandees at the top of the pyramid were in the minority. Yet the lesser noblemen, the Baronets, the Squires and the Lairds all looked to the grandees for inspiration. The *nobilitas minor* went along to the great sales too and came away with, perhaps, a handful of works to supplement their collections. These aristocrats seated in the shires had collections which, at their core, resembled the Thanet collection of 1664 which was so symbolic of the origins of many collections. In many instances, these collections had grown organically by the careful and judicious purchases of succeeding generations. In the nineteenth century, however, another phenomenon came into play. Libraries were furnished by the yard, as in the case of the Earls of Stair at Lochinch or the Wolrige-Gordons, Lairds of Esslemont in Aberdeenshire. These collections were not for reading, but to make a library, proof, if any were needed, that libraries were still fulfilling a social function within country house society. The new players on the country house scene also saw the necessity of these bulk purchases. For the discerning amongst the *nouveau riche* the ever increasing number of sales from older, established collections proved to be invaluable.

Crawfordiana

There was, however, one final truly great collector. Alexander William Crawford Lindsay, subsequently 25th Earl of Crawford and 8th Earl of Balcarres, was the final reincarnation of men like Oxford, Roxburghe and Spencer. Crawford represented that curious dichotomy of landed interest. Essentially, his family were one of the illustrious members of the old nobility. Their place in the upper layers of the social pyramid had been secure for centuries. However, they had also benefited from the Industrial Revolution, like many a new man, and had, through their vast acreage in Lancashire, amassed a huge fortune from coal.

In the 1840s, he prepared the family's claim to the ancient but dormant Earldom of Crawford. When this was successful his father presented him with the estate of Dunecht in Aberdeenshire. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, was born at Muncaster Castle, Cumberland, on 16th October 1812. He was educated at Eton, where, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he began his career as a book collector. He spent most of his life indulging his scholarly interests. He published his first work, *Lives of the*

Lindsays, in 1835, with a second volume five years later and a further edition in 1849. Genealogy figured prominently in his collection. He continued writing many works on religion and art. He was a sincerely religious man and his genuine beliefs and sympathies were evident in his works. He combined religion with art to produce his best work, *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847, three volumes). However, some of his works were typical dreary mid-Victorian works such as *Scepticism: A Retrogressive Movement in Theology and Philosophy*, (1861) which is similar in tone and dogma to the works of other Victorian theosophists such as Chenevix-Trench or Arthur Stanley. His interests were so broad that he moved easily and elegantly from a private memoir of an ancestor (*Memoir of Anna MacKenzie, Countess of Balcarres*) to a tract on the theories of High Toryism, which he himself embodied.⁷⁴

His library was generally described as "*magnificent*" and a worthy successor to the Duke of Roxburghe's a century before. Lord Crawford endeavoured to make his collection representative of all types of literature and all nations. Like Spencer, he procured the first and best editions when possible and spent hundreds of contented hours cataloguing the collection himself. As often as not he bought volumes in languages which he could not understand. For these competent scholars were commissioned to prepare abstracts. He purchased works of historic importance including the famous Mazarin bible and a 1402 edition of the *Biblia Latina*. He also championed the pre-Raphaelites and collected the works of illustrations by Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Millais. The Earl commissioned William Smith to remodel Dunecht House. It was transformed from a modest neo-Greek villa into an Italianate mansion, reminiscent of Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. However, by 1867 the house was too small and George Edmund Street was employed to design a vast library and chapel. The choice of the arch-Gothic revivalist Street was surprising considering the Earl's pre-Raphaelite inclinations. The library is described as being of "*railway station proportions, but in the non-pejorative sense, in that these buildings were the cathedrals of the Victorian age*".⁷⁵ It is arguably the most spectacular of country house libraries in the North East with a vast, iron-framed, barrel vaulted roof and lined with two galleries.

However, the work progressed slowly and in October 1880 Ludovic Lindsay, the son of the Earl, wrote "*I call it quite damned provoking for there is the place exactly as it was last year, not one thing done...I shall see Master Street when I go to town, and then I think I may possibly let loose the pent up bowels of wrath upon his devoted head*".⁷⁶ In the meantime the Earl had been busily writing a history of the Earldom of Mar which was eventually published in 1882. Much of the writing of this work had taken place in Egypt and then Florence where the Earl had gone in an attempt to improve his health. Unfortunately this sojourn did not have the desired effect and on 13 December 1880 he died in Florence, without ever having seen the library at Dunecht full of his collection. After his death the estate was sold,⁷⁷ which left the family with a problem. The family's existing seat, Haigh Hall, near Wigan, was too small for the late Earl's library. Consequently, Sotheby's conducted a ten day sale between 13th and 23rd June 1887. The majority of the

most valuable works were sold off. The Mazarin Bible fetched the price of £2,650. Subsequently, the Crawford collection became a regular source of bibliographic sales, although part remains in the hands of the present Earl of Crawford at his seat in Fife.

Settled Land Acts and accelerated sales

It was the Settled Land Acts of 1882 and 1884 which created an added impetus to the sale of country house collections, large and small. These pieces of legislation allowed the Court of Chancery to authorise the sale, by trustees, of hitherto strictly entailed heirlooms and chattels. The result was, in 1886, the commencement of the sale of the vast library of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham. Five sales at Blenheim decimated the famous collection of the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, but did raise £56,581⁷⁸ for the cash-starved Marlboroughs. One of the greatest losses was the sale of the Beckford collection. This opulent library had been built up after the sale of the original library at Fonthill in 1823. The collection was inherited by Beckford's grandson, the Duke of Hamilton, who moved it to his seat, the vast Hamilton Palace. The four sales of 1882-1883 raised £73,551. This was supplemented by the subsequent sale of the Hamilton Manuscripts to the German government, which raised another £80,000. This latter event occasioned one of the "*first public agitations against the export of national treasure*".⁷⁹ However, worse than the dispersal of the contents of Hamilton Palace was the fate of this architectural masterpiece itself. Due to mining underneath the park, the Palace began to subside. In the early twenties the Palace was emptied and demolished. To this day it remains an act of appalling vandalism and is generally regarded as unforgivable by the architectural heritage lobby.

As the 1880s progressed the Earl of Jersey disposed of the collection at Osterley in Middlesex, which was notable for the connection with Robert Child, the banker, an earlier example of the *nouveau riche* successfully blending into country house society. Shortly afterwards, the fine collection of early printed books from the library of the ancient, but consistently *nobilitas minor*, Thorold family at Syston Park went under the hammer. The collections included a 1459 Mainz Psalter and a Gutenberg Bible. The sale of entire collections by auction ensured the dispersal of unique elements of heritage; it was in fact the disintegration of an heritage and, in this case as in so many others, the heritage of the smaller, landed gentry rather than of the great territorial magnate. However, the same fate did not occur in 1892 with the sale of the collection described as the greatest private library in Europe; the Spencer collection from Althorp. The pride and joy of the 2nd Earl Spencer was sold in 1892. However, it was one of the most sensitively managed of all country house sales. As was the case with much of the nobility, the 4th Earl Spencer found himself short of funding following the prolonged agricultural depression. He came to the conclusion that money could only be found by parting with some of the family treasures. The choice lay between the pictures and the great Althorp Library. With great reluctance, the Earl Spencer decided that the library had to go. Georgina Battiscombe, in her book, *The Spencers of Althorp*, believes that "*he was*

*clearly right in his choice; books in private houses can neither be secured against thieves nor easily made available to scholars. Althorp, however, lost its unique glory; no other private house contained a library approaching this one in scale or magnificence".*⁸⁰

However, the collection was bought, in its entirety, by Mrs John Rylands for £250,000 - one of the Caxtons in the collection would now fetch several times that figure - and formed the nucleus of a public library which she gave to Manchester in memory of her husband. In the same year as the sale, Spencer was appointed the Chancellor of Victoria University, a federal university which included Manchester. Although the John Rylands Library was owned by the City, the University was involved in both its creation and management. The Vice Chancellor of the University took Earl Spencer to see his treasures in their new home, and according to Battiscombe *"he was genuinely pleased to see the books so well cared for and he found consolation in the thought that they had remained in England but easily available to scholars from all over the world"*.⁸¹ So it has remained and in 1972 the library was merged with that of the university to form the John Rylands University Library.

New versus Old

By the latter part of Queen Victoria's reign the impetus for collecting was being dominated by the *nouveau riche*. Land was still the bedrock of aristocratic society and men like Tennant, Stephen, Bass and Guinness were all busy buying up acres as part of their quest for status. To each of these, in time, came Peerages (or in the case of Bass and Guinness *'Beerages'*). Yet again the social pyramid had changed and the old families were having to accept people who, a century earlier, they would have scorned. For those who could still afford it bibliomania was one way to assist in the process of integration. One family which could easily afford it were the Rothschilds, who took to the squirearchy like round pegs in a round hole. Yet beneath the surface the old nobility could still display scathing snobbery, if not contempt, for these new families.

These self-made men had long ago realised that, like their country estate, their stately home and their acquisition of a title, a library was a status symbol. It may not have conferred nobility upon them, but it certainly portrayed them as gentlemen to the outside world. As often as not these new libraries were purchased, *en masse*, not for intellectual advancement but for social aggrandisement. Sir Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria's celebrated Private Secretary, observed this motive at work during a dinner party at the home of James Knowles, Editor of *The Nineteenth Century*. Also present were W.E. Gladstone, Lord Randolph Churchill and Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, the builder of Waddesdon, that pastiche of a French château in rural Buckinghamshire. Writing on 28 February 1890, Ponsonby noted: *"Much discourse on books...and how many would make a good library. It was generally agreed about twenty thousand of which Rothschild immediately made a note"*.⁸² What was implied by this remark in

Ponsonby's letter was that the 'gentlemen' present had decided twenty thousand was a suitable size. Reading between the lines Ponsonby thought that Rothschild's next move in his attempt to be regarded as an English gentleman would be the acquisition of a suitably sized library of, perhaps, twenty thousand volumes. Whether the material was read or even of interest was not entirely relevant. Of course, the fact that Rothschild had visibly made a note of this conversation betrayed the fact that he was not, even in the eyes of the liberal Sir Henry, a true gentleman.

In 1893, the most valuable works in the Isham family's collection at Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire were sold privately to W.C. Miller, of Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire. The sale included the 1599 *Venus and Adonis* and *The Passionate Pilgrim*. This was yet another example of a new library being born out of the sales of older collections, and highlights both the redefinition of the social pyramid in that Miller was a self-made man, as well as the fact that libraries and books have always been recycled. However, by the turn of the century even the recycling of collections was waning. The Britwell collection was later sold, with the bulk of the collection, including *The Passionate Pilgrim*, going to Henry E. Huntington's library in California. In 1917 the Egerton library was also sold to Huntington. It was an important family library built up by the 1st Lord Ellesmere at the end of the sixteenth century and supplemented by subsequent Earls of Bridgwater and later the Earls of Ellesmere, the first three of whom were members of the Roxburghe Club. The trend of bibliographic treasures leaving these islands had commenced its inexorable progress. As Cannadine points out "*from the 1880s...works of art were dispersed rather than collected*".⁸³

Armageddon

It was, of course, the First World War which resulted in a wholesale change in the country house and in the position of their owners. Houses and collections suffered immeasurably, as did the rest of society from the Armageddon of 1914-18. It was the most brutal redefinition of the social pyramid and, in reality, heralded the death-knell of the old order. As Thompson put it: "*it would be impossible to measure how much the quality and vitality of the landed society in the post war years suffered from the absence of sons killed in France, or from the natural hedonism of the survivors of that holocaust*".⁸⁴ The generation of men, like Julian Grenfell, who fell in the mud of Flanders left many houses without heirs and inevitably the spate of sales increased. "*Double deaths frequently led to the succession of distant cousins with no strong ties to the family estate and neither the resources nor the inclination to reside there. Thus when Sir Edmund Antrobus's death was followed closely by that of his only son, killed in action, the whole of his Amesbury Abbey estate was put on the market in 1915*".⁸⁵ Nevertheless it was the personal tragedy of the bloody fields of Flanders which remains most poignant. The death of the Honourable Ivo Charteris, only nineteen and at the Front less than five weeks, prompted his father, the Earl of Wemyss and March to write: "*most piteous - heartbroken and just like a child - tears pouring down...and so naïvely astonished*".⁸⁶ It was compounded when, the following year, the Earl's elder son, Hugo Lord Elcho was also killed.

By the end of the war all levels of the social pyramid were shedding acres by the thousand. Not content with the sale of land, secondary houses and, equally importantly, large parts of collections were being disposed of by everyone from Dukes and other grandees to Squires and Lairds. The Duke of Sutherland sold off nearly a quarter of a million acres; the Duke of Westminster, the Marquess of Aberdeen, Earls Beauchamp and Cathcart, and so on all added to the general air of insecurity by divesting themselves of property. The Duke of Rutland sold off almost half of the Belvoir estate in 1920 for £1,500,000. By 1921 the *Estates Gazette* noted that in the previous four years one quarter of England had changed hands.⁸⁷ Indeed transfer on this scale had not been witnessed since the time of the Conquest. Lord Northampton said in 1919 that landowning is "*viewed as a monopoly and is consequently unpopular*".⁸⁸ Therefore it was a suitable target for successive governments as a source of revenue. David Cannadine was correct in his assertion that this "*scale of territorial transfer was rivalled only by the two other landed revolutions in Britain this millennium: the Norman Conquest and the Dissolution of the Monasteries*".⁸⁹

Britain ceased to be a truly *aristocratic* country when Bonar Law's government collapsed in 1923 and the patrician Curzon was denied the premiership in favour of the plebeian Baldwin. This event coincided with the steepest decline of the country house and of the aristocratic order. Rather than tinker about with the sale of paintings, furniture or libraries, more and more owners were faced with the prospect of abandoning their estates and houses altogether. The consequences of the First World War were still being felt and country house owners found themselves beset by more problems: rising costs, stationary rents; higher labour costs; higher taxation and eventually the loss of so many fortunes in the Great Depression following the Stock Market crash. The aristocracy had to come to terms with permanently higher rates of income tax and super tax and it was a burden which many could not shoulder.

While governments viewed land as a source for revenue, country house owners viewed their collections in a similar light. Even the fabulously wealthy but utterly philistine 2nd Duke of Westminster sold off the best of the Grosvenor library to the American dealer Doctor Rosenbach. Westminster exhibited little interest in his collection and was quite happy to receive £4,500 for 393 books (of which only thirty nine were printed after 1701). This was followed up by the sale of the Duke's copy of Audubon and by significant sales in 1953, 1966-67 and finally in 1976, when six thousand volumes were sold. For Rosenbach it was not his most successful purchase, but it was the one he viewed as the greatest status symbol. Unfortunately for British heritage, Rosenbach was calculating about the glories which remained hidden. He wrote to Sir Leicester Harmsworth in 1933, "*there must be wonderful treasures left in England of which no one knows anything about*".⁹⁰ Curiously, no one seems to have lamented the export to the United States of these unique collections. Indeed Rosenbach doubted whether these sources would ever dry up.

In 1928, with the assistance of the novelist and Ascendancy landowner Sir Shane Leslie, Rosenbach was given access to a number of important collections. One of these was the Helen's Tower Library at Clondeboye in County Down. The collection housed many important relics of the Sheridan family as well as the library of the 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, a noted bibliophile. Dufferin, at one time Viceroy of India, was described by the Roxburghe Club as "*possessing a remarkable brain...and his knowledge of books and music was unbounded*".⁹¹ Rosenbach was immediately struck by the treasures which included Mary Queen of Scots' Book of Hours and Venetian bibles, as well as part of the collection of de Thou. Fortunately for Rosenbach, the 2nd Marquess was in financial difficulties and found Rosenbach's offer irresistible. The American made numerous purchases from Clondeboye. However, the incident had considerable repercussions as Lord Dufferin had sold entailed works. This provoked a family dispute which intensified when the next Marquess demanded the return of the works. However, by that point the books were in the United States and thus beyond the reach of the laws of entailment.

After Clondeboye, Rosenbach purchased from Bishop Percy's library at Caledon House and from the Shirley family's two collections, one at Lough Fea in Ireland, and the other at Ettington in Warwickshire. All of his purchases made their way into the hands of private collectors in the United States. Remarkably, this export of precious bibliographic heritage did not seem to raise an eyebrow. Rosenbach arrived on the scene at a time when collections were no longer recycled from one country house to another. In *Rosenbach Redux* Morris notes that the Doctor was "*fortunate in his time. The 1920's were in many ways the end of an era for the country house...As the country house ceased to be the centre of its community, the functions of its library - to educate and to entertain - became less important, and its books moved on to different homes and different uses.*".⁹² Yet that end of an era was a long and protracted one and it was to take the painful destruction of many more collections before the heritage movement was prepared to act to maintain country houses and collections.

The Country House is foredoomed

The spate of sales continued from large and small country houses. The Dowager Lady Peel had to part with the library of the great Sir Robert. Much of the famous library of Henry Percy 9th Earl of Northumberland was sold from Petworth, including scarce Americana, realising £63,732 for Lord Leconfield. As the thirties proceeded, with penal taxation and estate duties gripping many country house owners, the pace of sales accelerated. The famous Anglo-Saxon *Blickling Homilies* were sold by the Marquess of Lothian, together with 168 other treasures from Blickling, in 1932. Two years later Lord Lothian astonished the Annual General Meeting of the National Trust when he warned his audience that "*the role of the country house in our national life is foredoomed by social and economic pressures*".⁹³ Despite Lord Lothian's appeal the sale of collections continued. Not even the National Trust's Country

House Scheme, masterminded by James Lees-Milne, could prevent it. Part of the famous Rosebery collection was sold in 1933. The important recusant collection of the Arundell of Wardour family was sold in Salisbury in 1935, with the remainder going in November 1947. In Scotland, the surplus contents of Gordon Castle, including all of the books, were sold in 1938, and the house demolished in 1955. The Duke of Newcastle demolished Clumber Park, Barry's Italianate masterpiece, and sold the library collection in five sales conducted by Sotheby's in 1937 and 1938. Also in 1938 was the sale of the noble collection from Ham House. This collection included the library of John Duke of Lauderdale and the 4th Earl of Dysart. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, grandson of the great collector, viewed the prospect of losing the contents of Haigh Hall as unendurable: "*They form the apanage of our family, and their loss will cause us profound distress. Books and pictures combine to make Haigh one of the great and famous houses of England - stripped of these treasures, the place would be uninhabitable*".⁹⁴

The best works from Castle Howard went on the market in 1944 following the disastrous fire of 1940. The famous Holland House - *rus in urbe* - was bombed during the Blitz and the library, created by generations of the Fox family, was sold by the Earl of Ilchester. A pathetic photograph exists of the bombed out library with the treasures, still on their shelves, being picked over by booksellers. Lord Ilchester was chairman of the London Library, president of the Roxburghe Club and, perhaps, the leading twentieth century aristocratic bibliophile. The best of his collection was eventually sold from Melbury House in Dorset in 1962. In the meantime, the collection of the Harris Earls of Malmesbury was sold from Hurn Court in 1950; four sales between 1953 and 1967 depleted the collection of the Earl of Derby at Knowsley. The Marquess of Bute disposed of the entire collection at Dumfries House and the family's Luton collection. In 1950, Sir Garden Beauchamp Duff presented his entire library from Meldrum House to the University of Aberdeen. The catalogue of the collection laments that the collection is typical of not only the country house but also of "*a bygone age which is fast disappearing*".⁹⁵

The collection from Meldrum House was not the only one to be donated to an institution in this way. The collection of the Marquess of Lothian from Newbattle Abbey bequeathed to the National Library of Scotland. However, it was later returned to Monteviot House near Jedburgh for the lifetime of the present Marquess, the National Library staff visiting the collection once a year to check the condition. It may seem a satisfactory situation but in reality it can cause problems when particular works are required, not least because its location is some fifty miles from Edinburgh. In 1976 the library at Newhailes in East Lothian was accepted in lieu of tax upon the death of Sir Mark Dalrymple, Bart. and eventually passed into the hands of the National Library of Scotland. The Newhailes library, described by Dr Johnson as "*the most learned room in Europe*", was one of the finest collections ever assembled in Scotland. This was highlighted by John Cornforth who said "*the books on the Newhailes shelves may appear to be a collection of individuals rather than the smooth display of spines, sleeping undisturbed, which is what one expects of*

a country house library."⁹⁶ The acquisition by the National Trust for Scotland of Newhailes itself in 1996 highlights the need for a co-ordinated heritage strategy for country house libraries because the National Library has agreed, in principle, for the return of the collection to the house when the process of restoration is completed. The achievement of this aim relies heavily on a detailed management plan which, hitherto, has been conspicuous by its absence in the country house library.

As a result of such bequests and the inexorable spate of sales, it is true to say that many did believe that the age of the country house had well-and-truly vanished. The sales highlighted the trends of the time. At best, the most important works were sold off in order to preserve the rest of the collection, or at worst, the entire collection was disposed of in often futile attempts to maintain the house as a whole. The post war period not only reinforced the view that these houses were anachronistic, but also that they were simply uneconomic white elephants. This paradigm of doom was highlighted by Thompson, who noted that, "*by 1952 the landed gentry in Essex, Oxfordshire and Shropshire had been reduced by two-thirds in each county. In that edition [of Burke's Landed Gentry] one quarter of the entire Landed Gentry had sold their ancient lands and properties and were residing elsewhere.*"⁹⁷ Throughout the 1950s it was the *lucky* owners who were being forced into partial sales; the *unlucky* ones were being forced into selling everything while staring ruin and catastrophe in the face. More and more owners had no option but to give up completely. In Scotland once cherished seats were left gutted in order to avoid paying rates. Collections were sold; houses were abandoned; estates were divided.

So the sales, either partial or total, continued inexorably. The Earl of Caledon's collection, probably the best in Ulster, was presented to Queen's University in Belfast in 1969. The exquisite library at Caledon Castle itself later suffered at the hands of IRA bombers. In September 1975 the library of 10,000 volumes collected by the Earls of Seafield was sold, together with all the other contents of Cullen House in Banffshire. The sale aroused locally the same sort of agitation which the Mentmore sale aroused nationally. One cannot help thinking that had Cullen been thirty miles from London then more might have been done to preserve the collection. The sale of Mentmore curiously excluded the bulk of the Rothschild-Rosebery library. However, the best of the collection, including Merian and Zeiller's rare *Topographia* (1642-1650), a 1481 edition of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and works belonging to Madame de Pompadour, finally came on the market in 1995.

So why did the steady decline in the first half of the twentieth century turn into an avalanche after the Second World War? Essentially, there has been a change in attitudes. The structure of society had moved on. Of course, the social pyramid identified at the beginning of this chapter still exists, but it is no longer crucial or central to British life. Social class has become more fluid and being an aristocrat with a country house may be quaint and charming but these things count for relatively little in modern Britain. Wealth

and status no longer depend on rural acres, peerages and manor houses. James Lees-Milne said that country houses were works of art as well as dwellings, yet he has pointed to the hypocrisy of the British about the things they destroy: *"they shed crocodile tears while dissecting the corpses of their victims"*.⁹⁸ Thompson has accurately pinpointed the change this century which has been responsible for the decline of landed society and ultimately the destruction of the country house, and of their unique collections. He said: *"The most significant change in this century has been the end of the rise of the new gentry. New men no longer come forward in sufficient numbers to replace the old, and in consequence estates have been broken up and country houses lie forlorn and derelict, themselves broken up for their mantelpieces and door-frames"*.⁹⁹

Building for Eternity?

So much of the bibliographic heritage of the British country house has been dispersed that it is vital to cherish what remains and to lament what has been lost. If a nation wishes to preserve its heritage, then country houses and their libraries form a vital part of that heritage. In *Rosenbach Redux* Morris boasts that, without the dispersal of British country house libraries, *"the research libraries of America would be poorer without them"*.¹⁰⁰ Of course this is true but it does also highlight that the social, cultural, historical and educational identity of Britain has suffered through the loss of these collections overseas. Like the destruction of the country house, the dispersal of their libraries is a matter for regret. In one hundred and fifty years, institutions which have existed for almost a millennium have been brought to their knees. *"Indeed the country house revolution has been fairly swift. It has taken a mere lifetime to wipe out an institution of four centuries. It is true that the First World War gravely shook the foundations. The Second World War toppled it. Subsequent social trends have brought it crashing to the ground"*.¹⁰¹

If we cannot understand the past then we are condemned to relive it. Only through the analysis of history is it possible to move forward. However, history supplies us with more questions than answers. In the final analysis it is no longer possible for country houses to remain just that. To survive they have had to transform themselves into outlets for the leisure market, packaging history and culture for mass consumption. The vast majority have recognised this and have turned themselves into businesses, profit-making enterprises. However, this rush to make money is, as often as not, in an attempt to keep the roof on. Along the way much has suffered, and much has been lost. In the cultural tourism market place, do libraries, perhaps the ultimate symbol of culture and learning, have a real role to play? The answer depends on the attitudes of owners and the extent to which they value their collections. Do owners regard them as an intellectual resource or do they view them as a financial one? Is there concern for the contents of these collections or is it enough that the library looks like a library? Are these pragmatic survivors of aristocracy really guardians of the layers of culture represented by the family library or are they merely waiting for the right moment to sell of the family books, as well as the family silver, in order to keep a

centuries old connection with a house intact. For several decades now owners have been faced with the choice of keeping the house or the collection but not both.

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- ¹⁵ Jackson-Stops, *Op.cit.* p198.
- ¹⁶ Devonshire, [Deborah Cavendish] Duchess of. *The House: A Portrait of Chatsworth*. London: MacMillan, 1982, p i.
- ¹⁷ Stone, *Op. cit.* p794 (Appendix XXXVII).
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* p706.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.* p706.
- ²⁰ Books mentioned in the Wills. The others being, Francis Earl of Bedford, 1584; Peregrine Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, 1590; Anthony Viscount Montagu, 1592; Christopher Lord Teynham, 1622; James Earl of Marlborough, and George Earl of Totnes, both 1625; William Earl of Devonshire, 1628; Oliver Viscount Grandison, 1630; Thomas Lord Coventry, 1638; Thomas Earl of Winchilsea 1639, Henry Earl of Manchester, 1641 and Thomas Lord Windsor, 1641. Stone, *Ibid.* p 706.
- ²¹ *Ibid.* p715.
- ²² *Ibid.* p690.
- ²³ Stone details the inflation of honours in his second chapter. Part of the problem was invention of the Baronetcy in 1611 (for which see George Edward Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage*).
- ²⁴ Stone, *Op. cit.* p707. The Thanet Collection acts as a yard stick for the origins of many country house collections.
- ²⁵ Jones, Kathleen. *A Glorious Fame: The Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1673)*. London: Bloomsbury, 1988. pp144-150.
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- ³³ G.E.C. *The Complete Peerage, Op. cit.* Volume X, p267.
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- ⁴⁴ G.E.C. *The Complete Peerage, Op. cit.* Volume XI, p224. The reason for the breaking of the engagement was the ridiculous rule that an elder sister could not be the subject of a younger one.
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- ⁴⁸ Battiscombe, *Op. cit.* p76.
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- ⁵⁷ Morris, [Rosenbach], *Op. cit.* p30.
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- ⁶⁴ Rosebery, Earl of. *Chatham.* London: Humphreys, 1910, pp133-134.
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- ⁷⁰ Letter from Benjamin Disraeli to the Marchioness of Londonderry, 5th August 1848, in Londonderry, Edith Marchioness of (ed). *Letters of Benjamin Disraeli to Frances Anne Marchioness of Londonderry, 1837-1861.* London: MacMillan, 1938. *cf* Spring. *Huntington Library Quarterly.* p185.
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⁷⁷ What followed was one of the most extraordinary events of country house history. The Earl's body was returned to Dunecht and buried in the family vault. Almost a year later, on 2nd December 1881, it was discovered that the vault had been broken into and that the body of the Earl had been stolen. The affair created considerable excitement, conjuring up images of Burke and Hare. In March 1882 a group of spiritualists tried, unsuccessfully, to solve the mystery. Eventually, on 18 July 1882, the body was found half-hidden, not far from the rifled mausoleum. One Charles Soutar confessed to stealing the body. He was sentenced to five years penal servitude. The Lindsay family were suitably horrified and in 1886 the completed house was sold.

⁷⁸ Munby, *Op. cit.* p108.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p108.

⁸⁰ Battiscombe, *Op. cit.* p237.

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CHAPTER IV

Current Situation within Country House Libraries

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Ipsum armarium nostrum est armamentarium

[*For the library is our armoury*]

Geoffrey de Breteuil to Pierre Mangot, c1165

Introduction

The previous chapter has dealt with the historical development of country house collections throughout the last five centuries. However, the chapter asks as many questions as it answers. The historical research relies on surviving documentary evidence which is available to anyone who cares to examine it. What this evidence does not afford us is a glimpse into the position today. The chapter ends on a slightly pessimistic note which is almost inevitable after the long discussion of the relentless process of sales throughout the last century. Yet much does survive and it is because of that survival factor that it is necessary to acquire and present evidence on the current position to supplement the existing historical documentary material. The essence of this chapter may be said to be the perfection of the historical study by bring the story of country house libraries and book collections up to date. The present situation is, in fact, the completion of the historical narrative as well as an exercise in analysis in its own right. The principal tool for acquiring and presenting the contemporary evidence has been the survey of libraries and book collections.¹

One of the primary justification for saying that country house libraries are unique is that, by and large, they are the testimony of successive generations of a particular family. It is only in the hereditary library that the family link is noticeable. Of course, in addition to the scholarly justification for surveying collections there was another reason which went beyond the argument for knowledge for its own sake. The survey was the most practical and most effective tool by which to inform this piece of research about the state of collections at the end of the twentieth century. As is mentioned in the Introductory Preface, the survey afforded an opportunity for the inclusion of authoritative data, obtained directly from owners and administrators. In many ways the latter give a better indication of the often elusive interest factor. Moreover, all of the objectives of the survey were not stated explicitly in the questions which were asked. For this reason it is important to demonstrate the two sided objectives in the form of explicit and implicit objectives.

The Diffusion of Libraries

Inevitably, the most important single question for the entire survey was whether or not there was a library. This sought to ascertain how many country houses had a collection of books commonly regarded as *the library*. Before proceeding, it is vital to extinguish any misconceptions which may be implied from the use of the word. The survey can be said to cover three different interpretations of the word library. These can be identified as houses which had collections of books housed in a room specifically designated as *the library* or houses which had collections of books not housed in a room specifically designated as *the library*. In addition, it must be noted that there are many houses which have a room designated as *the library* but which contains no books.

The survey sought to obtain reliable data on how widespread country house libraries and book collections are within country houses. The results given here are percentages of those who responded (49%). As this represents almost half of the entire sample (which was, in itself near comprehensive) the trends indicate here are indicative and transferable across the rest of the country house library domain. The results showed that, of those owners who responded to the survey, 61.5% said that their house did contain a library, while 38.5%² said it did not. This also highlighted the cult of the library within the structure of country house society at large and provided the first national insight into the number of extant collections. Obviously, it is not possible to draw crass distinctions from this result. It would be an oversimplification to say that sixty percent of families were scholarly and forty percent were boorish. Such an interpretation misjudges the influences and pressures of history. That 38.5% do not have extant libraries does not mean that these families were not bookish or scholarly, it merely highlights the importance of later questions connected with the dispersal of collections. The number without libraries owes as much to the vagaries of salerooms as it does to intellectual deficit.

General Public Access

One of the most important issues concerning country house libraries is that of access, not only to the library collections, but to the houses in general. Public access to country houses is nothing new, nor is it an entirely altruistic action on the part of owners and administrators. Most (public) maintenance grants and acceptance of artefacts *in situ* rely on owners being prepared to open their houses to the general public. Although the question of access is more in tune with broader questions of heritage policy, it does, nevertheless, play an important role in the picture of current provision of country houses libraries. This whole research accepts the distinction which exists between general access to the library as a room (on part of a tour) and intellectual access to the library which is limited to groups with a legitimate interest in the bibliographic material. This element of the survey examines both, while later stages of the research concentrate on the more meaningful intellectual access to collections. Access to stately homes and historic houses is not a new phenomenon, as Peter Mandler has pointed out in his book *The Fall and Rise of the*

Stately Home. ³ Sufficient interest existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for a steady stream of visitors to pay a succession of housekeepers half a crown for the privilege of looking over the house. Jane Austen merely reflected contemporary trends when she wrote in *Pride and Prejudice* of Elizabeth Bennet taken over Pemberley by the housekeeper.

The phrase '*open to the public*' ⁴ can be fairly said to represent two broad categories: those which are open on a sustained and regular basis and those which open on a sporadic, irregular basis. The general impression which is created by this division is that the first category of houses are open as part of a serious profit-making concern, while the second open in order to meet the criteria of grant-aid regulations and, where possible, to supplement maintenance costs. The survey results revealed that 39.9% were open regularly. The phrase '*open regularly*' has been used to represent those houses which are open for a defined period of more than thirty days in each year. Some houses, particularly the larger ones, regard the season as running from Easter until the end of October, while others regard it as high summer only. These houses tend to be the ones which are open longer than the bare minimum required in order to qualify for state grants. Of those houses which are open to the public on an occasional basis, 22.1%, tend to be those who only open a specific amount of days per annum regulated by the provision of either grant-aid or the retention *in situ* of items accepted in lieu of tax. In order to qualify for either of these two concessions owners must be prepared to give reasonable access to the general public. In many cases owners who find themselves in this position grant only the bare minimum of access as required by the regulations. Consequently, a total of 62% of houses do have some type of provision for access to the general public.

Houses which are never open to the general public pose the biggest problem in the discussion of access to bibliographic heritage. These are private family homes which are not in receipt of grant-aid which obliges them to give the public access. The numbers of these houses form a significant proportion of the total: some 37.9% of houses are completely private residences with no provision for access to the general public. Throughout the United Kingdom the houses which are never open fall into three distinct categories: private homes or those in institutional or corporate use. In England one third (33.2%) of houses have been described by their owners as completely private and in Scotland the figure is much larger, standing at 44.7%. This may be explained by the prevalence of smaller houses north of the border. However, the case in Northern Ireland is difficult to assess because of the small number of country houses which remain and by the fact that privately-owned houses tend not to allow access of any kind. The overall picture shows that 62.1% of country houses do have some form of access for the general public.

General Library Access ⁵

For the vast majority of the general public their only experience of a country house library occurs during the tour of a historic house when they pass through the library. As a result of this it is important to be able

to assess the number of libraries within the country house setting to which the general public have even the most basic form of access. The first stage in this process is to assess the number of houses with libraries which are open. The total number of country houses which have library collections is already listed above; of these, 72.0% were open to the general public on either a regular or an occasional basis, while the remaining 28.0% of houses with libraries were never open to the public. This contrasts favourably with the general figures on houses which are open and shows that a higher proportion of houses with libraries are open to the general public. However, that is, in reality, a purely academic statistic. More important, in terms of this study, is whether the library itself is open.

This evidence must be shown in two separate contexts. Firstly, in the context of the total number of country house libraries irrespective of whether or not the *house* is open. Secondly, in the context of those which *are* open to the general public. As a result of this analysis, 28.0% of country house libraries remain exclusively the domain of their owners (representing completely private houses which do contain libraries). In addition to these must be added those libraries which do not form part of the visitor route within houses which *are* otherwise open to the public. These collections account for 16.9% of the total number of country house libraries, or 23.0% of the total number of houses which were open. To this total must be added a further 2.6% of collections in houses open (and 1.8% of the total number of collections) which have discontinued access to the library on the visitor route. Primarily this has been done for reasons of security and has, in one case, terminated access to one of the country's most important collections. In the overall picture of country house collections (not merely those in houses open), it is possible to calculate that 46.7% of country house collections are not accessible, even at the most basic level.

In order to balance this picture it is necessary to view the opposite end of the spectrum, houses which are open and do have libraries. However, it is far less significant in this positive side of the argument. While visiting country houses the public can expect regular basic access to 53.3% of all country house libraries. From this can be drawn the simple conclusion that the general public have basic access to see a majority (albeit slim) of *all* country house libraries. However, it is equally important to set this data in the context of all historic houses which are open to the general public regardless of their library provision. The evidence from the survey points to the fact that the general public will see a library during a visit to 58.7% of all historic houses; they can also visit some 20.6% of historic houses which do not contain a library at all, and a further 20.6% where there is a library but where it is not on the public route for visitors. The question of what a library actually is will vary from house to house; some may contain historic collections, some may have been bought by the yard, some may contain archives and muniments. The library is a distinct unit within the country house but in some cases it may be a collection, in others a room and in yet more both. These are the definitions used throughout this work.

Intellectual Access

The question of intellectual access is crucial to this research. It is inextricably linked to the issues of funding as well as conservation and preservation. Indeed access to collections is a fundamental of any heritage policy in this field. Preservation, funding and access are essential pre-requisites for assistance from outside bodies. As has been mentioned, the term 'access to libraries' must be qualified; it can either mean allowing the general public, in the shape of paying visitors, the opportunity to walk through a library and see volumes on the shelves, or it can mean allowing a more specialist public the opportunity to actually consult the works themselves. Obviously, it is necessary to dismiss the idea of giving access to specific works to the general public. A most crucial distinction emerges in the shape of general access to the library versus intellectual access to the collection. However, many houses are keen not to allow the books to appear as mere 'wallpaper' to the average visitor. This can only be achieved by the use of a few selected volumes as exhibition pieces. It was J.F. Fuggles who articulated this two-fold problem when he said "*the Trust is conscious not only that these resources should be available to scholars, but also that the books should mean more than "wallpaper" to visitors to a house.*" ⁶

The case which Fuggles puts forward for allowing scholars access to collections is entirely justified rather than a patrician disdain for the Great British public. It is necessary to be realistic about the average member of the general public. The material in country house libraries is not, generally speaking, of more than passing interest to the average man or woman in the street. As Commander Michael Saunders Watson, former President of the Historic Houses Association, has put it "*the public will come whether there is a library or not.*" ⁷ There is little evidence that the general public, whose appetite for public libraries is scarcely at a level desired by librarians, would want another layer of libraries made available to them. There is little evidence that those visitors who would like to be seen as part of the '*cultural tourism*' ⁸ movement would have anything other than a simple desire to *see* the volumes. Therefore, in many instances, seeing the material shelved neatly is an adequate definition of access, while for the scholarly, academic or genuinely interested access must take on a different role. Throughout this research the concepts of 'restricted access' for the paying public on their tour of the house and 'unrestricted access' for those accredited scholars or researchers are very much to the fore. This is, indeed, reflected in the figures for previous scholarly interest as indicated in the table below.

U.K.	
Previous Scholarly Interest	45.6%
No Previous interest	51.6%

Some 97.5% of respondents to the survey supplied an answer to the question 'do you allow access to the collection if requested?' Of these 75.6% said that they either did allow access or would be prepared to if requested, while 21.8% said that they would not grant access under any circumstances.

	UK	Eng.	Scot.	Wales	N.I.
Prepared to concede access	75.6%	72.0%	80.0%	80.0%	N/A
Unwilling to concede access	21.8%	28.0%	20.0%	20.0%	N/A

As can be seen from the table this clear was reflected in England, Scotland and Wales with Northern Ireland failing to provide adequate data on this question. Equally important, however, is the fact that the overwhelming majority of respondents who were prepared to allow access drew the distinction between 'restricted' and 'unrestricted' access which has already been highlighted. The principal reason for this large and positive result must be the fact that so many elements of public financial support to the country house are related to the provision of access. This has been emphasised again in the National Heritage Act of 1997 which allows private owners of historic properties (collectively and in defined circumstances) to apply for lottery funding from the National Heritage Memorial Fund on condition that "*reasonable access to the general public*"⁹ is provided in return. In addition, many owners often feel that their collections benefit from scholarly use, especially in instances where little is known about the collection. In many houses the only description of the library is the limited entry in the guidebook and the only display of material is in a glazed exhibition case. Consequently, the actual use of a collection is seen as a means of breathing life into what John Cornforth described as the "*undisturbed sleep*" of the country house library. However, books were published to be read and used in the scholarly pursuit of intellectual achievement. In this, the attitudes of owners and administrators with regard to access mirror the view of the National Trusts.

There is one principal caveat which the National Trust considers when scrutinising requests to use material from libraries, namely whether the work is available elsewhere locally. Similarly, private owners generally take this into consideration before granting access to the collection. One administrator reflected this when speaking about rarities within the collection: "*there are many rarities but little which cannot be found somewhere else.*"¹⁰ This policy is similar to the way in which the great national collections consider requests for material. The best example of this was supplied by J.F. Fuggles who remarked that "*there are three National Trust houses within 45 minutes drive of Cambridge: it would make no sense to grant access to a book if the university library were prepared to make its copy available. Equally it would be absurd to expect someone to fly from Northern Ireland to London to see a book in the British Library which was on the shelves in Castle Ward.*"¹¹ One useful tool which the National Trust for Scotland employs is co-operation with the special collection departments of universities. The National Trust for Scotland occasionally deposits a particular work in one of the special collections departments so that the scholar or

researcher may consult it there. This is useful during the summer months when the house (and the library) are open to the public and relieves the burden on the Trust's staff while ensuring that the book is examined in the best environment possible, surrounded by professionally trained staff. These are important concepts for this research as will be demonstrated elsewhere.

There are a number of practical problems which may not prevent access but may be said to hinder it. By far the largest are the lack of catalogues to collections and the lack of access to catalogues where they do exist. Additionally, there exists the problem of lack of access to extant catalogues. Relatively few extant catalogues are available in academic or public libraries. The result of this is almost as bad as there being no catalogue at all. It is interesting to compare, briefly, what has been done in the Swabia region of southern Germany. There the listings of the principal private collections, those of the Princes of Waldburg-Zeil at Leutkirch and of the Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg at Wolfegg,¹² amongst others, are integrated into the state library system and have entries on the Swabian websites. All in all this highlights one fundamental; namely that cataloguing and the availability of catalogues are not the same thing. Another problem is that owners and administrators feel compelled to be 'on-hand' while a work is examined. This places a burden on house staff and owners. One respondent remarked that "*I am sympathetic but having no staff to supervise it might be difficult*".¹³ This is a common complaint; for the owners and administrators of houses which are open to the public the best time to use the library is during the winter when the house is closed. This is, of course, the worst time for the researcher with all too frequent poor light and freezing rooms which make the task particularly disagreeable.

The ownership of a collection by the National Trust or indeed English Heritage does not, as might be assumed, make access any easier. The problems already outlined, particularly the lack of catalogues, seriously limits the use which can be made of collections by *bona fide* scholars or researchers. If anything, the problems are exacerbated by the fact that the collections are, in theory, accessible but are, in practice, constrained by numerous factors including time, money and poor cataloguing. In an ideal world these collections would be the model for others to follow in the sense that they are being maintained *in situ* and are accessible to the public. However, that parnassus is some way off and, while the Trusts may offer some lessons, they do not have all the solutions by any means as will be seen by the diversity of recommendations in the policy document. Access is not necessarily better in cases where collections are owned by publicly-funded libraries. Examples include libraries which remain *in situ* but are owned by public bodies or libraries. The same potential exists for problems with the much-heralded possibility of the return of the Newhailes collection; unless the National Trust for Scotland is prepared to meet environmental considerations and set aside a study room at the property itself for the consultation of works from the library by scholars and researchers this could be an unfortunate development.

As with general access, it is particularly interesting and significant that there was little discrepancy between the individual totals, in terms of access, for England, Scotland and Wales and the nation-wide total for the United Kingdom as a whole. In these parts of the United Kingdom large majorities were in favour of access. In England the figure was 72% while in Scotland and Wales it stood at 80%. However, in Northern Ireland, the picture was confused and unclear. The National Trust properties at Castle Coole, Castle Ward, Florence Court, Mount Stewart, and Springhill (which contains books but not a library) would all grant access subject to the standard restrictions of the Trust. However, the acceptance of access displayed by private owners elsewhere was not mirrored in Ulster. This marked reluctance amongst private owners to grant access to their houses is interesting but unsurprising. Inevitably, the political climate over the last thirty years has influenced these private owners.

Foundation of Collections

In order to establish when the library became a recognised part of country house life it was necessary to obtain information on when the collections were first established. Of those who confirmed in section one that they did have a *library*, some 95.6% could pinpoint a particular period when the collection was begun, with the remaining 4.4% being unable to supply a specific date. At its most crude, this exploration of age of collections assists in the process of assessing the validity of the argument that these collections are of distinct historical importance. The historical evidence is supported by the results of the survey to show that the earliest collections which survive date from the sixteenth century. Crude though this measure may be it does not alter the fact that these are historical collections of considerable antiquity.

Foundation			
Specific Dates	95.6%		
Foundation unknown	4.4%		
Pre 1600	5.1%		
1701-1750	16.5%		
1701-1750	16.5%		
1751-1800	20.2%	Eighteenth century total	37.1%
1801-1850	12.1%		
Post 1851	25.0%		

For the most part it is fair to say that the 5.1% of extant collection which date from this period are at the pinnacle of the country house library. That these collections have survived is due to several factors, prominent among which is the fact that they were the property of grandees, whose money, wealth, power and position have ensured that, by and large, their inheritance has remained remarkably intact. Truly, these are, by any definition, hereditary libraries. This five per cent represents the collections which would

generally be regarded as the cream of the country house world, including houses like Longleat, Chatsworth and Arundel.

It is interesting to note that there was clearly an acceleration in collecting in the first half of the seventeenth century, with 16.5% of collections founded at that time. In the second half of the century, the increased levels of book production after the Restoration, coupled with the foundation of the Royal Society, both influenced aristocratic collectors. It is interesting to note that during the following fifty years (1700-1750) the collecting trend remained fairly constant with another 16.5% of collections being formed during those years. There is, however, a marked difference between the first and second halves of the eighteenth century, with 16.5% established between 1700 and 1750 and 20.2% established between 1751 and 1800. One reason for this is that the latter half of the century was undoubtedly governed by the concepts of the age of reason and enlightenment. In exactly the same way, the Grand Tour had become much more widespread by the second half of the century than in the first, with squires and lairds enjoying sojourns to Continental Europe as much as grandees had in the first half of the century. It is, perhaps, important to take the eighteenth century figures together, which show that some 35.7% of collections were established in that century. The importance of this can be measured against the fact that this figure almost equals the combined total of 37.1% for both of the succeeding centuries.

According to the results from the survey, the first half of the nineteenth century appears to represent a temporary decline in interest in establishing a library, with only 12.1% of collections formed in that period. This may be due to the temporary vacuum in landed society created in the early days of the Industrial Revolution. The evidence which the survey has produced is in direct contrast to the received wisdom of some authors. Hugo Vickers, in his historical summary of the Roxburghe Club, noted "*English bibliophily's zenith occurred at the beginning of the 19th century.*"¹⁴ Vickers is not inaccurate in what he says, rather he is merely highlighting the zenith of collecting not the zenith of the establishment of libraries. The vast majority of collections which were expanding at the beginning of the nineteenth century owed their origins to previous generations and previous decades. More significant, however, is the fact that after 1851 some 25.0% of collections were established. This figure highlights the gradual emergence of new money made in the factories, mills and mines of industrial Britain whose owners were keen to accumulate the trappings of traditional country gentlemen. Yet behind this apparent facade of new money there is also the interesting concept of buying by the yard. Many of the older families who had, in the past, avoided having a library for a variety of reasons now found themselves in the position of acquiring a 'ready-made' one. This was primarily done as a means of achieving a status-symbol and, in the words of Sir Charles Cust, many of these contained nothing but "*beautifully bound piffle.*"¹⁵ The growth in collections at this time also highlighted the constant recycling of collections, since many of the twenty-five per cent of newly established collections were formed out of the sales of older, long-established libraries.

Previous Holdings of Collections

One important factor in this study is whether or not collections have been larger in the past. Consequently, the questions on the previous holdings of collections, major dispersals and the reasons for this become vital to the overall picture. These points influence the understanding of many parts of the survey as well as the interpretation of the value of bibliographic heritage which may have been lost. It is necessary to take the three questions relating to dispersal as a whole in order to facilitate a broader understanding of the implicit objectives which can be witnessed at work. It is because Britain's country houses and their collections are justly regarded as the envy of Europe that it is vital to analyse the trend of sales from these collections. As Sayer and Montgomery-Massingberd point out, huge numbers of houses have seen part or all of their collections dispersed in the last few decades. The survey evidence recognises this fact and the inevitable process of historical change. Although writing about National Trust properties, J.F. Fuggles has highlighted the same problem when he said: "*few collections - though there are some - have escaped the debilitating sales in the 50 or 60 years before particular properties came to the Trust*".¹⁶ As the historical chapter points out, the sale of libraries has been a common occurrence for the last one-hundred and fifty years. Of those collections which survived into 1996, some 55.1% had been larger in the past while 43.8% were currently at their largest and 1.1% of respondents were unable to answer on the previous size.

	Yes	No	Unknown
Larger in the Past	55.1%	43.8%	1.1%

There is a particularly interesting point arising from the subject of dispersal. Whereas a clear majority of respondents have said that their collections were bigger in the past, the picture is much less clear when it comes to the actual process of dispersal of collections.

Major Dispersals	47.8%
Minor Dispersals	7.3%
Unknown	1.1%

The number who said that *major dispersals* had taken place from their libraries were in the minority, although only just. The breakdown of the figures on major dispersals was 47.8% who said major dispersals had occurred, with 51.1% who said the opposite and again 1.1% who did not know. Whatever way the numerical data is regarded the picture is nevertheless the same; 55.1% of all collections have lost material; 47.8% of all collections have suffered major dispersals and 7.3% of all collections have suffered minor dispersal. It is interesting to speculate on the interpretations of *major dispersal*. The evidence appears to suggest two common interpretations: firstly, that the bulk of the library has been lost; secondly, that the finest and most valuable works have been lost.

The reasons for dispersal are equally difficult to assess. Of the respondents with libraries, only 53.3% could pinpoint the exact causes of that dispersal. Conversely, 46.7% of respondents did not know the reasons for the loss of their collections. There were three reasons which were cited by respondents. The most frequently given reason for dispersal were sales to raise money by 48.2% (of which 13.2% specifically mentioned Death Duties as the cause of the sale). Generally, these sales may take two distinct forms: the sale of entire collections or the sale of parts of collections. In some cases, secondary collections have been sold to ensure the survival of the principal one as with the Bute family's Luton collection and the Haddington family's Tynninghame collection. Some families, such as the Derbys at Knowsley, have sacrificed 'surplus' material. However, the most common form of partial sales has been to dispose of the most valuable, as happened at Petworth, Blickling, Castle Howard, Chatsworth and a host of others. In some cases, such as Newhailes near Edinburgh, the entire library was presented to the state *in lieu* of Death Duties and is now in the National Library of Scotland.

To raise money	48.2%	Specifically Death Duties	13.2%
Destruction by Fire	2.5%		
Family Dispute	2.5%		
Cause unknown	46.7%		

The second reason mentioned was the destruction of the house by fire, which was noted by 2.5%. However, this figure is wholly unrepresentative because there are numerous other houses and collections which have been completely destroyed by fire. These houses are, of course, completely outwith the remit of this research because it would be impossible to track down people who had knowledge of long-destroyed collections. The third reason, which was also cited by 2.5% of respondents, was family disputes and quarrels which had led to collections being split amongst various members of a particular family. Many collections have come about by accident, as part of a serendipitous process of purchasing. Others have been planned, conceived and collected in a more rigorous manner. Yet these processes are reflected in the ways in which collections have been dispersed. There is the very deliberate process of selling works to raise money and there is also the accidental loss of collections through acts of God. It is almost impossible to quantify the numbers which have been lost in this way.

Collection Development

In establishing the collection development there are a number of key points which are crucial to the overall understanding of the larger picture of current provision. Although this research does place emphasis on key collections, the survey, examining current position is not so heavily influenced by this fact. Therefore, generally speaking, the identification of the key collectors is not of particular importance in assessing the

national worth of a collection. In most cases the worth of a collection lies in the material itself rather than the collectors. In many cases the worth of collections in an historic rather than bibliographic sense may be enhanced by being the product of one family's scholarship. Obviously, there are a number of exceptions of which the link to a great personage is most prominent - a point echoed by the Waverley Committee in the fifties. The fact that the library at Chartwell was the product of Sir Winston Churchill's interest makes it much more important in terms of the national heritage than the books alone would suggest. The perceived importance of collections *in situ* is increased immeasurably beyond the simple analysis of the worth of bibliographic resources alone. However, on the whole the actual contents of these collections are far more important than the identification of the collectors. For example, the contents of Bishop Ken's collection at Longleat is far more important than the fact that the Bishop collected them. Consequently, the two key elements are in reality the disciplinary content and the age of material. The personal aspect may also be central as the policy recommendations, discussed in Chapter Seven, show.

Contents

Establishing what is held in the libraries of country houses goes to the heart of this work. The question dealt with the predominant material in each collection. Whereas it is perfectly acceptable to talk of "*the average country house library*"¹⁷ as a means of describing the typical, it is much more important to seek out the important and to use that to assess the overall cultural value. A case can always be argued for individual merit (or indeed lack of it), but because of the remit of this study it is more important to analyse the case for overall merit. Here is one of the most obvious examples of the explicit results of the survey informing the implicit objectives to give a broad landscape of the country house library. Through the analysis of the specific results the trends of collecting emerge, thus assisting the process of assessing the intrinsic value of these collections.

The process by which the specific quantitative data informs the qualitative picture also assists in the rebuttal of that most serious criticism of quantitative history, namely that it oversimplifies and dehumanises historical experiences by forcing individuals or individual instances into categories. Here the categories demonstrate, as Floud suggests, that "*Quantitative questions complement qualitative questions, and quantitative evidence complements qualitative evidence*".¹⁸ In any case, historical research by its nature presupposes that the historian, like any human being, seeks patterns and similarities in any "*multiplicity of phenomena*".¹⁹ The inexorable search for patterns and trends inevitably leads to simplification. The categorisation of results assists in assessing whether these collections are so significantly associated with our historical and cultural life that their destruction would, as the Waverley Committee pointed out, materially disadvantage the nation. In addition, the committee recommended that attention be paid to whether they are valuable to the study of a branch of learning, and whether they are significantly important to justify a concerted effort to preserve them.

The most effective way, in terms of this research, of ascertaining details of contents was to allow owners and administrators a free hand to cite the most notable subject contents. This enabled the question to be entirely free from presupposition or prejudice and did not force respondents into preconceived groups. The great bulk of the landed society found themselves in possession of what can be termed the *average* country house collection. As Munby has pointed out, this contained all the things which a gentleman was expected to be familiar with in order to fulfil his obligations as a county squire. There would be a knowledge of history and literature, religion and science, geography and sport. The bulk of collections are based around a core not dissimilar from that of the Earl of Thanet,²⁰ which, although of the mid-seventeenth century, was typical of the vast majority of collections of the nobility and the gentry as the prosopographical methodology highlights. By using the prosopographical analysis of Thanet and others reveals the importance of collections like these. Thanet's collection, for instance, included chronicles and histories, dictionaries and lexicons, books of Latin and French, five books of law and statutes, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, and the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, and allowed Laurence Stone to infer an important benchmark for collections of that time and noted it was "*a useful working library for a fairly cultivated man of affairs*",²¹ This has held good down to the beginning of this century and a proved an appropriate aspect for the research.

Ten separate disciplines were cited most often by respondents. These were, in descending order, history, literature, classics, theology, local material, geography and travel, botany, politics, art and sport. Two disciplines emerged as the most common in country house libraries and it was entirely predictable that these would be history and literature.

	U.K.-wide
History	55.9%
Literature	47.8%
Classics	32.0%
Theology	29.4%
Local Material	28.7%
Travel / Geography	27.2%
Botany	24.3%
Politics / the Law	21.3%
Art	7.4%
Sport	5.9%
Game Books	5.0%

For families who are often allocated the sobriquet of *historic* it is entirely unsurprising that history should be revealed as the most significant subject, being cited by 55.9% of respondents. Interestingly, the figure

was 85.0% in Scotland. This is probably due to the larger response rate in Scotland but it is also likely that the oft-quoted sense of national identity in Scotland played a part. The term history was not subdivided in the analysis of the survey because the respondents themselves did not subdivide it. It was also taken to include the mainstays of country house libraries, genealogy and heraldry, which were frequently mentioned. As Peter Somerville-Large pointed out: "*libraries in the big house might be short of modern books but few were without their red and gold volumes of Burke's Peerage....and later the Landed Gentry.*"

²² For historic families these subjects aroused immense interest. The intricacies of far-off kinships have always been a source of satisfaction, and for generations of people who intermarried amongst their own, these works were of vital importance.

The second most commonly cited discipline was literature, which was noted as comprising a prominent position within collections by 47.8% of respondents. This primarily related to British literature, although a number mentioned large French and Italian collections. Literature is a common thread throughout all country house collections. The works of Pope and Dryden, Scott and Dickens are to be viewed in the vast majority of libraries. This is evident not only from the results of the survey but from even the most cursory glance at the shelves of any country house which has its library open to the general public. As Chapter Two notes many of the nation's great writers were *habitués* of the country house scene, so it is not entirely surprising that their works abound in these collections. Sir Walter Scott occupies a particularly important place in a great number of houses up and down the United Kingdom. As any visit to a country house library will demonstrate, there are few without a complete set of the Waverley novels and today these works are still evident as being prominent in the description of works of literature contained within collections.

Classical literature formed a quite distinct element and was more evident in collections which were largely established by 1851. The reasoning behind this may relate to the fact that from the days of Lords Burghley and Lumley at the end of the sixteenth century until the time of Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, the study of antiquity lay at the heart of the gentleman's education. Nationally, some 32.0% of respondents highlighted classical or antiquarian material as forming a particularly significant component of their collections. In Scotland, however, the figure was 49.8% which suggests that the Scottish Enlightenment of the early nineteenth century perpetuated interest in the classics at a time when interest was slowly declining south of the border. Cicero, particularly, seems to exemplify this ideal with his philosophy which was at the very cornerstone of the eighteenth century gentleman's education. The decline in the classics, as Peter Somerville-Large in his *Social History of the Irish Country House* notes, owes much to the preference, particularly amongst the gentry, for entering the army rather than going to university. The decline in the purchasing of the classics is not mirrored by a decline in their use. Throughout the nineteenth century the great orators of the day littered their speeches with classic references. The reason for the partial decline in

this material in the nineteenth century may be due to the fact that the classics represented a finite canon. Once they had been bought that was it; there were no *new* titles which could be added.

The inclusion of theology by 29.4% is wholly unsurprising. This highlights the belief, especially in the early days of collecting, that books were, in the words of Gervase Jackson-Stops, for instruction rather than pure edification. The origin of this preoccupation has been evident since the beginning of collecting. Indeed early bibliophiles often attempted to write religious tracts. Theological sermons always had a wide appeal and men like Bishop Burnet ensured that a constant supply was always available. One particularly important element in terms of theological material is that of recusant literature. A number of properties which are the seats of long-established Roman Catholic families noted that their libraries contained "*important*" collections of recusant literature, tracts and devotional texts. Predictably, families such as the Throckmortons of Coughton Court and Charltons of Hesleyside both fall within this category. In a country so resolutely Protestant, these collections form a unique strand within the overall similarities of the country house collection. Although some deprecate country house "*Cartholicism [sic] which rhymes mass with farce*",²³ these collections clearly meet the criteria of being so significantly associated with our historical and cultural life that their destruction would materially disadvantage the nation. Obviously, recusant collections are immensely valuable to the study of an important element within British history. With recusant literature there is a very definite case of the explicit and implicit objectives merging to suggest that, regardless of the final national picture, it is vital to advocate the preservation of these collections.

Perhaps the most significant result was that relating to local material, which is frequently overlooked in terms of bibliographic importance except by local studies departments. According to 28.7% of respondents their libraries contained particularly strong collections of local material. This can be explained by the fact that these families are generally attached to a particular locality, and that they have played an important part in the life of their local community for centuries. It is an interesting feature of these collections that owners are generally still adding local material to their collections. Whereas the supply of theology or classics has all but dried up, owners are still keen to add local material where possible. One owner, the Lord Lieutenant of his county in fact, expressed his desire to make his library into a "*quite comprehensive collection of material relating to [the] shire*".²⁴ Clearly, there is a fascinating two-way process at work here, because the archives of so many county families form the core of many a county record office and significantly enhance the study of local history amongst the general public, the policy implications of this are discussed more fully in Chapter Seven.

Since the time of the Grand Tour, foreign travel and exploration have played a central part in the education of the upper classes and so it is reflected in their libraries. Travel and geography was cited as being significant in 27.2% of collections. Originally, this discipline was related to the educational value of travel

and, with the craze for the Grand Tour, there began a relentless stream of works on geography and travel. However, in the following century geographical enquiry fulfilled another role which was motivated by the scramble for empire. The sons of the aristocracy, like thousands of other men and women, found themselves serving the empire in many parts of the world. This expansion was reflected by the publishing world which eagerly seized upon geographical exploration as its new growth market. Peter Somerville-Large highlighted this: "*instead of classics and Gibbon, bookshelves were filled with military campaigns, travel books, accounts of shooting animals*",²⁵ while the Irish novelist Molly Keane noted that houses in Ireland, like the rest of the Kingdom were filled with "*mountains of Blackwood's Magazine with the list of contributors from the Empire on their bran-coloured covers*".²⁶

Botanical enquiry, together with other different apexes of Natural History, has played a prominent part in the world of the aristocrat from the time that Lancelot 'Capability' Brown was employed to landscape their parks. This can be reflected in the fact that 24.3% cited botanical science as being prominent in the collections. This is a collecting trend which started in the late eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century coloured botanical and zoological works furthered the mania. Botany has always been a more attractive science than physics or chemistry and to the owners of large estates it served a much more practical purpose. It was Munby who noted that there is scarcely a single country house library which did not contain at least one copy of White's famous *Natural History of Selborne*, which, in its own modest way, cornered the market in botanical literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In some respects it is surprising that the figure remains as high as 24%, because botanical works remain hugely popular and have tended to be the first to be sacrificed in the sale of any works from the library. The only possible answers to this must be that large numbers have already been sold off and those that survive, *in situ*, still exercise the same fascination now as they did when they first appeared.

The fact that political and legal works were referred to by 21.3% of respondents highlights the interest which the aristocracy have always had in these subjects. At the heart of this interest was the fact that the nobility possess their hereditary right to sit in the Upper House and, as often as not, in previous centuries maintained a collection of pocket boroughs to supplement their political influence in the other place. Some families were so obviously political families that the inclusion of politics in the libraries was out of necessity rather than anything else. The Cavendishes, Cecils, Spencers and Stanleys were prime examples of this. Equally important were the lesser aristocracy who continued to be elected and to supply the knights-of-the-shires until the nineteen-sixties. It was a time-honoured inevitability that together these two groups, *nobilitas maior* and *nobilitas minor*, controlled local and national politics until the beginning of this century. Their participation in the political life of the nation was not born out of their books, they merely supported it. The real reason for their participation came from what they had already read of the great Roman philosophers; for many politics was the ultimate example of *noblesse oblige*.

The last two categories mentioned were art (by 7.4%) and sport (by 5.9%). It is, perhaps, surprising that art was mentioned by so few, especially in view of the Grand Tour. This may be explained by the tendency to acquire the 'real thing', the real painting, sculpture or piece of furniture rather than merely a book about it. Perhaps it is because aristocrats are so used to living with their works of art that they are unconcerned when it comes to reading about it. However, this appears to be changing because the 'arts' are, according to John Martin Robinson, one of the few fields still open to the traditional aristocracy. In reality the word 'sport' means 'country house sport'; hunting, shooting, fishing, racing, occasionally rugby and even croquet. Where sport was cited it generally covered sporting literature as well as game books, shooting logs, the records of hunts. Those who mentioned sport in this section must be supplemented by another 5% who mentioned game-books and the like as 'other material' held in their libraries. With the aristocracy's strong links with the turf it was predictable that some houses would have an amount of racing material. Less predictable was that one house would contain a strong collection of material relating to croquet which was put together by a relative who was world champion. What that does show is that, despite many libraries containing much the same sort of material, there is always scope for the unique, the worthy and even the downright bizarre. Much of this work may be rare and its value not always recognised by owners or administrators.

Publishing Periods

The subject content is only one side of the coin; the other equally important aspect is the antiquity of the material which is held and the publishing periods represented in the collections. This is important not merely because it assists in the process of assessing the value, intrinsic and financial, of collections, but because it is central to the safeguarding of collections. Few collections (pre 1851) can claim to have been built up systematically containing *only* contemporary material. Respondents were usually unable to supply precise figures except in cases where the entire collection dated from a particular period (most commonly collections established in the last one hundred and fifty years). Some 89.8% of respondents attempted to supply information on the publishing periods of the works in their collection; the remainder, a mere 10.2%, were either unable or unwilling to do so.

	U.K.-wide
Pre 1600	37.1%
1600-1700	53.3%
1701-1750	62.9%
1751-1800	73.9%
1801-1850	82.4%
Post 1851	87.1%
Works from all publishing periods	35.1%
Post 1851 only	4.8%

The trend of making earlier purchases is exemplified by a cursory glance at the first publishing period, although it is supported by other period evidence. The earliest publishing category covered the sixteenth century and earlier (i.e. incunabula). Works from this period are to be found in 37.1% of houses. However, this figure must be contrasted with the figure which states that only 5.1% of collections were established in that period which confirms that later collectors bought earlier works to supplement contemporary purchases. This is not a revelation since many collectors, not just great bibliophiles, have always had an interest in earlier material. Respondents were generally unable to give a specific number of pre-1600 works. Those who attempted to usually said "*less than one percent of the total*" or "*a very few.*" Nonetheless, the numbers of collections with works from this period easily surpasses the number of collections which owe their establishment to that period.

The same trend emerges when examining subsequent periods. Literature dating from the seventeenth century is to be found in 53.3% of collections, while material published between 1700 and 1750 is to found in 62.9% of collections. This is interesting because in each of those time periods 16.5% of collections claim to have been established. However, as has been noted, the retrospective purchasing element cannot alone be said to explain this divergence, especially as the output of publishers was steadily being increased throughout this period. The fact that the biggest leap occurs between material dating from the first and second halves of the eighteenth century cannot entirely be explained by the fact that subsequent collectors purchased retrospective publications. Part of the reason for the fact that 73.9% of collections contain material from the second half of the eighteenth century must also relate to the increased attachment to the pursuit of scholarship during the age of enlightenment. The early nineteenth century contributes material to 82.4% of collections. Interestingly, 92.5% of collections in Scotland contain material from this period which suggests that the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment were still uppermost in the minds of the nation's Lairds, partly as a result of the works of Sir Walter Scott. The significance of this is evident when compared against English collections where 78.0% of collections contain material from that period. Inevitably, the huge majority of collections (87.1%) contain material published after 1851.

Continuous sequences of additions occurred in almost every case. It is relatively rare to find a house with sixteenth and eighteenth century material but with nothing from the seventeenth century. Of course, it does occur in certain instances where there are one or two very old or prized works and then nothing until much later. This continuous sequencing is most visible from the fact that those collections which had material from the sixteenth century had, with almost no exceptions, material from every subsequent publishing period. Over one third, 35.1%, of houses had collections which contained works from all of the designated publishing periods. On the other hand, 4.8% of collections contained nothing but post 1851 material. Many of the later collections, principally those established after 1851, tend to have concentrated

less on the acquisition of earlier material. Where earlier purchases were made, they tended to be of relatively recent material, in most cases the previous fifty years. Only bibliophiles it would appear would seek out significantly earlier works but, having said that, they were the people who could afford it.

Collection Management ²⁷

By far the largest part of the survey dealt with collection management. This term covered a multitude of different elements ranging from the size of collections to the provision of catalogues, from the inclusion of muniments to preservation of bibliographic material. In essence this section attempted to obtain a snapshot of country house libraries during 1996. It attempts to chart the current position starting with the basic holdings and rare material which have survived the vicissitudes of time and which go to make up a library at the close of the twentieth century. The inevitable product of this information is the analysis of what owners and administrators are doing in order to preserve their libraries; how they have responded to the increased interest in all apexes of national heritage and whether that has been reflected in their library maintenance.

Size of Collections

As the historical section justifiably points out, the size of collections is not everything. Generally speaking, the contents of these libraries are far more pertinent than the basic numbers. However, the scale of collections does form a vital dimension within this study. It is vital to be able to assess adequately the sheer number of books which are in country house collections. Inevitably, it was always going to be impossible for all respondents to answer the question dealing with collection size. Of those who recorded that their house did have a library, some 79.4% managed to supply information on the subject of number of volumes. In order to gain a coherent picture of the size of collections, various groupings were employed. These were: one thousand and under; one to two thousand; two to five thousand; five to ten thousand; ten to fifteen thousand; fifteen to twenty thousand, and twenty thousand and above. This method of categorisation enables two measures of collections to be taken. Firstly, it allows for analysis of what might be termed the *average* collection in terms of number of volumes. Of course, the *average* may become a euphemism for the *majority*. Secondly, this categorisation allows for the analysis of what might be termed the extraordinary collection.

U.K.			
Less than 1,000	15.4%		
1,000-2,000	18.0%	Total less than 2,000	33.4%
2,000-5,000	29.8%		
5,000-10,000	9.6%		
10,000-15,000	3.7%		
15,000-20,000	1.1%		
More than 20,000	1.8%		

The two smallest groups, which represented collections of less than two thousand volumes, jointly represented 37.4% of all collections. The smallest group, which represented collections with one thousand volumes or less, accounted for 15.4% of all collections. The next group, covering libraries of between one and two thousand volumes, accounted for 18.0% of collections. Taken together this shows that well over one third of country house collections are of fewer than 2,000 volumes, with the two distinct categories representing a similar number of collections. The largest single number of responses fell into the category which covered libraries containing between two and five thousand volumes. Some 29.8% of respondents noted that their collection fell within this scale. However, by far the most remarkable result in this section emerged in the study of the national totals for Scotland and England where there was a pronounced difference. In Scotland the collections of 50% of all respondents to this question fell into the category covering two to five thousand volumes, while in England only 31.7% of the total fell into this category. This is further emphasised in the next category which dealt with collections of between five and ten thousand volumes. These accounted for 9.6% of all collections. Again, however, in England these collections accounted for a larger proportion than elsewhere, some 15.9% of the total, while in Scotland they accounted only for 6.8% because the greatest and wealthiest collectors tended to be English.

The number of collections inevitably declined as the number of volumes increased. The larger collections were generally to be found in England rather than Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. Indeed there were only two collections in Wales which contained more than five thousand volumes and there were none at all in Northern Ireland. Those collections of between ten and fifteen thousand volumes accounted for some 3.7% of the total, while those collections which contained fifteen to twenty thousand volumes accounted for only 1.1% of the total. However, the numbers recovered marginally when dealing with those collections of twenty thousand or more volumes. These represented 1.8% of the total and this can be explained by the more effective preservation within the greatest houses.

Fine, Rare or Important Works

At the heart of assessing the potential value, both intellectual and financial, of any collection is the question of fine, rare or important works. Inevitably, it tends to be the greatest of all houses which contain important and unique rarities. It is the fact that the possession of these rarities will be in the public domain. For example, it is well known that Chatsworth contains Inigo Jones's sketchbook as well as Lord Burlington's copy of *Architectura di Palladio*. However, the number of houses which do contain items which cannot be found *anywhere* else is relatively small. The possession of rare material is generally not in the public domain. A distinction must be noted between fine, rare or important works and those which may be considered valuable in financial terms. It is a common misconception that old books are automatically valuable. In terms of this question in the survey the words 'fine, rare or important' do not

necessarily refer to the financial aspect, rather they merely question whether a country house is the only location for a particular work or whether such material can be located elsewhere in the United Kingdom.

The survey has produced a number of interesting results in this area. While there are a number of collections which do contain immensely important and valuable works, the vast majority do not contain material to rival *Codex Leicester*, Inigo Jones's sketchbook or a First Folio of Shakespeare. The survey evidence revealed that a major strength of country house collections lies in its local material, ephemera and material acquired on the Grand Tour. The most important rarities of country house collections appear to date from around 1620 until 1780, or 1800 at the latest. It is generally recognised that seventeenth century literature is of much greater interest than earlier material and one of the most important elements when discussing the rarities of country houses tend to be collections of pamphlets, especially those dating from what Fuggles describes as *"the great period of English pamphleteering, of the Civil War, the Commonwealth and Popish Plot"*.²⁸ This material is often combined with the sermons of the great preachers of the seventeenth century, especially Bishop Burnet. Also particularly important and often unique to the country house is foreign material from the seventeenth century (as opposed to the more common material from the following century). The library at Lanhydrock in Cornwall, is recognised as having a very fine collection of North German literature published in towns like Lübeck and Rostock at the time of the Thirty Years War.

Although speaking exclusively of National Trust properties, J.F. Fuggles highlighted a universal truth which this survey has also identified, namely that it is eighteenth-century material which is of particular interest. National Trust houses reflect the contents of many other collections. Again pamphlets are particularly significant. However, eighteenth century material appears to be more related with local subjects than national issues as happened in the seventeenth century. The trend to collect local items would appear to have its foundation in the eighteenth century. Apart from pamphlets, the inheritance from the eighteenth century also includes foreign literature on a much greater scale than from the seventeenth century. As J.F. Fuggles has put it: *"the foreign works are remarkable...libraries are full of the books which gentlemen collected on the Grand Tour - vernacular literature and guide books, foreign treatises on the subjects important to the connoisseur like art and architecture, works on the law and politics, history and geography of the countries visited"*.²⁹ It would be fallacious to suggest that all of this material is immensely important, totally unique and valuable. Generally, the areas already indicated are those in which the country house is very strong and other libraries are particularly weak. Indeed, the importance of country house collections as repositories of this type of material is significant in its own right; however, equally significant is the fact that other libraries do not hold such material. J.F. Fuggles highlighted this when he said *"what is so unusual about them in general though, is that many are not commonly found in*

*academic libraries here - universities and colleges, did not buy, or even welcome as gifts this light literature which bore no relation whatsoever to the academic curriculum".*³⁰

Of those respondents with libraries, fewer than half provided information on rare works. Generally speaking, the types of material which they indicated included those already mentioned together with a certain number of early nineteenth century hand-coloured volumes. These latter works fall into the category of being important, rare and valuable. Many owners did identify valuable works as being rare or important, although this is not necessarily the case. In one case the owner kindly sent details of the items which were insured for more than a certain amount. Of those owners who did provide details, incunabula were occasionally cited although in most cases owners cited sixteenth century works and tended to assume - often erroneously - that these works could not be found elsewhere and that old books are automatically important. This may be the case with incunabula but is not always the case with sixteenth century material unless the imprint is of significance.

A majority of owners chose to ignore the question completely on grounds of security. Others did give very full details of their bibliographic treasures. What the evidence did reveal was that owners generally knew enough about their collections to be able to identify particularly fine or rare works. Although the management of this survey was totally geared to confidentiality, it is entirely understandable that owners would not want to give details of important works to outsiders. It is important to bear in mind that collections often contain rare works with the single qualification that, on the whole, they can be found somewhere else in the United Kingdom. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule and this was summed-up by one of the most co-operative of administrators when he said "*there are many rarities but little which cannot be found somewhere else.*"³¹ Of course, the rarity of some material has some important implications for two other areas of the study; firstly, the rarity (and fragility) of certain items will affect the conservation issues which need to be addressed and, secondly, as often as not this will influence owners and administrators in connection with the ever thorny issue of access and the allied issue of security, both of which are examined in Chapter Seven.

Catalogues

Without any doubt the most important weapon in the armoury of management of a library is the existence of a catalogue of some description. From the time of Lord Lumley, as indicated in Chapter Three, basic purpose of the catalogue is as a tool in order to maintain a record of the items held in the library as well as to facilitate the locating and retrieval of that material. The *raison d'être* of the catalogue of a country house library was most eloquently expounded by J.F. Fuggles, former library adviser to the National Trust: "*to leave books uncatalogued, effectively denying to the academic world the vast resources which they might provide, would be being unfaithful to those who over many centuries had built up the collections.*"³² The

questions relating to catalogues were geared towards obtaining information on the actual provision of catalogues rather than concerned with the minutiae of cataloguing protocols. In addition, when considering catalogues of collections it is not sufficient to examine the provision of the actual catalogue in isolation. This would tell us relatively little about the current situation; rather, it must be supplemented with information on the updating of the catalogue. Consequently, the provision of a catalogue as well as the dates of compilation and provision for updates (including frequency and currency of revision) is paramount.

As has been said, they allow the maintenance of a listing of material held in the collection, but they also facilitate the location and retrieval of this material. However, in a world where owners are naturally worried about burglaries and thefts, a catalogue can also play the role of an inventory and can be a valuable tool for security purposes. The first question, dealing with the basic provision of a catalogue, revealed that 54.5% of collections were catalogued, while 45.5% were not.

Catalogued	54.5%
Uncatalogued	45.5%

Of those collections which do have catalogues, some 80% could supply information on the date of compilation and the dates of updates or revisions. In all parts of the United Kingdom, with the exception of Northern Ireland, there are a majority of houses with catalogued libraries. It is equally important to attempt to assess the validity of that catalogue as a tool of library management. Inevitably, this relies on the accuracy and relevancy of the catalogue. As a result of the sheer number of libraries in the survey, it would be impossible to carry out actual analysis of catalogues *vis-a-vis* the holdings; consequently, the two factors which can be used are the age of the catalogue and the frequency or currency of updates.

	Cataloguing	Revisions	
1950s	6.7%	----	
1960s	7.4%	3.6%	
1970s	12.1%	7.1%	
1980s	8.7%	10.7%	
1990s	22.1%	58.9%	
Undated	----	16.1%	
		Ongoing Updates	2.9%
		Occasional Updates	37.6%

Catalogues themselves can be divided into two broad types. Firstly, there is the historical catalogue, an ancient document in its own right which may be of historical or academic value as a list of a particular period, but of little value as a practical catalogue. Secondly, there is the accurate and detailed catalogue -

of relatively contemporary origin - which does meet the requirements of a modern catalogue. The earliest recorded catalogue of an extant country house collection dates from 1720. Of course, older lists and catalogues do exist but these relate to collections which have either been dispersed or have changed location in the meantime. This catalogue, located at a house in England, has not been revised or updated at any time. In Scotland there is also an eighteenth century catalogue which has never been updated. However, in total there are only four eighteenth century catalogues, two which have been revised and two which have not. It is, of course, an irony that the older a catalogue is the greater value it has as an historical document in its own right but the less value it has in terms of its original function as a list of library holdings. There can be scarcely any collection which remains untouched since 1720. The nineteenth century provides another batch of historic, if not practical, catalogues. Curiously, the number of extant catalogues from the nineteenth century is relatively small. Of the total number of collections (including those where no date of catalogue was available) the nineteenth century catalogues accounted for only 9.4%. There are a number of reasons for this almost astonishingly low figure, the most significant being the numerous sales since the 1880s which have decimated so many collections. The second reason, which is less perceptible, is that many nineteenth century catalogues have been replaced during this century.

The practical side of the cataloguing question may be said to rest with those which have been compiled during the course of the twentieth century. Indeed the majority of catalogues have been compiled within the last one hundred (or more accurately ninety-six) years. These make up 67.8% of the total (including those where no precise date was available). The twentieth century has witnessed an expansion in the cataloguing of country house collections with 57% of all catalogues having been compiled since 1950. When this is compared with only 11.3% between 1900 and 1949 and only 9.4% during the whole of the nineteenth century this figure becomes all the more remarkable. The trends during the twentieth century are particularly interesting and justify discussion in depth. During the first half of the century relatively few collections, 11.3%, were catalogued. Clearly this was related to the social pressures which faced many owners. The best examples of this are not the constant stream of sales but the impact of the two World Wars. During the years 1910 to 1920 (which encompassed the Great War) only one collection was catalogued and equally during the years 1940-1950 (which encompassed most of the Second World War) only two catalogues were produced.

However, it was with the advent of the 1950s and the realisation that country houses were worthy of preservation that the cataloguing of libraries increased. The impetus for this may have been connected with the Gowers Report on the preservation of historic buildings. Since 1950 the compilation of catalogues has steadily increased. During the 1950s 6.7% of the total were compiled; during the 1960s that figure rose slightly to 7.4% and again during the 1970s when 12.1% were catalogued but temporarily declined in the

1980s (to 8.7%). However, interest in cataloguing of collections has revived since 1990 and this is undoubtedly one of the most interesting results and highlights the recent trend towards the cataloguing of collections. The dramatic increase since 1990 has surpassed the previous high (of the 1970s) so that 22.1% of catalogues have been compiled since 1990, particularly in the age of information technology. The most effective and efficient method of updating a catalogue of holdings is, of course, by means of an ongoing process of cataloguing. Updating demands time and money as well as presupposing regular additions to the holdings.³³ Inevitably, this is only a realistic option in a tiny handful of houses. Consequently, only some 2.9% of houses have an ongoing updating policy with regard to the catalogue of library holdings. Equally inevitable is the fact that the houses which do follow such a policy are the homes to first rate library collections. However, a number of lesser houses, with less well-known collections, also have an ongoing cataloguing policy.

The most common method of updating the catalogue was a one-off revision whereby the original catalogue is supplemented with an annexe including new additions or deleting dispersed works. It is relatively uncommon to find an update in the form of an entirely new catalogue replacing the original one. This is hardly surprising given the time and cost involved in the preparation of a totally new catalogue. The exception to this is to be found in the libraries of the National Trust where a new catalogue - eventually to be formed into a union catalogue - has been in preparation for many years. However, the activities of the Trust are on a totally different level from the experience in the majority of country houses, not least because the two National Trusts own something over one hundred libraries in different locations. Inevitably, the only way the Trusts can uphold consistency is by the creation of new catalogues, each produced using the same uniform rules. The necessity for new Trust catalogues can easily be validated by a brief examination of the alternative, namely the chaotic idea of cobbling together the wildly different extant catalogues of Trust libraries.

Of those houses which already possessed catalogues, some 37.6% had updated that catalogue at some point. In addition, an handful of other respondents remarked that an update was planned within the next two years. The most fascinating aspect of this question is the fact that more of the updates had taken place since 1990 than in *all* the preceding years. Of the total number of catalogues which had been updated, no fewer than 58.9% had been revised since 1990 compared with 10.7% in the 1980s, 7.1% in the 1970s and 3.6% in the 1960s. A further 16.1% of catalogues had also been updated but here the respondents were unable to provide the date for the revision. The revisions since 1990 may in fact be the latest in a long line of updates which may have taken place on an infrequent basis since the collection was catalogued. It is because 'infrequent' and 'irregular' cannot be said to be 'ongoing' that this hidden factor of sporadic revision should be distinct and separate from those houses which do, clearly, update on an ongoing basis. There must obviously be several different factors at work in repeat of the information obtained on cataloguing

and revisions. One factor is clear, namely that the trends since 1950 to catalogue collections has mirrored the increased interest in the country house and their collections in particular.

Condition of Collections

Christopher Hartley, the Assistant Curator of the National Trust for Scotland, once said, in conversation with the researcher, that country house libraries generally suffered from *benign neglect*. This phrase is perhaps unduly pessimistic; however, it highlights the necessity for gathering information on the condition of collections. The condition of material related, very directly to the type of conservation and preservation methods which must be devised. However, there is also a tenuous link between the condition of the collection and the actual use of it by owners and, in addition, it also has serious implications for access to the collection. This question proposed five categories, namely, excellent, very good, good, in need of some attention and poor. All of the respondents to the survey were able to supply their impression of the condition of their collections.

Excellent	7.7% *
Very Good	15.8%
Good	39.0% §
In need of some attention	31.3% §
Poor	6.3%
General overlap	13.2%

§ *Specific overlap between good and in need of some attention* 6.3%

* *None in Wales or Northern Ireland*

However, there was an additional and particularly important factor at work in this question. This related to the number of respondents who felt that the condition of the collection did not fit into one category alone. These respondents represented some 13.2% of the total number. This happened most frequently between the 'good' and 'in need of some attention categories'. It is important to remember that owners and administrators can be less than objective about such matters as the condition of their property. Consequently, this central theme was one which had to be examined in more detail at later stages of the research, especially during the observational visits.

It was entirely inevitable that a number of collections would be described as being in 'excellent' condition. As with the other aspects of the survey, those collections which are traditionally assumed to be of first rate importance and which are efficiently managed were the ones which fell into the 'excellent' category. This group represented some 7.7% of the total. It is interesting to note that these collections were completely isolated from the other categories in this question. None of these collection fell into the other categories. Only houses in England and Scotland selected the 'excellent' option. There were no houses in Wales or Northern Ireland where the collections were described by respondents as 'excellent'. It is important to reiterate the fact that collections in general in these parts of the United Kingdom are more limited and, put

simply, there are no great, outstanding collections in Wales or Ulster. The second option covered those houses where the collection was described as being in 'very good' condition. This option was the preferred choice of some 15.8% of respondents nation-wide. The houses which were represented in this group were by and large open to the general public on a regular basis and included many well-known visitor attractions. In most cases, as would be expected, these libraries were included on the visitor route of houses open to the public.

By far the biggest single category was the one which represented collections which were described as being in 'good' condition. This option was chosen by some 39% of respondents. Inevitably, such a large group included a wide range of houses and collections ranging from the reasonably large to the relatively small. These collections are to be located in houses which are open to the public and in those which are not. In general, however, the access of the public had little influence on the condition of the library. The most noticeable factor was that some respondents (6.3%) who selected this option also selected another one. Where this did occur the respondents frequently annotated the survey by saying '*good generally but parts in need of some attention*'. Those respondents felt that it was impossible to categorise the entire collection with one option. Where this was the case respondents selected a lower option as well. This tends to suggest that collections, or at least parts of collections, are generally in a worse condition or are deteriorating rather than improving. While it is impossible to analyse this trend without a specific question on the deterioration of collections a cursory glance at the evidence suggests that, broadly speaking, good collections tend to get worse rather than better.

