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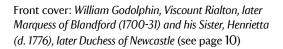
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'To light up a flame of cheerfulness' - Mary Elizabeth Lucy of Charlecote and her harps, by Yvonne Lewis





LIGHTING UP THE WALLS

Portraits of 18th-Century Beauties at Cliveden in the 1890s

Tom Boggis, formerly NT Curator, London & South East, now Senior Curator, Holburne Museum, Bath

hen Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1st Duke of Westminster (1825-99) sold the Cliveden estate, Buckinghamshire, in 1893 to the American millionaire William Waldorf Astor (1848-1919), Queen Victoria was not amused. On hearing the news, she wrote immediately to the Duke from Italy, rebuking him for spending too much money on his other properties and bemoaning his choice of purchaser for Cliveden.¹

Lord Ronald Gower (1845-1916), by contrast, was more generous. His mother Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland (1806-68), had rebuilt the house and laid out the gardens at Cliveden from 1849. His sister Constance (1834-80), the wife of the 1st Duke of Westminster, had maintained and nurtured their mother's creation during the 1870s. Lord Ronald visited W.W. Astor at Cliveden in 1895 and 1897 and recorded his thoughts in his diary. The place clearly conjured up emotions and memories for Lord Ronald, but he admired the new owner's improvements and complimented him on them.

Lord Ronald particularly noted the changes to the entrance hall on his visit in 1897:

'The hall and staircase are quite transformed, the walls and ceilings lined



2. *Mary Horneck*, Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), c. 1775, oil on canvas, 127 x 100 cm



1. The Hall at Cliveden today, with the 'Art of War' tapestries displayed on the south wall

with splendidly carved panelling, and a superb row of half-length portraits of five ladies lights up the walls, by Romney and Sir Joshua. Mrs Bunbury's beautiful face, by Reynolds, is excellent; next to her hangs a fine Romney of Mrs Chaplin. Next is Lady Hamilton, in a queer-shaped bonnet, by Romney – not so beautiful as most of his representations of "Nelson's Enchantress." Next to her is the famous seated portrait, in Turkish costume, by Sir Joshua of Mary Horneck - afterwards Mrs Gwynn – "the Jessamy Bride," whatever that may mean, and the fifth is a fine portrait by Sir Joshua of Miss Kennedy.'

W.W. Astor's architects for his alterations at Cliveden were John Loughborough Pearson and his son Frank. They created the large, dark, panelled hall leading to a staircase decorated with figures from Cliveden's history carved by W.S. Frith. The Hall is in essence unchanged today, and on entering it visitors are presented with a view of three Brussels 'Art of War' tapestries of military scenes dating from 1705-15 (Fig. 1).³ They bear the arms of the 1st Earl of Orkney (1666-1737), the Duke of Marlborough's second-in-command

at Blenheim in 1704 and the owner of the Cliveden estate from 1696.

The tapestries are rare survivals from similar sets belonging to six generals who served with Marlborough. They derive from tapestries owned by the Duke at Blenheim Palace, which commemorate his victories in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14). They are rarer still as



3. *Unknown Woman*, by George Romney, known as 'Emma as a Welsh Girl', photographed around the time of its appearance in an auction sale in 1964

objects from Lord Orkney which remain at Cliveden. They were recorded as being in the house in 1734 and 1792.⁴ The tapestries left Cliveden at an unknown date,



4. Mrs Bunbury, mezzotint engraving after Joshua Reynolds, by James Watson (1740-90), 1778. Nunnington Hall, Yorkshire

thought to be around the time of the 1795 fire which devastated the house. Fortuitously surviving this fire, and avoiding a second fire in 1849 during the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland's first year of ownership of Cliveden, the tapestries were reunited with the house by W.W. Astor by chance. They were purchased by Astor in Paris in the 1890s, apparently without his realising their connection to Cliveden. They have remained where W.W. Astor placed them in the Hall ever since, untouched by his daughter-in-law Nancy's refurnishing of the house in the early 20th century. The

tapestries were given to the National Trust with the house by the 2nd Viscount Astor, Nancy's husband, in 1942.

Lord Ronald Gower's account of the Hall in 1897 records W.W. Astor's furnishing of the room before the addition of the tapestries. Inventory evidence for the historic furnishing and hang of the Hall is sparse.



5. Portrait of Elizabeth Taylor, Mrs. Charles Chaplin by George Romney (English, 1734-1802), 1781. Oil on canvas. Courtesy Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, Julian Wood Glass Jr. Collection

There are copies of some historical images in the National Trust's archive on Cliveden,5 some of which are of unknown or uncertain date. A number of the historical images are either positively or tentatively dated to 1904; of these, some show the room with tapestries and show portraits others in their place. The 'Art of War' tapestries were certainly hanging in the Hall by the time of *Country* Life's photography of the house in 1912. In so far as it is possible to draw firm conclusions from

the images, it would appear that the walls were hung with portraits from the time of the Hall's completion architecturally by the Pearsons between Lord Ronald's visits in 1895⁶ and 1897 until the tapestries were added at some point around the turn of the century.

New research into the images has revealed the identities of Astor's choice of portraits for his first short-lived scheme for the room. The five ladies described by Lord Ronald are currently solely represented in the remaining National Trust collection at Cliveden by the portrait of Mary Horneck (*c*.1752-1840), later Mrs Francis Gwyn, by Joshua Reynolds (Fig. 2).⁷ The sitter is shown unusually, and somewhat daringly, seated on the ground in Eastern dress and wearing a turban. The writer Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74) was a

friend of the Horneck family and he referred to the young Mary as the 'Jessamy Bride', a term of uncertain origin. 'Jessamy' may be derived from 'jasmine', and it could mean those who wore jasmine or other scents. Reynolds was also a family friend and he painted Mary for pleasure rather than as a commissioned portrait, retaining the completed painting until his death and bequeathing it to the sitter. His depiction of her in fanciful Turkish dress adds to the exoticism of the title by which the sitter was known, and may be related to it. Following the exhibition of the portrait at the Royal Academy in 1775, Reynolds adapted the pose and style for subsequent commissions.⁸ The portrait of Mary Horneck was given to the National Trust by the Astor family in 1994.⁹

Of the remaining ladies mentioned by Lord Ronald, Mrs Bunbury (Fig. 4) is Catherine Horneck (1754-98), Mary's sister. She married the caricaturist Henry William Bunbury (1750-1811) in 1771 and was painted by Reynolds in 1773. Catherine is depicted in a more conventional pose, dress and setting than those of her sister, but there is a common thread of orientalism between the portraits. Catherine is shown wearing two 'Turkish' scarves, one at her neck and the other around her waist. Both portraits passed by descent through the Bunbury family, from whom W.W. Astor bought them.¹⁰

Mrs Chaplin is Elizabeth Taylor, painted by George Romney in 1781 (Fig. 5). The most striking feature of the likeness is the frosty expression with which the sitter faces the pendant portrait of her betrothed, Charles Chaplin (1759-1816). Both portraits were painted by Romney in the year of the couple's marriage. Their unhappy expressions and the lack of harmony in the pair of portraits - Miss Taylor is painted seated in a landscape, Mr Chaplin is standing in an interior - do not seem to bode for a happy marriage. The portraits became separated around the time of W.W. Astor's purchase of the female portrait only.11 The portrait of Mrs Chaplin was captured in the Country Life photography of the Drawing Room at Cliveden in 1912, incorrectly attributed to Gainsborough in the accompanying description.12 Mrs Chaplin's portrait left the Astor collection in the 20th century and is now in the collection of the Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, Winchester, Virginia.¹³

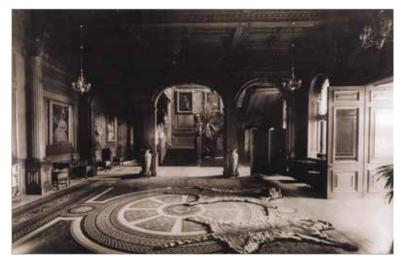
Lord Ronald's description of the portrait of Lady Hamilton has previously been linked tentatively to Romney's *Unknown Woman*, known as 'Emma as a Welsh Girl' (Fig. 3). The painting has not been traced, but it is known from late 19th- and early 20th-century descriptions and catalogues. The title 'Emma as a Welsh Girl' dates from the late 19th century, and comes from the supposed identification of the sitter as Emma Hart and from associations made between Wales and the curious bonnet noted by Lord Ronald, none of which are proven. The hat is in fact thought to be typical of a style widely fashionable in the late 1780s. Hemma Hart (*c.*1765-1815), later Lady Hamilton and Nelson's mistress, was the much-painted muse of

Romney: she appears in over 30 paintings and many sketches by him. The historical images confirm that this portrait was at Cliveden. It is shown in an undated photograph of the Hall during W.W. Astor's time next to Mrs Chaplin near the bottom of the stairs (Fig. 6), and in 1912 the portrait appears in another of *Country Life*'s images of the Drawing Room.

The portrait of the final lady in the 1897 description, Miss Kennedy, has not been identified in the historical images examined to date of the Hall. However, she does appear in a photograph of the adjoining Library in 1912 (Fig. 7). Here, the grouping of French royal portraiture above the book-presses is interrupted by the slightly incongruous appearance of a British 18thcentury Society portrait hung prominently over the fireplace. The portrait is Polly Kennedy by Reynolds (Fig. 8), a celebrated courtesan and the mistress of Sir Charles Bunbury (1740-1821).15 Reynolds received the commission from Sir Charles and correspondence, records of sittings and payments exist for this painting between 1770 and 1772. Sir Charles was the brother of Henry Bunbury, the husband of Catherine Horneck. Miss Kennedy's portrait shares with the Horneck portraits elements of Eastern taste in her robe and headdress and was bought by Astor from the same source.16

If Lord Ronald's description of the sequence of the five ladies is taken as accurate, then for the arrangement to seem most successful visually it would make sense for him to be describing the hang of the south wall starting with Mrs Bunbury at the west end nearest the stairs and ending with Miss Kennedy at the east end nearest the fireplace (if he had described the portraits from east to west, then Miss Kennedy would stand out for having her back to the other ladies). The historical images show that the portraits appear to have moved position within the room fairly regularly, not always appearing in the order described in 1897. For example,





at some point Mrs Bunbury was moved to the east end of the wall, near the fireplace. She is shown here throughout the early 20th century, ¹⁷ possibly hung with the portrait of her sister Mary in what aesthetically and conceptually seems to have been a natural pairing.

One further portrait of a woman, not mentioned in Lord Ronald's description, appears in an image of the Hall in an album dated 1904 (Fig. 9). ¹⁸ The portrait hangs on the south wall, immediately to the west of the door to what is now the Library. The portrait appears to be the same three-quarter length format and size as

6. The Hall, facing west. Image of uncertain date and source, before the 'Art of War' tapestries were hung in the room. The portrait which Lord Ronald Gower described as Lady Hamilton by Romney is on the far left. The next portrait to the right is Mrs Chaplin by Romney



the others; the sitter is shown looking to her left and holding her right hand to her face. This appears to be a portrait of Sarah, Lady Young (1753-91) by Romney (Fig. 10). 19 The painting was untraced until recently: it appeared at auction in Philadelphia earlier this year. 20 The historical photograph of the portrait at Cliveden suggests that the painting was bought by W.W. Astor to join his other images of female beauty in the Hall at Cliveden.

W.W. Astor's historicising architecture of the Hall was complemented throughout the 20th century by a concentration in this space of royal portraiture and portraits of past owners and tenants of Cliveden.²¹ Along with the returned tapestries, they created a visual display of Cliveden's long and distinguished

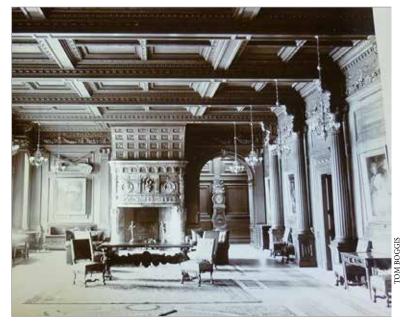
7. The Library in 1912. Miss Kennedy by Reynolds hangs over the fireplace

8. Miss Kennedy, mezzotint engraving after Joshua Reynolds by Thomas Watson (1750-81), 1771 ownership. W.W. Astor's grouping of portraits of 18th-century women in this room in the 1890s adds a new dimension to our understanding of the aesthetic he was attempting to create in this, the first interior space encountered by visitors to Cliveden.

