The Architectural Evolution of the Stables at Nostell Priory, Yorkshire

by

ANTHONY PEERS

The Priory of St Oswald at Nostell in Yorkshire was founded by the Augustinian Order in the twelfth century and after the Dissolution in 1539 some of the Priory buildings survived in lay use until the 1770s. For the first hundred years, Nostell Hall, as it was known until the 1830s, was owned by four successive families, three having royal connections. The last family paid heavily for their loyalty to the King in the Civil War and Nostell was sold in 1654 to the Winn family, who have lived there ever since. In the early 1730s Sir Rowland Winn, fourth baronet, decided to build anew. His new house was begun to the designs of a local gentleman architect, Colonel James Moyser, who was known to and influenced by Lord Burlington. Moyser was assisted by the young James Paine, who oversaw the construction. Paine took increasing responsibility for the work at Nostell but was replaced by his rival Robert Adam when the fourth baronet died in 1765 and was succeeded by his son, the fifth baronet, another Sir Rowland. The next to undertake notable building work was Charles Williamson, who took the name Winn having inherited in 1817 through his mother. The last major phase of construction was undertaken in the mid-1870s.

The family's abiding interest in horses in the eighteenth century resulted in the stables being among the most important building works at Nostell and these are the subject of this paper.

INTRODUCTION

Arranged around a quadrangle, the stables at Nostell Priory are comprised of ranges built from the mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. Designed by a succession of architects of national renown, each element of the stables reflects the abilities of its designer, the interests of the member of the Winn family who commissioned it, and the approach taken to housing horses at the time of its construction. The rich record of the evolution of Nostell's stables is made all the more interesting by virtue of the survival of an uncommonly extensive collection of drawings and accounts which reveal how the

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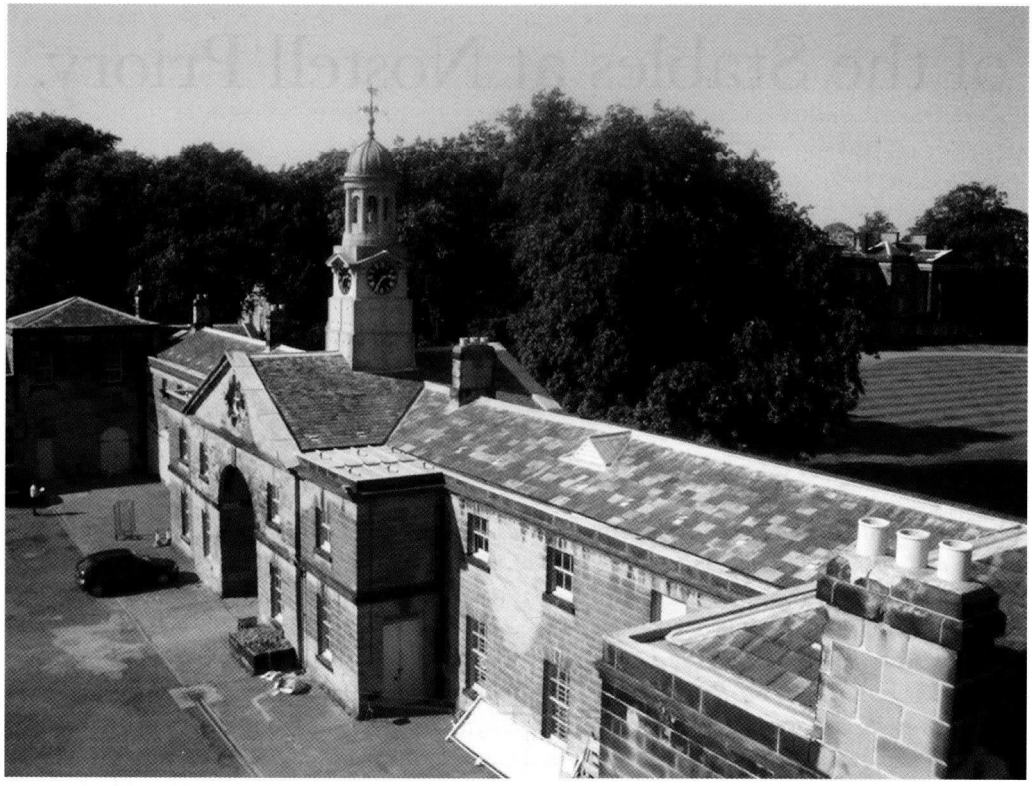

Fig. 1.
The north range. Paine's mid-eighteenth-century entrance arch surmounted by a cupola built in 1829 and moved to this location in 1875. Either side of Paine's entrance are ranges built to the designs of John MacVicar Anderson; that to the right (east) dating from 1875 and that to the left (west) 1904

place appeared and functioned in the past. The mid-eighteenth-century entrance arch, the oldest extant part of the stables, was the most elaborate element of the James Paine designed stable. When Paine's stable ranges were demolished, the handsome entrance arch was retained. It survives as one of only two elements at Nostell that can be solely attributed to this celebrated eighteenth-century architect. Although Robert Adam designed both the south and west ranges, it is the south range which draws the attention on account of the uniqueness and ingenuity of its design. It appears that Adam designed no other building or range like it and, apart from one other instance, there can be found no other eighteenth-century examples, in ancillary buildings, where polite and working uses were designed to be accommodated in such close proximity. Credit for the architectural and visual presence of the stables' quadrangle can be firmly bestowed upon John MacVicar Anderson whose east and north ranges, built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, cleverly ensured the visual harmony of the ensemble both when seen from within the courtyard as well as from without.

With built elements surviving from four clear dates of construction and a wealth of documentary material with which to enhance understanding of them, the stables at Nostell provide an uncommonly rare insight into the interest in horses of successive generations of a family. Up and down the country there are many country house stables, but few can boast a riding house, let alone one whose form and state of survival rank it (of the fourteen private riding houses built between 1750 and 1780) second equal, in terms of heritage significance.

A further aspect of the Nostell stables, which renders them a remarkable place in which to observe the historic evolution in attitudes towards horses and horsemanship, is the mid-Victorian stabling. Whilst many country house stables were built or refitted in the mid to late nineteenth century, few have seen as little alteration as those built in the mid-1870s at Nostell. The primary loose boxes, tack room, wash-down room, the drainage, ventilation and feeding systems are all retained in the mid-Victorian stables at the north-east corner of the quadrangle, providing valuable evidence to the historian.

SUMMARY HISTORY

The first recorded stables on the site of the extant buildings were built between 1719 and 1721 by the third baronet. This modest range, incorporating a central coach house with seven stalls either side, was built in alignment with Nostell Hall. This range survived the demolition of the Hall and indeed James Paine's plans to create a quadrangular stables in full alignment with the new Mansion. Paine's deliberations culminated in the construction (probably between 1750 and 1763) of a range built to the east of the extant stables range, mirroring its form, with a pedimented entrance planted between the two. Although it is not known whether Paine's full quadrangular stables were ever realised, later plans provide evidence that an east range, and at least the eastern part of a south range, were constructed. The stables' full quadrangular form was not completed until the 1770s when the fifth baronet commissioned Robert Adam to design a west range with stalls and a south range housing a politely detailed garden room and greenhouse, with an impressive riding house between.

In the 1820s, measures to reduce the capacity of the stables saw Paine's east range and the range to the east of the pedimented entrance demolished. The architects of this scheme, Watson Pritchett and Watson, drew up proposals to enclose the yard with a range running from the riding house to the east end of the 1719-21 range. Although this proposal was not realised, efforts to restore some dignity to the arrangement was achieved by re-focussing attention on the west range, constructing a cupola (built to the designs of an unrealised Adam proposal drawing) over a newly formed central entrance. It is imagined that the construction of this new cupola was occasioned by the removal of the cupola over Paine's pedimented entrance: an action which would have reduced the impact of the north range's asymmetry.

The final major schemes of alteration, undertaken to the designs of John MacVicar Anderson, saw the east range and the eastern element of the north range re-built (1875), and in 1904 the replacement of the earliest (1719-21) stables range at the quadrangle's north-west corner. MacVicar Anderson's works returned the stables to their quadrangular form and gave true symmetry to the north range. In the 1875 phase of works the visual

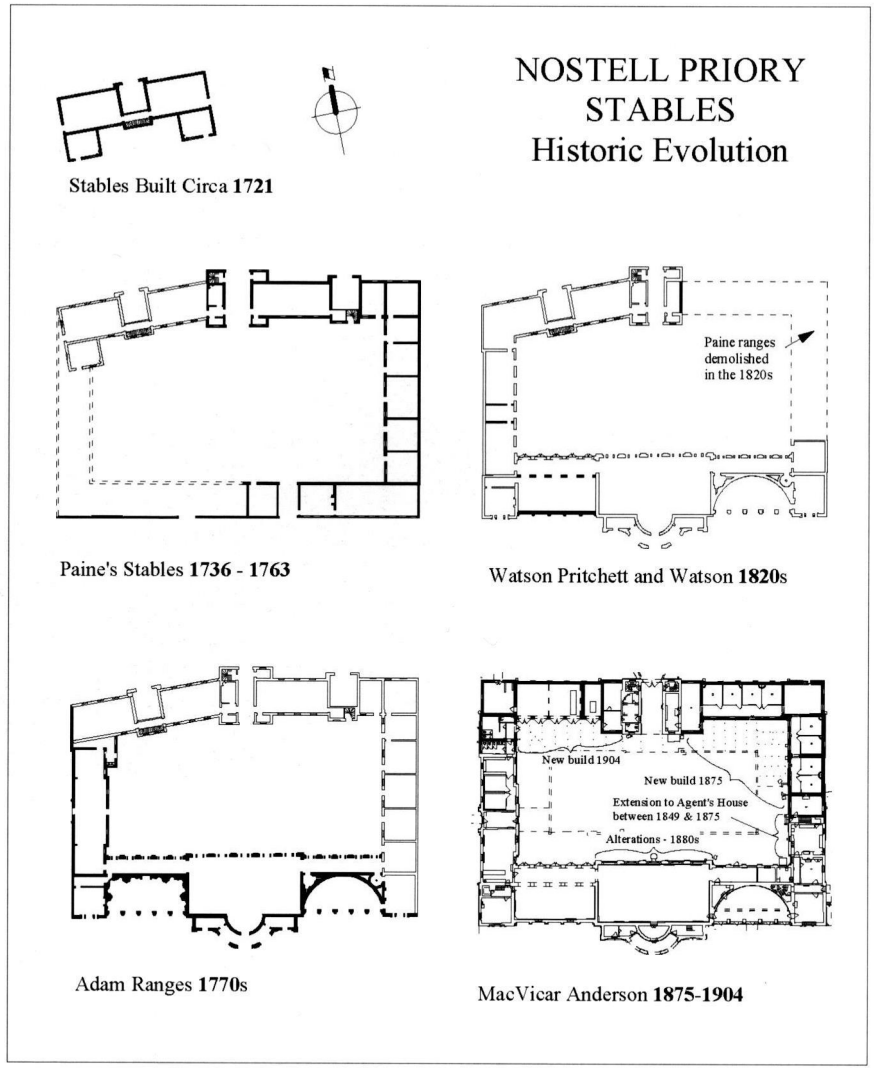

Fig. 2
The evolution of the plan form in a series showing the key changes
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and architectural hegemony of the north range was restored through the dismantling of Watson Pritchett and Watson's cupola for re-erection over Paine's pedimented entrance.

The extant stables are thus comprised of a mid-eighteenth-century James Paine designed north entrance, south and west ranges built to the 1770s designs of Robert Adam and north and east ranges built to the (1875 and 1904) designs of John MacVicar Anderson.

PLANNING FOR THE FOURTH BARONET'S STABLES

Plans by Stephen Switzer (*c.*1730) and Joseph Perfect (1731) provide evidence of the fact that on his return from Switzerland to Nostell in 1727, the fourth baronet was thinking about improvements to his mansion, as well as the grounds and ancillary buildings. The Switzer plan sets out a grand approach to the new mansion with an impressive circular sweep before its south frontage and stable ranges immediately to the east and west of the circle. This plan bears the hallmarks of a first stage of the planning scheme. As such it shows few of what are understood to have been extant features of the site in 1730. In fact the eastern of the circular sweep's 'proposed' stable ranges appears to have been sited some twenty-five yards or so south-south-east of the (decade old) 1719-21 stables range.

If it is to be understood that Switzer's plan set out the fourth baronet's untrammelled initial aspirations, Joseph Perfect's plan of 1731 (Fig. 3) might be read as a record of the modified scheme (quite probably with finances having proven to be the constraining factor). This plan does show the '1719-21' stables range.

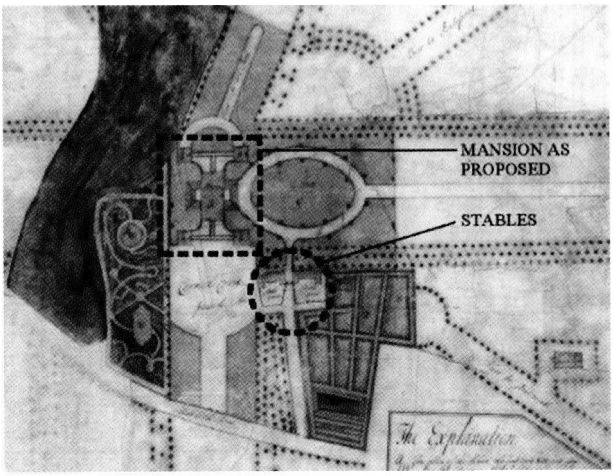

Fig.3
Detail from Joseph Perfect's
'Design for the plan of Nostell' dated 1731
Reproduced with kind permission of Lord St Oswald

Possibly drawn up under the guidance of the gentleman architect Colonel James Moyser, the 'Perfect' plan shows that in the early 1730s, whilst the fourth baronet planned to build his new stables range in alignment with the Mansion and its projecting southern pavilions, his sense of architectural propriety did not extend to planning the demolition of the relatively newly built (but misaligned) stables range.[1] In fact it appears that the fourth baronet's proposed new stables range was, at least in plan form, to echo exactly the form of his father's range.

The 1731 Perfect plan appears to show that it was proposed that there be two access routes to the stables. The first, the polite route, was to be via a carriage drive from the east which culminated in a sweep before the Mansion's east elevation (where passengers would alight) and off which there was to be a route south to the stables. It appears that it was intended that the working or tradesman's access was off the Doncaster to Wakefield Road, whence a straight route entered the stables yard (from the south) or (via a dog-leg) deliveries could be made to the entrances of the kitchen and brew house. Unfortunately the singular lack of any mid-eighteenth-century mapping for Nostell renders it a challenge to establish whether or not the access routes were built as set out on Perfect's map.