The next option, '*in need of some attention*', did not set out to assume culpability on the part of owners or administrators. The only presupposition which this option made was that there are a number of collections which are essentially sound in terms of their condition but which may require some minor amount of work to maintain the books. It was not an aim of this option to presuppose what that attention might be, rather it only assumed that some collections did need work done to them. This option was also selected by 31.3% of owners as well as by some who had said that the condition was generally good but who felt that one category did not do justice to the collection in its entirety. Those collections in need of attention tended, by and large, to be in private houses. The worse the condition of the library the less likely the house is to be open to the public and if such houses are open it is unlikely that the library will form part of the visitor route. This rather supports the belief that it is the most impressive elements in houses are the ones which are shown.

Only some 6.3% of respondents described their collections as being in a 'poor' condition. This is a very small amount and is, perhaps, slightly unrepresentative of the true picture in view of the fact that such large percentages have selected the 'good' or 'in need of some attention' categories. It is inevitable that some

collections are genuinely in a poor condition. Indeed some libraries are in a truly shocking state where the neglect is not even benign. It is not being purely cynical to say that this total of 6.3% should be treated with some degree of scepticism. Even in an anonymous survey of this type it is likely that some respondents would be unwilling to admit that the condition of the collection is poor. It is probable that a small amount (although a definite amount is impossible to assess) may have opted for the more vague and less damning option of 'in need of some attention'. Of course, it may be argued with some degree of justification that poor collections are in need of some attention, the only difference being the amount of attention required. Generally, the collections which fell into this category were in houses which are never open to the public and where financial resources are in short supply.

Preservation, Conservation and Restoration Programmes

One of the most interesting aspects of the entire survey was the situation with regard to the core issues of conservation and preservation. As with all other aspects of library management it was the most pro-active owners who had the most effective methods of conserving their collections. No owners wish to see their collection deteriorate, but the degree to which they are prepared to go in order to preserve bibliographic material is varied. This element is central to the subsequent examination of heritage structures and policies and is, indeed, a constant theme of this research. Some degree of conservation or restoration exists within 40.4% of houses. As one would expect, the great houses all have such policies as part of an overall framework for the maintenance of the entire house and its collection. However, those houses which have professional policies are in the minority. The majority of houses who undertake some degree of conservation work tend to rely on informal techniques supplemented with occasional advice from an external source. Outwith the great houses there is no structure to halt the deterioration of material.

The purpose of the questions dealing with conservation and preservation in this, first survey were deliberately vague because this was a key concept to be developed further at later stages of the research, most notably in the second survey. The most important element at this stage was the simple identification of whether or not houses had preservation schemes for their libraries. The majority of houses, 55.9% of respondents, do not have any programme for conservation and preservation. There are a variety of reasons for this figure. A handful of collections simply do not require attention as they have, by a twist of fate, survived in relatively good condition. In many cases owners find themselves confronted with a variety of problems. Most important is the cost factor. Put quite simply, owners and administrators find that the management of a country house, of whatever size, makes so many demands upon the purse-strings that prioritising must take place. The process of prioritising must take a number of forms. Large capital projects often mean that the ongoing costs of maintaining other artefacts have to be reluctantly neglected. In addition, prioritising often favours eye-catching works of art or furniture rather than the library. Finally,

the sheer scale of libraries can be off-putting in itself. Owners are often confronted with several hundred (or even several thousand) volumes which require attention.

Some degree of conservation	40.4%
No conservation	55.9%
No response	3.7%

In addition, it would be wrong to totally ignore the apathy felt by some owners who never use their library and can see no useful reason for pursuing a preservation programme. Some owners are also often at a loss as to how to begin redressing the balance. In addition to the financial element and the sheer scale of the problem, there is the problem of who to get in touch with and simply what to do. Some 3.7% failed to answer this question altogether. In most cases this was because there was occasional informal conservation or preservation techniques. In the words of one owner *"nothing as formal as a conservation programme, just the odd clean and tidy-up here and there"*. One Scottish Earl was moderately concerned about his collection and undertook sporadic, if undefined treatment but did not see any reason to worry as the collection was *"bought by the yard in the nineteenth century."*

Summary

This survey sought to identify the current position from which the work can progress. It has revealed many things, none more important than the general willingness to allow specifically defined groups access to their libraries. Clearly the reasons for owners providing access must be analysed and, more importantly, links between public support and provision of access must be both identified and studied. However, access to country house libraries is not merely a question of letting someone use a book; rather, it is a case of identifying who these users are and what they require and of attempting to marry these interests with those of the owners. However, that is for the future; this survey has addressed what is currently being done, not what should be done. A number of issues have emerged from the results of the survey, most notably conservation and preservation and cataloguing of material; it can be no coincidence that these issues are all related, very directly, to the question of access. These issues are evidently of prime concern and must be the bedrock of any policy which attempts to ensure the survival, *in situ*, of country house libraries. It is only through providing catalogues and guaranteeing preservation that access is feasible. That is, however, a two-way process and if financial aid is dependent on access then the survival of collections may be ensured. The formulation of the policy framework takes all of this evidence into account and attempts to redress the imbalance of received wisdom which states that *"books are obviously less accessible...than a picture or piece of porcelain or silver or furniture"*.³⁴

Notes and Sources

¹ Numerical summaries of the results of the First Survey can be found in Appendix III.

² All percentage data in this chapter relates to the First Survey (1996).

³ Mandler, Peter. *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. London: Yale University Press, 1997.

⁴ The background to visitor management within country houses is discussed in Appendix V.

⁵ An important aspect of library access is previous scholarly interest. The word 'scholarly' was taken at its most generic form. Here a distinction needs to be made between scholarly and professional interest. The purpose of this question was to ascertain whether scholars or researchers had made any use of the library in terms of intellectual work, not whether professional librarians had taken an interest in the management of the collection. In short this question deals with the *use* rather than the *management* of the library. The majority of respondents, 51.6%, noted that no interest had previously been shown in their library collection. This national trend was reflected in all parts of the United Kingdom except Scotland. There a clear majority of collections, 62.9%, did indicate that some type of scholarly interest had been taken in the past. This may be explained by two factors; firstly, the National Record Office of Scotland has, for some time, been closely involved in the maintenance of archival material from country houses and this may, on occasions, have spilled over into the library itself; secondly, the collections in houses in the north-east of Scotland has already been the subject of a similar study. Scholarly interest had been shown in some 45.6% of collections according to the respondents. The type of interest varied dramatically but can be said to fall into a number of broad categories. Professional authors researching a locality or a particular person have often been given access to collections to facilitate their studies. As one would expect, those writing lives of people connected with the family at a particular house will often find that the country house library is a particularly useful source of relevant material. In addition, some collections have been used by local historians or researchers. This rather backs-up the trend, already highlighted, that country house collections are potentially valuable depositories of local material. An interesting caveat in the use of country house collections is the use of the bibliographic material as part of a study of the collection itself. This type of scholarly interest, especially from higher education, is usually valuable from the perspective of both the researcher and the owner. Generally, of course, such studies are undertaken by students or researchers in the field of librarianship.

⁶ Fuggles, John. National Trust Libraries. *Library Review*, 37, 1988, p 37.

⁷ Interview with Commander Michael Saunders Watson.

⁸ *vide* Fladmark, J.M. (ed). *Cultural Tourism*. London: Donhead, 1994.

⁹ *Application Pack*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund, 1998.

¹⁰ Survey correspondence (E105).

¹¹ Fuggles, *Op. cit.* p38.

¹² *vide* Appendix XIV.

¹³ Survey correspondence (S51).

¹⁴ Vickers, Hugo. The Roxburghe Club. *Country Life*, CXC(48), 28 November 1996, p36.

¹⁵ Private Source.

¹⁶ Fuggles, *Op. cit.* p36.

¹⁷ Survey correspondence. (S168).

¹⁸ Floud, Roderick. *An Introduction to Quantative Methods for Historians*. London: Methuen, 1973, (Second Edition). p3.

¹⁹ Floud, *Ibid.* p3.

²⁰ Thanet-Tufton MSS, Kent Record Office.

²¹ Stone, Lawrence. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, appendix.

²² Somerville-Large, Peter. *The Irish Country House: A Social History*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995. p 355.

²³ Private Source.

²⁴ Survey correspondence (E186).

²⁵ Somerville-Large, *Op. cit.* p298.

²⁶ Somerville-Large. *Ibid.* p298.

²⁷ Classification is, to professional librarians, central to the effective management of a collection but is largely peripheral in country house terms. This research did not view classification as a central, dominant theme and is an issue which it is difficult to make recommendations on. However, a question relating to the subject shelf-arrangement and classification was included in order to amplify the general picture of country house libraries. The point of arrangement, like the provision of a catalogue, is as a tool to facilitate the location and retrieval of individual items or of material which is related in some way. In many instances the arrangement of a library, especially a private one, is in the eye of the beholder. Some owners have no interest whatsoever in the collection and consequently are unconcerned with the arrangement of material which they have no cause to look through. Subject shelf arrangement may not be central to the management of the country house library but it is, nonetheless, useful, especially in comparison with many European collections.

The vast majority of respondents indicated that their collections were not classified in any way whatsoever. This was the case in some 75% of collections. It is important to speculate about the reasons for this absence of classification. Many owners expressed the opinion that their library was "*a private collection*" and that subject arrangement would give it an artificial atmosphere. However, by far the most important reason for the absence of classification is the fact that owners and administrators generally live with the collection on a daily basis. In many cases owners have spent their entire life with the "*mass of books in the library*." The relationship between many country house owners and their libraries is far deeper than that between the longest-serving librarians and their stock. Those owners who actually want to find a particular book are generally those who are sufficiently interested in the collection in the first place. They are the ones who are most likely to "*have spent time, on many a wet afternoon, looking over the shelves and picking out books*". Consequently, such owners tend to know where the item is located simply because they have known the collection all their life. This method of finding material is unique to the country house collection. It is not pure serendipity, rather it is a refined serendipity which rests not so much on chance as on the innate knowledge of the collection. It is because of this innate serendipity that a great many collections are simply unclassified.

There are, of course, other reasons for collections remaining unclassified. Not least is the fact that some are relatively small and can be adequately controlled without resorting to detailed arrangement. Others are located in various places which, in some circumstances, can make classification easier. However, when the location is determined by factors such as size, use of material and even aesthetic appeal it makes a mockery of attempts at classification. The divisions which seem obvious to the librarian might appear "*too synthetic and manufactured*" for the setting. On the other hand, owners who attempt to arrange the collection themselves often find the task is complicated by multi-disciplinary works. Unlike recognised professional classification techniques, the methods employed by owners tend to be obvious to them but not to anyone else. The owner of one of the least-spoilt houses in Ulster confessed that she had "*attempted to do it herself but gave up*." Here, however, it is equally important that many collections which are listed as being unclassified may, perhaps, have partial arrangement. This often appears to occur where one or two disciplines are very heavily represented or where a particular element is perceived to be of significance. Such elements tend to be ones which have a particular family connection or significance and are generally kept intact and organised in a methodical way. Finally, another significant element is the identification, by some respondents, of what can be termed "*historic shelf arrangement*". This appears to apply in houses where the library has "*always been like that*". Naturally this is a myth perpetuated by time, but some owners feel that as the books have always been arranged the way that they are today, classification would destroy the atmosphere of the collection. This is undeniably the case and goes to the heart of the historical significance, not to mention charm, of the country house library.

Some libraries, 23.9%, were classified using a subject or provenance and subject arrangement. Inevitably, the great collections are organised in a more efficient manner than their smaller counterparts. It comes as no surprise that houses such as Chatsworth, Longleat, Blenheim, Castle Howard and the like fall into this category. At Longleat the libraries are well organised into homogenous entities which reflect the original owner. The static nature of collections means that fixed location classification, where subject headings are allocated to the particular bookshelves or bays rather than to individual items, remains popular. Even in the great houses this is the preferred method of classification. Fixed location is equally important in terms

of the design and aesthetic appearance of the library. Many libraries were built or at least fitted out in order to provide organised shelving for books.

Generally, however, it is curious that British country houses have been noticeably reluctant to embrace the principles of classification within their libraries. It is interesting, therefore, to examine the trend in Europe. Of course, it is impossible to compare like with like in this respect; comparison of a Pomeranian junker's collection with that of a Norfolk squire will not stand up to serious scrutiny. It is, however, slightly easier with the great collections which are marginally more quantifiable. Only the greatest collections in Great Britain can adequately compete with the detailed and, in some cases, novel methods of classification elsewhere in Europe. In Hungary, the excellent library of the Festetics de Tolna family at Keszthely contained 52,000 volumes. It had been excellently catalogued by József Parkanyi in 1891 for Tassilo Prince Festetics de Tolna and was classified into the traditional elements of the country house library including history, geography, militaria and literature, each section with many further appropriate sub-divisions. In Spain the archives and library of the Dukes of Medinaceli family at Casa de Pilatos in Seville are organised by the ramifications of family history. This trend of arrangement by provenance is common across Europe and has also been adopted by the Bernadotte library in Sweden. Although, strictly speaking, a royal rather than country house collection, the Bernadotte library contains only private purchases and is arranged by the original owner and then sub-divided by subject.

²⁸ Fuggles, *Op. cit.* p35.

²⁹ Fuggles, *Ibid.* p36.

³⁰ Fuggles, *Ibid.* p36.

³¹ Survey correspondence (S92).

³² Fuggles, *Op. cit.* p39.

³³ It is a common misconception that country house libraries are all static collections, nor should it be assumed that this survey is only concerned with such static collections. However, because country house collections have been so neglected in terms of scholarly interest or academic study, it was impossible to say whether or not collections were static until the questions were asked. The whole point of the survey was to obtain hitherto unknown information on country house libraries; consequently limiting it to static collections would have been unwise. In any case, until the questions were asked it would have been impossible to say whether or not collections were static. The term static implies that collections do not change or, at least, have not changed significantly for some time. As has been demonstrated by the trend of dispersals, this is not the case when it comes to the selling of material; however, equally important is the addition of new material.

Some 97.8% of respondents with libraries were able to answer this question and their responses threw up some interesting results. The total number of collections which are still having material added was 44.5%. This is undeniably a larger figure than would have been predicted. The position in England was noticeably different from the rest of the United Kingdom. While a majority of owners are still adding to the collections, the margin between those who are and those who are not is much smaller. Comparing this with Scotland, where a large majority were not making additions, highlights a peculiar difference between the component parts of the country. There appears to be no obvious reason for this. Two important distinctions did emerge from the number of people who were still adding to their collections. Firstly, those owners who added only contemporary material to their collections and secondly, those owners who supplemented their collections with antiquarian purchases. The first group were clearly in the majority. Whether these contemporary publications will come to occupy as important a place in bibliographic heritage as older works remains to be seen, but these purchases undoubtedly fulfil an important role within the present-day life of the country house library.

More interesting, however, was the second group, those who added antiquarian purchases. Within this set there were two further distinctions, namely those who made very occasional purchases and those who regularly supplemented their collections in this way. Relatively few owners make regular antiquarian additions. The remainder, those who made irregular, occasional purchases, tended to be extremely discriminating, buying single items which have a particular relationship with the house, the family or the existing collection. The regular antiquarian purchasers, who are no less discriminating, generally made up a dedicated group of bibliophiles. These aristocratic patrons can easily be identified by a cursory glance at the present membership list of the Roxburgh Club and include the likes of the Duke of Devonshire, the

Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry or the Marquess of Salisbury. Consequently, as with so many other aspects of survey, the most pro-active owners tended to possess the finest collections in the first place. On the other hand a majority of collections, 53.3%, were static, at least in terms of acquisitions and additions. It is important to stress here that these collections fall into a number of categories, most notably properties in the ownership of the National Trusts or other such organisations where additions tend to be made only by bequest on a sporadic basis. However, that does not account for the total and it should not be taken that the remainder is totally made up of bibliophobes. These owners were acquiring books, like everyone else; however, they did not form part of what they viewed as the historic collections. In these instances owners' private and contemporary collections formed a separate 'library' elsewhere within the house.

³⁴ Fuggles, *Op. cit.* p37.

CHAPTER V

Heritage Organisations and Structures

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"The commonest error in politics is sticking to the carcasses of old policies"

Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, Speech, 1877

Introduction

The eventual outcomes of this research focus on the creation of national heritage guidelines or policy recommendations for country house libraries. Each element is tied to the understanding of how access, funding and preservation of these collections may be managed effectively. In order to attain that final understanding a number of contextual issues have been examined: the development of these collections as outlined in the historical section is a case in point. Without the knowledge base which analyses the background to these collections it is impossible to understand what makes them unique or, indeed, why they exist at all. Similarly, it is impossible to understand the importance of policy recommendations without discussing the present heritage environment in which these houses in general, and their libraries in particular, currently operate. In essence, this contextual examination of the heritage organisations and policy structures is the purpose of this chapter and this needs to be viewed in parallel with Chapter Six which examines the internal issues affecting country house libraries, their owners and managers.

What this chapter does not address is the whole of the heritage management landscape but is geared to the examination of its subject, namely country house libraries, with the emphasis placed more on the libraries in particular than simply the houses themselves. The first defined objective of the doctoral stage of this research states that *"within the context of existing national heritage policies and structures to establish the view of owners, both private and corporate, in relation to access to, and preservation of, these collections."*

¹ This chapter will examine these policies and structures, as well as the relationship which owners and administrators of properties have with such organisations. The subsequent chapter will concentrate on how the houses themselves, their owners and administrators, react to the internal management of their libraries and how these owners and administrators deal with the questions of access, funding and conservation and preservation.

This chapter is, therefore, an attempt at contextualization of the external dimension while the next chapter is an attempt to do the same for the internal dimension. Critical to both elements - and central to the intellectual contents of both - was the second survey, which has been discussed in Chapter Two. Here the survey results are used to deal with the broader picture, the heritage organisations and policies as they impact on country houses environment rather than their individual implications for specific management

issues. These management questions, including conservation, preservation, access and funding, are, essentially, ones of administration on a day-to-day basis and are discussed in subsequent chapters. Although based on survey evidence, this is not, strictly speaking, quantitative analysis. Rather it contains a significant amount of other published sources combined with descriptive comments from owners and administrators. Equally important to this element of the research, and demonstrated within this chapter, were the observational visits to collections as well as the interviews conducted with owners and administrators.

Structures, Policies and Issues

The potential for funding as an issue cannot be examined in isolation but must take account of the organisations, structures and policies which currently exist. This element is central to the development of guidelines or recommendations in the final element of this research. Similarly, with regard to access, it must be dealt with in terms of the correct context and both of these points are indivisible from the questions which conservation and preservation pose. By placing these elements first it ensures that the other objectives are set within a proper context and allows for a study of the heritage environment as it affects country house libraries as a subject in its own right. This is, however, broadly based while still retaining subject focus and concentrating on interaction at national, regional and local levels. It examines the interaction between the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (the Department of National Heritage from 1992 until 1997) and the various organisations which have a role to play within country house management. Prominent amongst these are English Heritage, Historic Scotland (as the principal funding agencies), the two National Trusts and the Historic Houses Association. Particular emphasis is also attached to the role of the National Heritage Memorial Fund.² This organisation, which is responsible for the allocation of grants from the Heritage Lottery Fund, is now allowed to dispense grants to private country houses as a result of the 1997 National Heritage Act. In addition, to statutory bodies and the National Trusts, organisations such as the National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies (NADFAS), which plays a hugely significant role on the ground, are also examined. So too are the traditional elements of librarianship and library services, with particular reference being made to these on national, regional and local levels. Therefore, national, academic and county or local library services all play some part in this structural analysis. Other less obvious but, nonetheless, significant players are also examined in varying degrees. Finally, it is inevitable that some emphasis is given to the legislative framework in which these organisations, and indeed the country house, operate as well as the impact of certain elements of taxation legislation.

This chapter has much to say about organisations and methods of funding, which is a core issue. It was central to the reasons for dispersal, as described in the historical research, and it is an ongoing pressure as described in the study of current provision. In addition, it is a crucial factor with regard not only to

present, extant policies (however informal) but it is also central to the final recommendations which will, to a large extent, be determined, in most circumstances, by financial pragmatism or grant aid. Here, however, the questions dealt with relate to the methods by which public money can be secured for the preservation of bibliographic heritage within the country houses setting and examine the guarantees which the funding bodies require in return for financial aid. With access, funding makes up two sides of the same coin and this chapter deals with public funding and the organisation structure in which it operates. The study of the heritage environment and national policies has offered a number of important opportunities, not least in advancing the methodological techniques by studying those which are inherent within the fields of policy and policy construction. The contextual element in this chapter informs the analysis and discussion of funding and plays a vital role in the developed techniques used in the actual construction of policy recommendations. However, it is not solely contextual; it also involves primary research, with the opinions of owners and administrators in relation to organisations and current policies being central to the discussion.

Consultation

To a certain extent this chapter is an exercise in consultation, examining how owners and administrators deal with the organisations and policies in terms of their own individual library situation. Its essence is the identification of the ways in which assistance is obtained. This identification draws from the literature but also from the empirical approach, in its broadest sense, because both the questionnaire and the interview structure dealt with the organisations active in the field. Respondents were asked about the organisations which they have consulted, would consider consulting and would not consult in order to obtain information, or advice about their library collections on the one hand, or whom they had gone to in order to have work done on the other. The actual numbers was a follows:

	Have Consulted	Would Consult	Consultation Total
National Trust(s)	8	12	20
NADFAS	17	9	26
Heritage Organisations*	2	22	24
County/Local Lib. Service	6	13	19
Academic Libraries	8	12	20
British / National Libraries	9	22	31
Library Association	1	9	10
Fine Art Specialists	11	12	23
Commercial Conservers§	17	17	34

* *English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW, Environment and Heritage Agency Northern Ireland.*

§ *Commercial Book or Library conservationist.*

Equally important, however, were the numbers who said that they would not consult these organisations:

Would Not Consult	
National Trust(s)	15
NADFAS	10
Heritage Organisations*	7
Count/Local Lib. Service	9
Academic Libraries	9
British / National Libraries	5
Library Association	10
Fine Art Specialists	8
Commercial Conservers§	4

* *English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW, Environment and Heritage Agency Northern Ireland.*

§ *Commercial Book or Library conservationist.*

In order to examine this environment satisfactorily it is necessary to start at the top with the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (formerly of National Heritage). Here, however, it is vital to stress its role in connection only with country house policies. Some of the other organisations in this field are ones which owners and administrators may not have had contacts with. These include potential funding bodies, such as the National Heritage Memorial Fund, which have a role to play in facilitating policies, through finance, but which are not themselves *de facto* policymakers. Similarly, it is impossible to omit the taxation system as it affects country houses, particularly the Condition Exemption, Acceptance In Lieu and Maintenance In Situ schemes.³ All of these, both organisationally and in terms of policy, represent a broader strand which must be examined before the specifics of those consulted with regard to country house libraries. In the questionnaire this element was broken down into three distinct units: those which have been consulted, those which would be consulted and those which would not be consulted. Invariably, respondents listed more than one organisation, with a handful attempting to provide their opinions of all those listed. Some respondents only ticked the organisations which they have dealt with, some the organisations which they had considered and some only those which they felt strongly that they would not deal with. In addition, a number, mostly those who perceived no problem with their collections, did not attempt to answer the question at all.

Government

It was Peter Mandler who contrasted the public reaction to the chaos in the countryside unleashed by the First World War with the "*paralysis of private landownership wrought by the Second World War*"⁴ In many ways it was reminiscent of the upheaval at the end of the First World War resulting from the view, as

Chapter Three identifies, that landowning was an unpopular monopoly. In the post-war period of Clement Attlee, owners became more willing to accept what would have been inconceivable even thirty years earlier. This included increased access through tourism and leasing of houses to 'friendly bodies' rather than maintaining them as exclusively private residences. The climate had significantly changed from the nineteen-thirties. By the end of the war, there was even criticism of the National Trust's Country House scheme which had come to look like a scheme for 'death duty dodgers'. Increasingly frustrated, the likes of James Lees-Milne and MacLeod Matheson found themselves having to defend the scheme in the press (and the hostile press at that). This led to the acceptance by even the most die-hard preservers that alternative methods for the preservation of houses had to be found. Curiously, the partial collapse of private landownership in the 1940s assisted this process, because the Labour government was no longer as hostile as once it had been. The first significant government intervention came in the 1946 Budget, when Hugh Dalton secured the staggering sum of £50 million as an endowment for the National Land Fund which had been established to promote the National Parks, to aid the National Trust and to accept land *in lieu* of Death Duties.

This was the first important step towards central government involvement in the country house. It was soon followed, however, by what is still the most crucial development of official policy with regard to the country house. Spurred on by the National Land Fund's assistance, the Trust immediately set about clearing up the backlog of houses and acquired, in rapid succession, Cotehele, Osterley and Ham. When Mrs. Hugh Dalton was invited to join the executive of the Trust the relationship with government became firmly established. Although the Trusts (both England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland) had previously crossed the Statute Books in various forms, direct government co-operation was limited and certainly the taxation system was never tailored in any respect to take account of the problems of historic buildings. Unfortunately, Dalton was replaced⁵ by Sir Stafford Cripps whose enthusiasm for the 'heritage' was less obvious. He did, however, establish a committee to examine the whole question of the purchase and preservation of historic houses. The formation of this committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Ernest Gowers, was one of the defining moments in the country house preservation movement.

The Gowers Report, as the Committee's results have come to be known, "*like many government reports of this period, set the terms of future debate on its subject*".⁶ The report quoted Christopher Hussey and agreed that the "*country house is the greatest contribution made by England to the visual arts*".⁷ The report concerned itself not only with the great jewels but with all country houses and stressed the importance of country houses as homes; it doubted the practicality of widespread alternative use and questioned the merits of public ownership by the state. It concluded that only a huge range of tax concessions would save the country house and listed income tax relief and death duty exemptions as being vital but, most importantly, stressed that these should be extended to contents and collections as well as the

buildings themselves. By the time of the return of the Conservative party to government in 1951, no significant steps had been taken to implement any of the Gowers recommendations. Curiously, however, the press which had, some seven or eight years earlier, been hostile to country house preservation, now agitated against the continued delay by government to the Gowers recommendations. A concerted effort by the Lord President of the Council and Leader of the Lords, the Marquess of Salisbury (who, some years earlier as Lord Cranborne had, ironically, been vociferously opposed to any state intervention), Lord Methuen and Tory backbencher Sir Arthur Colegate eventually led to a clause in the 1953 Finance Act which allowed for the acceptance of collections *in lieu* of tax. In addition, David Eccles, the Minister of Works, endowed the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Councils with quarter of a million pounds a year to aid buildings and the National Trust.

By the end of the decade, public funding was being made available, through the Historic Buildings Councils, to private owners. Castle Howard and Ragley Hall both received more than a hundred thousand pounds. The latter, Ragley, had become something of a *cause célèbre* with the Marquess of Hertford publicly announcing that if he did not receive a long-prevaricated-over grant he would have no option but to demolish the house. The Marquess later admitted that he had been bluffing, but not until the grant had been secured. Increasingly, grant-aid was linked to access, although this provision was little more than piecemeal at the time (one day a week during the summer). Owners, however, had to match the public grant provision for any work to be carried out. The most important feature of the Gowers Report, so far as country house libraries are concerned, is the fact that it sought to ensure the preservation of country houses as complete entities. It argued strongly against the schemes of the nineteen-fifties which stressed alternative uses or complete nationalisation. Gowers promoted the preservation of the house, the contents and collections and the parks. Ultimately, this would prove to be politically impossible for successive governments because it amounted to public support for preserving the aristocratic way-of-life as well as their houses.

As a result, it has been left to the owners and administrators of houses to preserve them as complete entities. That said, it was considerably aided by the limited tax breaks which were introduced as well as by the increasing amounts of grant-aid available from a variety of different public bodies. There may never have been direct government policies on country houses and their preservation but, taken collectively, a huge variety of policy statements combined with legislation, can be said to form a partial quasi-policy to *assist* with the maintenance of houses and their collections. Acceptance In Lieu or In Situ, combined with One-Estate Election, Conditional Exemption, English Heritage, Historic Scotland or CADW (the Welsh equivalent) grant and National Heritage Memorial Fund endowments, all combine to aid the country house and, taken together, these bodies with their recommendations and policies provide many essential guidelines to assist with management of historic country houses.

It is interesting, however, to note that, even since the establishment of the Department of National Heritage in 1992 (the Department of Culture, Media and Sport since 1997), little has changed with regard to government's role in the country house. Certainly, initiatives have been non-existent despite successive Secretaries of State expressing their belief in, and support for, private ownership. Chris Smith, the first Labour Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, expressed his support for private ownership in an address to the Annual General Meeting of the Historic Houses Association in the autumn of 1997. However, as with so many areas of national life, it is the Treasury which effectively controls the scene. Treasury-driven changes to the taxation system - which remains the single biggest area of concern for the country house - have profound implications for the management and indeed the maintenance of privately-owned heritage. It is questionable what role the Department of Culture, Media and Sport can play in this sector when the Exchequer is committed to reform of the taxation system. Individual departmental remits appear to be squashed under the pressure of Treasury *diktat*. Some of these changes, such as the ending of the 'by appointment' scheme for access to Conditionally Exempt works of art, seem to be, in the words of Michael Hall, "*a laudably democratic desire for increased public access*" but in fact "*threatens to kill the goose that has laid so many of the golden eggs which have enriched our national collections to the benefit of us all*".⁸

Conditional Exemption, Acceptance In Lieu and Maintenance In Situ

As the Treasury seems to lead the way in *de facto* if not *de jure* policies which impinge on country house management, it is necessary, therefore, to commence the examination of structures and policies by investigating the taxation system. There are three major tax concessions which are crucial to the maintenance of country house collections of all descriptions, including bibliographic and archival heritage. These are Conditional Exemption and Acceptance In Lieu of tax with its adjunct of remaining *in situ*. Conditional Exemption is arguably the most important and was introduced in the Finance Act of 1896, two years after Sir William Harcourt introduced Death Duties in his budget of 1894. The system enables important works of art to be exempted from capital taxation. Michael Hall has noted that 'conditional deferment' would be a better description because the items are only exempt as long as the criteria are adhered to. These criteria include maintenance of the material and, since 1976, the provision of reasonable public access. This latter clause can mean either in a property which is open to the public, by loan to a museum or gallery, or by publishing details on the Register of Exempt Works of Art produced by the Inland Revenue. The Register facilitates the 'by appointment' mechanism for viewing material. Owners become liable for tax if they fail to meet these criteria or if the item is sold. Acceptance In Lieu of tax of important items has been a long recognised method of relief whereby an item may be handed over to the state to cover a tax bill. Perhaps the single most famous example was the decision, by the 11th Duke of Devonshire, to part with Hardwick Hall (which eventually passed to the National Trust). The Hall was

accepted *in lieu* of Death Duties and thus enabled the Duke to secure the survival of Chatsworth. Since the acceptance of a collection of portraits at Arundel Castle in West Sussex in 1980, a mechanism has been in place whereby works of art may, like those in the Conditional Exemption scheme, remain *in situ* in their traditional location - as often as not a country house.

Both the Conditional Exemption and Acceptance In Lieu schemes usually insist that works of art "*considered of museum quality*"⁹ are eligible under the scheme, with bibliographic and library collections being accepted on a rather more pragmatic level. Those works of art which fall within the purview of the scheme are bound by a number of categories which include the fact that items "*may not leave the United Kingdom except for a specially approved purpose and length of time, such as a temporary exhibition, agreed steps must be taken for its preservation, and public access must be available*".¹⁰ The Conditional Exemption scheme is essentially an exercise in funding, or at least financial relief, but, equally important, are the questions which it raises in terms of access and preservation. As has been mentioned, access is taken to mean a country house open to the public, but this fails to adequately define access with regard to bibliographic material where a distinction between the general and the intellectual or scholarly type of access must be made. Even if bibliographic works which have been exempt are to be accessed *in situ* within a country house, there are a number of serious policy issues which owners and administrators must address. Similarly, there are important issues to be addressed and decisions to be taken with regard to the other access mechanisms available within the Condition Exemptions scheme. These include long-term loan to a public collection or access by appointment, together with a willingness to lend for exhibitions for up to six months in any two years, all of which will satisfy the criteria set by Condition Exemption. The areas which require to be addressed internally include questions of security, preservation and conservation as well as the more obvious questions of access and use. All of these areas require policy guidelines for the effective management of bibliographic resources within the country house. Books have peculiar and individual qualities; looking at a conditionally exempt Rembrandt does it no harm at all; looking at a similarly exempt Caxton causes immense problems.

If owners or administrators of Conditionally Exempt works breach any of the conditions, and this usually occurs with the denial of reasonable access, the result is that a demand for the full taxation will be made, recalculated at current values. For many years, the country house lobby, as exemplified by Michael Sayer and Hugh Massingberd in their book *The Disintegration of a Heritage*, have complained bitterly that the statutory provision of twenty-eight day's access is, in smaller houses, "*highly disruptive and it would be reasonable to consider whether undertakings for access say once a week in the summer and otherwise by appointment would not be adequate*".¹¹ To a certain extent this is true but cannot be wholly justified because owners and administrators were fully aware of this clause when they sought Conditional Exemption in the first place. In addition, it is not unreasonable that access in terms of Conditional

Exemption should be no less than access in return for the receipt of grant aid for fabric repairs from the Non Departmental Public Bodies such as English Heritage or Historic Scotland. In any case, twenty-eight days are soon to be little more than a halcyon memory, as Gordon Brown, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced in his 1998 Budget that there would be a review of the access arrangements within this scheme, the Secretary of State for Culture, Chris Smith, having already stated that he wished see "*greater effective publicity to land, buildings and objects benefiting from taxation schemes*".¹² The new model for Conditional Exemption or for Acceptance In Lieu or In Situ has raised the access level to one hundred days per annum. This has resulted in these schemes now being viewed as "*a less attractive option*".¹³

It has been said, by the Historic Houses Association amongst others, that if these rules are applied retrospectively to previously negotiated exemptions it will have profound implications, because one hundred days is moving to an unfeasible high minimum level of access to houses. In addition, the traditional threat of sale of items has again raised its head with regard to these modifications. Edward Harley, Chairman of the HHA Taxation Committee and himself an owner, has said that "*if the rules are applied too harshly, the public will be the losers if owners are unable to meet their access conditions and sell their objects to a closed collection*".¹⁴ Although this is the favourite threat of the owners of country house it cannot be entirely dismissed in this instance, nor can the realisation that when sales do occur, as the historical section of this work documents, the libraries are usually amongst the first to suffer at the hands of the auctioneer. The distinguished country house writer, John Cornforth, has already provided a draft obituary - entitled *Adieu In Lieu?* - while his colleague, Michael Hall, has produced a similar panegyric for Conditional Exemption in recent editions of *Country Life*; both suggest, along the same lines as Edward Harley, that the only people likely to benefit from such drastic alterations to the scheme are the auction houses. On the other hand, *The Daily Telegraph* conducted a piece of research by which ten items on the Exempt register were picked at random. The results showed that all of the owners were willing to show the items but that they were seldom, if ever, asked to do so. It is questionable, therefore, whether the change in rules will result in serious problems unless owners are compelled to open their properties. The *Daily Telegraph's* experiment mirrors the country house library almost perfectly with owners willing to grant access, as the first survey demonstrated, but hardly ever receiving requests to do so.

The sale of exempt items raises another profound difficulty for owners and administrators. It is, in fact, the other principal problem with the Conditional Exemptions, In Lieu and In Situ schemes. This applies across the board in terms of country house collections and very definitely includes bibliographic material. Sayer and Massingberd betray a degree of duplicity by implying that such sales only take place when "*it becomes necessary to raise further funds to safeguard property and where the economic way to do so is by the sale of conditionally exempt property*".¹⁵ It must be remembered that not all sales safeguard property and it wrong to imply that they do. As this research drew to a close, the magnificent collections at Hackwood in

Hampshire were being sold in their entirety because none of the Berry family were interested in taking it over, resulting in the biggest country house sale in well-over a decade. History is littered, as the historical sections demonstrate, with sales and dispersal for a multitude of different reasons. It is not altogether surprising that Massingberd, in particular, takes this approach being, as he is, the supreme apologist, in virtually every circumstance, for the aristocracy, gentry and country house owner. Country house owners are heroic but not as heroic as all that. However, to return to the issue of the sale of exempt items, it does create serious problems and Sayer is right when he says that, in many instances, *"the sale of a valuable but conditionally exempt chattel may denude the house less than the disposal of numerous items which might individually sell for less"*.¹⁶ However, sale is possible under the scheme and owners cannot, in all sincerity, expect there to be no restriction on items on which they have received tax relief.

This is an issue which owners feel very strongly about and is something which applies to all aspects of country house collections, from porcelain to furniture, paintings to books. Most owners echo the sentiments expressed by Commander Michael Saunders Watson and believes that *"collections, while they are of great importance to the house, their importance really is that they relate to the people who lived there"*.¹⁷ However, owners are equally vehement that these collections remain their property and that exemptions (as opposed to In Lieu or In Situ items which are no longer private property) must be subject to the control of owners, not of revenue officials. Commander Saunders Watson highlighted this when he said: *"I am absolutely adamant that if you own property that is your property and if you've had a grant on it and you want to sell it then you repay the grant or tax with interest"*. It is, however, debatable whether all owners fully accept this. He went on to say, *"what I'm not in favour of is listing that book [and saying it] belongs to that house and cannot be moved from that house without applying in triplicate"*.¹⁸ Yet these are safeguards through a scheme from which owners benefit and they must accept the accompanying regulations. Another owner, of a first-rate collection, conceded that *"although I view much of what we have here as sacrosanct to this house, I don't want to ever be in the position of having my hands tied by others"*.¹⁹

Owners feel strongly that tax relief or exemption on particular items should not enforce a rigid code of conduct on them with regard to those items, be it paintings or books. While they agree that if the terms of any exemption are to be altered, including by sale, then the relief or the grant must be repaid, they do not, as one owner put it, want *"some chap in Whitehall telling me that I can never sell x, y or z"*. This attitude is echoed by many other owners, one of whom said: *"as long as the items here remain my property then I want to be free to do with them as I choose without consulting some official in London"*. Another said that he did not think that *"the receipt of public money is concomitant to designating works as 'national heritage'. They are private property whatever....I wholeheartedly disapprove of the creation of these pseudo-public entails"*.²⁰ It is evident that owners feel particularly strongly about this issue and that they

do not want their hands tied if they are compelled to sell exempt items for whatever reason. In reality, such sales are relatively few and far between. It is interesting to speculate whether this is really a genuine concern, given the fact that sales still manage to take place. Many owners simply resent interference and see it as the state flexing its muscles in terms of privately-owned heritage. It is curious, however, that a scheme designed with the same end in mind, namely the safeguarding of national heritage, should, as so many profess, arouse quite so much controversy and perceived problems in the minds of owners, especially when they agree with most of the provision.

Commander Saunders Watson did admit other, extremely laudable, reasons for this attitude: *"I'm quite keen on turning collections round as you'll see when you go round this house; we have quite a lot of contemporary, modern pictures which have been acquired because I have sold other, older pictures. There is this turn over issue, but at the same time I think it is important to identify the core heritage and that should stay there but there is no reason why you should constantly have to sit surrounded entirely by anything other than your ancestors, it should grow and grow year by year"*.²¹ The degree to which this attitude is replicated across the board is questionable and it is dubious to suggest that all owners only sell as a means of enhancing or safeguarding other elements in the collections. However, the sale of items should always be judged on the merits of the individual case. Numerous treasures, including important bibliographic treasures, were sold from Chatsworth in the 1980s but with the sole aim of endowing the Chatsworth Settlement (the trust which maintains the house). Again, this is laudable and exemption regulations should not be a barrier to this. Indeed, they should not be a barrier to sales at all, apart from some exceptional instances where works are demonstrably of pre-eminent national significance, but sales should not always be portrayed as being forced because of changes to schemes which owners readily accept when it is in their interests.

National Heritage Memorial Fund

The National Land Fund (mentioned above) eventually gave way to the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) which was established under the National Heritage Act 1980 as a memorial to those who have given their lives in the service of the United Kingdom. The Fund acts on a higher level than the other agencies in the sense that it is geared to the provision of financial awards and not practical conservation measures, although its awards may facilitate this. However, its role means that it is of primary importance, especially since the changes to the distribution of lottery funding made under the National Heritage Act of 1997. The Fund was set up to provide financial assistance towards the acquisition, preservation and maintenance of land, buildings, works of art and any other object which the trustees of the Fund deemed to be of importance. Throughout the nineteen-eighties the fund remained at a relatively static funding level of around twelve million pounds per annum in direct government grants. One of the principal uses which the National Heritage Memorial Fund has been put to has been the endowment of properties in order to enable

their purchase by one of the National Trusts. Since its establishment, it has become one of the principal sources of endowment for properties moving into the hands of the National Trusts, insofar as the Trusts themselves cannot raise the full sums required. As Michael Sayer points out, *"it has, in practice, become beyond the reach of private individuals to endow their properties adequately for the Trust to accept them...other means of endowing houses for the National Trust have had to be found"*.²² The National Heritage Memorial Fund has, through judicious selection, partially filled this vacuum.

Under its first Chairman, Lord Charteris of Amisfield, the National Heritage Memorial Fund contributed significant sums to the purchase of houses outright by the National Trusts or by other charitable foundations. In 1983, Belton in Lincolnshire was endowed with £8 million while the fund also gave £3 million for the endowment and purchase, by the National Trust for Scotland, of Fyvie Castle. The following year, Calke Abbey in Derbyshire received £4.5 million (together with a direct government grant). Two years later, in 1986, the Fund provided its biggest single award to Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire. Some £6.3 million was provided for the purchase and endowment of the house and park with a further £7.1 million for the contents. Similarly, the Fund has also provided finance for endowing individual charitable trusts. This process began in 1983 with Thirlestane Castle in Berwickshire, when the owner gave the house, the contents and the park to a charitable trust and the NHMF provided just under £1 million to endow it. The same process followed in 1988 when Paxton House, also in Berwickshire, became a charitable trust. In that case the Fund granted £2.75 million. In 1992, the biggest single allocation to an individual trust occurred when the owner of Burton Constable in Yorkshire gave the entire contents of the house to a trust and the National Heritage Memorial Fund provided almost £2 million to acquire the house and park and a further £3.5 million to endow it, making a total of more than £5.4 million.

More significant, however, is the fact that the Fund has also provided financial support to safeguard particular items within country houses. One of the most notable examples of this was the grant to purchase, from Lord St. Oswald, the furniture at Nostell Priory in Yorkshire; the house itself already being a National Trust property. Although a significant proportion of National Heritage Memorial Fund resources have been used in connection with country houses and their collections, none has been granted specifically in relation to libraries, although they have been included in the general acquisition of contents. Yet this does not preclude them and the Fund could well agree to grants which involved securing collections for the nation. It is in this respect that the National Heritage Memorial Fund has profound implications for the concept of access to historically significant collections, not least bibliographic ones. It is through evaluation of the role of NHMF that it is possible to indicate the existing mechanism which exist for the support of historically important collections. The most obvious means of Fund involvement may be through securing grant-aid for preservation and maintenance rather than by means of individual purchase. However, this latter idea cannot be entirely ruled out and the National Heritage Memorial Fund could, for

example, replicate schemes which have been undertaken on the continent of Europe, particularly in Germany and especially in southern *Länder* of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. In 1980, the government of the Bavaria was able to secure comparative finance to the sum of 40 million Deutschmarks (then around £10 million) for the purchase of the library of the Princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Schloß Harburg.²³ The library remained *in situ* at the Castle but the ownership of the collection passed to the State and its administration into the hands of the University of Augsburg.

It is conceivable that a similar process could occur in this country, with the National Heritage Memorial Fund providing the financial backing for an organisation to purchase a library collection in its entirety. However, this possible route would not guarantee that the collection would remain *in situ*, which is not only a fundamental issue in this research but would also be a central issue for the house management and the purchasing body. Yet this process already exists in a different form with the mechanism of Acceptance In Lieu of taxation, whereby full collections have been accepted to cover capital taxation (invariably inheritance tax). Some of these, such as Newhailes and Newbattle Abbey in Scotland have resulted in the entire collection eventually passing into the hands of the National Library of Scotland, with the Newhailes library leaving the house while the Newbattle Collection (of the Marquesses of Lothian) was returned to Monteviot House (another seat of the Lothian family) following the a court case and remains *in situ* there for the lifetime of the present Marquess. Similarly, with the Conditional Exemptions scheme whereby tax can be written off particular items if owners provide "*reasonable public access*" has also been applied to libraries. The Earl of Derby's library at Knowsley, the Duke of Norfolk's library at Arundel Castle and the Dukes of Portland's library at Welbeck Abbey are all conditionally exempt in this way. In the case of Welbeck Nottingham University is closely involved in the management of the collection. As yet, however, no outright purchase has occurred.

Heritage Lottery Fund

One scheme which owners of country houses have eagerly accepted as being in their interests is the Heritage Lottery Fund, which was established in order to distribute funds from the National Lottery to heritage groups and projects. It is regulated under the National Lottery Act and the National Heritage Act 1997. However, until relatively recently privately-owned properties were completely excluded from the grant application process. Its primary aim has been defined as "*to provide financial assistance for capital projects which conserve and improve assets of importance to the national heritage whether land, buildings or objects and to enhance public access to and the enjoyment of such assets*".²⁴ The National Heritage Memorial Fund was selected as the most suitable organisation to manage and run the Heritage Lottery Fund. Consequently, the trustees of the NHMF also act as trustees of the Heritage Lottery Fund. However, it is important to stress that the two funds have different statutory obligations and funding from one should not be confused with funding from the other. Some, such as John Martin Robinson, have questioned

whether the National Heritage Memorial Fund was the best choice. In an article in *Country Life* he stated that English Heritage had much more experience and that their role was now being undermined because the National Heritage Memorial Fund, as trustee of the Heritage Lottery Fund, had become the biggest single distributor of heritage grants, surpassing English Heritage. The NHMF's lack of experience is relative and more important is the fact that it is the only nation-wide body with statutory obligations. The reaction, politically and publicly, can well be imagined if *English Heritage* were given a national remit (including Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) in terms of grants from the Lottery Fund. In addition, NHMF's remit is taken to be more inclusive *culturally* than the likes of English Heritage where the emphasis tends to be more on fabric and structures.

Following the National Heritage Act of 1997, a consultation process took place in order to modify the application process for lottery funding in the field of heritage. While the Heritage Lottery Fund still maintains that they "*do not expect to make grants for projects concerning individual sites or buildings in private or commercial ownership*",²⁵ the door has been left open for privately-owned properties in some important respects. One of the most important changes to Heritage Lottery Fund procedures occurs under what is known as 'umbrella' projects. These can be capital or revenue applications which can be made on behalf of a number of organisations which propose a joint or collaborative project of some description. Most significant, however, is the fact that the Heritage Lottery Fund now concedes that in such instances of umbrella projects they do not "*rule out recording, educational or access projects which include moveable property - objects, collections and archives - in private ownership, where a sustainable public benefit can be demonstrated.*"²⁶ In terms of country house libraries this is a significant development; it may facilitate collaborative cataloguing ventures such as the National Trust's union catalogue or other intellectual access programmes. The Heritage Lottery Fund lays great stress upon *intellectual* access to the heritage of the nation and this is welcome, especially in terms of historic libraries and archives. This move recognises the inherent difference which exists with regard to historic libraries between general and intellectual access. However, the Fund will not consider applications for conservation work to "*privately owned moveable property even within the framework of the umbrella scheme*".²⁷ Essentially, this means that collaborative projects, which may involve privately-owned country houses, are now eligible to apply for lottery funding except for the purposes of carrying out actual conservation. This was to be expected as the onus for maintenance of privately-owned items must rest with the owner, while the onus for facilitating greater public benefit of those items is shared responsibility and one which the Heritage Lottery Fund now recognises as being part of its responsibility.

Since the establishment of the Heritage Lottery Fund, libraries and archives have formed a distinct strand amongst those eligible for funding. This does not, however, include individual private collections *per se* but, as has been highlighted in the previous paragraph, collaborative ventures may include private

collections "*where public benefit outweighs any private gain*".²⁸ The Heritage Lottery Fund attaches a list of criteria for all applications relating to documentary heritage. These include conservation of items in all media; improvements in housing and maintenance of collections; environmental systems; purchase of items and collections; cataloguing and listing; improvement of physical access and improvement of intellectual access. These criteria apply to all libraries and archives and echo the fundamental aims of this work. As has been stated, however, the conservation element is not applicable to privately-owned material in any shape or form, even within the umbrella scheme. The HLF particularly stresses the importance of improving "*the housing, presentation and accessibility of existing library and archive collections, particularly those in non-nation institutions*"²⁹ and this is particularly significant given the importance of country house libraries on a local or regional level, a point which came out strongly in the chapter dealing with current provision. Yet the most important factor which may govern any application in this field is the fact that the Fund welcomes "*collaborative projects of all kinds involving a number of libraries or archives, or collaboration between libraries and archives and other kinds of heritage organisations*".³⁰ Given the fact that privately-owned items and collections may be eligible under the umbrella scheme, it is particularly important that the potential for collaborative ventures is very definitely restated in the regulations for applications under the documentary heritage scheme.

Taken together, the new regulations for applications to the Heritage Lottery Fund offer considerable scope for the improvement of country house collections through collaborative ventures. These are crucial issues to this work and which will be fully discussed in the final element of this research. The policy guidelines which will act as final recommendations will examine the potential which exists not only for collaboration but also how such collaboration might be used in order to facilitate funding applications. Lessons will almost certainly have to be learnt from the Continent of Europe and, in particular, Germany, where, as has been mentioned, collaboration between public bodies and private libraries has been in existence for some time. Lottery funding is seen, all too often, as a panacea for all woes. It is undeniable that it has had a huge impact but, as country house owners know (because of their ineligibility), this is painting an over-optimistic picture. However, for the first time the potential now exists for interesting developments and the policy guidelines in this research will attempt to map a course by which these developments may be of benefit to country house library collections.

Non Departmental Public Bodies

The principal bodies, which are of crucial significance, to this study are the statutory Non-Departmental Public Bodies such as English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW and the Environment and Heritage Agency Northern Ireland, which were established by Parliament with the remits of protection of the historic environment and with promoting public understanding and enjoyment of it. They also act as the government's official advisers within their respective geographic areas of jurisdiction on all matters

concerning heritage conservation. They are also responsible for the provision of substantial funding for a diverse range of activities, including archaeology, conservation areas and the repair of historic buildings, and together are responsible for the care of over seven hundred historic properties. Although probably best known for those historic sites which they own and manage as visitor attractions, they have a wide range of functions. These organisations are involved in the scheduling of monuments, archaeology, listed buildings, care of churches and cathedrals in partnership with the various denominations. Their collective aims echo those expressed by English Heritage and can be said to be *"not only to ensure the preservation of our historic surroundings for the future, but also to encourage people to appreciate and enjoy this heritage today"*.³¹ In terms of this research, two areas of their activities are of prime importance, namely repair grants and access arrangements.

Repair Grants

All of these organisations distribute grant aid to historic buildings or ancient monuments according to the statutory framework. English Heritage, for example, distributes grants under Section 3A of the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953 or Section 24 of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979. The total amount of these grants, per annum, is usually in the region of twenty million pounds. Grant awards are made *"after careful consideration of the quality of the building or monument concerned, the urgency and nature of the repairs which are proposed, and the financial need for grant from public funds to ensure that the necessary repairs are carried out"*.³² Country houses are often recipients of such awards. In the financial year 1996-97, English Heritage provided funds to eleven country houses with incremental funds going to a number of others. These included privately owned houses such as Ugbrooke Park and Forde Abbey; National Trust properties such as Dyrham Park, Petworth and Wightwick Manor as well as two, Temple Newsam and Lydiard Park, which are owned by local councils. The case of Petworth is interesting because the grant, £110,000, was ringfenced specifically for the State Bedroom and the Chapel. This highlights the fact that while some grants are for general repairs, others are for specific aspects or, more crucial in terms of this work, items or separate buildings within a larger complex.

Public Access

According to English Heritage, the level of public access *"required as a condition of grant varies according to the type of building, and the extent to which public access is already available"*.³³ Where buildings are open regularly because of their function, the condition stipulates that they should remain so by virtue of use; for buildings where the exterior only is of interest, public access is required to the exterior only. Access is usually stipulated within the range of a minimum of twenty-eight days (for smaller buildings) through to one hundred and fifty-six days (for the grandest buildings). Normally, this is taken to include opening to the public within the summer months and on all or most major Bank holidays.

However, certain buildings which pose particular problems in terms of access, or which are of limited or specialised interest, may have the number of days reduced according to their individual ability to manage visitors. In some cases this is as low as seven days in the calendar year. In addition, there are a number of variations to this theme and the NDPBs use a variety of access codes to describe other types of provision. These include 8HR, which signifies that properties should be accessible for eight hours a day or at all reasonable times; BVU, which means 'by virtue of use' and is applicable for public buildings already subject to some measure of public access; APP which represents 'by appointment with the owner', and EXT, meaning exterior only. Again, it is doubtful how long the 'by appointment' scheme can be sustained in connection with grant aid given the Treasury's drive to remove it from the mechanics of the taxation system.

The owners or administrators of those buildings which receive grant aid from English Heritage, Historic Scotland or CADW are requested to advertise their opening arrangements in a nationally available publication, as well as outside their property. This does not, in itself, constitute a guide to opening, which should be more extensive and include the actual days and time, costs and other details as appropriate in individual cases. Unfortunately, however, the access provision within the grant allocation structure does not, in the words of English Heritage, "*necessarily guarantee that there is now an automatic right of public access. Circumstances or ownership may have changed in some cases and this may have resulted in an alteration to the access condition*".³⁴ In terms of the grant allocation structure, legislative provision for public access is confined solely to grants made under the 1953 Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act for buildings of outstanding architectural or historic interest. Consequently, the acceptance of a grant aid is not made conditional on opening to the public.

Given the huge importance of these bodies, it is interesting to note that the heritage organisations (English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW and the Environment and Heritage Agency Northern Ireland), were hardly ever consulted by respondents, with only 5.4% confirming that they had dealt with them with regard to the library. This relatively low figure highlights the fact that these bodies are currently seen as being rather irrelevant in terms of libraries. A further 9.5% of respondents stated that they would not consult them at all. The reasons for this are diverse but one owner highlighted a common thread when he said: "*Personally, I don't think English Heritage are up to much. I think they employ a lot of people to monitor what's going on and I personally, this is my personal view, don't think they are actually helping us conserve these places. I think they are monitoring what is going on and, I suppose that is relatively useful but it is relatively useless if they can't point you in the right direction*".³⁵ This remark goes to the heart of the question of consultation for libraries. It is the lack of direction to the right sources of assistance which causes owners and administrators severe problems and forces many to rely so heavily on *ad hoc* or social contacts. This is an issue which is addressed in the policy. This owner reflects the sense of working in a

vacuum when it comes to the library and like others feels that the heritage organisations cannot fill it either in terms of structure or policies. Significantly, however, a further 29.7% of respondents stated that they would consider consulting them in the future. This suggests that many owners and administrators expect these bodies to play a role, while the relatively low number actually using them to date highlights the fact that they currently fail to fulfil much of a function in this field.

Yet the author John Martin Robinson, who is also the Duke of Norfolk's Librarian at Arundel Castle, has highlighted the fact that English Heritage's conservation role should be assisting with the creation of a broad national conservation policy. Here it is important to return, briefly, to the question of the heritage environment. Robinson is undeniably right to say that these Non Departmental Public Bodies have an obligation to provide for a national conservation policy. Unfortunately the question, conservation of what, remains unanswered. The extent to which English Heritage *et al* wish to pursue conservation of the built heritage is relatively clear. However, their role as regards other aspects is unclear. One owner remarked that "*when English Heritage come they walk in [to the library] and say 'oh how nice' and walk out*". Another owner echoed this, "*We did have a spat with English Heritage over the fabric of the room but they weren't at all interested in the books.....only the plasterwork*".³⁶ It is the role of the British Library and the National Preservation Office to move forward on the question of conservation and preservation of bibliographic materials. This is discussed in both Chapter Seven and the policy document. Yet, as far as country house owners and administrators are concerned, their initiatives are relatively unknown. Their role in the heritage environment is minuscule as far as most country houses are concerned and it is inevitable, although somewhat misguided, for owners and administrators to view bodies like English Heritage and Historic Scotland as the first line of defence. However, it is unfortunate and unsatisfactory to assume that, because these agencies can distribute a grant for repairing the roof, they are going to assist with other aspects too. It is clear that owners and administrators need to re-focus themselves to the other, more suitable Non Departmental Public Bodies which do, legitimately, have a function within the library preservation field.

NADFAS and commercial conservationists

Although there are no shortage of formal organisations, one of the most important results from this stage of the research was the fact that links between houses and professionals still tend to be *ad hoc* and to rely, for the most part, on social contacts which exist between owners or administrators on one hand and professional conservationists on the other. One owner put this succinctly when he remarked that "*by and large we certainly rely on our own contacts and friends and acquaintances in most aspects of this house. We are fortunate to have lots of connections in the art world*".³⁷ The fact that both commercial conservationists and NADFAS emerged at the top of the list, with some 23.0% of respondents mentioning that they had consulted each of them, highlights this fact. Both of these tend to involve *ad hoc* or social

contacts. This relates partly to the nature of the country house world but also to the fact that long-term library plans seldom exist and that remedial work is often forced on owners when a problem becomes a potential crisis. The same Baronet noted this when he said *"we tend to do work on a reactive basis. In the sense that the maintenance or restoration we undertake - across the board, not just the library - tends to be a response to a particular problem or situation. We don't unfortunately have some grand design for all aspects of the house"*.³⁸ Essentially, this often means that lack of awareness about the situation and work required affects the way in which the problem is tackled and the professionals who are used. This dilemma, lack of awareness of the situation, was also noted by Commander Michael Saunders Watson when he said *"the....question is, firstly do the owners know they want assistance and if they do its probably not terribly easy to find because there isn't very much about"*.³⁹

These social contacts are best illustrated by example. One owner pointed to the fact that his wife is *"involved with NADFAS and most of our neighbours use them"*⁴⁰ and that he knew *"our local head of libraries on a social level and am quite friendly with the county archivist"*⁴¹ while adding that, when it came to actual conservation, he had *"rang up [his] brother-in-law in London and asked him if he knew of anyone suitable and I knew he would, so we got someone to do it"*.⁴² Similarly, Sir Richard FitzHerbert used his sister, a professional trained book conservationist. With this ethos in mind, it is unsurprising that, overall, commercial conservationists came out on top, with another 23.0% of respondents saying that they would consult them or had considered doing so. This made the consultation total (of either past or potential future contact) 46.0%. Interestingly, of those groups and organisations which would not be consulted, commercial conservers attracted the least, with only 5.5% of owners and administrators saying that they would not consult them. NADFAS, however, did not achieve such a high rating overall, with only 12.2% of respondents saying that they would consult them, making an overall total of 35.1% of houses. In addition, 13.5% said that they would not consider consulting NADFAS.

It is likely that the role of NADFAS may change in the next few years. Recently, Mr Rex Bircher bequeathed one hundred thousand pounds to the organisation to provide training for its voluntary conservation teams. Mrs Virginia Evans, the former NADFAS library co-ordinator, has devoted much time and energy to securing a proportion of this to the benefit of library training. She would like to see the teams given basic cataloguing training to enable them to broaden their expertise. In this she has received the tacit support of Martin Drury, the Secretary General of the National Trust. Drury himself has launched a major initiative to re-establish the library at Gunby Hall in Lincolnshire as a lasting memorial to the late James Lees-Milne and has, in the past, demonstrated his interest in the preservation of library collections. However, certain members of NADFAS's elite are known to have reservations about this, combined with a feeling that country house owners should, perhaps, be paying for the training costs for volunteers. Interestingly, one of this elite also advises the National Trust, creating an interesting dichotomy between

the leadership of the Trust as personified by Drury and those lower down who are involved in the practical administration of their libraries. This may be the first subtle hint of a potential breach in the hitherto good relationship between NADFAS and country house owners.

It is interesting to note the linkage which NADFAS represents between the Trust and the private sector, both of which benefit from the offices of NADFAS library volunteers. Consequently, it is a pity - but hardly a surprising one - that everyone is not singing from the same hymn-sheet. It appears that neither the National Trust (and indeed the National Trust for Scotland) nor the private owners have sufficiently got their act together - to use contemporary jargon - while NADFAS seems increasingly to have direction in the field of library management and conservation, even if some seem that direction as slightly misdirected. Consequently, any major revision to the role and, more importantly, the financial aspects of NADFAS operations are likely to have major implications for all country house libraries which uses their services.

The next most significant group which had been consulted were fine art specialists. To many owners this tends to be an all-incompassing term, often including commercial conservationists within it. While the bifurcation of these two distinct groups may be evident to professional librarians, it is not always clear in the minds of owners and administrators. Some 14.7% of respondents had previously consulted fine art specialists in connection with their library and its maintenance. This raises a number of important factors and highlights the fact that these specialists are invariably contacted on an *ad hoc* basis and are generally known to respondents through social situations. In addition, it highlights a degree of confusion in the minds of owners and administrators about the purpose of the library and point to the real debate about whether country house libraries are purely aesthetic elements or whether they are intellectual assets. The use of fine art specialists would tend to suggest the former, often at the expense of the latter. Another important point may be the fact that owners and administrators, who still rely on social contacts for assistance, remain generally unaware of the most appropriate contacts for obtaining assistance with their collections. While it is inevitable that a fine art specialist would be the best person to ask about the Gainsborough portraits, it seem incredible that they should be deemed the most acceptable when dealing with bibliographic material in general. A similar number, 16.2%, said that they would consider consulting fine art specialists and again this suggests that they know the people they want to deal with. A further 10.8% suggested that they would not consult this sector, with one house adamant that fine art specialists are "*people to be excluded*".⁴³

The National Trusts and the Private Sector

The role which the National Trusts have played in preservation of country houses and their collections is second to none. The National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland was established in 1895 with the Scottish equivalent being founded in 1931. Both organisations are regulated by Acts of Parliament but

it is important to stress that both are purely charitable foundations and they receive no money from central government. They do, of course, receive grant aid from the likes of English Heritage for the maintenance of their historic buildings. The National Trust began to acquire country houses in the 1920s, but it was James Lees-Milne in the 1930s and 1940s who masterminded the acquisition of significant numbers of properties. The historical research demonstrates the increasing realisation at this time of the threat which was posed to country houses and their collections. The National Trust for Scotland has similarly acquired a number of important properties. To a certain extent the NT (as opposed to NTS) is no longer quite so interested in acquiring 'stately homes' as it once was. The financial pressures which the management of country houses imposes on the Trusts is immense and properties can only be accepted with a full endowment. Increasingly, these endowments have been financed, as has been seen, through grants from the National Heritage Memorial Fund and other similar bodies.

However, the relationship between the National Trusts and privately-owned country houses has, to a certain extent, been strained in the past. While the Trusts and the Historic Houses Association (as representatives of most privately owned houses) have not actually been at war, they have seen their respective roles in very different lights and this has led to some degree of tension. More recently, however, this relationship has improved. This fact was acknowledged by Sir Richard FitzHerbert, amongst others, who remarked, "*I do think that the National Trust and Historic Houses are getting better although...I think there is a bit more bonding to do between National Trust and HHA*".⁴⁴ Few owners are openly critical of the National Trusts and their activities and most are fulsome in their praise: "*the National Trust are excellent in their preservation and conservation areas*"⁴⁵ was a typical comment. However, many owners and administrators of privately owned houses still feel the need to add, as Sir Richard FitzHerbert did, that "*private historic houses like to put that personal touch in as well when the visitor gets his or her experience*",⁴⁶ which reflects a common complaint about the static and often museum-like approach adopted by the National Trusts in their houses.

This fundamental dichotomy was reflected in the relatively mixed response which contact with the National Trusts provoked. Some 10.8% of respondents had consulted the National Trusts for advice, but not for assistance. Again, however, this was primarily undertaken through *ad hoc* or informal contacts. Commander Michael Saunders Watson exemplified this approach when he remarked that he had "*asked the National Trust, I happened, of course, to be in the centre stage, and I asked my colleagues in the National Trust who they used and they said Nicholas Pickwood*".⁴⁷ It is important to speculate how able other owners or administrators who do not occupy centre-stage are when it comes to forging alliances in this way. An additional 16.2% of respondents said that they would consider consulting the National Trust or the National Trust for Scotland for advice. One owner who had considered consulting the National Trust for Scotland but had not done so said that he felt they were "*very good but they are geared to their own*

*properties and rightly so"*⁴⁸ but added that he thought "*there could be a bit more co-operation so that they could perhaps share their knowledge*".⁴⁹ Another owner, this time of a property in middle-England, was more forthright, expressing doubts about most agencies, but particularly the National Trust: "*I don't think any of them are particularly good apart from HHA*". He bitterly lamented the fact that he could see "*little co-operation. They may be very good in their own way for their own properties but not in the cross-over*".⁵⁰

It is important to stress, however, that these other agencies all have carefully defined remits. It is not the role of the National Trust to provide assistance or advice to private owners as they have a monumental task in maintaining their own properties and collections. It was this issue, together with the feeling that there was not much the National Trusts could do to help which prompted some 20.3% respondents to say that they would not consider consulting them. It is interesting and, indeed, necessary, to consider the background to this figure. The National Trusts are, as many private owners have said, concerned primarily with their own collections in their own properties. The scale of their library holdings is immense and creates problems and opportunities unique to them. Trust policies in regard to their collections can be divided into two elements: the conservation side which is, by and large, exceptionally good and the cataloguing side which is not. The latter has the eventual aim of the creation of a union catalogue of holdings. This, of course, means that the process of cataloguing with Trust properties is distinct from that in individual country houses. However, lessons can be learnt from both sides and it is to be hoped that the "*bonding*" which Sir Richard FitzHerbert mentions can take place to the advantage of both sides.

Historic Houses Association

The Historic Houses Association (HHA) was originally established in 1969 as the Standing Conference for Historic Houses, a part of the British Tourist Authority. It became a fully autonomous entity under its present name in November 1973 and has been unfairly dubbed the trade union of the aristocracy. As Peter Mandler points out, it has always represented a huge cross-section of owners including "*the showmen and less commercial owners, including many who did not yet open their houses at all*".⁵¹ The formation of the HHA reflected the recognition by owners that they had to accept the role of guardians or custodians of national treasures and that they had to compromise with the general public, even if they did not wholly like them. The central recommendations of Sir Ernest Gowers's committee remain a crucial plank of Historic Houses Association policy; the sweeping tax reforms which Gowers advocated are still much sought after by the HHA.

Although the Historic Houses Association has no practical role to play in day-to-day conservation, it does play a significant role in guiding the owners and administrators of privately-owned country houses in the right direction when it comes to obtaining professional advice and assistance. More significant, however,

is the fact that the HHA has been pro-active in lobbying for its aims. In the aftermath of the *Destruction of the Country House* exhibition it capitalised on the new interest in preserving the country house. Although, with the benefit of hindsight, *Destruction* was a huge success, at the time its impact was less definite because some accused it of being romanticised squirearchy versus brute socialism. Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, Commander Michael Saunders Watson, the Earl of Shelburne and others frequently leapt to the defence of the private owner. Increasingly, owners resorted to more blatant action; the Earl of March (now 10th Duke of Richmond and Gordon) even stripped one of the state rooms at Goodwood of its treasures to impress upon visitors the likely impact of increased capital taxation on the country house. The efforts of the HHA paid off for, in 1975, to widespread incredulity, the Labour Chancellor, Denis Healey, backed down and conceded the exemption from Capital Transfer Tax of not only important works of art but also historic buildings and important areas of land. Indeed, the Labour government slowly increased the scale of exemptions and created a system whereby endowments could be made tax-free.

It was the success of lobbying such as this which effectively demonstrated the influence which the HHA had in terms of shaping policy towards the national heritage. Having cut its teeth so dramatically, the Historic Houses Association has gone from strength to strength. In recent years, through its undoubtedly successful propaganda, public opinion has shifted more firmly behind the private-ownership of historic houses and their collections - as the introduction to this work notes from the hated figures of Lloyd George to heroic men and women keeping the roofs on the nation's heritage. The Association has also successfully embraced tourism as the single most important contribution to the survival of the country house. New generations of owners, such as Sir Richard FitzHerbert, are as loyal to the Historic Houses Association as were its founders: "*you know I'm a fervent believer in the Historic Houses [Association] and you know I'm about to contribute more to them*",⁵² they frequently point to one of the much-heralded benefits of private ownership: "*Historic Houses [Association] like to put that personal touch in as well when the visitor gets his or her experience*".⁵³

As a lobbying group, the Historic Houses Association has been singularly successful in its aims, although the final taxation battle (for the removal of value-added tax on repairs) remains largely unfought. Throughout its twenty-five year history it has fought for the interests of privately-owned heritage very effectively. It has also built up experience on the best way for owners to tackle particular issues ranging from security to guidebooks, from being a film location to organising corporate hospitality. It may be that the Historic Houses Association wishes, as it celebrates its Silver Jubilee, to consider other areas in which it may have a role to play. It has traditionally offered owners and administrators advice for the management of houses. Perhaps now would be a good time for it to endorse some of the more neglected aspects of the country house such as the library. The Association already produces guidelines for houses considering becoming film locations and employs a part-time security consultant. Given the ever increasing interest in

stately homes and historic houses, it may be that the Association should replicate these endeavours in other, often neglected areas.

National Libraries

The role of the National Libraries is crucial in terms of the conservation and preservation of bibliographic material. They also replicate country house libraries in one vitally important respect; they are essentially libraries of last resort. Advocating the use of country house libraries in all but exceptional circumstances is neither desirable nor practical. They can and should be used only when other, more suitable options are exhausted. This aspect is almost identical to the way in which the various National Libraries within the United Kingdom operate. Arguably the most important element connected with the National Libraries is the National Preservation Office which was established in 1984 in the wake of the Ratcliffe Report. The NPO exists to "*ensure the preservation and continued accessibility of library and archive material held in the United Kingdom and Ireland.*"⁵⁴ It operates a free information service detailing 'best practice' in conservation, preservation, security and disaster planning. In this respect the NPO mirrors the desired outcomes of this research, which seeks to identify the best practice in these fields for the special circumstances in which country house libraries exist. It is supported financially by the British Library with additional aid from the National Libraries of Scotland and Wales, Trinity College Library, Dublin, Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Public Record Office and the Consortium of University Research Libraries (CURL). The National Preservation Office is run by an independent management committee with sub-committees on digital archiving, microfilming and preservation administrators.

One of the most important functions of the National Preservation Office is the development of a national preservation strategy. This involves, amongst other things, the surveying of the condition of libraries and archives, compiling a register of collection strengths, producing lists of published archives, preservation projections and exploration of the funding issue. Again, this reflects many of the issues which have been examined within this research project, the principal difference being that this work deals exclusively with the unique *genre* of country house collections. One of the most important outcomes of this research would undoubtedly be to facilitate closer co-operation between the National Preservation Office and the owners and administrators of country house libraries. This research offers the potential to inform the broader picture, as represented by the National Preservation Office, about the problems which arise within the country house library. Some of these problems are unique to country house libraries, some are common across the board; but in either case the potential exists for valuable lessons to be learnt from both sides. Currently, co-operation and contact seems to be lacking, through no fault of either side.

The case of the British Library and the respective National Libraries is particularly interesting. Only 12.2% of owners and administrators had previously contacted these organisations for assistance or advice. Significantly, these were often people who have connections with or have had involvement in these bodies and included trustees of these organisations. Commander Michael Saunders Watson, who was, at one time, chairman of the British Library, pointed to the fact that he had "*had a grant from the British Library here before I became chairman to help me catalogue*".⁵⁵ He also pointed out that the National Libraries do not "*have....overarching responsibility. It has the ability to help but not the statutory obligation*".⁵⁶ As a result of this it is by no means clear whether owners who have previously had no dealings with these bodies are clear about the role they fulfil and consequently may not see any advantage in contacting them. Certainly, the fact that no one other than owners are responsible for country house libraries tends to create barriers in terms of contacting other organisations, even those which may be in a position to offer advice or practical information.

Commander Saunders Watson also considered that "*liaison could be better there if the British Library [were] to be responsible for country house libraries*".⁵⁷ However, in reality, it would probably be extremely undesirable, not to say impractical, for the National Libraries to take on any sort of responsibility for another layer of libraries. However, the reputations of these bodies was sufficiently high amongst respondents for an additional 29.7% to say that they would consider consulting them, if it was felt that they could be of assistance. Taken together, those who have consulted and those who would consider consulting them amounted to 41.9%, only marginally less than the most popular option of commercial conservationists. Conversely, there were relatively few respondents, 6.8%, who stated that they would not consult them. Given this, it is interesting to speculate that, if economics permitted, greater liaison between the National Libraries and country house libraries would be beneficial. Their role is fully discussed in the policy document.

County and Academic Libraries

Two elements which indicated the local or regional element within the consultation process were academic libraries and county or local library services. In terms of pure theory these are the library services which are on the nearest level to country houses. They also reflect the local geographic consideration of the country house. It is disappointing, therefore, that only 8.1% of owners and administrators have consulted their local library service in any way. It can, of course, be argued that hard-pressed county or local library services can do little for country house collections and certainly can not be of practical assistance with funding, conservation or cataloguing. However, the local library service could act as a useful point of contact, enabling owners and administrators to be better informed about these matters and how to obtain assistance with them. The potential exists for mutually beneficial schemes between country house libraries and the public sector, especially with regard to long-term lending. Unfortunately, owners and

administrators are much more likely to consider the practical benefit of contacts within the County Record Office rather than within the library service. Yet the fundamental issues are at best the same or at worse closely related.

Recognition of the potential advantage that co-operation might bring has taken root in the mind of some 17.6% of respondents who stated that they would consider consulting their local public library service. Clearly, consultation is the key word in this. As a result of the current financial restrictions which local authorities are compelled to impose on their library services, practical assistance is most unlikely. However, owners and administrators seem to recognise this fact and in this instance are more interested in having a suitable (and indeed local) point of reference who can, at least, point them in the right direction. Local library services could well have a role to play in filling the vacuum which exists between owners and administrators on the one hand and conservation policies and practices on the other. Indeed, because of their own need for external specialist services, local public library services would seem to be an ideal point of contact for private libraries which seek expert assistance.

Academic Libraries, especially those with well-established Special Collections Departments, offer a certain degree of mutual assistance with some 10.8% of respondents indicating that consultation in general or links in particular currently exist, with a further 16.2% stating that they would consider consulting them. For the National Trusts as well as for some private owners, those collections establishing and maintaining good relations with these libraries has proved beneficial, not only in terms of the maintenance of the collection but also in terms of access. Both the National Trusts often favour depositing particular works which have been requested for consultation by scholars or researchers in one of these Special Collections Departments. This means that material is examined in a suitable environment with properly qualified supervisors on hand. To a certain extent this activity is mirroring the situation in Germany, where a number of university libraries offer assistance (to varying degrees) to a number of *schloßbibliotheken*. As in Germany, many of the houses which do forge links with academic libraries tend to be well-placed and significant collections, or are administered or owned by high-profile individuals who can cultivate such relationships. To a certain extent this tends also to reflect the *ad hoc* and social contacts which exist in this field, but it would be unfortunate if such a potentially useful association as this were solely limited to such instances, especially as the numbers willing to consider consulting academic libraries, 16.2%, indicate that there is an awareness of the expertise available amongst the staff of many university libraries. Provided that the links are not abused and hard-pressed library staff are not asked to undertake unreasonable and burdensome requests, there is no reason why these ties should not be strengthened.

Conversely, however, 12.2% of respondents said that they would not consult academic libraries and exactly the same total came out against consulting public libraries. This is due, in part, to the fact that public

libraries can only ever be points of contact. Owners generally want more than simply being pointed in the right direction; they want practical assistance. Of course, this begs the question that if they don't ask someone who knows then how are they ever to get the right answer? In addition, there is a certain degree of suspicion of publicly funded libraries, with one owner saying *"I do not want my library to become an adjunct to the public library service."*⁵⁸ While this is unlikely ever to be the case, it is clear that some owners and administrators are concerned about too much public involvement in their collections. This again goes to the heart of the whole debate about country house libraries and resolving it is critical to the success of any set of national guidelines.

The Library Association itself has had little or no impact on the world of country house libraries with only 1.2% of respondents noting contact with it directly. In some respects this is curious, as it is the obvious professional body, but in most respects this is totally unsurprising. The Library Association is an organisation totally outwith the consciousness of most owners and administrators of country houses. Unlike the Museums Association, links are tenuous at best and non-existent at worse. In any case, reference to the Library Association would, in most instances, merely result in referral to another, more appropriate body. Some 12.2% of respondents did admit that they would consider contacting the Library Association if they felt it had anything in particular to offer them. Conversely, however, 13.5% of respondents (equal to the combined total for actual and possible consultations) said that they would not consider contacting this organisation. One area in which the Library Association could prove to be of assistance would be in the field of cataloguing. There is undoubtedly a role for the Guild of Retired Librarians, many of whose members are responsible for much of the cataloguing which currently goes on within country house libraries. This aspect crosses most of the boundaries within the country house management world to include private, corporate and National Trust owned properties. Unfortunately, this too tends to rely on informal contacts made at a local level rather than through any co-ordinated structure at a national level.

Summary

It is difficult to assess what impact these organisational structures and policies, taken collectively, have on the management of bibliographic heritage within the country houses of the United Kingdom. Indeed it is tempting to say that they have no significant impact whatsoever. This is largely due to the fact that, in the past, so little attention has been paid to collections. However, it is also due to the fact that, when all is said and done, the libraries remain the responsibility of their owners. It is not the fault of either that this policy vacuum exists, although it must be stressed that owners do bear responsibility for their own property and the first initiative must lie with them. Having said that, it is necessary to reinforce the fact that they have to deal with a multitude of different and frequently competing demands. No initiative, either bottom-up or top-down, is entirely appropriate to the country house library. Any policy imposed from above or from

external sources is unlikely to command the full support of owners and administrators. In any case, regulation of private heritage in this way may impose intolerable restrictions and demands which owners are unable to meet. However, bottom-up initiatives are also unlikely to be wholly successful because they rely so heavily on the participation of individuals and tend to become piecemeal. The most likely solution is a combination of both; the creation of policy guidelines which have the backing (morally if not always financially) of recognised external authorities but which are tailored to the individuality of collections and situations.

Yet inevitably such a solution would require the backing of both the heritage organisations and relevant bodies as outlined in this chapter, as well as the owners and administrations. The organisations and policies which are discussed here can offer not inconsiderable assistance to the owners of country house libraries provided they are willing to embrace it. From the other perspective, that of getting owner support, the crucial organisation must be the Historic Houses Association. This organisation has worked for the benefit of its members for a quarter of a century and is ever eager to embrace potentially advantageous policies and schemes. Clearly, HHA has no statutory authority but its influence amongst members is second to none and its backing for any new schemes or developments is crucial in the process of attracting the support and co-operation of owners and administrators.

Government does have a role to play in this field, most notably in the need for greater harmonisation of access requirements. This is a subject which is discussed more fully in the conclusions to this work but, suffice it to say here, that the differences which exist between the guidelines of heritage and taxation bodies do not make for a satisfactory situation. As long as these two competing wings of the heritage environment continue to differ in their approach to access, new policies seeking to address particular issues are bound to fall between two stools. It is difficult to continue justifying the more liberal approach of the likes of English Heritage whilst the Treasury is tightening the rules elsewhere. It must be borne in mind that the Treasury will only benefit financially if heritage items are taken off of the Register and the deferred tax is then paid. This is not a move which is calculated to enhance public access. Increasing public access is commendable but if it does threaten the continued existence of collections then any benefit will be negligible. The Historic Houses Association has noted that the situation remains in limbo until the Inland Revenue makes clear how it plans to interpret the changes resulting from the 1998 Finance Act. This is unsatisfactory for all concerned and makes the job of innovators in the field of conservation and preservation of particular aspects of the country house more difficult. Greater effort must surely be made by all public bodies to harmonise the access regulations to privately-owned heritage. This indeed reflects one of the aims of this entire piece of research and is mentioned in both Chapters Seven and Eight as well in the regulations for access in the policy document itself.

At the moment, these organisations have differing levels of influence within the country house. Some of these organisations play a huge role in terms of policy, most notably the Inland Revenue and the statutory bodies such as English Heritage. Currently, those bodies which have a direct 'librarianship' role or function play little part in the preservation of collections. Preservation almost occurs by default, according to the rules and regulations of the Inland Revenue and English Heritage. It is an irony that the Heritage Lottery Fund which could be the agent of such beneficial change is still regarded as largely irrelevant because of its reluctance to commit funds to the privately-owned heritage.

Co-operation between the National Trusts and the private sector must be enhanced, even if it is only in terms of sharing experience and advice. Similarly, in other aspects expertise and advice from the various library services (national, local or academic) would be beneficial. While they are not in a position to assume responsibility for country house collections, nor would it be in anyone's interest for such a move toward quasi-nationalisation, the potential for general assistance clearly exists. With regard to the private conservationists and organisations such as NADFAS, some effort is required to make these more transparently accessible to owners and administrators. It is not sufficient, nor indeed is it desirable to rely purely on informal or *ad hoc* contacts. A directory of some sort is certainly overdue in order to enable owners to tap into the world of professional or even voluntary conservators. Furthermore, emphasis must be put on bringing these organisations and country houses together. They are crucial to the survival of many parts of country house collections, especially the libraries, and this is a key element for any heritage policy for such libraries.

It has become increasingly clear throughout this research that it is no longer viable to leave country house libraries in the vacuum of undisturbed sleep where they have languished for so long. Much greater efforts must be made by all parties, from those with a professional interest in the preservation of cultural entities, from those with a professional interest in the preservation of historical bibliographic collections, from those with a commercial interest and, most significantly, from those who actually own the collections. The informal nature of current links must be replaced with a coherent approach, if not a totally formalised structure. It is inconceivable that government or, indeed, the Non-Departmental Public Bodies, will come up with anything remotely resembling a policy which takes into account funding, access, conservation and preservation and all the other diverse issues which need to be considered in the management of a country house library. However, that is not to say that policy should fall by the wayside. Indeed that is the purpose of this work.

Notes and Sources

¹ Research Degree Registration. The Robert Gordon University. December 1995.

² The Trustees of the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) are also constituted as the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) although the organisations are in fact distinct. NHMF is responsible for the distribution of direct government finance to heritage projects under the 1980 National Heritage Act, while the Heritage Lottery Fund deal solely with the distribution of National Lottery good-cause money. The Trustees are the same but they wear two hats; it is an oft-perpetuated myth that the National Heritage Memorial Fund *per se* distributes lottery funding. In this work, the Trustees will be collectively referred to by their organisation, either NHMF or HLF, according to the appropriate context, but it should be remembered that the *same* individuals serve on *both* bodies.

³ *vide* Appendix X on the role of the Capital Taxes Office.

⁴ Mandler, Peter. *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. London: Yale University Press, 1997. p319.

⁵ Dalton was sacked for leaking details of his own Budget.

⁶ Mandler. *Op. cit.* p342.

⁷ Mandler. *Ibid.* p343 *c.f.* [Gowers Report] *Houses of Outstanding Historical or Architectural Interest*. London: HMSO, 1950, p3.

⁸ Hall, Michael. Conditional Exemption. *Country Life*, CXCII(28), 9 July 1998, p 79.

⁹ Sayer, Michael. *The Disintegration of a Heritage: Country Houses and their Collections, 1979-92*. Norwich: Michael Hall, 1993. p85.

¹⁰ Sayer. *Ibid.* p85.

¹¹ Sayer. *Ibid.* p85.

¹² Smith, Rt Hon. Chris. Address to Annual General Meeting of the Historic Houses Association, 1997. *Historic House*, 22(1), February 1998, p10.

¹³ Harley, Edward. Taxation Update. *Historic House*, 21(4), November 1997, p11.

¹⁴ Harley, *Ibid.* p11.

¹⁵ Sayer. *Op. cit.* p86.

¹⁶ Sayer. *Ibid.* p86.

¹⁷ Interview with Commander Michael Saunders Watson.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Interview with Scottish owner.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Saunders Watson. *Ibid.*

²² Sayer. *Op.cit.* p43.

²³ *vide* Appendix XIV.

²⁴ National Heritage Memorial Fund and Heritage Lottery Fund: Annual Report, 1998. London: NHMF, 1998.

²⁵ *Heritage Lottery Fund Application Pack*. London: NHMF/HLF, 1998.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ English Heritage [website available at] <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Interview with English owner (3).

³⁶ Interview with Sir Richard FitzHerbert.

³⁷ Interview with Scottish owner (4).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*

⁴⁰ Interview with English owner.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Survey correspondence .

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- ⁴⁴ FitzHerbert, *Op. cit.*
⁴⁵ Survey correspondence.
⁴⁶ FitzHerbert, *Op. cit.*
⁴⁷ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*
⁴⁸ Survey correspondence.
⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
⁵¹ Mandler, *Op. cit.* p398
⁵² FitzHerbert, *Op. cit.*
⁵³ *Ibid.*
⁵⁴ National Preservation Office [website available at] <http://www.bl.uk/services/preservation/diary.html>
⁵⁵ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*
⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
⁵⁸ Interview with English owner (3).

CHAPTER VI

Management of Historic Libraries: Internal Issues

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Management of Historic Library: Internal Issues

"Antiquities are history defaced, or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time"

Francis Bacon, 1st Viscount St Albans
The Advancement of Learning, 1605

Introduction

The external heritage environment is only one side of the coin in the process of understanding the current management issues and problems which face the guardians of historical library collections within country houses. Many of the bodies mentioned in the previous chapter fulfil important functions and wield considerable influence within many important spheres dealt with in this research. This influence is not only to be found within the fields of practical conservation or preservation but also, and equally importantly, within the critical fields of access and funding. Only through the previously related analysis of these organisations and policies is it possible to make sense of the very real internal issues which arise with regard to the management of historic library collections within the country house setting.

