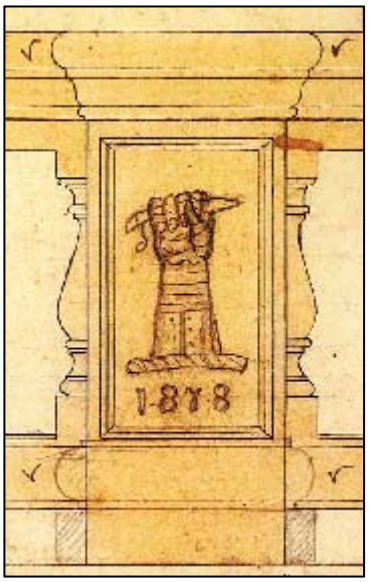
The Landmark Trust

QUEEN ANNE'S SUMMERHOUSE

History Album



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August 2009

Last updated Jan 2010

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BASIC DETAILS

Built	***c.* 1712**
Architect	**Unknown**
Listed	**Grade II**
Old Warden Park	**Registered Grade II***
Opened as a Landmark	**September 2009**
Tenure	**99 year lease from the Shuttleworth Trust**
Restoration architect	**Philip Orchard of the Whitworth Co-Partnership, Bury St Edmunds**
Quantity Surveyor	**Adrian Stenning**
Building analysis	**Colin Briden**
Paint analysis	**Catherine Hassall**
Main Contractors	**Modplan of Shefford, Beds (Contracts Manager: Colin Wvestner; Site Foreman: Tony Collis)**
Brickwork repair	**Simpson Brickwork Conservation**
Plasterer	**G. Cook Plastering**
Electrical services	**Wady's Electrical**
Leadwork	**NSE Leadworks**
Ironwork	**Bob Oakes of Cold Hanworth Forge**
Masonry	**Fairhaven**

Landmark gratefully acknowledges donations towards the restoration of Queen Anne's Summerhouse from the Heritage Lottery Fund, Country Houses Foundation, the Shuttleworth Trust, English Heritage, and many other private trusts and individual donors (some of whom are listed at the end of this volume). The building could not have been saved without their support.

Awards for Queen Anne's Summerhouse :

2010 Museums & Heritage Award: Highly Commended
2010 RICS East of England Building Conservation: Winner
2010 RIBA East of England Spirit of Ingenuity Heritage Award: Winner
2010 CPRE Living Countryside Restoration Award: Winner
2010 Brick Awards: Best Refurbishment & Restoration: Winner

Contents | Page No.

Queen Anne's Summerhouse after its refurbishment in 1878.

QUEEN ANNE'S SUMMERHOUSE – SUMMARY

Old Warden Park (today's Shuttleworth Estate) in which Queen Anne's Summerhouse stands once formed part of the lands owned by Warden Abbey, to the west of today's Old Warden. Today, what remains of the monastic buildings was also restored, and is let for holidays, by the Landmark Trust. After the Dissolution of the abbey in 1537 by Henry VIII, the Old Warden manor at first passed into royal hands. Eventually, in the 1690s, various portions of land were consolidated into a single estate by a rich linen draper called Samuel Ongley. A bachelor, Ongley made his fortune through involvement with the East India Company and (in its early days) the South Sea Company. By buying the estate at Old Warden, on which then stood an old brick manor house, Ongley no doubt sought to confirm his status as a gentleman. In 1712, Ongley was knighted by Queen Anne (who died in 1714) and it was almost certainly he who built Queen Anne's Summerhouse in an area of the estate known as the Warren.

The Ongley family would live at Old Warden until 1872. In the late 18th century, Robert Henley, inheriting through his mother, became 1st Baron Ongley of Old Warden. It was his grandson, the 3rd Lord Ongley, who created the picturesque Swiss Garden on the estate (now restored) and began to build the model village at Old Warden in the 1830s. However, by the 1870s the family's wealth was failing and their line exhausted. In 1872, the estate was sold to another self-made man, Joseph Shuttleworth.

Joseph Shuttleworth was the son of a Lincolnshire shipwright and had spotted the potential of steam. With Nathaniel Clayton, in 1842 he formed The Clayton & Shuttleworth Co., an iron foundry and engineering business that made portable steam engines and traction engines. By 1872, when Joseph Shuttleworth came to Old Warden, the firm had branches throughout Europe and exported their engines all over the world. Shuttleworth employed architect Henry Clutton to demolish the old brick mansion and build him a new one. Shuttleworth took as his model Gawthorpe Hall in Lancashire, an early Jacobean seat of Shuttleworth namesakes but who were not, it seems, ancestors. Clutton transformed its design into the 'Jacobethan' mansion found at Old Warden today.

Working with Clutton was a local architect called John Usher. Estate accounts show that it was Usher, rather than Clutton, who in 1877-8 designed and built Keeper's Cottage, also in the Warren a short distance from the summerhouse and today also a Landmark. Keeper's Cottage is a model gamekeeper's establishment. Its cottage, outbuildings and kennels form a handsome example of Victorian estate architecture, based on the pattern books of the day. The fashion for such dwellings (and there are many

in Old Warden village) was driven partly by benevolent landowners' desire to improve the living conditions of their estate workers and partly by the same landowners' wish to create a picturesque landscape in which to live and to show off to their friends. Both Joseph Shuttleworth and his son Colonel Frank Shuttleworth (who inherited the estate in 1883) loved to shoot, and Old Warden became renowned for its pheasant and partridge shooting. These would have been masterminded from Keeper's Cottage, where pheasant chicks were hatched in the sitting house and the dogs were housed in the kennels. Queen Anne's Summerhouse perhaps provided the shooting party with a suitable setting for refreshments.

In 1940, Frank's only son and heir, Richard Shuttleworth, died in a flying accident. His mother, Dorothy, decided to make the estate over to an educational trust in his memory and the mansion became a college for countryside-based studies. Queen Anne's Summerhouse became derelict, its repair beyond the resources of a trust devoted to other aims. Knowing about Landmark's restoration of Warden Abbey on the neighbouring Whitbread Estate in the 1970s, the Shuttleworth Trust approached the Landmark Trust in 2001to take on both Keeper's Cottage and Queen Anne's Summerhouse, offering generous donations towards their restoration costs. The folly's roof had fallen in. Its foursquare design gave it an appearance of solidity, but this was deceptive as the brick skin was crumbling and separating from the inner core. Windows and doors were missing and the building at risk from vandals. It had no services.

Restoration of Queen Anne's Summerhouse

A temporary roof was erected during the fundraising phase to allow the building to dry out and it was then wrapped against the elements once work began on site. The exceptional quality of the brickwork called for conservation skills of the highest order, delicately patching in mortar and slip repairs, and keeping actual replacement to a minimum. Replacement bricks were specially made to match the originals. The turrets were partially dismantled and rebuilt, and a new, sand-cast lead roof was installed. The staircase was rebuilt and the internal joinery recreated according to fragments found on site. The paint colours are based on an early 18th-century scheme discovered through paint analysis.

Traditional craftsmen contributed throughout: haired lime plaster has been used on the walls; masons replaced the stone plinth which surrounds the building, the steps and the turret copings; the railings were individually repaired by blacksmiths and carving students recreated the elaborate brackets which flank the main door. The building and its water are heated by a ground-source heat pump which recovers heat from the ground via 90 metre boreholes – the first such system in any Landmark. The floor in the main chamber is Ancaster stone and the circular turret kitchen was created by Landmark's furnishing team.

Brief Early History of the Old Warden & its Estates

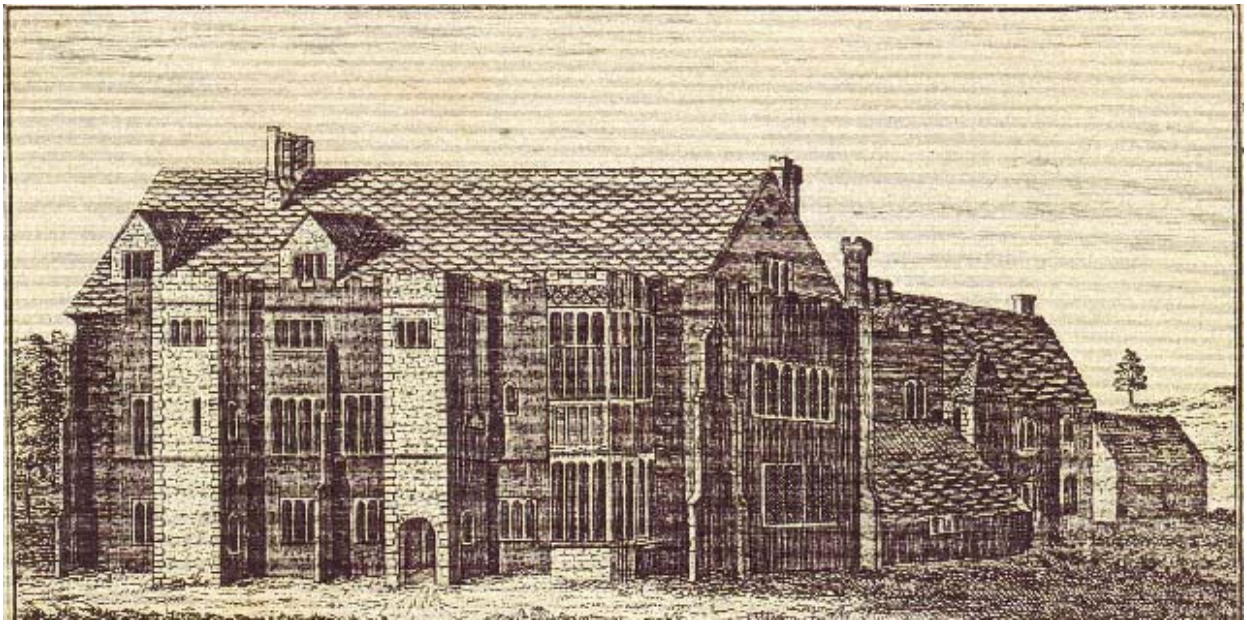
The story of Queen Anne's Summerhouse itself really begins around 1690, when a linen draper called Samuel Ongley bought the estate at Old Warden. However, to place the folly properly in context, its wider estate and village setting also deserve a brief account.

In 1135, Walter Espec gave an endowment to found a Cistercian abbey at Warden, to be a daughter house to the slightly older Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx in Yorkshire. Espec's endowment included land both for the new community and to build St Leonard's Church to serve the nearby settlement (today the parish church for Old Warden). The Cistercians were great sheep farmers, turning marginal or rough grazing land to productive use. This seems to have been true of Warden, which was also called St Mary de Sartis, meaning 'of the cleared land'. Warden Abbey, situated just to the west of today's Old Warden village on the road to Cardington, flourished and grew wealthy.

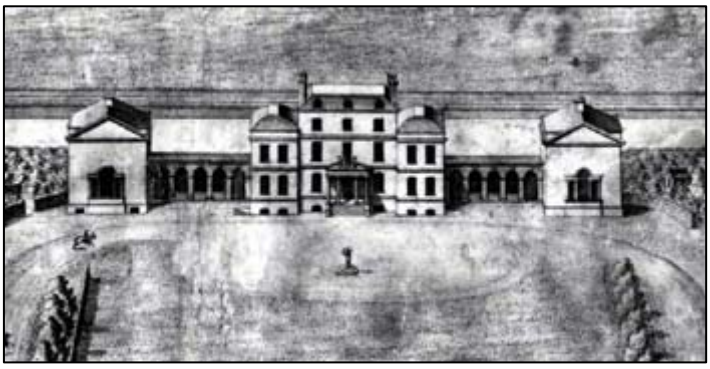
Fine buildings followed and by 1300 the monastery was already extensive with a small settlement known as Warden Street growing up around its gates. Around 1320 work started on an abbey church of cathedral-like proportions. Little is known of the abbey during the four centuries of its existence, but such information as exists suggests it was highly respected for its spiritual life and religious discipline. It was here too that the Warden pear was cultivated.[1] As part of the abbey's expansion, from 1346 the entire lands of the manor of Warden (previously subdivided) came under the abbey's tenure.

[1] A small pear used for cooking, the warden pear was the key ingredient in Warden Pies, which crop up here and there in Elizabethan and Stuart literature, most notably in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, where the Clown almost gives the recipe: 'I must have saffron to colour the warden pies; mace; dates? … nutmegs, seven; a race or two of ginger, but that I may beg, four pounds of prunes and as many raisins o' the sun.' (Act IV, sc. iii.) Hot Warden Pies were still sold in Bedford in the nineteenth century.

All that remains of Warden Abbey, before and after restoration by Landmark in the 1970s. The engraving below shows the Tudor mansion in the early 18th-century. The surviving remnant is the portion around the barley twist chimney at the junction of the two wings.



However in 1537, as part of Henry VIII's wholesale dismantling of the monastic system in England known as the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the abbey was dissolved and its estates distributed to new owners. (To finish the story of Warden Abbey, its site passed to one Robert Gostwick, whose family were large landowners in Bedfordshire. In 1552, Gostwick demolished the abbey buildings and sold on the materials. Soon afterwards, he built a red brick mansion just east of the main monastic site, possibly incorporating some late additions to the Abbot's Lodging. In 1793 the property was bought by Samuel Whitbread of Southill Park, founder of the brewing dynasty, to whose family this part of the old manor estates still belongs.



Southill Park: an engraving from 1739 and in the early 20th century

By this date the main part of the Tudor house had disappeared, leaving only the short wing that stands today in a field to the west of Old Warden village. This wing is the building known today as Warden Abbey, all that remains above ground of both monastery and house. With its red brick walls, ornate chimney, and tall mullioned windows, it is recognisably Tudor, though its fabric incorporates medieval remnants of the earlier abbots' lodgings. Since 1974 this last manifestation of Warden Abbey has been leased from the Whitbread Estate by the Landmark Trust.)

The ownership of the abbey's wider manor, including the land known as Old Warden Park specifically (today's Shuttleworth Estate), had meanwhile passed through the ownership first of three heirs to the throne (to the future Elizabeth I from 1550, then to Henry, Prince of Wales from 1610-11 and after his death, from 1616-17 to his brother Charles). In 1617 Prince Charles granted a 99-year lease of the manor to Sir Francis Bacon which passed in 1628 to Henry Ditchfield and the Corporation of London trustees, who sold it to Robert Palmer, from another notable Bedfordshire family. [2] Then in 1693, Palmer's son, William, sold Old Warden Park to a rich London linen draper called Samuel Ongley (1646-1727) – and it is here that the story of Queen Anne's Summerhouse begins to crystallise.