Astor joins a long list of late 19th- and early 20th-century collectors to whom 18th-century British portraiture appealed. Perhaps the most striking parallel is with Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839-98). The Baron's Room at Waddesdon Manor was hung with portraits of some of the most famous 18th-century beauties by some of Britain's most celebrated portraitists – Elizabeth Sheridan, Mrs Robinson and Lady Hamilton by Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney, to name a few.²² Both Astor and Rothschild were descended from self-made men of business. Both inherited enormous wealth and chose to make Britain their home. They settled in 'old' England, building and collecting on grand scales and entering the highest echelons of British aristocratic society.

Astor and Rothschild had eclectic tastes. Both collected French 18th-century decorative art, although in Astor's case it was diluted by an equal, if not greater, love of Italy. Juxtaposed with this was the display of their paintings of beauties, epitomes of 18th-century British art. Interestingly, both were widowers. Ferdinand de Rothschild's wife Evelina died in childbirth in 1866, in the first year of their marriage. Devastated, Ferdinand never remarried and went on to purchase and build Waddesdon alone from 1874 (although his sister Alice was a strong presence in his life and influence on Waddesdon). William Waldorf Astor's wife, Mary, died in 1894, the year following their purchase of Cliveden, after 16 years of marriage and leaving four young children. He also did not marry again and carried out his improvements and embellishment of Cliveden on his own.

The Baron's Room at Waddesdon was used by Ferdinand as his private study and sitting room. Here, surrounded by these paragons of painted female beauty and superb French furniture, he would relax. In a photograph of 1897 he is shown doing exactly that, seated in a low upholstered armchair, newspaper on his knee and his favourite poodle, Poupon, dozing at his feet.23 It is tempting to think of Astor doing the same, surrounded by his own beauties, in the Hall at Cliveden in the same year. The Hall was a more public space than Ferdinand's Baron's Room - it was the principal reception room at Cliveden, although it was used for informal occasions too, such as afternoon tea. One of the undated historical images of Cliveden shows a man, assumed to be W.W. Astor, in a corner of the Hall hung with tapestry, sitting in much the same relaxed attitude as Ferdinand de Rothschild: reading a newspaper, in one of Astor's Italian highbacked needlework chairs, next to the 16th-century carved stone chimneypiece from Burgundy which he installed in the room.



- 1. Jonathan Marsden et al, Cliveden, National Trust guidebook, 2001, p. 36.
- Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower, Old Diaries 1881-1901, London, 1902, p. 300. Entry written at Cliveden on Sunday 16 May 1897.
- 3. NT 766287.1-3. See online catalogue entries at www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk for full cataloguing by Helen Wyld.
- 4. Ibid., and Cliveden (see note 1), p. 87.
- 5. At the National Trust office at Saunderton, Buckinghamshire.
- 6. 'Within [the house at Cliveden], little is changed, although the entrancehall is to be altered...', June 1895. Gower, op. cit., p. 248.
- 7. NT 766137. See D. Mannings, Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings, London, 2000, catalogue number 936, pp. 263-4.
- 8. For example, portrait of Frances Molesworth, later Marchioness Camden, 1777. The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, California, object number 24:32. See online catalogue entry at emuseum.huntington. org, accessed 23 August 2017.
- O. Kennedy & F. Macalister, Cliveden: Conservation Management Plan, Collection and Archives Gazetteer Volume 3, 2010, entry NT/CLI/P/38.
- 10. Mannings, op. cit., catalogue number 278, p. 111.
- A. Kidson, George Romney: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings, London, 2015, catalogue number 1273, pp. 566-7 and catalogue number 228, p. 122.
- 12. 'Cliveden II. Bucks. The seat of Mr Waldorf Astor', *Country Life*, 14 December 1912.
- 13. Museum of the Shenandoah Valley accession number 0148.
- 14. Kidson, op. cit., catalogue number 1651, p. 747.
- 15. ed. M. Postle, Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity, London, 2005, p. 236.
- 16. Mannings, op. cit., catalogue number 1033, p. 286.
- Including in photography held by Getty Images (www.gettyimages.co.uk, accessed 7 December 2015).
- 18. NT 766068.1
- Kidson, op. cit., catalogue number 1476, p. 657 and H. Ward & W. Roberts, Romney: A Biographical and Critical Essay with a Catalogue Raisonné of his Works. London. 1904. vol. 2, p. 177.
- 20. Freeman's, Philadelphia, 12 June 2017, lot 76. I am very grateful to Alex Kidson for this information.
- 21. Cliveden: Conservation Management Plan (see note 9), entries for Hall paintings
- 22. S. Schwartz, The Waddesdon Companion Guide, 2003, p. 46-7.
- 23. Ibid., p.44

9. The Hall, facing east. Image from an album dated 1904. The portrait of Lady Young by Romney is on the far right. To the left, on the other side of the doorway to the Library, is Mrs Bunbury by Reynolds



10. *Lady Young*, by George Romney (1734-1802), 1788-90. Oil on canvas, 127 x 102 cm

Santina Margaret Levey FSA, BA Hons, D.Litt 1938-2017

Santina Levey, known simply as Tina by all her friends, died on 26 August 2017. A service was held at the Quaker Meeting House in Leicester on 15 September, where her family, friends and colleagues shared their personal memories of Tina.

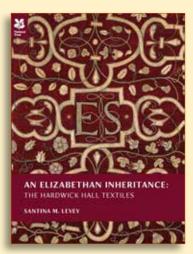
Tina was born in Nottinghamshire, the second daughter of three, but at the outbreak of the Second World War moved to Leicester with her family. Her younger sister, Mariette, reports that whilst her school teachers recognised her obvious intelligence and artistic aptitude, they were baffled by her inventive spelling and atrocious handwriting! This did not stop

her - she studied History at Leeds University, and gained a post-graduate qualification in education in Leicester. She taught for a short time before beginning her museum career in Northampton. Here she also learnt to make lace, a subject that fascinated her all her life and on which she later wrote a complete and authoritative study, Lace: A History (1983). In this book she describes all kinds of lace techniques and styles, posing and answering the questions: Why did all these varieties of lace develop as they did? When were they first made? Who made them? How were they marketed? Who bought them and wore them? Her other books include Le Pompe 1559: Patterns for Venetian Bobbin Lace (1983), History of the Honiton Lace Industry (1992), and more recently Fine & Fashionable: Lace from the Blackborne Collection (2006) - at that time she was instrumental in seeing the collection installed and exhibited in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle.

From Northampton Tina moved to Norwich, where she was responsible for three buildings on medieval foundations, a church, and two museums, before winning an open competition for a research post in the Department of Textiles at the Victoria & Albert Museum. Her specialist areas of study were embroidery, lace and other non-woven textile techniques. She worked in the department for 20 years, becoming Keeper of Textiles from 1981 to 1989. Following what we would now call an organisational review, she and other senior colleagues were regrettably made redundant, but her passion for her subject never failed her. She became an independent scholar, travelling widely and continuing to write.

For fifty years Tina lived in London, but never forgot her country roots. She bought a tiny cottage in Otley, Yorkshire, where she could escape and write in relative peace, returning to Leicester only when she became ill.

The National Trust will be forever indebted to her for her long interest in and scholarly research into the textile



collections at Hardwick Hall. She was a frequent visitor at the Textile Conservation Studio in Norfolk, where work was being undertaken on the embroideries from Hardwick. Here she was able to examine in detail the materials used in their making, and she was always receptive to new discoveries and new evidence. In 1998 she wrote An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles, and in 2001 Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick (co-authored with Peter Thornton). All this eventually culminated in The Embroideries at Hardwick Hall: A Catalogue, published by the National

Trust in 2007; Tina's research was an important contribution to *Hardwick Hall: A Great Old Castle of Romance* (David Adshead and David Taylor, eds., 2016).

In 2002 Tina began work on the collection of ecclesiastical textiles at Hardwick, which were being conserved by May Berkouwer – it is sad that her research remains unfinished. However, her insights provided guidance in treatment methods, research, and the identification of different styles and sets of vestments, and a way of looking at and making sense of the evidence. The last decade of her life was largely spent in fulfilling the wishes of her close friend and colleague, the clothing historian Janet Arnold, by collaborating with Jenny Tiramani in the series *Patterns of Fashion*, and in setting up and becoming a trustee of the School of Historical Dress.

I first met Tina at the Victoria & Albert Museum in the 1970s when I was a young conservator. Her friendliness and modesty and her listening ear meant that she was eminently approachable. We had many discussions about ethical approaches to treatment, about the language of textiles, and what objects tell us about the people who commissioned or made them. Whilst I was working for the Trust it was she who suggested that I go to the British Museum Print Department to do some research, where I eventually found the original design inspiration for the scenes depicting the story of Tobias and the Angel which make up the 16th-century table carpet at Hardwick. Our last meeting was over tea and cake in her London flat, surrounded by books and papers.

Tina was not only a much-loved and respected scholar of international repute; she was also a thoughtful mentor and a great encourager of others, being endlessly supportive, selfless and generous – and fun to be with. She leaves a lasting legacy in her writing and in her inspiration to us all.

Ksynia Marko, Textile Conservation Adviser, The National Trust

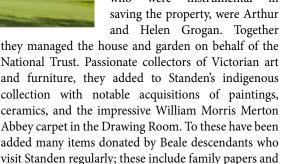
TIME TO STANDEN STARE'

Ben Dale House Manager, and Project Manager

Standen House, West Sussex, was built in the early 1890s by the architect Philip Webb (1831-1915), a friend of William Morris, for a prosperous London solicitor, James Beale, his wife Margaret, and their seven children. The Beales furnished their home with wallpapers, textiles and furniture from Morris & Co., making the house a fine example of the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement in the late 19th century. The

> house and garden passed to the National Trust in 1972, following the death of Helen Beale (1885-1972, the daughter of James and Margaret Beale).

> The first custodians of Standen, who were instrumental



photographs, the grand piano in the Hall, and even Mrs Beale's wedding dress. A family reunion in 2016 was attended by an extraordinary 175 family members from around the world, all of whom shared their memories of the house, garden and estate. When the Trust first took possession of Standen,

the Servants' Wing and most of the first floor were converted into rented flats to fund essential repairs and a conservation programme. The house was opened for

just a few days a week with the help of a handful of volunteers who worked with the Grogans. Now in 2017 the Servants' Wing has been reclaimed, and we have 530 dedicated and enthusiastic volunteers helping a staff team in many different roles across the house, garden and estate all year round. After 40 years of being open to the public, visitor figures have increased from a few thousand in 1977 to 133,000 in 2016, with nearly double the number of visitors over the past five years. This support has helped to make these exciting developments possible.



1. Standen House





The Standen Collection, a Trust New Art project: The opening of the Servants' Wing at Standen House

The Servants' Wing today: The Standen Collection - designs for the future, inspired by the past

The celebrated Arts and Crafts architect and designer Halsey Ricardo (1854-1928) felt that 'the human quality of ... [Standen] lingers with one like a choice flavour'. This year, as part of the property's Trust New Art project, we have been asking our visitors, volunteers and staff exactly what they love about Standen. What is it that makes it so special, and what inspires them in the house, garden and estate? Our appointed artists, Peter Thwaites and Rebecca Aird (designers with Rapture & Wright, a firm based in Gloucestershire who produce hand-printed fabrics and wallpapers), have distilled hundreds of responses to create three designs for wallpaper and textiles that echo the philosophies of the Arts and Crafts movement and the life of the Beale family. The designers used the reclaimed Servants' Wing as their studios, and their designs reflect the integrated experience of house, collection, garden and estate at Standen. The fabrics and wallpapers have been produced at Rapture & Wright using traditional techniques familiar to William Morris and the great designer makers of the Arts and Crafts movement.