However, the external and internal policy issues cannot be divorced from one another. Although in the case of the external organisations and their policy structures it is relatively easy to draw a distinction, it is not possible to separate them from the impact which these structures and, more particularly, their policies have on internal decision making within country house library collections. Consequently, the external and the internal are inextricably linked. Combined, these two elements (external and internal) can, therefore, be said to form a whole and in this way represent the third major element in the research. The study of organisations and policy are methods for progression or bridging the gap between the historical investigation and study of the current position on the one hand and the identification of policy recommendations on the other. Indeed policy guidelines can only be created out of an understanding of the often conflicting claims of internal structures and external problems. Progression could only be achieved within a particular contextual framework and the previous chapter has highlighted the external context. This chapter, on the other hand, seeks to examine the internal one while still making reference to those external pressures. Consequently, the basic premise of establishing the view of owners, both private and corporate, in relation to access to, and preservation of, these collections was done within the context of existing national heritage policies and structures as outlined in Chapter Five. The policy recommendations at the close of this work seek to apply the external to the demands of the internal while combining recognised best practice in the field of librarianship to create a new policy dimension specifically for the library and book collections of the country house.

As with the contextualization of the external dimension, the second survey was crucial. Unlike the previous chapter, however, the elements of the second survey which are discussed here relate more specifically to the precise situation in which the owners or administrators of country house libraries find themselves. Essentially, this means the management questions which they are compelled to address (or, in some cases, manage to ignore). These are the questions of conservation, preservation, access, funding, voluntary assistance all of which the second survey sought to address. This chapter examines the practical responses, on a day-to-day basis, made by owners and administrators; responses which may or may not replicate, nor even reflect, the policies issued or recommended by those organisations discussed in the previous chapter. Here, in the internal element, the quantitative element is more important than in the previous chapter where the narrative requires descriptive remarks. In this chapter, however, it is necessary to obtain a clear picture of the ways in which collections are reacting to and the scale of that reaction. Consequently, this chapter contains significant amounts of quantifiable data which is, fortunately, mixed with a generous supply of narrative and descriptive comments and remarks generated by owners and administrators.

Monitoring of Collections

One of the key issues which can determine the efficiency of the management of library collections of any type is, of course, the monitoring of collections. Efficient monitoring is the essential precursor to virtually all activity in the library. Consequently, the second survey of owners and administrators attempted to gauge the level of monitoring which currently takes place within collections by asking whether or not their collections were actively monitored. Of those who responded to the questionnaire, 59.5%¹ regularly monitored the collections in order to identify areas which required either maintenance or attention.

	Yes	No	No Response	Total
England	28	14	2	45
Scotland	10	6	4	20
Wales	3	0	1	4
Northern Ireland	3	1	2	5
TOTALS	44	21	9	74

This process of collection monitoring takes many different forms and cannot be said to be remotely similar to a serious evaluation of the collection. The evidence from the second survey shows that monitoring which is undertaken is purely in terms of aesthetic value or in terms of the actual physical state of the material, with no houses undertaking credible evaluation of the intellectual contents of the library. This is due in part to the static nature of most collections, existing knowledge of what is held and what the respective strengths and weaknesses of collections are.

Both survey and interviews highlighted the approaches and methods for monitoring are equally varied, mostly involving the owner or administrator examining the collection. Occasionally, some houses have 'experts' to look over the collections. These can vary from librarians to historians to fine art specialists. The one point which was clear from those houses where monitoring took place was that it was not - save for the largest and most professionally-managed collection - a formal or structured process. It is interesting to note that some 12.2% gave no response to questioning about monitoring of collections. This is curious because monitoring either does or does not take place. The degree to which that monitoring is structured is largely irrelevant at this stage, which is more concerned with identifying the basics of internal management issues.

Over one quarter of respondents, some 28.4%, admitted that they did not monitor their collections. The reason for this are varied and disparate. The reasons most commonly given were the lack of time or expertise, combined with the scale of the undertaking. In addition, some expressed reservations about what they could actually do if they identified serious problems. This point further highlights what has been said, in Chapter Five, about there being a vacuum in this field. These reservations were related to both the financial aspects and to the lack of knowledge about obtaining appropriate assistance. Only one house, however, stated categorically that monitoring did not take place because *"the library is of minimal importance."* ² More common was lack of time combined with the scale of the undertaking. To these actual constraints must be added the short-sighted approach to collection monitoring which was demonstrated, albeit unwittingly, by a number of respondents. Typically, those who adhere to this approach earnestly stated that *they* did not *perceive* any problems with their collections; consequently, no problems existed. Accordingly, in their minds (confirmed in interview evidence), there was the justification for failing to monitor the collection at all. One house even went so far as to say, at a later stage in the survey, that they would *"only undertake remedial work if a problem was perceived"* ³ but noted at this point that they never monitored the collection at all. This head-in-the-sand approach rests on the perpetuation of a myth which is neither credible nor desirable in terms of collection monitoring. That myth appears to suggest that problems leap off of the shelves and confront owners before they become a crisis. This is seldom the case.

Identification of Need and Action Undertaken

The second question led directly on from this by asking which areas which had been identified as requiring attention. Six pre-determined categories were listed for respondents to tick. These were atmospheric conditions, binding, cataloguing, cleaning, storage and display (all of which may broadly be said to represent 'conservation' or 'preservation'). In addition, restoration was also included as an option. Space was also provided for any other categories which respondents felt required attention. Respondents were

encouraged to tick as many or as few categories as necessary and, consequently, the amounts given for each category are the percentages of the total sample. These initial questions can be put into a proper context only when balanced against the action taken as a result of monitoring of collections. This formed the basis of the third question - what had been done by those who had identified areas of need. In order to make either process - monitoring or action - meaningful, the two have been combined here to measure one against the other. The numerical breakdown was:

*	AC	BI	CA	CL	SD	RE
England	14	22	21	19	11	26
Scotland	2	9	3	6	3	6
Wales	1	2	2	2	0	3
Northern Ireland	0	3	1	3	1	2
TOTALS	17	36	27	30	15	37

* KEY: AC = Atmospheric Conditions; BI = Binding; CA = Cataloguing; CL = Cleaning; SD = Storage / Display; RE = Restoration.

Restoration was the most frequently selected category, with 50.0% of respondents selecting that option. Yet it is debatable whether *true* restoration is what was actually meant by respondents. Restoration implies returning an item to its original state. As John Feather highlights, "*it is taken to mean the attempt to restore a damaged item to its original condition by careful imitation of materials and techniques*"⁴ It may be argued that in the case of books this is almost impossible to achieve, because the very act of opening a book is the first step in its deterioration if not its ultimate destruction. Most houses are content to return a book to a suitable state of repair by ensuring that the binding is maintained, the boards are properly attached and the paper is suitably cared for. In addition, many houses are more concerned with the book looking right rather than with a perfected act of restoration. This highlights the importance of establishing in the minds of owners and administrators the difference between conservation, preservation and restoration. In most cases, books are conserved or preserved but are seldom restored in the strictest sense of that word.

This gap between monitoring and activity represented in connection with restoration is symbolic of the whole issue. Although some fifty percent claimed to monitor for restoration, the number actively engaged in remedial work in this field was considerably lower standing, at 25.7% or a little over half. This differential was invariably the case with most of the areas identified. A disparity existed throughout this section between the identification need on the one hand and the actual action undertaken (or being planned) on the other.

	AC	BI	CA	CL	SD	RE	(Key as before)
England	7	9	12	7	0	14	
Scotland	1	7	4	2	0	2	
Wales	1	1	1	3	0	2	
Northern Ireland	0	2	0	0	0	1	
TOTALS	9	19	17	12	0	19	

This disparity is more obvious when direct comparison is made:

	AC	BI	CA	CL	SD	RE
England	14 (7)	22 (9)	21 (12)	19 (7)	11 (0)	26 (14)
Scotland	2 (1)	9 (7)	3 (4)	6 (2)	3 (0)	6 (2)
Wales	1 (1)	2 (1)	2 (1)	2 (3)	0 (0)	3 (2)
Northern Ireland	0 (0)	3 (2)	1 (0)	3 (0)	1 (0)	2 (1)
TOTALS	17 (9)	36 (19)	27 (17)	30 (12)	15 (0)	37 (19)

* KEY: AC = Atmospheric Conditions; BI = Binding; CA = Cataloguing; CL = Cleaning; SD = Storage / Display; RE = Restoration.

Following closely behind restoration was the category of bindings, with 48.6% of respondents identifying bindings as an area which requires attention. This question is, of course, closely allied to that of *restoration* and, indeed, may be said by some to amount to much the same thing. Maintaining the bindings of works is a prime concern with many owners and administrators and is one to which considerable time and energy is devoted. This is, in reality, an example of practical conservation and preservation at work. To a certain extent there is a degree of duplication between the categories of *restoration* and *binding* because many owners perceive the maintenance of bindings as part of the restoration process rather than a part of ongoing conservation and preservation. Curiously, however, only 25.7% were active in this field, yet it appears to be the one in which most work is being undertaken. The discrepancy in the figures would appear to relate to the confusion which exists in many owners' minds between restoration, conservation and bindings, a point made more credible when it is considered that exactly the same number listed restoration as an engaged activity.

Consequently, therefore, the distinction between restoration and conservation must again be highlighted. In addition, neither conservation, preservation nor restoration is a process in isolation. All must be done with a purpose in mind. In many country houses works are preserved solely for the sake of the aesthetic appeal of furnishing the library with appropriate-looking volumes. John Feather has conceded that this is right and appropriate when he said that restoration can be "*justified in aesthetic and historical terms*"⁵ but tempers this by saying that, in reality, it can only be justified "*in a very few cases of books of outstanding beauty or importance, whose significance as museum objects is at least as great as their significance as*

carriers of information".⁶ Even in country house libraries this is seldom the case and all too often the aesthetic value of the room as an entity is allowed to outweigh all other considerations. While much effort has been devoted to linkages between preservation and access in the public library field, this link is much less noticeable and much less interdependent in the country house library. Indeed, preservation is not generally thought of as part of the access question in country house libraries, or at least is not thought of as being related to the question of intellectual or scholarly access to the material.

Similarly, with cleaning, which was noted by 40.5% of respondents, the aesthetic merits of both the books and the room are in the ascendancy at the expense of the actual books. Some may argue that, strictly speaking, cleaning is more a household task than part of the gambit of conservation and preservation and, in an ideal world, it should not really require monitoring. However, in many cases it is a question of scale and of prioritising. The relatively high numbers indicating cleaning is not entirely surprising as this is, arguably, the easiest task to undertake when maintaining a collection within the country house. In addition, it is also the one with which owners are likely to be able to secure assistance with relative ease. In the case of cleaning owners may have their own domestic staff or may be able to call upon the resources of the local branch of NADFAS to assist with the task. Yet, in spite of this, only 16.2% noted cleaning as an engaged activity.

Cataloguing activity was monitored in 36.5% of houses. It was this factor which received the highest activity rating (in comparison with its monitoring figure) with 23.0% of houses undertaking work in this field. Many owners and administrators appear anxious to revise or update catalogues or, in some instances, to create one for the first time. This figure invariably covered retrospective cataloguing of existing and predominantly static collections. However, it also included those houses where conversion of catalogues was being undertaken with a number of owners and administrators making use of database programs (this is outwith the remit of the current research). However, both Sir William Dugdale and Roger Tempest have, in their survey replies and in subsequent correspondence, have noted that they undertook this work themselves while at Holkham a database of printed books has been completed and work on one of the map collection has been started. Both Longleat and Chatsworth are consulting on the computerisation of their respective catalogues and two further collections have been catalogued as part of university projects, one at Loughborough and one at the Robert Gordon University. Only two houses, Chatsworth and Nanhoron, mentioned the cataloguing of new books which were being added to the collection. Indeed, in the case of Nanhoron purchasing was included within the scope of monitoring of the collection. Mrs Harden, the owner, pointed out that they monitored the collection in order to highlight weaknesses in the stock and their resultant purchases were intended *"to keep areas of the collection strong"*.⁷

The monitoring of atmospheric conditions within the library was raised by 23.0% of respondents. Again, however, the figure for those actually undertaking work in this area was significantly lower. In fact, just over half, some 12.2%, were addressing the question of atmospheric conditions. Yet awareness of the atmospheric conditions in which books are housed is increasing and several owners mentioned the use of dehumidifiers, but it was the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine who pointed to an important factor, common to many country house collections: *"all the books have to survive in the conditions in which the occupants live"*.⁸ This factor was also highlighted by Sir William Dugdale who pointed out that central heating had been renewed for the convenience of his family but that this had *"brought other problems in terms of atmospheric conditions"*.⁹ Only one house, Lydiard Park in Wiltshire, stated that the introduction of a new heating and humidification system was specifically geared to *"benefit all the state rooms"*.¹⁰ However, Lydiard is primarily a country house museum rather than an inhabited property, so this decision has little validity across the board. It is difficult to assess whether the remainder, who had monitored and not undertaken any action, felt that the conditions were right and appropriate or simply had not promulgated any activity in this field.

Storage and display of material was highlighted by 20.3% of owners during the monitoring process but none were undertaking any work whatsoever in this area. Here it is important to stress the aesthetic appeal of country house libraries; of rooms which were, as often as not, architectural creations designed to house books. In many houses the library was designed for a specific purpose, namely the display of books and, consequently, this area gives least cause for concern today. Two respondents, however, did note structural alterations to make the maintenance of the library more effective. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres pointed to *"substantial joinery work...undertaken to control damp"*,¹¹ while the librarian at Longleat indicated that a new strong room was in preparation for the most sensitive material from both the libraries and the muniments.

These categories highlight the fact that it is similar issues which cause concern within most country house libraries. However, the figures also point out that no single issue is dominant. Although the term 'restoration' figures in the minds of fifty percent of respondents, it must be noted that it does not figure in their minds in terms of actual activity. Yet these issues remain the critical factors in the maintenance of country house collections. However, they should not be viewed in isolation for all are part of a broader picture. There are a number of questions which owners and administrators must address when monitoring collections, identifying areas of need and, more crucially, when deciding upon action to be taken. Firstly, they must consider the underlying factors which cause these categories to be critical both in terms of cause and effect. Secondly, they must address the reasons for action or (as is equally probable) inaction in these areas. Thirdly, they must address the task itself and decide upon suitable courses of action while also, and perhaps more significantly, addressing the reasons for undertaking such work. Preservation for the sake of

preservation alone is almost as futile as the maxim which states that something must be done, this is something, therefore we must do it. The broad principles are as important as the individual issues.

It is difficult to conclude that those owners and administrators who had monitored their collection (in terms of a particular problem) but who had not undertaken any work in that area subsequently can have found no cause for concern. Consequently, there would appear to be a significant gap between the *monitoring* of collections on the one hand and *activity* on the other. Undoubtedly, this gap can be put down to the traditional factors which one comes to expect within the country house domain, namely lack of resources, both financial and practical. Indeed these are the very factors which owners and administrators frequently cite as preventing or at least hindering particular activities. The identification of this differential between monitoring and activity may be said to provide evidence of the need for policy guidelines so that at least one of the traditional obstacles (the lack of practical advice and expertise) may be overcome. If, however, policy guidelines could also ameliorate the financial disincentives, then the gap may be narrowed further. However, it is vital to stress that this would attempt to solve only part of the problem. A significant element of that problem has always been and remains the raising of awareness, not only in terms of basic process of monitoring but also in terms of basic activities which should result from it. Policy guidelines must certainly provide practical assistance, but equally important is the eradication of the 'ostrich approach'.

Adequacy of Assistance

Having established the type of assistance which respondents have previously had, it was necessary to ask how adequate they felt this assistance had been. Two factors stand out in this section. Firstly, owners rely heavily on the assistance of volunteers and, in the words of the archivist at Hopetoun House, this "*voluntary help is invaluable*".¹² Secondly, these voluntary groups - invariably led by NADFAS - are generally very successful in the work. Of those who responded to this question, the majority were satisfied with the help they had received, particularly from NADFAS.

The opinions of respondents, in connection with NADFAS, were generally complimentary. Approval ranged from Lady Shaw-Stewart who thought NADFAS "*absolutely wonderful*",¹³ to Roger Tempest who said their work (insofar as it went) had been "*very well done*"¹⁴ and to Lady Walpole who thought them "*adequate*".¹⁵ Interestingly, the administrators of larger houses (often with better-organised conservation plans) were less effusive in their praise. Chatsworth considered its voluntary assistance to have been "*adequate*",¹⁶ while Dr John Martin Robinson, the Duke of Norfolk's Librarian at Arundel Castle, thought it had been "*good*".¹⁷ To a certain extent this reflects an inverse ratio which is to be expected; the larger the house and the collection, the more professionally organised it is and the less important voluntary assistance becomes.

Only a small number of owners were critical of NADFAS. Their criticism stemmed not from a dislike of NADFAS but from a realisation that, although voluntary assistance is invaluable, it is widely-recognised as being generally inadequate and not a satisfactory solution to the problem. Sir Richard FitzHerbert was one of several owners who highlighted the fact that NADFAS has, in some respects, cornered the market for work in country house libraries. He remarked that *"all people talk to me about is 'oh NADFAS will help you; they'll come and dust your books' and things like that and I'm not saying that's a bad thing but I think its got to be monitored fairly closely or else they'll do more harm than good"*.¹⁸ Another owner echoed this cornering of the market by NADFAS when he remarked that *"most of our neighbours use them to dust things"*. These remarks were not inherently critical of the activities and abilities of NADFAS as an organisation, rather they were indications of the potential problems of reliance on the voluntary sector. Only one owner had serious reservations about the actual abilities of NADFAS. He pointed out that, while they had done a good job in cleaning and leather treatment, they had *"in the process, been responsible for many of the loose covers as they tended to open the books wide whereas we are careful to open them ninety degrees if they are very frail."*¹⁹ It was because of similar concerns that the archivist at Hopetoun House, which relied on voluntary help, was careful to note that *"we do not attempt repairs as we have not the expertise"*.²⁰

Although the comments were largely favourable and positive, one serious disadvantage did emerge. This related to what Major Murray McLaggan referred to as *"the scale of the need"*.²¹ Many owners and administrators picked up on this point and felt that volunteers were only able to scratch the surface. Lady Walpole highlighted the fact that, although their assistance had been adequate, the process had been *"prolonged, because of the nature of volunteers."*²² Roger Tempest, while noting that NADFAS had done well, echoed concerns about defining credible levels for their activities: *"they were unable to cope with major repairs to about one hundred books"*.²³ Here it is, perhaps, necessary to point out that voluntary organisations cannot be expected to undertake major restoration projects for which they have no qualifications. On the other hand, those owners who had obtained funding for work in the library, such as Commander Michael Saunders Watson, also highlighted this factor in connection with professional assistance. He pointed out that, while the grant he had received from the British Library was *"most helpful"*, it only *"scratched the surface of conservation and restoration."*²⁴

In reality voluntary assistance is adequate and, in many cases, it is invaluable because no other assistance has been forthcoming. However, it is inadequate in dealing with the scale of the problem in the majority of collections. Generally, it can only ever scratch the surface of cleaning, treatment of bindings and, perhaps under supervision, cataloguing. Voluntary assistance is not equipped to deal with the complex problems of conservation which must be left in the hands of professional library conservators. All too often owners

find out too late that damage has been done during the process of cleaning or 'repair'. Part of the problem lies in the fact that owners often see NADFAS as the most obvious local option and tend to have relatively strong links with the organisation. In addition, the process of prioritising which inevitably takes place within most aspects of the country house is particularly strong in the library, with only the most damaged (valuable) works being seen as worthy of professional conservation. As for the rest, NADFAS is seen as the most benign option. This is not to say that NADFAS are not, in general, a good thing. Indeed the evidence points strongly towards their invaluable role but the adequacy of their support must be questioned. The responsibility for this is in the hands of NADFAS. Recently, Virginia Evans, the former libraries co-ordinator at NADFAS, has been mounting a vigorous campaign to increase and deepen the organisation's training for library volunteers. Crucially, she has been backed in this by Martin Drury, the Secretary General of the National Trust, which is a key beneficiary from NADFAS work.

An interesting development in this debate has recently occurred with the revelation that certain quarters of NADFAS are unhappy about the present voluntary system. This becomes an internal management issue because it is primarily in connection with private houses where NADFAS involvement is negotiated with individual property owners or administrators. One prominent member of the library conservation team is described as being *"not overly sympathetic to owners of historic houses not paying for NADFAS members training in their libraries"*. [Original underline emphasis] ²⁵ However, the idea of a reserve fund which could be called on for deserving causes such as smaller houses open to the public has also been recently mooted. This is welcome but seriously damages the potential for assistance for private (i.e. closed) country houses. It is possible to detect a distinct lack of interest in cataloguing as far as NADFAS is concerned and the possibility of training being given on this (as opposed to simple listing of items) appears to be as remote as ever. The most important single consequence of the recent debates would appear to be the possibility that owners may be faced with increased bills for training if they choose the NADFAS option and, therefore, further diminish the voluntary sector in this field. Given the financial difficulties which appear to stretch right across the country house domain, this can hardly be welcomed. Ironically, this comes at a time when NADFAS has received a bequest of £100,000 exclusively for training of volunteers.

As Chapter Five has highlighted, NADFAS represents a bridge between the private sector and those houses in the care of the National Trusts. Similarly, it also represents a link between the external policy factors as indicated in the previous chapter and the internal ones discussed here. NADFAS's role in the internal management is crucial because of its volunteers and because the issues which they address through their work are those which confront owners on a regular basis. NADFAS initiatives and schemes are pre-eminently important within the sphere of heritage structures, organisations and policies because of that linkage with the day-to-day issues they deal with through their voluntary teams' work. No other group

combines the high profile of NADFAS, the contacts with owners and administrators and, most significantly, the hands-on contact with conservation and preservation. From the perspective of owners or administrators, NADFAS remains the most obvious option to arrest problems in the library and, to a certain extent, remains the obvious external group with real input into the internal dimension.

Required Advice

Having established the type of assistance which is available and utilised by the owners and administrators of country house libraries, it is necessary to examine the issues which they feel most strongly about in terms of the advice they required and the issues which required attention. Respondents considered this question with reference to those elements which they had previously noted in response to the second question in the survey, namely atmospheric conditions, binding, cataloguing, cleaning, storage and display as well as restoration. However, a number of owners expressed a broader objective with regard to the type of advice which they would seek. This was reflected by the owner of an important library in North Wales. She remarked that the family's primary objective was "*to keep it [the library] intact, to enhance it and catalogue it (one day!)*".²⁶ This was echoed by a number of other owners who felt that the maintenance of the collection as a whole was as important, if not more so, than specific conservation goals. However, it is important to stress that every conservation method is a means to the attainment of that ultimate goal of maintaining the collection as a whole.

Restoration emerged as the issue which most owners and administrators desired information on. However, as has been stressed earlier in this chapter, to their original state. Here it may be said that those who selected the restoration option - 45.9% - are certain to have interpreted this as including conservation and preservation. It is necessary to stress the significance of these terms in their own right. To a certain extent this goes to the heart of the ethos of many owners who have managed to maintain their properties. Those who have often see it as their duty, not only to the successors but also to their predecessors, to leave the house in as good a state of repair as possible. In addition, many country houses clearly represent a particular epoch and many owners clearly believe that keeping up the traditions - in terms of style and contents - is vitally important. They often see the need to return things to their original state as central to good management. This partly goes to explain the craze for restoring items which is, for many, something extremely laudable above and beyond the everyday struggle of simply preserving the house and its collections.

A number of other interesting points were mentioned in response to this question. Patrick Gordon-Duff-Pennington noted that he would like advice on the "*reform of the collection by sale and purchase*".²⁷ Indeed this was a point which was picked up on by other owners who felt that their libraries were not really as static as many outsiders often wished to portray them. Commander Michael Saunders Watson said, that

although they had not sold items from the library, they had bought works and felt that there were certain volumes which could be sold and replaced with other works to enhance the collection. Chapter Four highlighted the fact that it is impossible to draw conclusions about how static these collections are until the question has been asked. Many outsiders do assume, that because a collection of books is located within a country house or stately home, it is automatically a closed and static collection. While it is true that in the last hundred years owners have tended to sell off more items than they have purchased, many still add to their libraries in some shape or form. Consequently, "*reform of the collection*"²⁸ as Mr Gordon-Duff-Pennington noted is not as futile as it may seem. Some might argue that reform purely means sales, but the evidence to support such an assertion is relatively tenuous.

The omnipresent issue of security was also raised by a number of properties, with several being concerned that their arrangements were inadequate. It was generally felt that more information on security in the library would be beneficial. While most privately owned houses benefit from expert advice from the Historic Houses Association Security Adviser (a former senior policeman), it would appear that there are still considerable gaps in owners' knowledge in this area. One house noted that their library security was "*adequate but clumsy and unsightly*"²⁹ but that they still required both advice and money to assist with improving library security. Owners largely felt that libraries posed peculiar problems in terms of security, problems which were not necessarily replicated in other parts of the house. On public tours, for example, smaller items could always be moved out of the reach of visitors but, in the library, the vast majority of items could be easily concealed within a large pocket. Indeed as Comte Patrice de Vogüé, the doyen of French house opening and owner of Vaux-le-Vicomte has said, "*it is a recognised rule of country house management that no item of five centimetres or less should be left within the reach of the public*".³⁰ Another interesting point was raised by a house owner in the North of England, who stated that "*we would only look for advice if we perceived any problems*".³¹ This was a curious reaction especially as this particular house had no monitor mechanism for the collection. This reaction reinforces the 'ostrich approach' which has already been mentioned and begs the question how many volumes need to disappear before a problem *is* perceived?

Current Arrangement for Access

A central and dominant theme within this research is the provision of access. In terms of country house libraries this can be taken to mean what the Heritage Lottery Fund has described as "*intellectual access*" to the collection rather than general access to the physical location in which it is housed. Three questions dealt with the current arrangements for access which exist within the representative sample of houses included in the second survey. However, it is still necessary to re-examine, briefly, what exactly general access is. With regard to a country house library, general access may be said to be the inclusion of a library on a tour of the house, in other words on the visitor route. Whether tours are self-guiding or fully

guided is largely irrelevant in this debate. Intellectual access, on the other hand, presupposes that there are individuals who may, legitimately, wish to consult items in the collection for scholarly or research purposes. This distinction has recently been endorsed by the Heritage Lottery Fund in its revised guidelines for applications issued in response to the 1997 National Heritage Act. The Heritage Lottery Fund believes that particular importance should be attached to schemes which seek to enhance intellectual access to the nation's heritage. This is combined with guidelines which also lay particular emphasis on the conservation and preservation of historically important bibliographic and archival collections.

Initially, it was necessary to identify current access arrangements and to state how these worked in practice. The margin between those houses with identifiable access arrangements and those without was relatively small. Some 45.9% of owners and administrators stated that they had no defined procedures for access to the library, while 43.2% had some arrangements.

Yes	No	No Response	Total
32	34	8	74

This is not to say that those house without formal arrangements were unwilling or unlikely to concede any access, simply that their policies were undefined and any application to view material would be treated in an individual and, essentially, *ad hoc* way. Given the relatively small number of applications which most houses ever receive, this pragmatic approach is not an example of *laissez-faire* indifference but of sensible management which reacts to situations as they occur. However, in reality, it can be argued that good management should pre-empt situations which are likely to occur and should give some thought to dealing with applications for access. In addition to the figures above, a further 10.8% made no response to this question, which would seem to indicate that these additional houses had no particular policy either.

In addition to this, it was necessary to identify the actual arrangements which currently exist to provide access to collections. Unsurprisingly, the largest and best known houses had the most mature and sophisticated arrangements for access. Chatsworth and Longleat in particular have given considerable thought to the issue; both have clearly defined times and fees and have given detailed consideration to other important factors, such as the individuals to whom access may be granted and the type of material likely to be requested. Interestingly, they have also sought to identify the type of research likely to be undertaken and related this to the charging mechanism, especially if the collection may be used by researchers for eventual commercial gain. However, these collections are not typical either in terms of size or, indeed, in terms of material. Most houses, however, had various criteria which they required to be met before granting access. Generally, this can be taken to cover a number of points. Firstly, the expectation that the material being consulted was neither easily nor freely available elsewhere in the locality within the respective domains of either the public or academic library sector. Secondly, that the individuals

requesting access were *bona fide* and had legitimate reason for wishing to consult the material. Allied to this was the desire, on the part of owners and administrators, to ensure that the applicants could provide supporting statements to validate their claims.

Provision of Public Funding Dependent on Access

Perhaps the most significant element within the question of access is its relationship with the question of public funding. The previous discussion of funding in Chapter Five viewed it from the broader perspective of heritage organisations, structures and policies; here it is discussed and evaluated from the perspective of owners and administrators on the ground. Here it is also vital to distinguish public funding which will, inevitably, include some element of access as a pre-condition, as opposed to private funding - from charitable foundations and the like, such as the Wolfson Foundation - which may not always be so rigorous in their requirements. It is important to indicate what public funding means in this context. Generally, it can be taken to mean grant aid, available through a variety of public bodies (most obviously the preservation grants from the British Library). Equally importantly, it is necessary to indicate what this research expects in the way of public funding. There can be little legitimate cause for 'special pleading' for privately-owned country house libraries. However, this research does attempt to highlight the sources which already exist and, more importantly, those, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund, which may come on stream in the near future. Before any new financial recommendations can be made it really is up to owners and administrators to try the existing options and to prove them inadequate if that be the case. Only then can new requests for extra resources be legitimate and credible. At a time of fiscal prudence, it would be farcical to suggest that central government or Non-Departmental Public bodies should suddenly be burdened by demands for special funding for libraries, more so because of the current lack of initiative by many private owners with regard to the extant sources of funding.

To a certain extent this disparity between the options which are currently available and the relatively low 'take-up' rate from privately-owned collections is almost inevitable. Many owners have a bunker mentality when it comes to public finance and feel that it inevitably results in them being held hostage by the funding bodies. As Chapter Five has indicated, this feeling has gained increasing strength recently with proposed changes to the taxation system which may retrospectively alter agreements. The threat of retrospective application of change is an issue which worries owners and administrators and accounts for some, if not all, of the concern about public funding. This issue led to one of the most interesting results from the second survey. The provision of public funding would appear to have little impact, in the minds of owners and administrators, when it comes to access. In the survey, the question asked was whether owners or administrators would be more likely to concede access in return for public funding for work to be undertaken in the library. Their response, combined with those for access alone, tend to suggest that in the

minds of many owners and administrators the two issues are in fact divorced from each other. This is in direct contrast to the traditional approach.

Interestingly, only 18.9% of respondents felt that the availability of public funding would increase their willingness to concede access. On the other hand, 41.9% of owners and administrators said that the provision of public funding would not make them more likely to concede access while a further 32.4% had no opinion one way or the other. In this area it is those who said no or are of no particular opinion which is much more significant than those who said that public funding would increase the likelihood of access being granted. The analysis of the reasons behind this are particularly interesting and, indeed, crucial to the understanding of this core element of the research. Firstly, as the first survey highlighted, owners are prepared, in reasonable and genuine circumstances, to provide some varying degree of access to those with legitimate cause. Consequently, they feel that they do not require to be treated like a donkey being enticed with a carrot. Secondly, many owners particularly feel the obligations of accepting public funding as an added responsibility, especially when access is seen as the inevitable corollary of public funding. In such situations, owners often feel that they are 'unduly' pressurised by the requirements of funding schemes. To a certain extent this is the reverse of the carrot approach and may indeed be said to be the stick-wielding approach. In spite of the manifest problems of country houses and the obvious requirements for public assistance, some owners are often reluctant (at best) to totally embrace the obligations which are imposed on them. The full responses to this question were:-

	Yes	No	No Opinion	No Response	Total
England	6	20	17	2	45
Scotland	4	8	7	1	20
Wales	1	2	0	1	4
Northern Ireland	3	1	0	1	5
TOTALS	14	31	24	5	74

Those owners who felt that public funding was unlikely to make any significant difference to access demonstrated a variety of concerns about this issue. The wife of the owner of one Welsh house highlighted a point of principle which they rigorously maintain: *"funding would make no difference and my husband would not apply in case it gave people a lien on this property. For that reason we never apply for grant aid"*.³² Similarly, Sir William Dugdale said that he would not apply for funding because he *"hates it, full-stop"*.³³ He added that he liked to finance his own inheritance because it enables him to *"take full control of decisions"*.³⁴ The vehemence of these views are, however, untypical, with relatively few owners being in a similar position, at least not practically. However, were circumstances different, these are principles which most private owners would find laudable in the extreme and ones which a significant proportion

would like to subscribe to. More common were three particular points. The first involved the problems of logistics in terms of access to the collection. The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine was more typical of owners when he highlighted this point by saying that *"all access is fraught with problems unless under constant surveillance"*.³⁵ The second issue was related to the contents of the collection. Collections were either deemed, in the analysis of their owners, to be of little significance - in the sense that the material could be easily accessed elsewhere within the public library environment - as Lady Shaw-Stewart pointed out when she said that *"I don't think our library is so exceptional"*,³⁶ or on the other hand, important contents from other collections had, as often as not, been deposited where access could be easily arranged. This was a point which the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres highlighted: *"much of the material is, in fact, on long-term deposit"*.³⁷

The most crucial issue is, however, the obligations which funding from public sources generally imposes. At the time of data-collection these obligations were generally regarded as cumbersome, but at the time of writing these obligations have become - or seem likely to become - even more bureaucratic and unwieldy. While owners and administrator may, on the whole, be prepared to grant access in legitimate circumstances, they remain uncomfortable with the way in which public funding imposes types of access. Access is not a sop being given by owners in return for funding because neither funding nor access are particularly desirable as far as most owners and administrators are concerned. However, having said that it is important to reiterate and emphasise that access will generally be granted. In reality, however, heavy demand for access to these collections has never existed nor is it ever likely to. This creates a fundamental irony because, in spite of the fact that access is not a sop in terms of owners' opinions, it does become one in terms of many funding schemes. Owners and administrators may well find themselves signing-up to some funding agreement which insists on accessibility while knowing perfectly well that they are agreeing to provide access which will seldom, if ever, be exercised.

This irony causes a dilemma in the minds of many owners who are sceptical about the formal linking of the two concepts of access and funding. While accepting the inevitable links in other aspects of country house management, it is much more difficult in terms of the library. Access implies more than simple physical access to the room; it includes, very definitely, intellectual access to the contents of the collection. With relatively little past experience to go on, many owners and administrators are unclear as to how any scheme could operate and worry about being forced to concede too much. One owner remarked that while he conceded that access was *"generally a sop to the funding agencies because hardly anyone ever comes here to look at the library....any scheme would have to be carefully thought out because even sops can have dangerous or damaging complications"*.³⁸ This owner doubted the impact which a formal link between funding and access would create. He highlighted the fact that there already exist publicly-funded libraries which do not encourage use by the public. This latter point was one also mentioned by Commander

Michael Saunders Watson, a former Chairman of the British Library: *"there is a difference between a private library being publicly funded and a public library which is there as a public facility. A private library is fundamentally a private library. It may have public funding but it doesn't mean to say that it is there for the general public to use"*.³⁹ He drew an analogy between the British Library and country house libraries and felt that it is right *"to discourage people coming and using its facilities when they can get them down the road."*⁴⁰

There is also, to a certain extent, amongst some owners what can only be described, in the words of one owner, *"a bunker mentality"*⁴¹ when it comes to access in return for tax concessions. A number of owners, as opposed to administrators, raised the spectre of this particular issue. This has become much more pronounced since various pieces of bad publicity have appeared about failings in the Conditional Exemption Scheme or rather, to be more accurate, about country house owners who have failed to live up to their side of the bargain to advertise and provide access to exempted items. One owner noted that there are *"so many people who carp whatever one does in these instances and say that this rich aristocrat is milking the system and not upholding his end of the bargain. And that is usually absolute rot"*.⁴² Another owner noted that it is perfectly easy to castigate those who fail to meet requirements but that *"praise where it is due is always bloody lacking"*.⁴³ This same owner remarked that it was *"all the more bloody damnable that everyone is busy praising the benefits of private ownership of the heritage but all the press can do is to stand on the sidelines and heckle abuse"*.⁴⁴ This atmosphere has had an overspill effect on country house libraries. With regard to libraries one owner remarked that he would be *"terribly reluctant, no matter how good the scheme appeared, to leave myself open to such attacks...so that might undo my willingness to apply for money. Do you see, no matter what one does it is never enough for some people who are fixated by this idea of public money being used to subsidise the upper-class"*.⁴⁵

This issue is essentially an internal decision which owners and administrators feel compelled to make. However, it is interesting to note the distinct similarities between this issue and the fundamental problem with the Gowers Report as described in Chapter Five. The basic problem with Gowers was that it could be seen as a means of subsidising upper-class life. Almost fifty years later, owners still see the potential threat which exists from involvement in schemes which create, albeit wrongly, this impression. Part of this sentiment is borne out of the bunker mentality but part of the unwillingness to formally link funding and access in terms of libraries is born out of the inconvenience which requests for intellectual access may pose. However, there is a certain degree of impracticality when it comes to viewing bibliographic material in country house libraries, which is compounded in those houses which are open to the general public and where the library comprises part of the visitor route. However, an important added consideration which considerably vexes a significant proportion of owners and administrators is the question of security of their artefacts. The owner of a particularly fine Scottish library raised this point and actually illustrated how

security concerns can be a central and crucial element within the decision-making process on access applications: *"security of our artefacts is a serious worry. But I expect you'll have heard that one before. I'd like to know who and why before letting anyone in...much as we do just now with the tax exempted works...but that really is once in a blue-moon. I think it would have to be controlled and limited to particular types of people. Of course, that is what already happens. The public aren't interested in a 1500 German bible but scholars may be, so....it might just be particular groups"*.⁴⁶

Although most owners are fully cognisant about the numbers and type of people who would seek access, many fear that formal schemes would place an unrealistic burden on many of them. While the majority stress that they would be prepared to give access to *"anyone with a legitimate reason"*, they also stress sentiments similar to the words of one Baronet who said that they do not *"want to give anyone free-reign in the library without either my wife or myself being there at the time and that is often not practical"*.⁴⁷ One owner remarked that he felt that *"access can only be judged in terms of particular cases. Of course one might get involved in a general scheme which allows access but in the individual cases one would need to judge each case on its merits and certainly, I'd like some sort of guarantee about the type of person I was allowing into the library"*.⁴⁸ This emerged as a particularly important point, especially given the impossibility of general access.

Not all owners are philanthropic and benevolent towards access but it is interesting to speculate on their oft-expressed desire to grant access in legitimate cases. This raises a number of questions not least connected with their unwillingness to see the issue connected with public funding. One of the most intriguing questions is related to the other schemes which involve, if not financial support then at least financial concessions, namely the taxation system. A parallel can very clearly be drawn here. The changes to the Conditional Exemption scheme outlined in Chapter Five have been met with general hostility, yet access has been a long-standing requirement of these schemes. It may be that there too owners and administrators are seeking to differentiate between the financial privileges these schemes bestow and the access obligations which they impose. The relationship between funding and access throws up a plethora of policy issues all of which could fill a thesis in their own right. One thing is clear, however, and that is the fact that many owners tend to view (or at least wish to view) the two as significantly less interconnected than the mainstream commentators are led to believe. This is not the case across the board but seems particularly true in connection with lesser-known schemes like Conditional Exemption. Similarly, this same message appears to be being perpetuated in the library context where owners are, to a large degree, starting afresh because there is so little experience of funding and access in this field.

These issues raise a number of vitally important questions which it is impossible to answer. Are owners, for example, genuinely magnanimous and prepared to open their house regardless of financial aid or are

they just pretending to be so as to disguise the fact that they have been compelled to? James Lees-Milne lamented that *"in house opening money is ninety-nine times out of a hundred the prime motive"*.⁴⁹ Yet some undoubtedly are truly philanthropic; the Duke of Devonshire has often expressed how embarrassed he would be not to share the treasures of Chatsworth, but is he the exception which proves the rule? It is very difficult to say without psychoanalysing country house owners. Conversely, are some owners significantly misguided to believe that they can accept schemes such as Conditional Exemption but still believe that access is purely in their gift (at least as far as their libraries are concerned)? Furthermore, are some owners prepared to reject funding because it brings with it the contaminant of access? If that be the case it is extremely unfortunate, not to say damaging. However, these speculations do not represent the whole picture because, as Chapter Four highlights, the majority are quite prepared to grant access in appropriate circumstances. They are questions which demonstrate the great dilemma that is funding and access within the context of privately-owned heritage.

User Groups and Accreditation

The types of individuals to whom access may be granted is a point which required further development and the following questions dealt with the potential user groups who could have access granted to either a particular book or to the library in general. The survey identified a number of groups of people, academics, researchers, librarians, historians, writers, and also provided space for other categories. The survey did not include the general public in the predetermined categories. This was a reaction, in part, to the evidence from the first survey and also due to the general level of interest (or lack of it) exhibited by visitors on tours of country houses. Respondents were clear that, even if public funding were available, access would have to be regulated. One owner highlighted the general lack of interest and lack of demand for access when he said *"there isn't exactly a queue forming along the drive. It all seems a bit academic. There simply aren't stacks of people demanding access"*,⁵⁰ while another said *"on past experience we simply don't have enquiries of that sort"*. Commander Michael Saunders Watson also identified this factor when he said *"I have to say that hardly anyone has ever come to look at our books."*⁵¹

The most common categories of 'acceptable' users were academics, researchers, librarians, historians and writers:

Academics	42
Researchers	42
Librarians	35
Historians	37
Writers	22

Academics, scholars and researchers were the most preferred category with access being granted to them in some 56.8% of houses. Although it may be argued that the previous categories included historians, they

came next, as a distinct group, with 50.0% of houses being prepared to concede access to them. It is worth noting here that, in general, respondents made a distinction in their own mind between professional (academic) historians and amateur historians. Similarly, local historians were often cited by owners a separate category, again stressing an amateur status which sometimes belies the truth. Curiously, librarians who had a greater bibliographic interest were cited only by 47.3% of houses. The final category was that of writers, which was noted by 29.7% of respondents. This final category elicited a mixed response with some respondents stating that a charge might be made for writers consulting works in the library. Lady Walpole mentioned *"a possible charge for writers"*,⁵² while the Librarian at Longleat pointed to their existing charging mechanism of *"a standard fee of £15 plus VAT per day or £50 plus VAT per day for research likely to be of commercial value"*.⁵³ Some owners are less willing to concede free access if they fruits of they users' labour results in commercial or profit-making activities.

Although respondents selected the categories listed most felt that each case would have to be judged on its individual merits and that predetermining categories was unduly prescriptive. Commander Michael Saunders Watson, amongst others, articulated this feeling when he said that he would not be *"as restrictive as that"*⁵⁴ when referring to the categories of academics, researchers, librarians, historians and writers and added that *"it happens so seldom, its not really written down, there are no rules"*.⁵⁵ Similarly, he felt that the subject being researched by an applicant to the library need not, necessarily, concerning the house, family or locality. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres felt that he would be equally unrestrictive and said that *"material is usually made available to researchers in all fields"*⁵⁶ but added cautiously *"but not invariably"*.⁵⁷ Peter Day at Chatsworth echoed this feeling when he remarked that access would be given to *"any of the above categories with a bona fide interest"*⁵⁸ while the administrator at Burghley House also noted that *"any bona fide applicant"*⁵⁹ would probably be granted access. Another owner likened the access question to that of conservation by saying *"we would be reactive to particular events and situations not pro-active about encouraging it"*.⁶⁰ However, the general feeling of respondents was reflected by Lord Clitheroe who said: *"anyone who applied to me...would be welcome to use it, briefly, for good reason"*.⁶¹ This final statement notes a number of points which are crucial with regard to user groups. The phrase *"anyone with good reason"* is a fair and adequate exposition of many owners' and administrators' attitude to requests for access. However, the words *"briefly"* and *"for good reason"* are crucial and stress that these libraries are not like the public or academic sectors. Potential users must be aware of this and tailor their expectations accordingly because, as Commander Saunders Watson said, *"a private library is fundamentally a private library"*.⁶²

However, an overriding concept in dealing with the question of user groups, as indeed with the whole access issue, is that of what many respondents referred to as scholarship. One owner pointed out that *"generally anyone who applies to see anything - other than on the standard house tour - tends to be a bit of*

an expert and tends to have a genuine reason of scholarship for looking at a painting or whatever and I would hope that would be replicated in the library". ⁶³ He highlighted the fact that "*scholarship rather than voyeurism*" would be a central consideration when deciding upon any application. While owners were willing to grant access to appropriate users, most were cautious on the subject, primarily because of the previous lack of interest but also on the grounds of security and inconvenience. One owner, who is perfectly content to grant access to *bona fide* applicants with genuine reasons, was concerned that "*access breeds access no matter what one does*" ⁶⁴ and notes that there is a distinct difference between "*providing and encouraging access*". ⁶⁵ He also raised the question of funding which would influence the type of access which had to be provided and questioned the practicality of defining the legal term of 'reasonable public access' in relation to the library and potential users. He pointed out that this interpretation is "*all right provided one can define 'reasonable' to the satisfaction of all concerned and I really don't know if one can ever do that*". ⁶⁶ The general reluctance to accept funding, as outlined in the previous question, perhaps highlights the concomitant problems it imposes in terms of access, especially when that access is being sought to something so fragile as an historic library.

User groups, like the broader question of access itself, has practical implications, one of which was noted by Sir William Dugdale who said that he would allow "*all who wish*" ⁶⁷ but qualified this with practicality by adding "*only if I can supervise them 100% of the time in the library and this is difficult*". ⁶⁸ He also reiterated a point raised by Roger Tempest earlier, relating to 'Grace-and-Favour' access. Sir William said that there were "*about six historians who are well known to me and are always welcome*". ⁶⁹ Conversely, a number of respondents indicated other potential groups which could also have intellectual access to the collection. Dr John Martin Robinson highlighted the important collection of Catholic and recusant material housed in the Duke of Norfolk's library at Arundel Castle and suggested that the clergy were another suitable category for access. Similarly, S.R.L. Lancelyn-Green also mentioned genealogists. In addition, many owners mentioned groups who wished to visit the library because of its architectural or aesthetic merits. This, however, returns to the question of general access as opposed to intellectual access; the aesthetic merits of the room are, in reality, part of the general access debate. The room would remain architecturally the same even if there were no books in it.

Although the categories listed were invariably endorsed by respondents, a number highlighted those whom they believed should be omitted from lists of eligible users. The archivist at Hopetoun House put this most forthrightly: "*more importantly, perhaps, you should ask who should be excluded, eg book dealers and some antique dealers; researchers of lower status than post-graduate etc*". ⁷⁰ This latter point was reflected by Peter Day at Chatsworth who pointed out that "*for practical reasons schoolchildren and most undergraduate students are excluded*" ⁷¹ from the Chatsworth library. Generally, these categories are to be expected; however, Sir William Dugdale also singled-out, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, "*the problems*

arising from American academics".⁷² However, none of the categories are definitive nor are they set in concrete. One Baronet summed this up when he made an important point by saying that, "*where material here was duplicated elsewhere locally in the mainstream library system*" he would be reluctant to grant access. He also added: "*I don't think I'd be terribly keen on this library becoming an adjunct to the public library system, but certainly where there is a legitimate case, I'd be willing*".⁷³

Accreditation

The subject of suitable accreditation fell into two broad categories. Firstly, those owners and administrators who had previous experience of enquirers and who had sought references before granting access and, secondly, those who had not and were thinking, for the first time, of what accreditation they would require. In either case, however, respondents felt that the most appropriate method of regulating access was to obtain some type of reference from either an academic or professional body or from a reputable individual known to the owner or administrator in question. This area is, perhaps, the one shrouded in least mystery and confusion. Generally, the same sort of requirements exist in the minds of all owners or administrators when faced with any application, whether that be to the library or to examine any other element of the collection within the house.

Three of the great libraries - Chatsworth, Arundel and Longleat - all had experience of access being requested and granted and all three had broadly similar policies for references. At Chatsworth, Peter Day said that a letter of reference usually sufficed "*unless a person or institution is already well known to us*",⁷⁴ while at Arundel Dr John Martin Robinson noted that a "*a letter from their tutor or similar*"⁷⁵ was adequate. Longleat also required proof of academic studies but was the only property to insist that any letter of introduction must have also "*testified to experience in handling rare books and original sources*".⁷⁶ These criteria are generally the same as those applied by owners or administrators of collections with less experience of access. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres pointed out that anyone who had come to view his library at Balcarres was usually required to provide academic references of some description and this worked satisfactorily.

One owner, Roger Tempest at Broughton Hall, did admit that he had no defined procedure and that "*an ad hoc decision would be made in light of the application*".⁷⁷ but conceded that he would probably ask for references in the end. However, the opinions of most owners were reflected by Captain R.H. Lowry at Blessingbourne in Northern Ireland who would require "*a letter of introduction and a the name of a referee which I can check*".⁷⁸ Patrick Gordon Duff Pennington at Muncaster Castle indicated that he would require two referees. One owner, S.R.L. Lancelyn-Green noted that he would expect anyone making an application for access to "*demonstrate their knowledge and qualifications in the manner of their asking*".⁷⁹ This highlights the need not only to supply the information which owners and respondents seek but to

behave appropriately in the asking. The manner in which owners choose to interpret accreditation is interesting in terms of the general picture for access. Owners tend to presuppose some degree of formal academic study as the principal reason behind any request for access. This reinforces their belief in defined user-groups for their collections as well as highlighting the clear difference between general and intellectual access.

Taken together this evidence suggests that owners and administrators are cognisant of the requirements for ensuring properly managed access. The nuances of individual requirements and, in some cases, individual foibles must be recognised for what they are, personal means of guaranteeing the security of private property. This is an element where the requirements of owners and administrators are paramount and highlights the fact that a heritage policy for country house libraries must be pragmatic enough to respond to each individual situation. The purpose which accreditation serves is not only to give some degree of peace-of-mind to owners but also to indicate to potential users what is required *of them* before being admitted to a collection.

However, the administrators of country house libraries are faced with an additional set of issues which determine the user groups they admit to the library. These issues relate back to the taxation schemes which exist to benefit owners of parts of the national heritage. Firstly, those houses who have bibliographic or archival items which are Conditionally Exempt or have been accepted in lieu of tax but remain in situ cannot afford to be so particular in the accreditation process. Collections which are entirely exempt from tax must, both in theory and practice, admit any member of the general public to the collection both in terms of general and intellectual access, if requested. The general public have a statutory right to request access to any item which benefits from these schemes and owners or administrators are bound by this. This consideration must surely affect the thinking of managers of libraries which are Conditionally Exempt when it comes to access. Theoretically, this nullifies all other internal access policies because the exemption system is enshrined in statute. Why then, is the librarian at Arundel Castle, where the collection is largely exempt, worrying about designating appropriate user groups when the scheme from which the collection is benefiting states that *anyone* has a right to access? The answer to a certain extent relies on the notion mentioned earlier that owners and administrators tend to divorce funding (or indeed tax relief) from access. Many seem to have convinced themselves that there is *no* concomitant link. It may also be that, even in situations where collections are exempt, there are so few requests that those responsible for library collections feel that the power to pick and choose, admit or prohibit, has returned to them by default.

The second and arguably more complex internal dilemma which faces library owners and administrators is whether or not it is right and, indeed, practical to differentiate between an item which is exempt and one which is not in terms of access. A hypothetical collection may possess an exempt copy of Audubon while

next to it, on the very same shelf, is a copy of White's Selborne which is not exempted. Theoretically, the owner in such a position is obliged to grant access to the Audubon to anyone who requests it while being able to pick and choose who gets to see the copy of White. Of course, one can argue that copies of Audubon are infinitely rarer than copies of White and this is all very right and proper, but as a practical management issue the distinction is less clear, especially considering the low number of requests to view anything. Decision-makers must give thought to the practicalities of this scenario and decide whether it is really practical to make distinctions in this way and whether it is satisfactory - in terms of their internal convenience as much as anything else - to have two different categories of material governed by two different policy decisions. This latter point is really determined by the number of requests for access which is, essentially, the heart of the funding, access, user group debate. It is interesting to speculate whether, at the end of the day, the sole arbiter in granting access is not the type of people seeking it, nor the funding schemes which impose it, but simply the number of requests which are made. However, submitting to that as the sole criteria for access is unsatisfactory because it leaves no one, neither owners nor the general public nor those with legitimate scholarly interests, in a better position than they are in today. This is purely an internal issue with no outside organisation having any claim on the decision-making process, but it is one which requires to be addressed.

National Register of Historic Libraries

The final questions in the survey sought to determine opinion on the question of the formation of a National Register of historic libraries similar to that for archives. Although the development of a National Register is not part of this research, at this point, it is of advantage to consider it because of their bearing on the survey evidence. However, the mechanics of establishing a register would largely depend on which body undertook to manage it. To a certain extent, some of this element has been pre-empted by the work currently being done by Professor Robin Alston, the Reader in Librarianship at University College, London, who has compiled a nation-wide database of libraries established before 1850. Two points are worth making, however; firstly, Professor Alston's database uses material already in the public-domain and secondly, approaches have not been made directly to owners to supplement this material. It is, however, to be available on the World-Wide Web and may be a suitable fore-runner to the creation of a National Register as envisaged in the final questions both in the survey and the interviews.

Owners and administrators generally supported the idea of the creation of a National Register with 58.1% being in favour with 32.4% against. A further 6.8% were of no opinion one way or the other with the full breakdown being as follows (*see overleaf*)

	Yes	No	No Opinion	No Response	Totals
England	25	16	2	2	45
Scotland	11	8	0	1	20
Wales	3	0	0	1	4
Northern Ireland	4	0	0	1	5
TOTALS	43	24	2	3	75

Most owners thought that the general idea of a National Register was a good one. Commander Michael Saunders Watson highlighted this fact: *"I think to have a national register would be a good thing"*⁸⁰ and believed that details of the collection (number of volumes, disciplines but not a full catalogue) would be *"very reasonable"*.⁸¹ Another owner highlighted the fact that he felt *"the NRA has not created any significant problem and something modelled on that would be useful"*⁸² and pointed to other schemes: *"we have worked for years with the Courtauld on our paintings and a number are used through the Bridgeman. Its terribly good. So something similar for books might work"*.⁸³ What many owners were concerned about was any link being made between the creation of a national register and the issue of access, with one owner saying that he would be happy to see the creation of a Register as long as it did not dictate. Another owner, from the English Midlands, expressed concern about the value of a national register, saying that he thought it would be *"seriously under-utilised because archives are unique...generally libraries are not"*.⁸⁴ However, he went on to say that *"if it was only a brief outline not specific books then I'd be happy with that"*.⁸⁵

The levels of support for the creation of a national register which has emerged from the survey would appear to indicate the potentially beneficial nature of such a mechanism. This, taken with the levels of support for some degree of public access to collections highlighted in Chapter Four, indicate the willingness of owners and administrators to address the policy issues facing them. A national register presents the potential of reconciling the external agencies with their policies based on best-practice with the internal dimension rooted more firmly in the practicalities of managing collections with country houses. The issue of the creation of a national register cannot be separated from that of participation in it by country house owners.

Participation in a Register

The final questions in both the second survey and in the interview structure asked whether owners and administrators would be willing to have their collections included on such a register and exactly what they would like to see included by way of details. Although a majority of respondents favoured the creation of a National Register, opinion is divided on including their collections on it. A small majority of respondents, 43.2% said that they would not be in favour of participating in such a scheme as compared

with 39.2% who would be willing to participate. In addition, 9.5% said they would be willing to consider participating when they knew exactly what such a register would entail. Finally, a further 8.1% were of no opinion one way or the other.

	Yes	No	Possibly	No Opinion	Total
England	16	22	4	3	45
Scotland	8	10	1	1	20
Wales	2	0	1	1	4
Northern Ireland	3	0	1	1	5
TOTALS	29	32	7	6	74

The opinions of respondents, whether in favour or against inclusion in a register, were not very dissimilar. In most cases it appeared that those in favour were willing to give the register the benefit of the doubt, while those against were not. By and large the same queries and problems were indicated by both sides of the debate and the differing conclusions they reached were down to personal preference. The respondents in favour were exemplified by Commander Michael Saunders Watson who said that *"I would not have any objection to a general thing about the library in the public domain. Rockingham Castle is part of the national heritage, we're open to the public and...people genuinely interested in what we have are very welcome to inspect it. I think to have a national register would be a good thing"*.⁸⁶ One owner said that he hoped *"it would deal in generalities rather than specifics"*. Similarly, another owner, S.R.L. Lancelyn-Green, suggested a *"description that merely stated the number of volumes, periods and rough description of subject matters but did not enter into the glories of the room"*.⁸⁷

The owner of an exceptionally good library including some rarities, who would be willing to participate, had a number of concerns. Firstly, this Baronet believed that a National Register of country house collections only would be *"a rather futile and repetitive exercise"*,⁸⁸ preferring the broader scheme of a national register of historic libraries in which country house libraries could be included as part of the remit. He believed that a dedicated register of country house libraries would *"open us, as a group, to some unacceptable pressures and demands and I think would single us out in a way which we would not necessarily want. Especially...when you bear in mind that most collections are not unique and are certainly incapable of dealing with heavy demands"*.⁸⁹ This point was also raised by the librarian at Longleat who remarked that *"an increase in demand would not be sustainable at current staff levels. The budget implications would be very serious and progress on cataloguing for example would be severely affected"*.⁹⁰

The Baronet's second concern was over the question of access. His concerns echoed many of those respondents who were opposed to the entire idea. He expressed his worries about a register which might place too much emphasis on access for the wrong reasons: *"...simply allowing people to demand access because it is there and because it identifies the collection....well I'm against that"*.⁹¹ He declared that he saw a very definite distinction between providing access and encouraging it. Although willing to participate on a register he said he would be *"wholly opposed to it being used to signify access automatically. And certainly, there would have to be strict limitations on the data and who it was exposed to"*.⁹² Unlike other owners opposed to the scheme he did give it the benefit of the doubt by concluding that the question of access was *"a bit of an empty threat or perhaps a foolish worry on my part because the public aren't clamouring for access to the books"*.⁹³

On the other hand, many owners who would not be prepared to participate felt that, however innocuous the register was intended to be, it would be capable of manipulation in the future either by government or by the statutory bodies. At its most basic this manipulation included what Sir William Dugdale termed *"interference in my library which is the joint effort of twelve generations of Dugdales and no one else!"*⁹⁴ Further concern was expressed that, even if the register started out as a scholarly tool, it may become a means for controlling collections either by listing or by compelling owners to register collections as a precursor to funding applications or tax relief. Concern about how a register might be altered in the future is a serious concern. An English owner said *"I would worry, however, that participation on such a register might, in the future be used against one. For example if...funding became available, I wouldn't want to see owners forced into signing up to a register because inclusion on it was a requirement for applying for funding. I think it would have to be voluntary"*.⁹⁵ While it may be argued that anything is hypothetically possible in the future, it is important to recognise these concerns. Indeed, the potential hazards of listing of collections is enough to put some owners off completely, with James Hervey-Bathurst putting his opposition most forcefully: *"listing which prevents the sale of material is unacceptable"*.⁹⁶

Listing remains the most contentious issue of all. Commander Michael Saunders Watson, although in favour of participating in the register, was equally vehement on this point: *"What I'm not in favour of is listing....I am absolutely adamant that if you own property that is your property and if you've had a grant on it and you want to sell it then you repay the grant with interest. But to be told as you are that that picture must always stay there for ever and ever is appropriating private property and I feel very strongly about that."*⁹⁷ Another owner was equally forthright in response to the listing suggestion: *"I'm absolutely opposed to that in any shape or form. As long as the items here remain my property then I want to be free to do with them as I choose without consulting some official in London. Although I view much of what we have here as sacrosanct to this house, I don't want to ever be in the position of having my hands tied by others"*.⁹⁸

It must be pointed out that a partial register of particular items (as opposed to whole libraries) does already exist, in the shape of the Register of Conditionally Exempt Works of Art. The existence of this register suggests that claiming that inclusion in a National Register of Historic Libraries could become a precursor to tax relief is somewhat tendentious. However, Conditional Exemption is so cloaked in secrecy that identifying the location of all but the most obvious works is well nigh impossible. This is an increasingly sensitive issue as far as owners are concerned, especially since it has recently attracted adverse criticism in some elements of the media, and is not one most would be willing to see replicated in any register of historic libraries. Commander Saunders Watson pointed out that "*personal property is very important and what would make it difficult is people saying...you have tax relief in a particular area and therefore I require to come on a Sunday afternoon and I have a right to do so because I am a tax payer and you've had taxes. I mean that doesn't happen at the moment but that would be a sort of area [of concern] with the private owners' interests*".⁹⁹ Yet acceptance for conditional exemption imposes much tighter restrictions than any other current scheme and the inclusion of material on the Exempt Register is a *de facto* listing of works.

The cynical approach to this question might say that with Conditional Exemptions some owners are willing to accept the benefits but not the responsibilities. Yet, with the Exempt Register owners operate under a much more prescriptive framework than any other register could impose but, because of the mechanics of the capital taxation system, it is, curiously, easier to manipulate by claiming personal anonymity in Revenue matters. One owner somewhat disingenuously claimed that he would be willing to have the Conditional Exemption details included in a National Register of Libraries because "*that information is already in the public domain*"¹⁰⁰ while claiming discretion in matters of personal taxation. At the same time he stated that "*if it insisted on more access rather than simply duplicating the existing provision, then...I'd be less sympathetic*"¹⁰¹ while saying that no one, ever, came to examine the library. To the cynic, this is the classic dichotomy, if not duplicity, of the country house library - willingness to have tax breaks and to advertise their exemptions provided no one actually knows, let alone wants access to the material.

However, to return to the less abstract reasons for rejecting inclusion, several owners against participation raised the question of security. Mrs Althea Dundas-Bekker conceded that the National Register of Archives works well but noted that the system often involved depositing material at Register House. She felt that a Register of books *in situ* within the house would pose "*greater security risks*". Yet again, however, this is exactly what the Conditional Exemption Register is. Similarly, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres mentioned security considerations. He also highlighted the fact that "*serious scholars already know of the library and access is generally given*"¹⁰² so saw no need to add an additional register for others. This was also highlighted by S.R.L. Lancelyn-Green who said that he did not want "*to encourage*

the 'come-and-take-a-look' visitor" ¹⁰³ to the library. Many of these issues relate directly to the previously examined question regarding potential (and acceptable) user groups. Taken together, this highlights how impossible it is to look at any of these issues in isolation and points to the fact that most of the key research concepts are interconnected and overarching rather than solitary and free-standing.

Some respondents indicated that they felt a National Register would encourage access rather than simply provide it. Many worried that this would place an unrealistic, added burden upon them, especially in smaller houses which lack facilities. This was stated most clearly by the administrator of a house in Kent who pointed to the fact that *"inclusion may give the impression that we would allow access to the public. This is a private library. We have no facilities to offer access to it."* ¹⁰⁴ However, a further 9.5% of respondents said that they would be willing to *consider* participating once they knew exactly what such a Register would contain. Most of these respondents felt that they would need to see the fine print of any proposed Register before being in a position to make a decision. Peter Day, Keeper of Collections at Chatsworth, summed up this point and highlighted that he, as an administrator, was not in a position to make a decision when he said: *"the decision whether or not to be included would be taken by my employer and his trustees. I would need to know much more about what the register would in fact do before offering my employer any advice about it."* ¹⁰⁵ In addition, a further 8.1% were of no opinion one way or the other and preferred not to make any decision about the merits of a register or their inclusion on it.

Summary

The picture which the survey and interview evidence supplies represents a range of conflicting demands and, indeed, opinions. Yet it does make overall sense. When all is said and done most owners and administrators simply want to keep the library ticking over in sufficiently good condition to hand on to the next generation without giving detailed consideration to the question of access. This is largely because up to now so few requests are ever made. Coupled with this is the fact that most owners are actively content to see requests for access remain at the same negligible rate. The creation of a national register for historic libraries may represent one way forward and need not, necessarily, result in hugely increased demands for access. The internal management of these collections is governed mainly by the need to conserve and preserve the material and this is the principal concern of most involved with them. This is, of course, totally dependent on funding but, as often as not, owners and administrators prefer to see the money come from their own private sources rather than from government or public bodies. Although they feel that grant aid should, perhaps, be more forthcoming or, at least, their routes to it (in the shape of the Heritage Lottery Fund, for example) be a little easier, they are often not content to accept the inevitable access demands which such forms of funding require.

This issue goes to the very core of the debate and, as this chapter shows, there is a marked willingness on the part of many, but by no means all, owners to blur the lines of distinction between funding and access. Undoubtedly, the vast majority of owners would be more contented if they could finance all the work which requires to be done (across all spheres of their property) from their own reserves alone. Funding will never be easy as long as it is connected to access but will be non-existent if the connection is broken. Public money and private heritage is a thorny issue which, in reality, suits neither side. On the one hand it is unpopular to have aristocrats receiving public money and on the other many do not like the obligations which go with that financial support. One owner remarked that he did not think "*that the receipt of public money is concomitant to designating works as 'national heritage'*".¹⁰⁶ Yet the question must be asked, if it is not part of the national heritage why does it deserve public money?

Essentially, owners and administrators would like to try to completely divorce the conservation and preservation of their libraries from the question of funding and access. Unfortunately for them it is impossible to do this because only a small handful of collections are totally immune from financial prioritising and there are even fewer collections which get the full attention they require, simply because the resources are lacking. Commander Saunders Watson pointed out that he "*did start up a programme doing the worst ones which is now rather come to a halt because the money ran out*".¹⁰⁷ This is typical of the scene in countless other collections the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. Even so, owners still display marked reluctance to embrace schemes which may benefit their collections if they include the dreaded word 'access'. In some ways this is hardly a revelation but in other respects it is remarkable because there is little evidence to suggest that demands for access would increase. Owners and administrators have long had experience of Conditional Exemption, amongst other schemes, to know the level of requests generated by participation in such schemes. Having said that, the schemes which do exist currently to assist libraries and which are applicable in the country house context are few and far between. Yet that is really not the point. The Heritage Lottery Fund will probably look favourably at applications made under their umbrella schemes, which could involve consortia of houses making applications for library-related work.

It would be a great pity if owners and administrators were to ignore the potential benefits of such schemes merely because they fear a hypothetical influx of huge numbers to consult their collections. The purpose of preserving the national heritage - and that certainly includes country house libraries - is, most definitely, to preserve the national heritage. It is to secure it for future generations, not to destroy it by over-use, although many country house owners fear this is what is about to happen with changes to the taxation system and also if they are compelled to give access to their libraries. Fifty years ago, Major Le G.G.W. Horton Fawkes of Farnley Hall in Yorkshire was typical of many owners when he suggested that he only wanted people to come who appreciated the house and its contents. He did not want "*parties and*

individuals who just want a day out and can 'tick off' Farnley Hall as 'Visited' (not seen and felt, and little appreciated)".¹⁰⁸ Little more than two generations ago, many foretold of the destruction of houses through greater public access. Yet today, many houses, albeit the survivors, are better organised and displayed than at any time in their history. To a certain extent the issue of access to the libraries is still lagging way behind other aspects of country house access and is still characterised by the Horton Fawkes approach of fifty years ago.

Notes and Sources

¹ All numerical data in this chapter is taken from the second survey.

² Survey correspondence (E03).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Feather, John. *Preservation and the Management of Library Collections*. London: Library Association, 1996, Second Edition, p2.

⁵ Feather, *Ibid.* p2.

⁶ Feather, *Ibid.* p2.

⁷ Survey correspondence (W04).

⁸ Survey correspondence (S12).

⁹ Survey correspondence (E60).

¹⁰ Survey correspondence (E44).

¹¹ Survey correspondence (S11).

¹² Survey correspondence (S05).

¹³ Survey correspondence (S17).

¹⁴ Survey correspondence (E46).

¹⁵ Survey correspondence (E25).

¹⁶ Survey correspondence (E08).

¹⁷ Survey correspondence (E43).

¹⁸ Interview with Sir Richard FitzHerbert.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Survey correspondence (S05).

²¹ Survey correspondence (W05).

²² Survey correspondence (E25).

²³ Survey correspondence (E46).

²⁴ Interview with Commander Michael Saunders Watson.

²⁵ Private Source [correspondence].

²⁶ Survey correspondence (W04).

²⁷ Survey correspondence (E04).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Survey correspondence (S05).

³⁰ Private Source.

³¹ Survey correspondence (E03).

³² Survey correspondence (W04).

³³ Survey correspondence (E60).

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Survey correspondence (S12).

³⁶ Survey correspondence (S17).

³⁷ Survey correspondence (S11).

³⁸ Interview with English owner (3).

³⁹ Saunders Watson, *Op.cit.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

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- ⁴¹ Interview with Scottish owner (4).
⁴² *Ibid.*
⁴³ Interview with English owner (3).
⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
⁴⁵ Interview with Scottish owner (4).
⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
⁴⁸ Interview with English owner (3).
⁴⁹ Lees-Milne, James. Don't Kill the Goose or Hints to Owners'. *Historic Houses*, 1968, pp3-4 *c.f.*
Mandler, Peter. *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. London: Yale University Press, 1997. p78.
⁵⁰ Interview with English owner (3).
⁵¹ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*
⁵² Survey correspondence (E25).
⁵³ Survey correspondence (E43).
⁵⁴ Saunders Watson *Op. cit.*
⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
⁵⁶ Survey correspondence (S11).
⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
⁵⁸ Survey correspondence (E08).
⁵⁹ Survey correspondence (E22).
⁶⁰ Survey correspondence (E27).
⁶¹ Survey correspondence (E51).
⁶² Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*
⁶³ Interview with Scottish owner (4).
⁶⁴ Interview with English owner (3).
⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
⁶⁷ Survey correspondence (E60).
⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
⁷⁰ Survey correspondence (S05).
⁷¹ Survey correspondence (E08).
⁷² Survey correspondence (E60).
⁷³ Interview with Scottish owner (4).
⁷⁴ Survey correspondence (E08).
⁷⁵ Survey correspondence (E38).
⁷⁶ Survey correspondence (E43).
⁷⁷ Survey correspondence (E46).
⁷⁸ Survey correspondence (U03).
⁷⁹ Survey correspondence (E71).
⁸⁰ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*
⁸¹ *Ibid.*
⁸² Interview with English owner (3).
⁸³ *Ibid.*
⁸⁴ Survey correspondence (E60).
⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
⁸⁶ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*
⁸⁷ Survey correspondence (E71).
⁸⁸ Interview with Scottish owner (4).
⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
⁹⁰ Survey correspondence (E43).
⁹¹ Interview with Scottish owner (4).
⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Survey correspondence (E60).

⁹⁵ Interview with English owner (3).

⁹⁶ Survey correspondence (E19).

⁹⁷ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*

⁹⁸ Interview with Scottish owner (4).

⁹⁹ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Interview with English owner (1).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Survey correspondence (S11).

¹⁰³ Survey correspondence (E71).

¹⁰⁴ Survey correspondence (E21).

¹⁰⁵ Survey correspondence (E08).

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Scottish owner (4).

¹⁰⁷ Saunders Watson, *Op. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ Major Horton-Fawkes, to Gowers Committee, March 1949, PRO T 219/178 *c.f.* Mandler, *Op. cit.* p378.

CHAPTER VII

*A National Heritage Policy for the Preservation and Conservation
of Country House Libraries:
Issues and Implications*

CHAPTER VII

A National Heritage Policy for Preservation and Conservation of Country House Libraries: Issues and Implications

"Government has no other end but the preservation of property"

John Locke, *Second Treatise on Civil Government*, 1681

Introduction

The title of this research is the development of a national heritage policy for the country house libraries of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the definition of this policy is the key outcome, if not the sole purpose, of the research. It is not, however, the only outcome because there are, inevitably, other key conclusory recommendations which exist on the higher, external policy level. These issues and elements may affect the country house library in terms of how external agencies and, indeed, government operate, but are not necessarily ones which can be described as specifically relating to a national heritage policy for these libraries and collections. From the standpoint of external agencies and their policies, funding and access are, perhaps, the principal issues and can be said to cover a multitude of aspects relating to the country house without being specific to the library. Of course, these issues have a central role to play but they also have important implications beyond the library. Cataloguing, arrangement and, most importantly, conservation and preservation, on the other hand, are critical internal issues and have very specific applications in terms of libraries. Consequently, this chapter which is, in some respects, the summation of the research, combines the unique history of these collections, the opinions of owners, experts and public bodies, together with recognised best practice in these fields. This chapter, therefore deals with the policy recommendations to assist with the survival of these collections. The conclusions of the research in general, as outlined in the final chapter, are altogether broader and relate to all of the aims and objectives of the research. In addition, the final chapter examines those issues - including funding, access and to a lesser extent conservation - which are broader than the narrow confines of country house libraries alone.

Much has been written by scholars and professionals on the question of conservation of collections; however, little has been dedicated to the unique qualities and problems of conserving libraries within country houses. Up until now this work has concentrated on various aspects of their unique status; the way in which they have been developed; the way in which they are currently maintained; the problems which are peculiar to them and, finally, how owners and administrators of these collections see them surviving into the future, not to mention the external and internal pressures which owners and administrators are confronted with. As a result, with these elements in mind, it is necessary to apply the previous stages of

this research to identify and explain what methods of conservation can practically be applied to ensure the survival of this distinctive part of the national heritage. Guidelines for the preservation of historic country house libraries have at their core the same laudable *raison d'être* as the National Preservation Office of the United Kingdom, namely to "*ensure the preservation and continued accessibility of library and archive material in the United Kingdom*".¹

This major element of the research identifies guidelines and recommendations with reference to the areas and problems peculiar to country houses. Although many of the recommendations for policy-making are familiar to those involved with the management of sensitive library collections, the environment (within the country house alone) is new and innovative. It is that important environmental distinction which makes the structure of the policy recommendations as important as the intellectual contents. This is a structure which lays particular stress not only on best practice but, equally importantly, considering the diversity of collections, on attainable practice. It is pragmatic and is devised to be of the maximum benefit to the maximum number of diverse collections. It may be said to be a national heritage policy only in the broadest sense because it aims to fill an obvious vacuum in the field of librarianship. Having said that, however, it is vital to stress that these are purely recommendations and could only be said to be a true *policy* only if widely and rigorously applied. In that sense, these are a series of bottom-up recommendations rather than a series of top-down instructions. The decision to apply any or all of the recommendations lies with individual owners or administrators and the application of these guidelines, however desirable, is not within the remit of the research. Having said that, however, the evidence in earlier chapters stresses the importance of inclusiveness and these recommendations are valid for those organisations which are involved on the broader plain, most notably the Historic Houses Association.

Outline to Structure of Recommendations

This chapter, because it is based around policy guidelines and recommendations rather than applications, is not, therefore, in itself, a heritage policy *per se*. However, it provides the scope to become one, but only if adopted or adapted, applied or approved by suitable bodies with real input into the management of country house libraries. These may include individual houses, umbrella groups such as Historic Houses Association or conservation volunteers such as National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies. While primarily concerned with privately-owned collections, it may also be of relevance to charitable organisations such as the National Trusts. In many respects, the fundamental issue which governs every single aspect of country house library management is that of funding, while the single issue which governs the outsider's approach to them is that of access; together these are two sides of one coin. However, it should not be forgotten that without cataloguing, arrangement and conservation, access can be a fairly abstract and meaningless word. Consequently, these are central and dominant issues in this chapter in the same way as they are over-arching concepts throughout the entirety of this research. The development of

the policy recommendations are not simply the attainment of the final aim of the work, rather it is the sublimation of the entire research.

The structure is intended to take account of the differences which exist within country house collections. It is recognised that the needs of collections vary from one house to another; this has been reflected in these final policy recommendations. In order for the recommendations to be of *practical* value to as many collections as possible, it provides for the adoption of various levels within each of its broader subject areas (funding, access, cataloguing, atmospheric conditions, restoration techniques etc.). The studies of existing practice within the categories already identified has enabled the development of a multi-layered approach which, taken together, allows for an ultimate goal, but which also allows exit points at levels appropriate for individual collections. Consequently, the various levels of recommendations ensure that owners and administrators can proceed as far as they deem necessary or practical in terms of their own collection.

An useful analogies in this context can be identified and it is, perhaps, worthwhile to use one in the context of the structure of the heritage policy. In some respects it can be said to operate rather like a post-graduate qualification. This means that, in the first instance, a basic entry qualification for assistance has been defined. It is tempting to consider Utopian dreams about assisting all collections, but that is neither desirable nor practical. It may be that collections which would fall below the threshold would wish to adopt the recommendations, but this would only be possible with privately financed initiatives. The concept of a threshold has facilitated a starting point for the policy and enabled the drawing of a line, based on merit and condition, beneath which collections may be said to beyond help or simply not worth preserving with the assistance of public money. On the other side of the threshold, the observation of best practice enabled the construction of exit points at levels appropriate to the actual situation found within an individual library. Significantly, this ensures that the *practical benefit* of the policy is commensurate with the *practical ability* of the collection managers. The layering of the structure in this manner ensures that the recommendations are both valid and wide-ranging. It also ensures that *all* types of collections are represented within those recommendations. One of the underlying themes of the guidelines, both in terms of content and structure, is to maximise practical benefit within as many collections as possible.

It is the vacuum which currently exists - and has been identified in both chapters which examine policies and structures - which is the fundamental justification for constructing policy recommendations. It also transforms this research from the purely historical and revisionist to the innovative by ensuring that tomorrow is considered as much as yesterday and today. Ross Atkinson has said that "*we must strive to provide to the future generation the same opportunities that we aspire to...namely the opportunity to provide texts with meanings and to interpret for themselves the broader significance of those meanings*"² and that is the fundamental reason for attempting to fill the vacuum. Brian J. Baird, writing in *Restaurator*,

the international journal for preservation of library and archival material, has described Atkinson's definition as "*a mission statement for collections conservation*"³ If it is to be fulfilled adequately and successfully it must, therefore, be done with regard to the realities of the situation and the policy recommendations here have the merit of being specifically tailored to country house libraries, an area so frequently overlooked in the past.

It is important to bear in mind that this research has at its heart the development of workable recommendations for the survival of these collections. It is, however, for others to choose to implement these recommendations. Consequently, the discussion of the recommendations in this chapter as well as the structured guidelines in Volume Two, have aspired to be both academically rigorous and intellectually detailed. As application of these recommendations is not an aim of this research, the recommendations and guidelines are geared towards perceived best practice rather than to placating the whims or desires of owners or administrators of collections. The independence of this research from the various vested interests has always been paramount and this chapter, together with the policy guidelines in Volume Two, may include points which these interest groups may or may not want to hear. The specifics of country house heritage policies are important, but equally so are the recommendations from organisations such as the British Library and complementary, related bodies such as the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Taken collectively, this enables the creation of effective means of managing historic library collections. However, the dominant theme remains library-specific policies while maintaining emphasis on the fundamentals of all heritage policy, namely conservation, access and funding.

Aims and Objectives

*"In broad terms, a preservation policy should define the objectives which an organisation seeks to achieve in maintaining the structure and / or usefulness of its collection to meet the needs of its users".*⁴ However, this 'mission statement' for preservation, like Atkinson's mentioned earlier, is of dubious value in the country house context. Illogical though it may appear, owners and administrators tend to see the maintaining of the structure of the house as the primary mission in life. It is entirely divorced from the management of the library collection *per se* although they will, undoubtedly, see the need to maintain the collections as an intrinsic part of the guardianship or curatorship of the property. In addition, the usefulness of the collection is a small consideration in the minds of most owners and administrators. As the justifications for entry qualifications will demonstrate, the use of collections plays little part in the conservation and preservation processes in country house libraries. Finally, the need to meet the needs of its users again plays little part in the management of country house libraries. If it does, it is only insofar as the paying public like to see books on the shelves in the library. However, this aspect relates to the general concept of access rather than to the highly specific interpretation of intellectual access to the works themselves. A more accurate definition of aims and objectives for the preservation of country house

libraries would be *"to define the objectives to achieve the maintenance of collections which form an intrinsic part of the house as a complete historical entity"*.⁵ Although not entirely desirable, many owners do not view their library collections as something separate and distinct from the others in the house.

The Unesco guidelines on the preservation and conservation of library and archive material in 1990 go on to suggest that all of those who are *"responsible for libraries and archives, librarians, curators, archivists and conservators, all have a professional duty to ensure that items within their collections are maintained in a condition appropriate to their use and intrinsic value"*.⁶ In the case of the country house and of its library a number of distinctions must be made. Firstly, in many smaller houses owners double as curators or administrators. Professional curatorial staff can seldom be said to equate with professional librarians; houses with librarians are few and far between. In some houses the 'librarian' is little more than an honorific title or even a sinecure with someone else, as often as not a part-time 'archivist', having day-to-day responsibility for the library. As a result, house managers, curators and, above all, owners must assume some not inconsiderable responsibility for the maintenance of all elements of the collections within their properties. To a large degree this is already the case; the move from traditional aristocrats to guardians of the national heritage has already been noted elsewhere. However, the degree to which that curatorship - in professional terms - exists amongst owners is doubtful. External experts are still relied on for advice in a large number of fields. The owners and administrators of country house collections cannot be expert in all the multifarious types of collections. Consequently, part of that responsibility must lie either with external experts or with a policy document which responds to the needs of individual collections.

Unesco also noted that preservation policies cannot be prepared in isolation and that they must be part of an integrated policy for repository management: *"it must take full account of the aims and objectives of the organisation....and the place of the collection within a local, regional, national or international framework"*.⁷ Similarly, with country houses, the policies which are adopted for library management should be part of a greater scheme for the entire house. Yet it is likely that, as regards the library, the conservation or preservation elements of any policy are likely to be foremost in the minds of owners and administrators at the expense of access, arrangement, or cataloguing protocols for example. Having said that, it is important to ensure that conservation policies for book collections are integrated into general plans for the maintenance of the house as a whole. A particularly important aspect of this can be found with regard to disaster control planning where integration and co-ordination is everything.

Entry Qualifications

Although the aim of preserving every book in every country house library may, at first, seem to be a laudable one, it fails to recognise the necessary pragmatism which this area requires. Consequently, the intrinsic merit of the collection, either as a whole or in part, must be assessed and evaluated. This process

cannot take on the form of pure library evaluation as professionals interpret it because of the distinctive qualities as well as problems of the country house library. In such circumstances, the historical merit and worth of collections and the innate bond between books, library, house and family must be taken into consideration. Chapter Four, amongst others, mentions the importance of the Waverley Commission on the Export of Works of Art in 1952⁸ which, although almost fifty years ago, produced the definitive guidelines in terms of the maintenance of national interest in cultural heritage. However, it also serves as a useful starting point in the debate over public funding or taxation concessions. Viscount Waverley's Committee suggest three prime considerations when assessing the value of cultural heritage in terms of the national interest: historical worth, aesthetic importance and educational merit.

As a result of Lord Waverley's report, these elements have steadfastly been adhered to by a variety of bodies and organisations in the cultural heritage field, not simply by the Art Export Review Committee. Indeed, Waverley's recommendations have made themselves felt far beyond the relatively narrow spectrum which his committee was asked to investigate. In terms of guidelines for the country house library, Waverley is particularly pertinent. Indeed his three principal areas of assessment may be said to be the three which any independent evaluator of country house libraries would have chosen. However, with regard to bibliographic collections in historic houses, it is necessary to expand the original headings which the Waverley Committee identified. To take the cases of historical worth and aesthetic importance to begin with, it is vital that collections are able to endorse the adjunct which Waverley made, namely that the destruction of the collection would materially disadvantage the nation.

Significant Association

However, in addition, a number of other factors need to be taken into consideration before the entire picture of historical and cultural worth can be seen. This process can be described by the use of the concept of significant association. This concept suggests that collections must be significantly associated with particular things or must be capable of being regarded as significantly important. Firstly, it is necessary to stress that preservation is always legitimate in those instances where the house or its collections (including the library) are regarded as complete entities of national or significant local importance architecturally, artistically, culturally, historically or geographically. However, it is necessary to reinforce the importance of the concept of the hereditary library - that which has been created and developed by successive generations of one family within the traditional home of that family. Consequently, houses and their libraries must be significantly associated with a particular family or, equally importantly, with individuals of national or significant local importance. The library at Chartwell in Kent would be considerably less notable had it not belonged to Sir Winston Churchill and, consequently, the link with the family or individuals can often be of pre-eminent significance in assessing the national importance of collections. Unesco has identified the ownership of a collection by "*an eminent person*"⁹ as

a legitimate reason for active preservation. Finally come the books themselves, although in many cases it is arguable whether they will be the prime motivation for remedial work. It is recommended that library collections are significantly important in bibliographic terms, either nationally or locally. This may be assessed by the use of conventional library evaluation measures which have been tailored to take into consideration the points on historical worth mentioned above. In local terms this may mean two things: either the collection is the only one of its kind in the immediate area, containing material not available within easy distance, or it may be particularly strong in terms of local literature.

Waverley also highlighted the importance of material to the study of a branch of learning. In this respect, his committee came closest to analysing the importance of bibliographic or archival material. It must be demonstrated that these collections are valuable to the study of a branch of learning. It should be ascertained whether the library collection is regarded as being of national or significant local importance in terms of the intellectual contents or types of material it contains. In addition, it should be possible to demonstrate a link between the importance of the house or family with its collections and this should clearly be replicated within the context of the bibliographic material in the library. It is equally important to consider the availability of similar material elsewhere locally when assessing the validity of pursuing active preservation measures, especially those which involve applications for public grant-aid. The importance of this factor should not be underestimated. In both sections, historical or cultural worth and for the study of a branch of learning, the term 'significant local importance' should not be viewed as an all-inclusive clause to catch every collection. It should be borne in mind that country house libraries are just that - libraries in *country* houses. It may be that many of these collections are the only significant collection of historical bibliography within a particular geographical area. Many rural communities are not within easy reach of large metropolitan areas where most special collections are likely to be found; London, Cambridge, Oxford or Edinburgh are not easy options for everyone. Consequently, geography has a role to play and the urban-centric approach must be underplayed.