The anonymous 1734 ground floor plan (YRK.19/579) (Fig.4) is understood to show the proposals 'aired' in the Perfect map of 1731 to have been further developed.

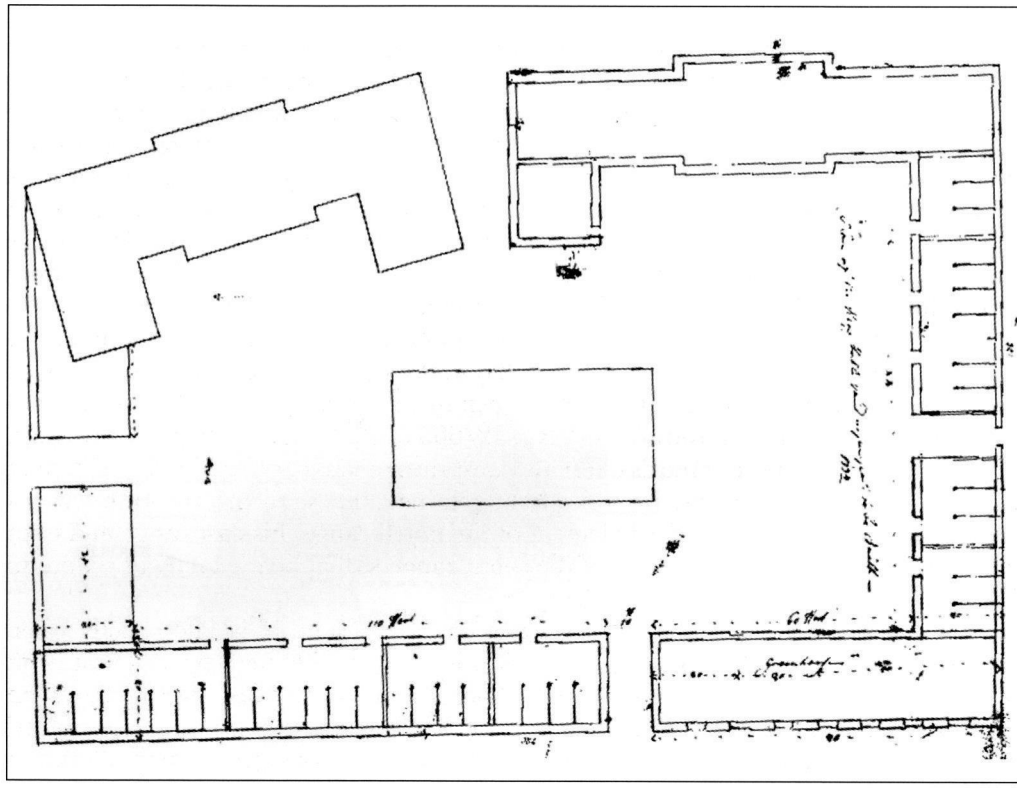

Fig. 4
The anonymous proposal plan for new stables at Nostell, dated 1734 (Ref. YRK.19/579)

In addition to the third baronet's 'canted' range and its pair (set out as envisaged in the Perfect map) the plan shows proposals for east, south and (possibly) west ranges enclosing a courtyard. The manner in which the west 'range' is delineated suggests that a west wall was certainly envisaged, perhaps with footings introduced in anticipation that a roofed range would be constructed in the future.[2] The courtyard was to have entrances from the north, south, east and west and in its centre was to be a large rectangular tank or pit.

Whether this 1734 drawing was executed as a proposal or just a planning exercise, what is most interesting is that it provides evidence of the fact that at this early date it was intended that the quadrangular arrangement should share equine and gardening purposes. Perfect's plan sets out the early 1730s proposals for the kitchen gardens which were to be sited to the south-east of the stables, with use made of the quadrangle's east wall and half of its south wall. The 1734 plan shows the eastern half of the south range (the range of greatest potential value to the horticulturist[3]) given over to use as greenhouses. Whilst the quadrangular stables set out in this drawing appear not to have been built, it is important to recognise that the concept of accommodating greenhouses in the stables (seen in Paine's drawings and later adopted by Adam) started here.

PAINE'S DESIGNS

In the Nostell Priory archives there are four drawings for stables at Nostell (three ground floor plans and an elevation) which appear to be by the same hand. By studying the handwriting, the manner of noting dimensions, and the way in which door and window openings are drawn, and even the way in which the scale is set out, it can be appreciated that these unsigned and undated drawings have been penned by the same hand. As Paine's drawings of the Mansion share the same handwriting style and other quirks of draughtsmanship and architectural language, it might reasonably be assumed that these drawings (YRK.19/628, 637, 649 & NT Cat. 34(4), (Figs 5 & 6) of Nostell's stables, were scribed in Paine's office, as has previously been suggested by Alastair Rowan.

But for one pivotal element, the stables ranges constructed to Paine's design have been lost and more recent buildings now stand in their place. Evidence of the fact that Paine's scheme was executed in full can be seen in 'as proposed floor plans' drawn up in Robert Adam's office in the 1770s (YRK.19/603 & 592) (Fig. 7). In these drawings, so as to place the proposed Adam south and west ranges into context, the draughtsman shows the elements of the extant stables to be retained. These record the built form of Paine's entrance arch, his eastern element of the north range, his east range and even his conservatory at the eastern end of the south range. All appear exactly as set out in Paine's drawing YRK.19/649 (Fig. 6).

Unfortunately no documentary evidence has been found to isolate exactly when Paine's stables were constructed. However, it might reasonably be proposed that work to build the stables commenced some time after the start of the Mansion's construction at a date when Colonel Moyser, and more particularly the fourth baronet, were satisfied that Paine's skills had progressed from that of 'Supervisor of Construction Works' to designer.[4]

The only surviving part of Paine's stables is the entrance arch, the element designed as the focal point of the north range, the chief entrance to the stables yard and the link between the new build and the third baronet's pre-1722 range (Fig. 1). 'Inspired', as Worsley puts it, 'ultimately by the ideal of the Triumphal Arch',[5] this element, with its characteristically Paine-esque broad pediment, its clock and cupola, appears to have been envisaged from the start of Paine's planning for the stables.[6] However, the design evidently did evolve. In the preparatory plans (Fig. 5) it can be seen that the entrance arch's projecting bays were at first envisaged as being smaller within the courtyard than those outside. In the built arrangement (Fig. 6) these projections were of the same dimensions.

The form of the entrance arch echoes the language of the entrance arch to the pre-1722 coach bay (and its later sister to the east) but enforces its hegemony through being broader and marginally taller. Observation of Paine's design drawing (YRK.19/637) (Fig. 5) provides evidence that it was originally intended that the entrance arch be decorated with a squared off beam running through at platt level, with posts rising from it in Diocletian form.[7] This plan had evidently been abandoned by the time that the presentation drawing (YRK.19/649) (Fig. 6) was penned. The openings in the front and rear pediments, shown in the preparatory drawings to be round, were to be exchanged for *oeils de boeuf.*

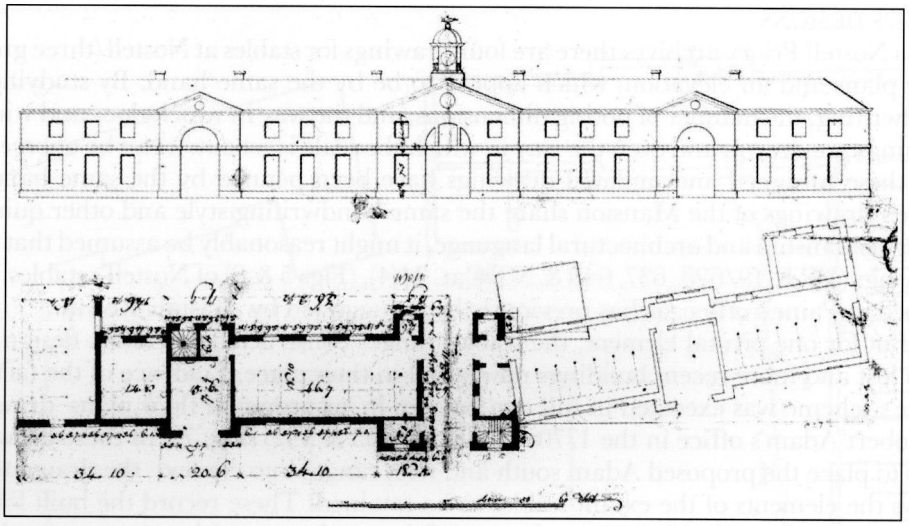

Fig. 5
An undated and unsigned proposal plan for the stables at Nostell thought to be one of Paine's early designs (Ref. YRK.19/637)

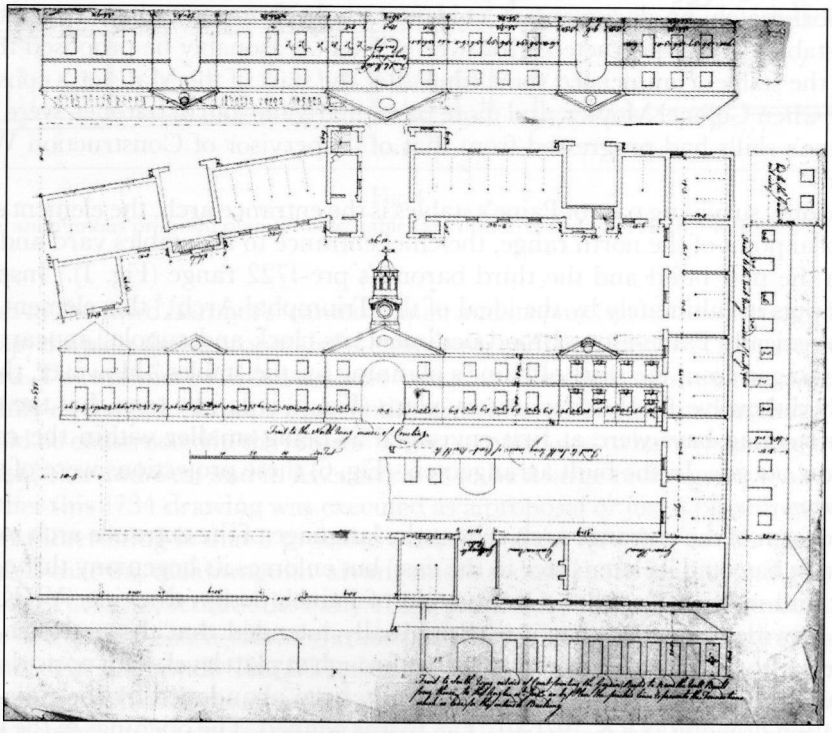

Fig. 6
Undated and unsigned, this drawing is understood to be the last of Paine's proposals for his new stables at Nostell (Ref. YRK.19/649)

The final key change made whilst planning the detailing of the new stables range was in the fenestration. A preparatory plan (YRK.19/637) and a further Paine elevational drawing (NT Cat. 34(4)),[8] show that it was initially intended that the ground floor windows be tall and the key-stones of both ground floor and first floor windows rise to the platt course and cornice respectively. As built, the ground floor windows were shorter and a gap left between the key-stones and each of the elevations' lateral emphases.

PLAN FORM AND SITING

By 1734, when the anonymous plan for Nostell's new stables was penned (Fig. 4), the fashion amongst the land-owning aristocracy and gentry alike was to build their stables in quadrangular form at a distance from the mansion. In the seventeenth century the accepted norm was that stables be sited in ranges flanking the court before the mansion. Quadrangular stables appear almost exclusively to have been the preserve of royal households. The neo-Palladian approach, as adopted at Castle Howard at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was to build the stables as one element of symmetrically set out ranges (of offices, farm buildings, etc.) emanating from the mansion. Whilst Burlington, Colonel Moyser and indeed Paine were otherwise following Palladio's lead, by the 1730s 'in choosing to place their stables in detached quadrangles, the Neo-Palladians deliberately turned away from what might have been seen as correct Palladian design'.[9]

At Nostell the 1734 plan provides evidence that, from an early juncture in his planning, the fourth baronet was clearly keen to equip his new mansion with a free-standing quadrangular stables. Stables of this type were in vogue from 1732, the year in which Sir Robert Walpole's hugely impressive, William Kent designed, stables at Houghton Hall, Norfolk had been completed. From this date the stable was, for the horse-loving aristocrat or squire, 'no longer a way to one side of the house or placed subserviently in front of it, but standing detached, as objects calling for due attention in the landscape, architectural statements in their own right'.[10]

In his study of the British Stable, Giles Worsley challenged the convention that from the 1730s the larger and more eminently impressive free standing quadrangular stables were constructed so as to meet the need to house greater numbers of horses (evolving approaches to hunting from the mid-eighteenth century evidently spawned a requirement for more horses).[11] Worsley's argument is that where in earlier stables the coach house and the stabling were often housed in different buildings and the hay and straw for the horses stored in nearby barns, 'what had changed was the decision to integrate all the different elements of the stable yard into a single composition and treat the rest architecturally'.[12] At Nostell the construction of the fourth baronet's quadrangle clearly also increased his stabling capacity. The third baronet's range had had stalls for twelve or fourteen horses.[13] To this, the 1734 plan shows a planned extra forty-five stalls. The Adam plans,[14] which show the 'as built' form of Paine's north and east ranges (but not the provision in the south range), provide evidence of the fact that an extra twenty-five stalls were constructed. It is probable that the fourth baronet was motivated to increase the capacity of his stabling,[15] and construct architecturally impressive 'à la mode' quadrangular stables, through an admixture of the propitious desire to present stabling and the practical need for more stalls to compliment the grandeur of the new house (and keep step with those recently

built at country seats such as Houghton Hall, Norfolk, and the none too distant and similarly dated Studley Royal).

James Paine was involved at Nostell from 1736 until the death of the fourth baronet in 1765. Although in his work on the Mansion Paine began to take a lead role in the design as the scheme progressed (not least for instance in relation to the interiors), it is thought that he played at best only a very minor role in the initial task of designing the Mansion's plan and elevational form. After all he was just nineteen when taken on at Nostell. In his biography of Paine,[16] Peter Leach describes the young architect's involvement in the design and construction of Nostell Priory thus: Nostell was an excellent beginning for Paine. It appears that he was employed simply to supervise the erection of the House – he was quite literally 'entrusted to conduct' the building, a task that the gentleman/architect Moyser probably had neither technical knowledge nor the inclination to perform himself.

Paine's own comments on Nostell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, extolling the quality of the stonework rather than describing the design, are more what would be expected from the builder than from the architect.

The stables' design drawings, which appear to be by Paine, were evidently executed at a date (most likely between 1750 and 1763) when Paine had progressed from his role as 'supervisor of construction works' to designer. Aside from the central element of the menagerie, the stables were the only buildings at Nostell which Paine could genuinely describe as having been entirely built[17] to his design.