Samuel Ongley's Commonplace Book

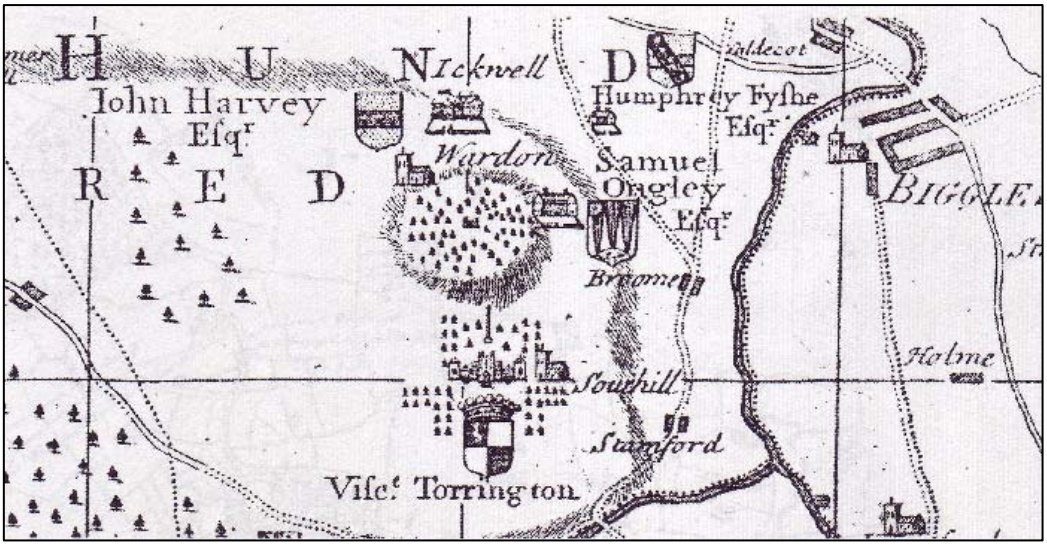
Part 1: Early Career & High Finance

Samuel Ongley (1646-1726) took on a mortgage by demise for a 1000-year lease on the Old Warden estate in 1693 with his father, who is described as 'Sam. Ongley snr, London merchant'. It is not known in detail how the estate had fared through the 17th century, but it is likely that Ongley, as an astute businessman seeking to establish his own landed credentials and dynasty, picked up a bargain. An assignment of

[2] Based on VCR Beds iii 253+ (1908).

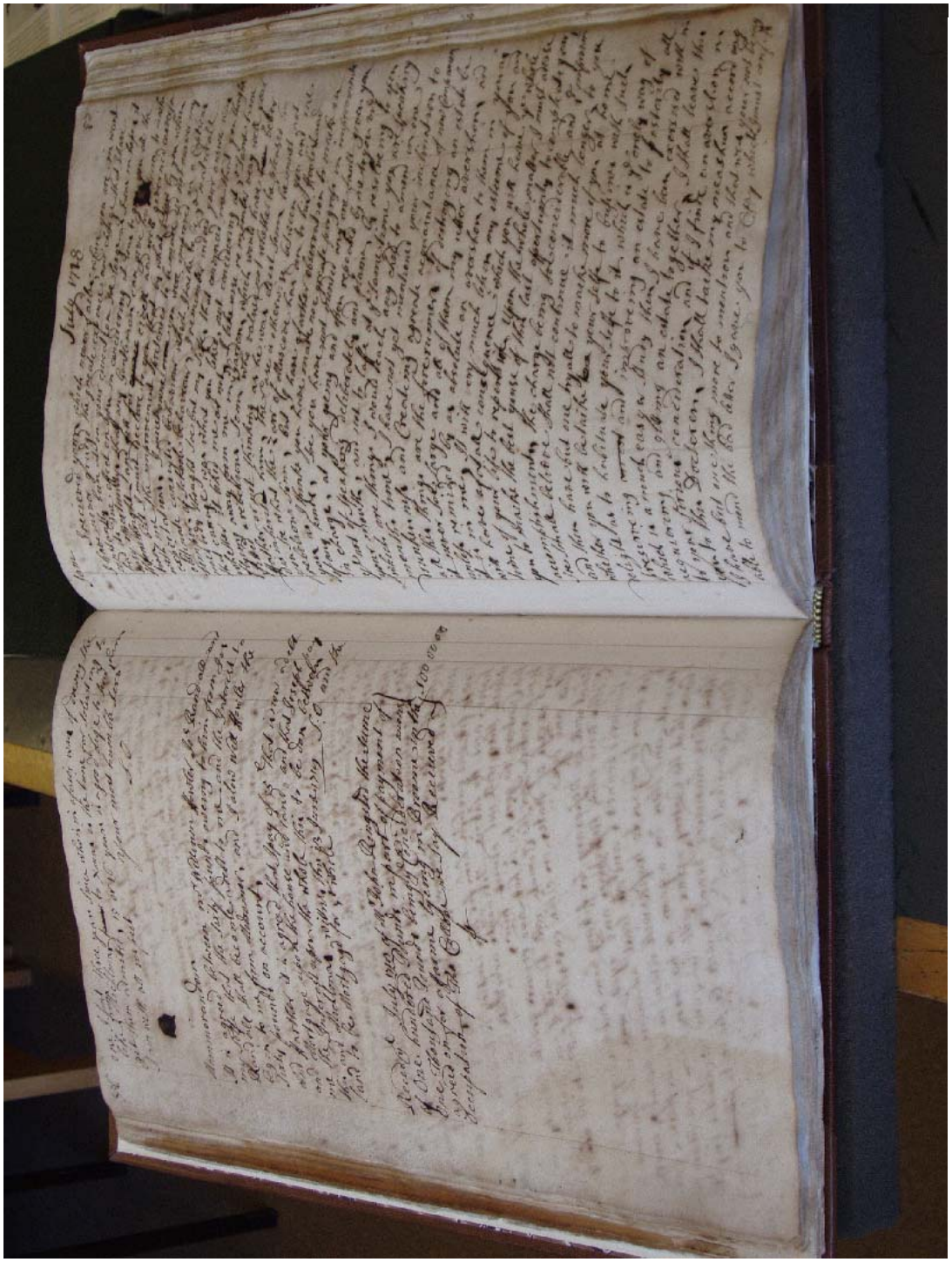
this mortgage dated 31st Dec 1700 records cumulative transactions by Ongley to consolidate holdings at Old Warden and gives him ownership of nine occupied cottages in Old Warden and all the tithes in Old Warden for 1000 years.[3]

Ongley had made his money both as a linen draper in Cornhill in London and as a Director of the East India Company. He was knighted by Queen Anne in June 1712 and it seems almost certain that it was he who built the large folly on this sandy hill to commemorate his knighthood and his queen. From known the earliest times, this was known as the Warren, referring to its suitability for rearing rabbits. The folly seems always been known as Queen Anne's Summerhouse. Stylistically too the building is consistent with this date, although the first definitive documentary evidence for its existence comes from a map of 1736. There is one other possibility, that the folly post-dated Sir Samuel, and was erected as later memorial to the Stuarts by one of his later heirs. There was a fashion for such things among those disaffected with the new Hanoverian regime, as at Wentworth Castle in Yorkshire (Queen Anne's Obelisk, 1734). Perhaps conclusive evidence for its date will yet emerge; for now, we will attribute it to Sir Samuel and his knighthood.



A map of Bedfordshire from 1736 clearly shows the distinctive footprint of the folly at the centre of avenues radiating through the trees.

[3] Bedford Record Office X95/411/160.



Samuel Ongley's commonplace book, now at the Bedford & Luton Archive Service. He advised that being able to 'write well' was a necessary skill for making your way in the world.

The Ongley family owned Old Warden Park for more than 150 years but finally disappear into obscurity and few documentary sources survive for their time at Old Warden. There is one remarkable exception: the first Samuel Ongley's commonplace book, found in an Upper Caldecote loft in the late 1950s. Today, it is held at the Bedford & Luton Archive Service. It is a folio size parchment volume and its leather binding has that faint oaky smell that evokes many a long evening in front of a log fire as its owner painstakingly filled its pages by quill and candlelight. A commonplace book can hold many things depending on its owner – sometimes poems, religious tracts, useful recipes, letters, key dates – whatever the author felt was worth jotting down or keeping a record of about their life, so it is always exciting to spot one listed in a library catalogue. Surely too, this one would yield something about the building of Queen Anne's Summerhouse….

Sadly, this last was not to be. The commonplace book is silent about both folly and knighthood and is only the merest scratch on the surface of the life of this generous and experienced business man. It gives hardly anything away about his London activities or network of friends.

The entries span 30 years or more but are very episodic. However, it does provide a direct link with the folly's most likely builder across several decades of his life. Ongley was in his fifties before he became active at Old Warden, when he takes up his commonplace book. He comes across as a rather earnest middle-aged man, content to live in retirement, apparently alone, in the old brick mansion at Old Warden and to create a landscape around it. The clues that can be pieced together about his earlier life, however, suggest years of both seafaring and high finance.

Ongley was the son and namesake of a Maidstone mercer (or dealer in fine cloths) and was baptised in Maidstone on 13th June 1647. His early career remains obscure, but eventually he had a linen draper's business in

Cornhill in London, was said to be worth £10,000 a year and was made a freeman of Maidstone. The 1690s were a good time to be in linen: commercial agreements had been newly drawn up to promote Ireland's linen industry at the expense of its woollen industry (to protect this traditional English area of strength). Ongley seems to have had wide business interests, including, for example, involvement with fisheries off the coast of Ireland and a 'Sam. Ongley junior' appears in the East India Company records during the 1690s. The earliest entries in the commonplace book (not dated but probably from the 1690s and in Ongley's hand) are provisions lists for a merchant ship (there is then a long break before the Old Warden entries – perhaps the volume started life as a good quality ledger that Ongley later found and was loath to discard). These meticulous early accounts record the outlay on the ship *Anna,* which had a crew of 79 under Captain Frances Nelly. The lists are a mine of information on an early eighteenth-century maritime fit-out and the numerous trades involved – blockmaster, brazier, bricklayer ('for fitting ye ships furnace, making a rosting place....'), pewterer, sailmaker, carver, caulker, smith, painter, ropemaker, leatherman, are only a few. It also lists the many items required for a voyage – a speaking trumpet, flour box, pepper box, tinder boxes, colander, basting ladles, funnels....

Another possible clue to these early years comes from letters of advice Ongley wrote much later to young relations on how to build a career, which he thought worth copying in his book. It is not implausible to imagine that he is writing from his own direct experience. In one written in 1717 he writes that a young man must learn to write well and have a perfect knowledge of accounting. He can then go as a clerk into service of one of the overseas companies for five years at a low salary, after which he will need £100 to trade on his own account. Ongley clearly assumed this trading would involve the young man travelling himself, for he cautions that great self control would be needed for *'the Country he goes to is hot, and requires great sobriety and temperance, for the climate*

will admit of no drunkenness or excess of diet; in either case they will fall into the bloody flux and die.' After a few years, when it becomes clear that the young man has the staying power, *'£500 will be proper to make him a Complete Merchant…If he proves sober and industrious, there is room to improve his fortune to the tune of 20, 30 or 40 thousand pounds.'* Perhaps this is how Ongley built up his own fortune.

Ongley took his place in the local hierarchy, serving as high sheriff for Bedfordshire from 1703. Some time during Queen Anne's reign he also acquired a second country seat, called Vinter's or Vintner's at Boxley near Maidstone in Kent, from where his family had come.[4] However, the impression is that London remained his chief sphere of activity at this time, for like so many other merchants at that period, he enlarged his trading wealth by entering the world of high finance.

During these years, Britain (for so it may be called, after the Union with Scotland in 1707) was still groping its way towards adequate banking and credit mechanisms. Trading expeditions across the seas were hugely expensive to mount and reliant on profits not available until the ships returned. Samuel Ongley was a Director of the East India Company and then from July 1711 to August 1712, served as the first Deputy Governor of the South Sea Company. In at least four generations of the wider family there is a Samuel Ongley, but birthdates make it likely that it was our Samuel Ongley who had acted as chief clerk to Robert Harley's second lottery, known as The Two Million Pound Adventure.

Early eighteenth-century politics relied as much on influence and connection as ability, so it is noteworthy of Ongley's own circle that both he and John Blunt (who acted for Harley and was the eventual architect of the 1719 scheme which led to the Bubble bursting in 1720) were

[4] *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*: Volume 4 (1798), pp. 324-353 for the Parish of Boxley.

excluded from the charmed circle of Lord Godolphin's Treasury before 1711.

It was in part disgruntlement among Harley's group at being excluded that led to the establishment of the South Sea Company in 1711 (and interestingly, another of the City men involved was Ambrose Crawley, or Cawley, who was the owner of the ship *Anna* whose fit out opens the commonplace book). It was no doubt in part Ongley's relationship with Harley, a leading Tory politician of the day, that led to his appointment as first Deputy Governor of the Company in July 1711.

The South Sea Trading Company, to give it its full name, grew out of an ambitious Huguenot company, the Sword Blade Bank, and was founded in part to break the monopoly the East India Company enjoyed over the country's trading finances. The Bank of England was founded in 1696 but was as yet no match for the high-wheeling financial ambitions of the politicians. After decades of war against France and Spain, Parliament was obsessed by the national debt. An unbalanced budget was still a novelty and no-one knew how to get rid of it (it is hardly necessary to draw attention to the number of present day parallels in the story..)

Harley's government-sponsored lotteries were one solution to raise cash for the government in this credit-starved environment and helped create an increasingly frenzied appetite for speculation among all levels of society with even a little cash to spare. The South Sea Company was formed to exploit the imagined riches of South America; this happened to be in Spanish hands, with whom we were technically at war, but the Company's Directors (Samuel Ongley among them as Deputy Governor) were confident that peace terms could be agreed that would grant the required trading privileges and provide a handsome return for shareholders. The Company was allowed to assume £9 million of the national debt for 6% annual interest and a monopoly of British trade in the Pacific Ocean, and is notorious for its spectacular collapse in the so-called

South Sea Bubble. With the benefit of hindsight, even at its inception buying shares in the South Sea Company was an act of faith.

Ongley was at the heart of this activity. A letter in his commonplace book catches a flavour of these years: written to his nephew and heir Samuel Ongley II, it is not dated but the reference to the Queen's Lottery suggests it was written before her death in 1714:

> *'I find there is no end of the Rise of So. Sea Stock. I doubt not but that you will be watchful of the motions of the India Company project and be interested therein to supply your want of money. For the present it must be by the Queens Lottery or lottery Annuity or Banke Annuity, as soon as the So. Sea Books be open we can sell 500 or a 1000 of it. Pray have you settled the long annuity yet with the Company…'*

It was only after Ongley's direct involvement, however, that the South Sea Company crashed in August 1720. He almost certainly still had shares in the Company like most of the rest of the London population but there is no sign in his book that he was adversely affected – a tiny minority of canny investors did escape the effects of the Bubble. Even so, his nervousness is apparent in this letter written at the height of the crisis, to an associate in London:

> *London 11 Aug 1720 'although I date my letters from London yet I am at Warden, my nephew being in Minsen Lane and writing to me every post I have yours within a day as soon as if I were in London.'*

(The scheme that led to the crash involved the government gambling the *entire* national debt on the future success of the South Sea Trading Company. In 1719, John Blunt, in association with John Aislabie, came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a radical scheme: the South Sea Company would now take on the whole of the national debt by converting it into shares in their company. Once the wondrous markets opened up in South America, as surely they would soon, everyone would make their fortunes. At a stroke, the South Sea Company, which also had ambitions in banking, would also cut out their two main rivals, the East

India Company and the Bank of England. Stated this baldly, it beggars belief that government and whole nation could fall for this – but then, writing in 2009, perhaps it was not so far from our own recent faith in the banking system for all its dependency on the futures and derivatives markets, and which crashed so spectacularly in 2008.