Finally, it must be demonstrated that these collections are significantly important in the terms above to justify a concerted effort to preserve them. Here consideration should be given to previous willingness which owners and administrators have demonstrated with regard to the maintenance and preservation of their collections. This should include a willingness to allow the collection to become intellectually accessible to those with a genuine scholarly interest. Safeguards must, of course, be added into this procedure and these should seek to protect potential investment in collections as well as encourage more effective management. Blatant financial gain from preservation activities - such as immediate post-conservation sales - must be discouraged. Owners and administrators embracing a preservation policy should be prepared to co-operate with external organisations and individuals capable of assisting in the process of more effective library management, including the formulation of advantageous links with

organisations such as national, local and academic libraries or schools of librarianship. Finally, the attention of owners and administrators should be drawn to the potential benefits which may be derived from 'umbrella groups' or consortia of country houses to advance the cause of the management of bibliographic heritage (particularly in connection with the Heritage Lottery Fund). Such consortia are now widely held to be the most attractive option for funding bodies considering applications in the private sector.

Those collections which fail to attain the entry qualifications for this policy, either in part or in totality, may find that certain specific elements (such as cataloguing or conservation) may still be relevant. However, financial restraints may be a hindrance in other areas. It is, of course, up to individual owners or administrators whether they wish to pursue - by means of private finance - the recommendations contained here. In those collections where only a few monographs or related material are of interest or significance, it may be that more appropriate avenues should be considered, such as those taxation concessions extensively discussed in other parts of this work.

Funding, and Access

Dominant throughout this research have been the issues of funding and access. It is not an aim of this research to make a special case for extra resources for country house libraries. Rather this research aims to disseminate appropriate information on funding, access, conservation, preservation and a whole host of other practical management issues. Of course, this research highlights the unique qualities and characteristics of these collections, but, it does not intend to plead for extra funds. A case can always be made for extra financial support, but it can be argued that, until houses have some sort of structure of heritage management framework in place for their libraries, no extra funding should be available. That is certainly the case until credible and coherent policies for access are implemented. There may well be a case for extra funding, given the uniqueness of these collections, but only once certain commitments have been met. Some may argue that funding is necessary at the beginning of the process, but it is equally possible to argue that it should come later once commitments are being demonstrably made.

Funding

The main problem which countless owners cited as being responsible for inadequate conservation and preservation was lack of resources. Funding is central to the whole issue of the preservation of the national heritage. It is particularly vital in the field of country house libraries which have to compete with so many other demands. One of the main concerns of this work is to bridge the gap which has already been highlighted between the country house libraries on one hand and the framework of national, academic and public libraries on the other. This is not to say that additional funding must be made available, rather it seeks to highlight those sources which currently exist and to disseminate greater information to the owners

of collections about initiatives and schemes which may prove beneficial, not only in terms of actual funding but also in terms of correct procedures and practice.

It can be argued that these initiatives for funding are woefully inadequate and that much more financial support needs to be poured into this area, but this is a familiar demand across virtually every field. For country house library owners the options are fairly limited. Most choose a route of slow, ongoing remedial work which they finance themselves or at least from any monies available from opening the house to the general public. Relatively few currently choose to apply for grant aid in this respect. This is largely due to ignorance of what is available but a minority, albeit a significant minority, echoed the sentiments of Sir William Dugdale, who said that he "*hates it [public funding] full-stop*" and that he liked to "*finance his own inheritance because it enables him to take full control*".¹⁰ This sentiment reinforces the fact that many owners who may be perfectly content to concede access in individual cases, when they control the decision-making process, are still hostile to having any access requirements imposed as part of a funding scheme. Equally, this reinforces the synthetic division between access and funding which many owners like to maintain.

Private funding remains the principal means by which conservation or preservation work is financed within the country house library. The majority of owners would probably like it to remain that way. However, the majority of owners and administrators would like to be able to fund all work connected to the house from private reserves, but that is an impossible dream in all but a handful of cases. Public funding is, therefore, a reality and it begs the question: why should it be any less of a reality in the country house library than it is in other aspects of the house? In theory, it should not be, but in practice reluctance still persists in this area which is compounded by the apparent fragility and sensitivity of books. For the owners or administrators of private collections, the most obvious option for assistance is the British Library Grants for Cataloguing and Preservation, whereby the British Library Board makes funds available on an annual basis for cataloguing or listing of collections. In addition, it also manages a scheme (initially funded by the Wolfson Foundation) providing grants for preservation projects.

Although basic entry criteria for the policy recommendations within this research have been indicated at the outset of this chapter, it is worth pointing out that funding agencies or grant-awarding bodies will have different criteria. Indeed, the British Library Grants for Cataloguing and Preservation set four principal conditions which must be met. These are that "*Reasonable access is allowed to members of the public; suitable storage conditions are available; there is a firm commitment to continuing good preservation practice and appropriate assurances are given for reimbursement of the grant in the event of the subsequent disposal of the material for which the award has been made*".¹¹ In addition to the eligibility criteria for libraries in general, the British Library has also indicated various conditions for the eligibility of

materials. These include priority for *"collections which have not previously been catalogued or listed, or to those which are partially or inadequately catalogued or listed and that the material which is the subject of the application must be the property of the applicant or required by law to be deposited on loan with the applicant"*.¹² In addition, the Board rule out projects which are retrospective applications for funding or those from bodies which *"receive their funding from central government"*.¹³ Effectively, these ineligibility clauses do not impinge on the country house.

There is considerable competition for limited funds through these schemes and grants do not normally exceed the sum of £5,000 but, in exceptional circumstances and if funds permit, awards may be considered up to a maximum of £10,000. Conversely, applications for less than £1,000 are not normally considered. In most cases, the applicants will normally be expected to contribute a proportion of the costs themselves or from an alternative source. Successful applications are usually for one-off projects with requests for ongoing assistance usually turned-down. Priority is given to cataloguing or preservation, particularly to cover the cost of repair, binding and other preservation measures (such as the improvement of environmental conditions, monitoring and control as well as microfilming).

Charitable Trusts

In addition to the British Library a number of privately-funded charitable organisations may have finance available to assist with library projects. In general, however, these bodies tend to be attracted to support large appeals for well-known collections because of the good publicity which this generates. However, a number of these have, in the past, been involved in funding library or archival projects, although some tend only to consider funding applications within their own specialised field of interest. These organisational trusts include Dulverton, Fitch, J. Paul Getty Junior, Leverhulme, Pilgrim, Rhodes Trust, Wellcome Foundation, and Wolfson Foundation over a range of awards covering buildings, conservation, listing or purchase. They do, however, have long waiting lists and privately owned material inevitably has the lowest of priorities.

Heritage Lottery Fund

Significantly, however, the Heritage Lottery Fund has issued new guidelines which, although not actively encouraging applications for lottery funding from the private sector, do not entirely rule out a possible mechanism for financial support. The Heritage Lottery Fund stress the importance of bibliographic heritage within the overall scheme of the national heritage and now lays emphasis on intellectual access to such material. More significant is the fact that applications made under the Fund's umbrella scheme may now include privately-owned material. However, here owners and administrators must be part of a consortium and must be capable of demonstrating co-operation with others. In reality, this is something which is long overdue in the field of country house libraries. Both Chapters Five and Six demonstrate the

general lack of awareness which exists for most owners and administrators of country house libraries. By working together, as the Heritage Lottery Fund appears to advocate, country house libraries may not only be in a better position in terms of receipt of grant aid but also, and equally crucially, in terms of influencing the organisations and bodies in their favour. One of the central pieces of evidence which both Chapters Five and Six identify is the absence of effective means of communication not only between collections but, more significantly, between collections and the outside world. The approach which the Heritage Lottery Fund is not advocated may offer a partial remedy to this.

However, the fact that co-operation has been so conspicuous by its absence in the past does not necessarily indicate potential hostility to the whole idea. Indeed, this research has found little concrete evidence that this is the case and vocal antipathy is conspicuous by its absence in the survey evidence as discussed in Chapters Five and Six. The Heritage Lottery Fund's umbrella scheme offers the potential of a new and uniquely dynamic opportunity for money to be made available to country house libraries and a little co-ordination and co-operation is all that it takes. Private owners and their representatives, such as the Historic Houses Association, have long campaigned for lottery money to be directed towards privately-owned heritage in general and to country houses in particular. These schemes should not be ignored simply because they necessitate co-operation with outside heritage organisations and bodies.

All organisations, whether public or private, expect precise details of cataloguing, listing or preservation projects. With cataloguing or listing projects these include details of the existing catalogues, indices or lists as well as a description of the proposed project, including the cataloguing standards and protocols to be used, the means of dissemination (e.g. hardcopy, CD-ROM, or via the Joint Academic Network (JANet)), and the relationship with other cataloguing projects such as the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (ESTC). In addition, a breakdown of costs must be included. With preservation projects, applications must make reference to the condition of the material and the proposed work as well as detailed estimates from at least one conservator, detailed consideration as to the intended future use, and to the known value of the items.

Taxation

The issue of taxation, which is mentioned at numerous points throughout this work but most dominantly in Chapters Five and Six, is not an internal policy issue. It is much broader than the remit of a national heritage policy for country house libraries. Taxation is fundamentally an issue for government. Although this work has strong views on what changes are required to the relevant schemes, outlined elsewhere, these recommendations are not part of the heritage for the cannot be implemented without external change. Additionally, these matters are bigger and wider than the comparative narrow spectrum of country house libraries alone. As a result, the final analysis and recommendations with the area of taxation are effectively

too broad for the confines of this chapter. For these reasons, the discussion of how the current taxation schemes can be modified are to be found in Chapter Eight, which deals with the wider heritage landscape as it affects country house libraries.

Access to Material

Before access can be identified it is necessary to highlight the two types of access which define this whole question. Firstly, general access to a country house library is taken to mean access to the room as part of a tour of a house. Intellectual access, on the other hand, is taken to mean the use of the library and its contents. Clearly, on past evidence, general access is sufficient for the vast majority of the public. The rider must be added, as a number of owners have pointed out, that the public will come regardless of there being a library. Intellectual access is, therefore, inevitably restricted to a small section of the public, what Prentice describes, in his various works on heritage, as 'scholars'. Again, going on past evidence, the type of people who request such access are invariably scholars, academics, researchers, historians and the like. This is not simply creating an elite, rather it is responding to the existing situation while combining the necessities of conservation with the 'public' demand. It must be borne in mind that the public at large are hardly clamouring for another layer of libraries to be made available to them when the public library sector is under-used.

Another important factor which cannot be discounted, however deleterious, is the individuals and groups who demand access simply for the sake of it. This has been highlighted because of the flaws in the Conditional Exemption procedures. It is both unfortunate and unhelpful to the successful management of fragile collections that some may demand access, not because they have a particular interest nor because they are carrying-out particular research nor because they have particular knowledge, but simply because they are 'the public' and they demand to exercise their rights. While they have right on their side, it must be stressed that constant demands of this nature, albeit regulated by statutory schemes, may endanger the items which these schemes were designed to protect.

Access

Much time and effort has been expended in earlier parts of this work analysing what access is and how it can be managed. In the final elements of this research it is necessary, therefore, to concentrate on one element, namely the principal access concern of the policy recommendations, intellectual access to *material* within libraries. The concept of general access to the *room* is, in reality, a concern for heritage managers and interpreters as part of the overall presentation of the house to the visitor. Here it is important to consider how owners and administrators react to, and deal with, access which is essentially a different question to how government or the heritage bodies choose to interpret it in terms of particular schemes. Here access deals exclusively with the library collection and it must be stressed that in most circumstances

it is in the gift of the owner or administrator of a particular collection unless defined guidelines are imposed in terms of either financial assistance from public sources or through various elements of the taxation system. The first survey highlighted a willingness amongst more than seventy per cent of respondents to concede access. This relates back to the differing interpretations of access discussed in Chapter Three. While owners remain generally favourable to the idea of access it is vital to stress, given the fragile and essentially private nature of country house libraries, the distinction between the simple *provision* of access and the *encouragement* of access which is fully discussed in Chapter Six. The second survey highlights the actual mechanisms which owners and administrators would employ in order to ensure the continued existence of this distinction, such as the use of accreditation or references. As Chapters Five and Six note, this is something owners feel particularly strongly about. Generally, they tend to err on the side of the former and individual properties will vary dramatically in their ability to deal with applications for access, according to their existing facilities.

The policy recommendations identify a number of key areas which should be investigated by owners and administrators before conceding access. However, each application for intellectual access to the library (or archives) should be judged on the merits of each individual case. Having said that, there are a number of considerations which should be borne in mind. Firstly, it is desirable to obtain from applicants a summary of the research which they are carrying out and they should be able to state why access to the collection is necessary, advantageous or desirable. Owners or administrators have stated a preference for admitting those applications which are concerned with research into the family, the house or estate or the locality or the county. However, these restrictions are not hard and fast and, in most instances, enquiries should be considered in terms of their individual merits. Another important consideration is whether the material is available elsewhere in the locality. If, as is most often the case, the same material is available elsewhere within the national, academic or local library systems, it may be preferable to suggest that the applicant attempts to gain access to the material through these channels. Consideration must be given to the identification of whether applicants stand to make commercial gain from use of material in the library collection. In such circumstances it may be appropriate to levy a fee as a number of houses with well-developed access arrangements already do.

Mechanisms for Access

At the outset it is vitally important to stress that applications for access are generally relatively uncommon and pragmatism tends to govern the management of access. In administrative terms it is advisable for managers to over-estimate the number of applications and the time involved in dealing with these enquiries. Many owners and administrators designate (in their own minds at least) a particular number of days per annum when those to whom access has been conceded may actually visit the collection and consult with the works. Traditionally, the number of days designated by the various Statutory Bodies for

access to historic sites or particular items, serves as an useful starting point, although provision varies dramatically according to individual circumstances. Twenty-eight days per annum tends to represent the standard minimum and it is sensible to bear this figure in mind as a rough estimate even though it may appear too cumbersome an approach for country house libraries because of the limited number of requests. Combining this with a degree of pragmatism which reacts to the merits of individual enquiries is necessary. Equally important is the individuality of the house and the collection. Consequently, a three-stage approach to access is useful and may be applied or adopted according to individual circumstances.

Informal Access

Evidence suggests that the majority of requests for access will be dealt with sympathetically by owners and administrators. Providing the application is genuine and the applicant has met the criteria, few owners or administrators will refuse access. Many houses will prefer to adopt what has been termed *informal access*, whereby a visit arranged at a mutually convenient time between the owner and the applicant, is the most common arrangement. Given the relatively low number of applications for access which are received by country house libraries, it is likely that this method will remain the most favoured approach and is particularly beneficial to smaller houses. In any case, in many such properties the introduction of a more formal structure may be regarded as too cumbersome. It also ensures direct contact between owners or administrators on one hand and the applicant on the other, when issues concerning the visit may be discussed, such as the length of the visit and its practicality in terms of the administration of the house as well as the need for appropriate supervision. Most smaller historic houses with limited public access and where the library is of less than four thousand volumes tend to adopt this approach. In addition, it is particularly suited to those houses where the staffing levels are low and where there is no track-record of applications for access to the library.

Internally Formalised Access

It may be desirable, in larger houses, to attempt a more formal structure. This is especially true in those houses where the collection has particular merits or where there is a track-record of applications for access, however small or limited. Formalised methods of access, or a willingness to consider a formal structure will, almost certainly, be required of any house which has received financial support from a public body in connection with the library. In addition, however, those houses where the maintenance of the library is self-financed may also find it advantageous, because formalising the structure enables owners and administrators to remain more fully in control of visits. In this instance the structure of the policy should reflect the minimum access levels which most public schemes utilise, namely twenty-eight days per annum. It may be convenient to identify two days per month when visits would be acceptable (in terms of house administration). This leaves four days per annum which can be set aside at the discretion of the owner or administrator. Of course, the majority of these 'library days' may not be utilised, but it does allow for

clarity and consistency of practice in the minds of administrators or property managers when dealing with applications. Internally formalised access may purely be an internal administrative device and not something which is broadcast to the outside world. A number of factors will require to be considered if this approach is being adopted, not least the availability of staffing and the processing of enquiries. Inevitably, these will vary from house to house and from collection to collection. Access depends not only on the validity of the applicant and the nature of their research but also on the practical ability of the house to host such a visit. This option tends to relate particularly to medium to larger historic houses where *general* access may range from none at all, through the minimum of twenty-eight days per annum, to full public access, in other words more than one hundred days per annum. Such collections would generally contain more than four thousand volumes and the house itself have more than five full-time (or full-time seasonal) members of staff.

Externally Formalised Access

The third element, that of externally formalised access, is applicable in those houses with highly organised management structures and with long track records of provision of access. In such instances, it is likely to be advantageous to produce formalised access arrangements on a much greater scale. However, it is fair to say that externally formalised access would involve only a small number of houses. Part of this strategy may involve increasing the opening times of the library by designating particular times in each week. Another important element is the advertising of this fact. Whereas in the previous section any formalised policy may be said to be purely an internal management tool, here it is part of the strategy for marketing the house and collections. Increasingly, this may involve electronic media and involvement in current initiatives for preservation, including digitisation of material. Those houses with an internet presence may wish to consider the viability of producing details of the library and its collection in this format. It should be borne in mind that the World-Wide Web is not a significant security hazard as is often claimed; it represents the same level of security threat as guidebooks do. As part of the structure of externally formalised access, owners or administrators may wish to consider the development of a computerised catalogue to facilitate access. This could be available in hardcopy or electronically through library and information science networks or, indeed, through the Joint Academic Network (JANet). Such externally formalised access is particularly appropriate for larger historic houses which tend to provide access to the maximum level (although some houses may be open less or even not at all). Generally, however, this option applies to collections with more than ten thousand volumes and which have a reasonably large staff, including a librarian or archivist. Having said that, it may be that, in time, many houses which choose internally formalised access or informal access may be able to develop and advance sufficiently in their library management to be in a position to consider such steps.

Logistical Issues

Access is more than simply dealing with the enquiries. There are, in addition, important logistical considerations to be taken into account. Access to the library should not seriously disrupt the running of the house, nor should it constrict general public access (in situations where the house is open to the public and the library forms part of the visitor route). There are a variety of considerations in this respect, not least the timing of access and the supervision required, as well as the physical problems which historic houses can pose. The question of access poses a number of important logistical considerations. Firstly, it is desirable that anyone who is admitted to the library in order to consult material is supervised at all times and consideration should be given to how this can practically be done. Exceptions, in other words unsupervised visits, should be rare and generally limited to persons well-known to the owner or administrator. Secondly, it is advisable, where possible, to provide a study room separate from the library itself where particular items (requested by a user) can be consulted. In houses open to the public where the library forms part of the visitor route this is essential to minimise disruption. However, it is also sensible in terms of the safety of the collection as a whole, especially in houses which are either not open to the public or where the library itself is not on a public visitor route and where, in effect, access is being granted to a private part of the house.

Levies and Fees

It is perfectly acceptable to levy a charge for the use of library collections. A number of the largest collections such as Chatsworth and Longleat already do this. The Register of Conditionally Exempt items states that a fee may be made in order "*to cover administrative costs*". However, it is important that owners and administrators bear in mind the limited number of enquiries which are received and that it is inadvisable to charge prohibitively for access. This inevitably generates bad publicity, so charging should be used as a means of covering expenses not as a means of deterring access. If not governed by a statutory scheme which demands access, it is preferable that owners and administrators refuse access in the first instance rather than concede it only to charge an ill-judged fee. The charging of a fee should be indicated clearly at the outset when dealing with any application for access. The levying of fees should be at the discretion of individual properties, but it is important to bear in mind a number of considerations. These include decisions about whether the fee is to be levied per hour or per day; whether it will include value-added tax; whether it is to be a flat or variable rate according to the nature of the research. In addition, the question of exemptions and staff-time need to be considered. Allied to this is the question of commercial gain from use of the collection. If applicants stand to make financial gain from use of the collection, owners and administrators may want to consider the impact this may have and decide whether or not it is desirable in such circumstances to charge an increased levy.

User Groups

In all instances the final decision on admission to the library rests with the owner or administrator except in those circumstances where access is obligatory in terms of a Statutory scheme. It is unnecessary and, indeed, slightly undesirable, to labour this point too much and to draw up definitive lists of users. In general, applications from academics, historians, researchers and scholars are regarded favourably. To this may be added writers; however, here the issue of potential commercial gain reappears and should be considered. In general, however, owners and administrators tend to respond to enquiries on an individual basis according to the nature of the application. Consequently, hard-and-fast rules about definite categories of users tend to be somewhat redundant, as is the case with the question of prohibited groups. In theory it is sensible to produce guidelines on excluding particular categories. This is already common practice in some collections and includes students of lower status than post-graduate as well as antiquarian book dealers. However, in practice, this issue is likely to be treated pragmatically.

Related Issues

To all of these issues may be added a plethora of related concerns such as obtaining suitable accreditation from prospective users and obtaining references, as well as the question of acknowledgement of use. Use of an application form may be helpful to administrators for logging all enquiries and for ensuring that there is equality of treatment for all applications. Part of this process should involve the provision of suitable accreditation from the applicant as well as references if appropriate. Both must concentrate on evidence that applicants are who they claim to be; that their reason for visiting the collection is *bona fide*; that they are trustworthy (insofar as it is ever possible to establish this). In addition some collections, most notably Longleat,¹⁴ require that individuals show their suitability to handle library materials, including previous experience of handling antiquarian or rare books or manuscripts. The issue of the number of references is purely an internal issue at the discretion of owners or administrators. Finally, it is important that the question of acknowledgement of use is discussed with users, especially in instances where the researches may eventually take a published form. This issue must be carefully considered with reference to the implications which this may have for future applications, the profile of the house and collection and for security. Essentially, this is an internal issue but the merits of specific attributions, on the one hand, as opposed to the general note of being 'from a private collection', on the other, must be addressed and agreed upon.

All of these elements attempt to make the thorny issue of access a little simpler. However, it is impossible to get away from the fact that access to collections is, almost certainly, the single most difficult issue within the minds of owners and administrators as revealed in this research. It must be remembered that there exists a profound distinction between *general* and *intellectual* access to collections and that, in the final analysis,

owners still retain considerable powers in this field. Equally important is the fact that denying access is not necessarily the most effective method of preserving collections. Applications for access are generally so few that owners and administrators should not be reluctant to concede it when a genuine request is made. Collections, even private ones, were designed to be used and nothing is more appropriate than the use of a library by scholars. The historical research mentions a log book kept in the eighteenth century at Eaton Hall in Cheshire showing the use of the collection by friends and neighbour. It highlights the social function which country house libraries traditionally fulfilled in the past. It would be a pity if these traditions were to be allowed to die.

Loan of Material

The loan of material is fundamentally different from, but closely related to, the question of access of collections. As with any element of a country house collection, detailed consideration must be given to any request for the loan of material from the library or indeed from the archives. The loan of material from country house libraries is generally impossible except in three defined circumstances. Extensive borrowing from country house libraries has never been an issue and nor is it ever likely to become one for the material is generally available elsewhere and could not, in any case, stand up to regular use. It is crucial to highlight a distinction between the *loan* of material as discussed here and the concept of *borrowing* within the public library sector. No one can seriously advocate the borrowing of material from country house libraries. However, loans, which implies the temporary removal of items from their regular home to another suitable organisation rather than to a private individual, may be considered for the library in the same way as a painting or piece of furniture may be lent for an exhibition.

Types of Loan

The defined circumstances for loan may be said to fall into the following categories. Firstly, the loan of particular items for a particular exhibition or display in an organisation or institution, invariably a library or museum. These loans are for specified periods of time. Secondly, the loan of a particular item (or items) to a library or archive for an unspecified period. This may take the form of deposit of a work because the recipient library or archive is better placed to maintain the work. The ownership, however, is not prejudiced by this deposit. Thirdly, the loan of a particular item which has been requested for study by an individual in connection with a piece of research and where it may be desirable to deposit it in a designated library, museum or archive for a limited period. This third category of loan is one favoured by the National Trust and the National Trust for Scotland¹⁵ and enables the user to access the material without disturbing the library in the house. This is often a particularly valid method if the library forms part of a visitor route in a house open to the public. It also ensures that the material will be examined in a suitable environment with properly qualified supervisors on hand. From the perspective of the owner or administrator, who otherwise would be compelled to arrange supervision within the house itself, this may

be the most efficient means of access. It may, however, present certain logistical problems concerning transport and delivery of the material to the recipient location.

Whichever category of loan is decided upon it is necessary to follow strict criteria in such circumstances. British Standard BS5454:1989 (Appendix E) highlights the key considerations which should be uppermost in the minds of owners and administrators of material when agreeing guidelines for loans. Where possible, loans agreement should be drawn up in writing and should ensure that any material being lent is handled and displayed "*in accordance with principles of sound conservation*".¹⁶ It must be stressed that the lender should ensure this before the loan is agreed upon. It is necessary to ensure that the material is packed commensurate with the journey it may need to undertake. If a work is to go abroad it may be necessary to obtain Customs' clearance to ensure that it is not passed through X-ray machines or opened in unsecured areas. Such special arrangements should always be arranged well in advance of travel and must, of course, include both legs of a journey.

Conditions of Loan

The principal area on which agreement must be reached prior to a loan concerns the environment and custodianship of the material to be lent. Lenders should define what they expect in terms of a proper environment and the conditions they expect for custody. British Standard 5454:1989 suggests that custody should always be taken to include "*escorting and adequate insurance from the time it leaves the repository until the time it is returned, including transit in each direction, packing and repacking and setting up and taking down the exhibition*".¹⁷ Furthermore, the lender should insist that the environment is checked and maintained regularly and that the items be kept under proper supervision. BS5454 goes on to point out that should the recipient organisation fail to meet these criteria "*the lender should reserve the right to withhold material*".¹⁸

The owners and administrators of collections should remain pro-active even after the material has been handed over. They should not assume that once the material has been lent it is solely the responsibility of the host organisation. "*The lender should reserve the right to inspect the material at any time and to withdraw it at any time if dissatisfied with the conditions of exhibition*".¹⁹ Similarly, the lenders should inspect the items thoroughly before they leave and as soon as they are returned. All guidelines for loans should ensure that material must not be damaged or altered in any way. However, guidelines written into the loan agreement for such contingencies should be agreed upon prior to the loan. Careful records about each item should be taken before the material leaves its usual location. It may be helpful to have the items photographed at this stage.

Material which is mounted or cradled (more common for archival material than for printed volumes) should not be tampered with. Similarly, lenders should insist that material is not fumigated. In addition, the owner or administrator should insist that the material is handled only by staff in the host organisation, unless otherwise specified or unless it is loaned for specified research use. In instances where a work has been loaned for use (the third category of loan, it is necessary to ensure that the user is *bona fide* in the same way as owners or administrators do when admitting researchers to the house. If a work has been lent for consultation it is sensible to specify precisely to the host who is entitled to consult the work and to arrange for the material's immediate return when the researcher has completed their work.

However, if material has been made available for lending for a specific exhibition, rather than for study, it may be necessary to ensure that no bibliographic study takes place during the time the material is located away from the house. The British Standard notes that lenders should "*require that material should not be the subject of scientific study or bibliographic study without prior approval. It should not be photographed without prior approval and then only under supervision*".²⁰ Sensible lenders will consider and include these points in any loans agreement which is entered into.

Issues of Conservation and Preservation

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the issues which active conservation entails. This chapter is not simply an outline of the heritage policy as laid out in Volume Two; rather it seeks to encapsulate the important points within an intellectual debate and, perhaps more significantly, highlight the deficiencies in the present system. It is interesting to note that, while the British Library is clearly aware of the existence of countless historic country house libraries and that their owners and administrators are clearly aware of the British Library, there remains a not inconsiderable distance between the two. Both sides appear to be out of reach of the other. Perhaps this is due in no small part to the fact that country house libraries largely remain private property. Publicly funded institutions have enough trouble managing their own collections without actively assisting dozens of privately-owned collections. However, the point of this research is not to create a climate of 'special pleading' for country house libraries, not at least in connection with the issue of finance. This research is much more concerned to provide owners and administrators with accurate and reliable information on how they can enhance the management of their libraries. To that end there must be a significant coming together of groups involved in the management of historic library collections. To a certain extent the history of country house library management is one of owners and administrators going their own way. This can be put down to the vacuum which has already been highlighted, but it must be said that no one has been prepared to step in and actively assist owners.

Even taking into account the importance of British Library preservation grants, it is vital to stress the general lack of communication between houses and professionals. It may be argued that it is simply up to

the houses to ask. However, it is equally important to question whether any targeting of country house collections has been done by those bodies engaged in the preservation of historic libraries. It is because the answers to these points are both negative that this research is seeking to create heritage guidelines. The policy vacuum which has been left by government, heritage and preservation organisations is replicated by a more basic information vacuum. This is potentially as damaging, because the two sides (houses and heritage bodies) are just out of reach of one another and a little concerted effort could close this gap. This research at times seems far removed from the general trend of much Information Science research which places increasing emphasis on the dissemination and impact of information. However, one of the basic reasons for creating heritage guidelines *is*, in fact, to facilitate clearer dissemination of accurate information to owners. The policy seeks to provide answers to subjects as diverse as cataloguing to disaster control; however, taken as a whole, it also seeks to lessen the information deficit which afflicts many owners.

Preservation, Conservation and Restoration

To the layman, the terms preservation, conservation and restoration all appear to be interchangeable. The previous chapter highlighted this when it pointed out that owners and administrators largely view these processes in terms of *restoration* alone. This is the term they are most familiar and comfortable with and the activity they undertake in terms of pictures, furniture, textiles, porcelain. For many owners and administrators the desire to restore items to their original state is one of the central responsibilities of a good country house manager. However, in the field of bibliographic and archival material it is necessary to be more specific and clear about the very real distinctions which exist between these terms. The International Federation of Library Associations has defined exactly what each of these terms means. Preservation can be taken to include all managerial and financial considerations, including storage and accommodation, staffing, policies, techniques and methods. It applies not simply to the physical entities but also to the information contained within them. Conservation can be described as the specific policies and practices involved in the protection of bibliographic or archival material from deterioration, damage and decay. Restoration on the other hand represents the techniques used by specialists who make good materials damaged by time, use or other factors. It was the eminent conservator, Christopher Clarkson, who highlighted that preservation *"encompasses every facet of library life....it is the preventive medicine...the concern of everyone who walks into, or works in, a library"*.²¹ It is interesting to note that restoration tends to involve major work, conservation significantly less and, in an ideal world, preservation none at all because it is an ongoing consideration.

Conservation and preservation in the public, academic and national sectors is distinctly different from the country house sector. Primary consideration is always given to the use of the material which is significantly less important in the private sector. However, John Feather has highlighted one thread which is common to all libraries: *"in the final analysis, preservation policy consists of a series of decisions*

determined by considerations of organisation and finance as well as by the use and contents of the library".²² The financial aspects of conservation remain the primary consideration in most country house libraries. Owners and administrators regulate their conservation and preservation activities almost entirely in terms of finance. The issue of use plays an insignificant role in determining policies of conservation. Ina Bertrand once wrote that *"preservation is pointless without a purpose"*,²³ while John Feather wrote that it is all about *"making our libraries useful"*.²⁴ Neither, however, take into account the peculiar properties of country house libraries where use is probably the last consideration in the conservation process. Country house library owners attach a much higher priority to maintaining the physical and aesthetic state of material than they do to maintaining, enhancing or improving the use of the material. Similarly, use cannot be described as a significant contributory factor in the damage or decay of items within the country house library. Damage to bibliographic material is much more likely to occur through time or because of factors relating to the storage of the material or to the environmental conditions of the library.

Environmental, Storage and Usage Considerations

One of the key elements of preservation and conservation are the environmental storage issues. For most country houses, the problems within their library collection tend to stem from environmental and storage conditions. This is one of the great ironies of country house libraries, for it is their location, aspect and appearance - a collection of old books, aesthetically appealing, located within an historic house - which give them a unique charm. Yet these houses can often be the worst possible location for a collection of historical bibliography. This work has, throughout, attempted to identify suitable heritage strategies for country house libraries in terms of access, funding and conservation. Access to collections is dependent on their survival and their survival is, in fact, dependent on the maintenance of appropriate conditions and the extent to which environmental issues form a core component of good management and policy.

Few houses can ever achieve the ideal storage conditions for books and even fewer can ever hope to come close to the conditions which library professions would expect for special collections of old material. John Feather noted the added difficulties which exist for libraries which are located in historic buildings, highlighting that *"many of them are, quite rightly, historic monuments...[and] there may be legal limits within which any structural alterations or visible modifications have to take place"*.²⁵ Today, it is possible to pin-down the environmental issues which have a damaging effect on books: temperature, humidity, light, infestation and pollution. However, two or three hundred years ago, when these houses were built, none of these issues were even on the horizon. Added to this is the vitally important fact that country house libraries are located, in the majority of cases, within a family home where real people actually live. As the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine noted²⁶ in the previous chapter, the books have to endure the same conditions as the inhabitants of the house.

Before examining the principal issues of environmental and storage conditions it is necessary to consider the usage of these collections, at least insofar as this is a factor in the deterioration and decay of material. Use has, undoubtedly, played a part in the deterioration of materials within the country house library. However, it may be the case that the use occurred decades ago and only now is remedial action to be considered. The essentially private nature of these collections is revealed in the fact that the family themselves will generally have caused the majority of problems which are derived from use of the material. Given the private nature of country house libraries, it is, perhaps, legitimate to argue that many owners have no one to blame but themselves or, at least, their ancestors. Allied to this is the fact that these collections may contain quantities of material (predominantly nineteenth century) which was meant to be read, used, enjoyed and discarded, all of which has been done with the exception of discarding the material. Many books in country house libraries which have been damaged through use were never intended to be preserved for all time but, like so much else, have come to be viewed as an intrinsic part of the collection and of the story of the family. In addition is the other issue of external users, who often seem to receive the blame for damage caused to items. There is an ubiquitous explanation - cited by virtually every owner - which tells of books having been lent to a friend or neighbour at sometime and which have been returned damaged in some shape or form.

However, relatively little of the blame for damage and decay can be laid at the door of use. More likely are the environmental conditions in which the books are forced to live and also what Christopher Hartley has described as the "*benign neglect*"²⁷ of country house libraries. In reality, of course, neglect ceases to be benign after a certain point. In addition, is the downright antipathy of some; A.N.L. Munby is quoted in the historical part of this work as saying that the maintenance of an enthusiasm for old books in a family is rare. This is true and every generation cannot be expected to be interested in the library. However, increasingly, owners and their administrators are concerned about maintaining the house as a whole, as a complete entity, and this necessitates interest in all aspects, including the library. Consequently, even if an owner is no bibliophile, he or she will be anxious to preserve their status as guardian of the heritage by ensuring that they pass on the house and its contents in as good a state of repair as possible. This is beneficial across the board and particularly so in areas such as the library where enthusiasm may not always be maintained in each generation. Yet arresting the trend of benign neglect is not easy. In the first instance is the vacuum which currently exists and in the second are the serious problems attached to the environmental and storage conditions found in country houses. All libraries face problems in this field to a greater or lesser degree

Artefact versus Content

An important distinction which has to be made in the field of preservation is that which exists between artefact and content preservation. This is essentially part of the broader debate surrounding the intellectual

and physical properties of material. This work lays strong emphasis on the concept of intellectual access to items; however, this is seldom the prime motivation when it comes to preservation. Owners and administrators are, as often as not, much more interested in artefact preservation. The survival of the intellectual content of books is much more of a by-product of preservation than its sole objective. As Ross Harvey has pointed out, *"artefact preservation is usually chosen when the item as physical object has special value because it is old, it has beauty, it is rare, it has certain historical significance or it has a high monetary value. Such criteria can be difficult to define and apply to items in a collection"*.²⁸ That difficulty is, however, lessened within the country house context because of an additional consideration, namely the aesthetic role which the books play in the overall setting of the library and because use is significantly further down the list of priorities.

Harvey also states that *"artefact conservation may well be appropriate for national heritage collections with a legislative or moral responsibility to retain objects for as long as possible...it is probably not appropriate for most other libraries whose aims are usually more immediate and are often defined in terms of availability to users"*.²⁹ Country house libraries will, by and large, see conservation in terms of the artefact rather than the content. If preservation of collections within country houses is initiated then it should be because it fits into some aspect of 'the national heritage'. The Waverley recommendations mentioned above and in earlier chapters attempt to define just what the national heritage aims to be and what makes it worthy of preservation. However, owners often see it in terms of what Harvey has to say, namely a *"moral responsibility"*³⁰ to maintain their inheritance for the future.

Environmental Considerations

In addition to the human causes of decay it is important to note that environmental conditions, atmospheric pollutants and biological agents may all have a deleterious effect on collections. Given the relatively high proportion of items containing leather, vellum or parchment within country house libraries, it is necessary to briefly examine the problems which these can cause in terms of the deterioration of materials. Until the end of the seventeenth century, most leather bindings had been vegetable-tanned, a long process which left protective salts within the skins and, consequently, maintained resistance to acid deterioration. However, the increased demand for books from the end of the seventeenth century onwards led to faster processes being developed. This meant that new leather tanning processes lacked the protective salts. Given that the majority of works in many country house libraries date from the late seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this issue is particularly germane. The effect of acid deterioration is to turn leather a reddish-brown colour and to leave it dry and cracked or powdery. This deterioration is known as 'red rot'. Parchment and vellum are remarkably durable but are extremely susceptible to movement in humidity which can result in damage through swelling. With early nineteenth century cloth bindings problems may arise from the use of starch in woven mixtures. This often results in volumes being particularly prone to

mildew or damp and, as often as not, mould infestations. These examples are indicative not comprehensive but these, together with many others, are issues of which owners and administrators must be aware when attempting to ensure effective management of conservation.

Preservation and conservation of library collections should be integrated into the general plan for the management of the house and its collections as a whole. The management of library collections should be governed by five considerations and these are equally applicable in the country house context. Firstly, all necessary preventative measures should be actively pursued in order to minimise the rate and scale of deterioration. Secondly, good housekeeping measures should be implemented in order to clean and protect material. Thirdly, security measures - which must be undertaken as part of the general management of the property - should taken into account the peculiarities of the library collection. Fourthly, active conservation treatments should be in place for the repair of damaged, decayed or deteriorated material. Fifthly, some mechanism for exhibition of materials, either internally or externally, should be considered.

This research attempts to create an heritage policy for collections, not simply a conservation policy which should, ideally, be within the remit of individual managers of collections. This work is broader than simply conservation or preservation however laudable these are in their own right. Consequently, this element is indicative rather than exhaustive for it would be possible, to produce, as many have, an entire work solely on conservation and preservation. In doing so here it would obscure many of the crucially important elements connected with country house libraries, not least their history, current state, access, funding, taxation, and so on. Having said that, however, it is necessary to define the principal justifications for preservation. All policies must, to some degree, consider a number of important issues. These include the standards for the storage, cleaning and handling of material; a plan for the control of disaster or emergency situations and for the recovery of materials in such circumstances; a maintenance programme to clean and repair items and an assessment mechanism prioritising material for conservation treatment.

Environmental Storage

Both storage and cleaning may be said to represent preventive measures as well as good-housekeeping. In country house libraries it is likely that the physical environment will have more impact on the bibliographic material than use. Therefore, expert advice should be taken on establishing an environmental equilibrium. The British Standard 5454:1989 defines recommendations for the storage of archival material and serves as a good starting point. In addition, however, Baynes-Cope's *Caring for Books and Documents* noted that the basis for proper storage is common-sense and good housekeeping. He suggested six straightforward points which may be said to be fundamentals of library conservation management: *"the building must be sound in all respects; the rooms used must be sound in all respects; the rooms must be easy to keep clean and inspect thoroughly; the free circulation of air is probably the most important single factor in the*

climatic condition of the safe storage of books; every effort must be made to ensure an even climate, changing as slowly as can be managed, throughout the room; the room is better cold than warm". ³¹ These points are, in effect, the ground-rules of conservation and preservation across all sectors of the library world. To them should be added Bank's premise that the implementation of a conservation programme *"based on these principles"* ³² is the necessary sublimation of good management.

Temperature

Temperature and relative humidity (RH) are inextricably linked; the moisture content of the air and the temperature are important elements in the decay of bibliographic or archival materials. Opinions vary as to the precise temperature in which collections should be stored. However, it is generally recommended that bibliographic and archival material (paper and parchment) should ideally be stored within the range of thirteen to eighteen degrees Celsius. However, this is intolerably low if the room is regularly used and would certainly be regarded as too cold for human habitation. In broad terms, however, paper can tolerate an average temperature of twenty to twenty-two degrees Celsius, provided the relative humidity is modified. However, there is an important point to be made in connection with the country house context. Tepper stated as early as 1900 that the warming of libraries was largely done *"merely for the comfort and convenience of the public and the employees"*. ³³ Consequently, in country houses where the considerations of users and employees in the library context may be significantly less important, it is possible to ensure that correct best practice may be adopted. This is not, of course, always possible, especially in instances where the library may form part of the private living quarters as it does in a proportion of houses. Elsewhere, however, where the library is distinct and separate, it is much easier to ensure proper temperature control in these collections than it is in many other library sectors.

Ensuring correct temperature control is, however, only part of the issue. It is equally important to ensure that the Relative Humidity level is correct. Relative Humidity in temperate countries ranges from thirty to sixty per cent. (Zero per cent can be attained only in desert conditions while one hundred per cent represents complete saturation). Dehumidifiers should be installed in order to regulate the relative humidity. In such circumstances, relative humidity should be in the range of forty-five to fifty-five per cent - if the temperature is between 13 and 18 degrees. In practice, however, this is probably unacceptable, especially if the room is used regularly and somewhere in the range of forty to sixty per cent is sufficient. Consistency is as important as the actual level. To this must be added the issue of light. As Ross Harvey points out *"light is a form of radiant energy and as such is a source of the energy needed for chemical reactions...in paper"*. ³⁴ Library materials can be damaged by exposure to direct sunlight, fluorescent light and ultraviolet light, the last of which is the most damaging. Direct sunlight should always be avoided through the use of blinds or shutters (most country houses have these as a matter of course). However, planting trees near the windows is another, if somewhat dramatic, alternative. Fluorescent lights should be

fitted with diffusers and filters. In the final analysis, Ross Harvey suggests that *"for general guidelines - no direct sunlight, light levels kept as low as possible, length of exposure kept as short as possible, and reduction of ultraviolet levels - should provide sufficient protection from deterioration caused by light"*.³⁵

Physical Storage

The British Standard also provides details of storage. Section 9.8.7 relates particularly to bound volumes and all of these recommendations should be borne in mind in country house libraries. It is important that volumes are not pushed back against the wall; a gap should be left behind the volumes to allow air to circulate freely. In historic buildings this is particularly important giving the age and fabric of the building. Outsize bound volumes should be stored flat where possible. Shelving should be checked regularly to guard against biological infestation. Similarly, it is essential to ensure that volumes are not packed tightly into shelves. It is essential that the shelving is up to the task required of it. Although many country house owners are reluctant to move volumes about, this may be necessary to ensure that the physical storage is adequate. Although most library professionals insist that storage should be non-combustible, this is impossible in the country house library where the shelving is integral to the room and usually of historical or artistic importance. As a result extra care must be taken; there must be adequate provision of smoke and heat detectors and no naked flames should be permitted in the library. To these issues can be added several others, such as security systems, fire and theft prevention, disaster control planning and so on. However, these are issues which must be dealt with house-wide, the library forming a component part of more general schemes.

Cataloguing and Classification

For library professionals, cataloguing and classification are the central tools of good management. They may also appear to be unlikely elements when considering an heritage policy which many tend to see purely in terms of conservation and preservation. However, considerable work needs to be done in country houses as regards cataloguing. Chapter Four has highlighted the current provision of catalogues and it is, therefore, necessary to re-address these issues here in order to indicate potential methods for progression on these issues. In both respects country house libraries must endeavour to be accurate, consistent and current (or as current as the management of historic collections permits) in their approach. Within the fields of cataloguing and classification of country house libraries it is necessary to stress simplicity as the keyword. Academic discussion about the finer points of obscure added entries in the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (Second Edition, Revised) are fairly arcane and completely pointless in this area. Similarly, with classification there can be no question of country house owners or administrators worrying themselves about the intricacies of Dewey. In respect of classification there is, in fact, not much of a case to be made for alteration of current schemes and none at all for imposing wholesale change. Indeed small but suitable modification may suffice within the country house setting.

In both these fields it is particularly important to stress again the structure and organisation of the heritage recommendations. For cataloguing and classification the layer approach is significant within the country house. Allowing owners and administrators to pursue greater depth and detail according to practical ability must remain the most desirable option. However, having said that, it is desirable to ensure that a meaningful and consistent set of protocols are used. Efforts must be made to ensure that the guidelines - established in this research - can be capable of inclusion in such public access catalogues as exist in the various National or academic libraries. All approaches must, however, be capable of actually working on the ground, and that involves maintaining a realistic view of the numerous practical limitations and difficulties which exist. As a result, clarity and conciseness are vital in order to enable subsequent application in instances where professional staff may not be available.

Cataloguing

How owners and administrators choose to catalogue their collections is far less important than encouraging them to act in the first place. The construction and maintenance of catalogues is central to the preservation of collections and the obvious effectiveness of the various cataloguing protocols such as the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (Second Revision) or the Panizzi Rules must be noted and their use ought to be encouraged. However, it is important to bear in mind that country house libraries are not always catalogued by professional librarians with an understanding of these protocols. As often as not owners (particularly those of smaller houses and collections) choose to undertake the task themselves and create a system which suits their own personal requirements. In recent years a number of owners have chosen to automate their catalogues but this is not automation in the sense that a librarian would understand it. This is simply putting the information into a database, often nothing more sophisticated than a word-processing package or spreadsheets. A number of the larger properties have noted the wish to move towards a properly automated catalogue in the next few years, with one house already having had negotiations with software manufacturers. This is, however, unlikely to be the norm for some considerable time.

In the first instance, it is important to encourage all owners to ensure that their collections are adequately catalogued and that information is up-to-date. This is currently the case in around half of all collections, so a considerable amount of work remains to be done. It is desirable for all cataloguing to be done by library professionals, according to recognised standards. However, the policy recommendations take into account the fact that this is not always possible. Cataloguing is almost always done through voluntary assistance within the country house sector. As a result of this, it is vital to ensure that groups undertaking voluntary cataloguing should be adequately trained and should have a clear understanding of the importance of methodical and consistent cataloguing. This is especially true of instances where no professional librarian is involved. Recently, the NADFAS has been giving consideration to additional training in connection

with the cataloguing activities of its library volunteers. This should not simply be encouraged, it must be highlighted as an absolute pre-requisite.

In many collections, especially those in the larger houses with more sophisticated management structures, it may be possible for the conventional and professionally recognised schemes such as Panizzi to be adopted. However, this will invariably require the re-cataloguing of entire collections. The most adequate catalogue for the majority of houses is likely to be little more than a glorified list of citations. It must be pointed out, in all honesty, that this is far more acceptable than no catalogue at all.

Classification and Subject Arrangement

To the librarian, subject arrangement of collections is an essential pre-requisite of good library management. It is, along with the catalogue, the principal 'finding-mechanism' employed in the library and it is inconceivable that the library should not use a widely. However, as with so many other aspects of the country house library, subject arrangement cannot be described in the normal, conventional terms which librarians in other sectors would expect. Given the limited resources which will always dog the management of country house libraries, it is important to stress that it is unlikely that the implementation of standard classification schemes such as Dewey Decimal or Bliss could be practical. In any case, such an approach would be wholly undesirable because it would result in the loss, through over-regulation, of much of the intrinsic charm of these collections. In addition, it must be borne in mind that many country houses have what can best be described as *historic shelf arrangement* or *aesthetic arrangement*. Indeed some collections are also arranged according to particular family chronologies or even by provenance of material. Owners and administrators who feel that their libraries are organised in accordance with a particular historic shelf order are naturally decidedly reluctant to disturb this situation.

In addition, however, is the fact that a large number of those libraries which are classified used fixed location classification. Obviously, this is not merely a problem in terms of introducing alternative shelving arrangements but is also important in terms of the catalogues which predominantly use shelf location as the principal finding device. Subject or shelf arrangement is one of those areas where the old adage 'if it isn't broken don't mend it' clearly applies. The introduction of new shelf arrangement should be avoided whenever possible because it only serves to introduce an unnatural clinical order into collections which are not noted for it. If these collections become just like other collections of rare or historical books then part of their uniqueness is eroded. The phrase *désordre britannique* was once applied to Chatsworth by a friend of the Duchess of Devonshire and that, perhaps prefixed by *organised*, should be one of the defining characteristics of the arrangement of a true country house library, however much it appears to be an anathema to librarians.

Disaster Control Planning and Management

All major libraries and archives should have regularly revised plans for coping with disaster or emergency situations. Country house libraries are, however, different. The library within the country house is only one facet of a much larger collection. Consequently, any plan for the library should be fully integrated with a wider plan for the entire house and collection. Priorities which exist within a disaster plan for the house as a whole must be reflected by priorities for the library. Specific details which relate to the library exclusively should be worked out in advance and should be clearly identified in any broader house-wide plan. The plan must be capable of being operated in isolation in situations where the library alone is the focus of an emergency. However, it must also be capable of being operated in conjunction with a general evacuation of the entire house. In either circumstance a library emergency necessitates the use of well thought-out planning and specialist techniques.

Summary

It was Ross Harvey, in his book, *Preservation in Libraries*, who highlighted the difference which exists between preventive conservation and restorative conservation. Harvey has defined the upsurge in preventive conservation as a move away from artisan-based conservation to the development of better protection for the material in the first instance. Preventive conservation is often a response to economical preconditions but, in general, it is better to prevent than be compelled to remedy. This shift is necessary within the country house library where preventive conservation is often conspicuous by its absence. This chapter seeks to highlight core issues and suggest what is referred to as 'best practice' in the professional library field. It is, however, for owners and administrators themselves to endorse these measures. To a large extent, 'spoon-feeding' by outside agencies is an unsatisfactory approach for it leads to complacency; it is for those involved in the management of country house libraries themselves to go out to acquire and develop, adapt and apply the correct procedures.

Owners and administrators must, in the first instance, recognise the importance of monitoring of collections. They must also endeavour to set quality standards which they wish to use. By all means provide guidelines and recommendations and certainly these must be tailored to meet the requirements of as many and as wide a range of collections as possible, but manager education combined with creating an environment in which they feel able to tackle these issues themselves and know how to go about it is equally crucial. Conservation may very well be regarded as the all-encompassing term, including examination, assessment, preservation, action and restoration, but it is only part of an heritage policy which must, as has already been mentioned, consider far more.

These ultimate recommendations see a fusion of a series of key elements, not least that they exist within the broader framework of national heritage structures and policies. Most importantly, however, is the

highlighting of the most effective ways for managing collections in terms of access, funding, cataloguing, preservation, storage conditions and subject arrangement. All of these stages must be carried out within the framework of advocacy, information, monitoring and evaluation, determination, and analysis of content. This combined is, therefore, more than a simple handbook for good conservation practice, stressing the provision of valid theories which can also be implemented in practice and can be adapted and revised according to the circumstances of the individual collection. This discussion has at its heart the assertion that historic country house library collections remain thoroughly distinct because of the importance of the unique environment in which they exist.

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CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

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Conclusions

"There are two modes of acquiring knowledge, namely by reasoning and experience. Reasoning draws a conclusion and makes us grant the conclusion, but does not make the conclusion certain, nor does it remove doubt so that the mind may rest on the intuition of truth unless the mind discovers it by the path of experience".

Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 1267

Introduction

At the end of this research it is, perhaps, necessary to ask a fundamental question: are country house libraries unique and, if so, what makes them unique? For that is the nearest that this research comes to having a basic hypothesis. Assessing them purely in terms of their contents does not give them a unique status. Many special collections contain broadly similar material and, indeed, editions. The national libraries certainly replicated the bulk of material which is to be found in most British country house libraries. Yet they are very definitely unique. Their importance and individualism stems not solely from the intellectual contents of the collections but from the intrinsic association which exists between the collection, the house and the owners. Country house libraries are, in reality, hereditary collections in a way that few other extant collections are. Just as these houses and their owners depend on hereditary succession, so too do the libraries. They have been founded in one generation, inherited by others and supplemented or, in many cases, depleted by the succeeding generations. Those that survive owe their unique nature to that order of hereditary succession in the same way as the houses themselves and the landed aristocracy do. It can be no coincidence that the word *succeed* is used to describe the inheritance of land, houses, collections and titles. Country houses have been moulded by their owners over successive generations and their libraries are, as often as not, the most tangible insight into the characteristics and sometimes the soul of these people. As part of social and cultural history they are unique because of the role which the owners of country houses often fulfilled in their locality, county and, indeed, the country at large. The survival of houses and collections is indeed a matter of success, as often as not, against all the odds.

If that survival is to continue and houses and collections are to be maintained for the future, then a number of key issues need to be addressed. These are not the narrow issues of the good management of libraries but broader considerations for government and the appropriate statutory agencies. This chapter, therefore, has two purposes: firstly, to highlight those broad areas of policy which need systematic review and, secondly, to reassess this work in terms of its defined aims and objectives. These two components are not

as far apart as they might seem on first inspection, because the aims and objectives of this research are fundamentally geared to ensuring the survival factor. In spite of detailed historical research, this work is for today and tomorrow.

Houses as complete entities

Both Chapters Five and Six make reference to the Gowers Report ¹ and highlight the difficulties inherent in its recommendations. The principal problem with Gowers was that it was seen, rightly or wrongly, as asking for an endowment to subsidise aristocratic life in order to save country houses and their collections. Gowers laid particular emphasis on keeping collections intact and eschewed suggestions to remove the paintings or the furniture or the books in order to preserve them somewhere else. His Committee did not favour attempts to divorce the house itself from its collections; they saw them as complete entities. This is a worthy approach and is one which most people involved in the preservation of the country house would agree with. Yet, even now, almost fifty years later, no mechanism (other than the acceptance by the National Trusts or charitable trust status) guarantees this. Neither political nor public opinion will ever accept financial aid for country houses in the way Gowers suggested. Consequently, it is for owners and administrators to determine if and how a house and its collections survive.

Some may argue that this research is seeking to peddle the same, old Gowers thinking. It is not. Certainly, it accepts that country houses should be treated as complete entities but, as Chapters One and Three indicate, the owners are now, cleverly, seen as heroic guardians rather than greedy aristocrats. Public awareness of the national heritage has increased and so too, to a certain extent, has sympathy for owners. In any case, this research is not necessarily implying that extra funding must be made available in order to keep libraries intact. Rather it is seeking to disseminate information, in the traditional way of Information Science, about the under-utilised options, which currently exist. More importantly, however, this work is based firmly on the evidence acquired at the data collection stages. This suggests the staggering of work on the library as funds permit and it suggests increased co-operation, not only between owners but also with other relevant partners. Of course, a case can be made for more funding - it can in every field - but this would demonstrate a woeful ignorance of both owners and the heritage environment and would prove that nothing had been learnt from the long-running saga of the Gowers Report. However, the potential still exists for owners to be viewed as greedy aristocrats. The Conditional Exemption scheme in particular has recently received some adverse media attention and there is a perception that owners are abusing this system for their own ends. Generally, this is not the case but, as has been said in Chapter Seven, the actions of the few can damage the many.

Taxation

The taxation burden on owners of country houses has been noted at various points in this research. It is often blamed for the destruction of numerous houses in the earlier part of this century. Today, however, the issues which dominate the minds of country house owners are those of preserving and, indeed, enhancing the various tax concessions from which historic houses benefit. As Chapters Five and Six both mention, the changes to the schemes for Conditional Exemption, Acceptance In Lieu and In Situ are likely to have profound implications for moveable heritage within historic houses. These issues have direct links with libraries and are central to any attempts to preserve and conserve country house collections. This research has never been intended as an examination of the taxation system *per se* and, for that reason, has deliberately avoided discussion of the levying of value-added tax on structural repairs. This may appear an anomaly because this issue is one of prime importance to country house owners and administrators. Their long-running campaign to change this system is well known and well documented and not without justification. It is not, however, an issue which directly relates to country house libraries. Certainly, the burden which it imposes in terms of financial restrictions may have indirect implications for the library in terms of financial prioritising. However, it does not, unlike Conditional Exemption, In Lieu and In Situ have direct implications for the intellectual contents of country house libraries.

In previous chapters summaries have been given of the mechanisms by which the Conditional Exemption, Acceptance In Lieu and In Situ schemes operate. Owners have described the positive and negative sides of these schemes as well as their own general opinions towards them. There has also been mention of the changes, which have occurred in these schemes, as well as brief discussion of the impact these are likely to have on historic bibliographic collections. This chapter, concentrating as it does on a review of the whole picture while developing mechanisms for the future, must, therefore, seriously analyse the implications of these changes. Although viewing the broader picture, this chapter is rooted firmly in the evidence acquired at the earlier stages of the research.

Firstly, it is necessary to state categorically that owners and administrators cannot have it both ways; they cannot benefit from these schemes while choosing to ignore or, at least, obscure, the access requirements. Relatively few can seriously be accused of this at present, but those who can be should be aware that they tarnish the reputations of others. The Register of Conditionally Exempt Material contains a great number of items not in country houses, yet when problems with the scheme are highlighted in the media; they are invariably connected with items located in country houses. This makes for good news and owners who are negligent about access should bear in mind that puerile campaigns such as Channel Four's 'tip-off a toff'² make good tabloid journalism and can stoke up, albeit through ignorance of the schemes, a frenzy of indignation and outrage. This is not to suggest that owners should be held to ransom by such squalid attempts at journalism but highlights the need for increased vigilance in matters relating to access. The

public may not want to come and look at the item but if they think they are supporting it (which they are not) and are being denied access, it will not take long for public opinion to be cajoled against private owners of the national heritage.

There are two important lessons to be drawn from this. In the first instance owners and administrators must recognise the links which do exist between access and funding at all times. For the most part, the majority already does. Owners and administrators must, of course, safeguard and protect their heritage. If they are truly the guardians of particular parts of the national heritage this is their duty and obligation. The transformation of large parts of the aristocracy into guardians of the heritage has taken decades of careful management and has been largely successful. However, it is not viable for owners and administrators to perceive some synthetic division between funding or, more importantly, tax concessions and access. They cannot be in a position of obtaining tax concessions without some demonstrable public gain and that public gain is always likely to take the form of access. Owners cannot, therefore, afford to be seen as stifling access for the sake of 'preservation'. In this the presentation of the case is as important as the substance of it. B.J. Baird has indicated that "*collections conservation is often mistakenly viewed as trying to preserve library material by limiting access*".³ This is an important issue and one that cannot simply be ignored.

Secondly, owners really need to go on the offensive on this issue if they want to avoid the types of attack, which have occurred over the last few years. More importantly, they need to go on the offensive in order to ensure that the mechanics of these schemes are clearly understood not only by the schemes' detractors but also by the public at large. Conditional Exemption should be highlighted for what it is, namely conditional *deferral* of tax. These schemes are not loopholes and it would be unfortunate if they come to be portrayed as such. Currently, owners and administrators are expending considerable energies on forestalling detrimental interpretations of the recently made changes to these mechanisms. This is, of course, legitimate and both Chapters Five and Six have highlighted the potential difficulties which may arise from recently promulgated changes. However, it is not enough to fight on that front alone, for the perception will undoubtedly be that they are attempting to preserve a privileged *status quo* when, in truth, they are trying to limit the damage which unrealistic access requirements will impose. The new regulations are undoubtedly ill-advised but owners and administrators must ask themselves whether they are a response to the perceived inadequacies of the schemes in the past. If so, the corollary is that change is happening as a result of the apparent reluctance of some to see any connection at all between taxation concessions and access. Owners and administrators should, therefore, be highlighting the benefits (to everyone) of these schemes rather than sticking religiously to the mantra that they cannot discuss them because it is a "*private tax matter*". Recently, Edward Harley, the Chairman of the Historic Houses Association Taxation, Committee has started to do this. Whether he is too late remains to be seen.⁴

Conditional Exemption

The question of access is already dealt with, to a certain extent, by the Conditional Exemption Scheme, whereby important historical chattels may be exempt from capital taxes such as Inheritance Tax provided some degree of access is given to the items in question. The scheme is managed by the Capital Taxes Office of the Inland Revenue. Books and manuscripts form one of the categories of material which may be considered for conditional exemption. By and large only individual items are exempt in this way with relatively few complete libraries being exempt. The principal problem with the scheme, and one recently highlighted by journalists, is that although owners of such items are obliged to provide access and should advertise this access each year, the exemption programme falls within the remit of personal taxation matters. Consequently, the Inland Revenue is compelled to observe the traditional confidentiality which is central to personal taxation matters. Similarly, some owners have been accused of failing in the obligations by hiding behind the anonymity of personal taxation matters.

In his Budget statement on March 17th, 1998, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, announced a review of this system, widely interpreted as a move towards increasing access. Similarly, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, Chris Smith, has indicated (to the Annual General Meeting of the Historic Houses Association) that he would like to see conditional access raised from twenty five days per annum to around one hundred. It remains to be seen whether public funding through grants in return for reasonable public access will replicate any proposed changes in the access system for Conditional Exemption. If this route is taken it is likely that houses currently open for the minimum period allowed will have to dramatically increase their opening hours. On the other hand, houses which are not open, except by appointment to view particular exempt items, will have to revise their policies to meet the new criteria. The practicality of such changes for smaller houses must seriously be questioned.

Currently, however, the model which exists for viewing material under Condition Exemption is, despite its manifest flaws, the most satisfactory one in terms of theoretical access. The principal problems arise in the application of that theory. On paper, however, it appears to be the clearest definition of access to particular items which currently exists. Here it is important to stress the phrase *to particular items* as opposed to the system used by the grant-awarding agencies which invariably stresses the concept of reasonable public access to a property and makes no allusion to particular chattels. In this respect, the Conditional Exemption structure with regard to books and manuscripts is making the distinction which this research has sought to highlight, namely the theory of intellectual access to individual items rather than simply tourist access to the rooms.

Recommendations

Taxation and tax concession represent the most obvious external factors where recommendations for privately-owned heritage may be made. Taken collectively, Conditional Exemption, Acceptance In Lieu and In Situ have provided a safeguard for many elements within the collections of Britain's country houses. All three have, however, developed problems or at least perceived problems through the interpretation of access. It is necessary to separate Acceptance In Lieu of tax because there is no automatic assumption that a work will remain *in situ* through this mechanism but when it does and when an item is conditionally exempt serious difficulties arise with regard to access. In this, opinions appear to be polarised with one camp saying the whole schemes are unsatisfactory and access must be increased while the other says that the schemes used to work but that access must be limited. To a certain extent this is inevitable because the schemes have grown amorphously over the years and the access requirement was only 'tagged-on' long after the initial exemption procedures had been worked out. If either side, government or owners, are serious about the Conditional Exemption scheme, both will have to make compromises. Firstly, the name of the whole scheme should be changed. Items included through this initiative are not exempt from tax; it is simply deferred as long as the item remains within the remit of the scheme or until such time as it comes to be sold. The idea of exemption creates and perpetuates a false sense of privilege and its substitution with deferment would be appropriate.

It must be remembered that increasing access requirements through these schemes does not bring in an extra penny to the Treasury. It may, therefore, be perfectly credible to say that it is being done as part of a perfectly laudable desire to increase public benefit. However, there appears to be no guarantee that this will be the case. If these changes are mandatory and without any regulatory safeguard for owners, it is impossible to see how it will work. Owners and administrators have been offered no advice on how to deal with these changes and it is highly questionable whether an increased minimum period of access will be viable in many cases. Similarly, it is impossible to see how the ending of 'by appointment' viewing can benefit anyone. Those to whom it applied tended to own either a single item or a small number of items which have been exempted. Expecting these to open their property to ensure compliance with the scheme would be laughable if it were not so serious. It is likely that this will lead people to either sell the items and pay the tax or simply agree to pay the tax anyway and remove the item from the register. Both options mean a diminution rather than increase of public access. Equally importantly, especially in the context of bibliographic material, this increase in access takes no account of the inherent need to preserve material and appears to make no distinction between the multitude of different types of items included on the exempt register. No thought has been given to what a book is, what its peculiar qualities are and what access to a monograph means. A much bigger study into the access requirements of Conditional Exemption must be done and it is a pity that changes have been imposed before such an examination has taken place.

The secrecy, which surrounds these schemes, is unhelpful both to the public and to the owners. It is only fair that a radical overhaul should take place at the same time as a revision of access requirements. As has been said in Chapter Seven, owners have for too long hidden behind the mantra of "*personal tax matters*". This has led to the perception in the minds of some that there is a vast treasure trove of Britain's heritage which is benefiting from tax breaks which we, the public, are all allowed to go and see; except no one can tell us where it is, how to get to see let alone who owns it. This may be being melodramatic but it is a theme which those opposed to the schemes have chosen to adopt and air publicly. It is necessary, therefore, to establish whether owners are legitimately against public disclosure of their exempt items. Many may argue that this is the thin end of the wedge and that if the ownership of these exempted items is disclosed, what other elements of private tax matters will be next? Some may argue against disclosure on the grounds of security and this is undeniably credible and legitimate. However, it is not credible nor legitimate to argue against it simply on the grounds that it has always been done this way. If owners are content to have items entered in the Register of Exempt Items, then they are surely content to acknowledge it as worthy and, indeed, part of the 'national heritage'. It is the inherent importance of a work - be it book, painting or chair - which makes it noteworthy.

It is not enough for the government to look at these schemes and declare that access should be increased and then walk away. It is not just access that is wrong with them, it is the whole mechanism. While these schemes have ensured the survival *in situ* of vast sections of country house collections, libraries and books included, they have caused numerous problems of which access is but one. It is, perhaps, time to look again at the whole issue of tax concessions while recognising the importance these schemes have played in preserving parts of the national heritage. Owners must ask themselves what is the purpose of preserving these items if no one gets to see them, especially if 'preservation' is aided by a public scheme. The vital nature of these schemes has been highlighted throughout this research and it would be folly to suggest their abolition, but it is time for drastic overhaul. If owners are prepared to seek the advantages of these schemes they clearly recognise the importance of their material. With that in mind it would be legitimate to make the schemes more transparent to the public. Firstly, there should be more access points for the register itself, the national libraries and the Capital Taxes Office website being totally inadequate. Each county should have a copy either of the national list or of the material within its geographical area. Secondly, houses opening to fulfil tax requirements should make this clear and should identify exempt works. Otherwise, it is possible for the public to tour a property and not know whether they have seen items on which tax has been exempted. Finally, those owners willing to disclose their identity should be encouraged to do so. Inevitably the phrase a 'burglers' charter' will be used in defence of the *status quo* and security is arguably the most serious reason for maintaining the current situation. However, all efforts

should be made to end the accusation that Conditionally Exempt items are there for the public to see provided they do not ask to see them.

Standardisation of Access Arrangements

Having said that, there is still an urgent need to re-examine the issue of access in terms of statutory provision according to the various schemes. At present the guidelines which English Heritage or Historic Scotland use may vary significantly from those which the Capital Taxes Office impose as part of the Conditional Exemption, In Lieu or In Situ schemes. The Heritage Lottery Fund or National Heritage Memorial Fund may again look at things in a different light and may expect different criteria for access to be applied. These differing terms and conditions only serve to complicate an already confused general picture. It also means that any new scheme seeking to address one particular element of the management of collections within historic houses is faced with a barrage of competing demands. Worse, however, is the fact that any new policies run the risk of being forced to suggest or propose yet another layer of access regulations in order to address the particular issue being examined.

Although this research examines one particular area of the country house it has come to recognise the problems which beset all aspects of country house management. Pre-eminent amongst these problems is access, which is likely to remain a great dilemma whatever is done. However, some attempts to alleviate the discrepancies could be made. The present piecemeal approach towards access needs to be thoroughly revised. The gap which exists between owners and the library profession outlined in Chapters Five and Six can be said to have a parallel here with the multifarious organisations involved in determining access all standing apart and just out of the reach of one another. In reality, these organisations are not so far apart but are just significantly different in their approaches to cause problems. There is a very definite need for a thorough review of all the individual regulations of English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW, National Heritage Memorial Fund, Heritage Lottery Fund, Capital Taxes Office and so on. There is no conceivable reason why tax concessions should be treated in a significantly different way from the receipt of building repair grant aid. If such a review took place it would represent a considerable advance.

Particularly relevant to this are the current changes to the Conditional Exemption scheme which have been highlighted above. An important element within this discussion is the undesirability of setting unrealistically high minimum levels of access. Current suggestions to move towards a level of one hundred days per annum (as the standard minimum) are particularly unrealistic. Mention has already been made of the problems which this will impose in those situations where one or two items represent the sum-total of exempt items. In such circumstances it is inconceivable that owners would be willing or able to meet the legal minimum. This is not preserving the national heritage nor, indeed, is it assisting in the promotion of greater public access. Moreover it is in fact little more than a facade, a sound-bite, which on

first inspection appears to be a perfectly credible and laudably democratic move towards greater access. However, if items are sold or simply withdrawn from the scheme it is not going to increase public access. If it is the desire of the government to see these taxation concessions wither and die then it should have the decency to say so and move towards the ending of these concessions in a deliberate and transparent way instead of doing it by the back door.

Allied to this is the question of whether the abolition of *by appointment* access is a legitimate approach. It can be argued with some justification that this is not a 'user-friendly' method of securing access to a particular property or collection. In that respect, some owners may have some work to do. However, to hark back to those situations where relatively few items may be exempt, it is still the most effective method. Similarly, with libraries, whatever mechanisms for access are adopted by owners and administrators whether of large or small houses, the methods are going to rely, to some degree, on potential users making appointments. What remains private property is always going to be governed by private, individual discretion. It must be borne in mind that exempted items remain private property, albeit within the jurisdiction of a public scheme. If by appointment access works it should be maintained, especially in the cases of smaller houses where anything else may be impractical.

It must be borne in mind that the majority of country houses receive relatively few enquiries for access to the collection. Having said that, however, the second survey crucially identified the types of users most likely to gain admission to these collections.

Academics	42	<i>(Specific numbers cited in the second survey)</i>
Researchers	42	
Librarians	35	
Historians	37	
Writers	22	

Unsurprisingly, the reiteration of this evidence here shows clearly that restricted access is the type favoured by owners and administrators. Yet, because of the lack of wide-scale demand for intellectual access as by the public as a whole (as the surveys and interviews have identified), this is probably the most acceptable method. The categories listed here are largely to be expected and, although most owners said that they would not regard these as rigid, form the foundation of user groups within the country house library sphere.

To a certain extent many of the current access problems and dilemmæ have emerged because of the constant tinkering with the taxation concession mechanisms. If this situation is to be remedied all of those organisations involved in this field must come together to define precisely what is meant by the vague phrase "*reasonable public access*". It is no use for one organisation to say it means this and for another to say it means that. The phrase is enshrined in various statutes but, like the national heritage itself, it remains

largely undefined in terms of specifics. No one, starting from scratch in this area, would wish to create such a confused regulatory picture as the one which currently exists. If government is serious about the national heritage it should consider the implications of access. Firstly, it should insist on proper definitions of access and, in this, owners and administrators of privately-owned heritage must play a role. It is not enough to simply 'increase public access' without examining what access means and how it works. Politicians can - almost at a stroke - increase public access and portray themselves as suitable champions of the public interest. Yet it is inherently dangerous to view access as a tool in complete isolation and it is futile to view it as something divorced from the practicalities of circumstance. For too long some owners have done this and it would be extremely unfortunate, just as owners were showing signs of change, if government weighed in and replaced one bad scenario with another. In the past, some owners and administrators have viewed access as something divorced from funding or concessionary schemes, their attitude sometimes characterised by 'benefits at all cost, access perhaps'. Now government looks likely to adopt the same view in reverse: 'access at all costs, benefits perhaps'. Neither extreme is desirable and should not be permissible. An equilibrium must exist and government and interest groups, statutory bodies and the taxman should endeavour to find it.

Much effort needs to be made in order to harmonise the various access regulations so that no one scheme becomes unduly advantageous or disadvantageous. In this respect, the creation of a national register of historic library collections may prove useful as a mechanism for co-ordination. It is an area which requires more investigation. However, access is not the end of the matter, it is only the beginning. It has profound implications for the conservation and preservation of material, especially in those instances where intellectual access is being encouraged. It is futile to say 'increase public access' if that access threatens the very thing which the public want to see. That in itself is another issue - do the public want to see it? It is laudable to want to secure for the general public a greater degree of access, but if the public are simply not interested then serious thought must be given to the merits of compelling private owners to meet unfeasible high levels of general access. This is a question which is replicated, very directly, in the library sector. The public may enjoy seeing the books on the shelves when they go round the house, they may even enjoy seeing one or two open on display, but if there is no library it will not deter them from coming to the house. Only a tiny handful would ever want to look closely at a book and an even smaller amount wish to consult one for a particular purpose. With that in mind, there can be no significant justification for promoting widespread access to country house libraries on anything other than a general level. Intellectual access will always be limited and controlled, as indeed it should, justified by the needs and requirements of conservation and preservation.

Access and Survival

Yet a fundamental question remains to be addressed: why should country house owners concede access to their libraries? Those who participate in the various tax schemes are obliged to some varying degree but the remainder who do not are, of course, not compelled to at all. Yet survey evidence in this research has pointed to over seventy per cent of owners being willing to concede access. The answer lies, curiously but perhaps inevitably, in the fact that there are so few applications. It might just be that because of low numbers of applications owners are prepared to be genuinely altruistic when it comes to their libraries. Intellectual access must be measured against demand. Preserving the national heritage, it sometimes appears, has come to be a synonym for greater access. Yet intellectual access to country house libraries must always be measured and defined by the demand. At the end of this work it is perhaps unsurprising to state that there is no great clamour for increased access. It is arguably more important to improve and clarify the access which already or potentially exists. Owners and administrators are, for the most part, willing to grant access. Consequently, if this research does anything in that area it must be to make that process easier both for the owners and administrators as well as the applicants.

It is useful at this point to return to the primary evidence from the first survey which indicated an overwhelming majority of owners and administrators were prepared to concede access.

	UK	Eng.	Scot.	Wales	N.I.
Prepared to concede access	75.6%	72.0%	80.0%	80.0%	N/A
Unwilling to concede access	21.8%	28.0%	20.0%	20.0%	N/A

This result is, of course, interesting and relevant in itself. However, in light of the recent amendments to the Conditional Exemption scheme it is interesting to note that the willingness to grant access does currently exist and does not really require further and, perhaps, heavy-handed intervention from the government or the Inland Revenue. Certainly, the statutory agencies should be encouraged to standardise their arrangements for access but, as has been outlined earlier in this Chapter, it is necessary to measure this against the actual demand for access.

In addition, this research aims to highlight the most appropriate strategies for the effective and efficient management of collections. Conservation and preservation are inevitably to the fore in this regard. This work is not, however, a manual of library conservation for there are numerous examples of such already. What it does seek to do is to identify the key areas which require attention and consideration by those responsible for country house libraries. In the traditions of Information Science, this work seeks to disseminate information and to point in the right direction. Similarly, with funding, there can always be a case for increased funding, but with regard to these collections more effective use of the schemes which

currently exist would be a step in the right direction. If that is done and the system is found to be unsatisfactory, then it is legitimate to come back to this issue, reassess the situation and see how new funding initiatives can be developed. One potential solution may be greater commercial sponsorship. However, the primary objective with regard to funding must be to make the Heritage Lottery Fund more receptive to privately-owned heritage. This is still, in spite of recent advances, something of a missed opportunity. There are, undoubtedly, problems in this regard but they are not insoluble given the necessary will.

The Future

In attempting to address what the future has in store for country house libraries it is essential to review the aims and objectives of this research as outlined in the Introductory Preface. As has been mentioned, these two elements are not so very far removed because this research has, at its core, a desire to ensure the survival *in situ* of country house libraries and the fulfilment of that desire is, in fact, the future. The future relies heavily on the willingness of owners and administrators to become more fully aware of policies within this field. This process of policy awareness includes greater recognition of the management aspects of country house libraries themselves as well as the useful role which public and private bodies can play in this field.

The historical research this work, by identifying, retrieving and collating relevant literature on the development of country house libraries, their owners and contents, has created the first systematic study of this subject. Using this as a basis, the application of prosopographical techniques has enabled the production of a coherent historical account of country houses, owners and their library and book collections from the mid sixteenth century which has set them in the proper context of national heritage, a significant part of which has included the examination of the culture of the country house and its library in terms of the national heritage in its broadest sense. The central question of access has been addressed in many different guises and forms. The concepts of general and intellectual access are, in reality, attempting to assess the role which country house libraries play as part of cultural tourism entities.

The historical investigation inevitably and rightly focuses on the threats which country house libraries have faced and perhaps more importantly the threats which they continue to face. The analysis of this disintegration of a particular branch of heritage has concentrated on the destruction of country houses and the break-up of their collections in an effort to ensure that all possible measures to prevent further disintegration can be undertaken. In order to do so it was, of course, necessary to investigate, via the first, nation-wide survey of houses and collections, the current state of collections in terms of all areas relevant to this research.

Much has already been said in this chapter about the 'broader heritage landscape', those areas which cannot be directly influenced or modified by this work. It is within this landscape of structures, organisations and policies that country houses operate and in which this research must be placed. Consequently, the research has clearly focused on this context in order to establish the view of owners in relation to access to, and preservation of, these collections, as well as to identify the support facilities available to country house libraries from any source and to evaluate how appropriate this is. Furthermore, it is this extant landscape which will, in the final analysis, determine what the future has in store for country house collections, in the most generic sense.

The ultimate objective of this work directly addresses the future for country house libraries. Through the understanding of the past of country house libraries, it is easier to determine strategies for the future. Even with the creation of a national heritage policy for these collections, much needs to be done. The outlining of good-practice in librarianship terms may appear relatively easy in terms of cataloguing, arrangement (where applicable), access, disaster control management, preservation, conservation and restoration and so on, but the application of this good-practice is another matter. This research has identified strategies in these areas and has suggested methods for improving the management of collections. However, it is for owners and administrators to act. The "*undisturbed sleep*" of country house libraries, which John Cornforth described, may be charming but it is hardly satisfactory. The much-vaunted information vacuum has been partially filled and that means it is time for owners and administrators to act. The research has emphasised how timely it is for owners and administrators, as well as their collective organisations, to ensure that the libraries within "*our most characteristic visible contribution to the riches of European civilisation*"⁵ are worthy of their unique nature.

Owners and administrators may argue, with some justification, that the buck does not stop entirely with them. Undeniably, there are a number of issues which need to be resolved on a higher level, many of which have been outlined in this chapter. It is essential that there be some resolution to the taxation system. At present, given recent changes, it is unlikely that this will come about in the way which is desired. Similarly, access must be reviewed by all those involved and some effort needs to be made at standardisation. However, this too seems unlikely. It is unfortunate that, all too often, agencies and departments seem to care more about empire-building than about the things they are supposed to be responsible for.

Summary

Mark Girouard is the first of many authors to be cited in this work and it is, perhaps, appropriate to return to him at the end, for his fundamental question - what are country houses for - remains crucial. "*The researches of the past thirty years have thrown a flood of new light on the history of the...country house.*

*But they have mostly been devoted to working out when houses were built, who built them and how they developed stylistically. Only comparatively recently has much attention been paid to how they were used and what they were intended to do. This kind of approach no more provides a complete explanation of country houses than an art historical analysis. But it is sufficiently coherent to stand on its own; moreover, it has not been attempted before, at any rate in the form of a complete account from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century."*⁶

This study follows that ground-breaking approach of Girouard, albeit by examining a particular facet of country house life in terms of social use and cultural identity. It no more provides a complete explanation of country houses than any other sectional study. However, it does attempt to understand how country house libraries came to be and what they were for. If a study of bibliographic collections within the context of the British country house can do anything, it is to supplement the existing knowledge on the social and cultural identity of these dwellings. Furthermore, however, it is a study for today and, indeed, for tomorrow. The history and development of country house libraries is sufficiently coherent to stand on its own, but the merit in understanding their past lies in the fact that it enables better understanding of their future. This perception is vital if attempting to advocate and inform on methods by which these collections might continue to survive. Country house libraries have never been examined so broadly nor so comprehensively, nor have strategies been devised specifically for their benefit, nor has information been directed at, and geared to, the managers of these collections. In doing so a contribution to knowledge on the country house, library history and, indeed, their peculiar management issues must surely have been made.

In 1849, Felicia Hemans wrote:

*The stately homes of England,
How beautiful they stand!
Amid their tall ancestral trees,
O'er all the pleasant land.*

It is an image which endures to this day and one which many wish to see preserved. Their unique charm lies in the fact that they are complete entities, libraries included. Eighty-nine years after Hemans penned those words Noël Coward adapted them:

*The stately homes of England,
How beautiful they stand!
To prove the upper classes
Have still the upper hand.*

Perhaps he is less accurate fifty years later but there is some truth in both versions. However, if they are to continue to stand amid their tall ancestral trees, they inevitably need to embrace the options which are

increasingly available to them. The policy document, created as part of this research, is intended to indicate good practice and ways forward for country house libraries and their owners.

Notes and Sources

¹ *Houses of Outstanding Historical or Architectural Interest: Report of a Committee appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer*. London: HMSO, 1950 [the Gowers Report].

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⁵ Hussey, Christopher. In Montgomery-Massingberd, Hugh. *Great Houses of England and Wales*. London: Laurence King, 1994, p1.

⁶ Girourard, Mark. *Life in the English Country House*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980. p12.

THE ROBERT GORDON UNIVERSITY

School of Information and Media

VOLUME II

**The development of a national heritage policy for
libraries and book collections of country houses**

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requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of
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VOLUME II

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National Heritage Policy
for
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National Heritage Policy for Country House Libraries

PREFACE

This volume contains the summation of this research; a national heritage policy for country house libraries. It comprises a series of policy recommendations and takes the form of a policy document capable of acting as the basis of a management plan for the more effective management of bibliographic heritage within country houses. The policy is divided into a number of key sections and contains a distillation of best practice and owner/administrator opinion, with the emphasis more strongly on the former. These recommendations are practical and of benefit to anyone involved in the management of a library within the context of a country house. They are also, however, theoretical in the sense that the concept of good practice is paramount; however, concessions have been made to the peculiar difficulties which face many country houses and the views and standpoints of owners and administrators are also given space. Notwithstanding this, however, the policy, emphasising as it does best practice, includes elements with which some owners and administrators would not necessarily agree or wish to see adopted. However, the application of this policy, whether it be within one house or a multitude, is not a consideration of this present research which is focused.

The structure of the policy document must be examined briefly. The structure is designed to take account of the way in which the owners and administrators of country house libraries deal with these issues. As has been mentioned, the aim of this policy - like the aim of the research itself - is to provide a document which combines practical benefit with practical ability; it is not designed to be a theoretical study which would only be dismissed by owners and administrators. Consequently, the structure of these recommendations relates back to the evidence within the thesis proper. The structure reflects the way in which owners and administrators approach the management of their library collections. Generally, the first dominant issue in their minds is that of the evaluation of the collection - either in terms of its merits or, more likely, in terms of what work requires to be done. Beyond this are the fundamental issues of funding and access which are inextricably, if not always fortuitously, linked. Only after these issues have been investigated and considered is it possible to begin the process of consideration of actual library management, representing, in this case, issues such as conservation, preservation, cataloguing, classification, disaster control and so on.

Each main section is subdivided according to the specifics of the topic. Many of the main sections contain descriptions of various levels of activity which may reinforce the appeal of this policy to the widest range

of houses. It recognises that ultimate goals may not always be attainable at one attempt and that gradual progression to the adoption of good practice may be the only acceptable approach for a significant proportion of houses and collections. Much of the contents will be familiar to the professional librarian, but the linkage with the country house provides the unique strain to the following recommendations.

Note

The word 'collections' is taken to refer to all elements within the house (i.e. the paintings, furniture, books, ceramics, textiles and so on). The term 'library collection' is taken to refer specifically to the bibliographic and archival resources.

Introduction

From the perspective of the bibliophile or the owner, all book collections are worthy of conservation and preservation. However, it must be accepted that in the majority of cases this is a Utopian dream; priorities must be made and some collections (or indeed parts of collections) are more important or more significant than others. This is particularly true of the country house library. If, however, it is financially possible for entire collections to be maintained and managed adequately then this is ideal and individuals in this position are fortunate. More common, however, are financial restrictions which result in so many problems for library collections. If public money is to be made available to ensure the survival of country house libraries then there are two inevitable corollaries: firstly, that some mechanism must exist by which collections may be measured in order to assess their general significance and worthiness for funding and secondly, that some degree of public access (either general or, as this work deals with, intellectual) to that collection. These are significant issues which will be discussed here, together with the other more mundane aspects of good library management.

1. Outline and Structure of Recommendations

1.1 Introduction

This policy is a set of management recommendations. It is primarily concerned with privately-owned collections but may also be of relevance to charitable organisations such as the National Trusts. Although detailed statements are made in connection with most elements of management here, nothing is said about the application or the adoption of this policy. Nothing in this policy can be imposed externally and it is up to owners, administrators and others involved in the management of these collections to decide whether or not to implement any or all of the following recommendations. Two themes are particularly dominant, namely funding and access. However, it should not be forgotten that, without practical conservation and cataloguing, access becomes an abstract and fairly meaningless, if not futile, concept. Consequently, no particular section or sub-section should be regarded as more or less significant than any other.