The Arts and Crafts movement was one of the most significant design movements of late-19thcentury Britain. At its heart, it was a reaction to industrialisation and the fussy intricacy of Victorian design. It was less a style than an approach to design and the process of making. The ideas of John Ruskin (1819-1900, art critic and social reformer) and the working practice of William Morris (1834-96) were fundamental: they explored the relationship between the organic landscape, man's pleasure in handiwork, and the beauty of natural materials, embracing ideals of simplicity and rural tradition. The movement turned the domestic sphere into a palace of art, seen at Standen in everything from mirrors to muffin dishes. Highlights of the collection include Morris & Co. carpets and wallpapers, embroidery by May Morris (1862-1938, daughter of William Morris), and furniture by Philip Webb and George Jack (1855-1931, designer and architect). There are also works by Ernest Gimson (1864-1919, designer and architect), C.R. Ashbee (1863-1942, designer and architect), W.A.S Benson (1854-1924, designer) and William De Morgan (1839-1917, potter and tile designer), as well as Pre-Raphaelite works and paintings by members of the New English Art Club (founded in 1885 as an alternative to the Royal Academy - founder members included Sargent, Wilson Steer, Clausen and Stanhope Forbes).

In addition to viewing Peter and Rebecca's wallpaper



and textile designs, which are found throughout the house on furniture, cushions, plates and clothing, visitors finish their tour in the newly opened Servants' Wing, now transformed into a contemporary interior including a print studio (Fig. 3). The Butler's Pantry is decorated with the new wallpaper 'Webb's Wonder' (Fig. 5), which cleverly incorporates elements of the design of the garden and house as well as engaging family anecdotes - these family stories abound at Standen and are much enjoyed by visitors of all ages. The Butler's Pantry also contains a contemporary version of the famous Sussex chair by Morris & Co. (there is an example of the original version in the house), a desk inspired by Ernest Gimson, and lights reflecting the original W.A.S. Benson designs in the house, but reimagined for the 21st century (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, the Servants' Wing had lost many of its original decorative schemes from the past, but this offered the artists a 'blank canvas' with echoes of its former use for them to work with. We have also been able to re-create the original layout by removing partition walls put up in the 1970s in the Butler's Pantry and Servants' Hall (Fig. 4). In the former, parquet flooring, largely lost 40 years ago, has been re-laid following the original design.

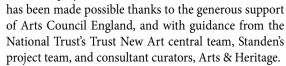
Important elements of the Trust New Art project have also included talks to our volunteers by the artists, the involvement of our volunteers in the process, and print workshops for visitors and local community groups. We wanted the project both to raise our profile and also to demonstrate that our contemporary art programme is at the highest level of ambition and creative excellence.



It is particularly important to show that the history of Standen did not end in 1972 when the house was donated to the National Trust. Our responsibility is not solely to preserve Standen in aspic at one point in time; we must fascinate and entertain visitors with the many different stories the property has to tell, as well as conserve. This is what Peter and Rebecca have achieved so well. They have taken the very essence of the Arts and Crafts movement, those founding principles of social justice, nature and design upon which it was built, and proved that they are still relevant, that they still have a place in people's

lives – today, perhaps, more than ever. As Ernest Gimson said in 1916: 'To be complete one must live in all three tenses – past, future and present'.

The project





3. The Servants' Hall as a print studio

The Future

As part of opening up more of the house, the Master Dressing Room on the first floor, which became a kitchen and then an office, is now an open-access Conservation Studio; this will interest visitors, and allow us to display some of the gems of the stored collections. These will include discoveries we are continually making from a recent large donation of family papers and ephemera, which is being catalogued by the volunteer archive group. The Conservation Studio will open from late October 2017. There are plans to open up another flat created in the 1970s - this includes the Master

Bedroom, a bathroom, and the nursery wing, as well as other family bedrooms.

As we open new areas we are keen to hear our supporters' thoughts about what we should do with them. What would they like to hear more about, and how should the information be presented? We want to introduce them to the dilemmas we face at Standen; one example is that we have around 1500 items in store, including bedroom and nursery furniture, but few original items from the Servants' Wing. Should this affect what we do with this area? The history of the property since it has been in National Trust ownership is explained in the former Cook's Store, recently opened, with a chance for people to contribute their comments. Ideas for the future from a group of volunteers and staff include more show rooms; dedicated exhibition areas; a space for local craftspeople/sellers (Arts and Crafts today); a facility for school groups; an introductory film on the house, garden and estate; and an Arts and Crafts reading room - a place to sit and discover more about this pioneering movement. Standen looks forward to more exciting projects to come.

The Standen Collection runs from 9 September 2017 to 15 April 2018



4. Removal of the centre partition wall reveals original paint colours in the Servants' Hall

5. 'Webb's Wonder': One of the designs for wallpaper from The Standen Collection

William Godolphin (1700-31), Last of the Line

The Jacobite connection with Godolphin House, Cornwall

didney Godolphin, 1st Earl of Godolphin (1645-1712) was not a committed Jacobite (a supporter of James II, or of his son, or of his grandson, the Stuart claimants to the British throne). Nonetheless, he flirted with Jacobitism during at least two periods in his life. During the Revolution of 1688-89 he remained loyal to James: 'Godolphin clung desperately to the king [James II]' (Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford). This included voting for a regency and



against the proposal that William of Orange (husband of Mary II, the daughter of James II) should become king in the Convention Parliament vote of February 1689. There is also some evidence to suggest that Sidney Godolphin was in touch with the exiled court of James II in the 1690s, and that he may even have helped pass on to the Jacobites secret plans for a landing by William of Orange's forces near Brest in 1694. ¹

Sidney Godolphin had been until 1688 the devoted Chamberlain of Mary of Modena (1658-1718), the second wife of James II. His lasting infatuation for her was common knowledge. There were rumours (which it was considered in poor taste to mention) that Godolphin's devotion might have been more than strictly official, but his love probably went unrequited. Although Godolphin rose to be Lord Treasurer (the head of the government) under Queen Anne, he remained a Jacobite sympathiser and corresponded with Mary of Modena, who was in exile in France, until his death in 1712. He frequently sent her gifts (with official government permission). Mary of Modena was the most important Jacobite after James, very active at the time in the cause, and the only woman publicly associated with 'the Old Pretender' (1688-1766, son of James II and Mary of Modena, James III and VIII to Jacobites) at the first Jacobite Rising in 1715.

A portrait of Sidney Godolphin's grandchildren, Henrietta and her brother William (1700-31), nicknamed 'Willigo' (Fig. 1), hangs in the Salon at Godolphin House, Cornwall; she is seated, wearing a green dress, with a garland of flowers, and he is standing, with his hand resting on a globe. Inscribed 'Children of Francis 2nd Earl of Godolphin' (upper left), the painting actually shows only two of his five

children, four of whom had predeceased him by the time of his own death in 1766.

In addition to Henrietta and William, there were Henry (b. *c*. 1700) and Margaret (b. *c*. 1703), who died in infancy. Another child, Mary (1705-1764), later Duchess of Leeds, is mentioned below.

William Godolphin spent much of his time in Europe associating with the Jacobites and the Old Pretender, James Stuart. In 1720 William left for Italy and the Grand Tour (this was almost

immediately after being returned as MP for Penryn at a by-election, although he does not appear to have ever spoken or voted in Parliament). He reached Rome in May 1721, when an anonymous *Letter from an English Traveller at Rome to his Father*, which has been ascribed to him, described a chance meeting with the Pretender:

'I felt in that instant of his approach a strong convulsion of body and mind, such as I was never sensible of before; whether aversion, awe or respect occasioned it, I can't tell. I remarked his eyes fixed upon me, which I confess I could not bear. I was perfectly stunned and not aware of myself when, pursuant of what the standers-by did, I made him a salute. He returned it with a smile, which changed the sedateness of his first aspect into a very graceful countenance; as he passed by, I observed him to be a well sized, clean limbed man.'

The letter concludes: 'I am not sorry to have contented so far my curiosity and that were he not the Pretender I should like the man very well. We should truly pass much of our time in dullness, had we not the diversion of his house, but I will give you my word I will enter no more upon arguments of this kind with him; for he has too much wit and learning for me: besides that he speaks with such an air of sincerity that I am apprehensive I should become half a Jacobite, if I should continue following these discourses any longer.'

Following the Duke of Marlborough's death in 1722, William, who had not stood at the recent general election and was living abroad, became Marquess of Blandford (his mother, daughter of the 1st Duke of Marlborough, was allowed to take her father's title on his death thanks to an Act of Parliament. Marquess of Blandford is the title given to the heir of the Dukes of

Tony Clifford, Volunteer, Godolphin House

1. William Godolphin, Viscount Rialton, later Marquess of Blandford (1700-31) and his Sister, Henrietta (d. 1776), later Duchess of Newcastle, in the manner of Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646/9-1723), c. 1710. Oil on canvas, 116.2 x 116.2 cm. William is pointing at England on the globe

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Marlborough). Under **Duke's** will he inherited an annual of income £3,000, be increased to £8,000 when the works Blenheim were completed. Sir John Vanbrugh observed that 'his grandmother, Sarah, Duchess has by this will (for to be sure that was her doings) made my Lord Blandford independent of his father and mother'.

In the late 1720s William is known to have been giving substantial financial assistance to Jacobites living in Utrecht and other places in the Netherlands. In August

1727 he was in Paris, where an agent of Robert Walpole, speaking of the activities of the Jacobites there, reported: 'I have seen my Lord Blandford very often for a month past and he continues to have his head very confused with all those affairs, and he no longer thinks of returning to England. I supped last evening with the Duke of Beaufort [a prominent English Jacobite] and Lord Blandford, and it seems that those two Lords wish to make a grand intrigue together, for they often enough have secret *teste à teste* conferences, and I find that Lord Blandford is very pleased with the Duke'.

On 6 May 1729 at the English Episcopal Church in Rotterdam William married Maria Catherina de Jong (b.1695), the daughter of Pieter Haeck de Jong, Burgomaster of Utrecht from 1664 to 1721. The marriage brought him a dowry of £30,000. In 1730, a Private Act (4 George II, c. 6) was passed 'For naturalizing Catharina Godolphin, wife of the Honourable William Godolphin Esquire, commonly called Marquis of Blandford'. Maria Catherina was not well received by William's family in England; the exception was his grandmother, Sarah Churchill, the dowager Duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744). Maria Catherina's sister Isabella married William Feilding, 5th Earl of Denbigh.

William Godolphin died at Balliol College, Oxford (Balliol was believed to be a rallying point for Jacobites), of apoplexy after a drinking bout in 1731. His grandmother, the dowager Duchess, who was with him at the end, said: 'I would have given half my estate to have saved him', and 'I hope the Devil is picking that man's bones who taught him to drink'. William would have inherited the titles, property and fortunes of Godolphin and Marlborough, but it was not to be. His grandmother made the arrangements for his funeral at Blenheim in 1731: there was to be 'nothing but a Herse & a Coach for the four Servants.' It was held in private and at night,



with 'no Escutcheons [coats of arms]'.

In his diary entry for 27 August 1731 John Perceval, 1st Earl of Egmont, wrote: 'My Lord ... had several good qualities. He was very charitable ... He was likewise virtuous as to women, even before his marriage. His only fault was drinking and loving low company. He was pious and had no sort of pride or ambition. He married a Burgomaster's daughter at Utrecht for love, who was some years older himself, after the Earl of Denbigh's example, who married her sister. She made a

good wife and has four thousand pounds a year jointure, but brought him no child.' (Jointure is property settled by a husband on his wife at their marriage for her use after her husband's death, as opposed to a widow's share of her husband's estate).