THE ROBERT ADAM DESIGNED SOUTH AND WEST RANGES

INTRODUCTION

The south and west ranges of Nostell stables' quadrangle were built to Robert Adam's design between 1769 and *circa* 1773. The complexity of the buildings constructed, the amount of pertinent primary source documents available and extent of subsequent alteration to the fabric all contribute to render the story of the design and construction of these Adam ranges a challenging one.

Understanding of the construction of the stables' south and west ranges is greatly enhanced by the survival of much of the correspondence between the architect and the client, and perhaps more usefully between the architect's clerk of works, John Austin, and the clerk of works at Nostell, one Benjamin Ware. Although frustratingly a number of the letters, diaries of work notes and accounts are undated, a reasonable understanding of the progress of the building programme can be gained from those which are dated. What is immediately evident from the correspondence is that Adam office-designed works to the Mansion and stables were being undertaken concurrently.

Whilst during the course of construction correspondence was generally between the two clerks of work, as might be expected, the earliest surviving letters relating to the stables come from the architect, Adam himself. In a letter of 23rd June 1768 (ref. NP/A4/1525/49), Adam informs Mr Ware 'the plans etc. of the riding house are ready'. From this statement it might be imagined that Adam has been working on the proposal drawings for some time and it can also probably be inferred that construction work had yet to start. The rapidity with which the design proposals for the riding house and the

rest of the south range were worked up is demonstrated in a further letter from Adam to Ware, penned just six weeks after the first. In this letter dated 4th August 1768[18] careful consideration is given to the detailing of the riding house pilasters and the greenhouse columns. In this letter something of the working relationship between the Adam office and Ware at Nostell can also be observed. The survival of at least some of the Adam office plans and elevational drawings of the proposed south and west stables ranges provide concrete evidence of the degree to which Ware was instructed in the form of the building to be constructed. However, with the architect based several days away in London, Ware clearly had some rein to interpret the design to resolve constructional matters as necessary. Adam's letter is telling in that on the one hand it instructs the on-site clerk of works as to the materials to be used, but on the other accepts the treatment which the clerk of works has clearly suggested himself.[19]

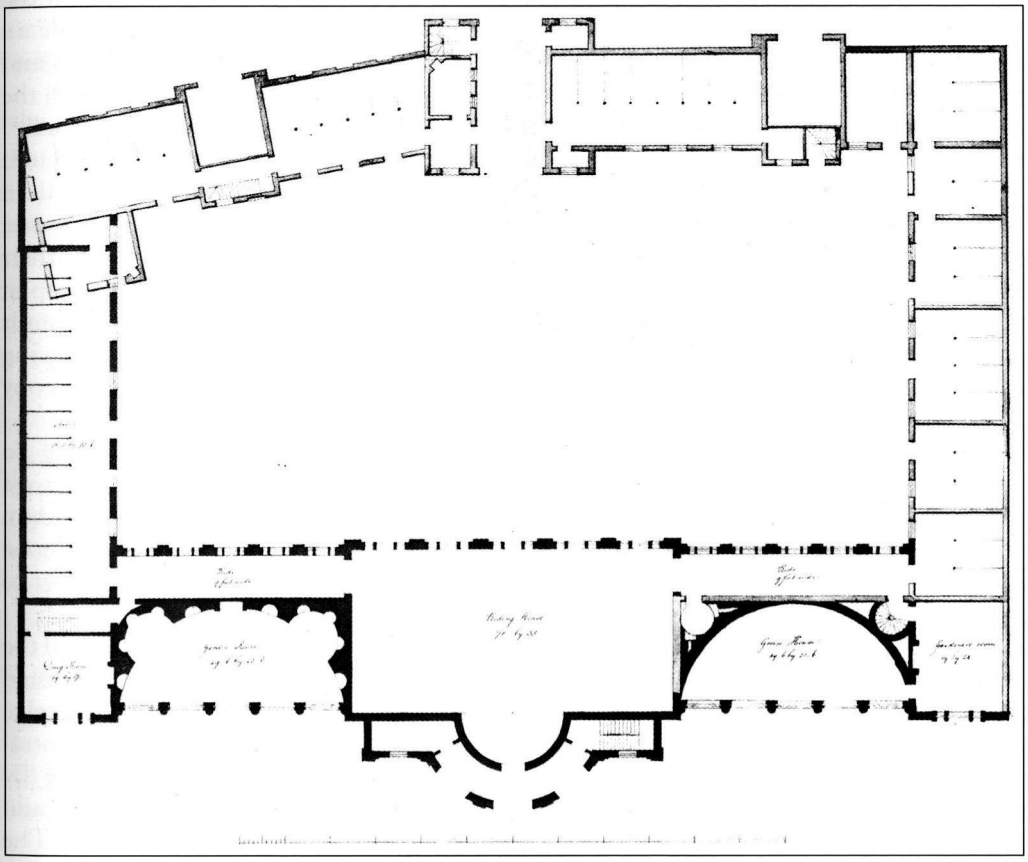

Fig. 7
An Adam office drawing showing (in black ink) the proposed form of the south and west ranges (Ref. YRK.19/603)

In a detailed letter to Rowland Winn dated 13th May 1770 (ref. NPC3/1/5/4/1), Benjamin Ware sets out the progress being made on the stables' construction works. As mention is made in this letter of the 'plaisterer' being ready to begin 'the cornich [cornice] for the front of the Greenhous' and the carpenter having 'got all the prensable [principal] rafters framd [framed] for the roof for the riding house', it is clear that the central and eastern parts of the south range were, by this date, in an advanced state. For such progress to have been made[20] it is more than likely that the construction works would have commenced in the spring or summer of 1769. It might be inferred that the construction of the south and west ranges had been completed late in 1772 or in the spring of 1773.[21]

THE WEST RANGE'S STABLES DESIGN

Uncatalogued in the National Trust's collection of drawings at Nostell is an unsigned and undated drawing which purports to record 'the dimensions of the stalls of the King's Stables in Pimlico next to the Queen's House, St James's Park'.[22] The survival in the Nostell archives of a letter, which also refers to the Pimlico Stables, might provide an explanation as to why the Pimlico stalls drawing ended up in the Nostell archives and how it might possibly be related to the design of the Nostell stables' stalls. Although the letter, from John Austin (clerk of works to Adam) to Mr Ware (clerk of works at Nostell)[23] discusses the proposed form not of Nostell's stables but of its riding house, in it Austin tells of his having been to the Pimlico Stables to seek design ideas. It is thought more than probable that the record of the Pimlico stalls was made by John Austin on the same or a similar 'design inspiration foray' and probably sent to Ware or Rowland Winn for their thoughts as to whether they might like stalls akin to those drawn and measured up at the relatively new Royal Stables. Whilst there are clearly similarities between the stalls seen in the record of the Pimlico stalls and those set out in the Adam office drawing (YRK.19/357), it is evident that the stalls designed for Nostell did not slavishly copy those at Pimlico.[24]

An Adam office drawing referenced YRK.19/357 provides, in the form of an elevation and section, a very clear explanation as to the designed form of the west stables' stalls. Whether or not the stalls were actually built in the form set out by Adam in drawing YRK.19/357 cannot be asserted with any great degree of certainty for none of the stalls survive and the interiors of the west range have evidently been subject to several phases of alteration.

In the 1820s, Watson Pritchett and Watson designed a scheme which introduced the walling which defines the range's broad central cross passage (see Fig. 2). It is suggested that at this time the stalls were also entirely reconfigured with Adam's collection of twelve stalls being replaced with just ten marginally broader stalls, five either side of the central cross passage.[25] Although it is undated and unsigned it is suggested that the drawing (by an amateur hand) in the Nostell archive[26] relates to the period when Charles Winn and Watson Pritchett and Watson were planning the improvements to the west range. The stalls set out in this purportedly 1820s drawing (YRK.19/417) measure roughly six feet eight inches in width as opposed to the five feet eight inches width stalls set out in the Adam office drawing.[27]

The best surviving physical evidence of early stalls is the cornice work found over the west wall of the west range's southern part. Running across the ceiling at a distance one foot eight inches from the west wall,[28] the cornice is punctuated at the point at which the pilasters of the long since removed stall dividers rose to meet the ceiling. As these heads to the stall dividers effectively define the location of five stalls spaced at six foot eight inch centres and are all of equal width (the northernmost marrying in true conformity with the space's 1820s north wall) – it is suggested that the west cornice, and the stalls of which it tells, were those built not to Adam's but to Watson Pritchett and Watson's design in the 1820s.[29]

THE ADAM DESIGNED STABLES AS BUILT

The stables which the fifth baronet had inherited (see Fig. 6) comprised a stable yard with coach houses and stalls in its north range, stalls in its east range and in the south range (only half of which had been constructed), a greenhouse, the gardeners' room and three further stalls. Although they had been planned, the western half of the south range and entire west range existed largely in the form of foundations 'laid for the intended building'.[30]

The fifth baronet's passion for horses and horsemanship is best reflected in his having commissioned the construction of the riding house. Whilst in comparison with the south range the west range was to be architecturally diminutive, its construction served several important purposes. At its completion Nostell was equipped with a fully quadrangular stable yard and the fifth baronet had at least five more stalls at his disposal.[31]

In terms of their design the greatest difference between the Adam designed stables and those built perhaps less than twenty years before, is the openness of their internal plan form. Unlike the east range, built to Paine's design, Adam's west stables range was accessible from both within the stable yard (horses and humans) as well as from the west (presumably humans only). Where Paine's east range comprised stalls divided into groups of twos, threes and fours in no less than six 'cells', Adam's stalls were housed in a lengthy single celled space, divided only by a central passage. Adopting the convention of having the stalls against the outer wall, it appears that Adam's stables were lit only from the east, through windows which were 'blind' in their lower halves.[32] The stabling of horses in loose boxes only became fashionable in the last years of the eighteenth century. Here were installed traditional stalls of just under six feet in width and, from the front face of the hay rack to the heel post, a fraction over eight feet in length.[33]

The Adam office design for the stalls (drawing ref. YRK.19/357) utilised the traditional in-built wooden hayrack and trough, eschewing the increasingly popular method of dispensing hay through a more durable metal rack.[34] Whilst the Adam drawings make no reference to the key stables considerations of ventilation and flooring, the east windows would have also served to ventilate the interiors and it is probable that the floors would have been laid to bricks, for by this date brick was the most commonly used material for flooring stables.

THE RIDING HOUSE: INTRODUCTION

In 1771 Richard Berenger, Gentleman of the Horse to George III, wrote of 'ornamental riding' as being one of the 'superfluous but refined pleasures of life'. Developed in Naples in the early sixteenth century, participated in by Henry VIII and fashionable during Queen Elizabeth's reign, enthusiasm for haute école or the 'schooling of horses in a series of formalised movements'[35] amongst royalty, nobility and those of high status, was to endure until the end of the eighteenth century. Evidence of the spirit with which enthusiasts indulged their passion survives in the buildings constructed to ensure that such exercise and artistry on horseback could be taken under cover. Perhaps the most noted example is that at Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire, built in the 1630s by William Cavendish.

A lull in this interest in haute école saw just three private riding houses built between the Restoration and the mid-eighteenth century.[36] However, before its final demise in Britain, the art of haute école was to have one last flourish. Between about 1750 and 1780 a small number of wealthy and well connected individuals revived a passion for the 'refined pleasures' of haute école. The fashion was led by King George III, the centre of the revival being the Royal Mews. The King's enthusiasm was nurtured and passed on through the several military riding houses in the capital. In this short lived, but keenly indulged in British revival of haute école, about fourteen new private riding houses were constructed by 'the Princes of the blood, some of the Nobility and Gentry'.[37]

Rowland Winn's enthusiasm for haute école would have been fired during his time in Switzerland, for it was on the continent that 'ornamental riding', a cherished courtly activity, had its origins. In Britain, in the mid to late eighteenth century, the enthusiastically adopted haute école was to take on a different form. Those who constructed riding houses were committed enthusiasts, anxious to indulge more thoroughly in their and their friends' private passion for horsemanship. In an age when propriety proved so powerful a force, it is interesting to note that most riding houses were built, it seems, not to ensure that the patron created the right impression, but purely to indulge his enthusiasm. They were 'built for utility, not show, and were not considered essential by those without a passion for horsemanship, even for the grandest stables such as those at Goodwood House, Sussex, or Chatsworth House, Derbyshire'.[38]

Of the fourteen riding houses known to have been constructed between 1750 and 1780, Worsley[39] notes Nostell to be unusual on three counts. First, of all those who commissioned riding houses in this period, he singles out Sir Rowland Winn as having 'weak credentials' on account of his having left the handling of his nine horses[40] in manège to his riding master. Secondly, at Nostell the viewing gallery (Fig. 8) was located in the long south wall as opposed to the more commonly utilised end walls. Lastly the Nostell riding house is also unusual in its siting. Most of the fourteen private riding houses built between 1750 and 1780 are detached or built to the rear of the range of stables: to have incorporated the riding house into the stables' quadrangular arrangement, as Adam did at Nostell, is uncommon and distinctive.

In other respects Nostell's riding house conforms to the patterns adopted in the design of this building type. At seventy feet long by thirty-six feet wide and rising to a not inconsiderable height, the Nostell riding house is of fairly standard dimensions; for instance that built at Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire (1767–9) is seventy-five by thirty feet.