1.2 Structure

The structure is intended to take account of the differences which exist within country house collections. It is recognised that the needs of collections vary from one house to another; this has been reflected in these final policy recommendations. In order for the recommendations to be of *practical* value to as many collections as possible, it provides for the adoption of various levels within each of its broader subject areas. (*see below*). The policy is structured to allow a multi-layered approach which can either allow for an ultimate goal, or for 'exit points' at levels appropriate for individual collections. Various levels of recommendations mean that collection managers may proceed as far as they deem necessary or practical in terms of their own collection.

1.3 Thresholds

The policy identifies certain thresholds which may exist so as to ensure that the *practical benefit* of the policy is commensurate with the *practical ability* of the collection managers.

1.3.1 Minimum Threshold

The minimum threshold acts as an entry qualification or starting point for the policy. Collections which fail to meet these basic criteria (based on merit and condition) may be said to be beyond help or simply not worth preserving with public (or indeed private) assistance. It should be emphasised, however, that even when collections fall below the threshold administrators may wish to adopt the other recommendations given here and the policy takes account of this factor.

1.3.2 Exit Points

Exit points recognise the difficulty of identifying a maximum threshold given the variety and diversity of library collections. The policy, therefore, allows for particular libraries to exit the policy at levels appropriate to the actual situation found within that individual collection. This 'layered' approach ensures that the recommendations are both valid and wide-ranging while also ensuring that *all* types of collections are represented.

1.4 Application of Recommendations

This policy offers the potential to be adopted, adapted, applied or approved by individual houses or by suitable bodies involved in the management of country house libraries. These may include individual houses, umbrella groups such as Historic Houses Association or conservation volunteers such as National Association of Decorative and Fines Arts Societies.

2. Entry Qualifications and Evaluation of Collections

2.1 Introduction

Basic entry qualifications or guidelines must be in place before this policy can be enacted. It is impossible and indeed undesirable to say that *every* book in *every* collection must be preserved for the future. The merit of library collections must be evaluated as a precursor to both progression in terms of this policy and, more particularly, in terms of the provision of public funding.

2.2 Criteria

The national interest in the maintenance of cultural heritage has best been described by the three principal criteria identified by the Waverley Committee on the export of works of art (1952). Consequently,

historical worth, aesthetic importance and educational merit should be of prime consideration when assessing preservation requirements.

2.2.1 Historical Worth

It must be demonstrated that these collections are so significantly associated with our historical and cultural life that their destruction would materially disadvantage the nation. In addition, consideration should be given to the following criteria:-

- (a) That the house and / or its collections (including the library) are regarded as complete entities of significant national or local importance architecturally, artistically, culturally, historically or geographically.
- (b) That the house and / or its collections (including the library) are significantly associated with a particular family or individuals of significant national or local importance.
- (c) That the library collection is significantly important in bibliographic terms (*see Evaluation of Collections*) either nationally or locally.

2.2.2 Study of a Branch of Learning

It must be demonstrated that these collections are valuable to the study of a branch of learning. In addition, consideration should be given to the following criteria:-

- (a) That the library collection is regarded as being of significant national or local importance in terms of the intellectual content or types of material it contains.
- (b) That the importance of the house and / or family with its collections (*as listed above*) are significantly associated within the bibliographic material in the library.
- (c) That the availability of similar material elsewhere locally should be taken into consideration.

2.2.3 Justification for Preservation

It must be demonstrated that these collections are significantly important to justify a concerted effort to preserve them. In addition, consideration should be given to the following criteria:-

(a) That owners and administrators have, in the past, demonstrated an interest and willingness to maintain and preserve the collection.

(b) That the library collection is or may become intellectually accessible to those with a genuine scholarly interest.

(c) That preservation mechanisms activated and initiated as part of this policy are not done purely for blatant financial gain (e.g. immediate sale post-conservation).

(d) That owners and administrators be prepared to co-operate with external organisations and individuals capable of assisting in the process of more effective library management. This includes the formulation of advantageous links with such organisations as national, local and academic libraries or schools of librarianship.

(e) That owners and administrators consider the potential benefits which may be derived from 'umbrella groups' or consortia of country houses to advance the cause of the management of bibliographic heritage.

2.3 Failure to meet criteria

Collections may meet some or all of the above criteria. Those collections which fail to attain the entry qualifications for this policy either in part or in totality may find that certain specific elements (such as cataloguing or conservation) may still be relevant. However, financial restraints may be a hindrance in other areas. It is, of course, up to individual owners or administrators whether they wish to pursue - by means of private finance - the recommendations contained here. In those collections where only a few monographs or related items are of interest or significance, it may be that more appropriate avenues should be considered. For particular bibliographic items, these alternatives may include:-

(a) Conditional Exemption

(b) Acceptance in lieu of tax .but remaining in situ.

(c) Loan to or deposit in a local library or repository.

2.4 Evaluation of Collections

As country house libraries are essentially static in nature the evaluation process may, to some extent, have already taken place. Significant strength in collections will have been noted (although not, perhaps, by professional or outside observers). An important distinction exists between the evaluation of country house libraries and other types of libraries. Evaluation of country house libraries is generally undertaken to highlight strengths, whereas with other collections this is only one side of the process which also seeks to identify weaknesses. Given the difficulties which currently exist with extant collections and materials, it is unlikely that owners or administrators would wish to significantly enhance those areas which are deemed to be weak.

2.4.1 Undertaking Evaluation

Collections should, where possible, be evaluated by professional librarians using professional library collection evaluation methods. Exceptions may be made in the cases of country house libraries which are largely the creation of one individual who may be of significant national importance. In such circumstances, the entire contents of the library may be deemed of significant national value irrespective of the individual intellectual merits of the bibliographic material.

A variety of options are available according to the status of the collection and the type of work which is being considered. Evaluation should be carried out with reference to the criteria which are listed in Section 2.2 above. These may include:-

- (a) Partial or full evaluation of (significant) elements by subject experts or antiquarian book experts.
- (b) Partial or full evaluation of (significant) elements by professional librarians.
- (c) Full evaluation of the entire collection by subject experts or antiquarian book experts.
- (d) Full evaluation of the entire collection by professional librarians using recognised evaluation techniques such as Conspectus.

CONSPECTUS is a library evaluation technique which assigns each item in the Library's collection to one of twenty-four subject-based divisions, which are, in turn, divided into categories and, optionally, categories into subjects. Each division is assigned three ratings: one for the current level of strength, one for the current acquisitions commitment, and one for the goal level. The ratings cover the breadth, depth, currency, and accessibility of the collection, and are measured by a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. In terms of country house collections currency must be largely discounted and accessibility must be weighted according to the situation within individual properties. The ratings are as follows:-

- 0 Out of scope
- 1 Minimal level

- 1a Minimal level, uneven coverage
- 1b Minimal level, even coverage
- 2 Basic information level
- 2a Basic information level, Introductory
- 2b Basic information level, Advanced
- 3 Study or instructional support level
- 3a Basic study or instructional support level
- 3b Intermediate study or instructional support level
- 3c Advanced study or instructional support level
- 4 Research level
- 5 Comprehensive level

The following criteria could be used in assigning ratings for the collection's current strength:-

The number of titles in a division.

The percentage of books in standard bibliographies. For the purposes of evaluation in the country house setting it may be necessary to define bibliographies in terms of works such as Wing or the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (ECSTC).

The language of the materials.

The average age of the titles in the division.

In addition to using these criteria, librarians will consult instructors for their opinions regarding the strength of the division in question. This more qualitative professional judgement is very important to the conspectus. It prevents it from becoming a purely mechanical process. At the same time, the measures listed above will provide more quantitative information that will put the ratings on an objective footing.

Entry Qualifications and Evaluation of Collections - Best Practice and Examples

There are a large number of houses which are regarded as 'complete entities' but this is generally taken to mean those which remain largely as they were when they were completed. In library terms, Houghton in Norfolk, Sledmere in East Yorkshire and Mellerstain in Berwickshire, fall into this category. A prime example of a house where the collection is exceptionally noteworthy in terms of its ownership is, of course, Chartwell in Kent, the home of Sir Winston Churchill. The same can be said of Hawarden Castle in Flintshire, the home of William Ewart Gladstone, and Abbotsford in Selkirkshire, the home of Sir Walter Scott.

This significant importance, in terms of ownership, can, of course, be replicated on a more local level, as is the case in a large number of properties. The merit or intrinsic worth of collections cannot easily be separated and in many cases there exists an overlap between historical worth and merit in terms of the study of a branch of learning. In bibliographic terms, a number of collections are pre-eminently significant, such as the early German collections at Lanhydrock in Cornwall or the Gaelic material in the library of John Lorne Campbell of Canna. Again Abbotsford library contains material which is so significantly associated with the owners that it is of national importance.

With regard to the justification for preservation, a number of houses have demonstrated this and the best examples tend to be from larger houses such as Chatsworth or Longleat, both of which also have

appropriate mechanisms for access as part of the overall library management plan. Increasingly, houses, both large and small, have forged useful links with other players in this field; for example, Rockingham Castle has had beneficial links with the Department of Librarianship at Loughborough University and these links are beneficial in a number of respects, not least the evaluation of collections. With regard to that process of evaluation, one of the most successful has been that which occurred at Arundel Castle in West Sussex, the seat of the Dukes of Norfolk. Here the collection was assessed by the British Library over some fifteen years and their report has formed the core of the library's long-term management plan. There is also similar British Library involvement with the National Trust in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. This process has often been replicated elsewhere but on a more informal basis, such as at Balcarres in Fife, the home of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. Additionally, professional staff from various universities (including Glasgow, Newcastle, Loughborough and Robert Gordon) have been involved in evaluating collections (the degree of formality varying in individual cases).

Some houses (including one in Wales which preferred to remain anonymous) have had their collections assessed by their local or county library staff and have, as a consequence, developed useful links with these services. Finally, in regard to evaluation, a large number of properties have described their collections as being evaluated by those in the antiques business (usually someone from the large auction houses). This is not entirely satisfactory and should not be regarded as true evaluation, because the criteria on which they work is significantly different from those used by the professional librarian, especially in regard to conservation issues.

3. Funding

3.1 Introduction

The funding of work for the library collection, be it cataloguing, conservation, preservation or security, is crucial. Owners and administrators must strive, through all possible means, to provide adequate and on-going financial support to country house libraries. In the first instance, it is always desirable for houses to finance libraries internally from existing resources, conservation funds or from profits made through opening the house or allied activities. Private finance always ensures that owners and administrators remain totally in control of programmes for conservation and preservation. Where possible a sum should be set aside annually for work in the library.

3.2 Public Initiatives

Whilst acknowledging this, it is important to be aware that such situations are not always practical; the scale of work required in many collections cannot be entirely financed from private funds and it is, therefore, necessary to give consideration to public funding initiatives. Such initiatives, inevitably, place

some emphasis on the question of access and this must be borne in mind from the very beginning. Involvement with public funding initiatives always results in owners and administrators losing a certain degree of control.

3.3 British Library Grants for Cataloguing and Preservation

The British Library Board makes funds available on an annual basis for cataloguing and / or listing of collections. It also maintains the scheme of grants for preservation projects which was initially funded by the Wolfson Foundation. Both awards are managed and administered by the British Library Research and Innovation Centre based at 2, Sheraton Street, London, W1V 4HB. (Telephone: 0171 412 7048, Fax: 0171 412 7251).

3.3.1 Eligibility of Libraries

Any library or record office is eligible to apply. The following conditions must be met:-

- (a) Reasonable access is allowed to members of the public (*see* Access)
- (b) Suitable storage conditions are available.
- (c) There is a firm commitment to continuing good preservation practice.
- (d) Appropriate assurances are given for reimbursement of the grant in the event of the subsequent disposal of the material for which the award has been made.

3.3.1.1 Eligibility of Material

Collections which are of national importance and / or are unique are not normally eligible for awards in either cataloguing and listing or preservation. Priority is given to collections which have not previously been catalogued or listed, or to those which are partially or inadequately catalogued or listed. Projects for the preservation of manuscripts and archives will not be dealt with under this scheme. Such initiatives are referred to the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust (which is also managed and administered by the British Library Research and Innovation Centre). Material which is the subject of the application must be the property of the applicant or required by law to be deposited on loan with the applicant.

3.3.1.2 Ineligible Projects

Retrospective grants will not normally be awarded for work (whether cataloguing or preservation) which has been already undertaken and completed. Projects from organisations or institutions which receive their funding from central government will only be considered eligible for funding through these schemes where a newly-acquired or non-core collection is concerned, provided the organisation or institution cannot fund the project from its own resources. In addition, the following types of material are not eligible:-

(a) Public Records within the remit of the Public Records Acts.

(b) Official archives of the institution or authority applying for the grant. Older records, however, particularly if they are unusual or unique survivals, may qualify for consideration.

3.3.2 Sums Available

Owners and administrators should bear in mind that there is considerable competition for limited funds through these schemes. Grants do not normally exceed the sum of £5,000 but, in exceptional circumstances and if funds permit, awards may be considered up to a maximum of £10,000. Projects which cost less than £1,000 will not normally be considered. Applicants will normally be expected to contribute a proportion of the costs themselves or from an alternative source. In certain instances, a grant may be made conditional on the applicant raising the remaining funds required by a specified date.

3.3.3 Coverage

Grants are not intended to be ongoing or continuing in nature; further grants for projects already awarded financial assistance under these schemes are not normally awarded. New projects in organisations or institutions which have previously received aid for other schemes are eligible but earlier awards (for other projects) may be taken into consideration. The two distinct awards have slightly different coverage. Namely:-

3.3.3.1 Cataloguing

Grants for cataloguing or listing may cover the costs of salaries and related expenses of staff specially employed for the project. They should not generally cover capital or equipment costs.

3.3.3.2 Preservation

Grants for preservation may cover the cost of repair, binding and other preservation measures (such as the improvement of environmental conditions, monitoring and control, as well as microfilming). They should not cover the cost of contract conservation and preservation or the salaries and related expenses of staff specially employed for the projects, nor the expendable materials which are required. They should not generally cover capital or equipment costs.

3.3.4 Applications Process

Applications should be lodged by 31st January and 30th June each year (based on the financial year commencing in April). The Awards Committee will normally adjudicate a few weeks after each closing date. The closing dates refer to the last date for receipt by the British Library. It is advisable to submit applications as early as possible. In order to ensure that funds are available throughout the year

some applications may be deferred to the next round. Appropriate documentation should be obtained from the British Library Research and Innovation Centre. A summary of the proposed work should be included on the appropriate form.. Nine copies of the separate full description of the project should also be provided. All applications must supply:-

- (a) Brief details of the historical background of the library.
- (b) Its objectives, subject scope, any restrictions on use (e.g. for members only), and its relationship with other similar institutions or collections.
- (c) A full description of the material to be catalogued or preserved, including an explanation of its intrinsic merit and its importance in the national context.
- (d) An indication of the present and expected future use of the material.
- (e) A description of the condition in which the material is housed (e.g. type of shelving, temperature and humidity controls, security arrangements).
- (f) A timetable for the various stages of the planned programme of work, including a breakdown of the costs for each year of the project if relevant.
- (g) An indication of the priorities if a large project is proposed, or if more than one type of material is included in the application.
- (h) A note of the relevant qualifications and experience of people to be employed on the project.
- (i) Details of any related applications to other funding bodies.
- (j) Details of income and expenditure of the organisation or institution, including the contribution it is prepared to make towards the cost of the proposed work.

For country house collections, special consideration must be given to the details required in (b) and (d), both of which require information on use. Owners and administrators must be able to demonstrate that reasonable public access to the collection is available and that this will be maintained or enhanced through the awarding of a grant. It is not enough to show that general access to the room is available to visitors if the house is open to the public. Intellectual access to and use of the material for the purposes

of research or scholarship is the principal concern. Owners and administrators are advised to formalise any *ad hoc* policies which currently exist with regard to access in order to be able to meet the criteria laid down by the British Library. *See Access.*

3.3.5 Cataloguing Projects

In addition, cataloguing projects must contain:-

(a) Details of the existing catalogues, indices or lists as well as a description of the proposed project, including the cataloguing standards and protocols to be used, the means of dissemination (e.g. hardcopy, CD-ROM, or via the Joint Academic Network (JANet)), and the relationship with other cataloguing projects such as the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (ESTC).

(b) A breakdown of costs of the project, including the details of salaries to be paid, superannuation and national insurance contributions.

3.3.6 Preservation Projects

In addition, preservation projects must contain:-

(a) A description of the condition of the material and the proposed work.

(b) Either, detailed estimates from at least one conservator in which full consideration has been given to the intended future use, and to the known value of the item(s), or, if staff are to be specially employed for the project, details of salaries to be paid, superannuation, national insurance contributions, and the costs of materials.

The full project description should not exceed four sides of A4 paper, although any further supporting documentation (such as the most recent annual report and accounts, detail of constitution (where applicable) &c) should be appended.

3.3.7 Conditions of Grants

The Awards Committee is likely to take advice from experts in the British Library, the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, the National Libraries of Scotland or Wales, or from other appropriate outside bodies or individuals on the importance of the material concerned, the appropriateness of the application, the proposed form of conservation, cataloguing or listing, and the conditions under which the material will be kept and used. This will normally involve a visit to inspect the material.

On approval of the project and acceptance by the applicant of the general and any special conditions of the grant, fifty per cent of the award will be paid. The remainder will be conditional upon receipt of satisfactory final reports. Applications for interim payments may be made upon the receipt of satisfactory progress reports. All grants are given subject to general conditions:-

(a) That the library will not subsequently dispose of the material without the prior approval of the British Library.

(b) That in the event of the sale of all or any of the material for which the grant has been made, or its withdrawal from reasonable public access, the sum awarded or an appropriate proportion of the sum awarded must be refunded.

(c) That in the case of preservation projects, the representatives of the Awards Committee may inspect the material in question at any stage from the submission of the application to the completion of the conservation work.

(d) That in the case of cataloguing or listing projects, a copy of the catalogue or list is deposited with the British Library, and in all cases involving manuscript materials with the National Register of Archives maintained by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.

(e) That payment of the final part of the grant will be made only on receipt of a satisfactory final report from the applicant on the progress of the project. This should provide an account of how the money has been spent and summarise the background to the application, the problems encountered in carrying out the work, the solutions adopted and the benefits to the applicant of the grant awarded.

(f) That publicity should be given to the award within the organisation or institution and through other appropriate channels, acknowledging "the assistance of The British Library through its scheme of grants for cataloguing and preservation". The Library is committed to seeking additional funds for this scheme and wishes to draw the attention of potential new donors, as well as of new applicants, to its work in this area and to the benefits provided.

(g) That in the case of preservation projects, copies of "before" and "after" photographs should, when possible, be provided to illustrate how an award has been used. These photographs may be used by the British Library in its annual report or other publications.

In addition, certain special conditions may be attached to individual grants in certain circumstances. These are outlined in the letter of award.

3.4 Alternative Funding Bodies

In addition to the British Library grants there exists the potential for funding awards from the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust (NMCT) and from a number of private charitable foundations, such as Wolfson or Leverhulme. Direct contact with these bodies should be encouraged.

3.5 Heritage Lottery Fund

Furthermore, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), in its revised guidelines (in response to the National Heritage Act, 1997) does not discourage applications from consortia in regard to privately-owned heritage. Projects which may be considered under this 'umbrella scheme' may include the cataloguing or listing of bibliographic or archival collections. Precedents in this field can only be set once applications through this process have been successfully made.

Funding - Best Practice and Examples

The majority of houses still prefer, where possible, to fund library work from internal sources. The British Library grants have been set out in detail here because they are sadly under-utilised in the country house context and this largely stems from a profound lack of awareness by owners. Only a tiny handful have applied for these grants - the most successful being Rockingham Castle in Leicestershire, home of the Watson family since before the Civil War. In this instance, the money was used in a number of ways, but most notably in order to prepare a new catalogue of the entire collection. As is subsequently mentioned under conservation, it is desirable, if funding is to be purely internal, to attempt to establish, as some houses like Rockingham have done, a library fund, setting aside a certain sum each year if at all possible.

To date, the Heritage Lottery Fund has not provided a grant to any country house consortia under its umbrella scheme. Consequently, it is impossible to say how this might affect library management in the future. As the situation with the Heritage Lottery Fund is still not entirely clear it may be that until an application is made (and either accepted or rejected) no clear picture of the role of this body will emerge.

4. Access

4.1 Introduction

Access comes in a variety of different guises. This policy deals solely with intellectual access to *material* within libraries, not to the concept of general access to the *room*. Access is, of course, in the gift of the owner or administrator of a particular collection unless defined guidelines are imposed in terms of either financial assistance from public source or through various elements of the taxation system. In other circumstances, where no formal guidelines are imposed, it is undesirable, given the relatively low number of requests which are made to owners and administrators, to establish a formal structure. Having said that, it is advisable to have an organised method for dealing with any request for access to material. Given the fragile and essentially private nature of country house libraries, a distinction should always be made between the simple *provision* of access and the *encouragement* of access. Owners and administrators should err on the side of the former. Individual properties will vary dramatically in their ability to deal with applications for access, according to their existing facilities.

4.2 Assessment of Applications

Each application for intellectual access to the library (or archives) should be judged on the merits of each individual case. However, the following criteria should be borne in mind when assessing any applications

4.2.1 Nature of the Research

Applicants should be able and willing to provide a summary of the research which they are carrying out and be able to state why access to the collection is necessary, advantageous or desirable. Priority should always be given to applications where the research is related to:-

(a) The Family

(b) The House or Estate

(c) The Locality or the County

In addition, however, consideration should always be given to applications where the research is related to a strength of the collection, such as a particular discipline (e.g. botany), bibliographic type (e.g. seventeenth century tracts), or cultural terms (e.g. recusant literature).

4.2.2 Availability of Material Elsewhere

An important consideration in any application must be the availability of the material elsewhere. If, as is most often the case, the same material is available elsewhere within the national, academic or local library systems it may be preferable to suggest that the applicant attempts to gain access to the material through these channels. It is advisable to consider the convenience of this for the applicant. For example, it would be beneficial to grant access to a local researcher if a country house library in Northumberland contains a particular work, the only publicly held copies of which being in London or Oxford.

4.2.3 Academic Studies

Increasingly, country houses have cultivated meaningful relationships with a wide variety of university degree courses. These often provide for useful additions to the architectural and social history of the house, its collection, gardens, parkland and estate. Such connections are to be encouraged as part of the vibrancy of the country house. This provides another, vitally important opportunity for access to the library collection. Access, however, should be limited in terms of courses with which a relationship currently exists or where an individual student can demonstrate a legitimate case. In most cases, students requesting access are the easiest to deal with because their legitimacy as applicants can be easily and quickly verified. Additionally, however, occasional student use can benefit the house more tangibly than may other categories of applicants.

see also sub 'User Groups and Accreditation'

The **COUNTRY HOUSE STUDIES COURSE (MA)** at the University of Leeds is a case in point. Close co-operation currently exists between it and a number of important country houses. Similarly, some Schools of Librarianship have links with country houses.

4.2.4 Commercial Gain

In addition to the above, it is important to identify, directly from applicants, if there will be any commercial gain from use of material in the library collection. If this is the case, owners and administrators may wish to consider the merits of an increased levy to take account of this. Where commercial gain may result it is particularly important to assess the type of research being undertaken as well as the accessibility of the material elsewhere.

see also sub 4.3.6 'Charging'

4.3 Logistical Considerations

Detailed consideration should be given to the logistical implications of any request for access. Those collections which are governed by external schemes such as Conditional Exemption will, of course, be

subject to the restrictions and guidelines which are imposed externally. However, all collections should endeavour to have some workable scheme by which the potential for logistical difficulties can be minimised. These should take consideration of the timing of access, the supervision required as well as the physical problems which historic houses can pose. It is advisable that houses vary their arrangements according to the type of the house (and the library collection) as well as in terms of the existing access arrangements. It is unlikely that one standard format for access can operate successfully in every country house.

4.3.1 Arrangements for Access Policies

At the outset it is vitally important to stress that applications for access are generally relatively uncommon. However, it is advisable to over-estimate the number and time involved in dealing with these enquiries. Consequently, it is recommended that owners and administrators designate (in their own minds at least) a particular number of days per annum when those to whom access has been conceded (following the rigorous applications process) may actually visit the collection and consult with the work(s).

Traditionally, the number of days designated by the various Statutory Bodies for access to historic sites or particular items varies dramatically according to individual circumstances. However, twenty-eight days per annum tends to represent the minimum. Owners and administrators should therefore bear this figure in mind. Generally, however, this is too cumbersome an approach for country house libraries because of the limited number of requests. Consequently, a more pragmatic approach which reacts to the merits of individual enquiries is necessary. Equally important is the individuality of the house and the collection. Consequently, owners or administrators may find the staged approaches to access useful and adopt the option best suitable to their charge.

4.3.2 Reference Period

In all instances where access is being conceded allow enough time between agreeing to the request and the actual visit in order to check references and credentials. During this reference period all details should, ideally, be confirmed in writing, with the applicant acknowledging by letter and stating the precise reasons for the visit. It may be useful at this stage to ascertain if there are any other elements of the collections (e.g. paintings, archives &c) which may be relevant to the research being undertaken.

see also sub 4.4 'User Groups and Accreditation'

4.3.3 Mechanism for Access

Evidence suggests that the majority of requests for access will be dealt with sympathetically by owners and administrators. Providing the application is genuine and the applicant has met the criteria, few

owners and administrators will refuse access. This is, however, due to the relatively low number of applications which are currently made. While in no way suggesting that country house libraries should be made more accessible *per se* (which is a decision for owners), this policy must suggest certain mechanisms for the formalising of access arrangements if, for no other reason, than to assist the efficient management of the bibliographic component of country house collections.

4.3.3.1 Stage One: Informal Access

Informal access, whereby a visit is arranged at a mutually convenient time between the owner and the applicant, is the most common arrangement. Given the relatively low number of applications for access which are received by country house libraries, it is likely that this method will remain the most favoured approach. It is particularly beneficial to smaller houses which perhaps lack the resources (especially in terms of personnel) to introduce a more formal structure which, in any case, may be regarded as too cumbersome. It also ensures direct contact between owners or administrators on one hand and the applicant on the other. In practical terms, the applicant, having satisfied the criteria for gaining access, should be contacted and a discussion should take place concerning when a visit would be mutually convenient. It is important to discuss the length of the visit and its practicality in terms of the administration of the house as well as the need for appropriate supervision. Informal access as defined above is particularly appropriate for:-

- (a) Smaller historic houses.
- (b) Houses with no or limited (28 days per annum or less) public access.
- (c) Houses with a library collection of less than four thousand volumes.
- (d) Houses with limited personnel (two members of staff or less).
- (e) Houses with no track-record of access applications to the library.

Houses which meet these criteria may wish to exit the access recommendations at this point

4.3.3.2 Stage Two: Internally Formalised Access

It may be desirable, in larger houses, to attempt a more formal structure. This is especially true in those houses where the collection has particular merits or where there is a track-record of applications for access. This will almost certainly be required of any house which has received financial support from a public body in connection with the library. However, for those houses

where the maintenance of the library is self-financed it may still be advantageous because formalising the structure enables owners and administrators to remain more fully in control of visits. If considering the twenty-eight days per annum approach, it may be convenient to identify two days per month when visits would be acceptable (in terms of house administration). This leaves four days per annum which can be set aside at the discretion of the owner or administrator in response to unforeseen applications. For example, the first Monday and Tuesday of the month may be days identified for library access. Such a system may purely be an internal administrative device and not something which is broadcast to the outside world.

A number of factors will require to be considered if this approach is being adopted, not least the availability of staffing and the processing of enquiries. Inevitably, these will vary from house to house and from collection to collection. Access depends not only on the validity of the applicant and the nature of their research but also on the practical ability of the house to host such a visit.

Internally formalised access as defined above is particularly appropriate for:-

- (a) Medium to larger historic houses
- (b) Houses with no or limited (28 days per annum or less) or full (100 days per annum or more) public access.
- (c) Houses with a library collection of more than four thousand volumes.
- (d) Houses with more than five full-time members of staff.

Houses which meet these criteria may wish to exit the access recommendations at this point.

4.3.3.3 Stage Three: Externally Formalised Access

In those houses with highly organised management structures and with long track records of provision of access, it may be desirable to provide a formalised access on a much greater scale. It is likely that externally formalised access would only involve a small number of houses. The essence of this element is increased awareness of the access provision which exists. Part of this strategy may involve increasing the opening times of the library by designating particular times in each week. Another important element is the advertising of this fact. Whereas in the previous section any formalised policy may be said to be purely an internal management tool, here it is part of the

strategy for marketing the house and collections. As part of this process it may also be worthwhile for formal links to be established between the house and outside organisations (such as Library Schools, local universities &c). Those houses with an Internet presence may wish to consider the viability of producing details of the library and its collection in this format. It should be borne in mind that the World-Wide Web is not a significant security hazard; it represents the same level of security threat as guidebooks do. As part of the structure of externally formalised access, owners or administrators may wish to consider the inclusion of a (computerised) catalogue to facilitate access. This could be available in hardcopy or electronically.

Externally formalised access as defined above is particularly appropriate for:-

- (a) Larger historic houses
- (b) Houses with no or limited (28 days per annum or less) or full (100 days per annum or more) public access.
- (c) Houses with a library collection of more than ten thousand volumes.
- (d) Houses with more than ten full-time members of staff, amongst whom is a full-time librarian or archivist.

4.3.4 Supervision

It is desirable that anyone who is admitted to the library in order to consult material is supervised at all times. When assessing applications for access, supervision must be well thought through in terms of the time and duration of the visit. It is also costly in terms of staff time unless other duties can be performed simultaneously, and these considerations should be taken seriously. Exceptions should be rare and generally limited to persons well-known to the owner or administrator.

4.3.5 Study Rooms

It is advisable, where possible, to provide a study room separate from the library itself where particular items (requested by a user) can be consulted. In houses open to the public where the library forms part of the visitor route, this is essential to minimise disruption. However, it is also sensible in terms of the safety of the collection as a whole, especially in houses which are either not open to the public or where the library itself is not on a public visitor route. Study rooms are particularly beneficial if links exist with university courses and students are allowed to examine particular aspects of the house and its collections as part of their academic studies.

4.3.6 Charging

It is perfectly acceptable to levy a charge for the use of library collections. A number of the largest collections already do this. A reasonable fee to view any item is quite acceptable; the Register of Conditionally Exempt items states that a fee may be made in order "*to cover administrative costs*". However, it is important that owners and administrators bear in mind the limited number of enquiries which are received and that it is inadvisable to charge prohibitively for use of the library. Almost inevitably, this generates bad publicity which assists no one. Charging should be used as a means of covering expenses, not as a means of deterring access. If not governed by a statutory scheme which demands access, it is preferable that owners and administrators refuse access in the first instance rather than concede it only to charge an ill-judged fee. The charging of a fee should be indicated clearly at the outset when dealing with any application for access.

4.3.6.1 Fees

The levying of fees should be at the discretion of individual properties but the following questions should be answered if a charging mechanism is adopted:-

- (a) Is the fee to be levied per hour or per day?
- (b) Will the fee include value-added tax or will that be additional?
- (c) Is it to be a flat rate or will it take into consideration the nature of the research?
- (d) What are the exemptions (e.g. students, charitable research &c)?
- (e) Are supervisory staff being taken away from their normal paid activity?

4.3.6.2 Commercial Gain

In addition to the above, it is important to identify, directly from applicants, if there will be any commercial gain from use of material in the library collection. If this is the case, owners and administrators may wish to consider the merits of an increased levy to take account of this.

4.4 User Groups and Accreditation

For the majority of the general public simple access to the library on a house tour is more than adequate. Indeed, evidence suggests that the inclusion of a library on a house tour makes no significant difference to

visitors' desires to tour a house. However, certain legitimate enquiries may be received from individuals who have *bona fide* reason for requesting access to the collection.

4.4.1 User Groups

In all instances the final decision on admission to the library rests with the owner or administrator except in those circumstances where access is obligatory in terms of a Statutory scheme. However, the following categories should generally be considered:-

- (a) Academics
- (b) Historians
- (c) Researchers
- (d) Scholars
- (e) Writers * *see also Commercial Gain.*

In addition, specific types or classes of material within particular collections may result in other individuals or groups applying for access. For example, the clergy may request access to collections which are strong in Catholic or recusant literature. The status of applicants should be assessed and considered before access is granted.

4.4.2 Prohibited Groups

Given the sensitive nature of country house collections in general and their library collections in particular, it may be advisable for a list of prohibited groups to be drawn up. This is already common practice in some collections and includes students of lower status than post-graduate as well as antiquarian book dealers. This is very much an internal issue but one to which serious consideration should be given.

4.4.3 Accreditation

When dealing with requests for access it is advisable to draft (and maintain copies) of a *pro forma* sheet which may be sent to anyone requesting access to the collection. (*see Annex*) This may cut down internal administration as well as ensuring equality of treatment for all applications. Part of this process should involve the provision of suitable accreditation from the applicant. Applicants should be capable of supplying details of the following:-

- (a) Evidence that they are who they claim to be.
- (b) Their reason for visiting the collection is legitimate and *bona fide*.
- (c) They are trustworthy.
- (d) That they are suitable individuals to handle library materials. (This may include previous experience of handling antiquarian or rare books &c).

4.4.3.2 References

It is necessary, in instances where the potential user is unknown to the owner or administrator, to obtain references. The number required may vary from house to house but either one or two should be adequate. The extra administration resulting from more than two should be borne in mind. It is important to remember the accreditation criteria used for the applicant (*above*) and consider the same points in relation to references:-

- (a) That the person is whom they claim to be.
- (b) That their reason for visiting the collection is legitimate and *bona fide*.
- (c) That they are trustworthy.
- (d) That they are suitable individuals to handle library materials. (This may include previous experience of handling antiquarian or rare books &c).

4.5 Acknowledgement

Owners and administrators should agree, in advance, with applicants whether public acknowledgement is required, especially in instances where the researches may eventually take a published form. Owners and administrators should consider the implications which this may have for future applications, the profile of the house and collection as well as security. On the one hand, it may be desirable to ensure that material is specifically attributed, while on the other it may be preferable to ensure that it is simply noted as being 'from a private collection'.

See also 10. Electronic Access

Access - Best Practice and Examples

Here again, the largest and best organised libraries tend to have the most sophisticated arrangements for access. That is not to say that houses like Longleat and Chatsworth can serve as models for the rest. They are simply being reactive to the type and nature of their own collections and this should be replicated across the board. Larger houses, however, should consider adopting the best-practice which is used in these properties. Designating visiting times, defining users and considering charging mechanism are all part of this process.

However, in many other houses, indeed in the majority, a more informal approach is likely to be more satisfactory. To a certain extent best-practice remains to be defined because of the relatively small amount of enquiries which most (smaller) houses and collections receive. In general, however, applications to see material in the library should be treated in the same ways as applications for the archives. Hopetoun House in West Lothian already does this and it is a valid approach. Eaton Hall in Cheshire also does this with the qualification that the owners' permission would always be sought and obtained first. For many houses, however, the making of an appointment may be sufficient and this, together with appropriate guarantees, should suffice.

Again it is the largest properties with the most efficient management services for their libraries which have sophisticated charging mechanisms. Chatsworth and Longleat are particularly relevant in this regard and should be considered as examples of best practice. Longleat already distinguishes between ordinary access and access which might result in commercial gain for the applicant. Both houses have reading fees. Some houses may wish to adopt the Longleat approach which is variable according to circumstances. Generally, however, most collections have not refined their access arrangements to the degree necessary for such measures.

Many lessons can be learned from the National Trusts in regard to access. Although by no means perfect in their approach, they do balance the need to preserve material with appropriate access and, more importantly, strongly adhere to the need to consider the availability of material elsewhere. For example, it has been pointed out that the three National Trust libraries within 45 miles of Cambridge would be unlikely to concede intellectual access if the University Library were prepared to make its copy of a work available. Conversely, the Trust has note that it would be foolish to make someone fly from Northern Ireland to London to see a book in the British Library if it were available in Castle Coole. This is an important lesson in the evaluation of access and does constitute best-practice in this area.

5. Loans

5.1 Introduction

Loan of material is fundamentally different from access to material. Detailed consideration must be given to any request for the loan of material from the library or indeed from the archives. If a defined policy exists for the lending of material of other elements of the collection within the house (e.g. paintings, furniture, ceramics, textiles &c), it may be possible to simply adapt this scheme for bibliographic and archival material. However, as with disaster planning, it is best to have pre-determined guidelines specifically for these items. Lending from a country house library is fundamentally different from the concept of borrowing within the public library sector. Loan implies temporary removal from its regular home to another suitable organisation rather than to a private individual. Those considering loans of any description should consult British Standard BS5454:1989 (Appendix E)

5.2 Types of Loan

Lending of material may be said to fall into the following categories:-

5.2.1 Specified Exhibition

The loan of particular items for a particular exhibition or display in an organisation or institution, invariably a library or museum. These loans are for specified periods of time.

5.2.2 Unspecified Exhibition / Deposit

The loan of a particular item (or items) to a library or archive for an unspecified period. This may take the form of deposit of a work because the recipient library or archive is better placed to maintain the work. The ownership, however, is not prejudiced by this deposit.

5.2.3 Specified Study

The loan of a particular item which has been requested for study by an individual in connection with a piece of research and where it may be desirable to deposit it in a designated library, museum or archive for a limited period.

[This is often a particularly valid method if the library forms part of a visitor route in a house open to the public. It also ensures that the material will be examined in a suitable environment with properly qualified supervisors on hand. From the perspective of the owner or administrator, who otherwise would be compelled to arrange supervision within the house itself, this may be the most

efficient means of access. It may, however, present certain logistical problems concerning transport and delivery of the material to the recipient location].

5.3 Conditions of Loan

5.3.1 Introduction

All lending agreement should be drawn up in writing and should ensure that any material being lent is handled and displayed in accordance with principles of sound conservation. The lender should ensure this (and define exactly what they mean by it) before the loan is agreed upon.

5.3.2 Packaging

Lenders should ensure that the material is packed commensurate with the journey it may need to undertake. If a work is to go abroad it may be necessary to obtain Customs' clearance to ensure that it is not passed through X-ray machines or opened in unsecured areas. Such special arrangements should always be arranged well in advance of travel and must, of course, include both legs of a journey.

5.3.3 Environmental Custodianship

Agreement must be reached prior to a loan concerning the environment and custodianship of the material to be lent. Lenders should define what they expect in terms of a proper environment and the conditions they expect for custody. This should include adequate insurance from the time it leaves its home until the time it is returned. The lender should insist that the environment is checked and maintained regularly and that the items be kept under proper supervision. Lenders should ensure that, if a recipient organisation fail to meet these criteria, the right to withdraw material exists.

5.3.4 Record-keeping

Lenders should inspect the items thoroughly before they leave and specify that the items should not be damaged, altered or changed in any way. Inspection should again take place when the items are returned. Careful records about each item should be taken before the material leaves its usual location. It may be helpful to have the items photographed at this stage.

5.3.5 Inspection

The owners and administrators of collections should remain pro-active even after the material has been handed over and maintain the right to inspect it at any time. They should not assume that once the material has been lent it is solely the responsibility of the host organisation.

5.4.6 Display

Material which is mounted or cradled (more common for archival material than for printed volumes) should not be tampered with. Lenders should insist that material is not fumigated.

5.4.7 Handling of Material

Lenders should insist that the material is handled only by staff in the host organisation, unless otherwise specified or unless it is loaned for specified research use.

5.4.7.1 Lending for Study

In instances where a work has been loaned for use (the third category of loan), it is necessary to ensure that the user is *bona fide* in the same way as owners or administrators do when admitting researchers to the house (*see above* Access - User Groups - Accreditation). If a work has been lent for consultation, it is sensible to specify precisely to the host who is entitled to consult the work and to arrange for the material's immediate return when the researcher has completed their work.

5.4.7.2 Lending for Exhibition

If material has been made available for lending for a specific exhibition, rather than for study, it may be necessary to ensure that no bibliographic or scientific study takes place during the time the material is located away from the house. In these instances, ensure that the material is only handled by appropriately trained members of staff within the host organisation.

5.4.8 Photography

Material should not be photographed or copied without prior approval.

Loan - Best Practice and Examples

As has been mentioned in connection with access, best practice tends to revolve around the National Trusts and the National Trust for Scotland in particular. Loans should be regarded as an aid to access. The NTS's policy of allowing certain items to be put on temporary deposit in Special Collections Departments is both sensible and satisfactory. It should be borne in mind that loan of materials from the library in this repeat is no different from the loan of other items for exhibition. The Treasure Houses of Britain Exhibition in Washington DC in the 1980s drew together items from a huge number of houses, including Chatsworth, Althorp, and Castle Howard not to mention from National Trust properties. In almost every case the material lent was much rarer, more valuable and considerably more cumbersome than mere books. The National Trust for Scotland apart, there have been few recent examples of lending of bibliographic material and where it has occurred it tends to be for exhibition rather than for consultation.

6. Conservation

6.1 Introduction

Preservation and conservation of library collections should be integrated into the general plan for the management of the house and its collections as a whole. The management of the library collection should be governed by consideration of:-

- (a) Preventive Measures - to minimise the rate and scale of deterioration
- (b) Housekeeping Measures - to clean and protect materials.
- (c) Security Measures - undertaken as part of the general house management but with special reference to the peculiarities of the library.
- (d) Conservation Treatments - repair of damaged, decayed or deteriorated material.
- (e) Procedures for Exhibition - either internally or externally.

Reference should be made to the justifications for preservation made in Section 2. Preservation and conservation policies should be taken to consider:-

- (a) standards for the storage, cleaning and handling of material;
- (b) a plan for the control of disaster or emergency situations and for the recovery of materials in such circumstances. (As a result of the peculiarities which these issues raise within the context of the country house, details will be found separately in Section 7, entitled *Disaster Control Planning*);
- (c) a maintenance programme to clean and repair items;
- (d) priorities for conservation treatment and processes.

6.2 Storage

Storage and cleaning may be said to represent preventive measures as well as good-housekeeping. In country house libraries it is likely that the physical environment will have more impact on the bibliographic material than use. Therefore, expert advice should be taken on establishing an environmental equilibrium.

British Standard 5454:1989 defines recommendations for the storage of archival material and serves as a good starting point.

6.2.1 Temperature and Relative Humidity

Temperature and relative humidity (RH) are inextricably linked. The moisture content of the air and the temperature are important elements in the decay of bibliographic or archival materials.

6.2.1.1 Temperature

Opinions vary as to the precise temperature in which collections should be stored. However, it is generally recommended that bibliographic and archival material (paper and parchment) should ideally be stored within the range of thirteen to eighteen degrees Celsius. However, this is intolerably low if the room is regularly used and would certainly be regarded as too cold for human habitation. In broad terms, however, paper can tolerate an average temperature of twenty to twenty-two degrees Celsius, provided the relative humidity is modified.

6.2.1.2 Relative Humidity

Relative Humidity in temperate countries ranges from thirty to sixty per cent. (Zero per cent can be attained only in desert conditions, while one hundred per cent represents complete saturation). Dehumidifiers should be installed in order to regulate the relative humidity. In such circumstances, relative humidity should be in the range of forty-five to fifty-five per cent - if the temperature is between 13 and 18 degrees. In practice, however, this is probably unacceptable, especially if the room is used regularly, and somewhere in the range of forty to sixty per cent is sufficient. Consistency is as important as the actual level.

6.2.2 Physical Storage

The British Standard also provides details of storage. Section 9.8.7 relates particularly to bound volumes and these recommendations should be borne in mind in country house libraries. Most importantly, volumes should not be pushed back against the wall; a gap should be left behind the volumes to allow air to circulate freely. In historic buildings this is particularly important given the age and fabric of the building. Outsize bound volumes should be stored flat where possible.

6.2.3 Light

Light should be carefully monitored and filters fitted as appropriate. Blinds should be installed on any windows which admit direct sunlight. In general, the library is best kept with minimum lighting if possible.

6.3 Further Information

These are brief headings for consideration; it would be possible to go on *ad nauseum* about conservation and storage issues. The point of this policy is to provide methods for the dissemination of information and to highlight appropriate routes for assistance. Houses which face serious problems in terms of conservation and preservation or storage are advised to obtain copies of major reference works on library conservation, particularly works by John Feather or Ross Harvey.

Conservation and Preservation - Best Practice and Examples

Conservation and preservation offers a number of opportunities to highlight best practice. Inevitably, in the first instance, the biggest, best-managed houses can supply the most pertinent examples. Chatsworth, Castle Howard, Longleat and Arundel all have ongoing preservation policies as time and finance permit. In an ideal world, this would be the most desirable route to be followed.

Firstly, with regard to security, it is sensible to ensure that no one is left alone in the library unless well-known to the owner or administrator. If at all possible the book stock should be out of reach of visitors on tours. Chatsworth does not let visitors into the library itself, simply giving them a chance to look from the door. This is a sensible approach but one which is not practical in many houses. Security should be sensible and discreet; wire across shelves - as happens in all too many houses - is neither appealing nor satisfactory. At Mellerstain the stacks are all behind the cordon for visitors and where possible this should be emulated. Libraries such as Kedleston where glass-fronted cabinets are used are in a particularly advantageous position. If security becomes a real problem then it may be necessary to follow the example of Bowhill and remove the library entirely from the visitors route.

With regard to actual conservation and preservation, a number of houses have attempted to set up a library fund, setting aside a certain sum each year for library work. Rockingham Castle is one such example. Inevitably, however, it is not always possible to maintain these over the long term, especially when other, unforeseen priorities may come along. In general, however, this is the most effective way to deal with conservation and preservation issues and replicates the way in which the National Trusts attempt to operate, albeit on a much larger and wider scale..

With regard to housekeeping matters most houses manage to have the collection cleaned on at least an annual basis and this is the starting point for good conservation and preservation management. Similarly, most collections manage to ensure that someone is prepared to keep an eye on the condition of material. Generally, however, most collections are faced with the problem of prioritising on the library material. Tissington Hall in Derbyshire represents good-practice in this regard, with an on-going scheme whereby a small number (often as few as four) are dealt with by a professional book conservationists.

7. Disaster Control Planning

7.1 Introduction

All country houses, like all major libraries and archives, should have regularly revised plans for coping with disaster or emergency situations. Country House libraries themselves, however, are different. The library within the country house is only one facet of a much larger collection and plans for the library should be fully integrated with a wider plan for the entire house and collection. Priorities must be set for each element of a country house whether that be paintings, furniture, ceramics or books. However, specific details which relate to the library exclusively should be given special consideration and, like the full plan, should be worked out in advance. Disaster or emergency plans for specific elements - such as libraries - should be clearly identified in any broader house-wide plan. In all elements, prevention should be the top priority. Similarly, the library itself is likely to contain much more than just books (furniture, textiles, paintings and all the other tradition elements of country house collections). This is an important aspect and consideration of it is crucial during the disaster planning process.

What follows in this section is not a fully worked-out Disaster Plan, rather it is a framework around which houses and their owners and administrators can develop a systematic structure suitable to the requirements of that individual property and its collection.

7.1.1 Definition of Emergency

Most emergency situations arise from fire or flooding. It is important to identify scales of emergency and to have suitable reactions according to the size of the incident. This will depend on the size of the house and the elements within the collections. In general, identify critical factors which allow for an emergency to be designated as either:-

- (a) Minor

- (b) Moderate

- (c) Major

However, because of the unique, irreplaceable and valuable nature of country house collections it is important to stress that damage to a relatively small number of items can constitute a major emergency.

7.1.2 Prioritising

It will be necessary to prioritise in any emergency. In the library, the evaluation of the collection should highlight the most important and significant elements. These should be regarded as top priorities in any emergency. However, it is also vital to give equal consideration to the other collections within the library (furniture, textiles, paintings and so on). It may be that some of these are of greater significance or importance than many of the books. When prioritising it is necessary to look at the library as a series of independent units which must be evaluated according to their own individual merits.

7.2 Integration of Plan

Disaster management plans for the library must be capable of operating in isolation where the library alone is the focus of an emergency, as well as being capable of being operated in conjunction with a general evacuation of the entire house and collections. While essentially integrated into the general house plan, it is vital to bear in mind that bibliographic resources require distinct treatment, quite different from other elements within a country house collection, and it is necessary, therefore, to have made suitable contact arrangements for these resources during the planning stage.

7.3 Emergency Response Team

Every collection of historic importance should have an Emergency Response Team or similar. The role of the team as a whole and the function of its members should be designated in advance. Each member should know exactly where to go and what to do in an emergency. Overlapping of activity should be avoided. A full list of members (together with telephone numbers) should be maintained and regularly revised to ensure accuracy. This should be circulated to all of those involved in the management of an emergency situation. Ensure that one person is clearly designated to contact and summon the team during an emergency.

7.3.1 Personnel

The Emergency Response Team should be made up of people who know and understand the house, its layout and collections. Ideally, it should be made up of people who work within the building - or at least on the estate. The size of the team (and of subgroups) will vary according to individual situations. The members of the Emergency Response Team should also be capable of getting to the house within a defined time-period (which may again vary according to individual circumstances).

7.3.2 Allocation of Responsibility

The Emergency Response Team should be subdivided into as many smaller groups as is necessary to cover the entire house and its collections. The Library should exclusively have at least one designated

group. Within these groups, members should be aware of their specific tasks. The full Emergency Response Team should be briefed about changes to the plan - ideally this should occur on an annual basis. It is advisable to avoid constant amendments and alterations.

7.4 Contacts

Identify contacts who may be able to assist in the event of an emergency. They may not normally be part of the Emergency Response Team but their assistance in the aftermath may be vital. Useful contacts may include local library and museum staff, national library and museum staff, university staff, National Trusts (and their volunteers) and NADFAS volunteers. When choosing volunteers bear in mind the significant amounts of valuable and irreplaceable material. Ensure that contacts have been made in advance with specialists at the national libraries, public records offices and the like with regard to salvage of items.

7.5 Internal Equipment and Supplies

Ensure that appropriate supplies are held in one store and that members of the Emergency Response Team are aware of its location. Ideally, this should be located in an ancillary building next to the house; consider stables, laundry, estate office, rather than in the house itself which, during an emergency, may render the store inaccessible. The supplies should include (as the National Library of Scotland Disaster Planning Manual highlights):-

7.5.1 Protective Clothing

Waterproof clothing and Wellington boots, safety helmets, plastic aprons, cotton gloves, surgical gloves.

7.5.2 Disaster Area Equipment

Mops and buckets; plastic buckets with fitting lids; squeegees; polythene sheeting; polythene on a roll; string; sealing tape (preferably Styglas); lamps and torches.

7.5.3 Cleaning and Packing

Hand-held water spray bottles; J cloths; Spontex cloths; Sponges; Crepe bandages (for tying around vellum bindings); white blotting paper (assorted sizes); clean newsprint (assorted sizes); kitchen roll; clingfilm; scissors; polythene bags; adhesive tape; pedal bin.

7.5.4 Recording Equipment

Clipboards; pens; pencils; notepads; paperclips (brass or plastic covered); labels (tie on with plastic sleeves).

7.5.5 Supplementary Equipment

Crates; trolleys; hand-operated pump.

7.6 External Back-Up Equipment and Personnel

Whether the emergency situation is a fire or a flood few houses will be able to cope with the incident in isolation. External support is inevitable and must be well thought out.

7.6.1 Contract Hire

It is essential that contacts have been made well in advance - at the time the Disaster Plan is being devised - with companies whose services, products and personnel may need to be hired during or shortly after an emergency. It will be necessary to obtain quotes from these firms with regard to the cost of their services and the capacity they have. Ensure, where possible, that the Disaster Plan contains at least two contact names and telephone numbers at each firm which is selected at the end of the process. Companies contacted will vary in individual circumstances and may be affected by a number of factors, not least the type of collection and the geographical location of the house.

7.6.2 Back-Up Support

The National Library of Scotland recommends that the following items are most commonly required in the aftermath of emergencies within libraries and archives:-

7.6.2.1 Equipment

Plastic Crates; Electric submersible pumps (the Fire Brigade may well charge if they are asked to pump out a building when no fire has occurred); Petrol non-submersible pumps (to be operated from dry areas); Wet / dry vacuum cleaners; Dehumidifiers; Fans (warm or cold, gentle action).

7.6.2.2 Commercial Storage

It is necessary to contact blast-freezers and coldstores; to locate and contact van, truck, freezer-truck hire companies as well as freeze-drying facilities. In all instances costings and estimates should be obtained.

7.6.2.3 Local Tradesmen

In addition, it is necessary to maintain a list of local tradesmen (if the house does suitably skilled staff of its own). In most instances this will already exist in some shape or form, but should be

formalised for the Disaster Plan. It should include joiners, electricians, plumbers, glaziers, locksmiths, builders and pest controllers.

7.7 Disaster Reaction

This section deals with how reaction should be co-ordinated immediately after an emergency situation has been identified.

7.7.1 Raising the Alarm

All staff should be instructed on the correct procedures for raising the alarm. It is necessary to ensure that, if an incident occurs out of hours, key personnel are contacted immediately after the emergency services. A safe assembly point should be identified as near to the emergency as is practical. As the Emergency Response Team assembles, ensure that everyone knows their individual and collective responsibilities and that they are aware of how to proceed and the time available to them. Duties must be allocated equally with consideration to:-

- (a) rescue or salvage of material
- (b) operating back-up equipment
- (c) removal of material to the operations area
- (d) working within the operations area

7.7.2 Rescue of Material

If safety and the emergency services permit, the Emergency Response Team should attempt to rescue as much material as possible. This should include the evacuation of areas unaffected by the emergency but to where there is a danger of it spreading. Priorities must be assessed at the time. Rescue and salvage, together with re-entry into the building or the affected area, will be governed, in the case of a fire, by the Fire Brigade officer-in-charge or, in the case of a flood, by the Controller of the Emergency Response Team. In either instance, safety must be the paramount consideration.

7.7.3 Removal, Recording, Treatment, Cleaning, Transport of Material

For full details see National Library of Scotland's *Planning Manual for Disaster Control*.

7.7.3.1 Removal of Material

Within the country house library it is essential to consider the room in two distinct ways: as a repository of books and paper-based resources and also as room housing furniture, paintings and other elements of the country house collection. This distinction should be noted throughout the Disaster Plan and, if space and manpower permit, separate teams should operate within the library during an emergency, one for the books and one for the other items in the room. The following should be considered:-

- (a) The removal of material should be supervised at all times.
- (b) Where water penetration of the library is occurring from above, cover shelves in polythene sheeting.
- (c) Empty shelving systematically (clear those bays which are built into the walls first, unless free-standing bookcases are of huge significance and require to be removed from the room).
- (d) Locate moving equipment as near as possible to the room itself. If necessary, form human chains to remove material.

7.7.3.2 Recording of Material

- (a) Allocate one person to record the removal of material.
- (b) Record and detail all material being removed. If possible, indicate the location from whence the items came. Use separate sheets according to the different types of material.
- (c) Material should be placed in separate crates according to the degree of damage sustained.

7.7.3.3 Cleaning and Drying of Material

Cleaning and drying of material on site should be undertaken only if suitable expertise is available and should proceed in the following fashion:-

- (a) Establish a treatment area near the operations area. It should be well supplied with benches and/or tables. All slightly damaged material should be removed there.

(b) Alternatively, if no drying facility is available on site, pack material for transportation to the designated drying location.

(c) In the treatment area, position warm air fans to assist drying; ensure that they are not located too close to books. Similarly, a dehumidifier should be located in the drying area.

(d) Items requiring cleaning should be handled with great care; hand-held water sprays may be used to remove deposits from the surface but items should never be brushed or rubbed. If in doubt, do not attempt to clean an item.

(e) Stand damp books upright with their pages fanned outwards; do not open books wider than 45 degrees. Blotting paper may be inserted, one sheet every three eighths of an inch. This facilitates faster drying. If the book paper is coated, use blank newsprint; however, if blocking has occurred send the item for freezing. Manuscripts or unbound papers should be placed individually between blotting paper. All blotting paper should be changed at regular intervals.

7.7.3.4 Handling and Packaging Material

(a) Unless a trained conservator is working in the treatment area, all material stuck together should, on no accounts, be separated during the salvage process. All such items should be wrapped and packed as they are and sent for freezing.

(b) Very wet material should be wrapped in polythene, polythene bags or clingfilm with as much air removed as possible. Vellum bindings should be wrapped in crepe bandages, starting at the lower edge and winding across the boards from spine to foredge; polythene wrapping may then be added.

(c) Material should be packed in crates upright and closely enough to prevent distortion. Manuscripts and unbound papers should be packed flat in similar wrappings.

(d) Folio volumes should be individually wrapped and laid flat together. If blast-freezers cannot accommodate this format of material it should be sent directly to coldstorage with the instruction to lay them flat until frozen, when they may be stacked.

7.7.4 Recovery

For full details see National Library of Scotland's *Planning Manual for Disaster Control*.

7.7.4.1 Conservation

It will be necessary to consult experts for advice on freeze drying and remedial conservation, including actual repair. This will include:-

- (a) Obtaining estimates and costings for professional services, as well as for salvage.
- (b) Contact with insurers
- (c) It will be necessary to develop a phased repair programme for both air-dried and frozen material. If financial resources are limited, give priority to air-dried material then proceed with frozen dried material as finances permit
- (d) Categorise material ready for removal from air-drying which may be returned to storage or for further conservation work. The same process is necessary with the return of freeze-dried material.
- (e) Do not return to original location until the rehabilitation or restoration of that room is completed and until the insurance claims are fully settled.

7.7.4.2 Rehabilitation of Site

This section presupposes that the site has not be destroyed, merely damaged and is capable of reasonably quick restoration.

- (a) Take regular temperature and humidity checks; reduce humidity with dehumidifiers; ventilate the area as fully as possible.
- (b) Walls and shelving should be thoroughly washed in order to prevent the growth of mould. Fungicides such as sodium ortho-phenylphenol solution should be used. The whole area must be left to dry out completely. It may be necessary to repeat this task. Only after this has been done and the temperature and humidity has stabilised is it fair to consider the room suitable for normal use (or redecoration) once more. Regular checks should continue for a year or more after the emergency.

7.7.4.3 Replacement of Material

Consideration of the following is necessary before the replacing of material:-

(a) Air-dried material requiring no further remedial work should be checked regularly to ensure that mould is not forming within the work. This should continue for a year or more after the emergency.

(b) Freeze-dried material must be acclimatised to the normal environment of the library before it is returned to normal location. Such material should usually be laid out at room temperature for a few weeks. Handling of material at this stage is to be avoided because it is likely to be brittle due to the reduction in moisture content.

(c) It may be advisable to wrap certain material not stored in this way prior to the emergency.

7.8 Insurance

In all instances, it is vital to consult with insurers at all stages of disaster-planning; this should be done at the planning stage and clear recommendations with regard to specific areas should be noted and included in the plan itself.

Disaster Control - Best Practice and Examples

Disaster Control Planning is an important area in which it is necessary to work out all details well in advance. Particular attention has been paid to it here because the minute details of the library can cause additional headaches. Most houses, and certainly those open to the public, do have well-constructed disaster control plans, but many smaller houses which are not open run a considerable risk by not having given the matter due attention. It is important to stress that in the country house domain these plans tend to be strictly confidential to the owner. This is entirely legitimate given the sensitivity of the material. This work has been based on both published and anonymous (private) plans.

Consequently, this area is governed by a degree of vagueness on what constitutes best practice in the country house domain. Therefore, it is important to remember that, in this matter, the biggest, best-known and most professionally managed houses tend to have the upper hand. Blenheim, Castle Howard, Chatsworth, Harewood, Longleat, Arundel and so on will have spent considerable time and effort on disaster management. For those owners or administrators wishing to create or revise such a plan, it is advisable to consider those houses which are regarded as being 'well-managed' or 'successful'. These may prove to be useful role-models in the creation of any plan. Similarly, the Historic Houses Association may be able to generate useful contacts for owners or administrators seeking assistance in this regard. It is necessary to reiterate that those houses generally regarded as being examples of good practice will be those from which lessons on disaster control may be learned.

In addition, however, it is perhaps useful to examine the published handbooks from the library world, such as those produced by Stanford University in the United States or that from the National Library of Scotland. Narrative handbooks of disaster management, such as the works of Judith Fortson in the United States, may also prove to be useful in the library context. However, disaster control management or planning in the country house must be wider than the narrow confines of the library.

8. Cataloguing

8.1 Introduction

Cataloguing is a fundamental of good library management. Historic catalogues of collections are of immense value as historical documents but are not always effective in terms of present day management. Consideration should be given to the production of up-to-date catalogues. This should be revised and updated as often as is necessary and as regularly as possible.

8.2 Cataloguers

Cataloguing should, ideally, be undertaken by a professional librarian or someone suitably qualified. Three principal groups may be able to assist with this:-

(a) **Librarianship professionals.** Contact with professional librarians may facilitate appropriate contacts for such a task. While it is unlikely that national, county or academic library staff would ever be in a position to undertake cataloguing themselves, they may be able to assist with finding other suitable alternatives. It is important to bear in mind the opportunities which may exist with students of Librarianship and Information Science. Consequently, developing contacts with departments of Librarianship in the various universities may prove useful. Cataloguing activities in these circumstances can often be incorporated into course work and may prove to be relatively inexpensive for owners and administrators.

(b) **The Guild of Retired Librarians** may also be capable of indicating someone suitable within the local vicinity.

(c) **National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies (NADFAS).** Local branches may have suitably trained volunteers who are capable of undertaking cataloguing duties. If this route is followed it is important to ensure that all volunteers who are engaged have received training from a librarianship professional in both basic cataloguing and conservation. This ensures that damage is not done to books during the cataloguing process. NADFAS may also be beneficial in terms of cataloguing because their voluntary team approach may enable simultaneous basic conservation.

8.2 Mechanics of Cataloguing

It is necessary to give serious thought to cataloguing as a process and to the actual task in hand. Consideration must be given to whether an update is preferable or whether an entirely new catalogue is required. Similarly, the process of subsequent updates or revision must be thought out and built into the process from the beginning.

8.2.1 Cataloguing Protocols

Recognised professional cataloguing protocols should be adopted where possible. It is preferable to use Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules Two, Revised Edition or the Panizzi Rules for Cataloguing Rare Books. To a certain extent this decision will be governed by the nature of the collection and of the material contained in it. It may also be dependent on the qualifications of the person(s) doing the cataloguing.

8.2.2 Catalogue Contents

The contents of the catalogue will vary according to the collections, the material, the protocols used and the abilities of the cataloguer. In general, however, it is vital to include the following elements:-

- (a) Author or authors, including editors, translators, compilers and so on.
- (b) Title as it appears on the work with a suitable translation into English if the work is in a foreign language.
- (c) Place of Publication
- (d) Publisher and / or Printer which is often the most important element with antiquarian or rare books.
- (e) Date of Publication or imprint.
- (f) Edition; although some protocols eschew noting the first edition, this is of prime importance with antiquarian or rare books and should, consequently, always be noted.
- (g) Physical description, including format, size, binding, type, illustrations &c.

(h) Location or Classification number if the collection is so organised. Catalogues are pointless if they do not have some element of a finding-function.

(i) Provenance, it may be useful to note provenance if a work is autographed by a previous owner or is noted in the form of a name Ex-Libris. Only actual evidence should be noted; hypothetical provenance should be avoided at all times.

Details of condition should not be entered in the catalogue *per se*, rather separate notes should be made. The condition may change and it is unfortunate if out-of-date annotations are included in the catalogue.

8.2.3 Arrangement

The catalogue should be capable of being searched by author and by title in the first instance. Alternative mechanisms may be considered as appropriate. If the catalogue takes the form of a computer database, alternative methods will, almost inevitably, be available.

8.2.4 Standardisation

It is vital to stress that the cataloguing of collections must be completely standardised. The entire collection must be catalogued in one standard format. It matters less what format is used than how it is done. Similarly, the format of the catalogue must be standardised, either in print format (bound volume or cards) or electronically (in a cataloguing program or on a database).

8.2.5 Duplication of Catalogues

Whichever option is chosen, it is essential that a duplicate or back-up copy is kept elsewhere, preferably not in the house itself. Some may consider it useful to deposit a copy of the catalogue with the local library service or record office, although not necessarily for public consultation.

8.3 Networks

Those considering a database on computer should replicate those elements mentioned above but, additionally give consideration to whether they wish to make access to this available via computer networks. It is worth noting in relation to cataloguing that the Heritage Lottery Fund may consider applications - made under their Umbrella Scheme - from consortia of country houses wishing to pursue a joint cataloguing programme. However, in such circumstances it may be necessary to provide demonstrable advantages in terms of access to collections.

Cataloguing - Best Practice and Examples

Best practice with regard to cataloguing is difficult to assess because of the diversity of catalogues which currently exist. It is fair to say that those which follow recognised protocols and which have been undertaken by professional librarians are preferable. All too often, however, country house library catalogues are compiled by individuals with no particular knowledge of the mechanics of the process. Best practice in cataloguing, therefore, must rest on the consistency of entries and format.

Chatsworth is currently considering the transfer of the catalogue into an electronic format and this is encouraging. All larger libraries should be aiming for this in the next few years. Furthermore, consideration should be given to the greater opportunities for access which this will allow. The incorporation of these catalogues into websites (either hosted by the house or by an outside body) is potentially valuable. It is interesting to look at the German models where catalogues of some of the best collections are incorporated in university or provincial library systems and are often available through their respective websites. This advance could very well work in the United Kingdom, certainly with the larger collections.

Smaller collections too are creating electronic versions of their catalogue, although these tend to be on relatively unsophisticated computer packages. As often as not some owners have inputted the data themselves. There is nothing wrong with this in principle, but it must reflect consistency of approach. The use of packages such as Excel are not entirely suitable for library catalogues but they are better than nothing and, as often as not, are adequate enough for the requirements of the collection.

9. Arrangement and Classification

9.1 Introduction

Classification and arrangement of bibliographic resources are central as location tools within libraries. However, country house collections are different because of the wide-spread use of fixed location classification in purpose-built bays of shelving. This has contributed to the perpetuation of what can best be described as *historic shelf arrangement*. In addition, one of the principal reason for the adoption of fixed location classification within country house libraries was because of the sense of aesthetic uniformity and harmony which it gave the room.

9.2 Fixed Location Classification

In libraries using fixed location classification (whereby the shelves or bays are allocated particular disciplines rather than the individual books), it is particularly difficult to re-organise the collection without

undertaking major alterations. In such circumstances it is best to leave the arrangement of the library well alone. In collections governed by fixed location classification, re-organisation should be undertaken only if the collection has been significantly depleted or significantly enhanced. As a finding mechanism, fixed location classification will, in the majority of collections, prove to be adequate, although problems may arise in terms of specific volumes rather than subjects or disciplines. Adequate cataloguing can ameliorate this problem to a certain extent.

9.3 Standard Classification Schemes

It is undesirable to see the introduction of standard classification schemes in country house libraries. Not only are Dewey Decimal, Bliss and all the others unsuited for libraries in private homes but the cost of retrospectively classifying entire collections would be unfeasible.

Arrangement and Classification - Best Practice and Examples

This work constantly stresses the diversity of collections and of these recommendations being a marriage between practical benefit and practical ability. Consequently, it is almost impossible to highlight any particular arrangement or classification as being better than others. This is essentially an area in which houses are best left to their own devices. Most collections are happily arranged to create a sense of uniformity or aesthetic appeal and this is a valid approach.

10. Electronic Media

10.1 Introduction

Increasingly, access to sensitive bibliographic heritage is being provided by electronic means. Most major libraries with special, rare or antiquarian collections have embraced digitisation as an alternative method of document supply. This is not, however, a panacea and is certainly not so in the case of country houses. Having said that, it does offer potential solutions to some of the varied problems of access. It is necessary to state at the beginning that, at present, digitisation can be considered only for unique or extremely important works; it is not a viable option for entire collections. The following is no more than an outline; those seriously considering this option must examine it in depth and obtain expert advice and assistance.

10.2 Electronic Media - Definitions

The phrase electronic media may be taken to represent methods such as Internet sites or the provision of Compact Disk Read Only Memory (CD ROMs). Digitisation may be taken to mean the reproduction of items in a digital format, capable of being viewed remotely via computer. High quality images of items are taken which are in turn digitised and uploaded, either to an Internet site or onto CD ROMs. These can then be accessed through Internet subscription or by purchase of appropriate CD ROMs. Digitisation is a costly

process and it is unlikely that many (if any) country houses would be able to finance such a project on their own. Consequently, co-operation with other houses and outside bodies may be necessary if this option is to be pursued.

10.3 Internet Sites

Increasing numbers of country houses have established sophisticated Internet sites, some including 'virtual tours'. However, the belief that these pose a serious security risk is still prevalent. It must be noted that 'virtual tours' pose about as much risk in terms of security as real tours do or as possession of an illustrated guidebook does. The determined thief will find methods whatever is done and the Internet should not be viewed as a significantly increased risk.

10.3.1 General Internet Sites

Setting aside bibliographic aspects to begin with, it is important to stress the valuable marketing potential which Internet sites have. Owners and administrators do not necessarily have to host the site themselves; subscription to an Internet provider should include space for the creation of a 'homepage' or website. Even if the site only contains details of opening hours, it is likely to generate sufficient interest to make the scheme viable. It should, initially, be regarded as another means of marketing the property.

10.3.2 Bibliographic Material on Internet Sites

Internet sites may be particularly valid means of access provision if a country house library possesses rare or unique material which is not replicated in other collections. The item can be digitised and put onto the World Wide Web (WWW). This means that anyone with the appropriate equipment can (a) consult the material without having to handle or see the original, thus avoiding the multitude of access and conservation problems already outlined and (b) access the material from anywhere in the world without having to make appointments to come and view. Although owners and administrators may be sceptical about this, it should be pointed out that the British Library, amongst others, is already in the forefront of digital access to bibliographic and archival treasures. Increasingly, other libraries are embracing this option as a means of preserving originals which may be fragile.

10.4 CD ROM

Another option is the compilation of a CD ROM about the house which may be marketed commercially. CD ROMs are widely used and represent an ideal medium for bibliographic data. Some houses have already produced CD ROMs with treasures from their library or archive collections and this is an avenue which others may wish to consider. Specialist advice and assistance is necessary in this regard.

10.5 Digitisation as an aid to Preservation

Much emphasis is currently being placed on digitisation as a method for preservation, retrieval and access. The British Library has issued a number of policy documents in this field. Similarly, the Heritage Lottery Fund and the European Commission on Preservation and Access both recognise the important opportunities which it presents. It should be stressed, however, that digitisation is not an end in itself, rather it is a means to an end. Its ultimate aim is preservation and access. Owners and administrators considering this as an option should examine it very carefully; professional advice must be sought and all aspects must be considered in depth.

Electronic Access - Best Practice and Examples

Over the last three years a number of houses have developed sophisticated websites. Amongst the best are Castle Howard, Goodwood, Longleat and Traquair. Boughton, in Northamptonshire, is, perhaps, the best of all, offering an excellent virtual tour of the property. This site has been created and is hosted by Nottingham University - highlighting the valuable potential which exists in co-operation with external bodies. This latter example is on a par with the most successful virtual tours in Europe, such as that at Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna. It is, therefore, reassuring that British stately homes are capable of rivalling some of the best known visitor attractions in Europe. Many houses are included in more general tourism websites; however, the scope of these is inevitably more limited.

The fact that these properties seem to have overcome many of the concerns about security of websites is also to be welcomed. The National Trust, National Trust for Scotland, English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW and the Historic Houses Association now all have website and this is a timely and welcome development. The HHA, in particular, has huge scope in this field with the possibility of developing links to member properties.

Unfortunately, British houses have not embraced the Internet in terms of their library collections and here more work could be done. However, before any meaningful data relating to libraries could appear on the Internet, much greater co-operation with appropriate external bodies is required. As has been mentioned in the text, the German models, particularly those in the Länder of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, where, as often as not, universities have some connection with or involvement in the management of schloßbibliotheken, and definite lessons made be learnt from this. Prominent amongst these are the collections of the Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg and Waldsee at Schloß Wolfegg, the Princes of Waldburg-Zeil and Trauchburg at Schloß Leutkirch, the Princes of Fürstenberg at Schloß Donaueschingen and, perhaps most significantly, that of the Princes of Oettingen-Oettingen and Oettingen-Wallerstein at Schloß Harburg which is owned by the University of Augsburg. The situation is not replicated satisfactorily across Germany but Schloß Bückeberg, the seat of the Princes of Schaumburg-Lippe, is also developing

significant web-based resources. Similarly, in Belgium, the Château de Beloeil, seat of the Princes of Ligne, is developing web-based resources which are fitting for that country's premier stately home.

One recent development in the library history field is the development of Professor Robin Alston's Library History Database at the University of London. Although limited in its data, this is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive listing (either in electronic or hardcopy forms) of historical libraries. Country house and private libraries are to be uploaded to this in the near future and there has been a degree of collaboration between this current research and Professor Alston over the last two years. In the long term, if a National Register of Historic Libraries comes into being, the Library History Database could prove to be the ideal foundation. In this analogies can and should be drawn from the National Register of Archives which may represent best-practice in this area and which has recently started to provide information delivery in electronic form.

Other electronic media seem to have been largely neglected in terms of the country house, although Holkham in Norfolk recently produced a CD ROM of some of its early printed material from the library and archives, with more in the pipeline. Generally, however, web-based technologies would seem to offer the most scope for expansion in this field.

11. Conclusions

11.1 Introduction

This document represents a broad framework of advocacy and information. It is not set in tablets of stone, nor is it an authoritarian attempt to impose anything on owners and administrators. Rather it is an attempt to suggest good-practice and to disseminate information on how country house libraries may be better managed. It does not attempt to force or compel, dictate or insist; rather, it advocates consideration of those areas which are crucial to effective library management. It attempts to take into consideration the difficulties which country house owners and administrators face as well as the peculiarities of country house libraries.

11.2 Application

While it would undoubtedly be desirable to see the recommendations contained within this policy applied within country houses, this is not a categorical aim. As long as country houses and their libraries remain private property, then the management of them remains largely a private concern. However, over the last five decades the management of all aspects of country houses has advanced in leaps and bounds. Collections, in general, are now better maintained, organised, cared-for and displayed than at any time in the past. Consequently, this policy seeks to extend that maintenance, organisation, care and display to the

library context. Owners and administrators may find elements of relevance here and, equally, they may find some elements of irrelevance here. While the policy recommendations may be broadly-based and attempt to provide something of relevance to everyone, they can never be said to represent every consideration in every collection. This is, of course, due to the individuality of country house libraries and it would be sad if it were any other way. In the final analysis, it is up to individual owners and administrators to choose what they wish to adopt and what they wish to ignore.

It is inevitable and, ironically, desirable if some disagree with some recommendations, for it demonstrates some vigour within this field. However, these policy recommendations are based on thorough and rigorous study of country house libraries and rest on an understanding of them, not simply in terms of what they are but also in relation to what they were and what they need to be. There is a sincere appreciation of the dilemmas which owners and administrators face and this policy is a genuine attempt to fill a vacuum which has long existed for country house libraries.

11.2 Summary

Several things are certain: firstly, country house libraries do represent a unique strand of bibliographic heritage and in this respect alone are worthy of preservation; secondly, these libraries form one facet of an even more distinctive element of the national heritage as part of the country house; thirdly, a will does exist amongst the majority of owners and administrators to see them well maintained and effectively managed. Taken together, these are the reasons for this policy. Furthermore, this policy is not designed to sit in splendid isolation. The second point, that these libraries are *part of* the country house, is vitally important. This policy aims to advise in one small area of country house management, but it is equally important to stress that the good management of a country house library is simply one part of the holistic maintenance of this distinctive part of the national heritage.

The management of libraries within country houses must develop and must attempt to reflect, to some degree, the advances within the profession at large. Whatever use is made of this policy, that is a point which must be made. That country houses have survived at all is, in some ways, miraculous and their continued survival relies heavily on good-practice, effective management and the ability to endorse new and innovative techniques as well as building alliances with those capable of providing assistance.

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APPENDIX I

*Biographical Information on Figures mentioned in the text and
its use in the Prosopographical Methodology*

APPENDIX I

Section I

Biographical Information on Historical Figures mentioned in the text

"History is the essence of innumerable biographies".

Thomas Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 1838

Introduction

This appendix brings together, in three sections, three of the crucial elements of the research, the historical investigation, the current perspective and the methodology. All three elements may be said to be intertwined within this appendix. The data in this appendix is not simply an exercise in the compilation of a biographical dictionary. The first section contains biographical information on historical persons mentioned in the text while the second contains similar data on contemporary individuals mentioned in the text. Taken together these sections indicate the attributes of aristocracy both throughout history and into the present day. This fundamental sense of continuity is further reinforced by the third and final section of this appendix, which serves the purpose of illuminating the prosopographical method used in the treatment of the biographical data. Collective biography as presented here and analysed in prosopographical terms enables the identification of the characteristics of a particular group either historically or contemporaneously. In doing so a better understanding of the group as a whole is created by identifying the influence which they exert on both the local and national level.

This last section focuses on some of the methods of prosopographical analysis used in the scrutiny of the data - either in traditional prosopographical terms for the historical material or in multiple-career line analysis for the contemporary material. It identifies the core criteria of prosopographical evaluation in this field and highlights particular categories used in the interpretation. All collective biography as a method relies on the accumulation of biographical data such as parentage, education, careers, family and social ties, kinships and connections; for elite prosopography as used in this research may be added titles and honours. Historians are increasingly concerned to understand the influence of family or social ties or attitudes in determining political or cultural events. Prosopography, the study of families, can significantly enrich the historian's view by providing a framework for the analysis of individual political and kinship groups.

As has been mentioned the first section of this appendix covers historical figures mentioned in the text and who are connected with country house libraries; the second section covers contemporary (living) individuals mentioned in the text and who have been directly involved in this research either by participation in the surveys or through interviews. It should be noted here that those who chose to remain anonymous have been omitted. Neither part of the appendix contains biographical details about authors and those only peripherally connected with country house libraries. The collective analysis of their background and ties formed a core aspect of the prosopographical research, not only in the historical research but also throughout most parts of the work.

The details given here are, by necessity, abbreviated, but concise references to more specific sources or works dealing with these individuals are listed at the end of each entry. Compound surnames are entered, as they should be, by the (second) patronymic element.

Section I

Biographical Information on Historical Figures mentioned in the text

Note: Creations in the Peerage were as follows: England (prior to 1 May 1707), Scotland (prior to 1 May 1707), Great Britain (1 May 1707 to 31 December 1800), Ireland (prior to 31 December 1800 except for those under the Peerage Sections, Act of Union, 1800), United Kingdom (since 1 January 1800). In the Baronetage they were as follows: England (22 May 1611 to 30 April 1707), Nova Scotia (NS or Scotland) (28 May 1628 to 30 April 1707), Ireland, (30 September 1619 to 31 December 1800), Great Britain (1 May 1707 to 31 December 1800), United Kingdom (since 1 January 1800).

ABERDEEN and TEMAIR, 1st Marquess of. John Campbell Gordon, KT, GCMG, GCVO PC, of Haddo House, Aberdeenshire; *b* 3 August 1847; third, but second surv. son 6th Earl, by his wife, Mary, dau of George Baillie of Mellerstain and Jerviswoode (and sister of the Countess of Ashburnham, .*q.v.*); *s* his brother as 7th Earl, 27 January 1870; Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1885-86; Governor General of Canada, 1893-98; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1905-15; Bore the Standard of Canada at the Coronation of King George V; Lord Rector of St Andrews Univ.; Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; KT, 1906; GCVO, 1911; *cr* **MARQUESS of ABERDEEN and TEMAIR and EARL of HADDO**, 4 January 1916; *m* 7 November 1877, Hon. Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks, GBE, (*d* 8 April 1939) dau of 1st Baron Tweedmouth; *d* 7 March 1934, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Aberdeens' *We Twa* and *More Crack with We Twa*. Gordon's *Gordons of Haddo*.

ALBEMARLE, 1st Earl of. Arnold Joost van Keppel (*afterwards* Keppel), KG, of Voorst, Guelderland; *b* 1670; son of Osewolt van Keppel, Heer van der Voorst in Guelderland, by his wife, Reinira Anna Gertruyde, dau of Johan van Lintello tot de Mars; Page to the Prince of Orange, whom he accompanied to Great Britain; Groom of the Bedchamber, 1691-95; *cr* **EARL of ALBEMARLE, VISCOUNT BURY and BARON ASHFORD**, 10 February 1697; Major-General, 1697; Colonel, 1st Horse Guards; General and Commander of Dutch Forces at Ramillies, 1706 and Oudenarde, 1708; *m* 15 June 1701, Gertrude de Quirina, (*d* December 1741), dau of Adam van der Duyn, Heer van St Gravenmoer and Master of the Buckhounds to King-Stattholder William III; *d* at the Hague, 19 May 1718, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Macky. Bishop Burnet

ANTROBUS, Sir Edmund, 4th Baronet, of Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire; *b* 25 December 1845; eldest son of Sir Edmund Antrobus, 3rd Bart., (whom he *s* 1 April 1899), by his wife, Marianne Georgiana, dau of Sir George Dashwood, 4th Bart.; Colonel, Grenadier Guards; *m* 2 March 1886, Florence Caroline Mathilde, (*d* 19 February 1923), dau of Jules Alexander Sartoris, of Hoppesford Hall, Warwickshire; *dspms* 11 February 1915 (his only son, Edmund having *dunm k.a.* 24 October 1914).

Burke.

ARUNDEL, 12th Earl of. Henry Fitzalan, KG, PC, of Arundel Castle, Sussex; *b* 23 April 1512; only son of William Fitzalan, 11th Earl of Arundel (whom he *s* 23 January 1544), by his second wife, Lady Anne Percy, dau of 4th Earl of Northumberland; *ed* Cantab; sum. *v.p.* in his father's Barony of Maltravers, 5 February 1532; successively, Marshal of the Field, Lord Chamberlain, Joint High Constable and Lord High Steward 1553-64; High Steward and Chancellor of Oxon; KG, 1544; *m* 1stly, Lady Catharine Grey (*d* 1532), dau of 2nd Marquess of Dorset; *m* 2ndly, 19 December 1545, Mary, Dowager Countess of Sussex (*d* 1557), dau of Sir John Arundell; he *dspms* 24 February 1580.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B.

ASHBURNHAM, 4th Earl of. Bertram Ashburnham, of Ashburnham Place, Battle, Sussex; *b* 23 November 1797; fourth but 1st. surv. son of George, 3rd Earl, KG, GCH, (whom he *s* 27 October 1830), by his second wife, Lady Charlotte Percy, dau of 1st Earl of Beverley; *ed* St John's Coll., Cantab; *m* 8 January 1840, Katherine Charlotte Baillie, (*d* 6 February 1894), dau of George Baillie of Jerviswood (and sister to the 10th Earl of Haddington); he *d* 22 June 1878, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Gough.

ATTLEE, 1st Earl. Clement Richard Attlee, KG, OM, CH, PC; fourth son of Henry Attlee; *b* 1883; MP (*Lab*), Limehouse, 1922-50 and for Walthamstow, W. Division, 1950-55; Leader, Labour Party, 1935-55; Deputy Prime Minister, 1943-45; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1945-51; Leader of the Opposition, 1951-55; *cr* **VISCOUNT PRESTWOOD**, of Walthamstow, co. Essex and **EARL ATTLEE**, (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 1955; *m* 1922, Violet Helen, who *d* 1964, youngest dau of Henry Edward Millar, of Heathdown, Hampstead; he *d* 1967, having had issue (one son, three daus).

Debrett.

BAGOT, Hon. Sir Charles, GCB, PC, *b* 23 September 1781; second son of William, 1st Baron Bagot, of Bagots Bromley, by his wife, Hon. Elizabeth Louisa St John, dau of 2nd Viscount Bolingbroke; *ed* Rugby and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Bar, Lincoln's Inn, 1801; MP for Castle Rising, June-December, 1807; Parliamentary Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, August-December 1807; Minister Plenipotentiary to France, July 1814-July 1815; PC 4 December 1815; Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, July 1815-May 1820; *cr* GCB, 20 May 1820; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to St Petersburg, 1820-24, to The Hague, 1824-35; Special Mission to Vienna, 1835; Governor-General of Canada, 1841-43; *m* 22 July 1806, Lady Mary Charlotte Anne Wellesley-Pole, (*d* 2 February 1845), eldest dau of William, 3rd Earl of Mornington, by his wife, Katharine Elizabeth, dau and co-heir of Admiral Hon. John Forbes; *d* at Kingston, 19 May 1843, having had issue.

Burke. D.N.B.

BALDWIN of BEWDLEY, 1st Earl. Stanley Baldwin, KG, CH, PC, of Astley Hall, Worcestershire; *b* 2 August 1867; son of Alfred Baldwin, of Wilden House, Stourport, by his wife, Louisa, dau of Revd. G.B. MacDonald; MP (Con) for Bewdley div. of Worcestershire, 1908-37; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1917-21; President of the Board of Trade, 1921-22; Leader of the Conservative and Unionist Party, 1923-37; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1923-24, 1924-29 and 1935-37; Lord President of the Council, 1931-35; Chancellor of Cambridge University, 1930-47; Lord Rector of Edinburgh and Glasgow Univs.; Chancellor of St Andrews Univ; *cr* **EARL BALDWIN of BEWDLEY** and **VISCOUNT CORVEDALE**, 8 June 1937; *m* 12 September 1892, Lucy, GBE, DGStJ, (*d* 17 June 1945), dau of Edward Lucas Ridsdale, of The Dene, Rottingdean, Sussex; *d* 14 December 1947, having had issue.

Burke.