William's sister Mary is considered to be the illegitimate child of his mother Henrietta and the dramatist William Congreve. Gossip spread rapidly about Lady Mary's paternity, and Sarah Churchill, her maternal grandmother, did not recognise her until 1740, when the two reconciled their differences; the dowager Duchess helped to arrange Lady Mary's marriage to Thomas Osborne, 4th Duke of Leeds, on 26 June 1740. A consequence was that Thomas inherited the Godolphin estates in 1785; the Dukes of Leeds remained the absentee owners of Godolphin for 135 years, until 1920.

William's wife Maria Catherina remarried on 1 June 1734 to become the second wife of the Tory MP Sir William Wyndham, 3rd Baronet (1688-1740), whose first marriage was to one of the 6th Duke of Somerset's daughters and whose son inherited Petworth. In 1715 Wyndham had been imprisoned in the Tower of London: he had planned a Jacobite rising in the West Country to coincide with that in Scotland. He was let out on bail in July 1716 and never tried, thanks to an intercession by the 6th Duke of Somerset. Maria was widowed again on 17 June 1740. When her sister Isabella's husband, the 5th Earl of Denbigh, died in 1755, Isabella returned from living 'very elegantly in the middle of a fine vineyard three miles from Lyons' and lived with Maria Catherina in a large house facing the river at Twickenham. Isabella died on 16 May 1769, and Maria Catherina at Sheen on 7 September 1779 (she had no children from either of her marriages).

1. Roy A. Sundstrom, Sidney Godolphin: Servant of the State, Newark, 1992, p. 67.

Lady Henrietta
Godolphin, later
Duchess of Marlborough
(1681-1733) with her
son William Godolphin,
later Marquess of
Blandford (1700-1731),
by Sir Godfrey Kneller
(1646/9-1723), c. 1710.
Oil on canvas,
125.8 x 95.2 cm.
(Formerly in the
possession of the

Dukes of Leeds, now in

a private collection)

A HAVEN FOR HOMELESS ART

The creation of a new gallery and partnership with the De Morgan Foundation at Wightwick Manor

John Wood, formerly Conservation and Engagement Manager, Wightwick Manor



1. William Morris fabric, a painting by Rossetti and De Morgan ceramics show the visual ensemble the Manders created at Wightwick

> hen we talk about taking the National Trust's conservation vision beyond our boundaries, we often mean caring for land and landscapes outside our ownership. However, the partnership between Wightwick Manor (West Midlands) and the De Morgan Foundation shows that our statutory remit, in accordance with the 1937 National Trust Act, for the preservation and access to 'furniture and pictures and chattels of every description, having national or historic or artistic interest, does not just have to mean collections in our ownership; it can also extend to those in the care of other organisations.

> A distress flare first went up in 2013 when the De Morgan Foundation was informed that the lease on the Wandsworth Library they had called home since 2002 was not going to be renewed. This rendered the collection on display there homeless. The Foundation had been established in 1965 on the death of Mrs Stirling, sister of the late-Victorian artist Evelyn De Morgan. Evelyn De Morgan's husband, William De Morgan, worked for many years in collaboration with William Morris, and his ceramic tiles, bowls and vases are synonymous with the Arts and Crafts style. The Foundation, registered as a charity since 1970, was established to care for and provide public access to the De Morgan Foundation's collection created by

Mrs Stirling to preserve her family's artistic legacy.

The first hope was that the National Trust could take a few items, dispersed across the country, to keep as much of the collection on display as possible. Consequently, some pieces from the Foundation's collection are on display at Red House, Bexleyheath, and Standen, West Sussex (both Arts and Crafts houses). However, at Wightwick the opportunity to present a large proportion of the collection was possible: there were already seedling plans to convert the old Malthouse into a gallery, which would complement the house and support year-round opening in the future.

Wightwick has a long tradition of taking in Pre-Raphaelite art searching for a home (Fig. 1). Built by Theodore Mander between 1887 and 1893 in the Arts and Crafts style, it was presented to the National Trust by his son, Sir Geoffrey Mander, in 1937 under the Country Houses Scheme. It was during the 1950s and 60s that Sir Geoffrey and his wife Rosalie, in partnership with the National Trust, built relationships with many of the descendants of the Pre-Raphaelites and craftsmen of the Arts and Crafts movement. Their ambition was the recreation of a late-Victorian home filled with Morris & Co furnishings, De Morgan decoration, and art by Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt and Millais.

It was unsurprising that Mrs Stirling first made contact with Sir Geoffrey in 1937, and in 1941 Sir Geoffrey offered to house the Foundation's collection away from Mrs Stirling's Battersea home and the encroaching Luftwaffe. Whilst the collection never made it to Wolverhampton during the 20th century, the offer meant that in the early 21st century we felt sure that housing the collection was exactly what our donors would have chosen to do. An agreement in principle in 2013 started a four-year process of feasibility studies, fundraising, and developing the scope of the project, as well as negotiating a legal partnership that would ensure the security of the De Morgan Foundation's collection for ten years.

The chosen location for the new gallery was the old Grade-II* listed Malthouse situated between the remains of the 17th-century original manor and the Mander family's 19th-century Arts and Crafts Wightwick Manor (Fig. 2). A detailed vernacular buildings assessment, undertaken as part of the project, revealed its conversion from a three-storey malting house to a two-storey school house and later to a squash court. The large single room on the first floor had latterly been used for education, exhibitions and theatre productions, and was to form the new gallery space.

The consultant building surveyor Sarah Fowler, along with national specialists in conservation and compliance, designed a space that would provide the right environmental conditions and fire and security protection to secure nationally-important loans and meet government indemnity standards. An internal lift was installed to ensure that the space was fully accessible. This was neatly fitted in by removing an internal staircase inserted in 1990 when the building was last refurbished, which meant that no damage was caused to the original fabric of the building.

The majority of the refurbishment work involved the removal of old stud walling and the installation of new dry-lining and insulation to the main display space, together with an electric underfloor heating system (Fig. 3). A fully adjustable lighting track from Concord's 'Beacon' range was specified to provide the maximum flexibility for displays (Fig. 4). The opportunity was also taken to upgrade the electrical and fire prevention installations to bring them up to new specifications, as well as external repairs to old brickwork and drainage around the perimeter to prevent the regular flooding that had previously caused problems.

In tandem with the refurbishment of the building went the preparations for the display and interpretation of the collection. From the beginning, the aim of both the Trust and the De Morgan Foundation was to work collaboratively, sharing skills and resources to create an exhibition that would appeal to as wide a spectrum of visitors as possible. It was agreed to focus on the creative partnership between William and Evelyn, and how their lives and art complemented one another's. This



reflected the biographical approach of the Manders's collecting in the house, which often demonstrated the techniques shared between the artists of the Pre-Raphaelite movement and their interrelationships.

The curatorial expertise of the De Morgan Foundation, led by Claire Longworth, Curator, focused on how to illustrate this theme, as well as the drafting of the printed materials. Wightwick's project and property team provided the audiovisual elements: clips from a 1961 interview with Mrs Stirling in her Battersea home gives an introduction to the story, whilst video footage of the modern potter Jonathan Chiswell Jones demonstrates the lustre ware techniques that William De Morgan perfected. The creative collaboration between the two organisations was characterised throughout by

2. The exterior of the Malthouse with the servants' quarters of the Manor off to the right



frank, positive and constructive discussion between members of the project team; this led not only to the creation of excellent interpretation, but also to deep respect for the skills of both partners (Fig. 4).

On 5 May 2017, after four years of planning and four months of construction, the Malthouse Gallery launched its first exhibition, *A Better, More Beautiful World?*, the first of many planned over the next

3. The interior of the Malthouse during conversion work





decade (Fig. 5). Since the opening the glitter of lustre and the vibrancy of oil paint have entranced visitors, who are being treated to a display unusual in a National Trust historic house (Fig. 6).

The De Morgan Foundation's other partner locations are the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Cannon Hall, Barnsley; and the Watts Gallery, Guildford. It has made smaller loans to Standen House, West Sussex; Jackfield Tile Museum, Telford; and Queen's House, Greenwich. Part of the collection can be seen in 'Ocean Liners - Glamour, Speed, and Style', an exhibition at Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, which will transfer to the Victoria & Albert Museum in 2018.

- 4 (above left). The completed gallery before installation
- 5 (below left). Installation of the De Morgan Collection
- 6 (below right). The gallery completed and open to the public



Exhibition: Basildon Park, Berkshire REIMAGINING INDIA



Basildon Park estate was purchased by Francis Sykes in 1771. He had made his fortune in the East India Company and required a home befitting his status. He demolished the old house and employed the architect John Carr to build the Bath Stone house visitors see today.

The Garden Room, one of the more intriguing rooms at Basildon Park, is being reinterpreted and re-presented this autumn with an exhibition titled Reimagining India.

Inspired by Lady Iliffe's incomplete decorative scheme she had for this room, the exhibition will focus on the connections Basildon Park has had with India over the past 240 years.

Working with partners from the local community to co-curate the exhibition, National Trust staff have focused on the cultural achievements and personal stories that have shaped British-Indian links from Sykes's time through until today.

The exhibition runs until 30 November.

'TO LIGHT UP A FLAME OF CHEERFULNESS'

Mary Elizabeth Lucy of Charlecote and her harps¹

Yvonne Lewis, Assistant Libraries Curator ary Elizabeth Lucy (1803-1890) is more commonly known as one half of the couple whose massive transformation of Charlecote Park, Warwickshire, in the mid-19th century is still much in evidence today² (Fig. 1). Arriving as a young bride of 20 in December 1823, she brought a very welcome dowry

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to Charlecote Old Hall, which was in need of considerable updating. More used to the comforts of her family home at Bodelwyddan Castle in North Wales, she seems to have taken her new situation and an older husband in her stride. Mary Elizabeth and George Hammond Lucy (1789 - 1845)spent over 30 years refitting and extending the house in grand Elizabethan Revival style. Though the family fortunes rose and fell over those

1. Mary Elizabeth Williams, Mrs George Hammond Lucy, by Richard Buckner (1812-83), 1847, oil on canvas, 66.7 x 62.2 cm

2. The Garden at Charlecote Park in January years, they eventually made the house as they wished and brought to it many practical comforts.

Events in the lives of the family are chronicled in Mary Elizabeth's *Memoirs* (see note 1); in them she describes her life as Mary Elizabeth Williams before she arrived at Charlecote, her married years, and her long widowhood after George's death in 1845 up to the last few months before her own death in 1889. Her *Memoirs* are very readable; Mary Elizabeth has a wonderfully fluid and chatty style of writing which draws the reader in. Most



of her life is contained in her *Memoirs*³. Throughout the reader has glimpses of her own interests; music is particularly close to her heart. Whether it is because the love of music is in the blood of the Welsh, or because she was brought up in a household surrounded by music, Mary Elizabeth loved the harp from an early age and was still playing it well into her eighties.

As a child she was not allowed to take up the harp, and had to settle instead for learning the organ until the age of 16. Her slightly older sister, Margaret, known as Miggy, had beaten her to it by virtue of having being born sooner. 'I longed to learn the harp but Miggy had chosen that, to me, most lovely instrument, so I was not allowed to learn it.'4 In her Memoirs she never sounds bitter about this turn of fortune, seemingly happy to play Handel to her father every Sunday evening on the organ in the hall at Bodelwyddan. Eventually at the age of 16 Mary Elizabeth was allowed to take up the harp, receiving many shillings from her father as a reward for her playing to please him.⁵ Alongside lessons both for organ and harp, she also had lessons in singing with Miggy, and in the French and Italian languages with the new governess, Mrs Price. She also read Sir Walter Scott and Shakespeare for the first time, thoroughly enjoying

Until the 1820s the worlds of the Williams and Lucy families had not greatly overlapped. Mary Elizabeth's first encounter with one of the Lucys was when she met John Lucy at Holywell Races in the autumn of 1820. John Lucy was a friend of her brother, John Williams; they were on their way to stay at Erddig before the christening of the son and heir of Sir John Watkyn Williams-Wynne at Wynnstay. It was her sister Miggy who was to meet George Lucy first, during the 1822 Season in London. While staying with Lady Harriett Williams-Wynne, Miggy had seen and danced with George several times, becoming rather fond of him. When George was invited to Bodelwyddan in the autumn of 1823 as a friend of John's, along with his cousins Newton and Leveson Lane, Miggy's hopes were high. The pattern of the visit was set after the guests arrived. 'That evening after dinner we had music - harp, piano and singing - and then danced quadrilles until bedtime, and this was repeated every evening (Sundays excepted) during the fortnight the three cousins stayed with us.'7 Some mutually beneficial arrangement between the families must already have been in progress, as George danced more often with Mary Elizabeth than with any of her other sisters.