Similarly, the South Sea Bubble had to burst, after a frenzy of futures investment that involved the great and the small, from George I downwards. In the final stages investors even gambled the value of unissued shares to buy more shares in the next subscription, as people scrambled to invest in the many subsidiary schemes to exploit the imagined foreign markets. John Aislabie retired in disgrace to Yorkshire where he created the gardens at Studley Royal, and later his son William those at nearby Hackfall, setting for another Landmark folly, The Ruin.

In the South Sea Company's early days all must have seemed seemed well, however. As Ongley's knighthood in the summer of 1712 coincides with the end of his first term as Deputy Governor, it may well have been bestowed in recognition of this involvement. Sir Samuel (as we must now call him) remained a Director of the Company until February 1715 and represented Maidstone in Parliament from 1713-15. He also took his turn as City Alderman in 1713. He would have turned 60 in 1715, and seems then to have taken the decision to retire to his Old Warden estate.

Samuel Ongley's Commonplace Book:

Part 2: Life at Old Warden

The entries in the commonplace book for the closing years of Sir Samuel's life (he died in 1726) have two broad themes: domestic and personal trivia, and his concern to create an estate worth handing on to a suitable heir as the culmination of his own success in life.

The lack of evidence of a mistress of the house in Sir Samuel's time perhaps explains why he includes in his commonplace book items not ordinarily of interest to the master of a house. A list of linen includes fine damask tablecloths and napkins for himself and his guests, and huckaback ones for staff. Other lists record his silver plate, knives and forks, salt-cellars, candlesticks, snuffers and tankards, tea canister and a coffee pot. He also notes a few cooking recipes, for raisin wine and Stilton cheese, the latter to be made in May, June or July and coloured with marigold or sage.

Sir Samuel records a dinner with his neighbour, the 1st Viscount Torrington at Southill and its menu, perhaps suggesting this was an unusual event. (John Byng, 5th Viscount Torrington and travel writer, was a younger son of the 3rd Viscount.)

The second theme in the book is Ongley's concern to build up his estate into something worthy of handing on. In this he is perhaps also carrying out his father's wishes, since the original assignment of mortgages for the estate name him as 'a person approved for this purpose [to receive the assignment] by Sam Ongley snr....for the remainder of the term on 1000 years in trust for Sam Ongley snr.' (Sam Ongley senior being Sir Samuel's father).

It was Sir Samuel who created the bones of today's park landscape. The commonplace book may be silent on the building of the summerhouse, but it records many instances of active estate management. He records *What season of the yeare to Prune Trees,* followed by a long list of species. He includes *'Memorandum this last day of Feby 1716/7 I planted in the Turfe ground 750 young Oakes having been twice removed before.'* He was anxious to keep the estate well-stocked with timber '*for the good of the Kingdom in General and for my own use in particular*.' This was not necessarily popular with his tenants and he had to threaten prosecution for lopping or felling. The Conservation Management Plan for Old Warden Park, prepared by Purcell Miller Tritton in 2007, also raises the possibility that surviving water features in Bath Orchard to the east of the mansion are the remains of a formal canal and perhaps a cold plunge bath, popular in the early eighteenth century for medicinal reasons.

As justice of the peace, Ongley actively enforced the settlement laws as a justice of the peace to protect Old Warden from migrant paupers. He meticulously records the beating of the parish bounds, an ancient tradition under which once every three years, the men and boys of the parish would walk its boundaries to ensure that they were engrained into the collective memory. Sometimes the boys were turned upside down or subjected to a similar memorable jape on a particular spot, to ensure they remembered that particular feature. Ongley describes *The Perambulation made Round the Bounds of the Parish of Old Warden the 18 May 1710,* which was made over two days. He records the marks made and that the route was *'Inclusive of all ye Warren'* on Day 1. He carefully lists all (male) attendees and witnesses – on both days: the vicar, three church wardens, many fathers and sons and 'Sam Ongley jnr', which at this date may still refer to himself if his father was still alive or could have been his great-nephew and heir, who was 13 in 1710. 61 men and boys went round on that first day, (when Ongley also lists *'the names of the Persons*

that cutt ye S on ye round Hill on ye Warren ') and 41 on the second day. The next perambulation would not be not until 3 May 1722.

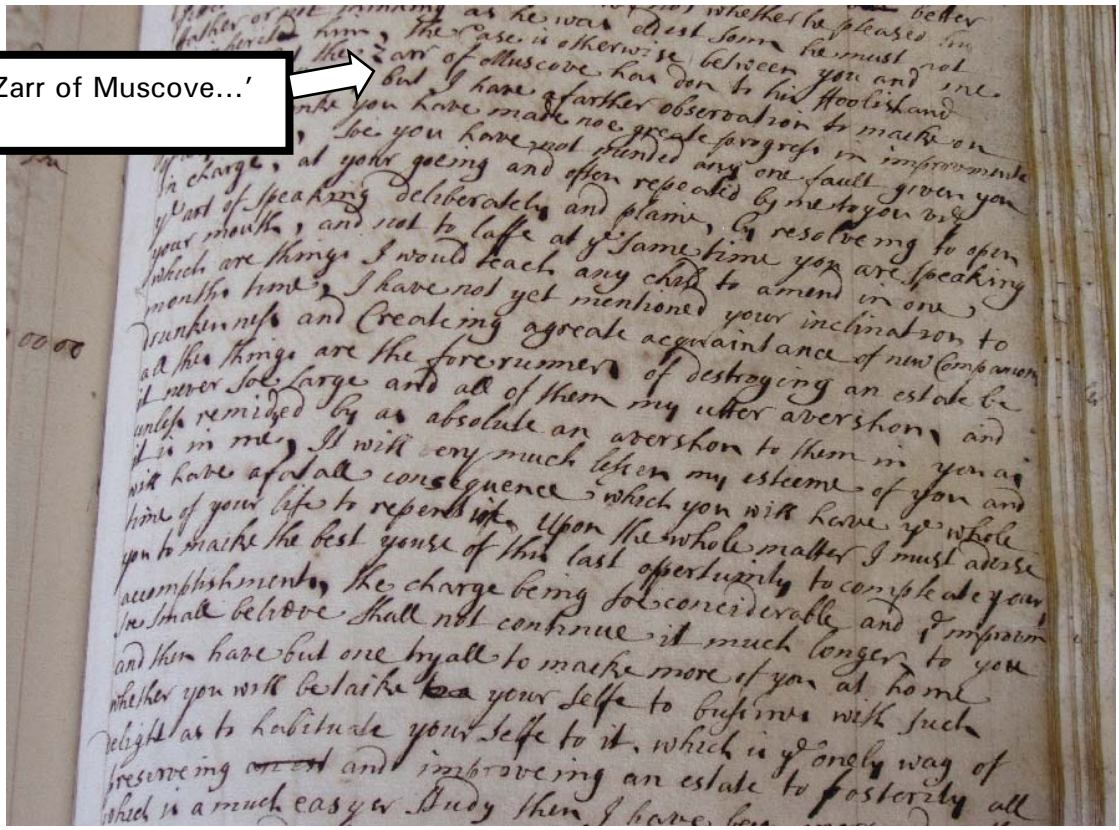
Sir Samuel was a benevolent man, who followed parish affairs and would pay 2s 6d a quarter for the schooling of an intelligent village child. He was always willing to give advice to his many young relatives wanting to get ahead in the world, to provide a dowry for a niece or to bail out a cousin in financial difficulties. It must have been a great sadness to him not to have an heir of his own. He chose as his heir a great-nephew and namesake, who for the purposes of this account we will call Samuel Ongley II.

Sir Samuel paid Samuel II's way through Oxford, where he attended St John's, an education Sir Samuel seems not to have had himself. Sir Samuel clearly loved his great-nephew but was often exasperated by him and treated him strictly, especially when he overspent his allowance. The young man for his side must have chafed at such avuncular attention: the following extracts from letters to Samuel II during term time are so timeless in content and so characteristic of Sir Samuel's own voice and aspirations for his estate that they are worth including in full:

> *'I doubt you are running too much on speculation: Astrology, Astronomy and Algebra I doubt are much too deep for your present Capacity. I should be glad to have you entire master of the Latin tongue, and Capacitate yourself for General conversation. I know not how much you are improved in those Speculations but I do not find you at all improved in your natural Capacity. I did little expect so slight account from you of your management of the money last sent you... If I had been as you and in the Station you are in I should have considered from who I had this money and that this money came as a voluntary gift not from a parent where there was some obligation to provide for his own. I should have thought, this good friend who provides not only for me but for all my relations and that this good friend gives this money he gives me with the thought of his brains and the industry of his body.'*

And another has Sir Samuel in full flight of indignation (yet he troubles to keep a copy!):

'I likewise remember very well you flying away from me in my Garden, which would better have fitted a rebellious Son who valued not whether he pleased his father or not thinking he was eldest Son, he must not disinherit him. The case is otherwise between you and me, you see what the Zarr of Muscove [Tsar of Muscovy] *has done to his foolish and rebellious Son. But I have a further observation to make on you as I think you have made no great improvements of any kind... I have not yet mentioned your inclination to Drunkenness and Creating a great acquaintance of new Companions. All these things are the forerunner of destroying an Estate be it never so large and all of them my utter aversion and unless remedied by as absolute an aversion to them in you as in me, it will very much lessen my esteem of you and will have a fatal consequence which you will have the whole time of your life to repent it.... I have but one trial to make of you at home. Whether you will betake yourself to business with such delight as to habituate yourself to it, which is the only way of preserving and improving an estate to posterity, all which is a much easier study than I have exercised with in acquiring and getting an estate together... I heartily wish and desire that you may be worthy of the good intentions and inclinations in me to make you easy in this world and happy in the next.'*



Poor Sir Samuel. When Samuel II left Oxford, Sir Samuel wrote a grateful letter to the President of St John's thanking him for his kindness to the young man and presenting the chapel with two candlesticks. Happily, it seems his original assessment of his great-nephew as a suitable heir was sound. By 1720, Samuel II is clearly acting as his agent in London.

What of Sir Samuel as builder, especially of Queen Anne's Summerhouse? The clues are again tantalisingly few. When Ongley bought the Old Warden estate, a mansion came with it, about which very little is known. There are only two illustrations of it, both dating from the nineteenth century: a little, rather indistinct, watercolour and a lithograph in the 172 Sales Particulars. From what can be made out, it seems this original mansion was a foursquare, unremarkable brick house, which looks as though it had been added to over the years.

A small nineteenth-century watercolour of the old mansion.

(Shuttleworth Collection)

An illustration of the eighteenth-century mansion from the 1872 Sales Particulars. It was demolished in 1875. (Shuttleworth Collection)

Indeed, it is possible that Ongley himself rebuilt much of the house in the 1720s, since the commonplace book has a copy of a letter written in 1723 to a friend on a walking holiday in Scotland: '*I doubt not but you have seen in the public prints the account of my misfortune of having had half of my house at Warden burnt down, so that I doubt I must be at the trouble and charge of building a New one.'* No further evidence of such rebuilding has come to light. As Ongley died in 1726, it may be that it was his great-nephew, Samuel Ongley II, who did some of this rebuilding. All we know is that Sir Samuel was not a novice in managing building projects. Undated entries in the commonplace book refer to his managing the repair of the 'Hospital's Farm at Mepprisal', about which he says

> '*I will either agree with the workmen by the great [i.e. the full contract] or do it by the day, which you shall think best. Our workmen here are not like yours in London, they make a pretty good Conscience of doing a good days work. We give our Bricklayers but 18d a day and Labourers a shilling.'*

A further copied note records:

> *'The bearer Mr Robert Sopp I have employed many years in building my warehouses and other works. I believe him to be a sober and honest man Capable both in skill and purse to undertake considerable building. If you can agree with him the price you may depend on his complying with what he shall undertake.'*

Could Mr Sopp have been the bricklayer or site foreman for the building of Queen Anne's Summerhouse? His is the only name we have.

The closing entries in the book reveal Sir Samuel's failing health. He suffered from dropsy, for which he tried a regimen of his own, which he recommended to a friend: a diet of lean roast meat and bread with no vegetables, '*they being very windy'*, and abstemious drinking habits. As his condition declined, he wrote '*I walk about as a mere Shadow and trouble myself in vain.'*

Sir Samuel is buried in St Leonard's Church, with a very fine white marble monument which shows him, rather unexpectedly, as a Roman statesman in toga. If done from life, this is the only likeness we have of him, though it is hard to believe in his head of Roman hair at the age of 80. On the evidence of his commonplace book, his epitaph sums him up fairly: he was 'charitable to the poor and very Bountiful to his relations…free from Pride and Ostentation, always easy of Access, a kind Neighbour, a sincere Friend and delighted in doing good offices to all Mankind.'

Sir Samuel Ongley's monument in St Leonard's Church at Old Warden.

The later Ongleys

Sir Samuel's great-nephew was 30 when he entered his inheritance in 1726 and in the same year he married a local girl, Anne Harvey of Northill. Samuel Ongley II was a typical member of the eighteenth-century country gentry, apparently fluid in his political allegiances. When an election was pending in 1726, the county gentry were keen to win their new member to their respective camps. '*Ongley has hardly any principles, at least not violent if he is a Tory... tis necessary to court him and bring him over if they can to the Whig interest*' wrote Mrs Sarah Osborn (née Byng, born at Southill) after the Whig county men had been set in a flutter by a mysterious summons from the (Tory) Duke of Bedford to meet at the Bell Inn in Bedford.[5] Ongley II eventually served as MP for New Shoreham in Sussex from 1729-34 and then for Bedford from 1734-47.

Though married, he too had no children, and so by the terms of Sir Samuel's will, the Old Warden estate passed to his niece's son Robert Henley, who was also obliged to take the name Ongley. Robert Henley was granted an Irish peerage in 1776 (which enabled him to continue sitting in the House of Commons) and thus became 1st Baron Ongley of Old Warden. It was the 1st Lord Ongley who built the family mausoleum in the corner of St Leonard's churchyard, a little building that sits on the shoulder of a rare rise in the Bedfordshire countryside and so doubles as eye-catcher from the mansion.