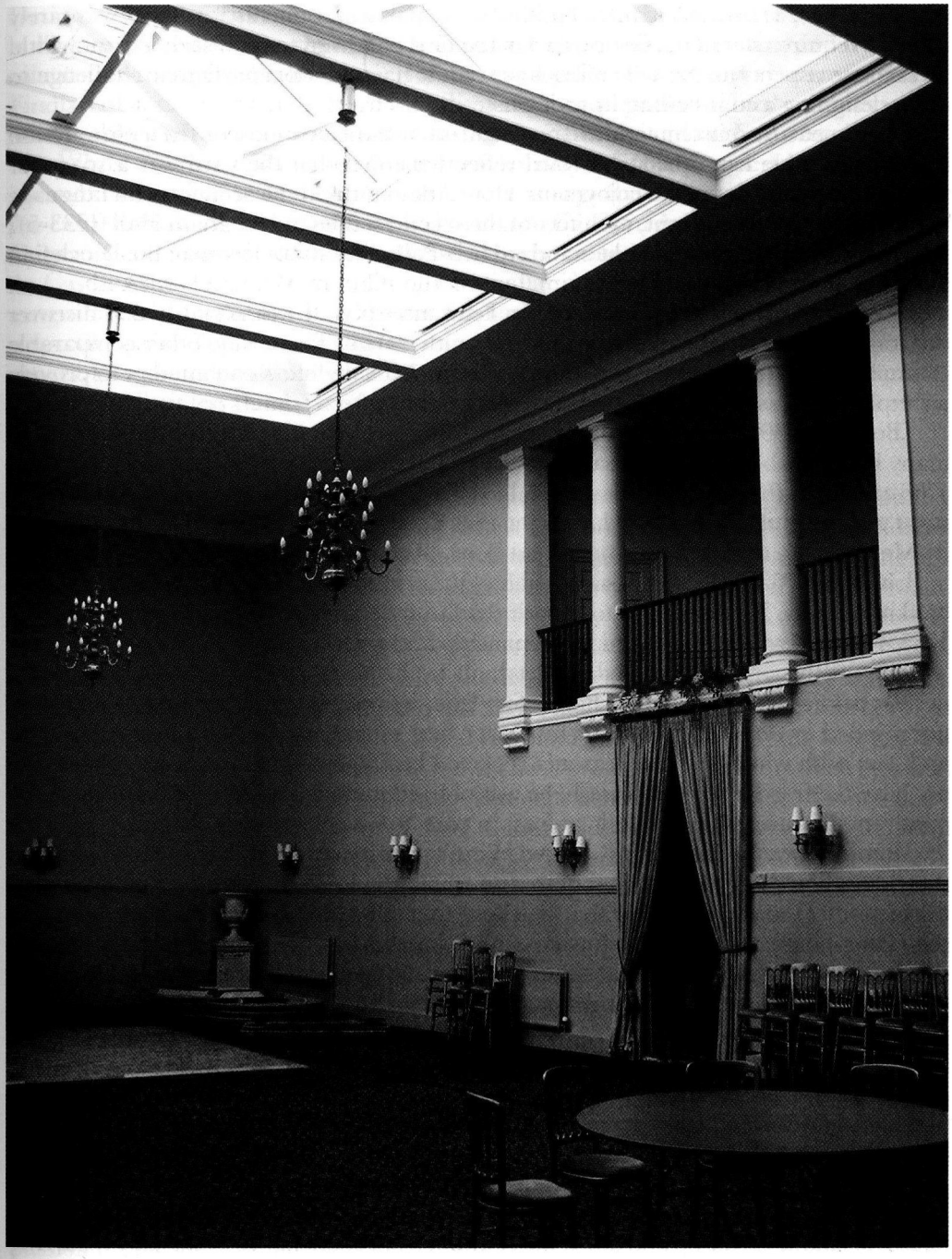

Fig. 8
The riding house from its north-east corner. Note the primary gallery and the 1880s roof-lights

The considerable breadth of these buildings is of particular interest[41] as there was rarely if ever a requirement in domestic and agricultural buildings to span such a great width. In this one aspect the Nostell riding house must have posed a particular challenge to those designing and installing its roof trusses.[42]

The measured architectural treatment of those elevations of the riding house which are visible from the stable yard reflects the fact that the yard was a space for work and activity, not polite enjoyment. Here Adam utilised the architectural language 'pioneered by William Kent, architect of the second stables at Houghton Hall (1733-5)', which Worsley[43] describes as 'the standard neo-Palladian stable formula; the Diocletian windows set in blank arcading'.

As Giles Worsley wrote in a letter in February 2005, 'I was astonished to discover the complexity of Adam's plan for this (the south) range. There is no other comparable example in the history of the British riding house'. There follows an attempt to provide an explanation as to why the south range is so unusual.

Born in 1739, Rowland Winn spent his formative years, as it seems did the sons of many British noblemen, in Lausanne, Switzerland. During his residency there, between 1756 and 1762, the young Rowland indulged his passion for horses, spending substantial sums trading in them. It was in Lausanne that Rowland Winn formed a friendship with de Mesery who, aside from being his landlord, also owned a riding house.[44] Returning to Britain in 1762 with a new bride, Sabine, the wealthy daughter of a Swiss Huguenot banking family, Rowland was to inherit the family estates at the age of twenty-six, in 1765. His passion for horses and horsemanship had not waned.

The fifth baronet inherited stables built by his father most probably less than a decade before. Just as his father had before him, it appears that the young baronet was not minded to remove that which his father had so recently built. Robert Adam (the architect with whom the fifth baronet replaced his father's architect, James Paine) did not have the freedom to start afresh: he was obliged to design within the confines of the quadrangular arrangement built (at least in part) to his competitor's design.

It might be imagined that Rowland Winn's priority requirement for the stables was the riding house and the stalls required to stable the horses in manège. The unusual distinction of Adam's design is that he chose to challenge the convention of designing the riding house as a free-standing structure, instead incorporating it into the stables' quadrangular arrangement. Installing, in the tradition of stables design, passages along the inward facing walls, Adam's design ensured that horses in manège could be brought under cover from the three stalls in the east range and twelve stalls in the newly built west range. This arrangement permitted the spaces on the southern side of the south range to be given over to polite and horticultural uses. Accessing these spaces[45] through the garden to the south, the design ensured that polite users need not know that the spaces beyond the polite rooms were the demesne of horses and stable hands although interestingly the inward facing walls were also given a decorative plaster cornice.

In the search for parallels in the many designs Adam made for the stables and riding houses of country seats up and down the country, it is a challenge to isolate any recurring themes or sister designs. Study of the Soane Museum's extensive collection of Adam drawings only provides evidence of the true depth of Adam's inventiveness as a designer.

Designing stables for all manner of clients, each inevitably with his own requirements and budget, Adam's drawings show that he emphatically did not revert to standard design solutions. Amongst the most exciting of Adam's stables' designs are those envisaged for Findlater Castle:[46] set out in the round, the central court of this stables' complex was to have within it a handsome buttressed 'castle tower-like' covered riding ring.

Whilst Adam's work at the Nostell stables is clearly his grandest in the classical idiom,[47] in terms of scale and magnificence it is arguably eclipsed by the designs for the castle-style stables envisaged for Dalquharran Castle in Ayrshire (designed 1785), [48] Culzean Castle, also in Ayrshire and Castle Upton, County Antrim (designed in 1783).[49] At Castle Ashby[50] Adam's (unbuilt) quadrangular design for stables incorporated two ranges of stalls to stable hacks (horses for hacking across country) and coach horses respectively. Sited opposite one another and forming central elements to their respective ranges, these broader stables (which were to have a central passage with stalls either side) projected, albeit less flamboyantly, in the same manner as the riding house at Nostell.

COMPARATIVE ADAM DESIGNS

Other than that for Nostell Priory, the only other known Adam design for a Country House associated riding house is that for Castle Upton in County Antrim. Here in Adam's 1783 design, tellingly, the riding house is detached from the stables, forming a wing of a nearby composition which incorporates polite rooms for entertaining (a drawing room, hall and dining room).[51] The only riding house for haute école, other than that at Nostell, known to have been built to Adam's design was that constructed in Nicholson Street, Edinburgh, between 1763 and 1764 for the Royal Academy For Teaching Exercises. Although there was evidently a marked difference in design, scale and purpose between this 'public' riding house in Edinburgh and Rowland Winn's private riding house, when designing the Nostell riding house Adam must have brought to bear that which he learnt in the design of the Edinburgh building. Although demolished in 1828, documentary evidence of the 'as designed' form of the Edinburgh riding house survives in the form of Adam office plans, elevations and sections in the archives at the Soane Museum. In plan form the Edinburgh riding house, with its hall flanked by stables, bears comparison with the arrangement seen at the 1755 riding house at Wilton House.[52] In Edinburgh, as had been built at Wilton, the riding house was entered at one end, through a grand doorway. In the designs for Edinburgh the screen marking the division between the riding hall and the entrance 'narthex' cum viewing gallery was defined with columns of the Tuscan order.[53] Adam was to utilise Tuscan, the 'simplest of all classical orders', again in the embellishment of the gallery at Nostell (see Fig. 8). Perhaps more than the design parallels between Adam's Edinburgh and Nostell's riding houses, such as the use of high level windows and dado match-boarding, it is the differences between the designs of the two interiors which are noticeable. Whilst clearly being a functional building, the Edinburgh riding house is the more noble for its grand entrance, its columned narthex and its ranks of niches. At Nostell, Winn clearly sought a space in which to exercise his passion for horsemanship in private.

THE ROOMS EITHER SIDE OF THE RIDING HOUSE

THE GREENHOUSE

Whilst the collection of Adam office drawings setting out the detailed designs for the garden room provides tantalising evidence of a handsome interior since utterly compromised, by contrast no such drawings survive of the greenhouse which survives in an apparently remarkably little altered state.[54] Just as the primary fabric surviving in the greenhouse helps in the envisaging of the garden room's original form, so study of the Adam office drawings of the garden room aids understanding of the greenhouse's primary form.[55]

Further evidence to support appreciation of the fact that the greenhouse's surviving decorative fabric is of Adam design, is Joseph Rose's list of 'plaisterers work done'.[56] Here for instance is described work ninety-nine feet nine inches in length of ornaments in a 'frize consisting of basketts with flowers and swags of do, husks below with sircles [circles] issuing from ditto and foliage husks between the baskett 9 ins wide'. Compare this description with that which survives today and it is clear that the greenhouse's extant decorative frieze is a survival from the primary build. Furthermore the Rose's record of his having executed ninety-nine feet nine inches of frieze and 140 feet six inches 'of ditto circular', and knowledge of the fact that the length of the south elevation of the garden room is forty-eight feet six inches and the wall circling round to the north of it measures seventy feet seven inches in length, prompts the understanding that the frieze supplied for the greenhouse was exactly the same as that made for the garden room. Clarification of the fact that the two rooms, of matching footprint, received matching decorative plasterwork can be found in the undated memorandum of drawings (presumably from Adam's office) for Mr Ware:[57] 'the window side of greenhouse to be finished the same as the window side of the garden room and have the same cornice and frize with a torus and plinth round the room'.[58]

THE GARDEN ROOM

In the Nostell archives there survive no less than nine Adam office drawings[59] which set out the proposed form of the garden room. Although no plan-form evidence survives of the fact that this room was built in accordance with Adam's design,[60] clarification of the fact that the room was completed to Adam's design can be found in Rose's list of plastering works undertaken.[61] As so much of the plastering in the greenhouse was evidently repeated in the garden room, the inventory of works lists the plastering undertaken in these two polite spaces together. Betraying the garden room's function, Rose's listing refers to the garden room as ' the banqueting room'. The sobriquet was clearly not Rose's invention: the diary of work,[62] thought to have been penned by Benjamin Ware (the Clerk of Works at Nostell), refers to the 'Banquiting Room' as does an inventory of 1818.[63]

Setting out a floor plan and internal elevations both of the room's largely glazed southern side and the curved walling to the north of it, the Adam office drawing ref. YRK.19/644 (Fig. 9) provides the most thorough impression of the way the garden room was designed to appear. Here, in the rectangle of space between the riding house to the east, the intra-riding house and stables passage to the north and the drug room

to the west, the Adam drawing sets out a lunette shaped room (a segment of a circle) with semi-circular projections partially filling the rectangle's corners or squinches. These semi-circular eleven feet six inches wide and five feet nine inches deep niches gave onto doors which were to provide access, via small lobbies, to the north passage and the intra-stable and drug room stair hall.[64] Either side of the door within each of these large 'access' niches were smaller niches, rising from dado level to a height of six feet. An undated and unsigned letter[65] presumably from Mr Ware, poses the question of Mr Adam as to 'the best place to get figures in plaster' … 'for the neach's in garding [garden] room'. This note also records that these six feet high by three feet wide niches were to receive busts whilst the four eight feet high niches in the lunette's main walling (also rising from dado level) were to receive 'whole length' figures. The centrepiece of the composition was to be a fireplace with an elaborate surround, the subject of no less than four Adam office drawings.[66]

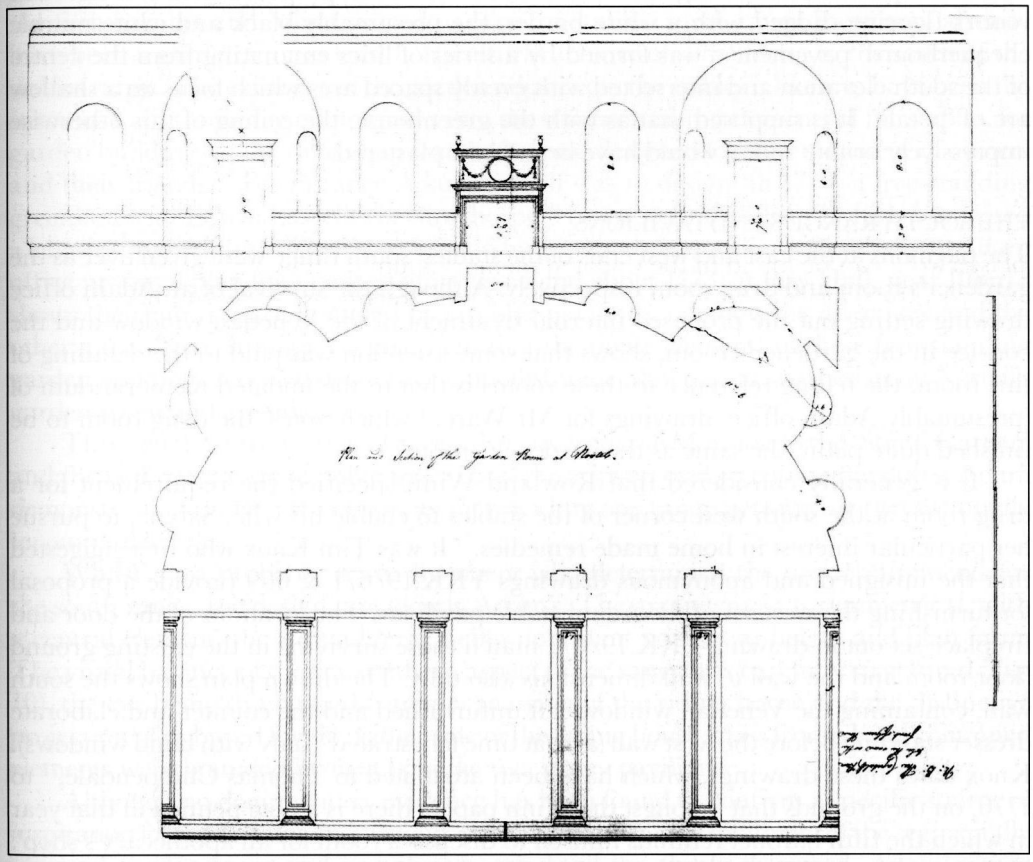

Fig. 9
Drawing from Adam's Office showing the floor plan and elevations of the south range's garden room (Ref. 19/644)

The evidence suggests that the garden room's south elevation was, as the greenhouse remains, given over to fenestration between pilasters. The timber built half columns, which still punctuate the wall's external face, are understood to be primary. They match those surviving on the greenhouse for which a description by Robert Adam as 'wood painted and sanded' survives.[67] The list of the Rose's plastering works[68] provides evidence sufficient to appreciate that the form of the internal capitals of the garden room's pilasters matched those atop the (still surviving) greenhouse pilasters.[69]

Unfortunately the elevation set out in the Adam office drawing YRK.19/644 (Fig. 9) provides absolutely no clues as to the manner in which the garden frontage of the garden room was fenestrated. For once, recourse to the greenhouse is not of assistance for the fenestration of this room is clearly later.[70] The one documentary source to provide evidence of the primary form of the garden room and greenhouse fenestration is an undated diary of work, probably written by Benjamin Ware.[71] This diary records 'the sashes' of the banqueting room 'to olter [alter]' and the sashes of the greenhouse 'to han [hang]'.

