

THE COACH HOUSE AND THE WEST STABLE, AUDLEY END HOUSE, SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX RECORDING AND FABRIC ANALYSIS

HISTORIC BUILDING REPORT

Pete Smith



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**THE COACH HOUSE AND THE WEST STABLE
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RECORDING AND FABRIC ANALYSIS**

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SUMMARY

A report on the on the Stables at Audley End House was originally commissioned from the Architectural Investigation Team in Cambridge by Andrew Hann of the Properties Division of English Heritage prior to the carrying out of minimal repair work before opening the building to the public. Eventually two reports were completed on the building, *Audley End Stables*, EH Research Dept Report Series no. 65-2008 and *Supplement to Audley End Stables*, EH Research Dept Report no. 62-2009. Paul Drury and I were then asked to write an article on the history and architectural development of the Stables. This article entitled 'The Audley End Stables in the 17th Century', was published in the *English Heritage Historical Review*, No. 5, 2011, pp. 44-80. In the process of compiling and researching this article Paul Drury and I visited the Stables in March 2010. By pure chance this visit took place whilst the minimal repair work was in progress. Unbeknown to us this work involved the partial removal of plaster from the walls of two rooms within the Stable building; the Coach House and the West Stable. What was found and what was recorded photographically forms the substance of this report.

An archaeological monitoring report was produced, *Audley End, Saffron Walden, Essex*, Report No. 939, by David Webb of the Cambridge Archaeological Unit in March 2010, but this did not concern itself with the removal of the plaster from the internal walls of this building.

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul Drury

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Pat Payne for photography, Kathryn Morrison for editing and Katie Carmichael for her assistance with preparing this report.

ARCHIVE LOCATION

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DATE OF SURVEY

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Audley End

The Audley End estate is situated a few miles west of the town of Saffron Walden in the parish of Littlebury in Essex. The present Audley End House (fig. 1) stands on the site of a former Benedictine monastery founded in 1140. This abbey was dissolved in 1538 and granted to Sir Thomas Audley (1488-1544), Lord Chancellor and Speaker to the Parliament responsible for the Dissolution of the Monasteries. He converted the monastic buildings into a house and renamed it Audley Inn. It was Audley's grandson, Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626) and Lord Treasurer who demolished the old house and began building anew on a grand scale. This new house, built between c.1605 and 1616, was one of the largest 'prodigy' houses in England. King James I visited Audley End in 1610 and 1614. In 1668 James Howard, 3rd Earl of Suffolk (1619-1688), sold the property to Charles II, who soon tired of it, and in 1701 the now dilapidated house was returned to the Howard family. The house was subsequently reduced in size and altered in various stages during the first half of the 18th century, most importantly by John Vanbrugh for the Lord Bindon, later 6th Earl of Suffolk (1670-1718), in c.1708 and by Nicholas Dubois for Edward Howard, 8th Earl of Suffolk (1672-1731), in 1724-25.



Figure 1. Audley End House from the south, March 2008.

Pete Smith DSCN5049 095.JPG

In 1745 Henry Howard, 10th Earl of Suffolk (1706-1745), died leaving no direct heir and eventually, in 1751, Audley End was acquired by Elizabeth Wallop (nee Griffin), Countess of Portsmouth (1691-1762), who employed John Phillips and George Shakespear to carry out further alterations in 1752-53. On her death in 1762 she left Audley End to her nephew Sir John Griffin (Whitwell) Griffin, later 1st Lord Braybrooke (1719-1797). Sir John employed Robert Adam to modernize the house and in 1763 he called in Lancelot 'Capability' Brown to remodel the landscape garden. Further alterations, including a new chapel, were carried out from 1768 by James Essex and John Hobcroft. The latter also provided alternative proposals for remodeling the stable building in 1770, one of which was probably completed.

During the early 19th century the house was further remodelled in the Jacobean style by Henry Harrison for Richard Neville, 3rd Lord Braybrooke (1783-1858), who produced the first comprehensive history of the house published in 1836.¹ Further restoration work was carried out in the 1860s by Richard Hussey for Charles Neville, 5th Lord Braybrooke (1823-1902). The house was let to Lord Howard de Walden on a short lease from 1902, when a refitting of the stable building took place. The house was requisitioned by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works during the Second World War and used by the Polish section of the Special Operations Executive. In 1948 Henry Neville, 9th Lord Braybrooke (born 1897), sold the house to the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works who opened it to the public in 1950. In 1984 the Audley End passed into the care of English Heritage.

1.2 The Stable Building



Figure 2. The south front of the Stables at Audley End House, March 2008.