He was succeeded in 1785 by his eldest son Robert, 2nd Lord Ongley, who once again set about moulding the landscape on the Old Warden estate, perhaps dismantling some of the more formal layout of the earlier eighteenth century. At the end of the century, there were various land exchanges between the Old Warden and Southill estates, exchanging fields and moving boundaries to mutual benefit. In 1797, the park (though not the Warren) was enclosed by the 2nd Lord Ongley, who then

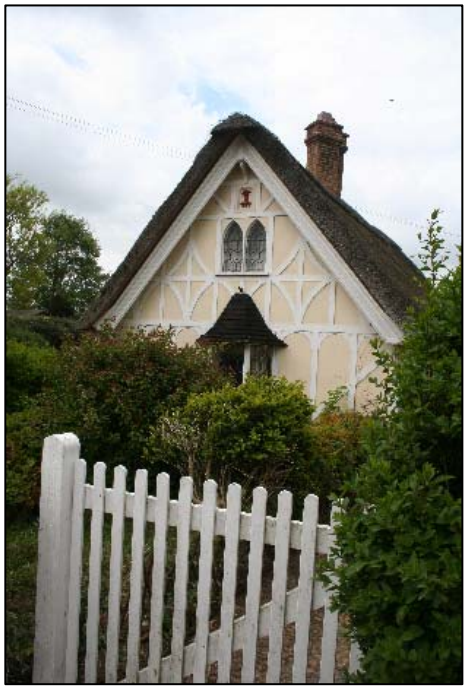
[5] *Social & Political Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Emily F D Osborn..

proceeded to lay it out in the style of Capability Brown. At that stage the road ran close to the mansion, and Lord Ongley had it diverted to its current route between Biggleswade and Old Warden. It has even been suggested that Lord Ongley and Samuel Whitbread attempted to lay out a single ornamental landscape to benefit both Old Warden mansion and Southill House. Thus for example it is said that the house at Southill could once be seen through the avenue running roughly south through the trees from Queen Anne's Summerhouse.

The 2nd Lord Ongley was succeeded by his son Robert, 3rd Lord Ongley in 1814. It was the 3rd Lord Ongley who created the picturesque Swiss Garden on the estate in the 1820s (now leased to Bedfordshire County Council, restored and open to the public). Through this decade and the next, he also began to develop the estate village, in the best Picturesque tradition. These were the years when philanthropic landlords combined concern to provide their tenants with better living conditions with stage dressing for their estate.

The Swiss Cottage in the Swiss Garden, which can be visited as part of the Shuttleworth Collection.

An example of the 3rd Lord Ongley's cottages in Old Warden (above) built *c.* 1830 and some of the Shuttleworths' additions (below) built for similar motives but later in the Industrial Age. The cottage on the left (1879) mimics Lord Ongley's approach; the later ones on the right have become more functional.



The 3rd Lord Ongley's cottages in the village can be identified by their thatched roofs, curved walls and windows and absence of mass-produced materials or datestones. Following the fashion expressed in the pattern books like P.F. Robinson's *Village Architecture*, published in 1830, Ongley set out to evoke an image of Olde England of uncertain date. It is said that Lord Ongley even required his tenants to become part of the scene by requiring them to wear red cloaks.

We also get a glimpse of life at Queen Anne's Summerhouse. Lord Ongley's gamekeeper, John Stonebridge who was born in 1804 at Sutton in Bedfordshire, lived there for more than 40 years, possibly from the birth of his eldest child in 1829. By the 1841 census, John and his wife Sarah had 8 children. They were still living there in 1871 in what was then known as the Red Summer House. By then, two sons were working as assistant gamekeepers.

Meanwhile, however, the stability of the estate's affairs had been undermined by the provisions of the 2nd Lord Ongley's will, which required the division of a large capital sum (£20,000) between his heir's five siblings. Probably in order to fulfil the requirements of this will, the 3rd Baron began to mortgage portions of the estate. By 1850, Lord Ongley's interest payments came to £1,800 on a rent roll of only £2,858. In 1861, the total sum due was paid off by means of a new mortgage for £16,000, but around the same time, Lord Ongley moved out of the mansion house, known as Warden House, which was let to a Henry Browning for £105 a quarter. In 1872, the last of the 3rd Lord Ongley's brothers died, leaving no heirs to the peerage and so on 27th September 1872, the majority of the estate – 2,023 acres in Old Warden and Southill – were sold to Joseph Shuttleworth, of Hartsholme, Lincolnshire, for £150,000. With the land came the old brick mansion, described in an 1869 Directory as 'a brick mansion surrounded with park and beautiful pleasure grounds.' It was time for another injection of new money by an astute businessman into an estate that was once again ailing.

When Ongley died in 1877, his will included the sum of £50 to 'my late gamekeeper, Stonebridge,' who by now had retired to a house in Broom.[6]

Gawthorpe Hall near Burnley, built 1600-6.

The Shuttleworth Mansion at Old Warden Park, built 1875-7.

[6] This information about John Stonebridge was supplied by Christine Hill.

The Shuttleworth Mansion & Queen Anne's Summerhouse datestone explained

Joseph Shuttleworth was born in 1819 in Dogdyke, Lincolnshire, the son of a shipwright. He had made his fortune out of the manufacture of portable steam and traction engines, through the firm which he co-founded, Clayton & Shuttleworth. He had already had one mansion built to reflect this wealth, Hartsholme Hall near Lincoln, a large but contemporary house in the style of the then fashionable Gothic Revival (since lost). He came to Old Warden aged 51 with slightly grander ideas and the old brick mansion did not impress him. Once Henry Browning's lease on the old mansion expired in 1875, Shuttleworth set about creating a house more fitted to his requirements, and he turned for inspiration to Gawthorpe Hall.

The Gawthorpe Shuttleworths

An ancient land-owning line of Shuttleworths hailed from Gawthorpe, near Burnley in north east Lancashire, where they had been since at least the 14th century, when one Ughtred de Shuttleworth acquired land on the banks on the Calder. On this land was a square, four storey pele tower, in place since around 1323 when it was visited by Edward II. Its walls were eight feet thick, and it had been built to serve as lookout and refuge against marauding Scots.

The Gawthorpe Shuttleworths became an upwardly mobile family with deep roots in the local community and took as their crest from the earliest times a mailed fist grasping a clutch of shuttles, the devices around which thread was wound when weaving. By the time Gawthorpe Hall itself was created around the pele tower in the early 17th century, the family had been considerably enriched by the activity of Sir Richard Shuttleworth, who had made his fortune as a lawyer under Elizabeth I. Sir Richard drew up plans (possibly by Robert Smythson, usually credited with the deisgn

of Hardwick Hall) but died in 1599 before work could begin. The glittering early Jacobean pile that stands today was accomplished by his brother, Lawrence, between 1600 and 1606.[7] The old pele tower was given two more storeys to form its centrepiece.

That the design of Gawthorpe Hall inspired the mansion Joseph Shuttleworth built in the 1870s seems beyond doubt, its pele/stair tower evolving into one of the clock towers beloved of Victorian magnates for whom time was money. What is intriguing is that there seems to have been no connection whatsoever between Joseph Shuttleworth and the Gawthorpe (by then Kay-) Shuttleworths. In seeking to establish his own pedigree in Bedfordshire, Joseph seems to have wished to imply a connection with this ancient Lancastrian family that was quite without foundation. He adopted a crest similar to theirs and the family arms also feature the Gawthorpe Shuttleworth's 'three shuttles sable tipped and fringed with quills of yarn and threads bend or; a cubit arm in armour proper grasping in the gauntlet a shuttle of the arms.'

The arms adopted by Joseph Shuttleworth. The motto means 'From swiftness comes life.'

[7] Today, Gawthorpe Hall is in the care of the National Trust and open to the public. It is known for its fine Jacobean plasterwork and a careful restoration of house and grounds by Sir Charles Barry in the early 1850s, who reused the pele tower as a stair tower. The family became Kay-Shuttleworth after the marriage of its heiress in 1842; Charlotte Bronte was a family friend and visited Gawthorpe Hall several times though was less than enthusiastic about her hosts. In the twentieth century, the Hon. Rachel Kay-Shuttleworth amassed a fine textile collection, still housed at Gawthorpe.

In coming to Old Warden in 1872 in his early fifties, Joseph seems to have been ready to complete the age-old process of the gentrification of new money by imitating the ancestral home of an ancient, and apparently unconnected, branch of his family. The estate at Old Warden represented the perfect fit for the new dynasty, with a model village half begun by an expiring family (the Ongleys) offering the opportunity for benevolent philanthropy as well as the revivification of an ancient estate.

Henry Clutton

To design his new house, Joseph Shuttleworth commissioned Henry Clutton, an architect with a proven track record of such Jacobethan designs. Clutton trained under Edward Blore and inherited many of Blore's clients. Though equally well known for his French Gothic designs, Clutton was adept at adapting to the wishes of his clients and an equally proficient designer of Jacobethan country houses. He was also one of the younger, bolder generation of Victorian architects and – with conviction and occasional brilliance – broke out of the rather dull tradition in which he had been trained. Between 1845 and 1856 he established his reputation, building country houses, Anglican churches, schools and colleges. He was prominent in architectural circles and an active member of the Ecclesological Society (which advocated a return to mediaeval style in church architecture) Then, in 1857, Clutton converted to Catholicism. After this, commissions from the Anglican church ceased and he had to rely on the patronage of country house clients, which included the Dukes of Bedford and Sutherland. Such connections would have meant much to a self-made man like Shuttleworth.

In the course of his career, Clutton designed some sixteen country houses and altered or made additions to many more. At Hatherop Hall in Gloucestershire (1848-56) he designed a house based on the Elizabethan mansion which had been destroyed by fire. Widmerpool Hall, Nottinghamshire (1871-2) features an obtrusive clock tower somewhat at

odds with its otherwise somewhat severe gabling – did Shuttleworth see this, was he reminded of Gawthorpe's pele tower and did this direct his choice of architect?

However the two came together, Clutton was meticulous in his adaptation of Gawthorpe Hall design to nineteenth-century taste. In November 1875, the estate ledger records that work began 'Pulling down Old House &c.' 10,000 bricks were brought from Warden Tunnel, and there were payments for cleaning tiles. Frustratingly, this ledger (now at Bedford Record Office, SL2/1) jumps from Feb 1874 to Nov 1877 so the rest of the progress on the mansion's construction is missing. We do know that the house was built on a bed of concrete five feet thick, to counteract the effects of the sandy soil on which it stands. It is also, appropriately for this 'iron king', braced by massive girders, no doubt produced by the family firm and an early example of such use.

We also know from a bundle of receipts that Cubitts were the builders, that William Bennison was Clerk of Works, and that Edward Milner reworked the landscape. The new house that grew on the site of the old displays the compact geometry of a good Jacobean house, augmented by such nineteenth-century features as large canted bay windows, a picturesque skyline and extensive outbuildings. The placing of the chimneys and tower is particularly ingenious, for their alignment alters pleasingly during the serpentine approach to the house.

The Gawthorpe pele/stair tower is transformed into the distinctive clock tower, though set to one side at the Old Warden mansion, rather than rising from the centre. Clutton devoted great care to the details of Shuttleworth's house, right down to working drawings for dovetailed joints for the doorways. Joseph, and then his son Frank, Shuttleworth delighted in buying furniture and paintings appropriate for this family pile.

OTHER COUNTRY HOUSES BY HENRY CLUTTON (1819-93)

Hatherop House, Glos, 1856 (*The Builder*, XIV, p. 502.)

Widmerpool House, Notts, 1871-3. A possible cue for the mansion at Old Warden Park? (Hunting, Penelope, Henry Clutton's Country Houses, in *Architectural History*, Vol. 26, 1983.)

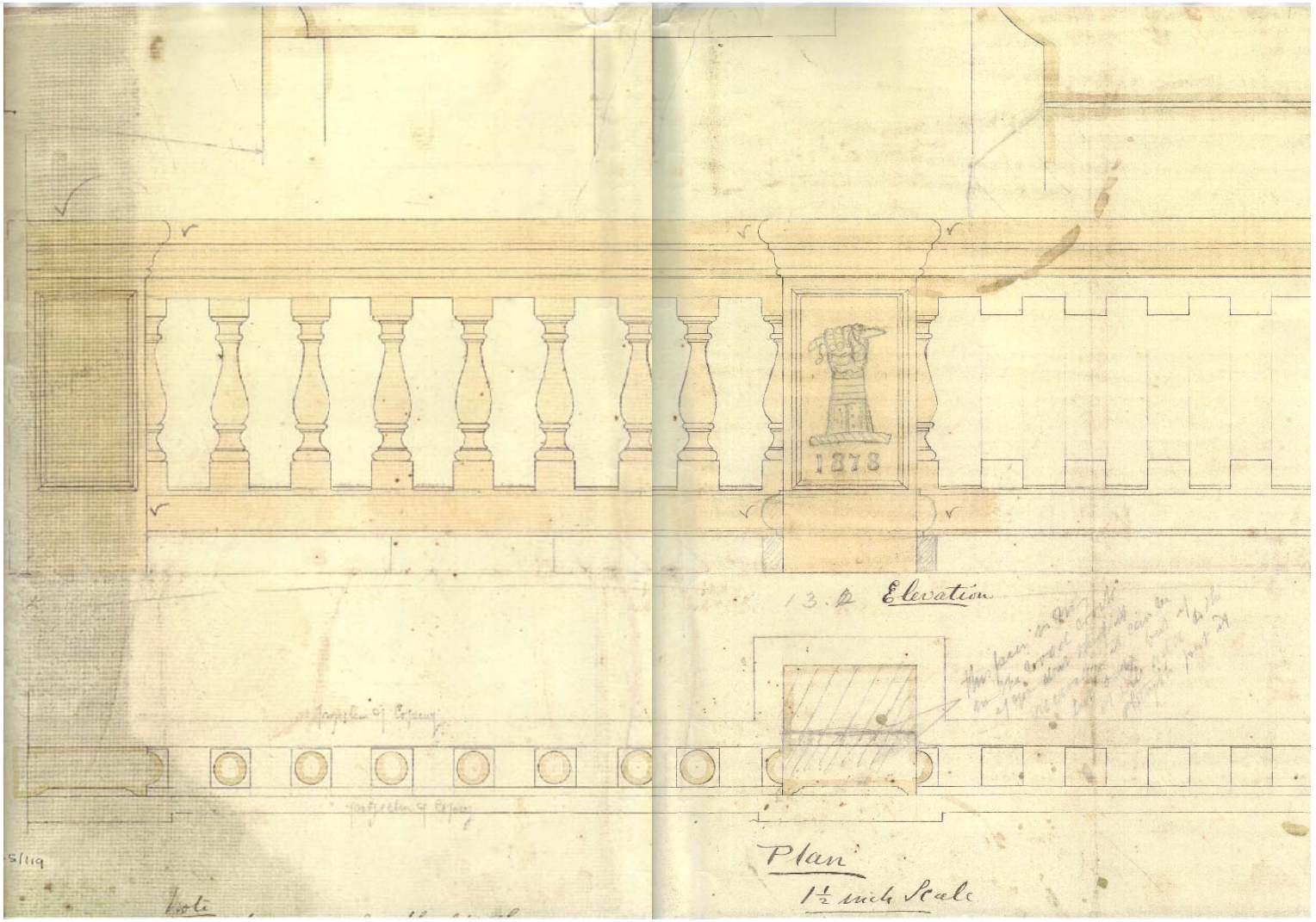
Keeper's Cottage soon after completion. The boy with his puppy is presumably one the Aireton sons.