Within two months George had approached Mary Elizabeth's father for her hand in marriage, a fate she did not initially welcome. Now that they were engaged, George wrote to her nearly every day for the



first month. 'He returned to Bodelwyddan a month later and brought me the most magnificent presents for my twentieth birthday: an exquisite Brussels lace veil, splendid diamond earrings composed of several stones of the finest water, a complete set of rubies and diamonds set in massive gold, and diamond and ruby rings.'8 The wedding date was set for 2 December, barely a month later. Preparations were in full swing during November for the ceremony at St. Asaph Cathedral. The honeymoon was planned to be spent at her uncle's house, Cerig Llwydion, but the newlyweds decided to head for the bright lights of London. Once there they went sightseeing; then 'we went to Erard's and chose a harp (the very harp that my children and now my grandchildren play on) and went shopping ...'9. Presumably the rest of the honeymoon continued in a similar vein.

Arriving at Charlecote on the evening of 15 December, they were greeted by a full complement of servants. Although Charlecote Old Hall lacked some of the facilities she was used to, Mary Elizabeth does not mention this much in her Memoirs. She notes her time as being taken up with improving the garden, visiting their new neighbours, having her family to stay with her in her new home, and trips up to London during the Season. Gradually, as the children arrived, she becomes more preoccupied with their health and welfare, so comments on her own activities are more limited. The couple spent much time on the re-fitting of Charlecote; then between 1841 and 1843 the Lucys went on a Grand Tour through France and Italy with several of their young children. On their way back to England they stopped off for several months in Paris in late 1841. 'After we got settled and had recovered from the enormous fatigue of the journey, we arranged with different masters to come and give lessons to the children: Fouché for dancing, Gillet for French, and Labarre for the harp. We hired a piano and a harp for me from Erard.'10.

While they had been touring, they had also been acquiring sheet music in different towns and cities along the way. Where the ownership marks have not been completely cropped away by later binding, it is possible to see that Mary Elizabeth has signed music bought in Paris, Naples, Florence,

Rome and Genoa. Travelling back from Paris to England for her brother Hugh's wedding in May 1843 must have been a bittersweet experience. Charlecote had been let while they were away, so they had been unable to return home after the death of their son Edmund Davenport¹¹, or for the slightly premature birth of Edmund Berkeley¹². The 1840s also saw the death of George's mother – and then of George himself at the age of 56. ¹³ George died intestate, leaving as his heir his young son Fulke, who only survived his father by three years. Mary Elizabeth carried on bringing



3. Front cover of a volume of printed harp music, a gift to Mary Elizabeth in 1820

4. View of The Drawing Room at Charlecote Park including; a centre table, chimneypiece, candle stands, mirror, stools, chairs, paintings and a harp



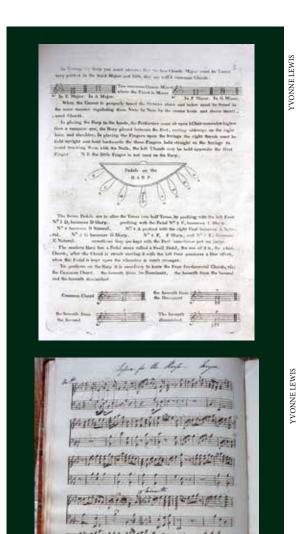
NT IMAGES / ANDREAS VON EINSIEDEL

up her surviving children and continued work on rebuilding the church at Charlecote. Music was as much part of her children's education as it was of her own life.

After 1851 Mary Elizabeth's musical life took an interesting turn. When visiting Wales for the Abergavenny Eisteddfod, she was introduced to John Thomas (1826-1913), Welsh composer and harpist (in 1872 he was appointed Official Harpist to Queen Victoria). He was to become her harp tutor for many years. While her children teased her about learning new habits, she was keen to improve her harp playing. 'Mr Thomas kept me to scales and exercises for the first year, and I did learn his way, and before I was very much older was able to play many a difficult duet with him. I would get up an hour earlier to have a good practice before breakfast, and I used to go to sleep trying to hold my thumb up.'14 It seems to have been her habit to practise regularly when at Charlecote. With John Thomas as a regular visitor, she progressed over the years to being able to play duets with him.15

Tucked away on two shelves behind the chairs on the far side of the Library at Charlecote, and in a Canterbury alongside the piano, are several volumes of music. Most are bound volumes of printed sheet music, but there are also a couple of volumes of manuscript music; sometimes the pieces are identified, often they are not. The various pieces include exercises for chords, octaves and arpeggios. Mary Elizabeth's hand when writing out music is quite distinctive and very neat.¹⁶ Some of the volumes of printed music bear the initials M.E.L. on the spine, some have a contents list in her hand, others just show which instrument the music is for, be it piano, harp or voice (Fig. 6). There are often two versions of the same piece of music for different instruments, usually harp duets, harp and piano duets, or sometimes harp and flute duets. Though other members of the family were also musical, it is more often than not Mary Elizabeth's hand which has marked a piece up for playing.

Age does not seem to have dimmed her enthusiasm for playing the harp. Having arrived home after a trip to the Highland Games in September 1875, she notes that 'when I got back to dear old Charlecote the first thing I did after washing and dressing was to uncover my harp, put on a dozen strings, tune it and play on it till breakfast was ready.'17 Her harp playing continued into her eighties, and included duets with John Thomas.¹⁸ The only thing which seems to have stopped her from playing was the more frequent bouts of bronchitis which she suffered from towards the end of her life. A bad bout in May 1888 made her too ill to play, 19 although she recovered in time to travel up to London for a concert the following month. Mary Elizabeth was indefatigable, and lived life to the full. We shall leave the last words to her: 'It was indeed a grand concert in every sense of the word. Mr Thomas outdid himself in his exquisite playing of a most difficult and beautiful Fantasia 'Sounds of Ossian' ... The band of harps, 22 in number, was very good and all the lady harpists being dressed in white had a charming effect. I was so delighted that I never felt tired and stayed till it was over.'20



5. Page from Introductory Remarks to the Art of Performing on the Harp, London?. c. 1810, explaining the use of 8 pedals on the new Erard harp, from a volume of bound-up music

YVONNE LEWIS

6. Page from a volume of hand-written harp music signed on the front pastedown: 'Mary Elizabeth Lucy Charlecote 1824'

- 1. Alice Fairfax-Lucy (introd.), Mistress of Charlecote: the Memoirs of Mary Elizabeth Lucy, London, 2002, p. 106. It is rumoured that there were three harps at Charlecote, though today there are only two.
- 2. For further details of their restoration of the house see: Oliver Garnett (ed.), Charlecote Park, Swindon,
- 3. Fairfax-Lucy, op. cit., p. 25. Mary Elizabeth mentions that she has lost her pocket book for 1821, so cannot refresh her memory from it, which suggests that the Memoirs were written up from old diaries.
- 4. Ibid., p. 19.
- 5. Ibid., p. 23.
- 6. Ibid., p. 24. See also p. 47: Sir Walter Scott and his daughter Ann later visited Charlecote in January 1828, when Mary Elizabeth played them some Welsh airs.
- 7. Ibid., p. 27.
- 8. Ibid., p. 30.
- 9. Ibid., p. 32. There is an 8-pedal Erard harp in the Drawing Room at Charlecote.
- 10. Ibid., pp. 69-70: Paris, autumn 1842.
- 11. Ibid., p.62: October 1840, en route by coach from Lyons to Turin.
- 12. Ibid., pp. 68-69: August 1841, in the Hotel de France, Nancy.
- 13. Ibid., pp. 73-74.
- 14. Ibid., p. 100: Charlecote, summer 1852.
- 15. Ibid., p. 128: London, May 1865, an evening of music with John Thomas and Mary Elizabeth playing
- 16. Ibid., p. 42. Mary Elizabeth mentions copying out music in her mother's boudoir during a visit to Bodelwyddan in early 1825.
- 17. Ibid., p. 150: Charlecote, September 1875.
- 18. Ibid., p. 167.
- 19. Ibid., p. 170.
- 20. Ibid., p. 171: St. James's Hall, London, June 1888.

THE GLASSHOUSE AT QUARRY BANK

Sara Burdett, **Project Curator** John Tomlinson, Archive and Garden Volunteer

'The public have still much to learn on the subject of hot-houses.'

Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), President of the Royal Society.¹

n 9 March 2017 the Upper Garden at Quarry Bank House, Cheshire, officially opened to the public, the first tangible outcome of the £9.4 million Quarry Bank Project, part-financed by a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. From 2016 onwards



transformed Quarry Bank: areas hitherto unseen by visitors have opened, been and information previously hidden in the archives been revealed. The centrepiece

of the walled

this project has

1. The derelict glasshouse

garden is the 43m-long glasshouse with its curvilinear mid-section.2 Sir Joseph Banks's observation on hot-houses (above) felt relevant to the project team involved in the work to restore the glasshouse because this building has no known designer, manufacturer or date of erection, and has been repeatedly adapted and altered over time. The team had much to learn.



Quarry Bank is all about scale. across Spread 384 acres in deeply-cut the Bollin valley, and framed by stands of mature trees, it includes all the component parts of an industrial landscape settlement, designed in the

2. The restored glasshouse

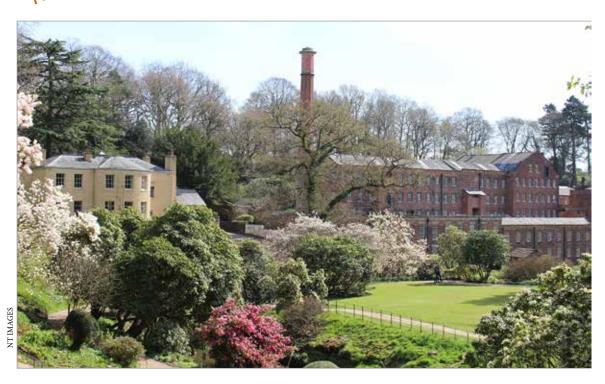
Picturesque manner. Here there is housing for the mill manager and the workers (both adults and apprentices); community facilities, including chapels and a shop; the owner's house, gardens and pleasure grounds; the systems for extracting power from the river and transmitting that power to the mill machinery; and the early magnificent, monumental mill for spinning cotton, and later weaving it.

Quarry Bank was established by Samuel Greg (1758-1834), an early industrialist and a Unitarian. The site suited his requirements: a river that could be adapted by the addition of weirs and races, and adjacent flat land on which to build his mill. The land was leased from the Earl of Stamford in January 1784, and by 1 September work was effectively complete on the mill, which was 'equipped with machines and devices for carding, roving, spinning and manufacturing cotton and cotton material'³. This rapid first building phase was followed by later additions, and within 50 years the Greg business was one of the largest industrial enterprises of the period (Fig. 3).