BEACONSFIELD, 1st Earl. Benjamin Disraeli, KG, PC, of Hughenden Manor, Buckinghamshire; *b* 21 December 1804; son of Isaac D'Israeli, (*d* 1848), by his wife, Mary, dau of Nathan Basevi; *bap* 31 July 1817; author of Vivian Grey, Coningsby, Sybil etc; MP (Tory) for Maidstone, 1837-41, for Shrewsbury, 1841-47 and for Buckinghamshire, 1847-76; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Feb-Dec 1852, Feb 1858-June 1859 and July 1866-Feb 1868; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, Feb-Dec 1868 and Feb 1874-April 1880; Lord Privy Seal, 1876-78; *cr* **EARL of BEACONSFIELD** and **VISCOUNT HUGHENDEN**, (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 21 August 1876; Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery and of the British Museum; KG, 22 July 1878; *m* 28 August 1839, Mary Anne, *cr* **VISCONTRESS BEACONSFIELD**, (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 30 November 1868, (who *dsp* 15 December 1872), widow of Wyndham Lewis and dau of John Evans. He *dsp* 19 April 1881 when his Peerages became *extinct*.

Burke (Extinct Peerages), G.E.C. Rowton.

BEAUCHAMP, 7th Earl. William Lygon, KG, KCMG, PC, of Madresfield Court, Worcestershire; *b* 20 February 1872; eldest son of 6th Earl (whom he *s* 19 February 1891), by his wife, Lady Mary Catherine Stanhope, dau of 5th Earl Stanhope; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Mayor of Worcester; Hon. Col. South Midland Brigade RFA &c; Governor of New South Wales, 1899-1902; Lord Steward of the Household, 19-7-10; Lord President of the Council, 1910; First Commissioner for Works, 1910-14; again Lord President, 1914-15; Ecclesiastical Commissioner; Bore the Sword of State at the Coronation of King George V, 1911; Commissioner for the Great Seal, August 1913; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; Chancellor, University of London; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, 1911-31; disgraced and forced into exile through the machinations of his brother-in-law, the 2nd Duke of Westminster; was the basis for the Marquess of Marchmain in

Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* (his sons and daughters being the basis for the rest of the Flyte family); *m* 26 July 1902, Lady Lettice Mary Elizabeth Grosvenor, (*d* 28 July 1936), dau of Earl Grosvenor, by his wife, Lady Sibell Lumley he *d* 15 November 1938, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Lacey's *Aristocrats*.

BEAVERBROOK, 1st Baron. William Maxwell Aitken, PC, *b* 25 May 1879; son of Rev. William Cuthbert Aitken, of Newcastle, New Brunswick; MP (Con) for Ashton-under-Lyne, 1910-16; with Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915; Canadian Government Representative at the Front, 1916; *cr* **BARON BEAVERBROOK**, (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 1917; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister of Information, 1918; Proprietor, Daily Express, Sunday Express and Evening Standard; Minister of Aircraft Production, 1940; Minister of State and Minister of Supply, 1941; Member of the War Cabinet, 1940-42; Lord Privy Seal, 1943-45; *m* 1stly, 1906, Gladys, (*d* 1927), dau of Brig-Gen Charles William Drury, CB, of Halifax, Nova Scotia; *m* 2ndly, 1963, Marcia Anastasia, dau of John Christoforides, of Groombridge, Sussex and widow of Sir James Hamet Dunn, 1st Bart; he *d* 1964, having had issue.

Burke. Debrett.

BECKFORD, William, of Fonthill, Wiltshire; called the *Caliph of Fonthill*; A social outcast following his liaison with Viscount Courtenay, he retired to Fonthill which he rebuilt in the Gothick style but eventually sold the property and had the satisfaction of seeing it collapse several years later;

Lees-Milne's *William Beckford*. D.N.B.

BEDFORD, 2nd Earl of. Francis Russell, KG, of Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire and Chenies, Buckinghamshire; *b* 1527; Lord Lieutenant of Bedfordshire; Warden of the Stanneries; Ambassador to France, 1559 and 1561; Governor of Berwick; Lord Lieutenant of Dorset, Devon and Cornwall; KG 23 April 1563; *m* 1stly, Margaret, (*d* 1562), widow of Sir John Gostwick, and dau of Sir John St John, of Bletsoe; *m* 2ndly, 1566, Bridget, Countess Dowager of Rutland, (*d* 1600), dau of John, Lord Hussey; he *d* 28 July 1585, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C.

BENTINCK, Hans Willem, *see* **PORTLAND, 1st Earl of.**

BLANDFORD, MARQUESS of, *see* **MARLBOROUGH, 5th Duke of.**

BRACKLEY, 1st Viscount. Thomas Egerton, of Ellesmere and Tatton, Cheshire; *b* 1540; natural son of Sir Richard Egerton, by Alice Sparke; *ed* Brasenose Coll., Oxon; sometime MP for Cheshire; Master of the Rolls, 1594-1603; Lord Keeper, 1596-1603; Lord Chancellor, 1603-17; *cr* **BARON ELLESMERE**, 21 July 1603; Lord High Steward, 1603 and 1616; Chancellor of Oxford Univ., 1610-17; *cr* **VISCOUNT BRACKLEY**, 7 November 1616; *m* 1stly, 1576, Elizabeth, (*d* 1588), dau of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton, Flintshire; *m* 2ndly, 1596, Elizabeth, (*d* 1599), widow of Sir John Wolley and before that of Richard Polsted, dau of Sir William More, of Loseley, *q.v.*; *m* 3rdly, 1600, Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby, (*d* 1636), dau of Sir John Spencer, of Althorp; he *d* 10 April 1617, having had issue (the Earl of Bridgwater).

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. Egerton MSS.

BROWN, Lancelot *Capability*, *b* Northumberland, 1715; English Landscape gardener; worked with William Kent; designed the grounds of over 140 estates, some of his best were Blenheim Palace, Harewood House, Glamis Castle, Chatsworth, Bowood and Longleat; he *d* 6 February 1783.

D.N.B. Turner's *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape*.
Hyams's *Capability Brown and Humphry Repton*.

BUCKHURST, 1st Baron, *see* **DORSET, Earl of.**

BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS, 2nd Duke of. Richard Plantagenet Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, KG, GCH, PC, of Stowe and Wotton House, Buckinghamshire; *b* 11 February 1797; son of 1st Duke, KG, (whom he *s* 17 January 1839), by his wife, Anna Elizabeth *suo jure* Lady Kinloss, dau of 3rd Duke of Chandos; sometime MP for Buckinghamshire; High Steward of Westminster; Lord Privy Seal, 1841-42; KG, 11 April 1842; *m* 13 May 1819, Lady Mary Campbell, (*d*

28 June 1852), dau and eventual co-heir of John, 1st Marquess of Breadalbane; he *d* 29 July 1861, having had issue.

Burke, G.E.C. Greville *Diaries*. Disraeli *Correspondence*.

BURGHLEY, 1st Baron. William Cecil, KG, PC, of Burghley House, Lincolnshire; *b* 13 September 1521; son of Richard Cecil, of Burghley, Stamford, by his wife, Jane, dau of William Heckington; sometime MP for Stamford; Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; Chancellor of Cambridge University; Master of the Wards and High Steward of Westminster; *cr* **BARON BURGHLEY**, 20 February 1571 Lord High Treasurer, 1572-98; KG, 23 April 1572; *m* 1stly, 8 August 1541, Mary (*d* 1543), dau of Peter Cheke; *m* 2ndly, 21 December 1545, Mildred, (*d* 1589), dau of Sir Anthony Cooke; he *d* 21 April 1598, having had issue (the Earl of Exeter and the Earl of Salisbury).

Burke, G.E.C. Barron's *Northamptonshire Families*. Macauley.

BURLINGTON, 3rd Earl of and 4th Earl of CORK. Richard Boyle, KG, PC, of Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire, Lismore Castle, co. Waterford, Chiswick, Middlesex and Burlington House, Piccadilly, &c; *b* 25 April 1694, only son of Charles Boyle, 2nd Earl of Burlington (whom he *s* 9 February 1704), by his wife, Juliana, dau of Hon. Henry Noel, of North Luffingham, Rutland; PC [I], 1714; Lord Treasurer of Ireland, Governor of Cork, from 1715 and Vice Admiral of Yorkshire, 1715-33; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, East Riding, 1715-21 and of the West Riding, 1715-33; FRS, FSA, PC [GB], 15 May 1729; KG, 18 June 1730; Captain, Gentlemen Pensioners, 1731-33; Constable of Knaresborough Castle; On 25 May 1737 his claim to the **BARONY DE CLIFFORD** (by Writ) was allowed; the greatest British aristocrat patron of the arts; *m* 21 March 1720, Lady Dorothy Savile, (*d* 21 September 1758), Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Caroline, first dau and co-heir of William Savile, Marquess of Halifax, by his wife, Lady Mary Finch; he *dspm* at Chiswick, 15 December 1753, when his Earldom of Burlington became *extinct* and the Earldom of Cork passed to his cousin, John Boyle, Earl of Orrery and the Barony de Clifford, together with his vast estates at Bolton Abbey, Londesborough, co. York, Lismore Castle, co. Waterford together with his magnificent properties of Burlington House, Piccadilly and Chiswick, co. Middlesex, devolved upon his only daughter, Charlotte, Duchess of Devonshire, and in consequence whereof they entered the Cavendish family.

Burke. D.N.B. G.E.C.

BUTE, 4th Marquess of. John Crichton-Stuart, KT, of Mount Stuart, Rothesay, Dumfries House, Ayrshire, Cardiff Castle, &c; *b* 20 June 1881; eldest son of 3rd Marquess, KT, (whom he *s* 9 October 1900), by his wife, Hon. Gwendalen Mary Anne Fitzalan-Howard, dau of 1st Baron Howard of Glossop; Lord Lieutenant and Pres. TAA co. Bute; disposed of Dumfries House; *m* 6 July 1905, August Mary Monica, DBE, (*d* 16 May 1947), dau of Sir Henry Bellingham, 4th Bart., of Castle Bellingham; he *d* 25 April 1947, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C.

CALEDON, 1st Earl of. James Alexander, of Caledon Castle, co. Tyrone; *b* 1730; son of Nathaniel Alexander, of Gunsland, co. Donegal, by his wife Elizabeth, dau of William McClintock, of Dunmore; East Indies Merchant; Sheriff of Tyrone; *cr* **BARON CALEDON**, (Peerage of Ireland), 6 June 1790; **VISCOUNT CALEDON**, (Peerage of Ireland), 23 November 1797 and **EARL of CALEDON**, (Peerage of Ireland), 29 December 1800; *m* 28 November 1774, Anne, (*d* 1777), dau of James Craufurd of Craufurdsburn; he *d* 22 March 1802, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Collier's *England and the English*.

CARRINGTON, 1st Baron. Robert Smith (*afterwards* Carington*), of Bulcot Lodge, Nottinghamshire; *b* 22 January 1752; third but 1st surv. son of Abel Smith, by his wife, Mary, dau of Thomas Bird, of Barton, Warwickshire; MP for Nottingham, 1770-97; *cr* **BARON CARRINGTON OF BULCOT LODGE** (Peerage of Ireland), 11 July 1796 and **BARON CARRINGTON OF UPTON**, (Peerage of United Kingdom), 20 October 1797; Captain of Deal Castle, 1802-18; *m* 1stly, 6 July 1780, Anne, (*d* 9 February 1827), dau of Lewyns Boldero-Barnard, of Cave Castle, York; *m* 2ndly, 19 January 1836 (being in his eighty-fourth year), Charlotte, (*d* 22 April 1849), widow of Revd. Walter Trevelyan, and dau of John Hudson, of Bessingby, York; he *d* 18 September 1838, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Round's *Peerage and Pedigree* (Volume II, pp213-220).

Cowper's *The Task* (Book IV). Wraxall's *Posthumous Memoirs* (Vol. I, pp66-68).

* *The surname adopted by the 1st Baron differs in spelling from the Peerage. The omission of the second 'r' has never been satisfactorily explained.*

CATHCART, 5th Earl. George Cathcart, of Schawpark, Clackmannanshire, &c; *b* 26 June 1862; third, but second surv., son of 3rd Earl, by his wife, Elizabeth Mary, dau of Sir Samuel Crompton, 2nd Bart.; *s* his brother, 2 September 1911; *m* 6 January 1919 (*m diss* by divorce, 1922) Vera, widow of Captain Henry de Grey Warter, and dau of John Fraser; he *d* 19 November 1927, having had issue.

Burke.

CAVENDISH, Sir William, PC, of Cavendish, Suffolk and later of Chatsworth, Derbyshire; Commissioner of the Visiting and Surrender (at the Dissolution of the Monasteries); Treasurer to Kings Henry VIII and Edward VI and to Queen Mary I; *m* 1stly, Margaret, dau of Edmund Bostock, of Walcroft, Cheshire; and by whom he had four surv. daus; *m* 2ndly, Elizabeth, dau of Thomas Coningsby; by whom he had two daus; *m* 3rdly, Elizabeth (*Bess of Hardwick*), (*see* Shrewsbury, Countess of), (*d* 13 February 1607), widow of Robert Barlow and dau of John Hardwick, of Hardwick, Derbyshire and subsequently the wife of Sir William St Loe and finally of George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury; having by this eminent women a large family (from the second son, Sir William Cavendish descend the Dukes of Devonshire and from the third, Sir Charles Cavendish, descend the Dukes of Newcastle (of the First and Second Creations) and the Dukes of Portland).

Burke. G.E.C. *Stags and Serpents*.

CHANDOS, 1st Duke of. James Brydges, PC, of Canons, Middlesex; *b* 6 January 1673; son of 8th Baron Chandos of Sudeley (in which title he *s* him as 9th Baron, 16 October 1714), by his wife, Elizabeth, dau of Sir Henry Barnard, of Bridgnorth, Salop; Mem. Council of the High Admiral (Prince George of Denmark); Paymaster General of the Forces; *cr* EARL of CARNARVON and VISCOUNT WILTON, 19 October 1714; DUKE of CHANDOS and MARQUESS of CARNARVON, 29 April 1719; Lord Lieutenant of Herefordshire and Radnorshire; Chancellor of St Andrews Univ.; Ranger of Enfield Chase; *m* 1stly, 27 February 1695, Mary, (*d* 15 December 1712), dau of Sir Thomas Lake; *m* 2ndly, 4 August 1713, Cassandra, (*d* 16 July 1735), dau of Francis Willoughby, of Wollaton; *m* 3rdly, 18 April 1736, Lydia Catherine, (*d* 18 November 1750), dau of John van Hatten; he *d* 9 August 1744, having had issue.

Burke (Extinct Peerages). G.E.C. Mrs Pendarves (Delany) / Dean Swift.
Round's *A Journey through England*. D.N.B.

CHARTERIS, Hon. Ivo Alan, younger son of the Earl of Wemyss and March, *q.v.*; *b* 6 October 1896; Second Lieutenant, First Bat. Grenadier Guards; *dunm k.a.* 17 October 1915.

Burke.

CHATHAM, 1st Earl of. William Pitt (known to history as *Pitt The Elder*), PC, of Burton Pysent, co. Somerset; second son of Robert Pitt of Boconnoc, co. Cornwall (*d* 20 May 1727), by his wife, Harriet, sister of John, 5th Viscount Grandison and dau of General the Hon. Edward Villiers, of Dromana; *b* at Westminster, 15 November 1708; *ed* Eton, Trinity Coll., Cantab and University of Utrecht; Cornet in the Second (King's Own) Regt of Horse 1731-36; M.P. for Old Sarum, 1735-47, for Seaford, 1747-54, for Aldborough, 1754-56, for Okehampton, 1756-57, for Buckingham, 1756 and for Bath, 1757-66; Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, 1737-45; FRS 1743; PC 1746; Paymaster General of the Forces, 1746-55; Secretary of State for the Southern Department, December 1756 to April 1757 and June 1757 to 1761; Lord Privy Seal, July 1766 to October 1768, being considered the Prime Minister (under the nominal lead of the Duke of Grafton); *cr* EARL of CHATHAM and VISCOUNT PITT of BURTON PYNSENT, 4 August 1766; *m* 15 November 1754, Hester, (*cr* BARONESS CHATHAM, of Chatham, co. Kent (Peerage of Great Britain) 4 December 1761) (*b* 8 November 1720 *d* 2 April 1803) dau of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, and sister of Richard, Earl Temple; he *d* 11 May 1778, having had issue (with two daus, the 2nd Earl and William Pitt *The Younger* of immortal memory, *q.v.*)

Burke. G.E.C. Rosebery's *Chatham: His Early Life and Connections*. Stanhope's *History of England*.
Wraxall's *Posthumous Memoirs*. Cox's *Recollections of Oxford*. Fortescue MSS.

CHAUCER, Geoffrey. *b* circa 1340; son of John Chaucer, by his wife, Agnes, dau and co-heir of Hamo de Copton; Page of the Household to Elizabeth de Burgh (wife of Lionel of Antwerp), 1357; Served with Lionel of Antwerp in France until the Peace of Bretigny, 1360; taken prisoner at Rethel near Reims; Comptroller of the Petty Customs of the Port of London; Clerk of the Works at Windsor, Westminster and the Tower; *m ante* 1374, Philippa Roet, (*d ante* 1388), daughter of Sir Payne de Roet (and sister of Catherine, widow of Sir Hugh Swynford, and eventually third wife of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster); he *d* 1400, having had issue.

D.N.B.

CHILD, Robert, of Osterley Park, Middlesex; the celebrated eighteenth century banker; *m* Sarah, (*d* 1793 having *m* 2ndly, 1791, as his second wife, Francis Reynolds-Moreton, 3rd Baron Ducie of Tortworth) and dau of Gilbert Jodrell, by his first wife, Mary Craddock; he *dspm* having had a dau and sole heir:-

Sarah Anne Child, *b* 28 August 1764; *m* (eloped to Gretna Green), * 20 May and again, at Apethorpe, 7 June 1782, as his first wife, John Fane, 10th Earl of Westmorland, (*b* 1 January 1759 *d* 15 December 1841); she *d* 9 November 1793, having had issue (of whom):-

Lady Sarah Sophia Fane, *b* 4 March 1785; *s* to the estates of her maternal grandfather; *m* 23 May 1804, George Villiers (*afterwards* Child-Villiers), 5th Earl of Jersey, (*b* 19 August 1773 *d* 3 October 1859); she *d* 26 January 1867, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B.

* *On account of her father refusing to sanction her marriage to a Peer.*

CHURCHILL, Lord Randolph Henry SPENCER-, third, but second surv., son of 7th Duke of Marlborough, KG, PC, by his wife, Lady Frances Anne Emily Vane-Tempest-Stewart, VA, dau of 3rd Marquess of Londonderry (*see* Londonderry, Marchioness of); *b* 13 February 1849; MP for Woodstock, 1874-85 and for Paddington 1885-95; Secretary of State for India, 1885-86; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1886; *m* 31 January 1874, Jennie, CI, (*d* 29 June 1921 having *m* 2ndly, 28 July 1900 (*m diss* by divorce 1913) Captain George Frederick Myddelton Cornwallis-West, of Ruthin Castle (*d* 1 April 1951) and 3rdly, 1 June 1918, Montague Phippen Porch) dau of Leonard Jerome, of New York; he *d* 24 January 1895, having had issue.

Burke. *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill.*

COBHAM, 11th Baron. Henry Brooke, of Cobham Hall, Kent; *b* 22 November 1564; second but 1st surv. son of William Brooke, 10th Baron, KG, (whom he *s* 6 March 1597), by his second wife, Frances, a Lady of the Bedchamber, dau of Sir John Newton otherwise Cradock; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; KG, 23 April 1599; arrested, tried for treason and *attainted* 1603; *m* 27 May 1601, Frances, Dowager Countess of Kildare, (*d* 1628), dau of Charles, 1st Earl of Nottingham*; he *dsp* 24 January 1618.

Burke. G.E.C. Brydges's *Peers*. Osborne's *Court of James I.*

* *The Earl of Nottingham was a noted bibliophile, who presented 52 assorted books and MSS to the Bodleian in 1604.*

COKAYNE, George Edward. (G.E.C.) * ; *b* 29 April 1825; *ed* Exeter Coll., Oxon; Bar. Lincoln's Inn, 1853; entered College of Arms, 1859; Clarenceux King of Arms from 1894; Compiler and first Editor of *The Complete Peerage* and *The Complete Baronetage* and certainly the greatest genealogist of all time; *m* 1856, Mary Dorothea, (*d* 1906), 3rd and yst day of George Henry Gibbs, of Aldenham House, Herts, by his wife, Caroline, dau of Reverend Charles Crawley; he *d* 6 August 1911, having had issue (raised to the Peerage as Baron Cullen of Ashbourne).

G.E.C. (Volume II, p2 - VG §.)

* *G.E.C. is the recognised abbreviation for the entire 'Complete Peerage' regardless of editorships, enlargements and revisions.*

§ *see GIBBS, Hon. Vicary.*

COLEGATE, Sir Arthur. son of R. Colegate, of Sutton, Surrey; *ed* University of London; Civil Servant; MP (C) for Wrekin div. of Shropshire, 1941-45 and for Burton div. of Staffordshire, 1950-55;

m 1917, Winifred, (*d* 1955), widow of Captain Francis Pemberton and dau of Sir William Worsley, 3rd Bart., of Hevingham Hall, Yorkshire; he *d* 10 September 1956, having had issue (four daus).

Burke.

CRAWFORD and BALCARRES, 25th and 8th Earl of. Alexander William Crawford Lindsay, of Haigh Hall, Wigan, Lancashire, Balcarres, Fife and Dunecht House, Aberdeenshire; *b* 16 October 1812; eldest son of the 24th and 7th Earl (whom he *s* 15 December 1869), by his wife, Hon. Margaret Pennington, dau of 1st Baron Muncaster; *ed* Eton and Trinity Coll., Cantab; Scholar and Writer; author of *The Lives of the Lindsays*; *m* 23 July 1846, his second cousin, Margaret, (*d* 1909), dau of Lieutenant-General James Lindsay of Balcarres; he *d* 29 December 1880, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. *Shepherd's District of Gordon.*

CRAWFORD and BALCARRES, 27th and 10th Earl of. David Alexander Edward Lindsay, KT, PC, of Haigh Hall, Wigan, and Balcarres, Fife; *b* 10 October 1871; eldest son of 26th and 9th Earl (whom he *s* 31 January 1913), by his wife, Emily Florence Bootle-Wilbraham (granddaughter of 1st Baron Skelmersdale); *ed* Eton and Magdalen Coll., Oxon; sometime MP for Chorley; President, Board of Agriculture, 1916; Lord Privy Seal, 1916-19; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1919-21; First Commissioner of Public Works, 1921; Minister of Transport, 1922; Chancellor of Manchester University from 1923; Hon. LLD St Andrews, LLD Manchester, DCL Cantab, LLD Edinburgh; DLitt Liverpool; FRS, FSA, FSA Scot, FRIBA &c; Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery and the British Museum; Chairman, Royal Fine Art Commission; *m* 25 January 1900, Constance Lilian, (*d* 8 January 1947), dau of Sir Henry Carstairs Pelly, 3rd Bart., by his wife, Lady Lilian Harriet Charteris, dau of 10th Earl of Wemyss and March; he *d* 8 March 1940, having had issue.

Burke. *Papers of David, 27th Earl of Crawford.*

CRIPPS, Right Honourable Sir (Richard) Stafford, CH, PC, of Derhams House, Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire; *b* 24 April 1889; fourth son of Charles Alfred Cripps, 1st Baron Parmoor, by his wife, Theresa Potter; *ed* Winchester and University Coll., London; Bar, Middle Temple, 1913; KC 1927; Bencher, 1930; MP (Lab) for Bristol East div, Jan 1931-Feb 1950 and for Bristol South-East div, Feb-Oct 1950; Solicitor General, 1930-31; Knt Bach, 1930; Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the USSR, 1940-42; Minister of Aircraft Production, 1942-45, also Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, Feb-Nov 1942; President of the Board of Trade, 1945-47; Minister for Economic Affairs, 1947; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1947-50; Lord Rector, University of Aberdeen, 1942; *m* 12 July 1911, Isobel, GBE, (*d* 1979), dau of Commander Harold William Swithinbank, of Denham Court, Buckinghamshire; he *d* 21 April 1952, having had issue.

Burke.

CURZON of KEDLESTON, 1st Marquess. George Nathaniel Curzon, KG, GSCI, GCIE, PC of Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire and Hackwood Park, Hampshire; *b* 11 January 1859; eldest son Alfred Nathaniel Holden Curzon, 4th Baron Scarsdale, (whom he *s* 23 March 1916), by his wife, Blanche, dau of Joseph Pocklington Senhouse, of Netherhall, Cumberland; MP for Southport, 1886-98; Under-Sec. for India, 1891-92, for Foreign Affairs, 1895-98; *cr* **BARON CURZON of KEDLESTON**, (Peerage of Ireland), 11 November 1898; Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1898-1904 and 1904-05; *cr* **EARL CURZON of KEDLESTON** (*h.m.b.*), **VISCOUNT SCARSDALE** (with remainder in default of *h.m.b.* to the issue of his father the 4th Lord Scarsdale) and **BARON RAVENSDALE** (with remainder in default of *h.m.b.* to his daus and their *h.m.b.*), 2 November; Lord Privy Seal, 1915-16; Lord President of the Council and mem. of the War Cabinet, 1916-19; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1919-24 also Leader of the House of Lords, 1916-24; *cr* **MARQUESS CURZON of KEDLESTON** (*h.m.b.*), 28 June 1921; again Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords, 1924-25; sometime Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Trustee of the British Museum and Pres. RGS; *m* 1stly, 22 April 1895, Mary Victoria, CI, Kaiser-i-Hind, (*d* 18 July 1906), dau of Levi Zeigler Leiter, of Washington DC, USA; *m* 2ndly, 2 January 1917, Grace Elvira, GBE, (*d* 29 June 1958), widow of Alfred Duggan, and dau of J. Monroe Hinds; he *dspm* 20 March 1925, when his Marquessate, Earldom and Barony (Ire) became *extinct* and the Viscounty of Scarsdale (under the special remainder) and the Barony of the same (9 April 1761) devolved on his nephew Richard Nathaniel Curzon and the Barony of Ravensdale devolved (under the special remainder) on his el. dau, Lady Mary Irene Curzon.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. Gilmour's *Curzon.*

DALRYMPLE, Sir (Charles) Mark, 3rd and last Baronet, of Newhailes, East Lothian; *b* 13 May 1915; only son of Sir David Charles Herbert Dalrymple, 2nd Bart., (whom he *s* 2 December 1932), by his first wife, Margaret Anna, dau of Sir Mark MacTaggart-Stewart, 1st Bart.; Lieutenant, Royal Scots; WWII as ACI in RAFVR (Fighter Control Unit); *m* 5 April 1946, Lady Antonia Marian Amy Isabel Stewart, (*b* 3 December 1925), only dau of 12th Earl of Galloway, by his wife, Philippa Wendell; *dsps* 1971, when his Baronetcy became *extinct*.

DALTON, 1st Baron. (*Life Peerage*). (Edward) Hugh (John Neale) Dalton, PC. *b* 26 August 1887; son of Reverend Canon J.N. Dalton, KCVO, CMG, (Canon of St George's, Windsor and Tutor to the Prince George of Wales (later HM King George V)); *ed* Eton and King's Coll., Cantab; Bar, Middle Temple, 1914, hon. Bencher, 1946; Attached to Min. of Labour, 1919; Lecturer, London School of Economics, 1919; Sir Ernest Cassel Reader in Commerce, London University, 1920-25 and Reader in Economics, 1925-36; MP (Lab) for Peckham div. of Camberwell, 1924-29 for Bishop Auckland div. of Durham, 1929-31 and 1936-59; Parliamentary Under-Sec. for Foreign Affairs, 1929-31; Minister of Economic Warfare, 1940-42; President of the Board of Trade, 1942-45; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1945-47; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1948-50; Minister of Town and Country Planning, 1950-51; *cr* **BARON DALTON**, (*Life Peerage*), 1960; *m* 1914, Ruth, dau of the late T. Hamilton Fox; he *dsp* 1962, when his Peerage became *extinct*.

Burke.

de BOUVERIE, *see* **FOLKESTONE, 1st Viscount**.

des BOUVERIES, *see* **FOLKESTONE, 1st Viscount**.

DIBDIN, Reverend Thomas Frognall; *b* India, 1776; son of Thomas Dibdin; *ed* Mr Greenlaw's School, Brentford and St John's Coll., Oxon (MA, BD, DD); Ordained Priest, Church of England, 1805; Author *Introduction to the Classics*; Bibliographer and Scholar; Librarian to 2nd Earl Spencer at Althorp; Vice President of the Roxburghe Club from 1812; his work on the collection of Earl Spencer demonstrated his "*lamentable ignorance and unfitness for such work*" (DNB); *d* 1847.

D.N.B. Dibdin's *Reminiscences of a Literary Life* (1836). Haslewood's *Roxburghe Revels* (1837). *Gent. Mag.* XXXIX (New Series), 338, pp87-92 (January 1848).

DISRAELI, Benjamin *see* **BEACONSFIELD, 1st Earl of**.

DORSET, 1st Earl of. Thomas Sackville, of Knole, Kent and Withyam, Sussex; *b* circa 1527; *cr* **BARON BUCKHURST**, 8 June 1567; sometime Ambassador to France and to the States; Joint Lord Lieutenant of Sussex; KG, 22 April 1589; Joint Commissioner of the Great Seal; Chancellor of Cambridge Univ.; Lord High Treasurer, 1599-1608; *cr* **EARL of DORSET**, 13 March 1604; *m* 1555, Cicely, (*d* 1615), dau of Sir John Baker; he *d* 19 April 1608, having had issue.

Burke, G.E.C. Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*. Milles's *Catalogue of Honour*.

DROMORE, Lord Bishop of, *see* **PERCY, Rt. Revd. Thomas**.

DUDLEY, Edmund. *b* 1462; son of John Dudley, of Atherington, Sussex [of the Sutton family], by his wife, Elizabeth, dau and co-heir. of Thomas (or John) Bramshot; *ed* Oxon; Grays Inn; PC 1485; negotiated the Peace of Boulogne, 1492; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1504-09; Author of *The Tree of Commonwealth* *; tried for treason, 1509; *m* 1stly, Anne, (*d ante* 1494) widow of Roger Corbet, of Morton, Shropshire, and sister of Andrews, Lord Windsor; *m* 2ndly, 1494, Elizabeth Grey, day of Edward, Viscount Lisle; he *d* (beheaded), 18 August 1510, having had issue.

D.N.B. Wood's *Athenæ*. Bacon's *Henry VIII. State Trials*.

* *Of the three original copies of Dudley's treatise Tree of Commonwealth, two were in the collection of Sir Simond D'Ewes, one of which passed to Chetham's, the other going to the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer and thence to the British Museum (Harleian MSS 2204). The third was in the possession (1900) of Lord Calthorpe.*

DUFF 30th of MELDRUM and 11th of HATTON and BYTH, Sir Garden Beauchamp, 1st Baronet, of Meldrum House and Hatton Castle, Aberdeenshire; *b* 6 December 1879; elder son of

Garden Beauchamp Duff, 29th of Meldrum and 10th of Hatton, by his wife (to whose ancestral property he *s*), Annie Isabel, dau of Beauchamp Colclough Urquhart, 27th of Meldrum and Byth; *ed* Harrow; Lieutenant-Colonel, Cameron Highlanders (DSO, 1916); DL Aberdeenshire; *cr* a Baronet of the United Kingdom, 3 July 1952; *m* 8 January 1913, Doris, (*d* 1976), dau of Eric Lindsay Smith; he *dsp* 6 September 1952, when his Baronetcy became *extinct*.

Burke (L.G.)

DUFFERIN and AVA, 1st Marquess. Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, KP, GCB, GCSI, GCMG, GCIE, PC of Clandeboye, co. Down; *b* 21 June 1826; el. son of 4th Baron Dufferin and Claneboye * [Ire] (in which titles he *s* him, as 5th Baron, 21 July 1841), by his wife, (-); *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxford; *cr* **BARON CLANDEBOYE**, * [U.K.], 22 January 1850; Lord-in-Waiting, 1849-52 and 1854-58; Special Commissioner to Syria, 1860-61; Lord-Lieutenant of County Down, 1864-1902; Under Secretary for India, 1864-66 and for War February to June 1866; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Paymaster General, 1868-72; *cr* **EARL of DUFFERIN and VISCOUNT CLANDEBOYE**, 13 November 1871; Ambassador to St Petersburg, 1879-81, to Constantinople, 1881-84; Commissioner to Egypt, 1882; Viceroy of India, 1884-88; *cr* **MARQUESS of DUFFERIN and AVA and EARL of AVA**, 17 November 1888; Ambassador to Rome, 1888-91, to Paris, 1891-96; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1891-95; Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland; Lord Rector of Univ. of St Andrews and Univ. of Edinburgh; *m* 23 October 1863, Harriet Catherine Anne, CI, VA, DBE, (*d* 25 October 1936), dau of Archibald Rowan Hamilton, of Killyleagh Castle, co. Down; he *d* 12 February 1902, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Lyell's *Life of the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava*. (two volumes).

Bence-Jones's *Viceroy of India*.

* *The inconsistencies in spelling of this territorial designation are, according to GEC, a matter for regret.*

EDGEWORTH, Maria. *b* Oxfordshire, 1767 (at the home of her grandparents); Anglo-Irish novelist; was manager of her father's estate, drawing on the experience for her novels about the Irish. Whilst in Paris, she rejected a proposal of marriage from a Swedish Count and returned to Ireland to continue with her writing. She worked strenuously for the relief of the famine-stricken Irish peasants during 1845. Her most famous works include: *Castle Rackrent* (1800), *Belinda* (1801), *Leonore* (1806), *Tales of Fashionable Life* (1809) (which includes *The Absentee*), *Patronage* (1814) (a four volume novel), *Harrington*, (1817), *Ormond*, (1817); *dunm* 1849.

D.N.B

EGLINTON and WINTON, 13th and 1st Earl of. Archibald William Montgomerie, KT, PC, of Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire; *b* 29 September 1812, eldest surv. son of Archibald, Lord Montgomerie, by his wife, Lady Mary Montgomerie; *s* his grandfather, 15 December 1819; *ed* Eton; Lord Lieutenant of Ayrshire; Lord Rector of Marischal College and of Glasgow University; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1852-53 and 1858-59; KT, 18 June 1853; having been served as heir male general of George Seton, 4th Earl of Wintoun, he was *cr* **EARL of WINTON** [U.K.], 17 June 1859; *m* 1stly, 17 February 1841, Theresa, (*d* 1853), widow of Captain Richard Howe-Cockerell, RN, and natural dau of 2nd Viscount Newcomen; *m* 2ndly, 1858, Lady Adela Caroline Harriet Capell, (*d* 1860), dau of 6th Earl of Essex; he *d* 4 October 1861, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Lamington's *In the Days of the Dandies*.

ELCHO, Lord. Hugo Richard Charteris, of Gosford House, East Lothian and Stanway House, Gloucestershire; *b* 28 December 1884; eldest son and heir of the 11th Earl of Wemyss and 8th of March, *q.v.*; *ed* Eton and Trinity Coll., Oxon; Attaché, British Embassy, Washington DC; Captain, Glos. Yeomanry; *m* 1 February 1911, Lady Violet Catherine Manners, (*d* 1971), (who *m* 2ndly, 1921, Guy Holford Benson), second dau of 8th Duke of Rutland, *q.v.* He *dvp k.a.* 23 April 1916, having had issue (the 12th Earl and the Lord Charteris of Amisfield *q.v.*).

Burke. G.E.C.

ELLESMERE, 1st Baron. *see* BRACKLEY, 1st Viscount.

ELLESMERE, 1st Earl of. Lord Francis Leveson-Gower, *afterwards* Egerton, KG, of Worsley Hall, Manchester and Brackley, Manor, Northamptonshire; second son of George Leveson-Gower,

afterwards Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, 1st Duke of Sutherland, KG, by his wife, Elizabeth, *suo jure* Countess of Sutherland; *b* 1 January 1800; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; successively sat as MP for Bletchingley, Sutherlandshire, South Lancashire as a follower of Canning; Under Secretary of the Colonies, 1828 and Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1828-30; assumed by Royal Lic. the surname of Egerton in lieu of his patronymic, as heir of the Dukes of Bridgwater, 24 August 1833; Trustee of the National Gallery, Rector of King's Coll., Aberdeen, President of the Camden Society; FSA, President of Royal Geographical Society; Trustee, National Portrait Gallery; *cr* **VISCOUNT BRACKLEY**, and **EARL of ELLESMERE**, (Peerage of United Kingdom), 6 July 1846; KG, 7 February 1855; Lord Lieutenant, co. Lancaster, 1856-57; *m* 18 June 1822, Harriet Catherine, (*d* 17 April 1866), dau of Charles Greville, by his wife, Lady Charlotte Cavendish-Bentinck; he *d* 18 February, 1857, having had issue.

Burke. D.N.B. G.E.C.

FOLKESTONE, 1st Viscount. Jacob des Bouverie, of Longford Castle, Wiltshire; *b* October 1694; second son of Sir William des Bouverie, 1st Bart., by his wife, Anne Urry; *s* his brother in the Baronetcy, 1736; *ed* Ch. Ch., Oxon; took the name of Bouverie in lieu of his patronymic; sometime MP for Salisbury; *cr* **LORD LONGFORD, BARON of LONGFORD CASTLE** and **VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE**, (Peerage of Great Britain), 29 June 1747; *m* 1stly, 31 January 1722, Mary, (*d* 16 November 1739), dau of Bartholomew Clarke, of Delapré Abbey, Northamptonshire, by his wife, Mary Young; *m* 2ndly, 21 April 1741, Elizabeth, (*d* 25 September 1782), dau of Robert Marsham, 1st Baron Romney, by his wife, Elizabeth, dau and co-heir of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel (who drowned in the great disaster of 1707); he *d* 17 February 1761, having had issue (his eldest son becoming, 1st Earl of Radnor).

Burke. G.E.C.

FORTESCUE, Sir John, of Ebrington, Gloucestershire; *b* circa 1385; second son of Sir John Fortescue, Governor of Meaux; *ed* (it is said) Exeter Coll., Oxon and Lincoln's Inn; sometime Chief Justice of the King's Bench and celebrated English Jurist and author of *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (In Praise of the Laws of England) (circa 1470); written as a treatise of instruction for Edward Prince of Wales; *d* circa, 1479, having had issue (from whom the Earls Fortescue descend).

D.N.B. Plummer's *Introduction to the Governance of England*.
Lord Clermont's *Fortescue's Works* (including *The Life of Fortescue*).

GIBBS, Hon. Vicary, (V.G.), of 12 Upper Belgrave Street, London; *b* 12 May 1853; second son of 1st Baron Aldenham, by his wife, Louisa, dau of William Adams; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Bar. Lincoln's Inn, 1880; MP (Con) for St Albans, 1892-1904; Partner in the firm of Antony Gibbs and Sons, merchants and bankers; nephew of George Edward Cokayne and second Editor of *The Complete Peerage*; *dunm* 13 January 1932.

G.E.C. (Volume VIII, p2 - Doubleday and Howard de Walden)

GILBERT, Sir Humphrey, of Compton, Devon; *b* 1539; son of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, by his wife, Catharine Champernowne (and elder half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh); *ed* Eton and Oxon.; Knighted at Drogheda by Sir Philip Sidney, 1570; sometime MP for Plymouth; English navigator and explorer, described as '*a quintessential Elizabethan gentleman of Devon*'; Obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth, 11 June 1578, to colonize 'remote heathen and barbarous lands' and established the first English Colony in North America at St John's; *m* Anne, dau of Sir Anthony Ager; he *d* 1583, having had issue (five sons, one dau).

D.N.B. Fox Bourne's *English Seamen under the Tudors*.
Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

GLADSTONE, Right Honourable William Ewart, PC; of Hawarden Castle, Flintshire; *b* 29 December 1809; fourth son of Sir John Gladstone, 1st Bart., of Fasque, co. Kincardine, by his second wife, Anne, dau of Andrew Robertson, Provost of Dingwall; distinguished statesman, orator, scholar and writer; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon (Double First); MP for various constituencies being successively, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1845; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1852; Lord High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands, 1858; again Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1859; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1868-74, 1880-86, Feb.-Aug. 1886 and 1892-94; *m* 25 July 1839, Catherine (*d* 14 June 1900, *bur.* Westminster Abbey), el. dau and co-heir of Sir Stephen Richard

Glynne, 8th Bart., by his wife, Hon. Mary Neville, dau of Lord Braybrooke; he *d* 19 May 1898, *bur.* Westminster Abbey, having had issue.

Burke. *Morley's Life of Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone. &c.*

GLOUCESTER, Duke of. Humphrey of Lancaster, *called The Good*; *b* 3 October 1390; 4th and yst son of Henry IV, King of England, by his first wife, Lady Mary de Bohun; *ed* Bailliol Coll., Oxon; KG, 1400; Constable of Marlborough and Keeper of Savernake Forest; Lord Great Chamberlain of England from 1413; *cr* **DUKE of GLOUCESTER** and **EARL of PEMBROKE**, 16 May 1414; Constable of Dover and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; Governor of the Isle of Wight; Lieutenant of the Normandy Marches, Governor of Rouen; Keeper of the Realm; Regent of England from 1422 and Deputy of the Order of the Garter; High Steward of England; *cr* **COUNT of FLANDERS** [*for life*]; *m* 1stly, before, 7 March 1423, (made void, 1428) Jacqueline, Countess of Holland, Zealand and Hainault, widow of John, Dauphin of France and former wife of John, Duke of Brabant, and dau of William, Duke of Bavaria, by his wife, Margaret of Burgundy; *m* 2ndly, 1428, Eleanor, (*d* 1454), a Lady of the Order of the Garter, dau of Sir Reynold Cobham; He *dsp legit.* 23 February 1447.

G.E.C. *Letters and Papers, Henry VI. &c*

GOWER, Earl *see* **SUTHERLAND, 2nd Duke of.**

GOWER, Lord Francis LEVESON-, *see* **ELLESMERE, 1st Earl of.**

GOWERS, Sir Ernest Arthur, GCB, GBE; *b* 2 June 1880; son of Sir William Gowers; *ed* Rugby and Clare Coll., Cantab; India Office, 1904; Private Sec. to Under Secretaries, 1907-11; Principal Private Sec to Chancellor of the Exchequer (Rt Hon D. Lloyd George), 1911-12; Chief Inspector, National Health Insurance Co. 1912-17; Sec. C.S. Arbitration Board, 1917-19; Director. Prod. Coal Mines Dept., 1919-20; Permanent Sec. Dept. Coal Mines, 1920-27; Chm. Board of Inland Revenue, 1927-30; Coal Mine Reorganization Board, 1930-38 and Coal Commission, 1938-47; Regional Defence Commission, London, 1939-45; Chm Gowers Committee; Gentleman Usher of the Purple Rod, 1952; *cr* CB 1917, KBE, 1926, KCB, 1928, GBE, 1945, GCB, 1953; *m* 19 May 1905, Constance MacGregor (*d* 21 September 1952), dau of Thomas MacGregor Greer, DL, of Ballycastle, co. Antrim. He *d* 1965, having had issue.

Burke.

GRANDISON, 1st Viscount. Oliver St John, of Lydiard Tregoz, Wiltshire, *b* circa 1560; son of Nicholas St John, of Lydiard Tregoz, Wilts, by his wife, Elizabeth Blount; MP for Cirencester and Portsmouth; Master General of Ordnance; President of Munster and Vice President of Connaught; Chief Governor of Ireland as Lord Deputy, 1616-22; *cr* **VISCOUNT GRANDISON of LIMERICK**, [Ire], with special remainder, 3 January 1620; High Treasurer, 1625-30; *cr* **BARON TREGOZ of HIGHWORTH, [E]**, 21 May 1626; *m* Joan, (*d* 1630), widow of Sir William Holcroft and dau of Henry Roydon; he *d* 29 December 1630, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. *Patent Rolls. Cox's History of Ireland.*

HAMILTON and BRANDON, 12th and 10th Duke of. William Alexander Louis Stephen Douglas-Hamilton, KT, of Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire; *b* 12 March 1845; son of William, 11th Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, (whom he *s* in 1863), [grandson of William Beckford *q.v.*], by his wife, HGDH Princess Marie Amelie Elisabeth Caroline of Baden [dau of Karl Friedrich Ludwig, Grand Duke of Baden, by his wife, Stéphanie de Beauharnais]; confirmed as **DUC de CHATELHERAULT**; KT, 22 February 1878; *m* 10 December 1873, Lady Mary Louise Elizabeth Montagu, dau of 7th Duke of Manchester; he *d* 16 May 1895, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. *Truth* (23 May 1895)

HARINGTON of EXTON, 1st Baron. John Harington, of Exton, Rutland; *b* 1540; son of Sir James Harington, * of the same, by his wife, Lucy Sidney; MP for various seats from 1571 until 1603 when he was *cr* **BARON HARINGTON of EXTON** § 21 July 1603 (a Coronation Peerage); *m ante* 6 March 1580, Anne, (*d* 1620) dau of Robert Kelway; he *d* 23 August 1613, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. *Rait's Five Stuart Princesses. Bruce's Memoirs.*

* *A significant proportion of the titled nobility (including the majority of Dukes) can trace their descent from this gentleman.*

§ *Exton Park is (1999) the property of his lineal descendant the Earl of Gainsborough.*

HARMSWORTH, Sir (Robert) Leicester, 1st Baronet, of Moray Lodge, Kensington; *b* 1 November 1870; fourth son of Alfred Harmsworth, Barrister (and brother of 1st Viscount Northcliffe, 1st Viscount Rothermere, 1st Baron Harmsworth and Sir Hildebrand Harmsworth, 1st Bart.); Director of Amalgamated Press Limited; MP for Caithness and Sutherland, 1900-22; *cr* a Baronet, 1 July 1918; *m* 13 February 1893, Annie Louisa, dau of Thomas Scott, of Cornard, Suffolk; he *d* 19 January 1937, having had issue.

Burke.

HERTFORD, 8th Marquess of. Hugh Edward Conway Seymour, of Ragley Hall, Warwickshire; *b* 29 March 1930, only son of Brigadier-General Lord Henry Charles Seymour, DSO, (*d* 18 June 1939), by his wife, Lady Helen Frances Grosvenor, youngest dau of 1st Duke of Westminster, KG; *s* his uncle, 16 February 1940; *ed* Eton; Lieut, Grenadier Guards; Patron of Three Livings; *m* 10 July 1956, Countess Pamela Therese Louise de Caraman-Chimay, (*Dowager Marchioness of Hertford*), dau of Lieutenant-Colonel Prince Alphonse de Chimay, by his wife, Mary, dau of Lord Ernest Hamilton; he *d* 22 December 1997, having had issue.

Burke. Debrett.

HOBBS, Thomas. *b* 5 April 1588; English Philosopher who is generally regarded as the founder of English moral and political philosophy; works include, *Elements of Laws* (1640), *De Cive* (1642), *Elementa philosophiæ* (1642 onwards), *Leviathan* (1651), *De Corpore* (1655) &c.; Sometime tutor to William Cavendish, 2nd Earl of Devonshire; *d* 4 December 1679.

D.N.B. Strauss's *Political Philosophy of Hobbes*.

HOLLAND (and HOLLAND of FOXLEY), 3rd Baron. Henry Richard Fox (*afterwards* Vassall Fox), PC, of Holland House, Kensington and Winterslow House, Wilts; *b* 21 November 1773; only son of Stephen, 2nd Baron, whom he *s* in 1774, by his wife, Lady Mary FitzPatrick; PC, 1806; Lord Privy Seal, 1806-07; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1830-34 and 1835; *m* 6 July 1797, Elizabeth, (*d* 1845), divorced wife of Sir Godfrey Webster, 4th Bart., of Battle Abbey, Sussex, and dau and co-heir of Richard Vassall, of Jamaica; *d* 22 October 1840, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. Walker's *Panorama of Wit* (1809). Greville's *Memoirs*.

HUSSEY, Christopher Edward Clive. *b* 1899; son of Major W.C. Hussey, CVO, [Hussey of Scotney Castle]; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Architectural Adviser to *Country Life*, 1930-64; Editor thereof, 1933-40; Member, Treasury Committee on the Export of Art and Royal Commission on Historical Monuments; President, Society of Architectural Historians; *m* 1936, Elizabeth, dau of Major P. Kerr Smiley; *d* 20 March 1970.

Who Was Who.

ILCHESTER, 6th Earl of. Giles Stephen Fox-Strangways, GBE, of Melbury House, * Dorset and Holland House, § London; *b* 31 May 1874; eldest son of 5th Earl, (whom he *s* 6 December 1905), by his wife, Lady Mary Eleanor Anne Dawson, dau of 1st Earl of Dartrey; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Trustee, National Portrait Gallery from 1922 (Chairman from 1941), of the British Museum from 1931; Member, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments from 1939 (Chairman from 1943); President, London Library 1940-52, Royal Literary Fund, 1941-51, ¶ and the Roxburghe Club, 1940; GBE, 1950; *m* 25 January 1902, Lady Mary Theresa Vane-Tempest-Stewart, (*d* 14 January 1956), dau of 6th Marquess of Londonderry, by his wife, Lady Theresa Susey Helen Chetwynd-Talbot, dau of 19th Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot; he *d* having had issue

Burke. G.E.C. Roxburghe Club.

* *Melbury House and the accompanying estate passed to his grand daughter, Teresa Jane, wife of 9th Viscount Galway and thence to her dau the Hon. Charlotte Monckton-Arundell.*

§ *Holland House was largely destroyed during the Blitz.*

¶ *He edited the correspondence between Catherine the Great and Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams.*

JERSEY, 9th Earl of. George Francis Child Villiers, of Middleton Park, Oxfordshire, Osterley Park, Middlesex and Radier Manor, Longueville, Jersey; *b* 15 February 1910; elder son of George Henry Robert, 8th Earl of Jersey, (whom he *s* 31 December 1923), by his wife, Lady Cynthia Almina

Constance Mary Needham, (who *d* 12 January 1947, having *m* 2ndly, 5 June 1925, Commander William Rodney Slessor (*d* 1945)) and only dau of 3rd Earl of Kilmorey; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Late Major R.A. (T.A.); *m* 1stly, 12 January 1932, (*m diss* by div. 1937), Patricia Kenneth, only child of Kenneth Richards, of Cowcumbra, Cottamundra, N.S.Wales, Australia; *m* 2ndly, 30 July 1937, (*m diss* by div. 1946), Virginia, former wife of Archibald Leach (Cary Grant, the film actor), and dau of James E. Cherrill; *m* 3rdly, 16 October 1947, Bianca Maria Luciana Adriana, elder dau of Enrico Mottironi, of Turin, Italy; *d* 9 August 1998, having had issue by 1st and 3rd marriages, (of whom, his elder son and h.ap. George Henry Viscount Villiers, *b* 29 August 1949 *dvp* 19 March 1998) and as a consequence he was *s.* by his grandson, George Francis William Viscount Villiers, *b* 5 February 1976

Burke. Debrett. *Daily Telegraph* (10 August 1998)

KEPPEL, Arnold Joost van, see ALBEMARLE, 1st Earl of.

KNYVETT, 1st Baron. Thomas Knyvett, of Escrick, Yorkshire; son of Sir Henry Knyvett, of Charleton, by his wife, Anne, dau of Sir Christopher Pickering; *ed* Jesus Coll., Cantab; Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth and to King James I; MP for Westmorland and for Westminster; Master of the Mint; Keeper of the Palace of Whitehall, from 1600 as such headed the search of the Parliament prior to the State Opening in 1605 and, as a consequence, discovered the Gunpowder Plot, as a reward for which he was *cr* **BARON KNYVETT**, 3 July 1607; *m* 1597, Elizabeth, (*d* 1622) widow of Richard Warren and dau of Sir Rowland Hayward; he *dsp* 27 April 1622, when his Peerage became *extinct*.

Burke (Extinct Peerages). G.E.C. Ellesmere Papers (Camden Society).

LATYMER, Baroness. Lucy Nevill, of Dauntsey, Wiltshire; *b* circa 1524; second dau of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester, by his wife, Elizabeth, dau of Sir Anthony Browne, KG; *m* circa 1545, John Nevill, 4th Baron Latymer (or Latimer), who *d* 22 April 1577, when his Peerage became, according to modern doctrine, abeyant; she *dspm* 23 February 1583, having had issue. *

Burke. G.E.C.

**Being a Barony by Writ these daus were co-heirs, namely (i) Catherine, Countess of Northumberland (ii) Dorothy, Countess of Exeter (iii) Lucy, wife of Sir William Cornwallis, of Brome [the Marquesses Cornwallis] (iv) Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Danvers. All of whose descendants remain co-heirs. The abeyance was terminated, 11 February 1913 (after 333 years) in favour of Francis Burdett Thomas Money Coutts (afterwards Coutts-Nevill) a co-heir descended from (iii) Lucy, wife of Sir William Cornwallis, ante.*

LAUDERDALE, 1st Duke of. John Maitland, KG, of Thirlestane Castle, Berwickshire and Ham House, Middlesex; *b* 24 May 1616; eldest surv. son of 1st Earl of Lauderdale (whom he *s* as 2nd Earl, 18 January 1645), by his wife, Lady Isabel Seton, dau of 1st Earl of Dunfermline; Gentleman of the Bedchamber from 1660; One of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in the CABAL *; Chancellor of King's Coll., Aberdeen; Secretary of State, 1660-81; Commissioner of the Treasury; Lord President of the Council (Scotland), 1672-81; Governor of Edinburgh Castle and in fact held all power and patronage in Scotland; *cr* **DUKE of LAUDERDALE, MARQUESS of MARCH, EARL of LAUDERDALE, VISCOUNT MAITLAND, LORD THIRLESTANE, MUSSELBURGH and BOULTON [S]**, 26 May 1672; KG 18 April 1672; *cr* **EARL of GUILFORD and BARON PETERSHAM [E]**, 25 June 1674; *m* 1stly, 23 August 1632, Lady Anne Home, (*d* 1671), da of 1st Earl of Home, by his wife, Hon. Mary Sutton (otherwise Dudley); *m* 2ndly, 17 February 1672, Elizabeth Tollemache, *suo jure* Countess of Dysart, (*d* 1698), widow of Sir Lionel Tollemache, 3rd Bart., and dau and co-heir of 1st Earl of Dysart, by his wife, Catherine Bruce; he *dspm* 24 August 1682, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. Douglas's *Scots Peerage*. Mackenzie's *Affairs of Scotland*. and *The Life and Times of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale*. Hist. MSS Comm. Craik's *Life of Clarendon*. Macauley. Lauderdale Papers and MSS (Camden Society).

** Lauderdale represented the 'L' of CABAL; Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham and Ashley represented the others.*

LAW, Rt. Hon. Andrew BONAR, PC, *b* at New Brunswick, 16 September 1858, son of Revd. James Law, of New Brunswick, by his wife, Eliza, dau of William Kidston, of Glasgow; Banker and Iron Manufacturer; MP for, 1900-23; Leader of the Conservative and Unionist Party, 1911-23; Secretary of

State for the Colonies, 1915-16; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1916-19; Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, 1919-21; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1922-23; *m* 1891, Annie Pitcairn, (*d* 1909), dau of Harrington Robley, of Glasgow; he *d* 30 October 1923, having had issue.

Burke. Debrett. D.N.B.

LECONFIELD, 3rd Baron. Charles Henry Wyndham, GCVO, of Petworth House, Sussex; *b* 17 February 1872; second, but first surv., son of 2nd Baron (whom he *s* 6 January 1901), by his wife, Lady Constance Evelyn Primrose, dau of Archibald, Lord Dalmeny, and grand dau of 4th Earl of Rosebery, KT; Lord Lieutenant, Custos Rotulorum, Chm CC and Pres. TAA for West Sussex; MFH; GCVO, 1935 (Silver Jubilee); *m* 8 November 1911, Beatrice Violet, (*d* 22 May 1956), elder dau of Colonel Richard Hamilton Rawson, DL, MP, of Gravenhurst, Sussex, by his wife, Lady Beatrice Anson, dau of 2nd Earl of Lichfield; he *dsp* 17 April 1952.

Burke. Wyndham's *Wyndham and Children First*.

LESLIE, Sir (John Randolph) Shane, 3rd Baronet, of Castle Leslie, Glaslough, co. Monaghan; *b* 24 September 1885; el. son of Sir John Leslie, 2nd Bart., (whom he *s* 25 January 1944), by his wife, Leonie Blanche, dau of Leonard Jerome (and sister of Lady Randolph Spencer-Churchill *q.v.*); *ed* Eton and King's Coll., Cantab; Writer; Associate, Irish Academy of Letters; *m* 11 June 1912, Marjorie, (*d* 8 February 1951), dau of Hon. Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, USA, formerly US Governor-General of the Philippines and Minister to Spain; he *d* 1971, having had issue (of whom his only dau, Anita, was the celebrated Anglo-Irish writer).

Burke.

LIVERPOOL, 2nd Earl of. Robert Banks Jenkinson, KG, PC, of Hawkesbury, Gloucestershire and Buxted, Sussex; *b* 7 June 1770; eldest son of the 1st Earl (whom he *s* 30 December 1808), by his first wife, Amelia Watts; *ed* Charterhouse and Ch. Ch., Oxon; sometime MP; Commissioner for India, Master of the Mint and Foreign Secretary, 1801-04; sum to the House of Lords *v.p.* in his father's Barony of Hawkesbury, 15 November 1803; Home Secretary, 1804-06 and 1807-089; Leader of the House of Lords; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; Receiver General of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1807-09; Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 1809-12; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1812-27; KG, 9 June 1814; *m* 1stly, 25 March 1795, Lady Theodosia Louisa Hervey, (*d* 1821), dau of 4th Earl of Bristol, by his wife, Elizabeth Davers; *m* 2ndly, 1822, Mary, (*d* 1846), dau of Reverend Charles Chester; he *dsp* 15 December 1828.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. *Memoirs of the Public Life and Administration of the Earl of Liverpool*.

LONDONDERRY, Marchioness of. Frances Anne Emily Vane, of Wynyard Park, Seaham Hall and Long Newton, Co. Durham and Mount Stewart, Co. Down; *b* 7 February 1800; dau and heir of Sir Henry Vane-Tempest, 2nd Bart., of Long Newton, by his wife, Anne Catherine, *suo jure* Countess of Antrim; a noted leader of fashion; *m* 3 April 1819, as his second wife, Charles William Stewart (afterwards Vane), 3rd Marquess of Londonderry, KG, GCB, GCH, PC, (*b* 18 May 1778 *d* 6 March 1854); *d* 20 January 1865, having had issue (the eldest son, George Henry Robert Charles William Vane-Tempest-Stewart, *s* his half-brother as 5th Marquess of Londonderry, 1872).

Burke. G.E.C. *Correspondence*.

LOTHIAN, 11th Marquess of. Philip Henry Kerr, KT, CH, PC, of Monteviot, Selkirkshire, Newbattle Abbey, Midlothian and Blickling Hall, Norfolk; *b* 18 April 1882; eldest son of Major-General Lord Ralph Drury Kerr, KCB, by his wife, Lady Anne Fitzalan-Howard, dau of 14th Duke of Norfolk; *s* his cousin, 16 March 1930; Assistant Secretary, Inter-Colonial Council of Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1905-08; Secretary to the Prime Minister, 1916-21; Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, 1925-39; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, August-November 1931; Parl. Sec. for India, 1931-32; Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Washington DC; Progenitor (with Lord Esher) of the National Trust's Country Houses Scheme; *dunm* 12 December 1940.

Burke.

LUMLEY, 1st Baron. John Lumley, of Lumley, co. Durham and Stanstead, Essex; *b* circa 1533; grandson and heir of George Lumley (heir of the Barons Lumley); restored by Act of Parliament and *cr*

BARON LUMLEY, 1547; High Steward of Oxford, 1559-1609; *m* 1stly, Lady Jane Fitzalan, (*d* 1576), dau of 12th Earl of Arundel, *q.v.*; *m* 2ndly, 1582, Frances, (*d* 1616), dau of 1st Baron Rich; he *dsp*s 11 April 1609, when his Peerage became *extinct*.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. Camden's *Britannia*. Strype's *Annals*.

MacMILLAN, Harold, *see* **STOCKTON**, 1st Earl of.

MANCHESTER, 1st Earl of. Henry Montagu, of Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdonshire; *b* circa 1563; second son of Sir Edward Montagu, of Boughton, by his wife Elizabeth Harington, of Exton (sister of 1st Baron Harington of Exton *q.v.*); *ed* Christ's Coll., Cantab; Bar, Bar. and Reader, Middle Temple; Recorder of London; Kings Counsel; Serjeant-at-Law and King's Serjeant; Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1616-21; Lord High Treasurer, 1620-21; *cr* **VISCOUNT MANDEVILLE** and **BARON KIMBOLTON**, 19 December 1620; First Commissioner of the Great Seal; Lord President of the Council, 1621-28; *cr* **EARL of MANCHESTER**, 5 February 1626; Lord Privy Seal, 1628-42; Speaker of the House of Lords; Lord Lieutenant of Huntingdonshire; Commissioner of the Regency, 1640-41; *m* 1stly, 1601, Catharine, (*d* 1612), dau of Sir William Spencer, of Yarnton; *m* 2ndly, Anne, widow of Sir Leonard Halliday, and dau of William Wincoll; *m* 3rdly, 1620, Margaret, (*d* 1653), widow of John Hare and dau of John Crouch; he *d* 7 November 1642, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. Lloyd's *State Worthies*. Hist. MSS Comm. Buccleuch-Whitehall MSS

MARLBOROUGH, 1st Earl of. James Ley, of Westbury, Wiltshire; *b* 1552; sixth son of Henry Ley, of Teffont-Ewyas, Wiltshire, by his wife Dyonisia de St Mayne; *ed* Brasenose Coll., Oxon; Lincoln's Inn, 1576; sometime MP; Serjeant-at-Law; Chief Justice of the King's Bench of Ireland; Commissioner of the Great Seal of Ireland; Attorney of the Court of Wards; *cr* a Baronet (of Westbury, co. Wilts), 20 July 1619; Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1621-24; Lord High Treasurer, 1624-28; *cr* **BARON LEY**, 31 December 1624 and **EARL of MARLBOROUGH**, 5 February 1625; High Steward of Great Yarmouth; Joint Commissioner of Claims (for the Coronation of King Charles I); Lord President of the Council, July-December 1628; Chief Commissioner, 1628; *m* 1stly, 1592, Mary, dau of John Pettie; *m* 2ndly, 1617, Mary, (*d* 1618), widow of Sir William Bowyer, and dau of Thomas Pierson; *m* 3rdly, 1621, Jane, (*d* 1679), dau of 1st Baron Boteler of Brantfield; he *d* 14 March 1629, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. (c.f. Milton). Lloyd's *State Worthies*.
Marlborough's *The Office of Chancellor*.

MARLBOROUGH, 5th Duke of. George Spencer-Churchill, of Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire and Whiteknights, Berkshire; *b* 6 March 1766; son of the 4th Duke (whom he *s* 29 January 1817), by his wife, Lady Caroline Russell, dau of 4th Duke of Bedford; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; styled Marquess of Blandford, from birth until 1817; sometime MP; sum. *v.p.* in his father's Barony of Spencer of Wormleighton, 12 March 1806; *m* 1791, Lady Susan Stewart, (*d* 1841), dau of 7th Earl of Galloway, by his wife, Anne, dau of Sir James Dashwood, Bart.; he *d* 13 March 1840, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B. *Ann. Reg.* 1840.

METHUEN, 4th Baron. Paul Ayshford Methuen, of Corsham Court, Wiltshire; eldest son of Field Marshal 3rd Baron Methuen, GCB, GCMG, GCVO, (whom he *s* 1932), by his second wife, Mary Ethel, CBE, (*d* 1941), dau of William Ayshford Sandford, of Nynehead Court, Somerset; *b* 1886; Trustee of the National Gallery and of the Tate Gallery, 1938-45, and of the Imperial War Museum, 1950-52; *m* 1915, Eleanor Norah, who *d* 1958, dau of William John Hennessy, of Rudgwick, Sussex; he *dsp* 1974.

Burke. Debrett.

MILNE, James LEES-, of Essex House, Badminton, Gloucestershire; son of George Crompton Lees-Milne, of Crompton Hall, Lancashire and Wickhamford Manor, Worcestershire; *b* 6 August 1908; *ed* Eton and Magdalen Coll., Oxon; Historian, author, aesthete, diarist; Secretary, National Trust Country Houses Scheme; *m* 1951, Alvilde, (*d* 1993), former wife of 3rd Viscount Chaplin and dau of Lieutenant-General Sir Tom Molesworth Bridges, KCB, KCMG, DSO; *dsp* 27 December 1997.

Burke (L.G.), Lees-Milne's *Another Self*.

MORE, Sir William, of Loseley Park, Surrey; son of Sir Christopher More, of Loseley, by his wife, Margaret, dau of Walter Mudge; constructed the present house at Loseley, 1562, where he later

entertained Queen Elizabeth I; High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex; Vice Admiral of Sussex; Knighted 1591; *m* 1stly, Margaret, dau of Ralph Daniel, of Swaffham, Norfolk, and had issue (one son, two daus); *m* 2ndly, Mabel, dau of Marchion Dingley, of Wolverton, Isle of Wight; he *d* 20 July 1600.

Burke (L.G.)

NEWCASTLE (-ON-TYNE), Duchess of. Margaret Cavendish, of Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire; *b* 1617, dau of Thomas Lucas, of Colchester, Essex (and sister of John, 1st Baron Lucas of Shenfield), by his wife, Elizabeth Leighton; Maid of Honour to Queen Henrietta Maria; the first Englishwoman in print; known alternately as Mad Madge of Newcastle and the Whore of Welbeck *m* at Paris, about December 1645, as his second wife, William Cavendish, 1st Marquess (and after 1665 1st Duke) of Newcastle-on-Tyne, (*bap* 16 December 1593 *d* at Welbeck Abbey, 25 December 1676). She *dsp* at Welbeck, 7 January 1673, *bur* Westminster Abbey.

G.E.C. Jones's *Duchess of Newcastle*.

NEWCASTLE (-UNDER-LYME), 7th Duke of. Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Pelham-Clinton, of Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire; *b* 28 September 1864, son of Henry Pelham Alexander, 6th Duke, (whom he *s* 22 February 1879), by his wife Henrietta Adela Hope; *ed* Eton and Magdalen Coll., Oxon; As Lord of the Manor of Worksop he provided the right-hand glove at the Coronations in 1902 and 1911 and supported HM's right arm (with the sceptre); DL co. Nottingham; KStJ; *m* 20 February 1889, Kathleen Florence Mary, (*d* 1 June 1955), dau of Henry August Candy, by his wife, Hon. Frances Kathleen Westenra; he *dsp* 30 May 1928, being *s* by his brother. *

G.E.C.

* *The Dukedom expired on the decease of the 10th Duke, 1989.*

NORTHAMPTON, 5th Marquess of. William Bingham Compton, of Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire and Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire; *b* 6 August 1885; elder son of William George Spencer Scott, 4th Marquess, KG, (whom he *s* 15 June 1913), by his wife, Hon. Mary Florence Baring, dau of 2nd Baron Ashburton; *ed* Eton and Balliol Coll., Oxon; Lieutenant-Colonel, Warwickshire Yeomanry, served WWI, wounded, DSO; DL cos. Northampton and Ross and Cromarty; sometime Chairman, Northamptonshire County Council; *m* 1stly, 15 October 1921, (*m diss* 1942), Lady Emma Margery Thynne, OBE, second dau 5th Marquess of Bath, KG; *m* 2ndly, 18 June 1942, (*m diss* 1958), Virginia Lucie, youngest dau of David Rimington Heaton; *m* 3rdly, 2 December 1958, Elspeth Grace, Baroness Teynham and dau of William Ingram Whitaker, DL; he *d* 1978, having had issue (by 2nd m).

Burke.

NORTHCLIFFE, 1st Viscount. Alfred Charles William Harmsworth; *b* 1865; son of Alfred Harmsworth, Barrister (and brother of 1st Viscount Rothermere, 1st Baron Harmsworth, Sir Leicester Harmsworth, 1st Bart. *q.v.* and Sir Hildebrand Harmsworth, 1st Bart.); Prop. of *The Evening News*, 1894; Founder Prop. of *The Daily Mail*, 1896 and *The Daily Mirror*, 1903; *cr* **BARON NORTHCLIFFE**, 1905; Prop. of *The Times*, 1908; advanced to **VISCOUNT NORTHCLIFFE**, 1917; *d* 14 August 1922, when his Peerages became *extinct*.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B.

NORTHUMBERLAND, (either 9th, 6th or more likely by modern doctrine, 3rd) Earl of. Henry Percy, KG, of Alnwick Castle, Northumberland and Petworth, Sussex, &c; *b* before April 1564; son of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, (whom he *s* 21 June 1585), by his wife, Catherine, dau of John Neville, Lord Latimer; a volunteer in Holland; KG, 1593; Joint Commissioner of the Borders; General of the Horse, 1696; Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, 1603-05; Joint Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, 1604-5; a noted mathematician and scholar; arrested on suspicion of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, 1605 and imprisoned in the Tower, 27 November 1605 until 16 July 1621 and fined £30,000 by the Star Chamber; *m* 1594, Dorothy, (*d* 3 August 1619), widow of Sir Thomas Perrott, and dau of Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex, by his wife, Lettice, dau of Sir Francis Knollys, KG; he *d* 5 November 1832, having had issue.

Burke. D.N.B. G.E.C. Hist. MSS. Comm. *Annals of Percy* (Vol. II, p332 *et seq.*).
Markland (ed). *Instructions*. (1838).

ORFORD, 1st Earl of. Robert Walpole, KG, PC, of Houghton Hall, Norfolk; *b* 26 August 1676, third but first surv. son of Robert Walpole, of Houghton, Norfolk, by his wife, Mary Burwell; *ed* Eton and King's Coll., Cantab; MP for Castle Rising, 1701-02 and for Kings Lynn, 1702-42; one of the Council of the Lord High Admiral, 1705-08; Secretary at War, 1708-10; Treasurer of the Navy, 1710-11; PC 1714; Paymaster General of the Forces, 1714-15 and 1720-21; Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury, 1715-17 and again 1721-42 in which term he became known as the Prime Minister; Lord Justice of the Realm (Regent) and Secretary of State, 1723; KB 1725; KG 1726; *cr* **BARON of HOUGHTON, VISCOUNT WALPOLE and EARL of ORFORD**, (Peerage of Great Britain), 6 February 1742; *m* 1stly, 30 July 1700, Catherine, (*d* 20 August 1737), dau of John Shorter; *m* 2ndly, 3 March 1738, (his mistress), Maria, (*d* 4 June 1738), dau of Thomas Skerrett; he *d* 18 March 1745, having had issue.

D.N.B. G.E.C. *Sir Robert Walpole*.

ORFORD, 4th Earl of. Horace Walpole, of Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, Middlesex; *b* 5 October 1717; son of 1st Earl of Orford, KG, *q.v.*, by his wife, Catherine Shorter; *s* his nephew as 4th Earl, 1791; *ed* Eton and King's Coll., Cantab; MP for Callington, 1741; Diarist, essayist, historian and gardener; author of *Aedes Walpoleanæ*, *Parish Registers of Twickenham*, *Mysterious Mother*, *Essay on Modern Gardening*, *The Castle of Otranto*; Established the press of Officina Arbuteana at Strawberry Hill; *dunm* at Berkeley Square, 2 March 1797.

Burke. G.E.C. D.N.B.

Walpole's *The letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*. (London, 1840. 6 volumes).

OXFORD, 17th Earl of. Edward de Vere, Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England; *b* 12 April 1550, only son of John, 16th Earl (whom he *s* 1562), by his second wife, Margery Golding; *ed* Queen's Coll., Cantab and St John's Coll., Oxon; Gray's Inn, 1567; travelled widely on the Continent; volunteer with the Fleet against the Spanish Armada; *m* 1stly, 19 December 1571, Anne Cecil, (*dspms* 5 June 1588), dau of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, *q.v.* and sister of Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter and Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, *q.v.*; *m* 2ndly, 1591, Elizabeth, (*d* 1613), dau of William Trentham, of Rocester Priory, Staffordshire; he *d* 24 June 1604, having had issue.

G.E.C. Hist. MSS Comm. *Cecil MSS* (Volume V). *Correspondece of Salignac Fénelon*.
Golding's *Account of the Family of Vere* (Harleian MSS 4189).

OXFORD and MORTIMER, 1st Earl of. Robert Harley, of Brampton Castle, Herefordshire; *b* 5 December 1661; son of Sir Edward Harley, by his wife, Abigail Stephens; Sheriff of Hereford and raised a militia during the Revolution, 1689; MP for Tregony, 1689-90 and for Radnor, 1690-1711 (in nine Parliaments); Commissioner for Public Accounts; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1701-05; Secretary of State for the Northern Department, 1704-08; Commissioner for the Union; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1710-11; *cr* **BARON HARLEY of WIGMORE, EARL OF OXFORD and EARL MORTIMER**, [*called* **OXFORD and MORTIMER**] (Peerage of Great Britain), 23 May 1711; Lord High Treasurer, 1711-14; KG 1712; Impeached on High Treason, 1715; *m* 1stly, 14 May 1685, Elizabeth, (*d* 30 November 1691), sister of Thomas, 1st Baron Foley of Kidderminster, and dau of Thomas Foley, by his wife, Elizabeth Ashe; *m* 2ndly, 4 October 1694, Sarah, (*d* 17 June 1737), dau of Simon Middleton; he *d* 21 May 1724, having had issue.

D.N.B. G.E.C. *Hist MSS Comm*.

OXFORD and MORTIMER, 2nd Earl of. Edward Harley, of Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire and *jure uxoris* of Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire; *b* 2 June 1689; eldest son of 1st Earl *q.v.* by his first wife, Elizabeth Foley; *m* 31 August 1713, Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, (*d* 9 December 1755), only dau and heir of John Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle (of the Second Creation), by his wife, Lady Margaret Cavendish, third dau and co-heir of Henry Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Newcastle (of the First Creation); *d* 16 June 1741, having had issue:- Lady Margaret Harley, *m* 1734, William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of Portland, by which alliance the Cavendish estates of Welbeck were conveyed into that family.

D.N.B. G.E.C.

PAGET, 4th Baron. Thomas Paget, of Beaudesert Hall, Staffordshire; *b* 1544; second son of William 1st Baron Paget, by his wife, Anne Preston; *s* his niece, 29 June 1570; a zealous Papist and was attainted; *m* Nazareth, widow of Thomas Southwell and dau of Sir John Newton; he *d* in Brussels, 1590.

G.E.C.

PEEL, Dowager Lady. Mercedes Peel, of Tanworth Lodge, Staffordshire; dau of Baron de Graffenried, of Thun, Switzerland; *m* 1897, Sir Robert Peel, 4th Bart. who *d* 12 February 1925.

Burke.

PERCY, Rt. Revd. Thomas, DD, Bishop of Dromore; *b* Bridgnorth, 13 April 1729; *ed* Ch. Ch., Oxon; Vicar of Easton Maudit, Northants; Chaplain to the Duchess of Northumberland; Chaplain to King George III, 1769-78; Dean of Carlisle, 1778-82; *cons* Bishop of Dromore, 1782; Antiquarian, scholar and literary historian; responsible for the rediscovery of much early English poetry and as such an inspiration of many poets of the Romantic revival in Germany as well Coleridge's Ancient Mariner; Purchased the Percy Folio, a seventeenth-century MSS (a collection of materials of all kinds, but most important for its preservation of ballad poetry); *d* 20 September 1811.

D.N.B. Morris's *Rosenbach Redux*.

PHILLIPPS, Sir Thomas, 1st Baronet, of Middle Hill, Worcestershire and Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire; *b* at Manchester, 22 July 1792; son of Thomas Phillipps, of Child's Wickham and Middle Hill, Worcestershire; *ed* at Rugby and University Coll., Oxon. (BA 1815); bibliophile and manuscript collector; *cr* a *Baronet* (of Middle Hill in the co. of Worcester), 27 July 1821; unsuccessfully contested Grimsby, 1826; High Sheriff of Worcestershire, 1825; Trustee of the British Museum and Fellow of the Royal Society; purchased from Professor van Ess, Darmstadt, at the Chardin and Celotti sales; outbid the Dutch Government for the Muschenbroek collection, 1827; purchased the library from Battlesden of Sir Gregory Page Turner, the Craven Ord collection, Viscount Kingsborough's collection, the Hanbury Williams, Ker, Porter and Roscoe correspondence, four hundred lots from the Heber collection, from the Cooper, O'Reilly, Monck, Mason, Todd collections (including MSS relating to Giraldus Cambrensis); acquired MSS relating to Charles VIII of France, Pope Nicholas V, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary; purchased Caxton's *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* and important Americana; declined membership of the Roxburghe Club; *m* 1stly, 7 February 1819, Harriet, dau of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Molyneux, Bart., of Castle Dillon, co. Armagh; *m* 2ndly, 1842, Elizabeth, dau of the Revd. W.J. Mansel; *d* at Thirlestane House, 6 February 1872, leaving three daus * but at which time his Baronetcy became *extinct*.

Burke. D.N.B. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1889).

* *The eldest of whom, Henrietta Elizabeth Molyneux Phillipps, s. to the entailed estate of Middle Hill and was the wife of James Orchard Halliwell (afterwards Halliwell-Phillipps), the celebrated Shakespearean scholar.*

PITT, Rt. Hon William The Younger (of immortal memory), *b* 18 May 1759; second son of 1st Earl of Chatham, *q.v.*, by his wife, Hester, *suo jure* Baroness Chatham; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1782-83; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1783-1801 and again, 1804-06; *dunm* at Bowling Green House, Putney, 23 January and *bur* in Westminster Abbey, 22 February, 1806

Burke (Extinct Peerages). D.N.B.

PONSONBY, General the Right Honourable Sir Henry Frederick, GCB PC; *b* 10 December 1825; eldest son of Major-General Hon. Sir Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby, GCMG, KCB, KCH, KMT, KSG, Governor of Malta (second son of 3rd Earl of Bessborough), by his wife, Lady Emily Charlotte Bathurst, dau of 3rd Earl Bathurst; Private Secretary, Equerry and Keeper of the Archives to HM Queen Victoria, 1878-95; *m* 30 April 1861, Hon. Mary Elizabeth Bulteel, VA, Maid of Honour to HM Queen Victoria, (*d* 16 October 1916), dau of John Crocker Bulteel, MP, of Flete, Devonshire, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth Grey, dau of 2nd Earl Grey; he *d* 21 November 1895, having had issue.

Burke. Lord Ponsonby's *Sir Henry Ponsonby: His Life from his Letters*.

PORTLAND, 1st Earl of. Hans Willem Bentinck, KG, PC, of Bulstrode Park, Buckinghamshire; *b* 20 July 1649; fourth but third surv. son of Bernhard Bentinck, Lord of Diepenheim and Drost of Deventer, by Anna, dau of Hans Hendrik van Bloemendaal, Dorst of Vianen; Page of Honour to the Prince of Orange; Colonel, Horse Guards, Dutch Army; Bailiff of Breda and Lingen; *sum* to the States as Lord of Drummelen, 9 September 1676 and as such entered the Order of Nobility of Holland; Envoy to England to arrange the marriage of the Prince of Orange and Princess Mary, 1677 and again in 1683 and 1685; Verderer of Holland; Accompanied the Prince of Orange during the Glorious Revolution and became Groom of the Stole and First Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Keeper of the Privy

Purse, 1689; *cr* **BARON CIRENCESTER, VISCOUNT WOODSTOCK** and **EARL of PORTLAND**, (Peerage of England), 9 April 1689; Lieutenant-General of the Horse; Ranger of Windsor Park; Ambassador to France and Plenipotentiary to Louis XIV; *m* 1stly, February 1677, Anne Villiers, (*d* 20 November 1688), sister of Edward, 1st Earl of Jersey and dau of Sir Edward Villiers, by his wife, Lady Frances Howard; *m* 2ndly, 12 May 1700, Jane Martha, Baroness Berkeley of Stratton, (subsequently Governess to the Daughters of King George II), (*d* 26 May 1751), dau of Sir John Temple, by his wife, Jane Yarner; he *d* 23 November 1709, having had issue. *

D.N.B. G.E.C. Burke.

**By his first m - his eldest son, Henry, became 1st Duke of Portland (which title expired with the decease of the 9th Duke in 1990). By his 2nd m. - his son William, Lord of Rhoon and Pendrecht in Holland became Counts of the Holy Roman Empire as Sovereign Reigning Counts of Aldenburg-Bentinck and Sovereign Lords of Kniphausen and Varel. The House was Mediatized at the dissolution of the Empire and the members of the Mediatized Sovereign County House were accorded the qualification of Illustrious Highness by the Imperial Diet; His Illustrious Highness Henry Noel, Count Bentinck s. as 11th Earl of Portland on the extinction of the Ducal Line in 1990.*

ROCHESTER, 2nd Earl of. John Wilmot, of Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire; *b* 10 April 1647; second but first surv. son of Henry, 1st Earl of Rochester, (whom he *s* 19 February 1658), by his second wife, Anne, dau of Sir Francis Lee, Bart., of Ditchley, co. Oxford; *ed* Burford Free School and Wadham Coll., Oxon; Gentleman of the Bedchamber from 1665; Captain, Regiment of Horse, 1666; Ranger and Keeper of Woodstock Park, 1674; *m* 29 January 1666 (after having attempted her abduction in 1665), Elizabeth, (*d* 20 August 1681), day of John Malet, of Enmore, Somerset, by his wife, Unton, dau of Francis, 1st Baron Hawley; he *d* 26 July 1680, having had issue.

History of My Own Times. D.N.B. G.E.C. *Cantab Hist. of Eng. Lit.*
Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis* (ed Bliss) (Volume III). Bishop Burnet.

ROSEBERY, 5th Earl of. Archibald Philip Primrose, KG, KT, PC, of Dalmeny House, West Lothian and Mentmore, Buckinghamshire; *b* 7 May 1847; son of Archibald, Lord Dalmeny, by his wife, Lady Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Stanhope, (who *m* 2ndly, Harry George Vane Powlett, 4th Duke of Cleveland, KG) and dau of 4th Earl Stanhope; *s* his grandfather, 4 March 1868; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Lord Lieutenant, co. Linlithgow (West Lothian), 1873-1929; Lord Rector, Aberdeen University, 1878-81 and of Edinburgh University, 1880-83; member, Council on Scottish Education, 1881-1929; Under Secretary for the Home Department, 1881-83; Lord Lieutenant of Midlothian, 1884-1929; Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner for Works, Feb-June 1885; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Feb-July 1886 and again 1892-94; first Chm of London County Council 1889-90 and again March-June 1892; KG 1892; Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Lord President of the Council, March 1894-June 1895, KT 1895 (the only non-Royal KG to be *subsequently* awarded the Thistle); being leader of the Liberal Party until 1898; Lord Rector of Glasgow University, 1899-1902, Chancellor thereof from 1908; Chancellor of London University, 1902; *cr* **BARON EPSOM, VISCOUNT MENTMORE** and **EARL of MIDLOTHIAN** (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 3 July 1911 (Coronation Peerages); Lord Rector of St Andrews University, 1911; Captain General, Royal Company of Archers; Elder Brother of Trinity House; *m* 20 March 1878, Baroness Hannah Rothschild, (*d* 19 November 1890), only dau and heiress of Baron Meyer Amschel Rothschild, of Mentmore, Buckinghamshire, by his wife, Juliana, dau of Isaac Cohen; *d* 21 May 1929, having had issue.

D.N.B. Burke. G.E.C.

Marquess of Crewe's *Lord Rosebery*.

ROTHSCHILD, Baron Ferdinand James Anselm de, of Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire; *b* 1839; third son of Baron Anselm Salomon de Rothschild, of Frankfurt a-M, by his wife (and first cousin), Charlotte, dau of Salomon Mayer Rothschild; High Sheriff of co. Buckingham, 1883 also JP thereof; *m* 1865, his first cousin, Baroness Evelina de Rothschild, (*dsp* 4 December 1866), dau of (Baron) Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, of Gunnersbury, by his wife (and first cousin), Charlotte, dau of Baron Carl Meyer de Rothschild, of Naples, by his wife, Adelheid Hertz; he *dsp* 17 December 1898.

Burke. Wilson's *Rothschild: A Story of Wealth and Power*.

ROXBURGHE, 3rd Duke of. John Ker, KG, KT, of Floors Castle, Roxburghshire; *b* 23 April 1740; first son of Robert Ker, 2nd Duke, (whom he *s* 20 August 1755), by his wife, Essex, dau of Sir Roger Mostyn, 3rd Bart., of Mostyn, co. Flint; *ed* Eton; Member, Society of Dilettanti; Lord of the

Bechamber, 1767-96; KT, 28 November 1768; Lord Lieutenant of Roxburghshire, 1794-1804; Groom of the Stole and First Lord of the Bedchamber, 1796-1804; KG, 3 June 1801 (while retaining the Thistle) *dunm* * 19 March 1804.

D.N.B. G.E.C. Burke.

* *He paid court to Princess Christiana Sophia Alberta of Mecklenburg-Strelitz but was compelled to break off their intended match on political grounds when (September 1761) her sister, Princess Sophia Charlotte, was affianced to King George III, the reason being the toothless rule that an elder sister could not be the subject of a younger. Both died unmarried.*

RUSSELL, Stephen, of Dorchester and Weymouth, Dorset, *temp* Richard II and Henry IV; Prop. of the lands of Maiden Newton, Dorset; Bailiff of Weymouth, 1388-89; in consequence of his wife's lineage he was Lord of the Manor of Berwick, co. Dorset from July 1427 (a property which has remained in the possession the head of the House of Russell ever since); *m* circa 1300, Alice, granddaughter of Cecily de Blynchesfield, Lady of the Manor of Blynchesfield, and heir general of Gregory de la Tour, Lord of the Manor of Berwick, co. Dorset (*temp* King John); *d* between June and October 1438, having had issue.