Clutton's treatment of the overworked Jacobean style was judged a success and Old Warden is considered one of his more successful designs. The *Bedfordshire Mercury* on 28th May 1878 described the house as 'a palatial residence on a moderate scale, which for symmetry of design and for architectural beauty cannot be surpassed by any other mansion of modern days erected in the county of Bedfordshire.'

Clutton also designed the schoolhouse in Old Warden (1874-5), restored cottages and built some of the estate buildings. Penelope Hunting, Clutton's chief historian, attributes Keeper's Cottage, the other Landmark on the Warren, to Clutton but by the late 1870s, the decline in his eyesight that would result in his blindness was setting in. He was helped at Old Warden by John Usher, a local architect/builder responsible for the less important buildings on the estate including Keeper's Cottage – Clutton had worked with Usher on the restoration of various of the Duke of Bedford's churches. So it seems likely that the fine drawings for Keeper's Cottage which are now in the Bedford & Luton Archive Service were done not be Clutton but by Usher. The Estate accounts for 1878 also include the following entry:

Ushers a/c architects charges
Gamekeepers Lodge surplans *£27 10s*
Gamekeepers Lodge plans &c as carried out *£33 10s*

Usher's designs for this model gamekeeper's establishment (we must add the detached kennels to the group described above) are very much in the same spirit as the 2nd Lord Ongley's additions to the village. Both Joseph Shuttleworth and his son Frank added to this collection of cottages, their contributions identifiable by the fine terracotta datestones featuring the Shuttleworth fist and a greater reliance on mass produced building materials. The need for such model dwellings is poignantly illustrated by a report in the *Bedfordshire Times* for 16th September 1876 that at the same time casts light on the history of Queen Anne's Summerhouse. From 1875, a Richard Aireton appears in the estate accounts as Head



John Usher's design for the balustrade on Queen Anne's Summerhouse. His drawings in the Luton & Bedford Archive Service include full size sketches for the coping stones and individual balustrades.

Keeper. He was married to Annie and together they had nine children. However, two little daughters, Rebecca and Amy aged four and five died within in a month of each other in August 1876. The report of the Medical Officer in the *Bedfordshire Times* tells us why, at the same time illustrating why better accommodation was so desperately needed:

> *'August 31.* – Warden*. Several case of scarlatina, one of which proved fatal here, I met Mr Miller by appointment and visited: 1. Larkins', Warden village. Five children have had the disease here, all of whom are now convalescent. The house will shortly be disinfected. 2. George Scott's family, two in number, one of whom has had the disease. A foul drain has required attention here. 3. Joseph Scott's, next door. A child here was the first in the village to be taken ill; she is now recovered; she was seized about twelve weeks ago. The father is the postman. The parent cannot explain through what channel the infection was conveyed. 4. Street's. A young woman has been severely ill here, but now appeared to be recovering. 5. Burnage's, at the old Poor House. Here are two children ill out of a family of six, there being but one sleeping room and no means of isolation: the others will probably all get it. 6. Wheatley's. One case has been here; patient now recovered. 7. Aireton's, the summer house in the Warren. Here is a family of five children; one child has died and another is very ill.'*

So in 1876, the Aireton family were living in Queen Anne's Summerhouse. Perhaps the woodstove whose marks we found in the basement was put in for them. As soon as their new home down the Warren was finished in 1878, they moved in there, no doubt thankful for the improved conditions and sanitation.

As soon as the summerhouse was vacated by the Airetons, Joseph Shuttleworth briefed John Usher to oversee its refurbishment. Usher designed a balustrade for the roof terrace and the crest for datestone that is stamped on each of the Shuttleworths' additions to the village. The balustrade is not, as at first glance, made of stone but of terracotta. It was made and stamped by Pulham's of Broxbourne, a longstanding firm that began life in Suffolk in the early nineteenth century and then moved to Broxbourne in Hertfordshire where it flourished as a producer of garden ornaments and its celebrated artificial rockwork, patented as 'pulhamite'.

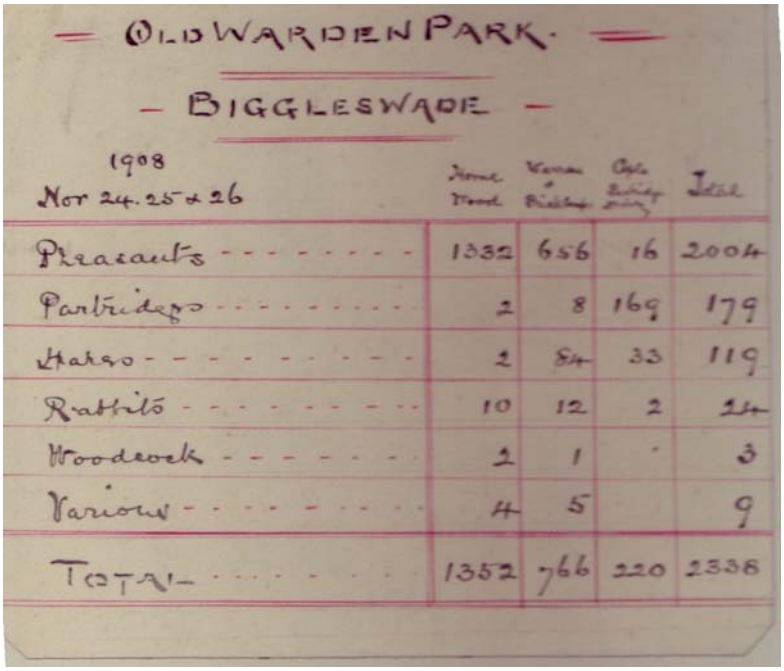
In the tradition of Coade stone, Pulham's supplied fountains, urns, balustrades, seats, memorials and even conservatories to the great estates and parks of England, including Sandringham and Audley End. They also supplied a fernery for the garden at Old Warden. Satisfied, presumably, with their work elsewhere on the estate, Joseph Shuttleworth also commissioned them to produce the balustrade for his refurbished summerhouse.

Queen Anne's Summerhouse then no doubt played its part in the golden late Victorian and Edwardian heyday on the estate, a time of country house weekends and shooting parties. Sadly the whereabouts of the game books for the estate is not known, but the dates of some of the shoots can be recovered from payments to the beaters – a three day shoot in the week of 26th October 1876, for example, and two days in the week of 11th January 1877. These were the days when shooting parties in large country houses were all the rage, devotees including members of the royal family as well as the aristocracy. The rivalry and camaraderie generated feats of prodigious skill and days of prodigious slaughter, and it was to this world that the Shuttleworths aspired, especially when Joseph's younger son, Frank, inherited the estate. The Victoria County History for Bedfordshire recorded in 1908 that:

> 'Colonel [Frank, Joseph's son] Shuttleworth's estate at Old Warden has every natural advantage for partridges, but most of the land is let to market gardeners, and the birds in consequence are not so numerous as would otherwise be the case. The best bag made there was 163 brace by six guns in 1907. Colonel Shuttleworth rears a large number of pheasants annually; and has killed as many as 1,500 in a day's shooting.'

These big shoots were a curious phenomenon that dominated the winter months of English Society for about forty years, as much about socialising as sport. There was a powerful etiquette of dress and comportment for men and women alike, even though the ladies were required to idle their days around the men's shooting activities (actual shooting was a firmly male preserve). The Prince of Wales led the enthusiasm, setting his clocks

at Sandringham forward half an hour to fit in the extra daylight. Old Warden Park was not among the great estates, but it was quite something for the son of a shipwright, and then his son, to be moving in such an elitist sporting activity. A saying of the time summed this up as 'Up gets a guinea, bang goes a penny halfpenny, and down comes half a crown' – the costs of rearing the bird, the cartridge and the value of the carcass to the game dealer.



— OLD WARDEN PARK. —

— BIGGLESWADE —

1908 Nov 24. 25 & 26	Home Reared	Various	Cock Pheasants	Total
Pheasants	1332	656	16	2004
Partridges	2	8	169	179
Hares	2	84	33	119
Rabbits	10	12	2	24
Woodcock	2	1		3
Various	4	5		9
TOTAL	1352	766	220	2338

If the estate kept formal game books, they have been lost. However, two Shuttleworth family Visitor Books survive in the estate archives, and these include labels such as the one above, stuck in alongside group photos and signatures from the guests. This tally for a three-day shoot in 1908 shows the shooting at Old Warden Park at its height.

The Lords Curzon, Granby and Tweedale, all renowned guns, were among the guests at Old Warden, which gained a reputation for its pheasants and partridges. Frank Shuttleworth liked to capture the moment in group portraits, including himself in the picture by means of an extension lead to his camera. It was not unusual for six guns to bag as many as 2,000 birds on the first three days' shooting. These campaigns would all have been masterminded at Keeper's Cottage, from the hatching of the chicks

to the whelping of the retriever puppies, and the shoots must have been days of excitement as well as hard work for everyone on the estate.

A group photo from the Shuttleworth family Visitor Book, dating from the 1890s. George Curzon stands at the back, and has signed the page opposite in the book with his name. The girl on his left, clasping her hands, is probably Mary Victoria Leiter, the American heiress who became his wife in 1895. Curzon was one of the era's most renowned guns and went on to a distinguished life in politics. In 1899, he was appointed Viceroy of India, taking an Irish peerage at the same time, as Baron Curzon of Kedleston. Col. Frank Shuttleworth sits in the centre front.

Queen Anne's Summerhouse in its Edwardian heyday.

A later photo, probably taken in the 1930s, shows vegetation encroaching. The score marks on the brickwork today were probably the result of rubbing tree branches or ivy roots.

An early postcard of the Warren, showing a sawmill for processing felled timber on the estate – powered, no doubt, by Clayton & Shuttleworth portable steam engines.

An early postcard: 'The Warren at Old Warden'

The Shuttleworth Family

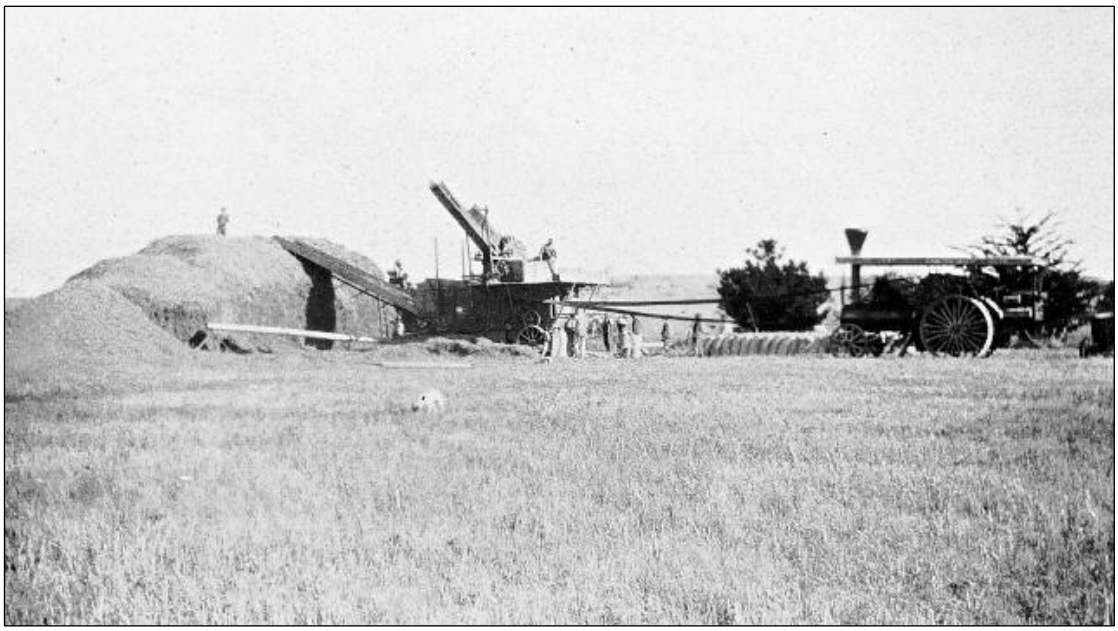
Joseph Shuttleworth and Clayton, Shuttleworth & Co

Clayton, Shuttleworth & Co's first works were at Stamp End in Lincoln, established in 1842 when Nathaniel Clayton (1811-1890) formed an engineering and iron-founding business with Joseph Shuttleworth (1819-83). Through the 1830s Clayton had been master first of horse-drawn and then of steam packets, plying the River Witham between Lincoln and Boston. He was a regular visitor to the works of William Howden, who in 1839 constructed what is thought to be the first portable steam engine. The young Nat Clayton saw its potential. Dogdyke, on the banks of the Witham, was another port of call, where a John Shuttleworth had a boat-building business, Shuttleworth & Goodwin. In 1819 John and his wife Rebecca had had a son, Joseph Shuttleworth. At first Joseph went into business with his father. Then, according to a romantic story passed down through oral tradition at the Clayton & Shuttleworth works, Joseph was a passenger on one of Nat Clayton's packets, which broke down. The pair spent the night at an inn at Tattershall and hatched their joint venture there and then.

Certainly, in 1840 Joseph married Nathaniel Clayton's sister, Sarah. In 1842, 23-year old Joseph left the boatwright trade to go into business with 31-year old Clayton. They established a small iron foundry on the south bank of the River Witham in Lincoln on a poor, one acre site at Stamp End, part of which was under water for much of the year. From these inauspicious beginnings was to grow one of the great engineering firms of the Victorian era.

Agriculture is ever conservative in outlook and horse- or water-driven threshing machines had been destroyed as late as 1830, by labourers fearing the loss of their traditional winter income from flailing by hand. However, enclosure and the economies of scale of larger scale farming

Clayton Shuttleworth threshers in operation in Australia at the turn of the century, powered by the traction engine.



were to prove an impetus for the small engineering works and iron foundries like Clayton & Shuttleworth that sprang up, especially in East Anglia, the birthplace of 'high farming.' At first these firms had concentrated simply on substituting iron in traditional farm implements and appliances. By the 1840s, a wide range of iron framed ploughs, harrows, seed drills etc were being produced, but no attempt had yet been made to apply steam to the farm, where horses remained the chief power source.

Clayton & Shuttleworth began by making simple iron pipes for Lincolnshire's water supply, but in 1845, in what they knew would be a make-or-break initiative for their business, they produced their first 'portable' steam engine. There had been a few steam engines on farms since the 1790s, but these were large and stationary. While steam had been used for transport, mining, manufacture and track haulage for several decades, the idea of applying steam power in more flexible and peripatetic situations was relatively new. A 'portable' steam engine was a locomotive-type boiler mounted on four carrying wheels, with a simple steam engine on top. While not initially self-propelling, its road wheels and shafts meant it could be taken to its site of operation by horses, where it could be fired up and its power harnessed to any number of tasks out in the fields.

Clayton & Shuttleworth portable steam engine, *c.* 1890.