The Adam office drawing ref. YRK.19/594 sets out the proposed form of the garden room's flooring. Edged with a white border, the presumably black and white marble chequerboard 'pavement'[72] was formed by a series of lines emanating from the centre of the south elevation and intersected with evenly spaced arcs which focus on a shallow arc of 'petals'. It is supposed that as with the greenhouse, the ceiling of this otherwise impressively ornate room, would have been plain plastered.[73]

THE SOUTH RANGE'S END PAVILIONS

The pavilions at the east and west ends of the stables' south range were given over as the gardener's room and drug room respectively. Although the survival of an Adam office drawing setting out the proposed internal treatment of the Venetian window and the cornice in the gardener's room, shows that some attention was paid to the detailing of this room, the telling reference to these rooms is that in the undated memorandum of (presumably Adam office) drawings for Mr Ware,[74] which notes 'the drug room to be finished quite plain, the same as the gardener's room'.

It is generally considered that Rowland Winn specified the requirement for a drug room at the south west corner of the stables to enable his wife, Sabine, to pursue her particular interest in home made remedies.[75] It was Tim Knox who first suggested that the unsigned and anonymous drawings YRK.19/671 & 669 provide a proposal for furnishing the western of the Adam stable pavilions. The locations of the door and fireplace set out in drawing YRK.19/671 match those surviving in the existing ground floor room and the wall to wall dimensions also tally. The drawn plan shows the south wall, containing the Venetian window, left unfurnished and the counter and elaborate dresser standing before the west wall (at that time fenestrated[76] only with blind windows). Knox dates these drawings, which have been attributed to Thomas Chippendale,[77] to 1776, on the grounds that amongst the Winn papers there is a note penned in that year in which the fifth baronet reminds himself to discuss 'a room for an apothecary's shop'. Unfortunately no documentary nor physical evidence survives to render it possible to confirm whether the ground floor of the western pavilion was indeed furnished in the manner set out in 'Chippendale's' drawings.[78]

No other instance has been found in the United Kingdom of a quadrangle of stables incorporating spaces put over to horticultural use.[79] In this respect Nostell's stables are remarkable. However, although the greenhouse was built to Adam's design, it is thought most probable that it would have been the client, the fifth baronet, who was responsible for determining this unusual aspect of Nostell's stables.

From the outset the fourth baronet's plans for the stables incorporated a greenhouse.[80] If the fourth baronet's stables were built as set out in Paine's drawing YRK.19/649 (Fig. 6), then the one element of demolition that Adam's scheme incorporated was the loss of a greenhouse. Thus, far from being an Adam design inspiration, it is considered likely that the motivation, to incorporate a greenhouse into the new stable range, came from the fifth baronet wanting to retain the status quo.

Worsley remarked that it was unusual at Nostell's stables for spaces to have been given over to both equine and polite purposes. No other instances, where stables combine such uses, have been found in the United Kingdom.[81] The reason for this at Nostell may be put down to a combination of circumstance and design inventiveness on Adam's part. When the fifth baronet and Adam started to plan the stables' south range there may already have been a garden,[82] or at least horticultural activity of some form, to the south of the stables range. The existence of the garden adjacent to the stables is likely to have been the stimulus for introducing polite spaces into the southern facing elements of the stables, for garden buildings at the time often featured rooms designed for the enjoyment of owners and their friends.[83] For instance Adam himself was to design (in 1779) a free-standing greenhouse for Edwin Lascelles of Gawthorpe (Harewood), Yorkshire[84] which comprised a lengthy greenhouse flanked at either end by garden room pavilions. Similarly an Adam office proposal plan for a conservatory (executed about 1773) at Ray Hall, near Ilford[85] shows the central space bounded by circular pavilions, one housing an aviary and the other a tea room. It might be imagined that the polite elements of these free-standing garden buildings received decorative embellishment akin to that lavished upon Nostell's garden room and greenhouse.

Through the introduction of access directly from the Mansion to the 'South Garden' and the deft separation of polite spaces and those given over to equine purposes, Adam demonstrated his inventive ingenuity in providing one range performing two seemingly incompatible roles.

Whilst most probably it was his client who determined the use requirements for the south range, the design is evidently Adam's. The arrangement is symmetrical, with a central element, the riding house, being dominant both in its height and plan form. The visual balance of the key southern aspect of the range was carefully structured (Fig. 10), the eye being drawn to the greater massing of the riding house and the distinctive projection of its bayed loggia. Either side of the riding house, glass fronted and columned elements were bounded by neat box-like two storey pavilions.

Although no documentary evidence has been found to confirm a specific source of inspiration for Adam's design, the sources, particularly for the treatment of the segmentally planned garden room and greenhouse, are none too thinly disguised. Adam owned copies of Andrea Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* and Sebastiano Serlio's treatise on architecture, and he clearly used them for design inspiration. Adam also owned a copy

Fig. 10
The Adam designed south range viewed from the south west. From the left can be seen the west pavilion, the south wall of the cart shed (formerly the garden room), the riding house, the greenhouse and the east loggia

of G. B. Montano's *Five Books of Architecture* (published in 1684).[86] In this source there are drawings of three Roman temples, which may have directly or indirectly influenced Adam's design for the segmentally planned rooms in the Nostell stables' south range. All three of the Roman temples drawn by Montano are circular in plan and feature round-backed niches between square-sided niches (or openings) at the quadrants. Adam might well have looked at these drawings, observing the opportunities for a room of semi-circular form. The first, a temple on the Via Appia near to the Circo Di Caracalla,[87] shows (as seen at Nostell) each quadrant defined by rectangular recesses with three rounded niches between, the centremost being of a greater diameter than its neighbours. The second , 'outside the main gate of the Tower of Slaves',[88] shows a similar arrangement, but as at Nostell the niches are filled with statues and uncomplicated by the projections of pilasters. The third, that most like Nostell, is the 'Temple in the vineyard on the way to S. Lorenzo',[89] where the three niches of each quadrant are round backed and simple in form, with the centremost being wider than its neighbours.[90]

Adam's utilisation of the niched circular Roman temple form can be seen in several buildings constructed to his designs, notably in the galleries at Lansdowne House, London (begun 1762) and in the breakfast room at Caldwell House, Renfrewshire (1773). However the Adam design which bears closest comparison with the segmentally planned rooms, and most particularly the Nostell stables' garden room, is his design for the dining room at General Hervey's House.[91] In this design, which probably pre-dates the designs for Nostell's stables, is a room which seems to anticipate many of the aspects of Nostell's garden room. Although in plan form the design for General Hervey's dining room is circular, its external wall performs the same role as that at Nostell's long since lost garden room. Hervey's dining room was to comprise a 'wall of windows'[92] lighting a space whose other half was bounded by a semi-circle punctuated with semi-circular niches and rectangular recesses. Although the form of the niches and recesses in General Hervey's dining room design differed markedly from those 'later' realised at Nostell, the concept of giving one part of the room over to fenestration and the other to a semi-circle of niches, is shared. Again, although the manner in which the niches were formed differs between the two plans, the utilisation, in the design for General Hervey, of the square corners of the plan's rectangle for circulation, may have posited an idea in Adam's mind as to how to treat the corners (or squinches) of the rectangles in the greenhouse at Nostell: in Nostell's garden room he incorporated the corners (or squinches) of the arrangement into the body of the room, utilising the enlarged niches for circulation purposes.

During the time that he would have been working on the designs for Nostell's stables, Robert Adam was also working at William Weddell's Newby Hall in Yorkshire. The form of the garden room at Nostell and the sculpture gallery at Newby (designed 1767) bear comparison.[93] It is quite possible that Adam encouraged Rowland Winn to make use of some of the design ideas seen at Newby. Adam's plan for the central element of Newby's three-part gallery owes something, directly or indirectly, to Montano's plans of Roman temples, particularly that 'nearby the Tower of the Slaves'. Whilst the room's plan form is worthy of comparison with that set out at Nostell, so there are useful comparisons to be made between the manner in which some of the niches are detailed (rising from dado level, etc.). There is a distinct possibility that Adam will have used the example of Newby, where he was designing a room to house the best collection of antique sculpture in the land, to encourage his client at Nostell to give his 'Banqueting House' the appearance of a sculpture gallery (although the family owned little sculpture and therefore purchased plaster copies).

Although there is no documentary evidence to prove conclusively the sources of design inspiration for the Nostell stables' segmentally planned rooms, there are a number of sources through which Adam's inspiration for the design of the rooms might be traced. Adam's garden room was no copy; it was a room in which his intimate knowledge of antique sources and his design experience were brought to bear in the forming of a room for a specific purpose. By expanding each of the two quadrants' central niches, Adam made best use of the rectangular space's corners. In so doing, and at the installation of subsidiary niches within the corner niches, Adam departed from all known examples from the antique and also from his own oeuvre. Not heavily ornamented as say Newby Hall's sculpture gallery is, Nostell's garden room was sober, dignified and, above all, unique.

THE STABLES IN THE POST HAUTE ÉCOLE ERA

The wealth of documentary material, which so enriches understanding of the form and use of the stables in the fifth baronet's time, serves to reflect the interest and enthusiasm at that period for horsemanship and horses. However, his passion was not long-lived.

An undated and anonymous drawing[94] which sets out a design for converting the riding school into a theatre is thought[95] likely to date from the 1780s. By this decade the passion amongst royalty and the nobility for haute école had rapidly waned and it was quite possible that in middle age, as the fifth baronet gradually lost interest in horses and his passion for the theatre filled the void, the thought of converting the now redundant riding house to a theatre prompted him to commission a design for a fully fledged theatre. The project may never have come to fruition on account of his death in 1785 at the age of forty-six.

Whilst the theatre design might have been commissioned by the fifth baronet, it is also possible that it was penned at the instruction of his son, the sixth baronet.[96] Although also a keen horseman, it is considered unlikely that the sixth baronet's equine interests would have extended beyond foxhunting to the by then unfashionable haute école.

The dating of the drawing to the 1780s is founded on a number of observations made on it by David Wilmore.[97] Wilmore's view is that the arrangement set out in the Nostell theatre design is for a fully fledged theatre, not just a room in which theatrical productions could take place. He also notes that the theatre set out in the drawing is closer in plan form to the Georgian rectangular 'Courtyard Theatre' than the horseshoe plan form preferred by the Victorians. The grave trap and corner traps in the forestage are set out in standard Georgian format (suggesting a design date of between 1760 and 1810) and the proscenium doors either side (with Juliet boxes above) are also typical, apparently, of the Georgian period. Orchestra pits, as seen in his drawing, were not generally built until the 1780s and the number of seats set out in the drawing is standard for a late eighteenth-century country house theatre.

The drawing appears to have been executed by a trained draughtsman, probably an architect who had some knowledge of theatre design (the existence of the forestage with its textbook Georgian theatre traps and proscenium doors suggests as much). The opposing view that the drawing was not penned by a specialist theatre designer (but by an accomplished architect more used to designing other building types) is founded on the design's unusual treatment of elements such as the forestage whose frontage is bowed instead of having a (more commonly found) straight front, and the seating which here is set out in an arc where in the late eighteenth century it would usually have been straight.

In the decades following the death of the fifth baronet, evidence of the fact that the stables were less enthusiastically utilised can be observed, if nothing else, from the paucity of documentary material relating to them. Most interesting and telling is the inventory and evaluation of horses and equine equipment[98] sold following the death of the sixth baronet in 1805. At the three-day sale the fifty-three 'horses' sold included coach horses, geldings, mares, team horses, ponies, a mule and a Shetland pony.

In the 1820s, at the instruction of Charles Williamson, Watson Pritchett and Watson oversaw a scheme of works which, through removing the Paine-designed east range as well as the eastern part of the north range, greatly reduced the stables' capacity

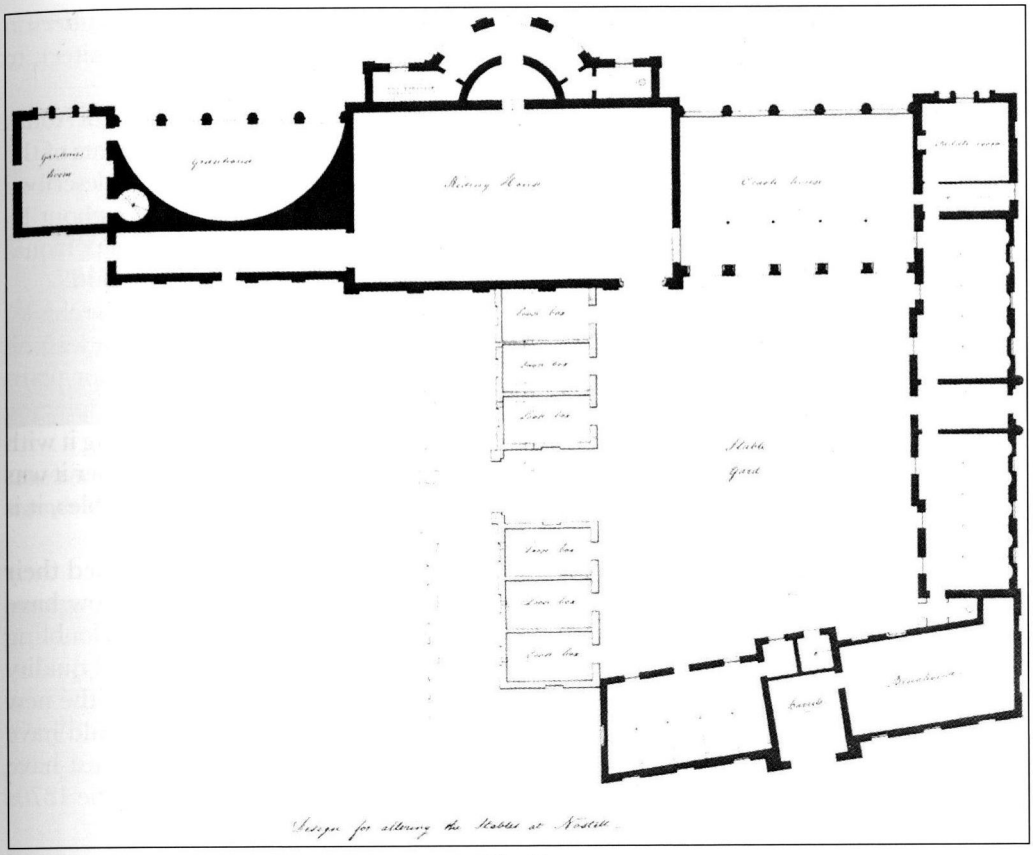

Fig. 11

Watson Pritchett and Watson's 1827 proposal plan showing the works to subdivide and introduce a through passage to the west range, the removal of the elaborate garden room for replacement with a coach house and the demolition of the Paine designed ranges at the quadrangle's north-east corner. Some of the proposals set out in this drawing were not realised; notably Paine's entrance arch was retained and the new range running north from the riding house was not built. Further departing from the proposals as set out in this drawing, the executed scheme saw the garden room's north wall supported by brick piers not columns and its glazed frontage was walled up (Ref. YRK19/622)

(Fig. 11). It was not until the mid 1870s that the next major scheme of improvement was to be undertaken.