DP 029951.jpg

The stable building (figs. 2 and 3), also known as the Great Stable, stands approximately 270 metres to the north-west of the present house, on the western side of the river Cam. Originally it stood within a walled courtyard to the north of the new entrance courtyard laid out c.1610; these walls were demolished in the mid-18th century. Today



Figure 3. Henry Winstanley. The north front of the Stables at Audley End House c.1680.
English Heritage DPI10816.JPG

the building stands within open parkland to the north of the drive which leads to the Cambridge Gate and Lodge; this drive was laid out in 1763 by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown as part of his landscaping of the park. The stable building, which is constructed of red brick with plain tile roofs and prominent coped gables, contrasts strongly with the flat-roofed stone house which it was built to serve. In plan it consists of a single range with a central and two end crosswings. The central crosswing is surmounted by a tall thin cupola or lantern. The building is 177 feet 6 inches (89.25 metres) long and 38 feet 7 inches (11.72 metres) wide at the crosswings. It is two stories high with attics. The rear or south front of the building, which is visible from the house and park, has regularly spaced three-light mullion windows and six gabled dormer windows. The main entrance front, which is on the north side facing into the stable yard, has similar fenestration plus two prominent bay windows and a large central entrance arch. This stable building was acquired by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in 1948 at the same time as the house. Recent research suggests that this building was originally designed and built as a lodging range to accommodate the lesser members of the retinue of a visiting monarch, but that it was very soon converted into a stable and coach house.

RECORDING AND FABRIC ANALYSIS

2.1 The Rooms Affected by the Removal of Plaster

The partial removal of plaster took place in the central room of the Stable, known as the Coach House (fig. 4 - 4), and in the stable to the west, known as the West Stable (fig. 4 - 5). Both these rooms formed part of the two-storey open space which occupied the whole central section of the building between the east and west crosswings. It was created after the building was converted into a stable and coach house in the early years of the 17th century and was recorded in Winstanley's plan of c.1680 (fig. 5). This space was subdivided into four separate rooms sometime in the 18th century (fig. 4).

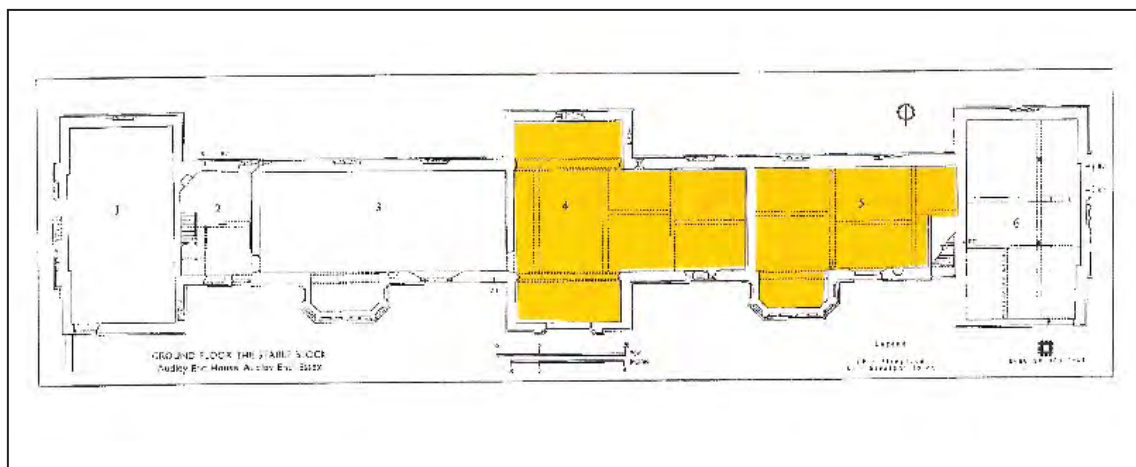


Figure 4. The ground plan of the Stables showing the rooms affected by the removal of plaster during March 2011. 4 - The Coach House, 5 - The West Stable
English Heritage - Pete Smith