Burke.

RUTLAND, 8th Duke of. Henry John Brinsley Manners, KG, of Rutland Castle, Leicestershire and Haddon Hall, Derbyshire; *b* 16 April 1852; eldest son of 7th Duke (whom he *s* 4 August 1906), by his first wife, Catharine Louisa Georgina, dau of Colonel George Marlay, CB, of Belvedere, co. Westmeath; Private Secretary to the Marquess of Salisbury when Prime Minister; *sum. v.p.* in his father's Barony of Manners of Haddon, 6 June 1896; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, co. Leicester; KG, 1918; *m* 25 November 1882, Marion Margaret (Violet) Lindsay, (*d* 22 December 1937), dau of Colonel Hon. Charles Hugh Lindsay, CB, MP, by his wife, Emilia Anne, dau of Very Revd. Hon. Henry Montague Browne; he *d* 8 May 1925, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C.

RYLANDS, Mrs John (Enriqueta Augustina), of Longford Hall, Manchester; dau of Stephen Catley Tennant; Benefactor to the City of Manchester and Freeman thereof, 1899; *m* 1875, as his third wife, John Rylands, of Longford Hall, Manchester, the celebrated industrialist, (*b* at St Helens, 7 February 1801 *d* at Longford Hall, 11 December 1888); she *d* 4 February 1908.

D.N.B.

SALISBURY, 1st Earl of. Robert Cecil, KG, PC, of Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; second son of William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley *q.v.* Secretary of State, 1596-1612; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1597-99; Lord Privy Seal, 1597-1612 and Lord High Treasurer, 1608-12; *cr* **BARON CECIL of ESSENDON**, of Essendon, co. Rutland (Peerage of England), 1603; **VISCOUNT CRANBORNE**, of Cranborne, co. Dorset and **EARL of SALISBURY**, (Peerage of England), 1605; KG 1606; Joint Lord Lieutenant of Dorset; High Steward of Winchester; *m* 31 August 1589, Elizabeth, (*d* 24 January 1597), dau of William Brooke, 10th Baron Cobham, by his wife, Frances Newton; he *d* 24 May 1612, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Cecil's *Cecils of Hatfield House*.

SALISBURY, 5th Marquess of. Robert Arthur James Gascoyne-Cecil, KG, PC, *b* 1893; elder son of 4th Marquess, KG (whom he *s* 1947), by his wife, Lady Cicely Alice Gore, (*d* 1955), second dau of 5th Earl of Arran; sat as MP (*Con*) for Dorset, S. Division, 1929-41; summoned *v.p.* to the House of Lords in his father's Barony of Cecil of Essendon, 1941; Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 1940-42 and 1943-45 and for the Colonies, 1942; Lord Privy Seal, 1942-43 and again 1951-52; Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1952-53; Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords, 1952-57; Chancellor, Liverpool University, 1951-71; Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, 1960-72; *m* 1915, Elizabeth Vere, who *d* 1982, dau of Col. Rt. Hon. Lord Richard Frederick Cavendish, CB, CMG, PC; he *d* 1972, having had issue.

Debrett. Cecil's *Cecils of Hatfield House*.

SHREWSBURY, Countess of. Elizabeth Talbot, *formerly* St Loe, *previously* Cavendish and *before that* Barlow, *patronymically* Hardwick, of Chatsworth and Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire; dau of John Hardwick, of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, by his wife, Elizabeth Leake; one of the most remarkable

women in British history; in the course of her long life she married four times, namely: *m* 1stly, Robert Barlow, of Barlow, co. Derby (*d* 1533); *m* 2ndly, Sir William Cavendish, of Cavendish, Suffolk and thereafter of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, (who *d* 25 October 1557); *m* 3rdly, Sir William St Loe (at whose decease, in 1565, she became Prop. of the St Loe estates); 4thly, 9 February 1567, as his second wife, George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, KG, (*d* 18 November 1590); with each marriage she increased her wealth, acreage and status; was responsible for the creation of the original Chatsworth and of arguably the finest Elizabethan house in England, Hardwick Hall; *d* at Hardwick, 13 February 1607, aged over 80, *bur* Derby Cathedral (then Allhallows Church), having had issue by her second marriage which issue being the founders of the Ducal Lines of the House of Cavendish, namely Newcastle and Devonshire.

D.N.B. G.E.C. Burke. *Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast.*

SMITH, Robert, see CARRINGTON

SMITH, Sir Thomas. *b* at Saffron Walden, 23 December 1513; eldest son of John Smith (*d* 1557), by his wife, Agnes Charnock; *ed* Queen's Coll., Cantab (MA 1533); Reader in Natural Philosophy; LLD 1542; Regius Professor of Civil Law, Cantab, 1543; Vice Chancellor, 1543; entered service of the Lord Protector Somerset, 17 April 1548; Joint Secretary of State; imprisoned, 1549-50; MP for Liverpool, 1558; Ambassador to France, 1562-66, 1566-67 and 1572; Chancellor of the Order of the Garter (although not a KG), 1572; MP for Essex; *m* 1stly, 15 April 1548, Elizabeth Carkyke, (who *dsp* 1552); *m* 2ndly, 23 July 1554, Philippa, (who *dsp* 1584), widow of Sir John Hampton, of Theydon Mount, co. Essex and dau of John Wilford; he *dsp* at Theydon Mount, Essex, 12 August 1577.

D.N.B.

SOUTHAMPTON, 3rd Earl of. Henry Wriothesley, KG, of Titchfield, co. Hants; *b* 6 October 1573; only son of Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl (whom he *s* 4 October 1581, by his wife, Mary, dau of Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu, *q.v.* *ed* St John's Coll., Cantab; adm. Gray's Inn, 1587; General of the Horse; involved in the ill-fated insurrection of the Earl of Essex and was *attainted* 19 February 1601; Pardoned by King James VI & I, 1603; KG 1603 and received a regrant of the titles of **BARON WRIOTHESLEY of TITCHFIELD** and **EARL of SOUTHAMPTON** (Peerage of England), 1603, with the precedent of the original creation; Captain, Isle of Wight; Joint Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, 1604; Keeper of the New Forest; PC 1619; *m* (clandestinely, thus incurring the severe displeasure of Queen Elizabeth), before 30 August 1598, Elizabeth, (*d post* 23 November 1655), dau of John Vernon, of Hodnet, co. Salop; he *d* 10 November 1624, having had issue.

D.N.B. G.E.C.

SPENCER, 2nd Earl. George John Spencer, KG, of Althorp, Northamptonshire; *b* 1 September 1758; only son of John Spencer, 1st Earl Spencer, (whom he *s* 31 October 1783), by his wife, Margaret Georgiana, dau of Rt. Hon. Stephen Poyntz, of Midgham House, Berkshire; *ed* Harrow and Trinity Coll., Cantab; MP (Whig) for Northampton, 1780-82 and for Surrey, 1782-83; a Lord of the Treasury, March-July 1782; Lord Privy Seal, July-December 1794; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1794-1801; KG, 1799; Secretary of State for Home Department, 1806-07; Trustee of the British Museum; Governor of Charter House; first President of the Roxburghe Club from 1812; President of the Royal Institution, 1813-25; Commissioner of the Public Records, 1831; *m* 6 March 1781, Lavinia, (*d* 8 June 1831), dau of Charles Bingham, 1st Earl of Lucan; he *d* 10 November 1834, having had issue.

D.N.B. G.E.C. Burke. Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* and *Aedes Althorpianae*. Battiscombe's *The Spencers of Althorp*.

STAFFORD, 1st (10th but for the attainder) Baron. Henry Stafford of Caus Castle, co. Salop; *b* 18 September 1501; only son of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (which title was *attainted*, 1521); declared by Act of Parliament to be **BARON STAFFORD**, 1. EDW VI; some Bencher, Middle Temple, Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire; *m* 16 February 1518/19, Ursula, (*d* 12 August 1570), dau of Sir Richard Pole, KG, by his wife, Margaret, *suo jure* Countess of Salisbury (and dau of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence); *d* 30 April 1563, having had issue.

G.E.C.

STANHOPE, 1st Earl. James Stanhope, of Chevening, Kent; *b* 1673; son of Hon. Alexander Stanhope, by his wife, Katharine, dau of Arnold Burghill, which Alexander was youngest son of Philip

Stanhope, 1st Earl of Chesterfield; *ed* Trinity Coll., Oxon; a soldier of great distinction during the War of the Spanish Succession, Major General, 1707, Lieutenant General, 1708; Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in Spain from September 1708; lead the victorious campaigns at Barcelona, Port Mahon, Almenara, Saragossa and Madrid (21 September 1710); successively MP for Newport, Cockermouth, Wendover; Secretary of State for the South, 1714-16 and for the North, 1716-17 and again 1718-21; First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1717-18; *cr* **BARON STANHOPE of ELVASTON and VISCOUNT STANHOPE of MAHON**, (Peerage of Great Britain), 3 July 1717 and **EARL STANHOPE**, (Peerage of Great Britain), 14 April 1718; was sometime Ambassador to Paris and Madrid; Lord Justice of the Realm, 1719 and 1721; *m* 24 February 1712, Lucy, (*d* 24 February 1724), dau of Thomas Pitt, of Blandford, Dorset, by his wife, Jane, dau of James Innes, of Reid Hall, Morayshire; *d* 5 February 1721, having had issue.

D.N.B. G.E.C. Burke. *Macky's Characters*.

A.F. Basil Williams's *Stanhope*. (1932).

STARKEY, Thomas. *b* 1499; son of Thomas Starkey, of Wrenbury, Cheshire, by his wife, Maud, dau of Sir John Mainwaring, of Peover; *ed* Magdalen Coll., Oxon; in the household of Reginald Pole in Venice and subsequently Chaplain to the Countess of Salisbury; Master, Corpus Christi Coll. 1536; *dunm*. August 1538.

D.N.B. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*. Macray's *Reg. Magdalen Coll.*, I, pp156-163.

STOCKTON, 1st Earl of. (Maurice) Harold MacMillan, OM, PC, of Birch Grove, Sussex; *b* 1894; elder son of Maurice Crawford MacMillan; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; MP (Con) for Stockton-on-Tees, 1924;-29 and 1931-45 and for Bromley, 1945-64; Parliamentary Secretary for Supply, 1940-42; Under Secretary for the Colonies, Feb-Dec 1942; Minister Resident in North Africa, 1942-45; Secretary of State for Air, May-July 1945; Minister of Housing and Local Government, 1951-54; Secretary of State for Defence, 1954-55; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, April-December 1955; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1955-57; Leader of the Conservative and Unionist Party, 1957-63; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1957-63; Chancellor, Oxford University, 1960-86; *cr* **EARL of STOCKTON and VISCOUNT MacMILLAN of OVENDEN**, (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 1984; *m* 1920, Lady Dorothy Evelyn Cavendish, GBE, (*d* 1966), dau of Victor Cavendish, 9th Duke of Devonshire, KG, GCMG, GCVO, PC, by his wife, Lady Evelyn FitzMaurice, GBE; he *d* December 1986, having had issue.

Debrett. D.N.B. Horne's *Harold MacMillan* (two volumes)

STOURTON, 10th Baron. Edward Stourton, *b* 1555; son of Charles Stourton, 8th Baron, by his wife, Lady Anne Stanley, dau of 3rd Earl of Derby; *s* his brother, 1588; *ed* Exeter Coll., Oxon; a Recusant who on suspicion of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot was fined 6,000 marks and imprisoned in the Tower; *m ante* 1588, Frances, dau Sir Thomas Tresham, of Rushton, by his wife, Muriel, dau of Sir Robert Throckmorton, of Coughton Court, Warwickshire [all being Recusant Families]; *d* 7 May 1633, having had issue.

G.E.C. Hist. MSS Comm. *Cecil MSS / Foljambe MSS*.

SUFFOLK, Duchess of and suo jure Baroness WILLOUGHBY de ERESBY. Katherine Brandon, patronymically Willoughby; *b* 22 March 1519; dau of William Willoughby, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, by his second wife, Mary dau of Don Martin de Salinas; *m* 1stly, 7 September 1534, as his fourth wife, Charles Brandon, 1st Duke of Suffolk, KG, (*d* 22 August 1545); *m* 2ndly, 1553, Richard Bertie, Gentleman Usher and sometime MP for Lincoln, (*d* 9 April 1582); *d* 19 September 1580, having had issue (by 2nd *m*, the Barons Willoughby de Eresby).

G.E.C. Burke.

SUNDERLAND, 3rd Earl of. Charles Spencer, KG, PC, of Althorp, Northamptonshire; *b* 1674, second but first surv. son of Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland, KG, (whom he *s* 28 September 1702), by his wife, Lady Anne Digby, dau of George Digby, 2nd Earl of Bristol; sometime MP (Whig) for Tiverton; Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Vienna, 1705; Commissioner for the Union, 1707; Secretary of State, 1706-10; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1714 (but did not proceed); Lord Privy Seal, 1715-16; Joint Vice Treasurer of Ireland, 1716 and sole 1717; Secretary of State for the North, 1717-18; Lord President of the Council, 1717-18; First Lord of the Treasury, 1717-21; KG 1719; one the Regent in 1719 and 1720 (as Lord Justice); Groom of the Stole and First Gentleman of the

Bedchamber, 1719-22; *m* 1stly, 1694, Lady Arabella Cavendish, (*dspm* 4 June 1698), dau of Henry Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by his wife, Frances, dau of Hon. William Pierrepont; *m* 2ndly, 2 January 1700, Lady Anne Churchill, (*d* 15 April 1716), dau of John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, KG, by his wife, Sarah, dau of Richard Jennings; *m* 3rdly, 16 December 1717, Judith, (*d* 17 May 1749 having *m* 2ndly, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Sutton), dau of Benjamin Tichborne, by his wife, Elizabeth Gibbs; he *d* 19 April 1722, having had issue.

Burke. D.N.B. G.E.C.

Battiscombe's *Spencers of Althorp*. Hist. MSS. Comm. *Portland MSS*. Hist. MSS. Comm. *Polwarth MSS*. Llanover's *Autobiography and Correspondence of 3rd Earl of Sunderland*. Stanhope's *History of England*. G.M. Trevelyan's *Ramillies, Blenheim*.

SUTHERLAND, 2nd Duke of. George Granville Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, KG, of Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland, Trentham, Staffordshire, Lillieshall, Salop, &c; *b* 8 August 1786; elder son of George Granville Leveson-Gower, afterwards Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, 1st Duke of Sutherland, (whom he *s* 19 July 1833) by his wife, Elizabeth, *suo jure* Countess of Sutherland (whom he *s* 29 January 1839); *ed* Harrow and Ch. Ch., Oxon; MP (Whig) for St Mawes, Newcastle-under-Lyne and for Staffordshire; sum. *v.p.* in his father's Barony of Gower of Sittenham, 22 November 1826; Lord Lieutenant, co. Sutherland, 1831-62; assumed the additional surname of Sutherland before his patronymic; Trustee, British Museum &c; KG, 1841; *m* 28 May 1823, Lady Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Howard, VA, (*d* 27 October 1868), Mistress of the Robes to HM Queen Victoria, 1837-41, 1846-52, 1853-58 and 1859-61, dau of George Howard, 6th Earl of Carlisle, by his wife, Lady Georgiana Dorothy Cavendish, dau of William Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire; he *d* 28 February 1861, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. *Annual Register, 1861*.

SUTHERLAND, 5th Duke of. George Granville Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, KT, PC, of Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland, Trentham, Staffordshire, Sutton Place, Surrey, &c; *b* 29 August 1888; elder son of Cromartie Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, 4th Duke of Sutherland, KG, (whom he *s* 27 June 1913), by his wife, Lady Millicent Fanny St Clair-Erskine, dau of 4th Earl of Rosslyn; *ed* Eton; Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1921-22; Under Secretary of State for Air, 1922-24; Paymaster General, 1925-28; Under Secretary of State for War, 1928-29; KT 1929; Lord Steward of the Household, 1936; PC, 1936; Bore the Orb at the Coronation, 1937; Lord Lieutenant and President TAA, Sutherland; President, British Olympic Committee; Grand Prior of the Primrose League (Chancellor, 1925); *m* 1stly, 11 April 1912, Lady Eileen Gwladys Butler, (*d* 24 August 1943), Mistress of the, by his wife, Dorothea Gwladys Tombs; *m* 2ndly, 1 July 1944, Mrs Clare Josephine Dunkerly, (*d* 1997), dau of Herbert O'Brien; he *dsp* 1963, when the Dukedom and subsidiary titles passed to his kinsman, the 5th Earl of Ellesmere and the Earldom of Sutherland and Lordship of Strathnaver [S], passed to his niece, Elizabeth Millcent (Mrs Charles Janson).

Burke. Debrett. G.E.C.

THANET, 2nd Earl of. John Tufton, of Hothfield, Kent; *b* 15 December 1608; second but first surv. son of Nicholas Tufton, 1st Earl of Thanet, (whom he *s* 1 July 1631), by his wife, Lady Frances Cecil, dau of Thomas Cecil 1st Earl of Exeter; was in arms for the King; Sheriff of Kent; *m* 21 April 1629, Lady Margaret Sackville, (*d* 14 August 1676), dau of Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset, by his wife, Anne, *suo jure* Baroness Clifford; he *d* 7 May 1664, having had issue.

G.E.C.

VANBRUGH, Sir John. *b* circa 1663/64; Dramatist, architect, playwright, theatre manager, and opera impresario; Comm. Earl's Regiment of Foot, 1685; Imprisoned in France, 1688-92, for supporting William of Orange, then in England as a suspected spy; Captain, Berkeley's Marine Regiment of Foot, 1694; author of *The Provok'd Wife*, *The Relapse*, or *Virtue in Danger* (performed at Betterton's new theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields); Member, Kit Cat Club; Architect of Castle Howard, Blenheim Palace and the Queen's Theatre; he *d* 1726.

D.N.B.

WALPOLE, Hon. Horace, see ORFORD, 4th Earl of.

WAVERLEY, 1st Viscount. John Anderson, GCB, OM, GCSI, GCIE, PC; son of the late David Anderson, Westland House, Eskbank, Midlothian; *b* 1882; Colonial Service, 1905; Principal Clerk, National Health Insurance Commission, 1912, Secretary, thereof, 1913; Secretary, Ministry of Shipping, 1917-19; Second Secretary, Ministry of Health, 1919; Chm and Commission, Board of Inland Revenue, 1919; Joint Under Secretary for Ireland, 1920; Permanent Under Secretary, Home Office,, 1922-32; Governor of Bengal, 1932-37; Lord Privy Seal, 1938-39; Secretary of State for the Home Department and Minister of Home Security, 1939-40; Lord President of the Council (and member of the War Cabinet), 1940-43; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1943-45; MP (*National*) for Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, 1938-50; Chairman of the Waverley Committee into the Export of Works of Art; *cr* **VISCOUNT WAVERLEY**, of Westdean, in the co. of Sussex (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 1950; *m* 1stly, 1907, Christina, who *d* 1920, day of Andrew Mackenzie, of Edinburgh; *m* 2ndly, 1940, Ava, who *d* 1974, dau of J.E.C. Bodley and widow of Ralph Wigram, CMG; he *d* 1958, having had issue (one son, one dau, by 1st *m*).

Burke. Debrett.

WELLINGTON, 1st Duke of. Field Marshal Arthur Wellesley, KG, GCB, PC, of Stratfield Saye, Hampshire; *b* 1 May 1769, third son of Garret Wllesley, 1st Earl of Mornington, by his wife, Hon. Anne Hill, dau of Arthur Hill *afterwards* Trevor-Hill, 1st Viscount Dungannon; *ed* Eton; Ensign, 73rd Regiment of Foot, 1787; ADC to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1787-93; Lieutenant, 76th Regiment of Foot, 1787 and 41st Regiment of Foot, 1788 and 12 Light Dragoons, 1789; MP [I] for Trim, 1790-97; Captain, 58th Regiment of Foot, 1791, 18 Light Dragoons, 1792; Major, 33rd Regiment of Foot, 1793 and Lieutenant-Colonel thereof until 1806; Commanded, 33rd Regiment, Holland, 1794-95; Colonel, 1796; India, 1797-1805; Governor of Seringapatam and Mysore, 1799-1805; Major-General, 1802; In the Mahratta War won victories at Assaye, Argaum and Gawilghur; thanks of Parliament and KB, 1804, (GCB 1815); Commanded, Brigade, Hanover, 1805-06; Colonel, 33rd Foot (Duke of Wellington's Regiment), 1806-12 and of the Royal Horse Guards, 1812-27 and of the Grenadiers, 1827-52; MP (Tory) for Rye, April-October 1806, for St Michael, January-April 1807, for Newport, 1807-09; PC [GB] 1807; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1807-09; PC [I], 1807; a Lord of the Treasury, [I], 1807-09; Commanded a division of the Expeditionary Force to Zealand; Lieutenant-General and thanked by Parliament, 1808; Commander, Peninsula, 1808, gaining victories at Rolica and Vimeiro and defeated the French in Portugal; again thanked by Parliament; Commander-in-Chief, British Forces, Portugal and Marshal General of the Portuguese Army, 1809; defeated the French at Duoro and Talavera; Captain General of the Spanish Army, 1809; *cr* **BARON DUORO of WELLESLEY** and **VISCOUNT WELLINGTON of TALAVERA** and **WELLINGTON** (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 4 September 1809; and an annuity of £2,000; Joint Regent of Portugal, 1809; defeated Massena at Buasco, 1810; forced the French retreat to Spain, 1811; *cr* **CONDE of VIMEIRO** (Nobility of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves), 18 October 1811; General, 1811; won the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, 1812 and was *cr* **DUQUE de CIUDAD RODRIGO** (Nobility of the Kingdom of Spain and the Indies), with the distinction of **GRANDEE of the FIRST CLASS**, January 1812 and **EARL of WELLINGTON**, (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 28 February 1812; thanked by Parliament with a further annuity of £2,000; entered Madrid, August 1812; Generalissimo, of all Armies in Spain, *cr* **MARQUESS of WELLINGTON** (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 3 October 1812, twice thanked by Parliament and a grant to £100,000 to purchase land to descend with the Peerages; further *cr* **MARQUES de TORRES VEDRAS** and **DUQUE de VITTORIA**, (Nobility of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves), 18 December 1812; KG, 1813; defeated Marshal Jourdan, 1813; Field Marshal and thanked by Parliament, 21 June 1813; forced Soult to retreat to France after engagements in the Pyrannes; victories at San Sebastian, Pampeluna, Nivelle, Orthez and Toulouse; *cr* **MARQUESS of DUORO** and **DUKE of WELLINGTON**, (Peerage of the United Kingdom), 11 May 1814 (with a special remainder); Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris, August 1814-January 1815; First Plenipotentiary to the Congress of Vienna, January-March 1815; Field Marshal of Hanover, 1815; Commander-in-Chief of Forces on the Continent, 1815; victor of Waterloo, 18 June 1815; granted £200,000 by Parliament; *cr* **PRINCE of WATERLOO**, (Nobility of the Kingdom of the Netherlands), 18 July 1815; Field Marshal of the Netherlands; Commander-in-Chief of Allied Armies; Field Marshal of Austria, Russia, Prussia; GCH, 1816; Master General of Ordnance with a seat in Cabinet, 1818-27; Governor of Plymouth; Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, 1820-52; Lord High Constable, for the Coronations of 1821, 1831 and 1838; Ambassador to St Petersburg, 1826; Constable of the Tower of London and Lord Lieutenant of Tower Hamlets, 1826-52; Commander-in-Chief of the Army, 1827; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, August 1827-

February 1828; Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1829-52; again Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1834-35 also Secretary of State for the Home Department, Foreign Affairs and the Colonies; Chancellor, University of Oxford, 1834-52; Minister without Portfolio, 1841-46; Commander-in-Chief, 1842-52; *m* 10 April 1806, Hon. Catherine Sarah Dorothea Pakenham, (*d* 24 April 1831), dau of Edward Michael Pakenham, 2nd Baron Longford, by his wife, Catherine, dau of Rt. Hon. Hercules Rowley; the Great Duke *d* 14 September 1852, *bur* St Paul's Cathedral, having had issue.

Burke. D.N.B. G.E.C. *ad infin*

WEMYSS and MARCH, 11th and 8th Earl of. Hugo Richard Charteris, of Gosford House, East Lothian; *b* 25 August 1857; eldest son of Francis Richard Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss and 7th of March, (whom he *s* 30 June 1914), by his first wife, Lady Anne Frederica Anson, dau of 1st Earl of Lichfield; *ed* Harrow and Balliol Coll., Oxon; MP (Con) for Haddingtonshire, 1883-85 and for Ipswich, 1886-95; Lord Lieutenant of Haddingtonshire, 1918-37; *m* 9 August 1883, Mary Constance, (*d* 29 April 1937), dau of Hon. Percy Scawen Wyndham, by his wife, Madeline Caroline Frances Eden Campbell; he *d* 12 July 1937, having had issue.

Burke. G.E.C. Wemyss's *A Family Record*. Asquith's *Haply I may remember*. *passim*.

WESTMINSTER, 2nd Duke of. Hugh Richard Arthur Grosvenor, GCVO, of Eaton Hall, Cheshire; *b* 19 March 1879; only son of Victor Alexander Grosvenor, *styled* Earl Grosvenor, by his wife, Lady Sibell Mary Lumley, dau of Richard George Lumley, 9th Earl of Scarbrough; *s* his grandfather, 22 December 1899; *ed* Eton; served South African War; ADC to Lord Roberts; Lord Lieutenant co. Chester, 1907-20; GCVO 1907; *m* 1stly, 16 February 1901, (*m diss* 1919), Constance Edwina, CBE, (*d* 1970), younger dau of Col. William Cornwallis Cornwallis-West, of Ruthin Castle, by his wife, Mary FitzPatrick; *m* 2ndly, 26 November 1920, (*m diss* 1926), Violet Mary Geraldine, (*d* 1983), dau of Sir William Nelson, 1st Bart., by his wife, Margaret Hope; *m* 3rdly, 20 February 1930, (*m diss* 1947), Hon. Loelia Mary Ponsonby, (*d* 1993), dau of Frederick Edward Grey Ponsonby, 1st Baron Sysonby, by his wife, Victoria Kennard; *m* 4thly, 7 February 1947, Anne Winifred, only dau of Brig.-Gen. Edward Langford Sullivan, CB, CMG, by his wife, Winifred Burns; he *dspms* 19 July 1953.

Burke. G.E.C.

WORCESTER, Earl of. Thomas de Percy, *b* 1343, second son of Henry de Percy, 3rd Baron Percy, by his wife, Mary, dau of Henry, Earl of Lancaster; participated in many French campaigns; Seneshal of La Rochelle, 1368 and of Poitou, 1370; KG, 1375-76; Keeper of Roxburghe Castle, 1376-81; Marshal at the Coronation of Richard II, 1377; Warden of the Eastern Marches, 1377; Commissioner for the Peace, 1378; Captain of Brest, 1378; Warden of all the Marches, 1384; Admiral, 1386 (expeditions to Spain and Portugal); Vice Chamberlain of the Household, 1389; Councillor to Queen Anne until 1394; Justice of South Wales, 1390; Keeper of Newcastle Emlyn, 1390; Chief Forester of Inglewood; Lord Steward of the Household, 1392-99; *cr* **EARL of WORCESTER**, (Peerage of England), 29 September 1397; Constable of Jedburgh Castle; Captain of Calis, 1397; Admiral of the Fleet for Ireland, 1398; Steward of England, 1399; PC 1399; again Lord Steward, 1401-02; Guardian of the Prince of Wales; joined the Hotspur Rebellion, 1403 and *dunm* and *sp legit.* (beheaded), after the Battle of Shrewsbury, 23 July 1403.

G.E.C.

WORCESTER, Earl of. John Tiptoft; *b* 8 May 1427; only son of John Tiptoft, 1st Baron Tiptoft, (whom he *s* 27 January 1442), by his wife, Joyce, dau and co-heir of Edward, 5th Baron Cherleton; *ed* University Coll., Oxon; *cr* **EARL of WORCESTER**, (Peerage of England), 16 July 1449; Treasurer of England, 1452-55; PC 1453; Commissioner to the Prince of Wales, 1454; Ambassador to Pope Calixtus III, 1457 and to Pius II, 1459; Keeper of Weybridge and Sapley Forests; Chief Justice of North Wales, 1461-67; Constable of the Tower, from 1461; Constable of England, 1461-67; KG 1462; Treasurer of England, 1462-63; Constable of Porchester Castle; Lord Steward of the Household; Chancellor of Ireland and Deputy Lieutenant, 1465-68; condemned for High Treason, October 1470; *m* 1stly, 3 April 1449, Cecily, (*dsp* 28 July 1450), widow of Henry de Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick and second dau of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, by his wife, Alice Montagu, *suo jure* Countess of Salisbury; *m* 2ndly, 10 June 1451, Elizabeth, (*dsp*s 1 September 1452), widow of Reynold West, 6th Baron De La Warr and dau of Robert Greyndour, of Mitheldean, by his wife, Joan Rugge; *m* 3rdly, *circa* September 1467, Elizabeth, (*d* 22 June 1498, having *m* 3rdly, Sir William Stanley, KG), widow

of Sir Roger Corbet of Moreton Corbet, Salop and dau of Thomas Hopton, by his wife, Eleanor Lucy;
he *d* (beheaded), 18 October 1470, having had issue.

G.E.C.

Section II

Biographical Information on Living Individuals mentioned in the text

Introduction

This section contains details of those living individuals mentioned in the text. As with the historical part of this appendix it deals only with those significantly associated with the areas of investigation. The majority mentioned below were participants in either the surveys or the interviews or, in some instances, were those with whom lengthy correspondence was conducted during the research. It should be noted that a number of respondents and interviewees wished to remain anonymous and are known only to the researcher. This has at all times been respected and, consequently, these individuals are not listed below. Conversely, however, a number of other respondents or correspondents who are not directly named in the text did supply information which has been used, with their consent, in the text. These individuals were unconcerned about their identity being known *per se* but did not necessarily want it linked to a particular quote or, more commonly, to a particular reference to their collection which would render it capable of general identification. These individuals are listed here; however, the remarks which they made (included in the text) are incapable of general identification to the reader.

Giving biographical details of present owners demonstrates the continuity of the prosopographical method by highlighting the elements used for analysis of the attributes of aristocracy in the same way as the longer historical list does. This continuity ensures that the historical research does not sit in splendid isolation but rather is wedded securely to the examination of the current position. The following list reflects the traditional attributes shown in the historical list - in terms of kinship, educational background, careers and distribution of honours - and shows that although aristocracy changes with the times many of the fundamental attributes remain the same. As with the historical list, this raises interesting questions about the intricate network of kinship and connections in terms of influence and, indeed, political power. These points are, of course, crucial. Whereas with the historical list this rested, very much, on real political power today it tends to be exercised more subtly in the pursuit of particular causes and for many aristocrats the preservation of their country houses is the most obvious cause.

As with the historical list, the arrangement is alphabetical with compound surnames entered under the second (patronymic) element.

BATHURST, James Felton Somers HERVEY-, of Eastnor Castle, Ledbury, Herefordshire; *b* 5 December 1949; elder son of Major Benjamin Alexander Frederick Hervey-Bathurst, OBE, by his first wife, the late Hon. Elizabeth Violet Virginia Somers Cocks, only dau and heir of 6th Baron Somers, of Eastnor Castle; *ed* Eton; *s* his mother to Eastnor Castle and Estate, 1986; Deputy President of the Historic Houses Association since 1998; *m* 1982, Hon. Sarah Rachel Peake, second dau of 2nd Viscount Ingleby, and has issue.

Debrett.

BEKKER, Mrs Althea Enid Philippa DUNDAS-, of Arniston House, Gorebridge, Midlothian; eldest dau of Sir Philip Dundas, 4th Baronet, of Arniston (who *d* 23 February 1953), by his wife, Jean Marian Hood; *s* her brother as Laird of Arniston; *m* 1972, Aedrian Bekker, who *d* 1990, and has issue.

Debrett.

BLAIR, James HUNTER, of Blairquhan Castle, Maybole, Ayrshire; *b* 18 March 1926; second son of Sir James Hunter Blair, 7th Baronet, by his first wife, Jean McIntyre; *ed* Eton and Balliol Coll., Oxon; formerly, Lieut. Scots Guards; DL for Ayrshire; is *heir presumptive* to his brother, Sir Edward Thomas Hunter Blair, 8th Bart., in the Baronetcy of Dunskey, co. Wigton (*cr* 27 June 1786).

Debrett.

BUCCLEUCH and QUEENSBERRY, 9th and 11th Duke. Walter Francis (John) Montagu Douglas Scott, KT, VRD, of Bowhill, Selkirk, Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries-shire and Boughton House, Kettering, Northampton; *b* 28 September 1923, only son of the 8th Duke of Buccleuch and

10th of Queensberry, KT, GCVO, TD, PC, (whom he *s* 1973), by his wife, (Vreda Esther) Mary (*Mollie*) Lascelles; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; served RNVR and RNR, 1942-46; Lieutenant-Commander, Hon. Captain, RNR, 1988; Captain, Queen's Body Guard for Scotland, the Royal Company of Archers; Lord Lieutenant of Roxburghshire, 1974-75, for Selkirkshire, 1975 and for Roxburgh, Ettrick and Lauderdale, 1975-98; JP 1974; County Councillor, Roxburghshire, 1958; sat as MP (C) (as the Earl of Dalkeith) for Edinburgh, North Division, 1960-73; PPS to the Secretary of State for Scotland, 1962-64; President of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society, 1969-70, of the East of England Agricultural Show, 1976; President, St Andrew's Ambulance Association since 1969, Malcolm Sargent Cancer Fund for Children (Scotland), Commonwealth Forestry Association since 1979 and the Royal Blind Asylum and School; Vice-President Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the King George's Fund for Sailors; Countryside Commission and Country Landowners' Association Annual Joint Award, 1983; Chairman of the Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation (CCD), 1973-93 (since when President); Chairman, Buccleuch Heritage Trust since 1985, Living Landscape Trust since 1986 and the Association of Lords Lieutenant, 1990-98; President of the Royal Scottish Agricultural Benevolent Institution, Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, the Scottish National Institution for the War Blinded; President of the Royal Scottish Forestry Society 1995 (Vice President since 1993); Heritage Education Trust (Sandford Award winner) for Boughton, 1989 and 1994, for Drumlanrig, 1991, and for Bowhill, 1994; Member of the Roxburgh Club; *cr* KT 1978; Chancellor of the Order of the Thistle since 1992; *m* 1953, Jane, only dau of John McNeill, QC, of Drumavauic, Appin, Argyllshire, and has issue.

Debrett.

CHARTERIS of AMISFIELD, 1st Baron (*Life Peerage*). Martin Michael Charles Charteris, GCB, GCVO, QSO, OBE, PC, of Wood Stanway House, Gloucestershire; second son of Hugo Lord Elcho *q.v.*, by his wife, Lady Violet Manners, dau of 8th Duke of Rutland, KG, *q.v.*; *b* 7 September 1913; *ed* Eton and RMC, Sanhurst; Lieut. KRRC, 1936; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1944; Private Secretary to HRH Princess Elizabeth, 1950-52; Assistant Private Secretary to HM the Queen, 1952-72; Private Secretary and Keeper of HM's Archives, 1972-77; Permanent Lord-in-Waiting since 1978; *cr* **BARON CHARTERIS of AMISFIELD**, 1978; Provost of Eton; first Chairman, National Heritage Memorial Fund, 1980-93; *m* 16 December 1944, Hon. Mary Gay Hobart Margesson, younger dau of the 1st Viscount Margesson, PC, MC, by his wife, Frances Leggett; and has issue.

Debrett.

CLITHEROE, 2nd Baron. Ralph John Assheton, of Downham Hall, Clitheroe, Lancashire; *b* 3 November 1929; el. son of 1st Baron, KCVO, PC (whom he *s* 1984), by his wife, Hon. Sylvia Benita Frances Hotham, dau of 6th Baron Hotham; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Hereditary Lord of the Honor of Clitheroe and of the Hundred of Blackburn; Director, RTZ Limited, First Interstate Bank of California; *m* 1961, Juliet, dau of Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Lionel Hanbury, MBE, TD, and has issue.

Burke (L.G. until 1945, thereafter Peerage). Debrett.

CRAWFORD and BALCARRES, 29th and 12th Earl of. Robert Alexander Lindsay, KT, GCVO, PC, of Balcarres, Fife; *b* 5 March 1927; eldest son of 28th and 11th Earl, KT, GBE, (whom he *s* 1975), by his wife, Mary Cavendish, dau of Colonel the Rt. Hon. Lord Richard Frederick Cavendish, CB, CMG, (*see also sub* Salisbury, 6th Marquess of); *ed* Eton and Trinity Coll., Cantab; Premier Earl of Scotland; Sat as MP (C) (as Lord Balniel) for Hertford 1955-74 and for Welwyn Hatfield, Feb-Sept, 1974; PPS to Financial Sec to Treasury, 1955-57, to Minister of Housing, 1957-60; Minister of State for Defence, 1970-72; Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1872-74; First Crown Estates Commissioner; Member, Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments Scotland; Chairman, Board of Trustees, National Library of Scotland; Lord Chamberlain to HM Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother since 1994; *m* 27 December 1949, Ruth, dau of Leo Meyer-Bechtler, of Zürich, and has issue.

Debrett.

CULME-SEYNOUR, *see* SEYMOUR

DEVONSHIRE, 11th Duke of. Andrew Robert Buxton Cavendish, KG, MC, PC, of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire and Lismore Castle, co. Waterford; *b* 2 January 1920; second but

first surv. son of 10th Duke, KG, PC, (whom he *s* 1950), by his wife, Lady Mary Gascoyne-Cecil; *ed* Eton and Trinity Coll., Cantab.; 1939-45 War, Captain, Coldstream Guards (MC); Parliamentary Under Sec. for Commonwealth Relations, 1960-62 and Minister of State thereof, 1962-64; Vice Lieutenant for Derbyshire, 1957-87; Chancellor, Manchester University, 1965-86; Member of the Roxburghe Club; *cr* PC 1964 and KG 1997; *m* 1941, Hon. Deborah Vivien Freeman-Mitford, DCVO, (*see* Devonshire, Duchess of), fifth and youngest dau of 2nd Baron Redesdale, and has issue.

Debrett.

DEVONSHIRE, Duchess of. Deborah Vivian Cavendish [*née* Freeman-Mitford], DCVO, of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire and Lismore Castle, co. Waterford; *b* 1920; fifth and youngest dau of 2nd Baron Redesdale (and as such the youngest of the 'Mitford Sisters'); Trustee of the Chatsworth Settlement, Royal Collection &c; *cr* DCVO 1998; *m* 1941, Lord Andrew Robert Buxton Cavendish (now 11th Duke of Devonshire, KG, MC, PC *q.v.*), and has issue.

Debrett.

DUGDALE, Sir William Stratford, 2nd Baronet, CBE, MC (UK 1936) of Blyth Hall, Coleshill, Birmingham and Merevale Hall, Atherstone, Warwickshire; elder son of Sir William Francis Stratford Dugdale, 1st Bart., (whom he *s* 1965), by his wife, Margaret, dau of Sir John Gordon Gilmour, 1st Bart.; *b* 29 March 1922; *ed* Eton and Balliol Coll., Oxon; Served 1939-45 War, Captain, Grenadier Guards in North Africa and Italy (despatches and MC); Solicitor, 1949; CC Warwickshire, 1964-76; Chairman, Severn Trent Water Authority, 1974-83; High Steward of Stratford-upon-Avon; JP and DL Warwickshire (High Sheriff, 1971); *cr* CBE 1982; *m* 1stly, 1952, Lady Belinda Pleydell-Bouverie (*d* 1961) dau of 6th Earl of Radnor, KG; 2ndly, 1967, Cecilia Mary, dau of Sir William Malcolm Mount, 2nd Bart., and has issue (*by 1st m.* one son, three daus; (*by 2nd m.* one son).

Debrett

DUNDAS-BEKKER, *see* BEKKER

ELGIN and KINCARDINE, 11th and 15th Earl of. Andrew Douglas Alexander Thomas Bruce, KT, of Broomhall, Fife; 37th Chief of the Name of Bruce; *b* 17 February 1924; eldest son of 10th Earl of Elgin and 14th of Kincardine, KT, CMG, TD, (whom he *s* 1968), by his wife, Hon. Dame Katherine Elizabeth Cochrane, DBE, dau of 1st Baron Cochrane of Cults; *ed* Eton and Balliol Coll, Oxon; Served 1939-45 War, Lieut. Scots Guards (wounded); Hon. Colonel, The Elgin Regiment (Canada) and 153(H) Regiment, RCT(V) TAVR, 1980-87; JP and DL, Fife; HM Lieutenant Colonel; Commandant, Fife Battalion, Army Cadet Force, 1951-65; Grand Master Mason of Scotland, 1961-65; Ensign, Queen's Body Guard for Scotland, the Royal Company of Archers; Brigade President, Boys' Brigade, 1963-85; Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1980-81; Chairman, National Savings Committee for Scotland, 1972-78; Lord Lieutenant of Fife, 1987-99; Hon. LLD, Dundee and Glasgow; Hon DLitt, St Mary's, Nova Scotia; *cr* KT 1981; *m* 1959, Victoria Mary, only dau of Major Dudley George Usher, MBE, TD, and has issue.

Debrett.

ELWES, Henry William George, of Colebourne Park, Gloucestershire; *b* 14 September 1935; son of the late Major John Hargreaves Elwes, MC, (*killed in action* 1943), by his wife, Isabel Pamela Ivy Beckwith (grand daughter of the 7th Duke of Richmond and Gordon, KG, GCVO); *ed* Eton and RAC, Cirencester; Late Second Lieut. Scots Guards, 1953-56; Member, Cirencester RDC, 1959-74, Gloucester County Council, 1970-91 (Vice Chairman, 1976-83 and 1991, Chairman, 1983-85); Regional Director, Lloyd's Bank; Member, Joint Council for the Fire Brigades, 1979-91; Director, Colebourne Estates; Member, Prince's Youth Business Trust; High Sheriff, co. Gloucester, 1979-80; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Gloucestershire, since 1992; *m* 1962, Carolyn Dawn Cripps, and has issue.

Who's Who.

FITZHERBERT, Sir Richard Ranulph, 9th Baronet, (GB 1784) of Tissington Hall, Ashbourne, Derbyshire; son of the Rev. the late David Henry FitzHerbert, MC, by his wife, Charmian Hyacinthe Allsopp; *b* 2 November 1963; *s* his uncle, 1988; Member, National Trust Regional Committee; Patron of the Living of Tissington; *m* 1993, Caroline Louise, dau of Major Patrick Shuter, of Grangefield

House, Tetbury, Gloucestershire; and has issue (one son).

Debrett.

GORDON-DUFF-PENNINGTON, *see* PENNINGTON

HARLEY, Edward Mortimer, of Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire; *b* 31 May 1960; eldest son of Christopher Harley (whom he *s* as Lord of the Manor and Patron of the living of Brampton Bryan in 1997), by his wife, Susan Elizabeth, dau of Sir Roderick Barclay, GCVO, KCMG; sometime, Chairman, Taxation Committee and Member of the Exexecutive Committee of the Historic Houses Association.

Burke (L.G.)

HERVEY-BATHURST, *see* BATHURST

HUNTER BLAIR, *see* BLAIR

KINGSDOWN, 1st Baron (*Life Peerage*). Robert (Robin) Leigh-Pemberton, KG, PC, of Torry Hill, Kent; *b* 5 January 1927, elder son of the late Captain Robert Douglas Leigh-Pemberton, MBE, MC, of Torry Hill, by his wife, Helen Isabel Frankland-Payne-Galwey; *ed* Eton, Royal Military College, Sandhurst and Trinity Coll., Oxon. (Hon. Fellow, 1984); late Lieut. Grenadier Guards; Hon. Colonel, Kent and Sharpshooters Yeoman Squadron, 265 (KCLY) Signal Squadron (V), 5 (Volunteer) Battalion, The Queen's Regiment; President, SE TAVR Association, and Kent SSAFA; Bar, Inner Temple 1954; London and SE Circuit 1954-60; Hon. Bencher, 1983; Director, Birmid Qualcast, 1966-83, (Deputy Chairman, 1970 and Chairman, 1975-77), University Life Assurance Society, 1967-78, Redland Limited., 1972-83; Chairman, National Westminster Bank, 1977-83 and Committee of London Clearing Bankers, 1982-83; Governor of the Bank of England, 1983-93; Director of Glaxo, Hambros and Foreign and Colonel Investments since 1993; JP Kent, 1961-75; County Councillor, Kent, 1961-77; DL Kent, 1970; Vice Lieutenant, 1972-82 since when Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum; Trustee Emeritus, Royal Academy of Arts Trust; Trustee, Kent County Cricket Club, Kent County Playing Fields Association, Kent County Agricultural Society; Chairman, Canterbury Cathedral Appeal Trust Fund; Seneshal of Canterbury Cathedral; President of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, 1989-90; Pro-Chancellor, Kent University, 1977-83; Member RSA, FCIB; Hon. DCL Kent, 1983, Hon DLitt City of London, 1988 Loughborough, 1989 and City Polytechnic, 1990; KStJ; *cr* PC 1987, Baron Kingsdown, of Pemberton, co. Lancaster, 1993, KG 1994; *m* 1953, Rosemary Davina, only dau of the late Lieutenant-Colonel David Walter Arthur William Forbes, MC, of Callendar House, Falkirk and has issue.

Debrett.

LONDONDERRY, 9th Marquess of. Alexander Charles Robert Vane-Tempest-Stewart, formerly of Wynyard Park, co. Durham and Mount Stewart, co. Down. *b* 7 September 1937; only son of 8th Marquess (whom he *s* 1955), by his wife, Romaine Combe; *ed* Eton; *m* 1stly, 1958 (*m diss* 1971), Nicolette Elaine Katherine, who *d* 1993, only dau of the late Michael Harrison, of Netherhampton House, Netherhampton, Wiltshire; *m* 2ndly, 1972, Doreen Wells and has issue by 1st and 2nd *m*.

Debrett.

McLAGGAN, Murray Adams, of Merthyr Mawr House, Mid Glamorgan; *b* 29 September 1929; son of the late Sir John Douglas McLaggan, KCVO, FRCS, FRCSE, by his wife Elsa Violet Adams; *ed* Winchester and New College, Oxon; Bar, Lincoln's Inn, 1955; Tutor in Law, Ch. Ch., Oxon, 1957-66; Member, Parliamentary Boundary Commission for Wales, 1980-97; Deputy Chairman, National Trust Committee for Wales, 1984-91, Chairman, thereof, 1991-93; Chairman, Forestry Commission Regional Advisory Committee (Wales); High Sheriff of Mid Glamorgan, 1978-79; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Mid Glamorgan since 1990; *m* 1959, Jennifer Ann Nicholl and has issue.

Who's Who.

MASSINGBERD, Hugh John MONTGOMERY-, *b* 30 December 1946; son of John Michael Montgomery-Massingberd, of Gunby Hall, Lincolnshire, by his wife, Marsali Seal; *ed* Harrow; Editorial Director of Burke's Peerage, 1972-82; columnist, writer and journalist. *m* 1stly, 1974, (*m diss*), Christine Anne, dau of Jacques Martinoni; *m* 2ndly, 1983, (Dorothy) Caroline, dau of Sir Hugh

Ripley, 4th Baronet, and has issue by 1st *m*.

Burke (L.G.)

MONTGOMERY-MASSINGBERD, *see* MASSINGBERD

NORWICH, 2nd Viscount. John Julius Cooper, CVO, (called John Julius Norwich), of Blomfield Road, W9; *b* 15 September 1929; only son of 1st Viscount (whom he *s* 1954), by his wife, Lady Diana Manners, day of 8th Duke of Rutland, KG, *q.v.*; *ed* Eton and New Coll., Oxon; writer and broadcaster; HM Foreign Service, 1952-64; *cr* CVO 1993; *m* 1stly, 1952 (*m diss* 1985), Anne Frances Mary, eldest dau of the late Hon. Sir Bede Edmund Hugh Clifford, GCMG, CB, MVO; *m* 2ndly, 1989, Hon. Mary Philipps (*née* Makins), former wife of Hon. Hugo Philipps (now 3rd Baron Milford) and dau of 1st Baron Sheffield, GCB, GCMG, and has issue by 1st *m*.

Debrett.

PENNINGTON, Patrick Thomas GORDON-DUFF-, CBE, of Muncaster Castle, Ravenglass, Cumbria; *b* 12 January 1930; eldest son of Group-Captain George Edward Gordon-Duff, sometime of Moy House, Forres, Morayshire and later of Hurdle House, Amersham, Buckinghamshire; by his first wife, Rosemary Estelle, dau of Thomas Craven, of Kensington Palace Gardens; *ed* Eton and Trinity Coll., Cantab; DL co. Cumbria; sometime Chm Country Landowners Association; Chm of the Red Deer Commission; Member of the Advisory Board, The Robert Gordon University Heritage Unit; assumed, by Deed Poll, the additional surname of Pennington, 1955; *m* 21 June 1955, Phyllida Rosemary, eldest dau and co-heir of Major Sir (Geoffrey) William Pennington-Ramsden, 7th Bart (E, 1689, of Byram, co. York), of Muncaster Castle, Ravenglass, Cumbria; and has issue.

Burke (*L.G.* Gordon-Duff of Drummuir), Debrett.

RICHMOND, LENNOX and GORDON, 10th and 5th Duke. Charles Henry Gordon Lennox, of Goodwood, Sussex, also 11th Duc d'Aubigny in France; *b* 19 September 1929, elder son of the 9th Duke (whom he *s* 1989), by his wife, Elizabeth Hudson; *ed* Eton and William Temple Coll., Rugby; Hereditary Constable of Inverness Castle; late 2nd Lieut KRRC; Lord Lieutenant of West Sussex, 1989-94; Chancellor, Sussex University, since 1985; formerly Member of House of Laity, General Synod (Diocese of Chichester) and of the Central and Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches; Chm of the Board for Mission and Unity of the General Synod; a Church Commissioner; *m* 1951, Susan Monica, dau of the late Colonel Cecil Everard Montague Grenville-Grey, CBE, and has issue.

Debrett.

ROTHSCHILD, 4th Baron. (Nathaniel Charles) Jacob Rothschild, GBE, of Stowell Park, Marlborough, Wiltshire; *b* 29 April 1936, eldest son of 3rd Baron (whom he *s* 1990), by his first wife, Barbara Hutchinson; a Baron of the Austrian Empire; *ed* Eton and Ch. Ch., Oxon; Chm J. Rothschild Holdings; Chm Board of Trustees, National Gallery; Member, Council of the Royal College of Art; lately Chairman of the National Heritage Memorial Fund and first Chairman of the Heritage Lottery Fund; Commander of the Order of Henry the Navigator of Portugal; GBE 1997; *m* 1961, Serena Mary, dau of Sir Philip Gordon Dunn, 2nd Baronet, and has issue.

Debrett.

SALISBURY, 6th Marquess. Robert Edward Peter Gascoyne-Cecil, of Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; *b* 24 October 1916; eldest son of the 5th Marquess, KG, PC, *q.v.* (whom he *s* 1972), by his wife Elizabeth Vere, dau of Colonel the Rt. Hon. Lord Richard Frederick Cavendish, CB, CMG, (*see also sub* Crawford and Balcarres, 29th Earl); *ed* Eton; a Patron of Seven Livings; late Captain, Grenadier Guards; sat as MP (C) (as Viscount Cranborne) for Bournemouth, West Division, 1950-54; Member of the Roxburghe Club; DL for Dorset; *m* 1945, Marjorie Olein, dau of the late Captain Hon. Valentine Maurice Wyndham-Quin, RN, and has issue.

Debrett.

SAUNDERS WATSON, *see* WATSON

SAYER, Michael John, of Sparham House, Norfolk; *b* 11 October 1947; son of Major Douglas Sayer, of Sparham House, by his wife, Mary Elizabeth Weddall; *ed* Repton and Pembroke Coll., Oxon.

Burke (*L.G.*)

SCARBROUGH, 12th Earl of. Richard Alfred Lumley, of Sandbeck Park, Rotherham, South Yorkshire; *b* 5 December 1932; only son of 11th Earl, KG, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, Royal Victorian Chain, TD, PC, (whom he *s* 1969), by his wife, Katharine Isabel McEwen, DCVO; *ed* Eton and Magdalen Coll., Oxon; Late Lieut. Queen's Own Yorkshire Dragoons and 2nd Lieut. 11th Hussars; Hon. Colonel 1st Battalion, Yorkshire Volunteers since 1975; President, Northern Area, Royal British Legion since 1984; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotolorum, South Riding of Yorkshire; *m* 1970, Lady Elizabeth Ramsay, elder dau of 16th Earl of Dalhousie, KT, GCVO, GBE, MC, and has issue.

Debrett.

SEYMOUR, Sir Michael CULME-, 5th Baronet, of Wytherston, Bridport, Dorset and formerly of Rockingham Castle, Market Harborough, Leicestershire (*see sub* Saunders Watson, Commander Michael); *b* 26 April 1909, only son of Vice-Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, 4th Bart., KCB, MVO (whom he *s* 1925), by his wife, Baroness Florence Agnes Louisa Nugent, dau of Albert, 3rd Baron (Freiherr) von Nugent (Austrian Empire); *s* to the Rockingham estate upon the death of his great-uncle, the Revd Wentworth Watson, 1925 and which, in 1967, he devised to his nephew, Commander L.M.M. Saunders Watson *q.v.*; RN 1926, ADC to the Governor-General of Canada, 1934-36; Served 1939-45 War, Atlantic, North Africa, Normandy and Far East (despatches); served Imperial Defence College, 1946-47; County Councillor, Northamptonshire, 1948-55; JP 1949, DL 1958-71; High Sheriff, 1966; *m* 1948, Lady (Mary) Faith Nesbitt (*née* Montagu), who *d* 1983, dau of 9th Earl of Sandwich and former wife of Philip Booth Nesbitt and has had issue (two sons who *d* in infancy).

Debrett.

SHAW-STEWART, *see* STEWART

SHELBURNE, Earl of. Charles Maurice Mercer Nairne Petty-Fitzmaurice, of Bowood House, Calne, Wiltshire; *b* 21 February 1941, elder son and heir of George John Charles Mercer Nairne Petty-Fitzmaurice, 8th Marquess of Lansdowne, of Meikleour House, Perthshire, by his first wife, Barbara Chase; *ed* Eton; Page of Honour to HM the Queen, 1956-57; late Kenya Regiment, Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry and Royal Wessex Yeomanry; DL Wiltshire, 1991; President, Wiltshire Playing Fields Association, 1965-74; Chairman, Calne and Chippenham RDC, 1973-74; County Councillor, Wiltshire, 1970-85; Chairman, North Wiltshire District Council, 1973-76; President, Wiltshire Association of Boys and Youth Clubs; Member, South-West Economic Planning Council, 1972-77; Chairman, Population and Settlement Committee (SWEPC), 1972-77; Member, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, 1983-89; President, North Wiltshire Conservative and Unionist Association, 1986-90; President, Historic Houses Association, 1988-93; unsuccessfully contested Coventry, North Division, (C), 1979; *m* 1stly, 1965 (*m diss* 1987), Lady Frances Helen Mary Eliot, dau of the 9th Earl of St Germans; *m* 2ndly, 1987, Fiona Mary, dau of Donald Merritt, and has issue by first *m*.

Debrett.

STEWART, Lady SHAW- Lucinda Victoria Shaw-Stewart, of Ardgowan, Inverkip, Renfrewshire; dau of Alexander Fletcher, Tadcaster; *m* 1982, Colonel Sir Houston (Mark) Shaw-Stewart, 11th Baronet, MC, of Ardgowan, Renfrewshire, and has issue.

Debrett.

TALBOT of MALAHIDE, 10th Baron. (Reginald) John Richard Arundell, of Hook Manor, Donhead St. Andrew, Dorset, formerly of Wardour Castle, Wiltshire; *b* 9 January 1931; elder son of the late Reginald John Arthur Arundell (*né* Talbot), by his wife, Mabile Mary, dau of Hon. Robert Arthur Arundell, 4th son of the 9th Baron Arundell of Wardour; *ed* Stonyhurst; Hereditary Lord Admiral of Malahide and Adjacent Seas; KStJ; DL Wiltshire, 1983; *m* 1stly, 1955, Laura Duff, who *d* 1989, dau of the late Group Captain John Edward Tennant, DSO, MC, of Innes House, Elgin, Morayshire; *m* 2ndly, 1992, Mrs Patricia Mary Blundell-Brown, eldest dau of the late John Cuthbert Widdrington Riddell, OBE, of Felton Park and Swinburne Castle, Northumberland and former wife of the late Major Geoffrey Thomas Blundell-Brown, MBE, and has issue by 1st *m*.

Debrett.

TEMPEST, Roger Henry, of Broughton Hall, North Yorkshire; *b* 9 August 1963; eldest son and heir of Henry Roger Tempest, of Broughton Hall, North Yorkshire, by his wife, Janey Longton; Lord of the

Manor and Patron of three Living (but being a Roman Catholic cannot present).

Burke (L.G.)

WALPOLE, Baroness. Laurel Celia Walpole, of Wolterton Hall, and Mannington Hall, Norfolk; dau of S.T. Ball, of Swindon, Wiltshire; *m* 1980, as his second wife, Robert Horatio Walpole, 10th Baron Walpole and 8th Baron Walpole of Wolterton; and has issue.

Debrett.

WATSON, Commander (Leslie) Michael (MacDonald) SAUNDERS, CBE, RN (Retd), of Rockingham Castle, Market Harborough, Leicestershire; *b* 9 October 1934; son of Captain L.S. Saunders, by his wife, Elisabeth Culme-Seymour, dau of Vice-Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, 4th Bart., KCB, MVO and sister of Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, 5th Bart., *q.v.*; *ed* Eton and BRNC Dartmouth; RN 1951 (retired 1971); *s* (by propulsion) his uncle, Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, Bart., *q.v.* in the Rockingham Castle Estate, 1967; Member, Executive Committee, Country Landowners Association, 1977-82; President, Historic Houses Association, 1982-88; Chairman, British Library, 1990-93; Sometime member, National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) and the Heritage Lottery Fund; High Sheriff of Northamptonshire, 1978, DL thereof since 1979; Hon DLitt, Warwick University; *cr* CBE 1993; *m* 1958, Georgina Laetitia, dau of Admiral Sir William Wellclose Davis, GCB, DSO, and has issue.

Debrett (Culme-Seymour, Bart.)

Section III.

Exemplar of Prosopographical Methodology: Attributes of Aristocracy

Introduction

Prosopography is essentially the analysis of the actions and motives of a specified group of actors in history by the collective study of their lives, backgrounds and social ties. This appendix identifies the criteria which were used in order to operate prosopographical analysis (as defined above) of individuals who may be termed *aristocratic*. Two basic premises operated: the first assumed possession of or relationship to a landed estate on which is located a country house. The second premise concerned parentage and can be defined as belonging to the same background and having the same social ties as the individual in question. In addition, however, parentage also considered those not of the same background or social ties but whose issue sought consciously or unconsciously to establish themselves *à la mode* aristocratic and whose descendants might, fairly, be said to conform to the aristocratic norm. The following outlines methods of prosopographical analysis with regard to determining aristocracy within this work. Prosopographical analysis was performed in terms of the material listed above for those individuals mentioned in the text.

The biographical data presented in the first two sections of this appendix forms a central element of this analysis. The material listed under each entry all has something to say about the individuals and their *aristocratic* background. The following list indicates some of the areas used for evaluation and how the methods were applied in the context of the data in the first section

PARENTAGE

The background and family ties are central to prosopographical treatment. In these circumstances it is necessary to consider both paternal and maternal lineages with principal emphasis given to the hereditary succession to titles, honours or land holdings.

Either, of the same background (e.g. 5th Duke of Marlborough), or of different background, in which case the individual in question may establish a dynasty which became aristocratic but was not *de facto* aristocratic himself (e.g. 1st Earl of Caledon).

With the aristocracy (both titled and untitled) lineage and connections are paramount. Inter-marriage between families of equivalent rank has always been common many much of the old, landed families can, in fact, be said to belong to one, vast extended network of intricate kinships.

Indicative of this are some of the descendants of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (*d* 1375) which include:- the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, the Duke of Kingston, the Duke of Leeds, the Duke of Leinster, the Duke of Manchester, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of Westminster, the Marquess of Ailesbury, the Marquess of Donegall, the Marquess of Lansdowne, Marquess of Waterford, Earl of Albemarle, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Denbigh and Desmond, the Earl of Dunmore, the Earl of Durham, the Earl of Gainsborough, the Earl Granville, the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Home, the Earl Howe, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Leitrim, the Earl of Lichfield, the Earl of Lindsey and Abingdon, the Earl of Londesborough, the Earl of Lovelace, the Earl Manvers, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the Earl Russell, the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl Spencer, the Earl of Stockton, the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, the Earl Waldegrave, the Earl of Westmorland, the Viscount Chandos, the Viscount De L'Isle, the Viscount Hampden, the Viscount Mersey, the Viscount Powerscourt, the Lord Ampthill, the Lord Brassey of Apethorpe, the Lady Dacre, the Lady Herries of Terreagles, the Lord Howard de Walden, the Lord Howard of Penrith, the Lord Joicey, the Lord Ormathwaite, the Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the Cotterells of Garnons, the Throckmortons of Coughton and countless other landed families. Most of the above can, in fact, also trace common descent from Sir John Harington of Exton (*d* 1591).

EDUCATION

Education at the traditional public schools which may be subdivided by rank giving emphasis to (*Rank One*;) Eton, Harrow, Westminster, Winchester and then (*Rank Two*;) Ampleforth, Beaumont,

Blundells, Bradfield, Charterhouse, Douai, Downside, Fettes, Gordonstoun, Haileybury, Lancing, Marlborough, Radley, Repton, Sedbergh, Stowe, Wellington. Similarly with the universities, which at the time of most of this research was restricted to Oxford and Cambridge; Edinburgh and St Andrews; Trinity College, Dublin.

MILITARY SERVICE

Military education through Royal Military College, Sandhurst or the Royal Naval Colleges, Osborne and Dartmouth was the common route for many aristocratic families prior to obtaining commissions, the Guards Regiments being the favoured route in many cases, with other (territorial) regiments in second place. Familial bonds with particular regiments remain strong. Traditional attributes remain the officer-class (e.g. for the army: Field Marshal, General, Lieutenant-General, Major-General, Brigadier, Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, Captain, Lieutenant). Aristocratic representation in senior ranks remains (Admiral of the Fleet Sir Benjamin Bathurst, General Hon. Sir William Rous, Major General the Duke of Norfolk, Major General Lord Michael Fitzalan-Howard, Major General the Earl Cathcart).

COURT

The Court and Royal Household have always been bastions of the aristocracy. However, since 1945 this has been less obvious. The traditional court posts included Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward of the Household, Master of the Horse, Keeper of the Privy Purse, Master of the Household, Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, Groom of the Stole, Lords of the Bedchamber, Lords-in-Waiting, Equerries (Ordinary and Extra), Mistress of the Robes, Ladies of the Bedchamber, Women of the Bedchamber, Ladies-in-Waiting. The aristocratic dominance of the Royal Household has lessened since the end of the reign of King George V. It remains, however, a fundamental of aristocracy and analysis of court lists for various periods has been carried out during this research.

LAND

Ownership of land has, through the ages, been the bedrock of aristocratic life. This is most clearly seen in terms of acreage and in the possession (in England) of livings. An indicative list of acreage was produced by Bateman in his *Great Landowners*. (1883) and shows the following:-

Owner by acreage	England or Wales	Scotland or Ireland	Total	Annual Rental
Sutherland, Duke of	15,000	1,343,000 [S]	1,358,000	£141,000
Buccleuch, Duke of	27,000	433,000 [S]	460,000	£217,000
Breadalbane, Marquess of	None	438,000 [S]	438,000	£ 58,292
Richmond, Duke of	18,000	268,000 [S]	286,000	£ 80,000
Fife, Earl	None	249,000 [S]	249,000	£ 72,000
Atholl, Duke of	None	201,000 [S]	201,000	£ 42,000
Devonshire, Duke of	140,000	60,000 [I]	200,000	£180,000
Northumberland, Duke of	186,000	None	186,000	£176,000
Portland, Duke of	65,000	118,000 [S]	183,000	£ 88,350
Lovat, Baron	None	181,000 [S]	181,000	£ 30,000
Argyll, Duke of	None	175,000 [S]	175,000	£ 50,000
Conyngham, Marquess	10,000	156,000 [I]	166,000	£ 50,000
Hamilton, Duke of	5,000	152,000 [S]	157,000	£ 73,000
Lansdowne, Marquess of	11,000	132,000 [S&I]	143,000	£ 62,000
Dalhousie, Earl of	None	138,000 [S]	138,000	£ 58,603
MacDonald, Baron	2,500	130,000 [S]	132,500	£ 16,613
Willough de Eresby, Baroness	55,400	76,800 [S]	132,200	£ 74,000
Downshire, Marquess of	5,500	114,000 [I]	120,000	£ 96,000
Kenmare, Earl of	None	118,000 [I]	118,000	£ 34,000
Bute, Marquess of	23,400	93,200 [S]	116,600	£150,000
Stair, Earl of	31	116,269 [S]	116,300	£ 68,000
Fitzwilliam, Earl	33,000	82,000 [I]	115,000	£139,000
Sligo, Marquess of	None	114,000 [I]	114,000	£ 19,000
Leconfield, Baron	66,200	43,800 [I]	110,000	£ 88,112

Home, Earl of	None	106,000 [S]	106,000	£ 56,000
Cleveland, Duke of	104,000	None	104,000	£ 97,000
Montrose, Duke of	None	103,000 [S]	103,000	£ 24,000
Cawdor, Earl	51,000	50,000 [S]	101,000	£ 44,000

Lord of the Manor and Patron of Livings (excluding those who were Roman Catholics and could not present) entitles landowners to appoint clergy to livings which exist on their land. It is a powerful tool of patronage. Roman Catholics who own livings are unable to perform this task and are, consequently, described as being 'unable to present'. Such patronage no longer exists in Scotland or Ireland.

Owner by Livings	Acreage England	Number of Livings
Devonshire, Duke of	140,000	39
Northumberland, Duke of	186,000	26
Bedford, Duke of	88,300	25
Leconfield, Baron	66,200	25
Beaufort, Duke of	51,085	24
Brownlow, Earl	58,335	23
Willough de Eresby, Baroness	55,400	23
Fitzwilliam, Earl	33,000	18
Cleveland, Duke of	104,000	17
Buccleuch, Duke of	27,000	17
Sutherland, Duke of	15,000	12
Portland, Duke of	65,000	12
Bute, Marquess of	23,400	9 (<i>but as a Roman Catholic could not present</i>)
Cawdor, Earl	51,000	8
Richmond, Duke of	18,000	5
Lansdowne, Marquess of	11,000	2
Conyngham, Marquess	10,000	1

Those landowners owning more than 100,000 acres and the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Beaufort and the Earl Brownlow (the other most notable English Patrons of Livings) in terms of their numbers of livings.

POLITICS

Politics, like hunting, was a traditional aristocratic pursuit until this century. The last aristocratic Prime Minister was Sir Alexander Douglas Home (the Earl of Home), but both Eden and Churchill were also aristocrats and MacMillan was married to one. The last Premier to sit in the Lords was the Marquess of Salisbury (1895-1903). The last aristocrat to sit in Cabinet as a member of the House of Lords was Viscount Cranborne (Lord Privy Seal 1992-97) and the last Duke to sit in Cabinet was the 9th Duke of Devonshire as Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1922-23. Traditional aristocratic posts included Leader of the House of Lords, Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Secretary of State for War, First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State for India, Under Secretaries, Parliamentary Secretaries, Lords-in-Waiting / Whips. On a county or district level aristocratic families have always been prominent and have often represented Parliamentary seats (either before succession in the case of Peers or, more frequently, younger sons, Baronetage or gentry families).

COLONIAL SERVICE

Many senior posts in the colonial service were frequently occupied by Peers or their near relatives. Both of the viceroalties (Ireland and India) were always held by Peers and these posts, like many in the colonial service, were largely the preserve of the scions of aristocratic families. In Ireland the Viceroyalty was held by peers by succession until 1915 when Lord Ashby St Ledger (a peer by creation) was appointed; he was, however, the heir to Lord Wimborne. The subsequent two Viceroys were also both peers by creation (viz. Lord French of Ypres (who came of an old Irish landed family) and Viscount Fitzalan of Derwent (*né* Lord Edmund Fitzalan-Howard, son of the 14th Duke of Norfolk). In India, the Viceroyalty was held by peers by succession until 1898 when Lord Curzon of

Kedleston (a peer by creation) was appointed; he was, however, the heir to Lord Scarsdale. In 1910, Sir Charles Hardinge was appointed Viceroy and was created Baron Hardinge of Penshurst (he was, however, a younger son of 2nd Viscount Hardinge). In 1921, the Earl of Reading (a peer by creation) was appointed Viceroy and may be said to be the first non-aristocratic Viceroy since Warren Hastings constituted the post in the Eighteenth century. In 1926, Lord Irwin (a peer by creation) was appointed Viceroy. He was, however, the heir of Viscount Halifax. In 1931, the Earl of Willingdon (a peer by creation) was appointed Viceroy. However, he belonged to an old landed family and was, maternally, a grandson of 1st Viscount Hampden (also 23rd Baron Dacre). The last great Viceregal aristocrat was the 2nd Marquess of Linlithgow, KG, KT (a peer by succession), appointed in 1936. In 1943, Viscount Wavell (a peer by creation) was appointed Viceroy but he, too, belonged to an old, established family. The final Viceroy, Viscount Mountbatten of Burma (a peer by creation) was the younger son of the 1st Marquess of Milford Haven whose lineage can be traced to Charlemagne. Similar analysis can be carried out with regard to governorships-general and governorships such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Indian Provinces [Bengal, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, United Provinces], African States, West Indies, Malta, Gibraltar, Cyprus, Pacific Islands and with regard to Agents General or High Commissioners as well as Ambassadors.

HONOURS

Membership of certain orders of knighthood have always been regarded as attributes of aristocracy. This is particularly true of the Garter, Thistle, St Patrick and Royal Victorian Orders. The full list of British Orders is as follows

- Knight of the Order of the Garter (KG)
- Knight of the Order of the Thistle (KT)
- Knight of the Order of St Patrick (KP)
- The Order of Bath (GCB, KCB, CB (Military or Civil))
- The Order of Merit (OM)
- The Order of Star of India (GCSI, KCSI, CSI) until 1947
- The Order of St Michael and St George (GCMG, KCMG, CMG)
- The Order of the India Empire (GCIE, KCIE, CIE) until 1947
- The Royal Victorian Chain
- The Royal Victorian Order (GCVO, KCVO, CVO, LVO, MVO)
- The Order of the British Empire (GBE, KBE, CBE, OBE, MBE)
- The Order of Companions of Honour (CH)

COUNTY SERVICE

Like roles within county councils the posts of Lord Lieutenant, Vice Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenant have been viewed as traditional attributes of aristocracy as are Justices of the Peace, High Sheriffs and High Stewards (although not exclusively). The list of Lords Lieutenant for 1898 demonstrates the aristocratic control of this post:-

England

Bedfordshire	The Earl Cowper, KG
Berkshire	The Lord Wantage, KCB
Buckinghamshire	The Lord Rothschild
Cambridgeshire	Alexander Peckover, Esq. *
Cheshire	The Duke of Westminster
Cornwall	The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe
Cumberland	The Lord Muncaster
Derbyshire	The Duke of Devonshire, KG
Devonshire	The Lord Clinton
Dorset	The Earl of Ilchester
Durham	The Earl of Durham
Essex	The Lord Rayleigh
Gloucestershire	The Earl of Ducie
Hampshire	The Earl of Northbrook
Herefordshire	The Lord Bateman
Hertfordshire	The Earl of Clarendon
Huntingdonshire	The Earl of Sandwich

Kent	The Earl Stanhope
Lancashire	The Earl of Derby
Leicestershire	The Earl Howe
Lincolnshire	The Earl Brownlow
Middlesex	The Earl of Strafford
Monmouthshire	The Duke of Beaufort, KG
Norfolk	The Earl of Leicester, KG
Northamptonshire	The Earl Spencer, KG
Northumberland	The Duke of Northumberland, KG
Nottinghamshire	The Duke of St Albans
Oxfordshire	The Earl of Jersey
Rutlandshire	The Earl of Dysart
Shropshire	The Earl of Powis
Somerset	The Earl of Cork and Orrery, KP
Staffordshire	The Earl of Dartmouth
Suffolk	The Marquess of Bristol
Surrey	The Viscount Midleton
Sussex	The Marquess of Abergavenny, KG
Warwickshire	The Lord Leigh
Westmorland	The Lord Hothfield
Wiltshire	The Marquess of Lansdowne, KG
Worcestershire	The Earl of Coventry
East Riding	The Lord Herries
North Riding	The Marquess of Ripon, KG
West Riding	The Earl of Scarborough

* later 1st Baron Peckover

Scotland

Aberdeenshire	The Earl of Aberdeen
Argyllshire	The Duke of Argyll, KG, KT
Ayrshire	The Earl of Eglinton and Winton
Banffshire	The Duke of Richmond and Gordon, KG
Berwickshire	The Earl of Lauderdale
Buteshire	The Marquess of Bute, KT
Caithness-shire	The Duke of Portland,
Clackmannanshire	The Earl of Mansfield, KT
Cromartie	Sir Kenneth MacKenzie, Bart.
Dumbartonshire	Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Bart.
Edinburghshire	The Earl of Rosebery, KG, KT
Elginshire	The Duke of Fife, KT
Fifeshire	The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine
Forfarshire	The Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne
Haddingtonshire	The Earl of Haddington
Inverness-shire	Donald Cameron of Lochiel, Esq.
Kincardineshire	Sir Alexander Baird, Bart.
Kinross-shire	Sir Graham Graham-Montgomery, Bart.
Kirkcudbrightshire	The Lord Herries
Lanarkshire	The Earl of Home
Linlithgowshire	The Earl of Rosebery, KG, KT
Nairnshire	Major James Rose of Kilravock
Orkney and Shetland	Captain Malcolm Laing
Peebles-shire	The Lord Elibank
Perthshire	The Duke of Atholl, KT
Renfrewshire	Sir M.R. Shaw-Stewart, Bart.
Ross-shire	Sir Kenneth MacKenzie, Bart.
Roxburghshire	The Lord Reay
Selkirkshire	The Lord Polwarth

Stirlingshire	The Duke of Montrose, KT
Sutherlandshire	The Duke of Sutherland
Wigtownshire	The Earl of Stair, KT

Ireland [styled 'Lieutenant' only]

Amtrim	Sir Francis Workman-Macnaghten, Bart.
Armagh	The Earl of Gosford, KP
Carlow	The Lord Rathdonnell
Cavan	The Earl of Lanesborough
Clare	The Lord Inchiquin, KP
Cork	The Earl of Bandon
Donegal	The Duke of Abercorn, KG
Down	The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, KP
Dublin	The Lord Holm Patrick
Fermanagh	The Earl of Erne, KP
Galway	The Lord Clonbrock
Kerry	The Earl of Kenmare, KP
Kildare	Robert Kennedy, Esq.
Kilkenny	The Marquess of Ormonde, KP
King's County	The Earl of Rosse, KP
Leitrim	The Lord Harlech
Limerick	The Earl of Dunraven and Mount Earl, KP
Londonderry	Sir Henry Bruce, Bart.
Longford	The Earl of Longford
Louth	The Viscount Massereene and Ferrard
Mayo	The Earl of Arran
Meath	Simon Mangan, Esq.
Monaghan	The Lord Rossmore
Queen's County	The Viscount De Vesci
Roscommon	The O'Connor Don
Sligo	Lieutenant-Colonel E.H. Cooper
Tipperary	The Earl Montalt
Tyrone	The Earl of Belmore
Westmeath	Francis Dames-Longworth, Esq.
Wexford	Lord Maurice Fitzgerald
Wicklow	The Earl of Carysfort, KP

Wales

Angelsey	Sir Richard Williams-Bulkeley, Bart.
Breconshire	Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart.
Cardiganshire	Herbert Davies-Evans, Esq.
Carmarthenshire	The Earl Cawdor
Carnarvonshire	John Greaves, Esq.
Denbighshire	Colonel W.C. Cornwallis-West
Flintshire	Hugh Hughes, Esq.
Glamorganshire	The Lord Windsor
Haverfordwest	Sir Charles Philipps, Bart.
Merionethshire	William Wynne, Esq.
Montgomeryshire	Sir Watkin Williams-Wynne, Bart.
Pembrokeshire	The Viscount Emlyn
Radnorshire	Powlett Milbank, Esq.

The dearth of titled families in Wales is particularly noticeable from the list analysis.

To all of the above may be added the legal system, charities, voluntary organisations, the church, and so on. In each of these further areas similar analysis can be carried out.

APPENDIX II

Numerical Summary of First Survey Results

*Country House
Libraries
of
Great Britain
and
Northern Ireland*

A Nation-wide Survey

*School of Information and Media
The Robert Gordon University
Aberdeen*

COUNTRY HOUSE LIBRARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

REFERENCE

All information received as a result of this survey will be treated in the strictest confidence. Specific responses **will not** be made available to anyone outwith the School of Information and Media at the Robert Gordon University.

SECTION 1

BACKGROUND

(1) Do you have a collection which is housed in what could fairly be described as a *library*?

YES

NO

(2) Is your property open to the general public:-

Regularly

Occasionally

Never

If 'never' please go to section 2.

(3) If your house is open does the library constitute part of the visitor route?

Yes

Was, but now discontinued

No

(4) Please indicate the elements included in your visitor management:-

	YES	NO
Self guiding tours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Guided tours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Room guides	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Guidebooks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION 2

COLLECTION HISTORY

(1) When was the collection first established?

.....
.....
.....

(2) Has the collection been larger in the past?

YES

NO

(3) Have there been any major dispersals from the collection?

YES

NO

(4) What were the reasons for this dispersal?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION 3

COLLECTION DEVELOPMENT

(1) Please indicate the name(s) of key collectors?

.....
.....
.....
.....

(2) Which subject areas are predominantly represented in their purchases?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

(3) What publishing periods are represented in the collection? If possible give percentages.

- Pre 1600.....
- 1601-1700.....
- 1701-1750.....
- 1751-1800.....
- 1801-1850.....
- Post 1851.....

SECTION 4 COLLECTION MANAGEMENT

(1) Approximately how many volumes are in the collection?.....

(2) Does the collection have any particularly fine, rare or important works? If so please specify below.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(3) Do you have material other than books in the collection, e.g. manuscripts, maps, musical scores, if so please specify below.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(4) Do family archives/muniments constitute part of the library collection?

YES NO

(5) Is a catalogue in existence?

YES NO

(6) If so when was it (a) compiled?.....(b) last updated.....

(7) Does the library have a subject shelf-arrangement?

YES NO

(8) Are additions still being made to the collection?

YES NO

(9) How would you rate the condition of the collection:-

Excellent

Very Good

Good

In need of some attention

Poor

(10) Do you have a conservation/restoration programme for the books?

YES NO

(11) Has scholarly interest been shown in the collection in the past?

YES NO

(12) If so please specify below.

.....
.....
.....
.....

(13) Do you allow access to the collection, if requested?

YES NO

Signed.....*Date*.....