JOHN MACVICAR ANDERSON

Rowland, first Baron St Oswald, inherited Nostell in 1874 at the age of fifty-four. His father, Charles, had been overseeing affairs at Nostell for over fifty years. Nostell was clearly run down: the house 'sorely needed repair'.[99] The stables it seems comprised, as appears to have been the case since the 1820s, just fifteen stalls. Rowland Winn, now wealthy thanks to a healthy income derived from mining and steel production, set about

a major programme of works at Nostell. He commissioned John MacVicar Anderson (1835-1915), the by then forty-year-old and well established country house architect, to design works of improvement both to the house and the stables (Fig. 12).

At Nostell, MacVicar Anderson displayed considerable respect for the work of Adam and Paine, writ large in the manner in which his ranges unify the earlier elements of the stables' quadrangle stylistically as well as visually. John MacVicar Anderson was described thus by Aston Webb in the *RIBA Journal*'s obituary of 26 June 1915: 'Throughout he wore the white flower of a blameless life, and both in mind and character and personal appearance he was in every way essentially a gentleman. What more can be said!'.

The MacVicar Anderson design drawings, which survive in the Sheffield archives, present a wealth of information in relation to the first Baron and MacVicar Anderson's planning of the improvements to the stables. Immediately apparent in the floor plans (AP50 – 2 & 3) is the fact that at first the proposal was to construct ranges replacing those demolished in the 1820s and also to demolish the *circa* 1721 range, replacing it with stabling whose footprint would render the quadrangle truly rectangular. Whether it was financial concerns or possibly his interest in retaining the oldest part of the stables, it is not known why the first Baron chose against replacing the *circa* 1721 range.

As initially envisaged, the 1875 stables' improvements would have increased their capacity. Previously able to house fifteen horses in stalls, the stables would now have room for eight horses in loose boxes and twenty-two in stalls.[100] Effectively doubling the provision, the key factor for the first Baron would have been the improved quality of the stabling. In line with advances made nationally in the design of stables, the new stables at Nostell were to be equipped with loose boxes. This requirement would have been a priority, for by the time of Charles Winn's death the Nostell stables must have been regarded by visitors as extremely out of date. As Worsley observed:[101] 'by the 1870s it was standard for every hunter to have a loose box'.

MacVicar Anderson's design for the new ranges reflects the overall improvements in the standards attained by the mid-Victorian era in the provision for horses and staff alike. These standards were promulgated through publications as popular as they were numerous. In compliance with two aspects of stabling which preoccupied mid-Victorian designers, the new stables were evidently to be well ventilated and drained. Furthermore, no longer were horses to be washed down in their stalls; a commodious 'horse washing place' was to be provided. In contrast to Paine's single-storey range, but marrying with the two-storeyed projecting extension of the agent's house,[102] the new east wing was to have two floors, its upper floor entirely given over to grooms' accommodation.

The decision to abandon the proposals to demolish the *c.*1721 range (and rebuild the western element of the north range) clearly had an impact on the proposals for the new eastern element of the north range. As the historic western part of the north range presumably retained its stalls and the four loose boxes were no longer to be provided here, it makes sense that the proposed provision of stalls in the eastern element of the north range (Fig. 13) should have been superseded by a scheme to install (the extant) loose boxes here. Although 1876 pencil amendments to the 1875 plans do not detail the installation of loose boxes in the eastern part of the north range (instead of the initially envisaged stalls), the physical form of the surviving arrangement is such that it

Fig. 12
The north-east corner. From left to right: Adam's pavilion, the mid-nineteenth-century extension to the agent's house, (from the pediment to the foreground corner and onward to the entrance arch) MacVicar Anderson's mid-1870s ranges, Paine's entrance arch and MacVicar Anderson's range of 1904

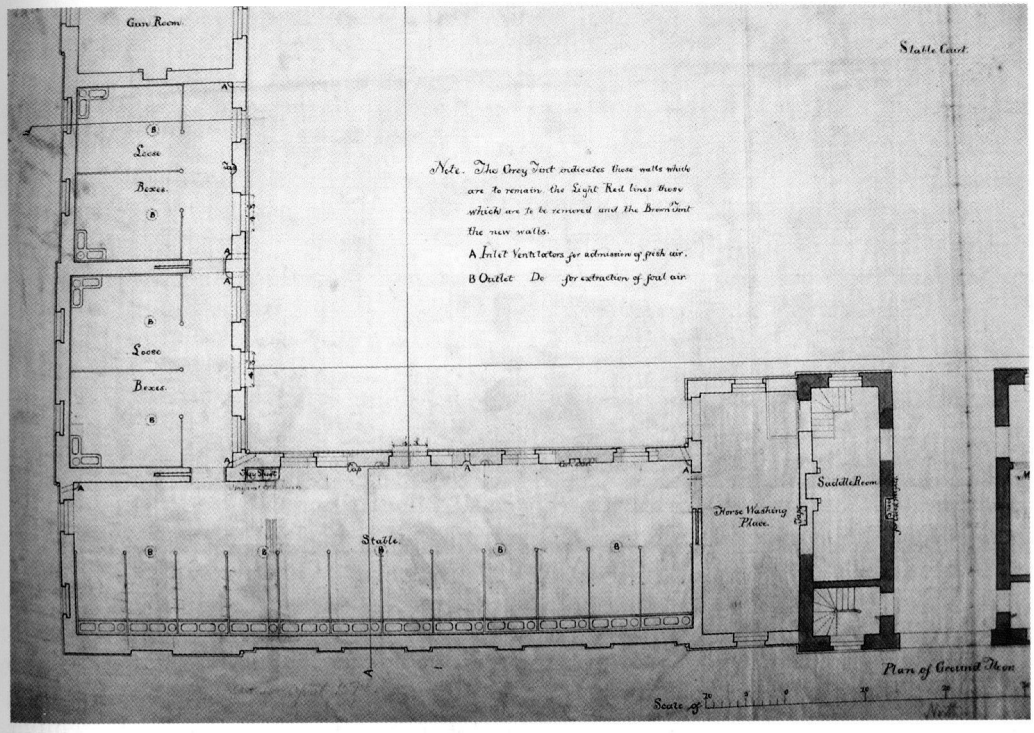

Fig. 13
Detail from MacVicar Anderson's proposal plan of 1875 showing the north-east corner at ground floor level (Ref. AP 50-2)
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is considered highly unlikely that the stalls were built (as set out on the drawings) and the loose boxes introduced at a later date.

What the MacVicar Anderson ground floor plan does show, in pencil, (Fig. 13)[103] is the proposal for a large room at the meeting of the north and east ranges. However no record is provided of this space's proposed use. As MacVicar Anderson's unexecuted design for the western element of the north range incorporated a large 'Harness Room' it is quite possible that the large room at the stables' north-east corner was put to this use.[104] Pencilled annotation on the first floor plan (Fig. 14) shows further alterations to the scheme, dated October 1876, in which the easternmost part of the hay and corn loft was walled off for use as a groom's bedroom to be accessed via a new door opening through from the north end of the east range's corridor.

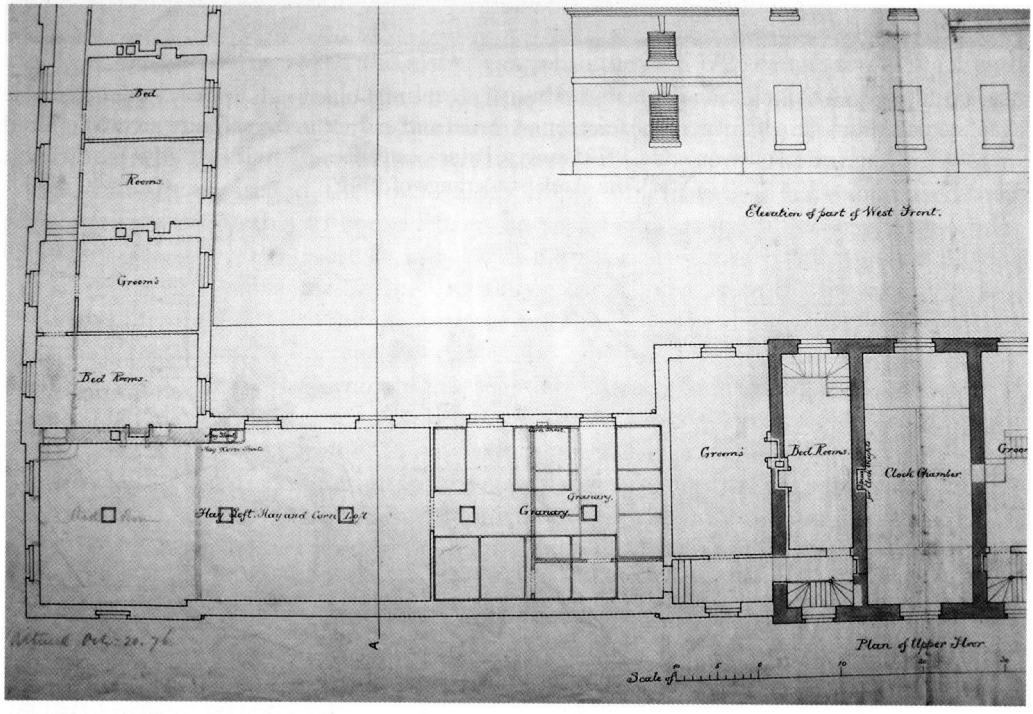

Fig. 14
Detail from MacVicar Anderson's proposal plan of 1875 showing the north-east corner at first floor level (Ref. AP 50-3)
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Although no drawn record survives to provide evidence of the works undertaken to the riding house in the early 1880s, the Yorkshire Estate Ledger no. 1, 1877-93 (Nostell Archive ref. WYL1352/C3/1/12/1) provides evidence of the fact that on 31 December 1880 the carpenters were paid £59 7s 6d and the masons £38 3s 3d for works to the 'riding school'. This same ledger provides record of further minor payments made in relation to works to the riding house up until 1885. These references almost certainly relate to

the work to introduce the substantial extant glazed roof lighting and also potentially the re-fenestration of the Diocletian windows.[105] The riding house's external cornice, which Alistair Rowan observed looked quite unlike any Robert Adam designed cornice that he had seen, was quite probably also introduced at this date.[106] Other works undertaken as part of this scheme in all probability included the re-paving of the riding house's loggia. The existing floor tiles have the appearance of tiles made and laid towards the end of the nineteenth century. Alistair Rowan was of the view that Adam would have specified both the internal and external elements of this space to be laid to stone flags.

Rowland, the first Baron, died in 1893 and a full decade was to pass before his son, also Rowland, decided to undertake improvement to the stables. In 1904 the second Baron commissioned his father's architect, John MacVicar Anderson, to undertake the work that his father had failed to see through in the 1870s: the redesign of the range to replace the *circa* 1721 stabling at the north west corner of the stables quadrangle. Abandoning the 1875 proposals for a brewery, stabling and harness room in this west end of the north range (with hay loft and granary above) the new proposal reflected the changing requirements of the times with the majority of the ground floor now to be given over to a coach house and the brew house at the north-west corner exchanged for two rooms to be used for the storage of motor mowers and straw respectively. No longer required for the storage of feed and bedding, the spaces above were to be bedrooms for grooms. At ground and first floor level these interiors appear to have been constructed as set out in MacVicar Anderson's plan (Sheffield Archives ref. AP50-8) and they survive largely unaltered to this day.

Although the surviving MacVicar Anderson proposal drawings for the 1904 scheme of works do not, unfortunately, extend to detail the form of the west range, it is understood that this scheme did incorporate considerable works of alteration to this Adam designed range. For instance the parity of the detailing and tooling (and patterns of weathering) of the stonework of the west range's west elevation is such that it is understood that, at the construction of its northernmost element in 1904, the rest of the elevation was refaced in its entirety.

Although there is no documentary evidence to support the theory, it is suggested that the extant loose boxes in the west range's northern part were also introduced at this date. MacVicar Anderson's 1875 ground floor plan shows the stables either side of the west range's central passage fitted out with stalls (most probably those installed to Watson Pritchett and Watson's design in the 1820s). Such evidence tells us that these stalls survived in the west range until at least 1875. A further factor against the contention that the west range's loose boxes might have been installed in the mid 1870s is a practical one. The first Baron's initial proposal had been to install eight new loose boxes and twelve new stalls. Whilst the modifications to his mid-1870s plans still provided the required eight loose boxes, such provision was permitted at the expense of the initial plans for twelve new stalls. It is thus highly unlikely that as part of this scheme the first Baron would have commissioned the construction of more loose boxes (of which he already had his quota) at the expense of yet more stalls, of which he had fewer than initially planned. The form of the loose boxes in the west range differs sufficiently[107] to support the theory that these were constructed at a date quite different from those in the north and east ranges.

Giles Worsley noted that 'The vast numbers of Victorian stables that survive, often with their fittings intact, means that knowledge of 19th century stable design is very complete'.[108] Of these 'vast numbers' the MacVicar Anderson designed stables at Nostell are noteworthy survivals. In the comments made after his visit in 2005, Worsley drew special attention to the remarkable extent to which the mid-Victorian stables at Nostell had survived.