The cliff top above the mill was also leased from the Earl of Stamford, but developing the escarpment above the river as a productive garden was perhaps not part of Greg's initial ambition. In the early years of their marriage (from about 1790 to 1798) Samuel and Hannah⁴ Greg rented rooms in Oak Farm, Styal as a summer residence; but as their family grew this space proved inadequate. In 1798 Hannah wrote of looking forward 'to living less in town (which has of late become insupportable to me) as Mr. G. seems to intend seriously building 3 or 4 rooms in the Country this year which will enable me to keep my family together about me at least all summer.'5 Hannah was referring to the building of Quarry Bank House next to the mill. From 1800 it was their summer residence, and following the building of various extensions, it became their permanent home. The construction of a productive kitchen garden to meet the needs of an ever-growing family seems to have been a natural development of the aspiration to establish a home in the country.

The records of Caldwell's nursery held in the Cheshire Record Office show that in 1791 and 1792 Samuel Greg was purchasing 'Italian and Sollid Celery', vegetable seeds, and numerous other items, including 100 currant bushes. In 1795 his order included 600 large asparagus plants, a mulberry tree, a Roman nectarine, and a dwarf orange apricot. In 1813 and 1814 reference is made to vines and pineapples and 'a hot house', 'a pine pit', and 'a melon pit', showing that structures to protect tender and exotic plants had been recently constructed. From 1784 to 1834, the year of Samuel's death, Quarry Bank must have been a hive of activity, with building and cotton production carrying on side-by-side.

Extensive archaeological investigations and a historic building survey were undertaken before the restoration of the glasshouse. Thanks to the continual research on the archives at Quarry Bank and other repositories, we are always learning more, both about this building, a rare survivor from an era of rapid horticultural



3. The mill and Quarry Bank House

discovery, and also about the craftsmen, tradesmen and women, and suppliers who built it in the first quarter of the 19th century.

In 1814 Samuel Greg purchased building materials for the 'hot house' including 'frost-flagstones' from Turner & Cooke, stonemasons, of Kerridge, east of Macclesfield and 10 miles from Styal. Invoices dated 1815 record the delivery of 300,000 bricks, suggesting construction on a large scale. It is likely that some bricks were being made close to the site using the locally available clay deposits.

Lime for mortar and for the farm was supplied from Marple by Samuel Oldknow⁶ and Thomas Bullivant. For example, between October 1814 and March 1816, Bullivant supplied 1,104 'loads' of lime from Marple Lime Kilns, at 14d, 15d or 16d per load, with a total value of £69 14s 8d. We are currently researching what a 'load' might be. Marple Lime Kilns⁷ were established by Samuel Oldknow, himself a cotton manufacturer known to the Gregs, who diversified his business in 1797 and built kilns on the banks of the Peak Forest Canal – he was chairman of the committee that financed and directed the canal's construction. Bullivant knew Oldknow through his tenancy of Oldknow properties and by the marriage of his brother to Samuel's niece.

From 1814 to 1828 the Antrobus family of Wilmslow⁸ seems to have had a near-monopoly on the supply of glazing and plumbing services to the Gregs for the whole Quarry Bank site. A key source for research on the Antrobus family has been two ledgers in Cheshire Record Office for the years 1780 to 1814. Many of the entries in the ledgers are brief and record only the quantities of raw materials used: a typical entry reads '2 cwt 2 qtr 15 lb of lead at 48s per cwt'. Plumbing records either show the quantity of lead or solder used or refer to the making of cisterns and the installations of taps and shut-off valves. Painting records include the supply

of large quantities of boiled linseed oil, lamp black, red lead, white lead and smaller quantities of coloured paint – for instance, yellow 'oker' [ochre], English pink, Prussian blue, and black and dark green 'for the phaeton [a 2-wheeled sporting carriage]'.

The glazing work included the supply of new panes ('squares') or the re-use of old glass, the repair of window lights and casements, and the fixing of glass with putty or sprigs ('pinning' – sprigs are small diamond-shaped nails that hold the glass in place). There are records indicating that the labour used ranged from teams of 10 or more to '2 men for half a day'. The Antrobuses got their glass from St Helens, Leeds, Stourbridge and



Bristol, and supplied the 'Broad' or cylinder glass used in the glasshouse's construction. Large quantities of this thin glass were found at Quarry Bank; many pieces were hand-cut into the distinctive 'beaver tail' which helped divert water away from timber or iron glazing bars.

In August 1811 Elizabeth Antrobus recorded the supply of '952 feet 3 inches of glazing for the hot house' (Fig. 4); a further 1154 feet of glass followed in May 1813. Glass would normally be sold by area. Assuming

4. Extract from Glazier's Ledger 1799-1814, reference DDX436/2, page unnumbered, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office, Chester

a spacing of 6 inches between the glazing bars of the hothouse, this equates to an area of 1,050 square feet in total. This is an extraordinary amount of glass, and indicates a glasshouse of some size - but not necessarily the glasshouse we have just restored.

John Garside was from 1814 an iron founder with works in Portwood, Stockport. In the Greg cash books he crops up as a supplier for several big projects from 1816 to 1819, including supplying spinning and drawing frames, brass-work, and gearing for the mill. In 1822 he went into partnership with Thomas Barton (who had been the mill manager for Samuel Greg from 1812), and together they established their own mill and continued to operate the foundry. Altogether, Garside sold the Gregs about £280 worth of castings in the 1820s - but most ledger entries do not identify what the castings were for. However, in a ledger covering 1824 there are two interesting references to John Garside being paid '4s 2d for castings for the hothouse' and 'Castings Hothouse £1 5s 6d', charged to Hannah Greg's account (Fig. 7). So was Garside the manufacturer of the glasshouse's iron frame? It was in the 1820s that iron-framed glasshouses were being widely developed. Tantalising though these references are, they are the only ones we have found to date, and the total of £1 9s 8d is a pittance, given the scale of the glasshouse.

A plan dated 18369, two years after Samuel's death, shows a glasshouse closely matching the footprint of the existing structure in a well-developed kitchen garden. Is it fanciful to suggest that Samuel Greg, an early adopter of new mill technology, including cast iron components, exploited these ideas in the creation of a magnificent glasshouse at an early date? Perhaps so; but the research continues, and is an integral part of our project. Whatever emerges, we will still have 'much to learn'.



NT / QUARRY BANK

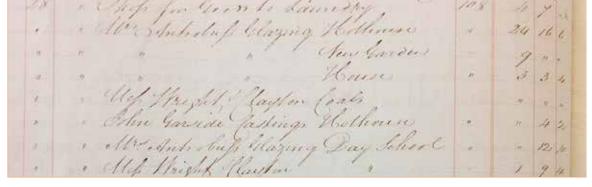


NT / QUARRY BANK

6. View of the derelict glasshouses

5. The glasshouse,

interior east



7. Extract from Mill Ledger 1823-29, GB127.C5/1/4/2. Folio 39, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Central Library, Manchester

- 1. Sir Joseph Banks, 'On the Forcing houses of the Romans', Transactions of the Horticultural Society, 1815, and quoted on the frontispiece of J.C. Loudon, Remarks on the Construction of Hothouses pointing out the most advantageous forms, materials and contrivances to be used in their construction, London, 1817.
- 2. For more details on the conservation and reconstruction see Design guide, Quarry Bank Upper Garden Glasshouse restoration, September 2016
- 3. John Hewitt, Mill Memoranda, 1881/82, Quarry Bank Archives.
- 4. Hannah Greg, nee Lightbody (1766-1828) married Samuel Greg in 1789. She grew up in a wealthy mercantile Liverpool family of Unitarians and benefitted from an extensive liberal education. She encouraged her husband to join the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, enabling the couple to connect with Manchester's intelligentsia, whom they entertained at Quarry Bank House
- 5. Extract from a letter from Hannah Greg to Mrs Hannah Mary Rathbone, a close confidante of Hannah Greg (and mother-in-law to Hannah Greg's

- daughter, Elizabeth), 31 July 1798, quoted by David Sekers, A Lady of Cotton: Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill, Stroud, 2013, page 114.
- 6. Samuel Oldknow (1756-1828) was born into a Unitarian family. He was a cotton manufacturer, and sponsored the building of the canal and turnpike road, thus improving transport links.
- 7. The lime kilns, built within a Picturesque setting with gothic facades and tall chimneys, are still part of the landscape at Marple, albeit in a ruinous
- 8. Elizabeth Antrobus (1761-1839) became head of the household and owner of the business after her husband's death, when their son was too young to provide the necessary leadership. She married into a family in which the male breadwinners were plumbers, glaziers and painters over several
- 9. 1836 Plan of Land at Styal in the Township of Pownall Fee owned by Robert Hyde Greg (Greater Manchester Archives and Local Studies GB127. C5/7).



INNOVATION, PERSISTENCE AND PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS

The restoration of the hydro-electric installation at Castle Drogo

Bryher Mason, Heritage Manager

he story of hydro-electric power at Castle Drogo, Devon began in 1916, when John Coates Walker (the Clerk of Works for the construction of the castle) wrote to the firm of Gilbert Gilkes & Co. of Kendal, a well-established engineering company specialising in hydro-electricity generation.1 Walker wrote: 'Some

NT IMAGES / JOHN MILLAR

1. The Turbine House. designed by Lutyens

2. The original governor: number 497, type B, made by Gilbert Gilkes & Co. Ltd. This oil-pressure governor would have originally regulated the speed of the

turbines

years ago you put in for Julius C. Drewe Esgre of Wadhurst Hall, Sussex a Turbine plant for running Electrical plant. Mr Drewe is now building near Drewsteignton a Castle close by the River Teign and would like you to send if possible the same Representative that visited Wadhurst Hall to report on the feasibility of a Turbine plant being installed there for the same purpose ...'2

Gilkes & Co's representative, Norman Wilson, visited the site in March 19163 and prepared a scheme which was sent to Walker in late April.⁴ The original intention was to purchase the Mill at 'Sandy Park bridge' (now the Mill End Hotel).5 However,

the negotiations with the owner foundered, and the decision was taken not purchase the building.6 The matter of the turbine house and electricity production features heavily in the correspondence concerning the wider construction of Castle Drogo, and in particular there is much correspondence concerning the voltage of the power supply. Drewe took an inordinate amount of time to decide between 110 volts and 220. Finally, in September 1916 he fixed on 220.7 However, all discussion concerning the production of power ceased until after the First World War.

In early 1927 the idea of hydro-electric turbines was resurrected, and Mr Wilson visited Castle Drogo once more to advise Basil Drewe (Julius Drewe's son) directly on the best course of action.8 The general, but not precise, site for the turbines seems to have been settled upon during this visit on 12 January.9 There was some debate over the best site: one was selected by Mr Wilson, the other by Basil Drewe (an eminent patents lawyer, a QC, and an engineering expert). In the end, it was decided that 'the longer run of pipes to the site Captain Basil chose is preferable, the pipes being less in diameter, giving more water in the river.10

The matter of the material for the pipes is much discussed in the correspondence. Walker stated that he would 'much rather fix steel pipes', but he thought that Drewe 'should use concrete and pay the extra capital outlay' as the concrete pipes had double the life expectancy of steel.11 In October 1927 Walker accepted Gilkes & Co's estimate and specification 'for all work ... the sum being £1,140.0.0'. He also stated that all steel or iron sluices were to be used, and that the weir would be at the site chosen by Basil Drewe and be 3ft 6in high.¹²

Work began on the scheme in 1928, although there were some delays as Walker had to have the scheme approved by the river conservators.¹³ By early February 1929 the roof was on the Turbine House, the turbines were on site, and the cable had been run to the building. Walker was therefore able to request that Gilkes & Co and the electricians should start work on the installation process.¹⁴ The installation must have gone reasonably smoothly, as by March initial running and testing of the turbines got under way.15

The two turbines installed at Castle Drogo are Francistype reaction turbines, in which all the water passages are completely filled and the energy stored in the water at the inlet of the turbine is transferred to the runner or rotor as it passes through the machine. This type of machine was first invented in the United States by James Francis (1815-92). Shortly after 1850 he developed an inward-

flow turbine with moveable guide that vanes controlled the incoming water onto the curved blades of a runner. The complex shape of the runner makes this kind of turbine relatively difficult to fabricate, and therefore a more expensive option. Whilst both turbines at Castle Drogo are of the same basic design,



they are of different sizes and output to allow for the seasonal variation in the flow of the river Teign.¹⁶

Although the castle was connected to the National Grid at some point between 1968 and 1972, the turbines continued to supply some power to the castle and garages until 1994. The turbines were then switched off because the informal water abstraction requirements had not been regularised, and therefore the Environment







3 (top), Chris Elliot of On Stream Energy with the large turbine after restoration 4 (above). The smaller turbine after restoration in situ, connected to a

modern generator

Agency no longer permitted their operation.