Owner Trustee Administrator Librarian

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Distribution List for Survey 1

ENGLAND

1 Royal Crescent, Bath
Badminton
Clevedon Court
Dyrham Park
Gatcombe Court
Hawkesbury
Horton Court
The Manor House, Walton,
Tyntesfield
Vine House
Chenies Manor
Everton Park
Luton Hoo
Odell Castle
Southill Park
Woburn Abbey
Wrest Park
Avington Manor
Basildon Park
Dorney Court
Easthampstead Park
Englefield House
Formosa Place
Highclere Castle
Stratfield Saye
Swallowfield Park
Welford Park
Ascott
Chicheley Hall
Claydon House
Hughenden Manor
Nether Winchendon
Penn House
Princes Risborough
Waddesdon Manor
West Wycombe
Winslow Hall
Abbey House [Huntingdon]
Angelsey Abbey
Elton Hall
Island Hall
Manor House, Apethorpe
Milton
Peckover House
The Manor, Hemingford
Carden

Edge
High Legh
Poulton-Lancelyn
Adlington Hall
Arley Hall
Capesthorne Hall
Cholmondeley Castle
Dorfold Hall
Dunham Massey Hall
Eaton Hall
Little Moreton Hall
Lyme Park
Peckforton Castle
Rode Hall
Tabley House
Tatton Park
Crathorne House
Gisborough House
Antony House
Boconnoc
Cotehele
Hemerden House
Ince Castle
Ladock House
Lanhydrock
Lawrence House
Mount Edgcumbe
Pencarrow
Place
Port Eliot
Prideaux Place
St Michael's Mount
Trefusis
Tregothnan
Trenwainton
Trerice
Tresco Abbey
Trewithen
Askerton Castle
Askham Hall
Brantwood
Cockermouth Castle
Dalemain
Greystoke Castle
Holker Hall
Hutton-in-the-Forest
Levens Hall
Lingholm
Lonsdale Castle
Mirehouse
Muncaster Castle
Naworth Castle
Netherby

Sizergh Castle
The College, Kirkoswald
Townend
Calke Abbey
Catton Hall
Chatsworth
Eyam Hall
Haddon Hall
Hardwick Hall
Kedleston Hall
Melbourne Hall
Meynell Langley
Okeover Hall
Renishaw Hall
Sudbury Hall
Tissington Hall
A La Ronde
Affeton Castle
Arlington Court
Berry Pomeroy
Bickleigh Castle
Bowden House
Bradley Manor
Broadclyst
Buckland Abbey
Cadhay
Calverleigh Court
Canonteign
Castle Drogo
Castle Hill
Compton Castle
Cruwys Morchard
Fursdon House
Great Fulford
Hall
Hartland Abbey
Heaton Satchville
Hemyock Castle
Killerton
Killerton House
Knightshayes Court
Maristow
Portledge
Powderham Castle
Pynes
Saltram
Sand
Shute Barton
Sidbury Manor
Tiverton Castle
Ugbrooke Park
Athelhampton
Bridehead

Chettle House
Creech Grange
Deans Court
Edmonsham House
Fiddleford Manor
Ilsington House
Kingston Lacy
Lulworth Castle
Lytchett Heath
Manor House, Cranborne
Mapperton
Melbury House
Minterne
Parnham
Sherborne Castle
Smedmore House
St Giles's House
Symondsburry House
The Manor House, Purse Ca.
Wolfeton House
Wynford House
Biddick Hall
Lambton Castle
Raby Castle
Audley End
Gosfield Hall
Ingatestone Hall
Layer Marney Tower
Moyns Park
Saling Hall
Terling Place
Barnsley House
Berkeley Castle
Chavenage
Cirencester Park
Colebourne Park
Dodington Park
Elmore Court
Haresfield Court
Kelmescott Manor
Littledean Hall
Lydney Park
Owlpen Manor
Rodmarton Manor
Sezincote
Solomons Court
Stanway House
Stowell Park
Sudeley Castle
Whittington Court
Williamstrip Park
Alresford House
Avington Park

Beaulieu
Breamore
Cadland
Cranbury Park
Dummer House
Farleigh Wallop
Hinton Ampner
Houghton House
Mottisfont Abbey
Newnham House
Somerley
Stansted Park
Temple Manor, Selborne
The Vine
The Vyne
Berrington Hall
Bircher Hall
Croft Castle
Dinmore Manor
Eastnor Castle
Garnons
Gatley Park
Hellen's, Much Marcle
Kentchurch Court
Treago
Ashridge
Brocket Hall
Gorhambury
Hatfield House
Knebworth House
Rossway House
St Pauls Walden Bury
Haseley Manor
Morton Manor
Nunwell House
Osborne House,
Bayham Abbey
Belmont Park
Boughton Monchelsea
Chartwell
Chiddingstone Castle
Cobham Hall
Cowdray Park
Doddington Place
Finchcocks
Godinton House
Goodnestone Park
Groombridge Place
Hever Castle
Knole
Ladham House
Leeds Castle
Lullingstone Castle

Lympne Castle
Newhouse, Mersham
Northbourne Court
Old Soar Manor
Penshurst Place
Port Lympne
Quebec House
Riverhill House
Saltwood Castle
Sissinghurst Castle
Smallhythe Place
Squerryes
Torry Hill
Waldershare Park
Walmer Castle
Browsholme Hall
Claughton Hall
Downham Hall
Dyneley
Gawthorpe Hall
Hoghton Towers
Hulton Park
Leck Hall
Leighton Hall
Martholme
Meols Hall
Rufford Old Hall
Samlesbury Hall
Belgrave Hall
Belvoir Castle
Bosworth Hall
Buckminster Park
Carlton Curlieu Hall
Exton Park
Garendon
Gopsall Hall
Noseley Hall
Osbaston Hall
Prestwold Hall
Quenby Hall
Stamford Hall
Stapleford
Stockerston Hall
Aubourn Hall
Belton House
Brocklesby Park
Burghley House
Denton Manor
Doddington Hall
Fulbeck Hall
Grimsthorpe Castle
Gunby Hall
Hainton Hall

Harlaxton Manor
Irnham Hall
Marston Hall
Normanby Hall
Ormsby Hall
Scrivelsby Court
Tinwell Manor
Ufford Hall
Chiswick House
Fenton House
Kenwood
Rangers House
Southside House
Spencer House
Sutton House
Croxteth Hall
Knowsley
Speke Hall
Boston Manor House
Marble Hill
Osterley Park
Syon
Beeston Hall
Billingford Hall
Bixley Manor
Blickling Hall
Bradenham Hall
Euston Hall
Felbrigg
Gateley Hall
Gunton Park
Holkham Hall
Houghton Hall
Hoveton
Hoveton Hall
Mannington Hall
Merton Hall
Oxburgh Hall
Raveningham Hall
Raynham Hall
Salle Park
Sparham House
Stow Bardolph
Stradsett Hall
Wolterton Park
Althorp House
Boughton House
Castle Asbhy
Coton Manor
Cottesbrooke Hall
Courteenhall
Cranford Hall
Deene Park

Drayton House
Easton Neston
Holdenby House
Lampport Hall
Naseby Hall
Rockingham Castle
Shuckburgh Hall
Southwick Hall
Southwick Hall
Stoke Park
The Menagerie
Thenford House
Alnwick Castle
Bamburgh Castle
Beaufront Castle
Blagdon
Bywell Castle
Chillingham
Cragside House
Doxford
Eslington Park
Guyzance Hall
Hedgeley Hall
Hepple
Hesleyside
Howick Hall
Lindesfarne Castle
Meldon Park
Nunwick
Preston Tower
Seaton Delaval
Wallington House
Carlton House
Flintham Hall
Hodsock Priory
Holme Pierrepont Hall
Newstead Abbey
Norwood Park
Norwood Hall
Osberton
Staunton Hall
Welbeck Abbey
Welbeck Woodhouse
Winkburn Hall
Winkburn House
Ardington House
Blenheim Palace
Broughton Castle
Buscot Park
Cornbury Park
Ditchley Park
Farnborough Hall
Greys Court

Kingston Bagpuize House	Congreve Manor
Kingstone Lisle	Eccleshall Castle
Manor House, Hambleden	Sandon Hall
Mapeldurham House	Shugborough Hall
Marcham Priory	Statfold Hall
Milton Manor	Swynnerton Park
Rousham House	Wanfield Hall
Shirburn Castle	Wolseley Park
Stanton Harcourt Manor	Belchamp Hall
Stonor	Benacre Hall
Upton House	Boxted Hall
Wardington Manor	Ditchingham Hall
Attingham Park	Glemham Hall
Benthall Hall	Gunton Park
Burwarton	Helmingham Hall
Combermere Abbey	Ickworth
Dudmaston Hall	Kentwell Hall
Eaton Mascott Hall	Marlesford Hall
Hodnet Hall	Melford Hall
Isle of Rossall	Orwell Park
Merevale Hall	Otley Hall
Moreville Hall	Somerleyton Hall
Oakly Hall	Sutton Hall
Plowden Hall	The Priory, Lavenham
Preen Manor	Wingfield College
Shipton Hall	Worlingham Hall
Upton Cressett Hall	Wyken Hall
Walcot Hall	Clandon Park
Weston Park	Goddards
Wilderhope Manor	Greathed Manor
Barford Park	Ham House
Barrington Court	Hatchlands
Brympton d'Evercy	Loseley Park
Chewton House	Polesden Lacey
Chiple Park	Arundel Castle
Crowe Hall	Bateman's
Dunster Castle	Bentley House
East Lambrook Manor	Bignor Park
Forde Abbey	Birch Grove
Gaulden Manor	Brickwall House
Hatch Court	Buckhurst Park
Lytes Cary	Danny
Maunsel Manor	Eridge Castle
Midelney Manor	Firle Place
Montacute House	Glynde Place
Priest's House	Glyndebourne
Rowlands	Goodwood
South Cadbury House	Great Dixter
Stone House	Hammerwood Park
The Chantry	Michelham Priory
The Manor House, Mells	Newick Park
Beaudesert	Pallant House
Chillington Hall	Parham House

Pashley Manor
Petworth House
Preston Manor
Shillinglee Park
St Mary's, Bramber
Standen
Stopham Park
Uppark
Baddesley Clinton
Blyth Hall
Fillongley Hall
Moseley Old Hall
Packington Hall
Wightwick Manor
Arbury Hall
Aston Hall
Charlecote Park
Compton Verney
Coughton Court
Honington Hall
Newnham Paddox
Packwood House
Ragley Hall
Sherborne Park
Stoneleigh Abbey
Tachbrook Hall
Warwick Castle
Bolehyde Manor
Bowood House
Corsham Court
Eastridge House
Fonthill
Great Chalfield Manor
Hamptworth Lodge
Heale House
Iford Manor
Lacock Abbey
Longford Castle
Longleat
Luckington Court
Lydiard House
Maiden Bradley
Mompesson House
Neston Park
Newhouse
Sheldon Manor
Stourhead
The Manor, Monkton Farleigh
Tottenham/Savernake Lodge
Wardour Castle
Westwood Manor
Wilton House
Blackmore House

Hagley Hall
Hanbury Hall
Little Malvern Court
Lower Brockhampton
Madresfield Court
Ombersley Court
Spetchley Park
The Grey Friars
Aldbrough Manor
Allerton Park
Arden Hall
Aske
Barningham Park
Beningbrough Hall
Birdsall House
Bolton Abbey
Bolton Castle
Bolton Hall
Brodsworth Hall
Broughton Hall
Burton Agnes
Burton Constable Hall
Castle Howard
Clifton Castle
Constable Burton Hall
Dalton Hall
Danby-upon-Yore
Duncombe Park
Elsham Hall
Fairfax House
Farnley Hall
Garrowby Hall
Grimston Park
Hackness Hall
Harewood House
Helperby Hall
Heslington House
Houghton Hall
Hovingham Hall
Langton
Lotherton Hall
Lythe Hall
Mulgrave Castle
Newburgh Priory
Newby Hall
Norton Conyers
Nostell Priory
Nunnington Hall
Ormesby Hall
Ribston Hall
Ripley Castle
Rokeby Park
Sandbeck Park

Sheriff Hutton Park
Shibden Hall
Sion Hill Hall
Stainley House
Stockfield Park
Sutton Park
Temple Newsam House
Thorpe Hall
Westow Hall
Wharnccliffe House
Wykeham Abbey

WALES

Glanusk Park
Bodelwyddan Castle
Bodnant
Bodrhyddan Hall
Brynkinalt
Chirk Castle
Erdigg
Hawarden Castle
Nantclwyd Hall
Plas Heaton
Plas-yn-Cefn
Rhual
Rhug
Cwmgwili
Gumfreston
Hean Castle
Picton Castle
Stradey Castle
Cardiff Castle
Castell Coch
Coedarhydyglyn
Fonmon Castle
Penrice Castle
Cefntilla Court
Clytha Park
Tredegar House
Bryn Bras Castle
Cefnamlwch
Llangedwyn
Nanhoron
Penrhyn Castle

Plas Newydd
Downton House
Marrington Hall
Powis Castle
Trebinshun House
Merthyr Mawr

ULSTER

Benvariden
Castle Upton
Glenarm Castle
Killyleagh Castle
Rosemount House
Shane's Castle
Bryansford
Castle Ward
Clandeboye
Hillsborough Castle
Mount Stewart
Murlough House
Seaforde
Colebrooke Park
Castle Coole
Castle Forbes
Crom Castle
Florence Court
Moyola Park
Springhill
Barons Court
Blessingbourne
Caledon Castle
Lissan House

SCOTLAND

Abbotsford House
Ayton Castle
Bemersyde
Bowhill House
Duns Castle
Eccles House
Floors Castle
Harden
Makerstoun House
Manderston
Mellerstain House
Mertoun House
Minto House
Monteviot
Paxton House
Philiphaugh
The Hirsell
Thirlstane Castle
Traquair House
Brucefield
Duntreath Castle
Fossoway Lodge
Garden
Keir
Glorat
House of Aldie
Kinross House
Tulliebole Castle
Arbigland House
Broughton House
Cardoness House
Drumlanrig Castle
Knocknalling
Lochinch Castle
Maxwelton House
Montrave House
Rachills House
Rammerscales
Tinwald House
Balbirnie House
Balcarres
Balcaskie House
Birkhill

Broomhall
Cambo House
Charlton House
Falkland Palace
Hill of Tarvit
Kellie Castle
Raith House
Wemyss Castle
Arbuthnott House
Auchroisk House
Ballindalloch Castle
Brodie Castle
Cairnbulg Castle
Candacraig
Castle Forbes
Castle Fraser
Cluny Castle
Craigston Castle
Crichie House
Crimonmogate House
Cullen House
Dailuaine House
Darnaway Castle
Delgaty Castle
Drum Castle
Drumminor Castle
Drummuir Castle
Esslemont House
Fettercairn House
Fyvie Castle
Grandhome House
Haddo House
Hatton Castle
Innes House
Keith Hall
Kemnay House
Kingcausie
Learney House
Leith Hall
Leuchars House
Monymusk House
Pitgaveny House
Straloch House
Tynet House
Udny Castle
Achnacarry
Aigas House
Aldourie Castle

Allangrange
Castle Leod
Cawdor Castle
Dochfour House
Dunrobin Castle
Dunvegan Castle
Foulis Castle
Glenferness House
Holme Rose
Moniack Castle
Moy Hall
Novar House
Torridon House
Arniston House
Colstoun
Calder House
Colstoun
Dalmahoy
Dalmeny House
Gilmerton House
Gosford House
Hawthornden Castle
Hopetoun House
House of the Binns
Lauriston Castle
Lennoxlove
Leuchie
Newhailes
Newliston
Penicuik House
The Drum
Whittinghame
Winton House
Buness
Ardchattan Priory
Ardgowan
Auchmar
Blairquhan Castle
Brodick Castle
Camstraddan
Caprington Castle
Cassillis House
Corehouse
Craufurdland Castle
Culzean Castle
Duart Castle
Duntrune Castle
Finlaystone House

Gilmerton House
Inveraray Castle
Kelburn Castle
Kilbryde Castle
Kilkerran House
Langlees
Mount Stuart
Pollock House
Rowallan Castle
Shirvan
Sorn Castle
Strachur House
Torosay Castle
Ardblair Castle
Ardvorlich
Balvarran
Bannatyne
Blair Castle
Brechin Castle
Carse Gray
Castle Menzies
Cloan
Cluniemore
Cortachy Castle
Doune Park
Drummond Castle
Glamis Castle
Glendelvine
Gleneagles
House of Dun
House of Pitmuies
Megginch Castle
Meikleour House
Montrave House
Monzie Castle
Newton Castle
Ochertyre
Pitcairns
Rossie
Scone Palace
Stobhall
Strathallan Castle

APPENDIX II

Numerical Summary of First Survey Results

Distribution and Response

	Distributed	Responses	
England	634	292	(46.1%)
Scotland	191	122	(63.9%)
Wales	37	17	(46.0%)
Northern Ireland	24	11	(45.8%)
TOTAL	886	442	(49.9%)

The Diffusion of Libraries

Provision of Libraries	%
Houses with Libraries	61.5%
House without Libraries	38.5%

General Public Access

The phrase '*open to the public*' represented two broad categories:-

- (i) those which are open on a sustained and regular basis
- (ii) those which open on a sporadic, irregular basis.

	UK	England	Scotland
Open Regularly *	39.9	--	--
Open Occasionally §	21.2%	--	--
TOTAL	62.0%	--	--
Completely Private	37.9%	32.2%	44.7 ¶

* more than 30 days *per annum*.

§ open less than 30 days as part of a grant-aid/taxation concession scheme.

¶ partly due to the number of smaller 'laird's' houses in Scotland.

Note: The number of country houses in Wales and Northern Ireland is too small to draw broad conclusions from. In the latter, Northern Ireland, very few private houses are **ever** open.

General Library Access

Houses with Libraries

	UK-wide
Open to the Public	72.0%
Private	28.0%

	Houses open with Libraries	All Houses Open
Not part of the visitor route	16.9%	23.0%
Discontinued Library Access	1.8%	2.6%

The total number of libraries which have **no** access for the public was 46.7%.

The public can, therefore, expect to see 53.3% of **all country house libraries** and can expect to see a library in 58.7% of **all** historic houses they visit. A further 20.6% of all historic houses do not contain a library at all, and a further 18.7% where there is a library but where it is not on the public route for visitors.

Intellectual Access

From a response rate of 97.5% for this question

	UK	Eng.	Scot.	Wales	N.I.
Prepared to concede access	75.6%	72.0%	80.0%	80.0%	N/A
Unwilling to concede access	21.8%	28.0%	20.0%	20.0%	N/A

As with general access, it is particularly interesting and significant that there was little discrepancy between the individual totals, in terms of access, for England, Scotland and Wales and the nation-wide total for the United Kingdom as a whole. In these parts of the United Kingdom large majorities were in favour of access. In England the figure was 72% while in Scotland and Wales it stood at 80%. However, in Northern Ireland, the picture was confused and unclear. The National Trust properties at Castle Coole, Castle Ward, Florence Court, Mount Stewart, and Springhill (which contains books but not a library) would all grant access subject to the standard restrictions of the Trust. However, the acceptance of access displayed by private owners elsewhere was not mirrored in Ulster. This marked reluctance amongst private owners to grant access to their houses is interest but unsurprising. Inevitably, the political climate over the last thirty years has influenced these private owners.

Foundation of Collections

Question: When was the collection first established?

Foundation			
Specific Dates	95.6%		
Foundation unknown	4.4%		
Pre 1600	5.1%		
1701-1750	16.5%		
1701-1750	16.5%		
1751-1800	20.2%	Eighteenth century total	37.1%
1801-1850	12.1%		
Post 1851	25.0%		

Previous Holdings of Collections

Question: Has the collection been larger in the past?

	Yes	No	Unknown
Larger in the Past	55.1%	43.8%	1.1%

Dispersal

Major Dispersals	47.8%
Minor Dispersals	7.3%
Unknown	1.1%

of these:-

To raise money	48.2%	Specifically Death Duties	13.2%
Destruction by Fire	2.5%		
Family Dispute	2.5%		
Cause unknown	46.7%		

Collection Contents

	U.K.-wide
History	55.9%
Literature	47.8%
Classics	32.0%
Theology	29.4%
Local Material	28.7%
Travel / Geography	27.2%
Botany	24.3%
Politics / the Law	21.3%
Art	7.4%
Sport	5.9%
Game Books	5.0%

Publishing Periods

Some 89.8% of respondents attempted to supply information on the publishing periods of the works in their collection; the remainder were either unable or unwilling to do so.

	U.K.-wide
Pre 1600	37.1%
1600-1700	53.3%
1701-1750	62.9%
1751-1800	73.9%
1801-1850	82.4%
Post 1851	87.1%

Works from all publishing periods	35.1%
Post 1851 only	4.8%

Size of Collections

Specific Numbers of volumes could be supplied by 79.4% of respondents.

	U.K.	Eng.	Scot.	
Less than 1,000	15.4%			
1,000-2,000	18.0%			Total less than 2,000 33.4%
2,000-5,000	29.8%	31.7%	50.0%	
5,000-10,000	9.6% *	15.9%	6.8%	
10,000-15,000	3.7%			
15,000-20,000	1.1%			
More than 20,000	1.8%			

* In Wales, there are only two collections which contained more than five thousand volumes and there are none at all in Northern Ireland.

Catalogues

Catalogued	54.5%
Uncatalogued	45.5%

Extant Catalogues and dates of compilation

1801-1900	9.4%
1900-1949	11.3%
Post 1950	57.0%

	Cataloguing	Revisions	
1950s	6.7%		
1960s	7.4%	3.6%	
1970s	12.1%	7.1%	
1980s	8.7%	10.7%	
1990s	22.1%	58.9%	
Undated	----	16.1%	
		Ongoing Updates	2.9%
		Occasional Updates	37.6%

Condition of Collections

Excellent	7.7% *
Very Good	15.8%
Good	39.0% §
In need of some attention	31.3% §
Poor	6.3%
General overlap	13.2%

§ Specific overlap between good and in need of some attention 6.3%

* None in Wales or Northern Ireland

Conservation and Restoration Programmes

Some degree of conservation	40.4%
No conservation	55.9%
No response	3.7%

Visitor Management

Of those 62% of houses which were recorded as being open to the general public, *not* as percentages of the total responses.

Guided Tour	67.2%
Self-guiding tours	34.8% (with room guides) 32.0%
Guidebooks	49.4%

Classification

Unclassified	75.0%
Classified	23.9% *

by subject or provenance and subject arrangements, largely fixed location classification.

Additions

Based on a response rate of 97.8% for this question

Additions still being made	44.5%
No additions	53.3%

Non-Book Material

Manuscripts and Charters	33.5% *
Cartographic Materials	32.7% §
Sheet Music	25.0%
Letters and Journals	14.7%

* despatches, commissions, grant of lands, Letters Patent, Royal Warrants, Extracts of Matriculation and the like.

§ generally relating to estate management.

Archives and Muniments

Archives as part of the library	37.9%
Archives housed elsewhere	62.1%

Previous Scholarly Interest

	U.K.	Scotland
Previous Scholarly Interest	45.6%	62.9%
No Previous interest	51.6%	37.1%

APPENDIX III

*Problems arising from the name of the
School of Information and Media*

APPENDIX III

Problems arising from the name of the School of Information and Media

One of the most surprising facets of the first survey was the problem which the name of the School of Information and Media posed in terms of the research.

From comments which came back from owners and administrators of houses who declined to participate in the survey there was a clear misconception about what the words 'Information' and 'Media' implied. The word 'media' in particular appears to have caused particular angst in spite of categorical assurances that information supplied via the survey would not be disclosed. To those outside the information profession there appeared to be little conception of the fact that traditional librarianship subjects could be covered by the term 'Information and Media'. It may be that the word media evokes, in the minds of owners and administrators, all the worst excesses of the press.

It seems likely that those owners and administrators who had doubts about participating would have looked upon the survey in a more charitable fashion had the original name, the School of Librarianship, been maintained. It is difficult to assess how many owners and administrators were actually deterred by this factor but it is, nonetheless, worthy of note. In retrospect, it would have been helpful, perhaps, to stress more strongly, both in press releases and correspondence, the fact that the School teaches librarianship.

APPENDIX IV

Archival and Non-Book Material within Country House Libraries

APPENDIX IV

Archival and Non-Book Material in Country House Libraries

An important adjunct to the bibliographic material within country house libraries is the inclusion of non-book material held *within the libraries*. The reason for stressing the phrase *within the libraries* requires some amplification. Many country houses maintain separate archives held in charter or muniment rooms and, although these are of immense interest in their own right and worthy of a national study, they are not within the remit of this particular piece of research. As has been said elsewhere, this study is primarily concerned with the printed and bound heritage within the country house, not with the vast archival heritage. Traditionally, however, many country house library collections have been the repositories of all types of material in addition to books and where that is the case this non-book material must be considered within the context of this study. This material most commonly takes the form of letters and diaries, maps (usually estate plans), manuscripts and charters as well as music. In many cases this non-book material ends up taking the form of bound volumes when a particular member of a family has, for example, gathered together a series of letters and has bound them as a means of preservation rather than as a precursor to publication. Consequently, in terms of this study, non-book material may have been bound but will not have been published as a volume.

Manuscripts and charters are to be found within 33.5% of country house libraries. In addition, many houses maintain their collections of archives elsewhere and are not regarded as constituting part of the library collection. The content of manuscript and charter collections within country house libraries varies dramatically from house to house. Like the library itself it tends to rely on the activities of the family; for example, military families often have collections of despatches or commissions while political ones veer towards governmental business and administrative correspondence. For many families the early charters which grant the lands are of prime importance in maintaining their sense of identity and are consequently preserved. In most cases things such as Letters Patent, Royal Warrants, Extracts of Matriculation and the like are all assiduously kept. Some families attach reverence to them and preserve them in the library, others attach less awe to them. In houses which are open to the public, however, the most important of these manuscripts and charters tend to be shown to the general public.

Almost as many collections, 32.7%, were found to contain maps. The vast majority of these collections of cartographic material relate to the management of the estate of which the house is the focal point. It is hardly surprising that cartographic material figures so prominently for, as Thompson pointed out, "*land is the bedrock of the aristocratic life.*" Again, however, those houses which have cartographic material within the library probably only represent the tip of the iceberg. One would expect many more houses, indeed almost all of them, to possess maps somewhere else. In this case the most likely location for cartographic material would be the estate office. It would be wrong to give the impression that *all* maps were bought in order to assist in the process of estate management. Topographical and military maps were also of particular interest, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. Inevitably, some maps would be bought for general reference or because they were aesthetically pleasing; Ogilby's *Britannia Depicta* is an excellent example of this. In the first instance it would have been bought as a valuable reference tool but later would have been prized for its aesthetic appeal.

One quarter, 25%, of all collections contained some amount of sheet music within the library. Many grandees were patrons of the great musicians of the age, perhaps the most important being the 1st Duke of Chandos who was the patron of Handel. However, that aside, music was the primary means of entertainment within the country house until this century. Every self-respecting daughter of the gentry or nobility would be able to play at least one instrument. Of all the material to be found in the country house library one can say, with a great degree of certainty, that the musical scores were used regularly. In recent

years some libraries have thrown up unique musical discoveries, one of the most prominent of these being Castle Fraser in Aberdeenshire where some previously unknown scores were found. Many country houses, great and small, also contained music rooms, so it is possible that the number of houses which actually contain sheet music is far in excess of the 25% which store a collection in the library.

Only 14.7% of respondents made reference to letters and journals forming part of their library collection. This may be related to the holding of archives in other parts of the house. This is a surprisingly low total, especially in view of the nineteenth century mania for keeping a journal. From the time Queen Victoria published *Leaves from our Highland Journal* a huge number of grandees culled their journals, diaries and letters for material suitable for publication. Indeed the private journals of the *habitués* of the country house often became best-sellers in the commercial publishing world. A good example of this was the famous journal kept by Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchas, subsequently Mrs Smith, the *châtelaine* of Baltiboyes near Dublin, published as the *Memories of a Highland Lady* and *The Highland Lady in Ireland* which are still in print almost a century after their first appearance. The explosion of reminiscences by people like Lord Frederick Hamilton (*Here, There and Everywhere*), the Earl of Desart (*A Page from The Past*), the Marquess and Marchioness of Aberdeen (*We Twa*), Mrs Charlton of Hesleyside (*Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady*) and countless others all owed their inspiration to carefully preserved family letters and journals.

An interesting footnote to this question occurs within those houses which are regularly open to the public. In these cases family exhibitions have often been included within the visitor interpretation. These exhibitions invariably include collections of ephemera, photographs, letters and journals which have been culled from the library. Not only does this enhance the visitors' understanding of the particular people or events which go to make up the history of a particular house, but it also allows them an insight into material which would otherwise lie dormant on library shelves. One of the most effective examples of this is to be found at Traquair House in Peebles-shire, where the extracts from the muniments have been excellently displayed within a museum room.

Archives and Muniments

Allied to the question of non-book material are the subjects of archives and muniments. The first point which must be established in this section is the difference between archives and muniments. Archives may be defined as public or private records, charters and documents, while muniments (from the Latin *munire* to fortify) are documents which are kept as evidence of particular rights or privileges. Consequently, family diaries or letters might constitute archives while Letters Patent or Writs of Summons might constitute muniments. Muniments, therefore, tend to be of a legal nature in a way which other documentary archives may not be. As many country house families are enshrined in a particular legal or constitutional way (i.e. the Peerage or Baronetage) muniments often form an important part of their larger archival collection. It is important to stress that archives are, strictly speaking, a separate subject. This question only seeks to examine their position in relation to the library. Much work has already been done in the field of archives from country houses both nationally and locally. Indeed redressing this imbalance is one of the aims of this work.

In either case documentary archival heritage is generally maintained as a means of sustaining a sense of family identity, in much the same way as Munby pointed out that family portraits are central to the aristocrat's sense of identity. Documentary archives as an inheritance from previous generations appear to fulfil a similar role. This is reflected by the fact that all those respondents who possessed a library could supply an indication of the position of archives and muniments in relation to that library. The question simply asked if family archives and muniments were kept in the library as part of the library collection. This was the case in a minority of houses, some 37.9%. Generally, where this is the case the collections are of particular importance to the family alone rather than to the nation as a whole. These collections are formed around letters and diaries, rental rolls, occasional military commission or charters. It is the type of material which most families have in some shape or form and, although often disregarded in the national context highlights the fascinating significance of many country house collections in the local setting.

However, some 62.1% of respondents noted that their archives were stored elsewhere and did not form part of the library. The tradition of keeping archives and muniments separately from the library within the country house context is well-established. The maintenance of archive collections within the grandest country houses has often led to the appointment of an archivist who doubles as a librarian. Invariably, these appointees know far more about the historical context of the archives than they do about the effective management of a library collection.

Generally, however, particularly important papers have frequently been left to, or bought by, public institutions such as the British Library, the Public Record Office or the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. These archival collections tend to be those of families with a particularly important political pedigree. Consequently, the papers of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Haigh Hall) and the Earl of Rosebery (Dalmeny House and Mentmore) are to be found in the National Library of Scotland; those of the Earl of Middleton (Peper Harow) and of the Marquess of Ripon (Studley Royal) are divided between the British Library and the Public Record Office; the Marquess of Crewe's papers, formerly at his seat, Crewe Hall, are in Cambridge University Library, while the archives of viceregal proconsuls such as the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine (Broomhall) and the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Kedleston) are in the India Office Library in London. Less important, but equally fascinating collections are often to be found in County Record Offices. The Goodwood Archives of the Lennox Dukes of Richmond and Gordon are now in West Sussex County Record Office, while the fascinating papers of Ettie Grenfell, Lady Desborough (Panshanger and Taplow) are to be found in Hertfordshire County Record Office.

In recent years the archives of country houses have become a valuable source of finance for struggling, cash-strapped owners. The advent of the purchasing power of the National Lottery Heritage Fund has assisted this trend, most spectacularly (if most unpopularity) with the Churchill Private Papers. However, other papers of extraordinary national importance have also been acquired. In 1996, the Earl of Shelburne, the heir to the Marquess of Lansdowne and *châtelain* of Bowood in Wiltshire, sold a vast collection of political papers from his archive to the British Library for £600,000. Their archive was far more complete, in political terms, than the Cecil collection at Hatfield. Unfortunately, the gems of the archives, including letters from George III, Nelson, Napoleon, George Washington, and love letters between Byron and Lady Caroline Lamb, were sold by auction and dispersed in 1994.

APPENDIX V

Numerical Summary of Second Survey Results



THE
ROBERT GORDON
UNIVERSITY
ABERDEEN

The Preservation of Country House Libraries.

The School of Information and Media
The Robert Gordon University
ABERDEEN

PRESERVATION OF COUNTRY HOUSE LIBRARIES

Preamble: This survey aims to follow up the work done in the Country House Libraries Survey of March 1996. It is intended that the information received as a result of this survey will be used in order to formulate a policy of good practice for country house library and book collections. All information received as a result of this survey will be treated in the strictest confidence and will not be made available to anyone outwith the School of Information and Media (formerly the School of Librarianship) at the Robert Gordon University.

Reference Code

1. Do you monitor your collection in order to identify areas which may require maintenance?

YES NO If no please go to Q.4

2. If so, which areas of your library have you identified as requiring attention?

Atmospheric Conditions	<input type="checkbox"/>	Binding	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cataloguing	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cleaning	<input type="checkbox"/>
Storage / Display	<input type="checkbox"/>	Restoration	<input type="checkbox"/>

Others, please specify below:-

.....

.....

3. If you have identified a need in these or other areas what action have you taken?

.....

.....

.....

4. Which of the following have you consulted or would consider consulting in order to obtain advice about your library collection?

	Have consulted	Would consult	Would not consult
National Trust(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
NADFAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Heritage Organisations *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
County/Local Library Service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Academic Libraries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
British Library/ National Libraries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* e.g. English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW, Environment and Heritage Agency N.I., &c.

over/-

	Have consulted	Would consult	Would not consult
Library Association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fine Art Specialists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commercial Book / Library conservationists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Others, please specify below:-

.....

5. What, if any, assistance (voluntary, professional or commercial) do you currently receive in terms of library management/preservation? (If no assistance has been received please go to Q. 7.)

.....

6. If you have received any assistance how adequate do you feel it has been?

.....

7. What are your priorities in terms of assistance/advice for the maintenance of your collection? You may wish to consider your response to Q.2 in this answer. Please enter your priorities in order of importance.

1.....3.....
 2.....4.....

8. Do you currently have any arrangements for allowing access to your collection?

YES NO If no, please go to Q.10.

9. If yes, please specify how this is currently organised.

.....

10. If no, would the provision of funding for work on your library, make you more likely to concede access?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

11. If access were to be limited to specifically designated groups, which of the following would you wish to see included (tick as many as is appropriate)

Academics	<input type="checkbox"/>	Researchers	<input type="checkbox"/>
Librarians	<input type="checkbox"/>	Historians	<input type="checkbox"/>
Writers	<input type="checkbox"/>	Others, please specify:-	

.....
.....
.....
.....

12. What accreditation would you require from those seeking access?

.....
.....
.....
.....

13. Would you be in favour of the creation of a National Register of historic libraries similar to the National Register of Archives?

YES NO

14. Would you be willing to have your collection included in such a Register?

YES NO

If no, please specify your reasons.

.....
.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Distribution List for Survey 2

ENGLAND

Waddesdon Manor
Prideaux Place
Holker Hall
Muncaster Castle
Hutton-in-the-Forest
Mirehouse
Catton Hall
Chatsworth
Renishaw Hall
Sudbury Hall
Powderham Castle
Fursdon
Mapperton
Audley End
Stanway House
Beaulieu
Highclere Castle
Breamore
Eastnor Castle
Finchcocks
Belmont Park
Burghley House
Holkham Hall
Houghton Hall
Wolterton Park
Boughton House
Rockingham Castle
Holme Pierrepont Hall
Blenheim Palace
Broughton Castle
Rousham House
Stanton Harcourt
Weston Park
Hodnet Hall
Sandon Hall
Helmingham Hall
Wyken Hall

Arundel Castle
Goodwood
Warwick Castle
Bowood House
Corsham Court

Longleat
Lydiard Park
Newhouse
Broughton Hall
Castle Howard
Harewood House
Elsham Hall
Packington Hall
Downham Hall
Knowsley
Goodnestone Park
Birdsall
The Manor House, Mells
Terling Place
Port Eliot
Sandbeck Park
Wardington Manor
Blyth Hall
Tissington Hall
Thorpe Hall
Courteenhall
Rode Hall
Bridehead
Glemham Hall
Drayton House
Southill Park
Hepple
Eaton Hall
Poulton-Lancelyn

SCOTLAND

Bowhill House
Traquair House
Mellerstain
Ballindalloch Castle
Hopetoun House
Arniston House
Blairquhan Castle
Inveraray Castle
Glamis Castle
Makerstoun
Balcarres
Broomhall
Monteviot
Kilbryde Castle
Duntreath Castle
Newhailes
Ardgowan

Garden

Cluny Castle

Craigston Castle

Crichie House

Grandhome House

Dunvegan Castle

Corehouse

Torosay Castle

NORTHERN IRELAND

Caledon Castle

Lissan House

Blessingbourne

Benvariden

Killyleagh Castle

Shanes Castle

WALES

Picton Castle

Coedarhydyglyn

Clytha Park

Nanhoron

Merthyr Mawr

Cwngwili

APPENDIX V

Numerical Summary of Second Survey Results

Preservation of Country House Libraries

Distribution and Response

	Distribution	Responses	Percentages Totals
England	71	45	63.4
Scotland	25	20	80.0
Wales	6	4	66.7
Northern Ireland	6	5	83.3
TOTALS	108	74	68.5

1. Collection Monitoring

Question: Do you monitor your collection in order to identify areas which may require maintenance.

	Yes	No	No Response	Total
England	28	14	2	45
Scotland	10	6	4	20
Wales	3	0	1	4
Northern Ireland	3	1	2	5
TOTALS	44	21	9	74

2. Monitoring

Question: If so, which areas of your library have you identified as requiring attention?

*	AC	BI	CA	CL	SD	RE
England	14	22	21	19	11	26
Scotland	2	9	3	6	3	6
Wales	1	2	2	2	0	3
Northern Ireland	0	3	1	3	1	2
TOTALS	17	36	27	30	15	37

* KEY: AC = Atmospheric Conditions; BI = Binding; CA = Cataloguing; CL = Cleaning; SD = Storage / Display; RE = Restoration.

3. Action

Question: If so, which areas of your library have you identified as requiring attention?

Table 3.1

NB: Amounts indicate the number of times a particular element was mentioned

*	AC	BI	CA	CL	SD	RE
England	7	9	12	7	0	14
Scotland	1	7	4	2	0	2
Wales	1	1	1	3	0	2
Northern Ireland	0	2	0	0	0	1
TOTALS	9	19	17	12	0	19

* KEY: AC = Atmospheric Conditions; BI = Binding; CA = Cataloguing; CL = Cleaning; SD = Storage / Display; RE = Restoration.

**Table 3.2 Comparison of Monitoring (Question 2) against Action (Question 3).
Action figures in parenthesis.**

Part I.

*	AC	BI	CA
England	14 (7)	22 (9)	21 (12)
Scotland	2 (1)	9 (7)	3 (4)
Wales	1 (1)	2 (1)	2 (1)
Northern Ireland	0 (0)	3 (2)	1 (0)
TOTALS	17 (9)	36 (19)	27 (17)

Part II.

*	CL	SD	RE
England	19 (7)	11 (0)	26 (14)
Scotland	6 (2)	3 (0)	6 (2)
Wales	2 (3)	0 (0)	3 (2)
Northern Ireland	3 (0)	1 (0)	2 (1)
TOTALS	30 (12)	15 (0)	37 (19)

* KEY: AC = Atmospheric Conditions; BI = Binding; CA = Cataloguing; CL = Cleaning; SD = Storage / Display; RE = Restoration.

4. Consultation

Question: Which of the following have you consulted or would consider consulting in order to obtain advice about your collection

Table 4.1

	Have Consulted	Would Consult	Consultation Total
National Trust(s)	8	12	20
NADFAS	17	9	26
Heritage Organisations*	2	22	24
County/Local Lib. Service	6	13	19
Academic Libraries	8	12	20
British / National Libraries	9	22	31
Library Association	1	9	10
Fine Art Specialists	11	12	23
Commercial Conservers§	17	17	34

Table 4.2

Would Not Consult	
National Trust(s)	15
NADFAS	10
Heritage Organisations*	7
Count/Local Lib. Service	9
Academic Libraries	9
British / National Libraries	5
Library Association	10
Fine Art Specialists	8
Commercial Conservers§	4

* English Heritage, Historic Scotland, CADW, Environment and Heritage Agency Northern Ireland.

§ Commercial Book or Library conservationist.

7. Priorities

Question: What are your priorities in terms of assistance / advice for the maintenance of your collection? You may wish to consider your response to Q.2 in this answer.

*	AC	BI	CA	CL	SD	RE
England	8	5	15	13	5	20
Scotland	3	6	5	9	2	11
Wales	0	0	2	1	0	2
Northern Ireland	0	1	1	0	0	1
TOTALS	11	12	23	23	7	34

* KEY: AC = Atmospheric Conditions; BI = Binding; CA = Cataloguing; CL = Cleaning; SD = Storage / Display; RE = Restoration.

8. Arrangements for Access

Question: Do you currently have any arrangements for allowing access to your collection?

Yes	No	No Response	Total
32	34	8	74

10. Access Provision

Question: If no, would the provision of funding for work on your library, make you more likely to concede access?

	Yes	No	No Opinion	No Response	Total
England	6	20	17	2	45
Scotland	4	8	7	1	20
Wales	1	2	0	1	4
Northern Ireland	3	1	0	1	5
TOTALS	14	31	24	5	74

11. User Groups

Question: If access were to be limited to specifically designated groups, which of the following would you wish to see included?

Academics	42
Researchers	42
Librarians	35
Historians	37
Writers	22

13. National Register

Question: Would you be in favour of the creation of a National Register of Historic Libraries similar to the National Register of Archives?

	Yes	No	No Opinion	No Response	Totals
England	25	16	2	2	45
Scotland	11	8	0	1	20
Wales	3	0	0	1	4
Northern Ireland	4	0	0	1	5
TOTALS	43	24	2	3	75

14. Membership of a National Register

Question: Would you be willing to have your collection included in such a Register?

	Yes	No	Possibly	No Opinion	Total
England	16	22	4	3	45
Scotland	8	10	1	1	20
Wales	2	0	1	1	4
Northern Ireland	3	0	1	1	5
TOTALS	29	32	7	6	74

APPENDIX VI

Schedule for Fieldwork Interviews

APPENDIX VI

Interview Schedule

Indicative Interview Schedule

Could I begin by asking you, according to your own assessment how well do you know the collection?

Following on from that do you think the library is an asset to the house as a visitor attraction?

It is an asset to the house per se?

In the last fifty years or so opinion towards country house collections in general have changed from the point of view of owners and the public, do you think that, perhaps, opinions towards libraries have not moved quite as much?

In general do you think there is enough co-operation between heritage organisations connected with the country house?

Do you think that owners are generally aware of the options open to them in terms of obtaining assistance for the library?

Do you feel that the conservation of libraries tends to rely on informal and often ad hoc contacts which may exist in individual cases? Rather than through any formal links with organisations?

Do you think the management of your library would benefit from a long term plan, a strategic plan to assist you?

Would you agree that there is a direct link between funding and access?

My next question was whether you thought access should only be granted where the material was unavailable elsewhere locally and where the topic being researched is germane to either the house, your family or locality.

The final few questions deal with the idea of a National Register. You may remember in the survey which I sent you dealt with this idea of a National Register of historic libraries similar to the one which exists for archives. This is inherently not part of my research

Advocating a register is neither here nor there for my research but it is quite useful as a piece of follow-up work. If it was created what purpose would you like to see it serve?

The evidence which has emerged from the survey suggests that a brief description of collection and say the number of volumes and subject disciplines not titles of specific books. Just Rockingham Castle library has x amount of volumes...

Thank you very much indeed.

END OF INTERVIEW.

Indicative Transcripts

The following is indicative of the schedule used in the research for conducting interviews with owners and administrators of collections. This is a verbatim transcripts of recorded interviews; firstly with the owner of a prominent English country house and secondly with the owner of private Scottish country house. It will be seen from the two that the schedule was pragmatic and responsive to the responses of the interviewees. In both cases the identity of the owners in questions are not revealed in this Appendix.

INTERVIEW 1

INTERVIEWEE:

LOCATION:

DATE: Thursday, August 28th, 1997.

Could I begin by asking you, according to your own assessment how well do you know the collection?

Not at all well really. I have actually touched almost every book in cleaning them and moving them but I really don't...well I know one or two of the books but I don't use it. Like many things in this house, our muniments, our pictures, our works of art, all things for which I am responsible, which I curate and care for as best I can but I don't have time in this busy life to sit down and read. So the answer is, if you say do I know the library, the answer is no, I would love to know it better and I hope perhaps when I come to retire I'll have a bit more time. At the moment, time doesn't permit to...reluctantly...I'm not a book person actually. My son is much more bookish than I am. I am a practical administrator and my son, I think, will probably, or already knows more about the library probably than I do. I don't think he knows more about it than...but he's probably more directly interested in what we have there.

Following on from that do you think the library is an asset to the house as a visitor attraction?

I don't think it adds particularly to the visitor attraction, in the general sense of tourism...the casual tourist visitor...unless, of course, the library is an intrinsic part of the architecture and the decoration. I don't think the actual visitor going round the house would be concerned as to whether there was a library or whether there wasn't. But if he saw great lot of shelves with nothing on them, then he would think that was bad news. I mean, Newhailes is a case in point..nothing at all there....I mean the house has been considerably degraded by the loss of its library. Going around there and seeing those shelves with nothing on them is awful. But that is nothing to do with the library actually. And its not the point you are making, the point is, I mean, but what I would say is this, is that historic houses are not just about visitors and tourism. What they see is sort of the tip of the iceberg. Historic houses are a record of the cultural development over a long period of time that the people who lived in that house, both upstairs and downstairs, what they thought, what they did, it is a unique record of that cultural experience. In that context, the library is enormously important because it is in fact our library here was mainly collected in the eighteenth century and is two libraries and while we buy books and we collect books, not collect them in the sense that a collector would, but we buy books and so each generation has bought books. And these have all been added to the library, you get, therefore, a reflection of the tastes of the owners as part of the history of the ongoing continuity...as the relationship between the people who live in the house and the house itself. And that's what makes, in my view, historic houses so particularly important and so particularly interesting. Of course, that applies equally to the works of art and to the pictures, the muniments and also to the way the rooms are used and developed over the years. But in that context, I say the library is an intrinsic part of this historic house infrastructure.

It is an asset to the house per se?

Its a most important asset to the house. Yep, but it doesn't increase the amount of money you draw at the gate. It is, in a sense, a conservation burden if you put it in that context.

In the last fifty years or so opinion towards country house collections in general have changed from the point of view of owners and the public, do you think that, perhaps, opinions towards libraries have not moved quite as much?

Libraries are low-profile. There is not a huge body of opinion out there who are concerned about libraries. Its always a great problem, you know at the British Library, getting people who don't use it to understand what it meant and what it was, which is a record of the entire English language, entire culture expressed in the English language and is of enormous importance in covering every subject imaginable. But coming back to your point, have peoples views....I don't know....the general opinion on the heritage, as far as I was concerned, you know when I was working on it, when I was actually leading it in the seventies and eighties, was that there was a double feeling that historic houses were a good thing and what made them good was not just the building but the contents and the entity of the building and the things in it. In that, of course, the library is a strong part. There will be people out there and certainly there are in the art world, I don't know so much about the library world, but I don't get the feeling that the English..the British Library is particularly acquisitive, but there will be people out there who will think that books should be better looked after, made more accessible in the public sector somewhere. I don't think there are very many who think that seriously about libraries because, in actual fact, the books that we have here are not in anyway unique and are available in the public sector just as much as.....what is interesting is the fact that they have been brought together here by the family and the way in which are displayed as part of the house. But I'm not quite sure how or whether I have an answer to that question. I think the answer is that lots of people are interested.

In general do you think there is enough co-operation between heritage organisations connected with the country house?

No, I don't think there is. I don't think....the heritage organisations...I presume your referring to the English, Scottish and Welsh respective national statutory bodies like English Heritage..CADW. They have very considerable resources which are available for conservation, but I've never known them use their resources for the protection of libraries. I don't know how they are with libraries. The British Library has something called Section 13 grants which has no money to finance. When I was there we were struggling, we were doing a scheme financed by the Wolfson Foundation concerned with what to do with conservation but then we had to part company and to put a small sum aside, quarter of a million, I think. And I, in fact, had a grant from the British Library here before I became chairman to help me catalogue and so, I mean, liaison could be better there if the British Library is to be responsible for country house libraries. I mean it isn't actually. It doesn't have that sort of overarching responsibility, statutory obligation. It has the ability to help but not the statutory obligation. The National Trust are very expert, but you see, really the trouble with English Heritage and what I'm saying goes for Scotland probably...

Historic Scotland...

Historic Scotland, that's right....Scottish Heritage is the nature one....Historic Scotland, I don't think they have done a lot to help libraries in the private sector. They clearly are concerned with looking after their own and the National Trust, of course, are concerned with looking after their own and very little co-operation between National Trust and the private sector in matters of house-keeping or advise or anything of that sort. And the private owner, I would have said, is very much on his own. There are, of course, organisations like SAVE, Heritage in Danger and all these other groups, pressure groups, they're not particularly concerned about libraries. We come back to the whole business of libraries are only really the concern of a relatively small number of people concerned about libraries. Those who are concerned are very concerned, but it still occupies a pretty small section of the arts spectrum in terms of the public interest.

Do you think that owners are generally aware of the options open to them in terms of obtaining assistance for the library?

Eh.....I.....my personal point would be, I wonder how many owners are aware of what they require in assistance. I think that and, of course it is a criticism of the private ownership, you know that the story I tell quite frequently really when I go round or take people like yourself round the house is in about the nineteen-thirties the old housekeeper died and my grandmother who didn't get on with her very well, she was very old by then, said hooray, now we can throw away those blinds, get rid of all those nasty covers she used to put on the chairs and as a result you've got, in the public rooms now, destroyed all the fabric, destroyed it by light. My grandmother had no idea about conservation. Her generation, my mother's generation, even my generation really don't know about housekeeping. You don't know how to housekeep. These crucial people, housekeepers, did. And we had, when my uncle who was here had old servants to take books out every year and dust them and put them back again. And that was part of the spring-cleaning process. We now don't have that sort of staff - my wife and I and a caretaker and a couple of cleaning ladies. We simply don't have...we have a major exercise on the library which I can tell you about at some other point. But we simply don't have the staff to dust it and we would not have known, except until we found out, the light was damaging, the damp was damaging, the environmental conditions were important.....there was no question of....you know temperature, to have enough to deal with in the library. We done....we now know about them all and we've taken steps to look after it, but there was a period when, for about thirty or forty years when conservation standards slipped materially, and others around here, who may not realise, who do not.....and whose libraries are crumbling away but they don't realise it. If they wanted, if they did realise they wanted something doing, how would they come aware. This is where Historic Houses Association has a role. And the technical adviser, Norman Hudson, ought to be fully briefed what is available; the answer is not much. And I mean, when I decided it was time to do something about the library, I asked the National Trust, I happened, of course, to be in the centre stage, and I asked my colleagues in the National Trust who they used and they said Nicholas Pickwode. So we've had Nicholas here and he's gone. I mean there must be other people like Nicholas who....but there is no register of conservators I know about. I think perhaps some sort of central....I don't know, I suppose if one wasn't in the HHA one would go to the Crafts Council or something and I don't know if they would know. But the other question is, firstly do the owners know they want assistance and if they do its probably not terribly easy to find because there isn't very much about. I mean a list of accredited conservators would be helpful.

Better than nothing?

Yes, well there are book conservators, we have our trade fair every year at HHA and there are people there, but there is nothing to tell you whether they're good or not.

That follows on nicely to my next question which was do you feel that the conservation of libraries tends to rely on informal and often ad hoc contacts which may exist in individual cases? Rather than through any formal links with organisations?

Oh yes. Yes, absolutely. Very much ad hoc. I mean in my case, I was fortunate when I came here that the whole thing was in very good order but one of the areas which had not really been looked at was the books and my uncle had had some books restored, rather badly, as you'll see they've got horrid things down the side, but he spent a lot of money on it. But it wasn't very well done and I did start up a programme doing the worst ones which is now rather come to a halt because the money ran out and it also requires focusing. And so, I'm afraid you're quite right the links you cultivate tend to be ad hoc.

Do you think the management of your library would benefit from a long term plan, a strategic plan to assist you?

Yes, yes, I think it would. In a sense we have a sort of plan. We had a study done by, we've been very fortunate here, we've had a lot of help, we've had survey done by Nicholas Pickwode which I paid for and

they we had.....we had a scheme with the British Library, we had a grant of £10,000 and employed two graduates, librarians, from Loughborough University, for six months ostensibly to do conservation; what they were doing was identifying books which required conservation and at the same time making a card-index and what they've done is to bring the whole thing up-to-date. They also, another thing they wanted to do, reorganise the layout of the library. I didn't know about librarians in those days and I'd get irritated finding law books alongside travel books alongside political tracts alongside atlases all muddled up. And I said could we not have a section which deals with travel and a section here with politics. And they said yes of course and when they finished the library looked absolutely lovely, books, splendid, beautifully arranged and, of course, they had rearranged them but it was a worse muddle than before but the books by size...quite beautifully. And of course, that's what library stacking is all about.

Would you agree that there is a direct link between funding and access?

Now, I think we have to qualify that question. Do you mean public money?

Yes

What you are saying is if public funds are made available should access follow as of right.

Yes

Yes, okay, that covers a multitude of sins. What sort of access is another matter. Certainly, individuals who have a good reason to want to inspect the library or individual books should be allowed to do so. I don't think that necessarily means a free-for-all to allow the general public in there to poke about. I certainly.....any question of tax relief or grant aid it is very reasonable to cover it with the expression 'reasonable public access' which is the legal expression. Reasonable in the circumstances, for instance, I wouldn't want to let anybody loose in the library without them being monitored and the same goes for the muniment room. You know there's the question of security. We have lost quite a lot of material of one sort or another, books are the biggest, and that means there gone. Yes security is a problem. But, having said that, coming at this like yourself, the public see most of the....see them on the shelves. Access would mean taking individual books out, that would need to be quite carefully controlled.

Yes, well what we have identified in this project is that public access in terms of passing through the library on a tour of the house is all that the general public want.

Yes

It would only be...that's why in the last survey I sent you, I listed categories of individuals who might be considered for access and it has come back that most people think that researchers, historians and the like would be the suitable candidates.

Yes, yes.

My next question was whether you thought access should only be granted where the material was unavailable elsewhere locally and where the topic being researched is germane to either the house, your family or locality.

Yes, I mean I think I wouldn't be necessarily as restrict as that but in principal I....I mean there is a difference between a private library being publicly funded and a public library which is there as a public facility. A private library is fundamentally a private library. It may have public funding but it doesn't mean to say that it is there public, general public, use. So just as the British Library discourages people coming and using its facilities when they can get them down the road so would I suggest that private libraries do the same. I think if someone wanted to come and look at a book, and I'd have to say that hardly anyone ever has, because all our books...we don't have anything particularly special or unique, but

just occasionally people have come to look at the muniments and manuscripts sometimes....but yes, if someone was doing a study of the house obviously one would give them access and if they could show a particular reason for wanting to look at a particular book. And I think probably one would expect, perhaps, some sort of credentials like they do in the British Library...some sort of reason. But it all happens so seldom, you know, its not really written down, there are no rules.

Off the record the access question is almost there as a sop in order to identify the funding question.

Yes, quite...

As you say and as I appreciate, very, very few people every want to come and look at the library compared to the archives or the muniments side of a collection.

Yes, quite, quite, yes.

It is really here because it is, as you've said, so directly related to funding.

Yes, Yep, absolutely.

The final few questions deal with the idea of a National Register. You may remember in the survey which I sent you dealt with this idea of a National Register of historic libraries similar to the one which exists for archives. This is inherently not part of my research

Yes

Advocating a register is neither here nor there for my research but it is quite useful as a piece of follow-up work. If it was created what purpose would you like to see it serve?

I'm not quite sure what, when you say National Register, you mean a national catalogue of bibliographic information?

Well, the evidence which has emerged from the survey suggests that a brief description of collection and say the number of volumes and subject disciplines not titles of specific books. Just Rockingham Castle library has x amount of volumes...

On the internet or something?

Either on the internet or in hardcopy in academic libraries or the British Library

Well, um, just, I have co-operated with the Courtauld Institute who came here and photographed all our pictures, I would not have any objection to a general thing about the library in the public domain. We are, Rockingham Castle is part of the national heritage, we're open to the public and I would....people genuinely interested in what we have are very welcome to inspect it. I think to have a national register would be a good thing. I think though it would probably be quite....There are two or three points, I think. It is a quite difficult area...again it would be in return for funding. One of the requirements would be details of the library had to participate...would be very reasonable. One of things that, then it is the question of are list produced....I really don't mind it very much but one of the problems as the owner of a property, I mean I don't own this anymore, I did for around thirty years, its now my son's, but the, first of all, personal property is very important and what would make it difficult is people saying well, you know, have tax relief in a particular area and therefore I require to come on a Sunday afternoon and I have a right to do so because I am a tax payer and you've had taxes. I mean that doesn't happen at the moment but that would be a sort of area that I was concerned with the private owners' interests. I would be very careful about. Which is why, in terms of sensitive things, like libraries and muniments one has to...one can't have

general....which is why one has to impose various limitations. Having said that, I've now forgotten what your question was.

Just simply that the list should be a brief description.....

Ah yes. My answer to that is yes. I'm all in favour of that.

Right...

What I'm not in favour of is listing. I noticed in your report from the comment about listing, well listing doesn't mean appending a list and making it available, listing means that book belongs to that house and cannot be moved from that house without applying triplicate to the WRO and, you know, that is a...I am absolutely adamant that if you own property that is your property and if you've had a grant on it and you want to sell it then you repay the grant with interest. But to be told as you are that that picture must always stay there for ever and ever is appropriating private property and I feel very strongly about that. Having said that I equally feel strongly about that people should go down the national route first before disposing of heritage objects and I deplore these people who sell pictures off down the back door to the highest bidder before even offering it to anybody. There is a system in situ...private treaty sales which ought to be attempted before going onto the market. Too many people are saying, oh I'll get much more on the market and generally you can. But you know that is just a personal thing. I do believe that collections while they are of great importance to the house, the importance of collections really is that they relate to the people who lived there and you can't go on collecting and collecting and collecting and collecting because, like the British Library, you run out of space. And equally, you run out of money and I'm quite keen on turning collections round as you'll see when you go round this house, we have quite a lot of contemporary, modern pictures which have been acquired because I have sold older, other pictures. What I do believe though, we haven't actually sold any books, but I did have a list of potential books that we might sell in order to make a bit of space and create funds to buy other books. And so there is this turn over issue, but at the same time I think it is important to identify the core heritage and that should stay there but there is no reason why you should constantly have to sit surrounded entirely by anything other than your ancestors, it should grow and grow year by year.

Thank you very much indeed.

END OF INTERVIEW.

INTERVIEW 2

INTERVIEWEE:

LOCATION:

DATE: Wednesday, 20th August 1997.

Could I begin by asking you, according to your own assessment how well do you know the collection?

Very well I would say. I often wonder how some of my friends and acquaintances can be so ignorant of their collections. I daresay that I am perhaps an exception in that the books and the library are very central to my way of life. I wouldn't say that I know all of the texts terribly well. I suppose.....well one tends to focus in on the things which one is interested in, doesn't one? I think that is human nature. A lot of the material which was bought in the last century.....I mean the contemporary stuff....tends to be, well how would I say.....deadly dull. Much of the theological stuff I wouldn't look at very much....but I was brought up to appreciate everything here. My father was a very scholarly man with a profound appreciation of literature and the arts and I think I have inherited it from him. I succeeded when I was awfully young and hardly knew my father but I suspect I have inherited a great deal of my appreciation of things from him.....in terms of my understanding of cultural. Certainly, Mama encouraged us all, my sister, brother and

I to really develop a knowledge about this place and the library was the centre of this cultural learning curve. But...eh...I don't think that we are necessarily all that typical.

Following on from that do you think the library is an asset to the house as a visitor attraction?

Well as we seldom open I don't think it is an asset in that sense at all. The people who do come here on the odd days the house is open come out of a sense of general curiosity connected with the fact that this is a private house which is not often accessible, not because we have a library. Of course, the library is a central and integral part of the house....especially for us, my wife and myself, but I daresay that the public would come regardless of the library. I know that we have a reputation for having a good library but then we have a reputation for having fine portraits. Yet...I...well...I'm not sure that any of these really count. I think we are....well a greater attraction for not being open. Do you understand? Does that make sense? Houses such as ours are cultural entities which have been nurtured over centuries. They are a tribute to the people who have lived in them. And the library is one of the most obvious examples....what they were interested in, what they read and so on. Country houses are quite unique as entities but that uniqueness comes from generations of one family. It is part of relationship between family and house which is so terribly important.

It is an asset to the house per se?

Em, yes, it is, of course....central to the house and to the inhabitants. It is a hugely important facet of our lives here. But....I do feel that is rather a personal thing.....in the sense that it is an asset to me. I might just as easily not be interested in it and in which case it would be....well a bit of an added responsibility. I mean...well, of course, it is a responsibility anyway, but I mean it would be an added worry...in terms of conservation. But because...I love it very much I perhaps don't feel it a burden. I think it can only be measured as an asset for the house if one opens regularly perhaps. In our case I think it is an asset to us as a family because we make use of it. To my mind its value can only be assessed against the use and ownership.

In the last fifty years or so opinion towards country house collections in general have changed from the point of view of owners and the public, do you think that, perhaps, opinions towards libraries have not moved quite as much?

Well, generally speaking I suppose libraries in houses like this are of little interest. The occasional parties we have round all seem interested but I think they are more interested in the fact of the library rather than the substance of it. I mean they are not particularly interested in the books. We do have people here whose interest lies in the material but they are few and far between. I think this is symptomatic of the whole country house situation really. But, you're probably right....most people know of Gainsborough or Canaletto or Chippendale or Wedgwood and can recognise them but when it comes to books they don't. I think that society as a whole has become more aware than it was about the collections of houses such as this but you're probably right libraries are lagging behind somewhat. I suppose that it because of the nature of the beast....how does one explain and display books....well, whichever way one chooses it is tantamount to beginning the destruction of the work. Its a vicious circle.

In general do you think there is enough co-operation between heritage organisations connected with the country house?

From my own, very limited experience I don't think there is. I'm not really in a position to say because I have relatively little experience of any of those bodies but....I don't see or rather I haven't seen much evidence of co-operation.....and certainly, I don't have lots of people offering advice on the library.....from any organisation. I've never heard of any of the statutory bodies using their funds for work in private libraries -nor in public ones come to that. The National Trust are very good but they are geared to their own properties and rightly so but I think there could be a bit more co-operation so that they could perhaps share their knowledge. I think this has a great deal to do with the fact that libraries seem to count for very

little in the greater heritage and cultural scheme of things. I think that is quite, quite lamentable but there you have it.

Do you think that owners are generally aware of the options open to them in terms of obtaining assistance for the library?

Oh, definitely not. One has only to look at some collections to see that. Especially in those houses which are never or seldom open. Some collections are in the most abominable state. I think that this goes back to what I've said earlier about libraries being assets to individuals rather than to houses. Some of my friends don't give a hoot about the library but most do, I would think. As a child I was always amazed by the variety of people who turned up here to do things to the artefacts. My mother seemed to know instinctively what work required doing and who was the best to do it. In hindsight, she was a sort of prototype curator. And that was a time when most people like her had no idea of these things.....it was always left to someone else. Fortunately, I have rather good contacts with the local library service manager and have a friend who is a librarian by profession so we tend to rely on these types of links and they are primarily social.....certainly I don't have a list of people to contact for eventuality x or eventuality y. My mother used to tell us stories about my grandmother and how she simply couldn't deal with anything remotely domestic. She, my grandmother, was frightfully grand and had no idea about these things and just assumed that they would be attended to by someone else. Unfortunately, I suspect that this attitude still pervades some elements.....but, having said that, there seems to be no obvious route to go down.....no one in particular to turn to.

That leads me on to my next question. Do you feel that the conservation of libraries tends to rely on informal and often ad hoc contacts which may exist in individual cases? Rather than through any formal links with organisations?

Oh yes completely. I suppose that it the crux of your work isn't it.....I mean that there is no formal structure?

Yes.

Of course, I suppose that many owners are wary of anything which appears too official or too formal and that is a problem. By and large we certainly rely on our own contacts and friends and acquaintances in most aspects of this house. But....then.....we are fortunate to have lots of connections in the....I suppose you'd say the art world. I don't know how many house owners are pro-active, we're certainly not. I mean we do enough to get by and things are generally in good nick here but we tend to do work on a reactive basis. In the sense that....well, in the sense that the maintenance or restoration we undertake - across the board, not just the library - tends to be a response to a particular problem or situation. We don't have some grand design for all aspects of the house. I daresay few owners do.

Do you think a formal structure or policy would work?

I don't know that I do. I think it would have to be presented in a very careful manner. I think that guidelines or suggestions or policy recommendations are much better than official policies. There are still a large number of owners who resent what they see as interference from official bodies and groups. I think in many cases, this is a narrow and.....somewhat facile position because, well.....as often as not, these are people who have major problems with their houses and who really do need help. I don't know if this has something to do with stubborn pride or such like. I remember reading that old Lord Salisbury at Hatfield you know, Robert Salisbury's grandfather, was opposed to listing when it was introduced....whenever that was...because it might limit the actions of owners in a given field. I think this attitude is still quite common.....certainly in some cases it is....and listing of anything is still horrendously unpopular...of course, we can't have it both ways....I mean proclaim it to be the national heritage and keep it to ourselves festering away quietly.

Do you see your library as the National Heritage?

No, I'm afraid I don't. I don't see much of what we have here as the national heritage. Only insofar as this is a historic house with historic works in it. But.....well.....that is difficult. We have great treasures here but I tend to see everything here in terms of the history of my family.....I can't judge. Do you see it as part of the national heritage? The library I mean?

Yes, I think I do. In the sense that it is a historic collection with a good selection of material and as part of the history of this house it is....

Ah, well, now that is exactly what I mean.....as part of the history of this house....I think that the house as a whole is part of the national heritage but I don't quite understand how particular elements within it fit into that role because if you remove something from here a large part of its significance is lost. Do you see, things here have added importance because of their links with this house or my family. In any case, for people like us, who don't open terribly much.....I think...I feel that we have a dubious position in this national heritage thing.....because it implies certain public duties and responsibilities. I sometimes think, in cynical moments, that it is all this national heritage stuff is a rather clever wheeze to make private property a public responsibility or at least ensure that public money pays for things. You see, here we are fortunate enough to maintain this property from our own reserves and I honestly think that most owners, if they were in a position to do the same would do it and would not give very much access at all....if any. Yet from what I see if the heritage lobby don't get what they want.....well, shall I say, they are good a whinging and threatening the self-destruction of their inheritance. Many people seem to like the benefits of the system but don't like the formal structures and policies which obviously have to go with it. So, I suppose, in answer to your question which I seem to have evaded like a politician.....I think that formal policy is not a frightfully good idea or rather it is a good idea in theory but its application would be dreadfully difficult and certainly, I daresay, you'd be far more effective using some cosmetic device like recommendations or guidelines or suggested good practice. Does that make sense or am I rambling frightfully?

No, perfect sense, Sir.

I must confess most of my neighbours and friends would think me appalling for uttering these sentiments....but as I say we are fortunate here and they....well....their bank accounts aren't maybe as healthy. I know they are not alone....I mean...all of the cultural world in this country is crying out for cash. I'm involved in the art world and they are just the same. I must say that further to what I was saying...that I do consider this house very much to be a cultural treasure and in that sense I suppose it is part of the national heritage. But national heritage strikes me as a rather socialistic concept implying the rights of the people which we hear so much about. In that respect I'm a bit like old Horton-Fawkes at Farnley Hall.....I like things to be appreciated and used for what they are and not simply seen for the sake of seeing them because they are they. That is not what this house is all about. I suppose I am a bit of aesthete in that respect. Cultural ignorance is ghastly and appals me. Of course, you may say I have a duty as the owner of these things to all the public to see and appreciate and understand. But I don't know that I have and I certainly don't know how.

Do you think the management of your library would benefit from a long term plan, a strategic plan to assist you?

Oh probably it would, but, as I say, we are wholly reactive here with relatively little long term, strategic planning. My son does plan for the estate of course and we keep an eye on the house and deal with major concerns like the roof but for individual items we have no major plan. Well, that's not true we do have a scheme for cleaning paintings which has been going for about fifteen years and is on-going. I suppose that for the library it would make a lot of sense because there are more books than paintings, furniture and ceramics put together. In general I think it is a good idea and certainly would be vital if the collection was in a bad way. I think across the board it would be interesting but as with so much else it all comes down to money. I think that would prove a significant problem for a number of owners.

Would you agree that there is a direct link between funding and access?

You mean public funding?

Yes

That's difficult. Access comes in so many different guises. Well we have about a dozen exempted items in the library....no more than that I think. So we do have some experience in this matter. But that system is terribly cumbersome and I think is becoming frightfully unpopular. I wonder if New Labour are going to tinker with it? But, certainly as far as that is concerned we have to grant access and I'm quite happy with that because the taxation system applies across the board....not just to Lord So-and-So or the Duke of Such-and-Such. And, of course, anyone who applies to me to see anything in this house can certainly come and look. I'm only too willing. Olivia and I have always encouraged that sort of thing because it has always been apparent to both of us that if someone has...well gone to the trouble of finding out that we have something here....be it portrait, chair or book....then they must be reasonably interested and have some appreciation of what its all about. It was the same in my father's day. But....well I'm against a public scrum in this house and certainly against it in the library. The problem as I see lies with grant aid which is such a thorny issue because it looks like rich people getting help at the expense of hospitals and schools and the like. But...well tell me, is there much for libraries?

No, not really apart from the British Library conservation grants...

Yes, I read about that recently. Of course, I would consider applying for funding if it was available. Perhaps, that makes be bad because of my views on national heritage but if the money is available publicly then one would be frightfully stupid to ignore it....and I suppose....that the end result....the corollary would be letting people in. But certainly not any old Tom, Dick or Harry....Isn't the phrase...rather...I believe that the phrase 'reasonable public access' is used in law and that is all right provided one can define reasonable to the satisfaction of all concerned and I really don't know if one can ever do that. There are so many people who carp whatever one does in these instances and say that this rich aristocrat is milking the system and not upholding his end of the bargain. And that is usually absolute rot. I'd be terribly reluctant, no matter how good the scheme appeared, to leave myself open to such attacks...so that might undo my willingness to apply for money. Do you see, that access breeds access and no matter what one does, it is never enough for some people who are fixated by this idea of public money being used to subsidise the upper-class. May be I am suffering from a bunker mentality, d'you think? But generally anyone with a legitimate reason is welcome here. I certainly.....don't want to give anyone free-reign in the library without either my wife or myself being there at the time and that is often not practical. Security of our artefacts is a serious worry. But I expect you'll have heard that one before. I'd like to know who and why before letting anyone in...much as we do just now with the tax exempted works...but that really is once in a blue-moon. I think it would have to controlled and limited to particular types of people. Of course, that is what already happens. The public aren't interested in a 1500 German bible but scholars may be, so....it might just be particular groups...

Yes, I think it would be particular categories of individuals researchers, historians and the like.

Quite, quite.

Do you think that access should only be granted where the material was unavailable elsewhere locally and where the topic being researched is germane to either the house, your family or locality.

Fundamentally, yes. I think there are some interesting points on the question of access - especially, well access in return for funding. I'm not at all sure that I'd want to positively encourage access.....and.....um....certainly not in instances where material here was duplicated elsewhere in the mainstream library system. Of course, there maybe things here which are not available locally and in those

instances I would be quite prepared. But....I don't think I'd be terribly keen on this library becoming an adjunct to the public library system. I'm sure most owners would feel the same. But certainly where there is a legitimate case then, yes, I'd be willing. But there isn't exactly a queue forming along the drive. It all seems a bit.....well a bit academic frankly. There simply aren't stacks of people demanding access. I don't know if there would be if some formal scheme involving funding and access came into play.....though I rather doubt it. In any case, aren't there already libraries which are publicly funded which rather discourage public use? I really do think that access can only be judged in terms of particular cases. Of course one might get involved in a general scheme which allows access but in the individual cases one would need to judge each case on its merits and certainly, I'd like some sort of guarantee about the type of person I was allowing into the library. Its really like the conservation side of things - we would be reactive to particular events and situations not pro-active about encouraging it.

Off the record the access question is almost there as a sop in order to identify the funding question.

Mmmm. Yes I appreciate that but even so it must be carefully thought out because even sops can have dangerous or damaging complications.

I only mention it because it is so inextricably bound to the funding question.

Quite.

The final few questions deal with the idea of a National Register. You may remember in the survey which I sent you dealt with this idea of a National Register of historic libraries similar to the one which exists for archives. This is inherently not part of my research. Advocating a register is neither here nor there for my research but it is quite useful as a piece of follow-up work. If it was created what purpose would you like to see it serve?

By National Register I'm assuming that you mean something akin to the NRA?

Yes.

Do you mean it might include a full catalogue?

No. The evidence which has emerged suggests that a brief description of collection and the number of volumes and subject disciplines not titles of specific books.

Well yes....I suppose this is a good idea but I'm no sure how it would work.....Surely it would have to contain other historic libraries. A National Register of country house collections only would seem a rather futile and repetitive exercise and I doubt if many owners would welcome it. I think it would need to be somewhat broader in its remit. Having said that I think that to have a national register in which country house libraries could be included would be a good idea. I'm not so sure about a register which only included country house libraries. That would open us, as a group, to some unacceptable pressures and demands and I think would single us out in a way which we would not necessarily want. Especially...especially when you bear in mind that most collections are not unique and are certainly incapable of dealing with heavy demands....If it placed too much of an emphasis on access for the wrong reasons.....simply allowing people to demand access because it is there and because it identifies the collection....well I'm against that. Equally with the tax card....I think that it would be unfortunate if the tax relief issue is used to encourage rather than simply provide access. I wonder what is going to happen with this issue. Everything here is after all my private property and although we have relief on some items and benefit from certain tax breaks these are open to everyone. ..It might be that....I'm not.....well.....participation on a register would be a good thing but I would be wholly opposed to it being used to signify access automatically. And certainly, there would have to strict limitations on the data and who it was exposed to. I do think.....this is, as I've said, a bit of an empty threat or perhaps a foolish worry on my part because the public aren't clamouring for access to the books.....I mean how many use there

public libraries....These things....registers....can be terribly effective and successful. The NRA has not created any significant problem and something modelled on that would be useful. We have worked for years with the Courtauld on our paintings and a number are used through the Bridgeman. Its terribly good. So something similar for books might work.

What about listing?

What? A library list or designating them as national heritage?

Designating them as national...

Oh no. I'm absolutely opposed to that in any shape or form. As long as the items here remain my property them I want to be free to do with them as I choose without consulting some official in London. Although I view much of what we have here as sacrosanct to this house, I don't want to ever be in the position of having my hands tied by others.....Nor do I think that the receipt of public money is concomitant to designating works as 'national heritage'. They are private property whatever....I wholeheartedly disapproved of the creation of these pseudo-public entails. I think that our libraries importance is the sum of its part not as individual items. It is part of this history of this house and my family and as such it is my inheritance to do with as I see fit. Admittedly I add to the library and don't sell but I don't want so chappy in Whitehall telling me that I can never sell x, y or z. That is simply not on!

Thank you very much indeed.

END OF INTERVIEW.

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

APPENDIX VII

*Summary of rôle of Capital Taxes Office and Royal Commission
on Historic Manuscripts*

APPENDIX VII

Summary of rôle of Capital Taxes Office and Royal Commission on Historic Manuscripts

This appendix examines the functions of two organisations which are referred to on a number of occasions in the main text. These are, firstly, the Capital Taxes Office which is responsible for the administration of the Conditional Exemption scheme and, secondly, the Royal Commission on Historic Manuscripts which is responsible for the administration of the National Register of Archives.

1. Capital Taxes Office in connection with Conditionally Exempt works of Art

The following outline is a summary of the Inland Revenue Guidelines for allowing the public to view tax exempt works of art as outlined in the publication IR156 (1996)

The general public possesses a right to view certain tax exempt works of art and other objects which are privately owned. These privately owned works of art and other objects, which are broadly part of our national heritage,¹ may be exempt from certain taxes on capital, including inheritance tax.

In return for exemption the owner must:-

- keep the object in the United Kingdom
- look after it
- allow the public reasonable access to it

If the owner fails to do any of these things, the exemption is lost, and the owner then has to pay any tax due.

Public Access

Some tax exempt objects are displayed in museums and houses open to the public. However, other objects can be viewed only by appointment, and they are listed on a Register.

The Register

The register is a computerised list of tax exempt objects which allows the general public to find out what they have a right to see. It gives a description of each object, and the name and address of a contact point. It also gives the broad location, usually the county, where particular objects can be viewed.

A wide variety of things are included:-

- books and manuscripts
- clocks, watches and scientific instruments
- European ceramics and glass
- furniture
- jewellery
- metalwork and silver
- Oriental ceramics
- paintings
- prints and drawings
- sculpture
- textiles

Because the Register is computerised it is possible to look up objects in several different ways. For example, the enquirer can find out if there are any paintings by an individual artist kept in a particular

part of the country by entering the artist's name and the location. It is also possible to build a list of specific types of object, for example, chairs by Chippendale.

Access to Objects

If an enquirer wishes to see a particular object, they should get in touch with the person shown in the Register as the contact point to arrange to view it. The contact point may be an agent for the owner, for example a solicitor. As a security precaution, enquirers may be asked for proof of identity.

The contact point may make a reasonable charge for viewing objects on the Register.² The item may be photographed with the prior consent of the owner.

Definition of Reasonable Access

The general public have a right to reasonable access to see objects on the Register. What constitutes reasonable access will depend on the facts of each case but in general:-

- where the object is on short term loan to a public collection, the contact point must tell the enquirer the address or telephone number of the curator of the collection and when the loan will end.
- in other cases, the enquirer should either be allowed viewing on the day convenient to the enquirer, or be given the choice of viewing between 10am and 4pm on any one of at least three weekdays and two Saturdays or Sundays in the following four weeks.

Individuals can, of course, agree with the point of contact an alternative viewing arrangement.

Failure to Provide Reasonable Access

If it is deemed that the contact point has failed to give reasonable access, the Capital Taxes Office should be informed, in writing, giving full details of the situation, at:-

Capital Taxes Office (CTO)

Heritage Section
Ferrers House
PO Box 38
Castle Meadow Road
Nottingham
NG2 1BB
Telephone: 0115 974 2490

The Capital Taxes Office is then obliged to take the matter up with the relevant point of contact.

Viewing the Register

The Register can be viewed at the following locations:-

The National Art Library

The Victoria and Albert Museum
South Kensington
London
SW7 2RL
Telephone: 0171 938 8315

The National Library of Scotland

George IV Bridge
Edinburgh
EH1 1EW
Telephone: 0131 226 4531

The National Museum of Wales

Cathays Park
Cardiff
CF1 3NP

Telephone: 01222 397951

The Ulster Museum

Botanic Gardens

Belfast

BT9 5AB

Telephone: 01232 383000

or on the Internet at <http://www.cto.eds.co.uk/>

Copies of the full register can also be purchased in either Access or ASCII format.

2. The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts

The Commission was appointed by Royal Warrant dated 2nd April 1869. Its terms of reference were revised and extended by a further Royal Warrant given on 5th December 1959. The aims of the Royal Commission are:-

- To make enquiry as to the existence and location of manuscripts, including records or archives of all kinds, of value for the study of history, other than records which are for the time being Public records by virtue of the Public Records Act.
- With the consent of the owners or custodians to inspect and report upon these.
- To record the particulars of such manuscripts and records in a National Register thereof.
- To promote and assist the proper preservation and storage of such manuscripts and records.
- To assist those wishing to use such manuscripts or records for study or research.
- To consider and advise upon general questions relating to the location, preservation and use of such manuscripts and records.
- To promote the co-ordinated action of all professional and other bodies concerned with the preservation and use of such manuscripts and records.
- To carry out in place of the Public Record Office the statutory duties of the Master of the Rolls in respect of manorial and tithe documents.

The Commission has offices in Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London and is open Monday to Friday from 9.30 am until 5 pm. Reader's tickets or letters of introduction are not required to visit the Commission's search rooms, but visitors and researchers are required to complete an admission form the first time they visit, thereafter simply signing the visitors' book every day. The search room is staffed on a rota basis by professional staff who have a wide knowledge of the Registers. The duty Curatorial officer will explain the Registers to visitors when you first arrive. Free leaflets explaining the Commission and its activities, the National Register of Archives and the Manorial Documents Register are available in the search room and can also be posted on request. There are also free information sheets on a range of research topics.

Visitors have access to all the public information in the Commission's computer system, and may study and take notes from all the catalogues and reference books on open access. The Commission, however, cannot accept liability for the use made by readers of any of the information copied. As it does not own the copyright in the finding aids or published works in the search room, it cannot supply photocopies of them. In some cases the senders of the lists may be willing to supply copies. Their addresses are usually on the first page of each list.

The National Register of Archives

The National Register of Archives (NRA) consists of more than 41,000 unpublished lists of major manuscript collections, approximately 150,000 lists of miscellaneous and minor collections, and about 5,000 published finding aids and repositories' annual reports. Copies of lists in the National Register of Archives (Scotland) are also held. They are arranged archivally rather than thematically. Therefore it is possible to conduct a specific search for the records of a company but not the Second World War. Groups of records whose provenance cannot be identified in a major reference source are not indexed. The indexes are available on-line. You may access the National Register of Archives database directly by telnet (public.hmc.gov.uk) or via the Commission's website (<http://www.hmc.gov.uk/>). The terminal emulation to VT220 and login 'public'. There is no password. Other web pages provide information on the Commission's advisory and liaison work, publications and a wide range of archival and historical source material.

Associated Services

To assist with obtaining access to the papers described in the Registers, the RCHM publish a directory of record office addresses and opening hours, and local Record Repositories in Great Britain. In addition, there are published guides to sources described in the Registers, and calendars of particular collections. A list of those in print is available on request. These can be purchased through HMSO Bookshops, or from HMSO Publications Centre. The Royal Commission also provides advice on any other aspect of the care and use of historical records. It provides specialist advice to owners, custodians, government agencies, grant-awarding bodies and professional associations. The Royal Commission also publishes a series of free advisory memoranda concerning archives and manuscripts.

¹ The Inland Revenue does not provide a definition of what 'national heritage' is.

² No guidelines have been issued to define what a reasonable charge might be.

APPENDIX VIII

List of accredited Bookbinders and Conservers

APPENDIX VIII

Indicative List of accredited Bookbinders and Conservers

This list is not intended to be comprehensive, nor should any inference be drawing from inclusion or omission from this list. Rather it is an indicative sample of professionals involved in the bookbinding or restoration trades. These typify the bookbinders and conservers likely to be recommended by organisation such as NADFAS.

Further details may be found in:-

Middleton, Bernard C. *Restoration of Leather Bindings*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 1998, Revised Edition.

United Kingdom Institute for Conservation

6, Whitehorse Mews,
Westminster Bridge Road,
LONDON,
W14 8AJ.

Barbel Bookbinding Limited

Unit D2, Alladin Workspace,
426, Long Drive,
Greenford,
UXBRIDGE,
UB6.

The Bayntun-Riviere Bindery

Manvers Street,
BATH,
BA1 1JW.

Bell Books Limited

16, Junction Road,
Ealing,
LONDON,
NJ7 8LJ.

Cedric Chivers Limited,

9a/9b, Aldermoor Way,
Longwell Green
BRISTOL,
BS15 7DA.

Fairfax Bookbinders Limited

101, Farm Lane,
LONDON,
SW6 1QJ.

Keele Bookbinding *

Contact:

Mark Jukes,
Manager, Keele Bookbinding & Library Services
Keele University,

STAFFORD,
ST5 5BG.
Telephone: 01782 583639

* Although part of the university, the department will undertake outside work.

Alfred Maltby and Sons Limited
28 & 30, St Michaels Street,
OXFORD,
OX1 2EB.

Marba Booking
63, Jeddo Road,
LONDON,
W12 9EE.

Period Bookbinders
Lower Bristol Road,
Twerton,
BATH,
BA2 9ES.

Remploy Bookbinding Division,
1, Boston Road,
Beaumont Leys,
LEICESTER,
LE4 1BB.

Riley, Dunn and Wilson,
Glasgow Road,
Camelon,
FALKIRK,
FK1 4HP.

F. Sangorski & G. Sutcliffe Limited
175r, Bermondsey Street,
LONDON,
SE1 3UW.

University of Birmingham Bookbinding & Conservation Department *

Contact:

Rodney Hobbs,
Manager, Bookbinding & Conservation Department,
Aitchison Building,
The University of Birmingham,
Edgbaston,
BIRMINGHAM,
B15 2TT.

Telephone: 0121 414 5799 Fax: 0121 414 7453 E-mail: r.hobbs@bham.ac.uk

* Although part of the university, the department will undertake outside work.

Wyvern Bindery
Unit 052,
31, Clerkenwell Close,
LONDON,
EC1R 0AT.

APPENDIX IX

List of contents of Disaster Control Boxes

APPENDIX IX

Contents of Disaster Boxes

Protective Clothing

Waterproof coats and trousers
Wellington Boots
Plastic safety helmets
Plastic Aprons
Cotton gloves

Salvage Equipment

Mops
Mop Buckets
Squeegees
Plastic Buckets
Polythene Sheets
Polythene Rolls
Fans (at least two)
String
Lamps / Torches
J Cloths
Sponges
Crepe Bandages
White Blotting Paper (various Sizes to A3)
Newsprint (Various Sizes to A3)
Kitchen Roll
Cling Film
Scissors
Clear Polythene Bags
Adhesive Tapes (in dispenser)
Rubbish Bins

Recording Material

Clipboards
Pens and Pencils
Notepads
Paper clips (brass or plastic)
Labels (tie on not adhesive)
Polaroid Camera
Dictaphone (as a more efficient method of recording what material is going where)

APPENDIX X

Useful Internet Sites

APPENDIX X

Useful Internet Sites

EUROPEAN HOUSES WITH AN INTERNET PRESENCE

Schloß Arolsen - Fürstlich Waldeck'sche Hofbibliothek

<http://www.hrz.uni-kassel.de/bib/sonstiges/bibl2.html#Arolsen>

Schloß, 34454 Arolsen;

Leitung/Ansprechpartner: Herr Dr. Wiedemann, Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel.

Tel.: 05 61/804 - 73 40;

Erwerbungsmittel 1994: keine Angabe.

Bestand: ca. 35.000 Bände;

Personal: nebenamtliche Leitung;

Öffnungszeiten: nicht öffentlich zugänglich;

Besonderheiten: Benutzung der Bibliothek über die Handschriftenabteilung der Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel, die Bücher sind im Katalog der Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel verzeichnet und können mittels Leihschein aus Arolsen bestellt werden.

Geschichte/Literatur: Fürstliche Hofbibliothek mit den Schwerpunkten Militaria und Reiseliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts.

The Library of the Princes of Waldeck and Pyrmont located at Schloß Arolsen. The Waldecks were a Reigning Sovereign House until 1918.

Donauschingen - Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek

<http://www.csbsju.edu/hmml/resources/microfilm/germany/do-furs.html>

Library of the Princes of Fürstenberg located at Schloß Donauschingen. The Fürstenbergs are Mediatized Sovereign Princes of the Holy Roman Empire (reigning until 1805).

Fürstlich zu Waldburg-Wolfegg'sche Bibliothek Wolfegg

<http://www.swbv.uni-konstanz.de/wwwroot/bibinfo/kn-wo-fw.html>

Bibliothekname:

Fürstlich zu Waldburg-Wolfegg'sche Bibliothek

Adresse:

Schloß

88364 Wolfegg,

Postfach 52 , PLZ: 88362

Telefon:

Allgemein: (07527)968-0

Auskunft: (07527)968-257

Telefax:

Allgemein: (07527)69-258

Library of the Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg located at Schloß Wolfegg. The Waldburg-Wolfeggs are Mediatized Sovereign Princes of the Holy Roman Empire (reigning until 1805).

**Schloß Harburg - Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek
(Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg)**

<http://www.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/oew.html>

Mit Vertrag vom 13. Februar 1980 zwischen dem Freistaat Bayern und dem Fürstenhaus Oettingen-Wallerstein ging eine wertvolle Privatbibliothek in öffentliches Eigentum über. Durch Beschluß des Haushaltsausschusses des Bayerischen Landtags vom 30. Jan. 1980 wurde als Standort die Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg bestimmt. Der Kaufpreis betrug 40 Mio DM, von denen im Rahmen des Aufbaus des Büchergrundbestands (Hochschulbauförderungsgesetz) der Bund die Hälfte übernahm. Nicht in den Kauf einbezogen waren die eigentlichen "Oettingiana", das sind die Buch- und Archivbestände zur Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses und seines Territoriums, die als "Oettingische Bibliothek" auf Schloß Harburg verblieben.

Library of the Princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein located at Schloß Harburg. The Oettingen-Wallersteins are Mediatized Sovereign Princes of the Holy Roman Empire (reigning until 1805). The library was purchased, in 1980, by the University of Augsburg but remains *in situ* at Schloß Harburg.

Fürstlich Waldburg-Zeil'sche Bibliothek Leutkirch

<http://www.swbv.uni-konstanz.de/wwwroot/bibinfo/kn-zl-fw.html>

Bibliotheksname:

Fürstlich zu Waldburg-Zeil'sche Bibliothek

Adresse:

Schloß Zeil,
88299 Leutkirch.

Library of the Princes of Waldburg-Zeil and Trauchberg located at Schloß Zeil bei Leutkirch. The Waldburg-Zeils are Mediatized Sovereign Princes of the Holy Roman Empire (reigning until 1805).

USEFUL BRITISH INTERNET SITES

Boughton House [Website, available at] <http://www.boughtonhouse.org.uk/>

Broughton Hall [Website available at] <http://www.broughtonhall.co.uk/>

Castle Howard. [Website available at] <http://www.castlehoward.co.uk/>

Country Life. [Website available at] <http://www.countrylife.co.uk/>

Department of Culture, Media and Sport [Website available at] <http://www.open.gov.uk/dcms/>

English Heritage [Website available at] <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>

Goodwood. [Website available at] <http://www.goodwood.co.uk/>

Heritage Lottery Fund. [Website available at] <http://www.hlf.org.uk/>

Historic Houses Association. [Website available at] <http://www.hha.org.uk/>

Longleat House. [Website available at] <http://www.longleat.co.uk/>

SAVE Britain's Heritage [Website available at] <http://www.savebritainsheritage.org/>

Traquair House. [Website available at] <http://www.traquair.co.uk/>

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Duff of Meldrum Library Collection and Catalogue.

BRITISH LIBRARY

Lumley MSS. Additional MSS 5852, Folio 174. Papers of 1st Baron Lumley.

KENT RECORD OFFICE

Thanet-Tufton MSS. Papers of the Tufton Family, Earls of Thanet.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Suffolk MSS 215/62. Papers of the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk.

TISSINGTON HALL, DERBYSHIRE

Private Correspondence relating to the Library amongst the FitzHerbert Papers (courtesy of Sir Richard FitzHerbert, Bart.)

WEST SUSSEX RECORD OFFICE

Richmond MSS. Papers of the Lennox Family, Dukes of Richmond and Gordon.

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