Clayton & Shuttleworth would remain at the forefront of the application of steam to agriculture. In 1849, the firm produced their first steam-assisted thresher. Such portable threshers could be wheeled out to the rick so that corn could be threshed there and then, instead of having to be carried to the barn as before. (Joseph's wife, Sarah, after bearing him two sons, Alfred and Frank, also died in 1849. In his grief, Joseph initially threw himself into his business).

In 1842, Ransomes of Ipswich had demonstrated a self-moving machine at the Royal Agricultural Show. The production of such 'traction engines', these self-propelling steam engines that did not require rails to run on, became the next logical extension for Clayton & Shuttleworth as well as their other competitors. In 1859, Thomas Aveling had the idea of making a standard Clayton & Shuttleworth portable engine self-propelling, by linking the engine crankshaft to the rear wheels by a single reduction gear and final chain drive. In the winter of 1862-3, Clayton & Shuttleworth produced their first self-moving engine. Two- and three-speed gears were soon introduced, the gear drive soon replaced the chains and so the agricultural traction engine was born.

However slow and cumbersome to our eyes today (their massiveness determined by the huge weights of coal and water necessary for their operation), traction engines were to revolutionise road and agricultural haulage at a time when draught horses were the only alternative. They were the first mechanically propelled vehicle to appear on English roads in any number, though the notorious 'Red Flag Act' of 1865 restricted their speed to four miles an hour in the country and two miles an hour in towns, and insisted that each machine be attended by three men, one of whom was to walk in front carrying a red flag.

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STAMP END WORKS, LINCOLN,

AND

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Portable and Fixed Steam Engines 4 to 40-Horse Power, for Wood, Coals, or other Fuel.

Steam Threshing Machinery, with all recent improvements.

Corn Mills, Circular Saws, &c.

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CLAYTON & SHUTTLEWORTH invite special attention to their Steam Threshing Machinery, SINGLE, DOUBLE, and TREBLE BLAST, with the

PATENT ROLLED STEEL RIBBED BEATER PLATES.

These Plates have been thoroughly tested, and are found to wear more than *three times* as long as the malleable iron plates previously in use.

C. & S., who are the sole licensees and manufacturers, are prepared to supply Threshing Machine Owners and the Trade in any quantity, and they would caution purchasers against spurious imitations in cast-steel, which, from their brittleness, are exceedingly dangerous to use.

[CAUTION!—Infringers of this Patent, whether makers or users, will be proceeded against.]

78, LOMBARD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

VIENNA, AUSTRIA; AND PESTH, HUNGARY,

AND

STAMP END WORKS, LINCOLN.

CLAYTON & SHUTTLEWORTH.

Catalogues Free on Application.

Advertisement flyer illustrating the range of applications for Clayton & Shuttleworth products.

A late (1913) Clayton & Shuttleworth traction engine.

The Act held back the development of mechanical road transport until its repeal in 1896, but farmers and agricultural contractors willingly put up with it for the added efficiency of the traction engines once in the fields and on the farms.

When used stationary 'in the belt', the engines' power could be used to operate machinery via a continuous leather belt driven by the flywheel – to thresh corn, mow, drive a sawmill, clear timber: the applications were endless, and of use no less on the construction frontiers of America and the British Empire than in the crowded fields at home. Steam engines could even be used plough fields: as the heavy machines got bogged down in and compacted the soil, the solution was to haul the ploughs on a cable strung between two engines. Contractors would travel from farm

to farm, hauling their machines behind, which could then be set up in the fields according to the seasonal task in hand.

Traction engines, portable engines and threshers became the mainstays of Clayton & Shuttleworth's business and it was soon one of the leading manufacturers of the day, supplying other manufacturers as well as selling under its own name. Clayton & Shuttleworth grew rapidly. When it exhibited at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, it was pleased to sell more than 200 steam engines; in the next five years alone over 2,000 more were sold. The family motto chosen by Joseph Shuttleworth, 'Isto Velocior Vita' or 'Out of swiftness comes life', was not inappropriate for such auspicious beginnings.

By 1870, the Lincoln works employed 1200 people. Joseph Shuttleworth and Nat Clayton became Lincoln worthies, active both in local politics and social philanthropy. Both liberals, Clayton served as mayor in 1856 and Shuttleworth in 1858. The iron foundries provided a focus for the social and welfare activities for their employees: the mess room at Clayton & Shuttleworth's Stamp End works, for example, was used in the evenings for classes for poor boys and girls known as Ragged Children.

Joseph Shuttleworth had also remarried, to Caroline Jane, daughter of Colonel Ellison of Boultham Hall, in 1861. A contemporary wrote, 'Captain Shuttleworth [referring to his position in the volunteer militia] is one of the iron kings or merchant princes of Lincoln, having literally risen from a common labourer. It was thought a misalliance Miss Ellison marrying him, but they seem really happy.'[8] The couple tried to buy Lord Byron's former home at Newstead, but then bought land at Hartsholme, south west of Lincoln, where they built a mansion in the Gothic Revival style.

[8] Cracroft, 26/12/1862 in *Victorian Lincoln* by J W F Hill, p74.

Export trade became important to the firm, both in Europe and the British Empire. A branch in Vienna was formed early on, followed by other factories at Pest, Prague, Cracow and Lemburg. The firm became a limited company in 1901, when Arthur Shuttleworth, grandson of the founder, became chairman. In 1912, a partnership was formed with Hofherr Schrantz in Vienna, which led to a street being named Shuttleworthstrasse in the city, and to a Hungarian factory in Budapest (after WW II, this was nationalised under the Communist regime as the Red Star Tractor Company and became, predictably, a national institution. As recently as 2005, a Hungarian postage stamp featured a Clayton Shuttleworth traction engine).

Share certificate for Hofherr Schrantz Clayton Shuttleworth.

By 1914, two more Clayton Shuttleworth factories were operating in Lincoln alone, the Titanic Works and the Abbey Works. During World War I, the company won a government contract to produce 35hp 'crawler tractors' to help with food production. They also supplied huge quantities of armaments and airplanes. Their Abbey Works was used to produce Handley Page and Vickers bombers, with an area to the east of the factory laid out as an airfield for testing.

After the war, the Abbey Works went into railway rolling stock but financial difficulties began to beset the firm, which finally went under during the Depression, all the works being sold off. It was a sad end for one of the companies that epitomised the optimism and ingenuity of the Victorian Age, though carefully restored Clayton & Shuttleworth engines can still be found at today's steam fairs.

Colonel Frank Shuttleworth (1845-1913)

Joseph Shuttleworth died in 1883. Although he died at his other home, Hartsholme Hall, he was buried in the family mausoleum at Old Warden, his hearse drawn up the hill to St. Leonard's Church by four coal-black Belgian-bred horses. His eldest son, Alfred, inherited the Lincolnshire estates and became a devout and generous philanthropist, 'Lincoln's Best Friend.' Alfred's younger brother Frank inherited the Bedfordshire estates, including Old Warden. Frank was a handsome and dashing career soldier and horseman who acquired the rank of colonel. On his retirement from the army in 1882, Frank moved to Old Warden, continuing to pursue his interest in field sports and sailing as well as taking an active part in local and London society. He was a sociable and gregarious sportsman and it was under his impetus that the Shuttleworth shoot achieved its zenith, when six guns might bag 2,000 birds over three days' shooting. The mansion played host to the weekend house parties so characteristic of the late Victorian and Edwardian era.

Col. Frank Shuttleworth
(1845-1913)

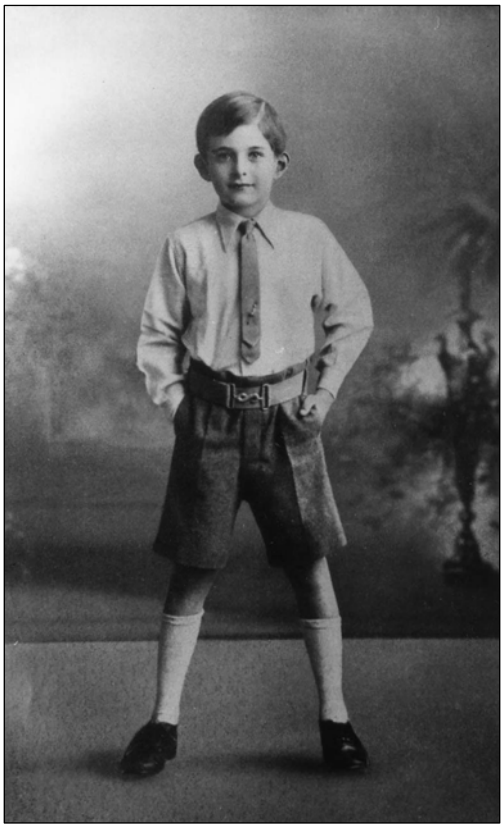
Dorothy Clothilda Shuttleworth
(1879-1968)

This sociable fellow had remained unmarried (though not always unattached in this country house party world). However, in 1902, in a romance worthy of a Victorian novel, Frank, aged 57, fell in love with Dorothy Clothilda Lang, then 23 but whom he had known since she was two. Dorothy was the daughter of Reverend Lang, Vicar of Old Warden (formerly famous as 'Bob' Lang, the fastest bowler in England and holder of the record for the best bowling average in the Blues match between Oxford and Cambridge – five wickets for four runs, all clean bowled, then four more wickets for only 31 runs). Under Frank and Dorothy as benevolent and philanthropic figureheads, the estate and its model village blossomed.

Shooting at Old Warden Park in the 1900s. The gun could be Frank Shuttleworth; the lady might be Dorothy (her presence in the field is unusual, the ladies more typically keeping well clear and joining the men only for refreshment breaks). The loader rapidly reloads his master's gun so that he can bring down as many birds as possible.

The hunt meets in front of the mansion. Col. Shuttleworth was a keen and fine rider. Master of the Cambridge Hounds for 8 years, he also bred hunters. Headstones for some of his mounts may be found at the top of the warren, near Queen Anne's Summerhouse. (Shuttleworth Estate.)

Richard Ormonde Shuttleworth (1909-1940)



Richard Shuttleworth (Shuttleworth Estate)

In 1909, an heir was born, Richard Ormonde Shuttleworth. The whole tenantry of the estate were invited to his christening festivities at Old Warden Park, to share a christening cake that weighed 120 lbs. These were golden years on the estate, when the firm of Clayton & Shuttelworth was still thriving, before Frank died in 1913 and before the Great War brought disruption and dislocation to such ways of life.

Richard Shuttleworth went on to school at Eton, a long way from his grandfather's humble beginnings in rural Lincolnshire. However, he had a somewhat chequered school career, from an early age being far more interested in all things mechanical than academic subjects and surviving only two years at the school.

Richard Shuttleworth at Eton
(Shuttleworth Estate)

Richard was a tearaway who relished speed and daring in all forms, whether on a horse or motorbike, in a car or later an aeroplane. At the age of 23, he inherited both his father's and his uncle Alfred's wealth, a multi-million pound fortune even then and one which allowed him to indulge his passion for racing cars and aeroplanes, as well as numerous madcap escapades. He became a well-known and successful racing driver. He also began collecting machines of all kinds at Old Warden Park, including early aeroplanes, cars, bicycles and steam engines, which were to form the origins of today's Shuttleworth Collection. He also took his responsibilities as head of the estate as conscientiously as his father and there are many tales of small acts of kindness to his tenants.

At the outbreak of war in 1939, Richard, aged 30, immediately joined the RAF. Every pilot possible had to be trained to a fully operational level with great urgency and so, despite his many hours as a peacetime pilot, Richard was posted for training to No. 12 Operational Training Unit at RAF Benson in Oxfordshire, flying in Fairey Battles, notorious for their unpredictable operation immediately after taking off. The young pilots also had to contend with a sudden rise to clear the Chilterns, as well as the thermals attendant on the range of hills. Richard had confided unhappily to his mother, 'If they continue making us fly those planes, in six weeks we'll all be dead' – and Benson locals went anxiously to bed for fear of further accidents.

On the night of 1st/2nd August 1940, after dining with a cousin, Richard received the order to join a night-duty of Fairey Battles. At the last minute, and even though it was a starlit night, the duty was recalled on the basis that the weather was about to deteriorate. In apparent frustration at the recall, Richard decided he would take off anyway for some local flying. He completed one solo circuit, landed and took off again. The aircraft then inexplicably struck the ground again, 'in a diving turn to starboard.' Richard was killed instantaneously.

His mother Dorothy, with whom he had always been very close, was grief stricken and the Old Warden estate had lost its heir. Two months after Richard's death, she turned the house at Old Warden Park into a Convalescent Home and Auxiliary Hospital for those wounded in action, a distraction of sorts. Richard's wealth had all been left to his mother, but a provision in his philanthropic Uncle Alfred's will also determined that three quarters should go to charity. Mrs Shuttleworth decided to establish an agricultural college 'to train young men and help to get them jobs and show them a good way of life', dedicated to the memory of three generations of Shuttleworths at Old Warden: Joseph, Frank and, especially, her son Richard. In 1944, the Shuttleworth Trust was founded

and the Shuttleworth Agricultural College opened in 1946, using the mansion for its accommodation. Today, the college is managed by Bedford College, a partner institution of the University of Essex. Richard Shuttleworth's collection of old cars, engines and planes formed the basis of today's Shuttleworth Collection, which opened to the public in 1963 and has achieved considerable fame since. On Open Days, some of the planes are still flown from the small landing strip on the other side of the estate from the Warren. Mrs Shuttleworth continued to live in the house in a first floor apartment, actively involved in day-to-day matters, until her death in 1968 at the age of 89. Thus passed away the last descendant of the family dynasty Joseph Shuttleworth had hoped to found, although thanks to Dorothy Shuttleworth's endowment, their name, success and philanthropy will continue to be associated with Old Warden Park for the foreseeable future.

Under the estate's new use as a college, there was no role for Queen Anne's Summerhouse, though local people remember playing in it as children. Left stranded in the Warren without water or electricity, the folly fell into dereliction, subject to the usual attention by clandestine visitors and vandals, many of whom left their traces in the graffiti on the roof terrace. By 2002, when the Shuttleworth Trust approached Landmark for help, the lead had long since disappeared from the roof, and the building stood as a decaying shell. While the Shuttleworth Trust would make a generous donation to the restoration of Queen Anne's Summerhouse, the total restoration costs were beyond both their means and their remit as an educational charity. Restoration and use as a Landmark was the ideal solution. Despite further generous support from English Heritage and the Country Houses Foundation, fundraising proved a protracted process and was finally unlocked only with a substantial contribution from the Heritage Lottery Fund and a closing donation from a generous private donor. It would be seven years from that first approach until before Queen Anne's Summerhouse finally opened its doors.

Thomas Archer's pavilion at Wrest Park, built for the Duke of Kent and dated by Colen Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus* to 1709. This pavilion is far more typical of Archer's rather full blown Baroque style, with its massive blocking and elaboration, than the simplicity of Queen Anne's Summerhouse. Wrest Park, near Silsoe, is now in the care of English Heritage and open to the general public.

St John's, Smith Square, London in the 18th century, 'like an upturned footstool.' It would suffer a serious fire in 1742, be struck by lightning in 1773 and be hit by a German bomb in 1941, though it survives today. It is considered one of the masterpieces of English Baroque.