The re-instatement of the hydroelectric turbines was originally considered as far back as 1999, but the idea was not developed as a stand-alone project until 2010. This work led to a new Abstraction Licence being obtained designs were developed to comply with Planning Permission and Listed Building Consent, which were received in 2012.

With the establishment of the National Trust's Renewable Energy Investment programme, re-instating the historical hydroelectricity scheme became a viable project. Modelling carried out in May 2016 compared how much electricity the hydro-generation could provide with the demand for electricity at Castle Drogo's Visitor Centre. This demonstrated that the re-instated turbines would be able to provide approximately 59% of the centre's electricity requirements.17

The project was designed to deliver an integrated renewable energy scheme that would enable Castle Drogo to derive the majority of its heat and power from renewable sources. This could be done by replacing the existing inefficient biomass heating system and re-establishing the hydro-power plant. Connecting

the hydro-power to the biomass plant under a hybrid scheme makes use of the excess electricity (which would normally be exported to the National Grid) by providing an additional thermal store heated by the hydroelectricity.¹⁸ This integration allows the renewable heat and power generated on site to be fully utilised.

Perhaps the most remarkable opportunity this project

Turbine 1 Turbine 2 20 kw Maximum Generation 40 kw 4 Poles 6 Poles Generator Generator Efficiency at 100% 94.2% 92.2% 350 rpm 465 rpm **Turbine Speed** Gearbox Ratio 4.438 2.217 **Gearbox Rating** 121 kw @ 1530 rpm 95 kw @1020 rpm Gearbox Efficiency 94% 92% **Generator Speed** 1500 rpm 1000 rpm Shaft Height of FFL 22.5 inches 18 inches Max Water Flow 883 lps 437 lps **Draft Tube Length** 3120 mm 3120 mm Head 6.7 m 6.7 m

presented was to be able to generate electricity using the original wall-plate Francis turbines installed by Gilkes & Co in 1928 in the Turbine House designed by Lutyens. The majority of the infrastructure of the original scheme was found to be sound and reusable. It would certainly seem that Julius Drewe's decision to use concrete pipes over steel was sensible and far-sighted.

The main contractors, Derwent Hydroelectric Power Ltd of Derbyshire, have an extensive track record of installing small-scale hydro-power schemes; they applied their expertise and problem-solving skills to the project with great dedication. The implementation of this project required working within the Registered Park and Garden, as well as inserting modern machinery into a Grade-II Listed structure (which includes the associated engineering of the intake and weir). Not least of the challenges was the restoration of the original Francis turbines to full working order by On Stream Energy, turbine engineers based at Ponsworthy on Dartmoor (Fig.3).

As well as restoration, the project has also required the installation of new elements, including a state-ofthe-art intake screening system which is fully compliant with stringent Environment Agency regulations (Fig.4); this will ensure that fish and eels cannot enter the turbine system. A new cable has also been installed to bring the power directly to the Visitor Centre. This required groundworks on the precipitous slopes of the Teign Gorge, fearlessly carried out by Gwyn Roberts Construction (based in North Wales).

Generation began in September 2017 with both turbines working in conjunction. The turbines will only start generating electricity once there is sufficient water flow in the river, meaning that generation will slow in the summer months and increase through the autumn and winter; at all times the river must retain sufficient natural flow.

This project has been challenging and exciting. The conservation of a heritage asset alongside sustainable renewable energy generation is an innovative combination.

Technical data for the system is shown in the table.

- 1. Gilbert Gilkes and Co. was founded in 1881 when Gilbert Gilkes bought out Williamson Brothers, a company founded in 1853 as suppliers of agricultural machinery (including water turbines).
- 2. Record Book Vol. V, Castle Drogo Archive, The National Trust, Letter from Walker to Hope, Letter from Walker to Gilkes, 21 February 1916.
- 3. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Gilkes, 11 March 1916.
- 4. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Gilkes, 29 April 1916.
- 5. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Gilkes, 8 May 1916.
- 6. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Nickels, 4 September 1914. 7. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Drewe, 18 September 1916
- 8. Record Book Vol. VIII, Letter from Walker to Wilson of Gilkes & Co.,
- 9. Record Book Vol. VIII, Letter from Walker to Wilson, 12 January 1927.
- 10. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Drewe, 21 January 1927.
- 11. Record Book Vol. VIII, Letter from Walker to Drewe, 18 March 1927.
- 12. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Gilkes & Co., 14 October 1927. 13. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Michelmore, 2 March 1928 (for example).
- 14. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Gilkes & Co., letter not dated probably 12 February 1929.
- 15. Ibid., Letter from Walker to Seth, 22 March 1929.
- 16. Martin Watts, Hydroelectric Works at Castle Drogo Devon, archaeological recording for the National Trust, 2005, p.7.
- 17. The actual percentage will depend on the weather patterns in any given year .
- 18. The grid in the South West is currently closed to new power generation, meaning that the Castle Drogo scheme needs to use all the electricity it produces.

DRUNKS, DENTURES AND DUNG

The Dunham Massey **Pamphlet Collection**



An interview with **Ed Potten**, Special Collections Consultant, Durham University History Department, York University Centre for Medieval Studies

The Library and Instrument Room at Dunham Massey, Cheshire, are among the least changed of its early 18th-century interiors. The fitted oak bookcases contain the dynastic family library, but also many of the books collected by the creator of the room, George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington (1675-1758). The Library is one of the highlights of a visit to Dunham Massey; the oak brings a warm glow to the room, the famous Grinling Gibbons carving

after Tintoretto's Crucifixion hangs above the fireplace, and the gold spines of the books shimmer. Hidden away in the Instrument Room, however, is a less spectacular but equally important book collection: 2,500 pamphlets, collected by the family in the 18th and early-19th centuries.

Ed Potten, Special Collections Consultant at the Universities of Durham and York and an Adviser to the National Trust, has recently completed a major project on the pamphlet collection. Here are some of his thoughts on their nature and significance.

What is a pamphlet?

The word 'pamphlet' in this context covers a multitude of sins. Traditionally, pamphlets are short works printed on one or two sheets, so they are usually 16 or 32 pages long (each sheet would be folded three times), and they

tend to contain 'ephemeral' material: the sorts of things one might want to be aware of, but not necessarily add to one's library. So, they tend to contain local news, annual reports, political squibs, election results, reports of trials, ballads, and so on. The pamphlet collection at Dunham contains all of these and more. It is very strong on single-sheet publications: notices of local sales of livestock and books just published, or political broadsides commenting on local elections, for instance.

What is the significance of the pamphlet collection at Dunham Massey?

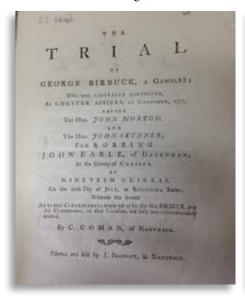
Pamphlets were not produced to last. Much of the material of the kind preserved at Dunham was printed locally in small print runs. It was sold, then read, then usually thrown away. As a consequence the individual pamphlets at Dunham are often extremely rare. They represent a 'lost' level of print production which was not generally collected, and so it has not survived elsewhere.

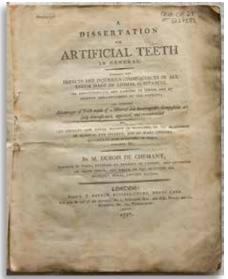
Who collected the pamphlets, why did they collect them, and when?

The majority of the Dunham pamphlets were printed between 1780 and 1820, and most were acquired by George Harry Grey, 5th Earl of Stamford (1737-1819). They were not really collected; they came to Dunham by a variety of means. Many were sent to George Harry Grey as gifts from local authors seeking patronage, some came from the many philanthropic societies which the Booths and the Greys supported, and others were sent as advertisements: posters for local or national sales, or subscription notices for proposed publications. Many

1 (below left). Pamphlet recording the trial and execution of the gambler George Birbuck

2 and 3 (below centre and right). Nicolas Dubois de Chémant's A Dissertation on Artificial Teeth (London, 1797)







relate to the Greys' political activities, either locally or in Staffordshire. Most country houses would have had similar collections, but in many the pamphlets were disposed of. What makes Dunham special is the decision to store them all in boxes and keep them.

How long has it taken you to catalogue the pamphlets, and what does it involve?

There are about 2,500 pamphlets at Dunham, and the cataloguing took about a year. Much of the material at Dunham is unique – it does not survive anywhere else – so cataloguing it was more interesting and challenging than usual. Identifying the authors and the individuals satirised in the political squibs and dating lots of material printed without a date was enormous fun.

What was the most interesting, most quirky and most mundane thing you found?

I like the insights the collection offers into the minutiae of Cheshire life. There is a sensational and previously unknown pamphlet recording the trial and execution of the gambler, George Birbuck, for robbery, printed in Nantwich (Fig. 1). The pamphlet is undated, but its printer, J. Bromley, was active in 1774 and 1775. The story of Birbuck's trial is a good one, involving beer, punch, gambling, more beer, horse trading, fraud, a pint or two of ale, and two whores in Knutsford (of all places!). The jury found Birbuck, who throughout had 'behaved with the utmost indifference', guilty, at which point he wept and grassed up several of his friends. To no avail – he was still hanged.

In terms of quirky, you would be hard pressed to beat Nicolas Dubois de Chémant's *A Dissertation on Artificial Teeth* (London, 1797) (Figs. 2 and 3). It includes dire and repulsive warnings about 'the defects and injurious consequences of all teeth made of animal substances', 'the danger of transplanting and using human teeth' and 'the superior advantages of teeth made of a mineral'. Dubois de Chémant did not limit himself to mere teeth, however; all manner of facial disfigurements are catered for. I particularly like the artificial chin, and an ingenious contraption for those who have carelessly lost their noses – a false nose on a long spring which passes behind the nape of the neck. It is not surprising that whoever consulted this at Dunham Massey did not put their name to it.

As for mundane, there's an awful lot about dung. The pamphlets cover a period of huge agricultural and industrial change, and manure was a hot topic. I like Thomas Butterworth Bayley's 1795 Thoughts on the necessity and advantages of care and oeconomy in collecting and preserving different substances for manure (Fig. 5). Bayley's aim was to take the words of John, chapter 6, verse 12, literally: 'Let nothing be wasted.' He runs through a whole gamut of revolting things





which can be turned into manure: mud, urine, street sweepings, bones, refuse, seaweed, spent tanner's bark, putrid water, and night-soil. George Harry Grey, 5th Earl of Stamford, was Chairman of the Manchester Agricultural Society, hence the survival of this little gem at Dunham.

Could you tell me about one thing that is relevant to the local area?

I think the huge collection of philanthropic publications have a powerful impact on our understanding of the period. The Booths and the Greys gave enormous quantities of money each year to support philanthropic causes, and the boxes and boxes of annual reports paint a grim picture of the extent of poverty, illness, prostitution, alcoholism, crime and deprivation in what we think of as a wealthy county. These pamphlets are a stark reminder of both the place of country houses in supporting charity, and also how utterly miserable it must have been for many local people to try to scrape together a living.

- 4 (top). Pamphlets reporting the extent of poverty, illness, prostitution, alcoholism, crime and deprivation
- 5 (above). Pamphlets on cheese making, cattle fodder and substances for manure

TRAITORS OR TASTEMAKERS?