Although only elements of the loose boxes in the stables in the east and north range bear the name Musgrave, study of Musgrave's catalogues renders it eminently clear that all elements of the stables fittings, in the west, north and east ranges, were supplied by this impressive Belfast architectural iron foundry.[109] Although this study of the Musgrave fittings at Nostell was made with the benefit only of a Musgrave catalogue dated to 'before 1934' (no 1870s or early-twentieth century catalogues could be found) this catalogue features fittings of remarkably similar design to those found in the stables at Nostell. Amongst these are the drainage system or 'stables stench trap', the folding bracket and even quite probably the harness case located in the tack room and the coloured hexagonal tiles on the walling.[110] But for the treatment of the floor surfaces, the loose boxes of the north and east ranges are fitted out in remarkably similar fashion.[111] The differentiation in the floor surface treatment and use of the more elegant ball tops to the pillars, as opposed to the 'dwarf tops' used in the east stables, prompts the thought that the loose boxes in the north range were reserved for the 'best' horses. This theory is supported by the knowledge that these stables, and not the others, were fitted with 'through the ceiling' ventilation as well as hay and corn chutes.

Although the loose boxes were evidently equipped with all the fittings required for up-to-date stabling, including corner hayracks and mangers and improved drainage systems (stench trap with four winged gutters), from the evidence of the (albeit later) Musgrave catalogue it seems likely that the Winns did not purchase the absolute top of the range fittings.[112] Economies were made, for instance through not purchasing the cast iron niches, but rather forming the dado niches for the water taps in render.[113] A further Musgrave fitting which was not utilised in the MacVicar Anderson designed stables was the 'patent stables ventilator'. Although ventilation was clearly a key issue in the stables' design, here it seems that the desire to have classically designed traditional sash windows (and the conventional ventilation achieved through these), won out over the option to install Musgrave's presumably better ventilating but also potentially visually discordant patent ventilator.

Two payments noted in The Yorkshire Estate Ledger no. 2 (1894-1908) (Nostell Archive ref. WYL1352/C3/1/12/2/1), each of £20 7s 5d, were made to Hartley and Kaye in June 1904 and June 1905, for 'channels in stable yard'. These channelled stones survive to this day and the type of stone used and parity of treatment prompt the thought that the Hartley and Kaye's yard works of 1904-5 extended to the introduction of the extant setts beneath the stables' entrance arch. Whilst the installation of these setts clearly required the removal of the cobbles seen in 'turn of the century' photographs , it is not known how the yard cobbles were treated in this scheme.

LATER USES OF THE STABLES

During the Second World War, Nostell was taken over by the military, with officers of the Royal Artillery accommodated in the Mansion and the stables occupied by other ranks. The County Architect's 1946 drawing provides evidence of the ground floor arrangement of the stables immediately after the war. This confirms that the 1904 coach house was used as a garage. The covered space to the south of it presumably served as an additional open area for working on vehicles. Unfortunately the plan fails to give an explanation as to the use to which most rooms were put, generally only setting out the room's dimensions and its number. However, the south range coach house is described as a canteen. The existence of its counter at the room's west end prompts the thought that during the war the room at the corner of the south and west ranges (originally used as Sabine's drug room) served as the kitchen. The 'stage' shown in the 1946 plan at the east end of the riding house prompts the thought that the riding house served as a place for briefings and entertainments.

In the early 1950s Mr White, a trainer of racehorses, rented the stables. It is likely that the extant yard surfaces: the tarmac and the concrete immediately to the south of the north elevation (see dg. 5653/06) were laid at the commencement of this rental arrangement. The last horses housed in the Nostell stables departed with Jimmy Walsh, a horse trainer who left Nostell in the late 1970s. The last loose boxes to be used were those in the north end of the west stables. Jimmy Walsh also used one or two of the loose boxes to the east of the entrance arch.[114]

In the 1960s the fourth Baron St Oswald turned the stables to a variety of different uses, which included a motorbike museum, a craft shop, a wood-carving shop and work spaces for a jeweller and a potter. For many years the fourth Baron kept his yellow and black Rolls Royce in the 1904 coach house, along with a hovercraft.

From the early 1960s the garden room (or coach house) and riding house were used as a grain store.[115] For the first two years grain was tipped through the second-most easterly of the coach house doors into a square pit formed between the entrance and inner piers. An auger raised the grain to a dryer sited against the east wall. From here an auger passed through a *circa* eighteen-inch hole in the wall, depositing the dried grain at the north end of the riding house. The grain was then bagged and carted away for storage in the riding house. In the mid 1960s the dryer was considerably improved occasioning the excavation of a six-foot square by eight-foot deep pit at the foot of the coach house's east wall. Three two-foot square holes were introduced in the walling above. Through these, fans ventilated the dryer, expelling dust and chaff through a conduit, out of the riding house's westernmost Diocletian window and into the yard. In this improved arrangement eight large grain storage bins were constructed in the coach house, together with a high level conveyor which ran through a large hole in the east wall. This conveyor ran along the full length of the riding house. Gates in the conveyor's walls permitted grain to be discharged wherever required. Stored grain was conveyed to delivery lorries by means of a moveable auger, rising from the riding house's floor to the main conveyor, and then on to a cross conveyor running out of the easternmost Diocletian window.[116] In the mid to late 1960s the west doorway was broadened (and the concrete lintel introduced over it) to enable a small tractor to be driven into the riding house. Ostensibly this tractor was used to shunt grain.

In about 1980 Rowland Winn transferred the grain store operations elsewhere and converted the coach house and riding house to use as a function suite. As part of this process the interiors were 'improved', the coach house doors were replaced with glazed doors and windows and a 'stone paved raised apron' was introduced to the north of the coach house. The first event held in the new function suite was a dinner for the Yorkshire and Lancashire Light Infantry, the Regiment of which the fourth Baron St Oswald was Colonel in Chief.[117]

Barbara Bolton, who started working in the Nostell café in 1980, remembers talk of the visitors' café having been moved in the late 1970s from the laundry room in the Mansion to its current location in the stables.[118] Evidence set out in the *c.*1980 plan of the stables confirms that at this date the southern part of the west range was utilised as 'a restaurant' and the range's southernmost room as a 'kitchen' (echoing the use to which it was put during the war). These rooms retain the same uses to this day.

By the end of the 1980s the condition of the stables' roof had deteriorated to such an extent that there are reports of there having been rainwater catching buckets 'in every room'. In 1990, under the guidance of Francis Johnson, there began a phased programme of re-roofing works. Supported by an English Heritage grant, which met over forty per cent of the cost, these works were to involve repairs to the cupola and the re-roofing of all elements, including the riding house. Upon completion of the re-roofing, a further phase of works saw to the replacement of elements of failed stonework in the entrance arch and on the south range's east passage. The final part of the sixth Baron's lengthy repair programme (still being undertaken in 2002, just a year before the National Trust took over the stables) also saw the rotten lower halves of the greenhouse's windows removed for replacement with new wood frames and glass.

In 2003, with the support of the Heritage Lottery Fund, the National Trust acquired both the park and the stables. The west range has continued in use as the café and the south range is utilised for functions. At ground floor level in the north and east ranges the spaces are used for storage, chiefly of equipment used by the gardening team. Little House (formerly the agent's house) is currently unoccupied, but the first floor accommodation to the north of it and the flat in the eastern part of the north range house National Trust staff. The former grooms' quarters in the western part of the north range were until recently used for domestic accommodation. Over the course of the last four years the plans to put the stables to better use have been gaining momentum.

THE FUTURE

The text of this article has been extracted from the history chapter of the Nostell Priory Stables Conservation Plan. The documentary research and fabric analysis associated with this were commissioned by the National Trust to ensure that the charity's planning for the stables' future is undertaken from an informed standpoint. Under utilised and largely inaccessible to the visitor both physically and intellectually, the challenge is to vest the stables with new uses, which will generate income and safeguard their long-term future, whilst improving all forms of access and minimising any potential detraction from the place's heritage significances. The conservation planning exercise has been carried out in association with further studies assessing the site's archaeology, landscape

and access issues, the state of the drainage, the condition of the buildings' fabric, etc. Furnished with such information, the process of developing proposals for the buildings' future uses is now underway.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. It is understood that the 'misaligned' or 'canted' range was built (*c.*1721) in alignment with the original hall (part of which was to remain standing until the 1770s).
2. It is probable that the stables yard was enclosed by walling at least, so as to provide shelter to those within and protect those in the Mansion and the grounds to the west from having view of the activities in the stables yard.
3. Walls and ranges with a south-facing prospect are most useful to gardeners in that plants trained against, or housed within, benefit from greater intensity of sunlight and heat, for more hours in the day, than walls and ranges oriented towards the east, west or north.
4. Clues as to the date of the stables' enlargement might also be gleaned from appreciation of the moment at which the Winn family might have had need for as much. For instance, the family abandoned the proposals for the southern extension of the gardens in about 1759. It is probable that the historic 'road side' stables (perhaps residual from the Priory's stabling) were demolished at, or soon after, this time. Their stabling capacity thus reduced, might not the '*c.*1760 demolition' of the old stables have been undertaken in parallel with the construction of those designed by Paine? A further thought is that the construction and completion of the new stables would have been 'programmed' to coincide with the date at which the Winn family moved in to the newly furnished parts of the mansion.
5. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 139.
6. As much is set out in drawings YRK.19/628 & 637 (see Fig. 5).
7. Lord Burlington had used such a detail (albeit with supporting columns) on the design of the York Assembly rooms (built 1730-6), a building with which both Paine and his client would have been familiar.

8. The elevational drawing is presumably of a similar date to YRK.19/637 for it shows the proposal to express the 'Diocletian' beam and posts within the entrance arch's southern elevation (as well as on the north elevation) (see Fig. 5).
9. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 132.
10. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 128-31.
11. In the second half of the eighteenth century the tradition of small informal hunts was superceded by more organised hunts where, as Worsley puts it, 'one horse was no longer enough'. In his *English Fox Hunting* (1976), Raymond Carr notes that in the 1820s in the town of Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire, there were stabled 300 hunters meeting the needs of about thirty horsemen. 'A serious hunting man would need a hack to take him to the meet, his hunter and a replacement for later in the day. After a hard day's hunting, horses would need resting and so a replacement set would be needed for the next day' (Worsley).
12. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 134.
13. It is quite possible that the stables near the Doncaster to Wakefield road were retained until the construction of the Paine quadrangle.
14. YRK.19/603 & 592.
15. If the building (shown in a plan dated 1719) by the road were a stables, it may have housed twelve to fourteen stalls (for its footprint appears to have been equivalent to that of the third baronet's stables). If indeed this earlier 'stabling' was retained until the completion of Paine's quadrangular stables, then the increase in the number of stalls provided may have been as little as eleven.
16. Leach, P., *James Paine* (1988).
17. But not built in their entirety.
18. Ref. NP/A4/1525/40.
19. A similar willingness on Adam's part to accept the recommendation of the man on site can be seen in a letter dated April 1772 (ref. NP/A4/1525/43) in which Mr Adam agreed to alter completely the orientation of the riding house stairs in accordance with Benjamin Ware's suggestion. Alistair Rowan noted that the probable reason for these 1770s stairs having been built to an old fashioned pattern was that Adam had not been commissioned to prepare a drawing of their design and the local carpenter, tasked with building them, was not up to date with modern styles.
20. In all probability concerns about the potential damage caused by frost to lime mortars would have prevented construction works from being undertaken in the winter months.
21. In the West Yorkshire Archive, Leeds, there survives a letter from E. Gascoigne, Locksmith, to Mr Ware (the clerk of works at Nostell) discussing the proposal for locks in the doors of the stables' new built south range. Although the letter (WYAS Ref. NP C4/7/23), unfortunately, is undated, it provides an invaluable marked up plan with useful evidence confirming the following:
    i. The external entrances to each of the passageways, either side of the riding house, were located in the centre arches.
    ii. The east and west door openings to the riding house had double doors, which swung inward.
    iii. There were access doors from the niches in both corners of the garden room (into the west passage.
    iv. There were external doors in the centre of the west range's east and west elevations.
    v. When first built there appears to have been no direct access provided between the greenhouse and either the passage (to the north) or the riding house. Of the doors set out, in the (very rough) sketch attached to Gascoigne's letter, only those in the first floor gallery and on the riding house's south elevation survive.
22. Largely constructed in the early 1760s, these Royal Stables (in more recent times referred to as the Royal Mews) served Buckingham House (which George III bought for his wife Queen Charlotte in 1761).
23. Letter dated 23rd April 1771 ref. NP/A4/1525/31.
24. Measure up the dimensions of the Adam office drawing and it can be seen that where in the record of the Pimlico stalls the top of the rack was eight foot three inches from the ground, the Adam office drawing shows the top of the rack to be nine foot from the ground. Similarly, from wall to heel post, the stalls set out in the Adam office drawing measures just nine feet, whilst in the record of the Pimlico

stall the stall measures '11 feet long from the wall to the hind part of the stall'.

25. Between *circa* 1772 and the 1820s the view had evolved that horses fared better when stabled in loose boxes or stalls of broader width.
26. Ref. YRK.19/417.
27. Ref. YRK.19/624.
28. The width of the space formerly occupied by the hay rack and trough.
29. This view is supported by observation of the cornice in this southern element of the west range. Whilst the cornice to the Adam era south and east walls is generally in poor condition, the more recent cornice to the north and west walls is in better condition.
30. This laying of foundations and intention to build is noted in 'Paine's' drawing YRK.19/565. The Adam office proposal drawing YRK.19/767 appears to confirm there being, in the location of the proposed west range, foundations already in existence.
31. Whilst the new range housed ten stalls it appears from comparing Paine's drawing (ref. YRK.19/649) with Adam's proposal drawing (ref. YRK.19/603) that the three previously available stalls at the westernmost extremity of the south range and the two stalls immediately to the east of the north range's eastern coach house, were lost to the fifth baronet. (It is possible that the space to the east of the coach house was utilised as a 'loose box' for sick or lame horses.)
32. Some of these east elevation windows survive in their primary form.
33. A scar visible on the stable range's south wall can be measured to this dimension.
34. Such racks can be seen in the Samuel Wyatt designed (1767-9) stables at Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire.
35. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 162.
36. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 160.
37. Worsley, G., 'A History and Catalogue of the British Riding House', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 47 (2003) and *The British Stable* (2004), 160. Of the fourteen private riding houses built between 1750 and 1780, eight have been demolished and three sub-divided or truncated. The three which 'retain' their primary form are those at Nostell, Buckingham House (1763-6 and still in use) and Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire (1767-9).
38. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 165-6.
39. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 166.
40. A letter from Jonathan Rose to Thomas Worsley, dated 25th November 1772, gives a report of the new riding house at Nostell (that at Thomas Worsley's seat, Hovingham Hall, had been completed in 1769): 'Sir Rowld does not exercise them himselfe, has a master of the horse for that purpose' (Hovingham Hall archive ref. ZON 13/3/192).
41. The riding house at Buckingham House (built 1763-6) was no less than fifty feet wide.
42. At Nostell Adam used a roof support arrangement which combined the properties of the standard king post and queen post truss. Such truss design had first been utilised by the designer of the 1607 St James' House riding house and can also be seen at Wilton House's riding house (1755) and several others elsewhere.
43. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004).
44. Todd, C., 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 77 (2005), 205-24.
45. The greenhouse, the garden room and the riding house's south entrance and route to its first floor gallery.
46. Soane drgs ref. v.36/71, v.36/72.
47. The Adam designed stables at Kedleston would have been grander had they been executed.
48. Soane drg ref. v.31/47.
49. Soane drg ref. v.48/35.
50. Soane drgs ref. v.29/24, v.48/35.
51. As the Castle Upton riding house is just 50ft x 30ft (as compared to 36ft x 70ft at Nostell) and according to the plan's annotation a 'riding house or … [handwriting illegible]' it is suggested that this riding house was not built for the purposes of haute école, but rather for training and exercising horses in the conventional manner.