Queen Anne's Summerhouse – the Building

It is of course a disappointment that it has not proved possible to identify the architect for Queen Anne's Summerhouse. Local tradition has always maintained that it was built by Thomas Archer, but the grounds for this are circumstantial only, based on two facts that are probably no more than coincidence. One is Archer's involvement at nearby Wrest Park, where in 1709 he built a Baroque pavilion on a trefoil plan, just four years before we believe Sir Samuel commissioned his summerhouse to celebrate his knighthood the previous year.

The other anecdote that makes Archer plausible as architect for the summerhouse is its quatrefoil form, looking rather like an upturned stool. In 1711 the government passed an Act for the Building of Fifty New Churches in London, an attempt to ensure that the provision of Anglican parishes kept up with the rapidly expanding city's population, as well as the expansion of Non-Conformism. Archer was one of the Commissioners for the new churches from 1711. It is said (though the original source for the tale has proved elusive) that when Queen Anne was asked what sort of design she would like for the next new London church, she petulantly kicked over a footstool and asked for one 'Like that.' Thomas Archer proceeded to build St John's, Smith Square. Again, the disparity between the Baroque style of St John's and Queen Anne's Summerhouse is so great that it is hard to imagine the same architect as creator of the summerhouse, unless it is missing a great deal of decoration for which there is no evidence.

The summerhouse is square in plan. The folly was constructed on a raised platform and its landscaping has led to one theory that it was built as a mock redoubt on a faceted platform rather like Vanbrugh's tower banqueting houses, a theory the grass ramp up to the main entrance seems to reinforce. The site is an ancient one and was used by the Romans as a lookout. The brick vaulted basement was perhaps used by servants to store and prepare refreshments carried up to the main chamber by the staircase, although the small hearth we found in the basement dates from the nineteenth rather than eighteenth century. There is a small stone slab in the floor beside the external entrance to the

basement into which have been carved various symbols of a religious nature. Its origin is not known, nor why it was set here. Perhaps it came from Warden Abbey originally though the scattered nature of the symbols suggests a mason's graffiti rather than any serious liturgical purpose.

The mysterious slab near the entrance to the basement. Its scattering of Maltese crosses and masons' marks suggests that the symbols are just graffiti, despite the inclusion of 'IHS' (an ancient Christogram or symbol for Christ, using the Greek letters used to spell His name, iota, eta and sigma).

The main entrance of the summerhouse faces west and we have no explanation for why Sir Samuel chose the elevation facing his neighbours at Southill for the entrance, rather than the one facing his own mansion. The SW and SE turrets always contained a staircase and a fireplace respectively, the other two turrets containing closets of some kind, with shelving of which scars remained. The brick fireplace we found in the SE turret in the main chamber was 19th- if not 20th-century, but behind it was the original early 18th-century brickwork. The staircase had completely disintegrated into a pile of rotten timbers at the base of the turret, though the shadow of its string course and bearer holes showed its position. On the roof, the two turrets not holding the stairs or flue seem to have functioned as mini-pavilions in their own right, their domes plastered inside. All were open to the weather, with the exception of the stair turret which was closed by a door, fragments of which were found at the bottom of the turret. As discussed earlier, the balustrade, of pale terracotta in good imitation of stone, was designed by Usher for Joseph Shuttleworth in 1878 and made by Pulham's of Broxbourne.

The 2 ¾" light red brickwork of which the folly is constructed is of exceptional quality, set in a hard lime mortar of pure lime putty, with joints of great fineness and accuracy. The bond is Flemish and bears close examination. Each brick in the turrets was gently rubbed to shape as were the radial bricks in the windowheads.

heads. Look closely at these voussoir bricks in the window heads and you can see how the early eighteenth-century bricklayers detailed false headers (a header is the squarish end of a brick) with a groove lined out with lime putty, a technique called *faux* (here pronounced 'fox') pointing. Look too for examples of discreet mortar repairs, where later bricklayers (our own included) have painstakingly mixed coloured mortar to match the bricks and patched in a decayed corner or two. It was the quality of the brickwork that instantly gave away that this was far from being a late Victorian building, as might have been supposed from its datestone.

The exceptional quality of the brickwork is striking, with joints only a millimetre or two wide. Note how carefully the triangular slip has been pieced in to complete the curve; also the grooves for the (then missing) *faux* pointing to maintain the rhythm.

Sir Samuel's bricklayers were of the best, the gauge and perpendicular joints of the fair face brickwork being carefully sustained throughout. Yet the exceptional quality of the outer skin is not carried through. Beneath it is an inner skin very crudely constructed in 2½" brick in (cheaper) English bond, with wider joints of a much coarser mortar, an ugly and poorly-built mass of half-bricks, slate and even iron cramps. In fact, the fine red headers of the outer skin were mostly cut, so that they are not carrying out their implied purpose of tying the inner and outer skins together, a fact that would eventually help accelerate the building's decay. The difficulty of tying the two skins in is further compounded by the fact that the courses of the outer and inner skins only coincide every nine courses or so, since the rubbed (so smaller) bricks and fine joints of the outer skin rise at a slower rate than the coarser bricks and pointing of the inner skin. Although the brickwork is properly tied in structurally at the junctions of the straight and curved sections of the towers, an ingress of water, as happened as the roofs failed, was bound to cause problems.

A curiosity around the main doorhead, now covered by the restored canopy, was that while the south (left hand) head was built of good facing brick, the north head was a panel of the inferior brick used for the internal skin. Did the workmen run out of the good bricks, or did Sir Samuel roundly tell them not to waste good bricks in an area where they would not be seen? Only the wooden pilasters survived of the original doorcase, although the line of the low segmental head of the doorcase could still be made out. The radial glazing of the fanlight had long since disappeared, as had all original glass in the building. However, some sections of the original sashes and a few fragments of primary glazing bars survived in the north and south windows to guide the restoration.

The NE turret coping stones uniquely showed cracking and discolouration, indicating fire damage in this area. One of the leads clamps holding the coping stones in place is dated 1865, perhaps the date of the fire. Note too the masons' marks for setting out.

The clamp to the left, in the NW turret coping, has '1797' scratched into it, indicating yet another maintenance campaign.

Queen Anne's Summerhouse before restoration

The building looked deceptively solid but the brick work was starting to decay. The doorcase had disappeared, as had all the glazing and most of the window joinery.

The main chamber was open to the sky through decaying rafters. The staircase timbers had collapsed into a pile in the basement, leaving only a paint scar and bearer sockets to show where it had formerly been.

The basement and its entrance steps.

The Restoration of Queen Anne's Summerhouse

Our first step was to erect a temporary scaffolding roof over the whole building, funded by a mail appeal. This sheltered the summerhouse from the worst of the elements and allowed it to begin to dry out while we set about raising the rest of the money required.

Philip Orchard, from the Whitworth Co-Partnership of Bury St Edmunds, was appointed architect. Philip also oversaw the work on Keeper's Cottage and has worked on a number of other Landmark schemes. Before work began on site, Philip carried out a meticulous inventory of all the fragments of timber etc found on site. The earlier restoration of Keeper's Cottage, completed before we had raised the funds necessary to start on Queen Anne's Summerhouse, meant that electricity and water were already on site, the costs having been shared between the two projects. A new septic tank for Queen Anne's Summerhouse was installed.

Exterior

Before work began, advice was sought on how best to repair the brickwork from experts Peter Minter of the Bulmer Brick & Tile Company and Dr Gerard Lynch. Old bricks were reused or repaired wherever possible and replacements kept to a minimum. All new bricks were specially commissioned from Bulmer who came up with an excellent match, using their own clays. The bricks (or 'rubbers' as these are known) were all made oversized and very slightly underfired to make them easier to shape, and they have no 'frogs' (the hollows found in later, machine made bricks to save on clay, but not in earlier, handmade ones).

There was a surprising variety of colours in the original brickwork, which Bulmer were able to replicate exactly in the new bricks, firing a mixture of light and dark reds which even include the darker iron flecks. So good was the match that it is now quite difficult to tell which bricks are old and which replacements on the

A temporary roof sheltered the folly during the years of fundraising. Once scaffolding was erected in the autumn of 2008, we were finally able to inspect at high level – as here at bottom right, Landmark's Alastair Dick Cleland, who project-managed the restoration.

turret tops. Mortar analysis confirmed that the mortar used for the pointing of the external face work was a pure lime putty, explaining its extreme whiteness. Once the scaffolding was up, we could at last inspect the upper levels of the building. It turned out that there were a few 'T' shaped ties tying the inner and outer brick skins together, though not enough to give an adequate tie and those there were had mostly rusted. However, the much rougher inner skin of brickwork turned out not to need taking down as far as we had feared.

The terracotta balustrade has lasted well, so that there was no need to dismantle any of it, a cause for celebration except that it meant we were not able to investigate what might have preceded Usher's 1878 design. A wooden balustrade is one hypothesis. Some of the red terracotta Shuttleworth crests were missing and all of the date numerals, but by using the original architect's drawings and the scars on site, exact replacements were made by Lambs Bricks & Arches.

The repair of the brickwork was done by brick conservator Emma Simpson and her colleague Neil Cooper, including through some bitterly cold weather. The whole building was 'wrapped' through the winter of 2008/09 to prevent the lime mortar freezing. The turrets were also wrapped in foil insulation, and heated.

It was a difficult decision to decide how far to go with brick replacements as there was a wide amount and degree of decay. In the end the decision was to be relatively conservative, replacing only the worst. 'Features' of age, such as the arcs caused by rubbing tree branches, and holes caused by shot gun pellets, have been deliberately left.

Emma and her team used a variety of techniques to consolidate the brick work, all carried out with the lightest of touches. Where a brick had to be cut out and replaced or a section rebuilt in the corner turrets, each of the soft light reds had to be carefully rubbed to the slight camber necessary for the curve of the turret.

The remnants of the roof removed, this precarious turret illustrated the complexity of the task. All four turrets needed their fronts dismantling and rebuilding.

As little as possible of the outer skin to the turret was taken down. Here, a wooden former is being used to set out the new arch.

The summerhouse in winter, wrapped against the wind, rain and snow.

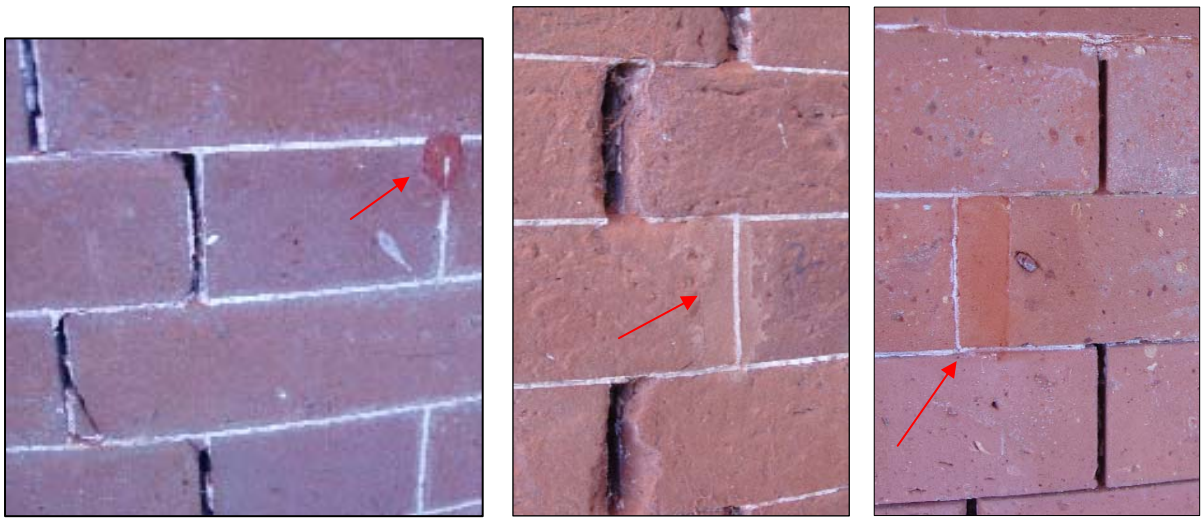
The new roof going in above steel joists. A reinforced member has been inserted against the installation of the chandelier.

Repairing the brickwork

Dark and light red 'rubbers' were specially made to match the colour variation of the originals. The bricks to be used for replacement in the turret skins (like these) were rubbed to shape off-site at Bulmer Brick and Tile Company.

Other bricks, like those being laid out for a turret arch by Emma Simpson above, were cut and rubbed on site. The soft bricks cut easily. They were individually rubbed to shape and then carefully measured

Bricklayers Paul Kelly and Rob Heatley acquired additional conservation skills during the project through a training bursary funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and English Heritage.



Examples of brick repair techniques. From left to right: an old mortar repair; a mortar repair from the current restoration, to close a crack caused by old movement, and a slip repair, cutting a slice of brick and inserting it to achieve the same 'stitching' effect.

Sometimes a mortar repair was carried out, replacing a small section of a brick with coloured matched lime mortar. Other techniques used include slip repairs, where a slither of brick is inserted to bind across vertical cracking. The *tremperie* of the late Stuart builders in the tracing of false headers around the windowheads was re-touched where necessary. Thanks to two bursaries funded by English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund, two young bricklayers Paul Kelly and Rob Heatley were able to work alongside Emma to learn these specialist skills, having also several days with both Peter Minter (on the manufacture of bricks) and Gerard Lynch (on rubbing and conservation techniques).

All four turrets needed their upper levels rebuilding. The stone copings have all been reused except for the NE turret which turned out to have suffered a significant fire at some stage, leading to cracking of the copings. These have been replaced in matching Ketton stone. The NE turret also had a bat under a coping stone, and so it had to be left in peace until the spring before it could be disturbed. A hole has been left in the joint, and a cavity within, so it can return if it chooses.

Re-roofing and drainage for the building was a major undertaking in its own right. A new sand cast lead roof was laid using Code 8 lead and is extremely heavy. Sand cast is the traditional way of casting lead, in which molten lead is poured into beds of sand and then spread to the required thickness manually using boards. The 'ribs' in the leadwork allow for expansion and contraction due to temperature changes. Internal lead downpipes from each flat turret roof drain onto the main roof and then into large diameter lead pipes with hoppers that match the scars on the wall to either side of the main door. Interestingly, we found brick gullies at the base of the main roof downpipes, and a pipe from the south one ran into the basement area near the staircase, presumably to provide a supply of rainwater for drinking and cleaning purposes.

Paint analysis was used to guide the paint colours both inside and out, to reinstate the early eighteenth-century scheme. The wrought iron railings had all survived but had lost most of the 'arrow leaf' heads and were very corroded at their bases, which had been set into molten lead poured into the sockets of stone plinth. The railings could not have been erected *c.* 1713 since they are made of dry puddle iron, a forging technique that did not come in until the 1780s when it replaced charcoal iron and was supplanted in its turn by wet puddle iron after 1838. Nor was the technology available to produce bar material, so the bars had been forged. Similarly, the finials are cast iron and so could not pre-date around1740. The final consensus was that the railings therefore probably date from around 1800, perhaps part of one of the 2nd or 3rd Long Ongley's interventions. The plinth stones were very badly shattered as a result of the rusting and in the end had to be completely renewed (in Ketton limestone) except for a face of one that has a Ordinance Survey level mark on it which has been retained.