Recusant Country Houses: PART ONE

Tessa Murdoch, Acting Keeper, Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics and Glass, Victoria & Albert Museum

s 2017 is the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, it is appropriate to revisit the history of Catholic faith in the British Isles and explore the challenges Catholics faced during times of persecution following the Dissolution of the Monasteries (which took place between 1536 and 1541) until Catholic Emancipation 300 years later in 1829. Several National Trust houses provide a rich narrative seam illustrated by portraits, sacred objects and memorabilia.

In the 16th century citizens were expected to practise the religion of their rulers. Elizabeth I was relatively tolerant at the beginning of her reign, although Catholics could not hold public office and had to pay a small fine if they did not attend Anglican service in their parish church on Sundays. Those who stayed away were known as 'recusants' (from the Latin verb recusare, 'to refuse'). Many more who made token visits to their parish church, but who remained Catholic, became known as Church Papists. In 1570 when Pope Pius V released Elizabeth's Catholic subjects from their allegiance to their monarch, and in 1588 when Spain launched the Armada against England with the blessing of the Pope, all English Catholics were potential traitors. In the last 30 years of Elizabeth's reign over 200 Catholic priests and laymen were executed for their faith.

The Throckmorton family of Coughton Court, Warwickshire (Fig. 1) sustained their position as one of the leading Catholic families. Despite paying regular fines for Recusancy during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, they maintained their wealth and social status. They ensured that the next generation was equipped through education on the European continent to keep up their role at the centre of a Catholic hub in Warwickshire, thus retaining a vital presence in the national and international networks that the British Catholics established. Exposure to European culture promoted an enhanced aesthetic awareness and encouraged Catholic patronage of contemporary art, music and drama, and also the collecting of works of art, particularly those with a religious significance. Twenty generations of the family have lived at Coughton. Today, although a National Trust property, the house remains the home of Clare McLaren Throckmorton QC, a direct descendant. 1

Sir George Throckmorton (c. 1489-1552) left bequests to his daughters Margaret and Joyce, who were nuns at the order of the Poor Clares at Denny Abbey, Cambridgeshire; their great-aunt Elizabeth Throckmorton (d.1547) had served as Abbess here since 1512. She corresponded with Erasmus, who visited the Abbey in 1513 and 1525, and who addressed her as 'most religious Lady Abbess' when asking for the prayers of the abbey.² She was still Abbess when the convent was dissolved in 1539. This explains the preservation at Coughton of the oak dole gate of Denny Abbey with its inset wickets for conversation and for passing out food to the needy; the dole gate is appropriately housed in the Dining Room at Coughton.

Muriel, half-sister of Thomas Throckmorton (1553-





1614), was married to Sir Thomas Tresham(1543/4-1605), builder of those remarkable symbolic structures, the Rushton Triangular Lodge, Northamptonshire (now in the care of English Heritage) (Fig. 2) and Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire (National Trust), (Fig. 3), built between 1594-1605 of Weldon stone from Hatton quarries.

The Triangular Lodge stands in rough, open ground, still populated by hundreds of rabbits in the grass and bracken (rabbit was a staple diet in Elizabethan times), and was used as a warrener's lodge. Its plan is an equilateral triangle, and it has three floors. It is adorned with a Trinitarian symbol of three rabbits with conjoined ears forming a triangle; even the smoke holes in the chimney breasts are arranged in groups of three. The Lodge is 'a stone hymn' to the number three. The trefoil appears in the Tresham family coat of arms - this is a pun on the family name, which was sometimes spelt 'Tresam', 'I am three'. The mystery of the Holy Trinity was accepted by both Protestants and Catholics, so Tresham could be open about celebrating this. But Protestants disapproved of devotion to the Virgin Mary, so Tresham wisely concealed her name under the cryptogram of 55 (the number traditionally associated with the Virgin Mary) or the symbol of the Dove. Other symbolic numbers include 5 for Our Lady ($5 \times 5=25$, which is the date of both the Feast of the Annunciation in March, usually referred to as Lady Day, and Christmas Day) and 7 for God the Father. Biblical quotations, each 33 letters long (one letter for each year of Christ's life on earth), appear in the frieze above the upper storey on each side of the Triangular Lodge. The crockets on the sides of the gables are interspersed with carved armorial crests including the Tresham family boar's head and the falcon crest of the Throckmortons, Tresham's wife's family.



Sir Thomas Tresham spent 12 years in detention for his Catholic beliefs, and was only allowed to return to his home at Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire in 1593, when he celebrated his faith through the symbolic architecture of his new Lodge. The use of such 'devices', ideas expressed in a form which cannot be immediately



2. Rushton Triangular Lodge, Northamptonshire: the upper levels of the entrance front. The triangles symbolise the Holy Trinity

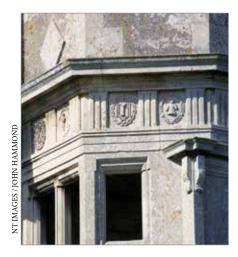
comprehended, was understandable at a time when Catholicism was under threat. The Triangular Lodge also demonstrates Tresham's passion for heraldry; his family coat of arms and those of other Catholic families to whom he was related provide a visual record of his Catholic network. Some shields are left blank for future alliances. This combination of sacred symbolism with family heraldry expressed Tresham's commitment to his religious beliefs.

Tresham's other house at Lyveden New Bield has a cruciform-shaped plan which commemorates both the Crucifixion and Passion of Christ. The frieze bears carved representations of the Instruments of Christ's Passion, including the cross, crown of thorns, spear, sponge, hammer and pincers (Fig. 4). The Elizabethans loved ingenious ways of communicating - they wrote poems in which the words are arranged in unusual shapes, for instance, and Tresham had at least seven books illustrating emblems in his private library. This is preserved at St John's College and the Bodleian Library, Oxford and at Deene Park, Northamptonshire (Thomas Tresham's four daughters all married into Catholic families, Monteagle, Stourton, Parham and Brudenell; this explains why Thomas Tresham's books are preserved in the Brudenell family library at Deene), whilst his portrait is at Boughton House nearby.

Tresham the builder combined a strong practical business sense with an almost mystical imagination. He converted to Catholicism when Robert Persons, later known as Robert Parsons (1546-1610) and Edmund Campion (1540-81, martyr, canonised 1970) said Mass in the Little Oratory at Rushton Hall in 1580. Catholics attended Mass during the darkness of night in the seclusion of the Triangular Lodge. Any priest who celebrated the prohibited Catholic Rite of the Mass was threatened with the death sentence; anyone who attended that celebration was subjected to at least a year's imprisonment by the terms of the new 'Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due Obedience' of 1581, which also imposed a further fine over and above the £20 per month that was levied from recusants.

3. Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire: its cruciform ground plan commemorates the Crucifixion and Passion of Christ





4. Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire: the North Wing. The frieze has carved representations of the Instruments of Christ's Passion, including the cross, crown of thorns, spear, sponge, hammer and pincers This explains the presence of priest holes or hiding places. Over 180 of these still survive in former Catholic houses in England, including those at the National Trust's Baddesley Clinton and Coughton Court, Warwickshire, and Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk.

Sir Robert Throckmorton, 1st Baronet (c. 1597-1651) was the sixth generation to inherit Coughton Court. His father died when he was 12, and his education was supervised by his grandfather Sir Thomas.

Catholic parents worked hard to protect their heirs from youthful indiscretion. When as a young man Robert and his brother Tom engaged in horse racing and gambling and this reached the ears of their mother Agnes, they were severely reprimanded. Agnes scolded her son: 'All the Countrye talketh of It that Papist hath so much monis that thaye run it a Waye'. ³

Coughton was closely linked to one of the most dramatic moments in English history, the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. Although there is no mention of the event in the Throckmorton family papers, two of the plotters, Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham, were nephews of Thomas Throckmorton (1553-1614). The Throckmorton family were associated with the Gunpowder Plot through its leader Sir Everard Digby, who, acting on Catesby's advice, 'did borrow a house [Coughton Court] from Thomas Throckmorton for one month, proposing to take it for longer, if Lady Digby should like to live there'.4 By 30 October 1605 Lady Digby was joined at Coughton by the Jesuit priest Henry Garnet and by Nicholas Owen, contriver of priest holes and chaplain to the Digby family. The Throckmorton family home became their new base; Garnet had known Coughton since 1586, so they swiftly re-familiarised themselves with the location of the chapel, vestments, and sacred silver vessels, and with the priest holes (one is preserved in the Gate Tower). On Friday 1 November Father Henry Garnet said Mass in the Tower Room and preached on the text from the hymn for the day, 'Gentem auferte perfidum Credentium de finibus', 'Cast out the tribe of treachery From the believers' territory.5

Five days later, on Wednesday 6 November, news arrived from London: 'They would have blown up the Parliament House and were discovered and we all utterly undone'.6 Two of the household then rode on to Huddington Court near Worcester, eight miles away, where the conspirators intended to hide, to warn their fellow conspirators, Robert Wintour and his wife, Gertrude Talbot. The Wintour family chaplain was Adrian Fortescue (d. 1653), whose sister Dorothy was to marry Sir Robert Throckmorton (d.1650) as his first wife in 1612, so the Wintour and Throckmorton families were closely allied.

Lady Digby left Coughton on 10 or 11 November;

Father Henry Garnet stayed there until 4 December. Although the Throckmorton family were not at the heart of the Gunpowder Plot, it was essentially a Catholic plot – the plotters hoped for help from Catholic Spain to return England to the Catholic faith. The plot had many connections with Throckmorton relatives and with an extensive Catholic network integrated into Midlands landed society.

Midlands recusant families had been involved in earlier plots against Protestant authority. John Throckmorton (theeldest son of Thomas Throckmorton) had raised the funds to prevent Robert Catesby and his first cousin Francis Tresham, the builder Tresham's son, from suffering the full vengeance of the Elizabethan state for their part in the Earl of Essex's plot against the Queen in 1601. Mercifully, John Throckmorton's death in 1604 spared him from the knowledge of Tresham's death in the Tower in 1605 and Catesby's execution in 1606 after the Gunpowder Plot. Francis Tresham's property was forfeited to the Crown.

Perhaps the most poignant death was that of Thomas Wintour, whose execution after the Gunpowder Plot on 30 January 1606 left two orphan daughters. The younger, Mary, crippled as a child, became a nun at the Convent of the English Canonesses of St Augustine in Louvain, where she died aged 25; the elder, Helen, remained in England and spent her adult life at Badge Court near Bromsgrove in Worcestershire. Her enduring legacy is the vestments she embroidered. These are preserved in the collections at the Jesuit Stonyhurst College, Lancashire and at the Parish of Kemerton, Gloucestershire (administered by the Benedictines of Douai Abbey); they were recently exhibited at Douai Abbey, near Reading and at Auckland Castle, Co Durham, now established as a centre for the history of faith in the British Isles.

The Tower Room at Coughton was used as a chapel in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. Today an evocative sculpture of Christ taken down from the cross and the remarkable Tabula Eliensis ('Picture of Ely'),an oil painting on linen of 1596, which unites the medieval, monastic and recusant worlds, sets the scene for the visitor. The Tabula Eliensis depicts the Norman knights quartered by the monks of Ely in 1076, and shows the cathedral with the coats of arms of all the recusant families imprisoned in the reign of Elizabeth I in the late 16th century. It was acquired by a later Sir Robert Throckmorton, 3rd Baronet (1662-1720), who established the family library; his interest in family history led him to transcribe the inscriptions on family tombs. It was rediscovered in the attics by Sir William, 9th Baronet (1838-1919), who renovated Coughton from 1908.

Part 2 will follow in the Winter issue

- This article draws on Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (ed.), Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation, Farnham, 2009.
- 2. Ibid., p.53.
- 3. Ibid., p.84.
- 4. Ibid., p.97.5. Ibid., p.103.
- 6. Ibid., p.104.