52. Although there survive no flanking stables at Wilton, there is strong evidence to suggest that stables were constructed against at least one of the main hall's flanks.
53. This is the order that Palladio had recommended for use in the design of farm buildings. In later years Adam used the order less and less, describing it in his introduction to the first volume of *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* as 'no more than a bad and imperfect Doric' (Small, J., *The Riding House, Edinburgh*).
54. As with study of the other rooms of the south range, Adam office drawing YRK.19/592 sets out the proposed form of the greenhouse in greatest detail. This drawing sets out more than just the room's basic plan form, noting for instance the height of the ceiling (sixteen feet six inches high) and the use of the east squinch as a circular stair to the pavilion's first floor. This drawing shows also the greenhouse's 'hot wall' heating system, where the room's arc of north walling was constructed of two leafs with a cavity between. In this space on the drawing is written 'flue'. This cavity flue must have been heated by a fire situated in the western squinch circle. The drawing sets out the southern opening from this 'oven' on to the cavity flue, together with a northern opening to enable the fire to be stoked from the ride or passage to the north.
55. An independent study of the design of eighteenth-century greenhouses (not least those designed by Adam) would help to illuminate understanding of this element of the south range.
56. Ref. NP/C3/1/5/4/2.
57. Ref. NP/A4/1528/60.
58. The stated requirement for such parity is interesting, not least because the columns before the greenhouse were to be of the Corinthian order, whilst those of the garden room were to be Doric.
59. Ref. YRK.19/644, 594, 588, 797, 799, 619, 568, 618.
60. Unfortunately Watson Pritchett and Watson's 1827 plan of the stables (see Fig. 11) shows the coach house in its as proposed form, making no reference to any demolition of the garden room whose place it took.
61. Ref. NP/C3/1/5/4/2.
62. Ref. NP/C3/1/5/4/13.
63. Ref. NP/C4/1/8.
64. Although these door openings are not indicated on the more formal, and it might be imagined earlier Adam office (presentation) drawing ref. YRK.19/603 (see Fig. 7), they do feature in the (presumed to be later) working drawing from Adam's office (ref. YRK.19/592).
65. Ref. NP/A4/1619/17.
66. Ref. YRK.19/799, 619, 658 & 618.
67. Letter written to Benjamin Ware dated 2nd May 1770 ref. NP/A4/1525/40.
68. Ref. NP/C3/1/5/4/2.
69. Further evidence of the parity between the external and internal form of the greenhouse and garden room's pilasters can be seen in the detail set out in the elevation in drawing YRK.19/644 (see Fig. 9). Upon this drawing is written 'the capitals here to be the same as the front of greenhouse'.
70. The appearance of the glazing and its wooden frames prompts the suggestion that the extant windows might have been introduced in the 1840s.
71. Ref. NP/C3/1/5/4/13.
72. Whilst this flooring was most probably made of black and white marble (as for instance Adam used in the floor covering of the entrance hall at Syon House), it is possible that black marble was used in association with Portland or a similar light coloured stone.
73. The lack of any surviving drawing for this element of the room might be used to support the theory that the ceiling would have been plain plastered.
74. Ref. NP/A4/1528/60.
75. With the drug room sited in this location, Sabine would have had easy access to the plants which she presumably made use of in her drug treatments. An independent study of eighteenth-century amateur interest in drugs, and the rooms constructed for the likes of Sabine Winn to pursue her interest, would help illuminate understanding of this (compromised) element of the south range.
76. As can be seen in the Adam office plan ref. YRK.19/592.
77. See note in catalogue of Nostell's collection of archive drawings (no. 36).

78. Comparison of the 'footprint' dimensions of the Apothecary's counter in the mansion with those of the counter set out in drawing YRK.19/671 should help to clarify whether or not this piece of furniture is a survival from Sabine's drug room.
79. In his 1790 proposal drawing for Thirlstane (Lauder) Castle, Adam was to incorporate into one of the 'radial' rib ranges a hot house, a garden room, a greenhouse and stables for strangers' horses and sick horses. The proposal was never realised. A. T. Bolton's interpretation of the Adam proposals (1792) for Bowood in Wiltshire also appear to show located in the 'Diocletian Wing' of the mansion a conservatory, a private chapel and stabling.
80. The 1734 plan (YRK.19/579) shows a greenhouse to be built at the quadrangle's south east corner.
81. The 1790 proposal drawings for Thirlstane (Lauder) Castle demonstrate Adam at his most inventive. The (unexecuted) plan was to incorporate a central T-shaped mansion, the front elevation of which was to be flanked by passages leading to end pavilions or (as this was evidently to be a building constructed in the castle style) towers. These towers also served as the termini for a semi-circle of service buildings forming a protective shield around the mansion. Although in this arrangement the stables were not to be at a remove from the polite elements of the Castle, their juxtaposition is more to the seventeenth-century tradition of the stables being sited in a range off the mansion, than to a conscious marriage of polite and equine activities.
82. There is no documentary evidence of as much.
83. Whilst instances of polite and working uses being combined in park and garden buildings are extremely rare in eighteenth-century buildings, they are not entirely unheard of. For instance the ninth Duchess of Norfolk designed and built (in 1758) a Gothick eye catcher in the park of Castle Farm, Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire. This quadrangular planned building incorporated a working dairy as well as a sitting room in which the Duchess kept her horticultural library (information kindly supplied by John Martin Robinson via Margaret Richardson).
84. Soane drg ref. v.35/26.
85. Soane drgs ref. v.41/91, v.10/159.
86. So keen was Adam on Montano's work that he bought many of the Italian architect's original drawings (these are now held at the Soane Museum).
87. Montano drg No. 12.
88. Montano drg No. 13.
89. Montano drg No. 23.
90. Another source of inspiration for Adam may well have been the form of the Temple of Jupiter within the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian in Spolatro (Split). The circular Temple, seen and drawn up by Adam himself (and indeed featured in his 1764 publication Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spolatro in Dalmatia [a copy of which can be found in the Library at Nostell Priory, although Rowland Winn's name is not among the publication's list of subscribers]), comprised an arrangement much like that seen in the Temple near the Tower of the Slaves, but with columns for the walling between each of the niches.
91. Adam's plan for this building survives in the Soane Museum. Little is known of the commission, or potential commission, for it is not known whether the building was ever constructed. Those familiar with Adam's oeuvre have provisionally dated the drawing to the 1760s.
92. It is understood that Hervey's dining room also had a domed ceiling.
93. Adam inherited the task of redesigning the Newby Hall's sculpture gallery from John Carr. Adam's design for the three-part gallery owes much to the Kent and Burlington designed sculpture gallery at Holkham Hall, built between 1734 and 1765.
94. Nostell Archive ref. 39.
95. Guidance provided by David Wilmore, national authority on historic theatres.
96. In his 1795 publication entitled *The Wandering Patentee*, which details the history of Yorkshire play houses from 1770 to 1795, Tate Wilkinson records a visit made in 1774 by Mr Moody (an actor) to Mr Winn at Nostell. The reference tells us that Mr Moody was at the time acting at the Theatre Royal, York, and Winn held the man in high esteem. It is more than probable that small scale amateur theatrical productions would have been put on at Nostell in one of the Mansion's larger rooms. On occasion Sir Rowland Winn might well have invited Mr Moody and his colleagues to entertain house

guests. A further reference in Tate Wilkinson's book tells of the fact that the fifth baronet (1739-85) passed on his interest in theatre to his son, also Sir Rowland Winn (1775-1805). This reference tells of the sixteen-year-old Winn's visit to Wakefield Theatre on September 24th 1791: 'The play was patronised that night by Sir Rowland Winn, who is wonderfully attached to the theatre; and I hope that inclination will continue, as it is an entertainment that will not, I trust, taint his morals, but will rather serve as a rational and improving feast of reasons to his mind and leisure'.

97. i. As the rear part of the stage was designed to give a perspectival backdrop to the forestage, actors would only play on the forestage. Scenes would have been rolled down against the rear wall and the scene enhanced by the painted wing flats. The plan shows the evenly spaced grooves into which the wing flats would have been slotted.
    ii. The lack of any indication of boxes in the auditorium is curious for these were common in country house theatres for they ensured that the family and those of elevated status had propitiously superior seats.
    iii. The route by which guests would have gained access from the house to the theatre, is not known. Access to the theatre would have been via the door shown at the north-east corner of the auditorium.
98. Ref. WYL/1352/C4/1/30.
99. Raikes, S., & Knox, T., *Nostell Priory Guide Book.*
100. In the decades prior to Watson Pritchett and Watson's radical alterations, the stables could accommodate as many as fifty horses in stalls.
101. *The British Stable* (2004), 247.
102. The junction of the two phases of building is marked by the difference in floor levels found between the hall landing at the foot of the range's ground to first floor stair and the (earlier) room to the south.
103. Pencilled annotation on the first floor plan (AP50-3) notes that the plans were altered in October 1876.
104. Unlike all other rooms in the mid-1870s stables, which were plastered, including the 'horse washing place' to the west of the north range loose boxes, this room is not. The number of coats of paint on the walls' English bond brickwork (three courses of stretchers to every course of headers) prompts the thought that this room was never plastered. Such evidence provides a clue as to the nature of this room's original use.
105. The undated and unsigned drawing (YRK.19/819), which is understood to have been executed in the late eighteenth century, shows the riding house's Diocletian window to have considerably narrower vertical elements than those which can be seen today. The breadth of these vertical elements and ungainly way it which the glazing bars are configured drew the attention of Alistair Rowan who, noting these un-Adam like qualities, suggested the windows might have been re-made in the late nineteenth century.
106. In the Nostell Archives there is a photocopy of a drawing (Ref. YRK.19/834) which sets out the form of the riding house's external cornice. Although undated and unsigned, this drawing may be an 1880s design for a cornice to replace that removed in 1880. However, the drawing bears all the hallmarks of a much earlier work. When consulted on this matter, Stephen Astley made careful observation of the handwriting on the drawing which left him certain that the drawing did not emanate from the office of Robert Adam. Furthermore Astley considered the row of spheres indicated immediately above the modillions very un-Adam like (in an Adam designed cornice one might expect to see dentils). If this is an early drawing, but not issued from Adam's office, perhaps it is a *c.*1800 recommendation for a cornice to replace the 'render made' original which (after thirty or so years exposed to the elements) might well have failed. Although in general the cornice set out in this drawing has the appearance of a cornice which Adam might have designed, the unpropitious detailing of the spheres suggests, along with other unconvincing elements of the design, that the drawing was executed by an amateur, perhaps local, hand. The quaint spelling of 'frise' supports this theory.
107. In all of the Musgrave made loose boxes the panels' chamfered wood planking is 2½ inches wide by 1¼ inches thick. Each plank is tied to its neighbour by loose metal tongues and at top and bottom by means of grooves in the lateral cast iron members. Whilst the mid-height lateral cast iron members

of the loose box dividing panels in the east and north stables are moulded, those in the west stables are plain. Similarly, whilst each of the 9 x 4½ x 3 inches deep vitrified blue paving bricks in the north stables has eight square chamfered panels, those in the west stables have a completely different appearance, having just two. A further key difference between the north and east stables and the west stables relates to the manner in which they were drained. Whilst each loose box in the north and east stables had a central stench trap with four gutter branches, each of the loose boxes in the west stables had a single covered gully (located at the end of the box) down to which the floor sloped. The comparative steepness of the gradients of the west range stables' floors would have rendered them less comfortable for the horses. As such they would have been regarded as inferior to the loose boxes in the north and east Ranges.

108. Worsley, G., *The British Stable* (2004), 238.
109. One key fixture, which from looking through Musgrave's catalogues it seems they did not supply, was means of artificial lighting. No evidence can be seen in the MacVicar Anderson designed stables at Nostell to suggest how (or indeed whether) they were artificially lit when first built. The use of gas lighting would have proved a significant fire hazard and electric lighting, first used (only in the most polite of settings) in the 1880s, is unlikely to have been introduced to the stables at Nostell until the twentieth century (some of the historic switches and conduit survives). These catalogues, found in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, were sourced and copies supplied by Sophie Raikes.
110. This tiling was supplied in subdued colours (not white). According to Giles Worsley the subdued colours were chosen to calm the horses. A further difference between the west stables and the stables of the north and east ranges is that whilst the tiles in the west range's loose boxes are turquoise, those across the yard are sky blue.
111. In the north stables the passageway is laid to yellow herringbone floor tiles and the loose boxes to vitrified blue paving bricks whilst the east stables have yellow herringbone floor tiles throughout.
112. Worsley (*The British Stable* (2004)) comments that by the mid-Victorian period partitions between loose boxes were generally grilled in their upper portions to permit horses to see their neighbours. It is interesting to note that at Nostell the outmoded tradition of preventing horses from seeing one another was followed, the sides of all of the loose boxes being partitioned with wood panelling to full height.
113. Whilst the stables' walls were plastered with a lime hair mix, the 'plaster' at dado level appears to have been made of sharp sand and Portland cement. A plaster of such strength would have been specified to minimise the potential for horses to damage the fabric. Interestingly this dado area was lined out to replicate ashlar whilst the plaster above was, but for a run cornice at its meeting with the plain ceiling, left plain plastered.
114. Evidence of the stables' post-war uses gathered from conversations with the sixth Baron St Oswald, Barbara Bolton, Brian Darley and Elsie Greensett.
115. Account of the south range's use as a grain store provided by Brian Darley, an employee of the Nostell Estate for thirty years, from the mid 1960s.
116. The riding house's Diocletian windows are openable.
117. Recollection of Barbara Bolton, who worked in the Nostell tea rooms for twenty-two years from 1980. Barbara also recalls that before the works to convert the riding house to polite use (*c.*1980), its floor was made of compacted earth.
118. Barbara also recalls that in her first years of working in the stables at Nostell on the walls of the café were hung harnesses, yokes, etc. Her understanding was that the space had previously been used as a tack room.