The brick base to the plinth is mostly a later re-facing in a smoother brick with cement pointing. Where it needed rebuilding (the SE corner) we have rebuilt it to match the original brickwork. It was only when the railings were taken down that the 'hidden' gate was discovered on the N side, which gives the essential access into the gravelled area at the base of the building.

Some of the cast iron finials were also missing and these as well as the railings themselves and their alternating leaf blades were repaired by Bob Oakes of Cold Hanworth Forge in Lincolnshire who, with his team, went to enormous time and trouble to repair all the railings as accurately as possible.

One major problem arose when it was discovered late in the day that the timber templates Bob had had taken from the horizontal rails did not to line up with the stone plinths. The only possible conclusion was that the railings originally *leaned inwards*. They are now vertical (which is usual).

Repairing the railings

The railings before repair. Where the lead plugs at their base had failed (above), the iron railings had corroded and fractured the stone plinth. Some uprights were missing altogether, others had lost their tips.

In the end, most of the railings had to be cut to free them from the stone plinth. They were each numbered before being taken back to the forge for repair.




Fashioning a new tip for one of the railing uprights.

Recreating the doorcase

Almost all the characteristically large scale early 18th-century doorcase had been lost. By enlarging and scrutinising early photos, we were able to retrieve the form of its brackets and canopy.

Note too the unexplained discrepancy between the brickwork above each pilaster.

Working from drawings by the architect, students Julius Lightfoot and Sarah Liptrot from the City & Guilds of London Art School took on the task of recreating the canopy brackets. A full-size clay model was created first, as a means of fully understanding the three dimensional form before work began on the raw wood, which was Quebec Yellow Pine.

It took a lot of extra work to get the railings to line up with the new stone plinths. Bob Oakes said they had certainly been painted at some later stage with a bitumastic paint, but has finished them with a linseed oil and beeswax finish. The restored railings have been bedded in resin with a lead seal – each individual seal needing to be hammered to bevel it to allow water to run off.

The external door to the basement was lost, so a simple but substantial double planked door in oak has been provided. The brick steps to the basement were in good condition.

The timber pilasters that frame the main front door just about survived and allowed accurate templates of all mouldings to be taken. The ornate canopy brackets above had gone, but were known from the few old photographs that we had. The 'hood' was also of a later date, but all has now been replaced in correct 18th-century detail. The brackets have been carved from wood by two students at the City & Guilds of London Art School, after a timely approach from the School's Principal. They used the old photographs and Philip Orchard's drawings, and first modelled the brackets in clay before carving them in pine. The top of the front door is original (though not primary) material as are the hinges.

The steps up to the main door had probably already been rebuilt at some stage as the sides (with the railings embedded) are in Ketton stone while the middle section is in York stone. Archaeological investigation showed no evidence of any other steps or paths leading up to the existing stone steps at the main entrance and so this directed our landscaping. From the 19th century onwards, laurels grew with increasing vigour around the building but we took the decision to clear these, so that the summerhouse sits proud on its platform in the clearing as it would have done originally. The Shuttleworth Trust generously consulted us in their plans for the management of the wider Warren and agreed to open up the avenues leading off from the summerhouse, as well as instigating a long term programme to replace the later softwood planting with hardwood species.

Drilling one of the boreholes for the ground source heat system.

Plastering the main chamber.

Interior

The summerhouse stands on freely draining sand and the brick floor in the basement was deliberately left in situ rather than being lifted to install a damp proof membrane, which would have diverted any dampness into the walls. The basement window was enlarged to increase the amount of natural light. Partitions near the entrance allowed for creation of linen, Housekeeper and Landmarker storage cupboards and also housing for a ground source heat pump.

This is the first ground source heat pump ever installed in a Landmark, a sign of our commitment to green energy. Pipes in a closed loop, containing water and a little antifreeze, capture this heat from three boreholes each ninety metres deep (750 metres of pipework!) a little to the south. It was thought that there was some 100 metres of sand beneath the Warren, but in the event this was found to be only 30 meters or so, with clay beneath which is more difficult technically to drill. A compressor-condenser then concentrates the energy (a bit like a refrigerator in reverse) recovering up four times the energy needed to drive the electrical pump that drives the liquid's circulation. The liquid is then recirculated back to the bore hole, while the recovered heat is used to help heat the hot water, the radiators in the basement and the underfloor heating water pipes in the main chamber (it was decided not to have radiators in the main room to avoid it becoming too cluttered).

The staircase had completely disappeared but bearer sockets and remnants of skirting board made its path clear. A tapered piece of oak was found which we took to be the top of the newel post so this was used as the template for the new oak newel post. Trials to recreate the wooden skirting board with bent sections of timber were unsuccessful and so a simple moulding has been run in the plaster. The plasterer in full swing on the stairs was a sight to behold, and he needed two mates to keep him to his rhythm: one to load his hawk, the other to wheelbarrow in successive loads of lime plaster from where it was being mixed outside.

In the main chamber, a completely new roof structure was created, again using steel beams. The original structure of huge pine sections was completely rotten

and as they would not be seen and timber of such size would be both expensive and might twist, it was decided to use steel joists.

The walls were stripped of later cement render and re-plastered with haired lime plaster on laths, as was the ceiling. There was no evidence for a cornice but it was felt that a room of this scale and 'politeness' almost certainly would have had one originally, and so Philip Orchard produced a simple design of a similar early 18th-century date.

The sash windows had all had later and lower brick heads added, so these were removed to get back to the original proportions. Some sashes and joinery survived sufficiently to be repaired and reused. The rest are machined to an exact match.

Nothing remained of the earlier floor(s) except a scar on the walls showing its level. The new stone floor is Ancaster Weatherbed in a period-appropriate cream and 'blue'. The fireplace had been altered but the original 17th-century form survived, although somewhat decayed. A completely new flue was needed and made in stainless steel. The fire opening is framed in more Ancaster cream stone, given a simple bolection moulded surround based on another of the same period. The pale blue of the internal joinery is based on the early eighteenth-century scheme discovered through paint analysis. It seems the very first treatment of the softwood sashes was graining in imitation of oak (it was decided for reasons of visual consistency and cost not to replicate this).

All turret doors in the main chamber are new where originally there were probably none, and so they have been kept as simple as possible (ie 'jib' doors') without mouldings or architraves. The leaded light fanlights above them are based on an example of the same date in the Quaker Meeting House in Bury St Edmunds.

The kitchen in the NW turret was designed and made by Landmark's furniture team.

The Landmark furnishing team help hang the chandelier.

Tony Collis, site foreman for Modplan throughout the project.

Queen Anne's Summerhouse HLF-funded Activity and Involvement Programme

Thanks to funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund, Landmark's project at Queen Anne's Summerhouse was able to extend beyond the restoration of the building, to involving and informing local people of all ages about the history of the building and its restoration. The programme included working with media students from Bedford College to produce a short documentary of the life of the project. Footage from this has been used in an information film available for visitors to view at the Shuttleworth Collection, so permitting virtual access at times when the building is not available to the general public. Information boards have also been posted in the Warren, on the college site and at the Shuttleworth Collection. A guidebook has been produced, telling the history of Old Warden village through its three Landmarks, and talks were delivered across the life of the project to a number of local groups.

Then in the summer term of 2009, five local primary schools participated in a four day cross-curricular project run by Landmark's Education Officer, Kasia Howard. Its overall aim was to engage children with the 400-year history of Queen Anne's Summerhouse and its setting on the Shuttleworth Estate, up to and including its restoration by the Landmark Trust.

More than 200 Key Stage 2 children (or 7 to 11 year olds) from Shackleton Lower School, Cauldwell Lower School, Cotton End Lower School, Northill Lower School and Southill Lower School visited the site and enjoyed a nature walk from village of Old Warden and through the Warren before reaching the summerhouse.

The children 'met' Richard Aireton, Victorian Gamekeeper and one time resident of Queen Anne's Summerhouse, a costumed interpreter who would leap dramatically out of the bracken challenging on whose authority they were on his territory (anxious fingers would point to Kasia). The children had the opportunity to discover all about his life and work on the estate in the nineteenth century.

The children make their way up the Warren. They were given large scale maps to help them work out where they were.

The children were challenged by Richard Aireton, the Victorian Gamekeeper – who then turns out to be a mine of friendly information.

Kasia explains the restoration process.

As the restoration on the summerhouse was still in progress each visiting group saw the work at a slightly different stage. Children had a go at brick rubbing using the specialist bricks used for QAS and a professional rubbing stone. They recorded the sights and sounds they experienced in preparation for the creative activities back in the classroom.

The children enjoyed honing their map reading skills in the Warren, discovering more about the woodland, hunting for mini-beasts (and encountering some models of pheasants, since the happy excitability of such a group of made encountering the real thing extremely unlikely), looking for evidence of animal activity, bark rubbing and recording impressions of the landscape around them. Fine weather allowed a picnic outside on every visit, which ended, if time allowed, with a quick tour of the Shuttleworth Collection and Swiss Garden.

The site visit was followed by 3 days of activities back in the classroom. A writer and drama practitioner further explored the history of the building through theatre- and writing-based activities. The children expanded their vocabulary by creating word banks and simile sheets in preparation for writing diary entries and group poems.

The art activities explored historical themes through design, and also highlighted the different jobs and roles involved in a restoration and conservation project. Some children created models that illustrated the different periods of the building's history, and explored the decorative fashions around at the time, including making and decorating 'eighteenth-century' hats; others created a group wall hanging for the school.

A book featuring a collection of images and writing was presented to each participating child, and several exhibitions were held locally of their work.

Children from Shackleton Lower School 'building' QAS in the classroom

Children learned about eighteenth-century fashions.

Models of the summerhouse made by children at Cauldwell Lower School. After discussion of various themes, each turret was decorated with a relevant one – the woodland, a wallpaper design, traction engines….

A wall painting of the summerhouse created by Shackleton Lower School. The 'leaves' are based on the motifs found in early18th-century paisley textiles such as might have been imported by Sir Samuel from India.

Documentary Film

Students from Bedford College visited the site throughout the restoration to gather footage and interview the key staff involved. The finished documentary has been made into an information film at the Shuttleworth Collection

Josh Brawn, a National Diploma student from Bedford College, filming at Queen Anne's Summerhouse during the restoration

Community Exhibitions, Open Days and Talks

In November 2008 an exhibition marking the start of the restoration program was held at old Warden Village Hall, with a talk and Q and A session to accompany it. Various other talks were given to a number of local groups by the Landmark Trust's Historian Caroline Stanford, including at Bedford Library which was accompanied by an exhibition in the library café. The HLF funds also extend to future schools visits and additional activities to be laid on during public open days over the next few years.

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Sir Samuel Ongley's Commonplace Book, Shuttelworth Estate ledgers and John Usher's designs are held by the Bedford & Luton Archive Service.

The Shuttleworth Visitors Books and the 1872 Sales Particulars are held by the Shuttleworth Trust.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Landmark gratefully acknowledges the support of the following, without whom the restoration of Queen Anne's Summerhouse could not have been accomplished:

Supported by The National Lottery® through the Heritage Lottery Fund

heritage lottery fund

The Fagus Anstruther Memorial Trust
Aurelius Charitable Trust
Central Bedfordshire Council
Mr A J Bowen
Viscountess Boyd Charitable Trust
Dr A V Camp
The Hon Elizabeth Cayzer
Country Houses Foundation
The Englefield Charitable Trust
English Heritage
Mr and Mrs A Froggatt
Mrs L Gane
Mr and Mrs M Gwinnell
H de C Hastings Trust
Mrs J F James
Mrs D Jennings
Mr R C Johns
Dr M B Jones
Mr and Mrs S Jordan
The Leche Trust
The Pilgrim Trust
Rotary Club of Biggleswade Ivel
The Shuttleworth Trust
Dr N A Silverston MBE
The Steel Charitable Trust
Mr and Mrs T D J Syder
Hazel M Wood Charitable Trust

We are grateful to all these bodies and individuals, and to the numerous other supporters who also gave donations to our appeal. Queen Anne's Summerhouse could not have been restored without their help.

Reminiscences about Queen Anne's Summerhouse and the Shuttleworth Estate from local residents

I came here as a beater in the 1930s. It was all with the bushes growed up. We used to run our sticks along the railings and all the pheasants flied out. It was in terrible condition – brambles, ivy. It was a job to see it – but out jumped the pheasants.

We watched them having their lunch here. We were never allowed in, of course, us beaters. They had the lunch brought up from the big house. We were all beaters – all the estate workers – there were about twenty of us. We were outside having a bottle of beer at lunchtime – while they were inside having lunch – about fifteen or twenty of them – probably sandwiches and I don't know – whisky tots! That'd be 1937 – the winter.

Those scars on the bricks – they could be from the ivy branches. Terrible thick, ivy branches are. I think they'll have dug into the brick – it's quite soft, isn't it?

We used to come on our horses. We weren't supposed to but we did. We always used to look at the horse graves. They were intriguing – because we had horses of our own. It's super to see it restored.

They say in the village that the horse graves were positioned so that the horses were buried just as they drew the carriages – and they were standing up.

I don't know about that – I thought they were hunters that were buried here. One is Matador – there's a picture of him in the big house.

Jago, down at the pub, he says that he was here late one afternoon and he heard galloping horses. He said to his wife, 'Watch out, horses are coming!' But no horses appeared!

I remember my mother saying she'd seen Richard Shuttleworth landing an aeroplane over at Colmworth. Apparently, he landed to pick up a lady. She saw the aeroplane take off. Of course in those days that was a big thing. She saw the first aeroplanes and the first man on the moon!

We talk about Richard Shuttleworth down in the village. We'd like a Lord of the Manor. Mrs Shuttleworth, she wouldn't have allowed these things like 30mph speed limit signs. She kept great order. She would have just told people not to drive that fast – and they wouldn't! Richard now – if people didn't open the gates for him, he'd drive straight through them. Course he loved fixing cars.

I played here as a kid. We sneaked in – we went in the Swiss Gardens and the old sawmills too. This'd be about thirty years ago. There were three or four of us, about ten years old. We got inside but not in the cellar. There was no roof on – it was just looking up at the stars. Yes, we came at night – I guess we just scared ourselves!

I used to come to play here and in the Swiss Gardens. It was a bit of a ruin – and the Swiss Garden was a complete jungle.

My son-in-law was a student at the college. Oh yes, there were escapades – rowdy nights and early mornings. He brought my daughter up here – showing her his etchings, you know!

We've known this estate for fifty years and I remember when there were tramps sleeping in the cellar.

It would have been a tragedy to let it go – the brickwork is so fine. There used to be a lovely walk up to it – all primroses. And there was another one – all rhododendron.