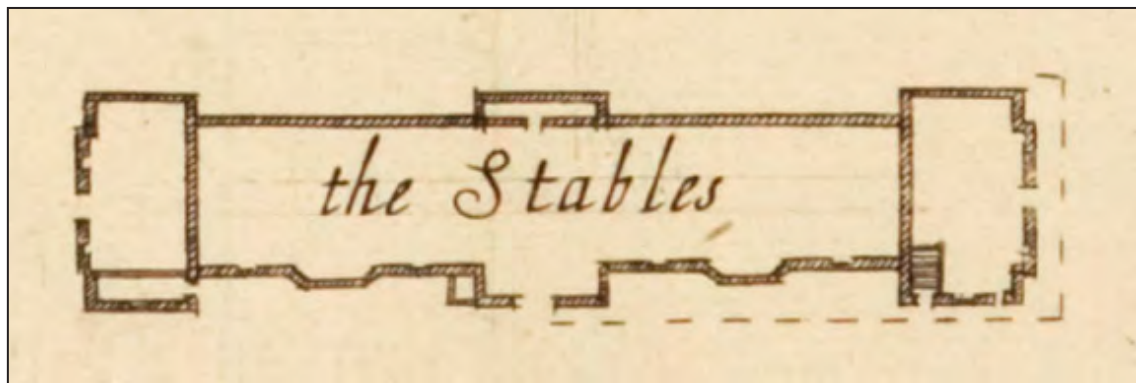


Figure 5. Henry Winstanley. The ground plan of the Stables c.1680, showing the open space created between the east and west crosswings when the building was converted to a stable and coach house in the early 17th century.
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2.2 The Coach House

The present Coach House was created in the 18th century by the insertion of a west wall to the east of the western bay and by the insertion of an east wall in line with the eastern side of the central crosswing. This Coach House had a tack room divided off by a wall (since removed) at its western end in the early 20th century. The vertical boarding inserted to a height of over 3 metres at this time survives on the west wall and on small sections of the adjoining north and south walls. This vertical timber boarding was not removed to facilitate these repairs.

2.2a The Central Crosswing Arches

The plaster was partially removed from around the pilaster responds or half-columns which form the supports to the north and south arches within the central crosswing (fig. 7). These large round brick arches were inserted when the building was converted from a lodging range into a coach house and stables in the early 17th century. They support

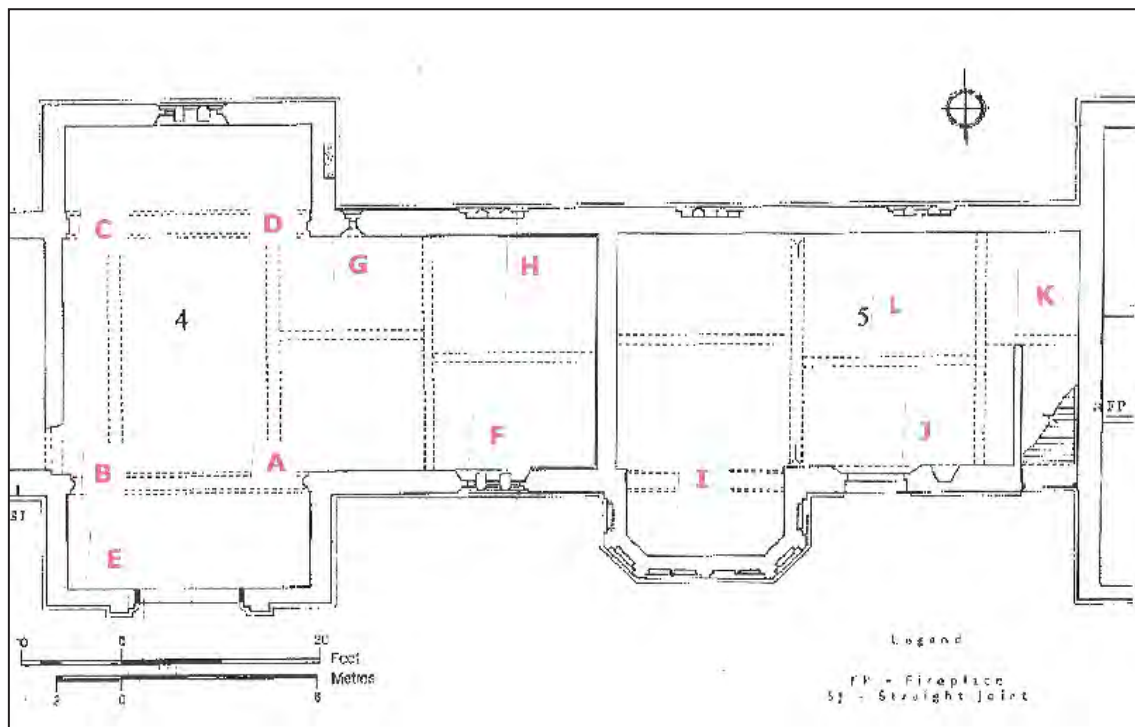


Fig. 6. A plan of the Coach House and West Stable showing where the sections of plaster were removed.

A, the west respond of the north arch; B, the east respond to the north arch; C, the east respond of the south arch; D, the west respond of the south arch; E, the north wall of the central crosswing; F, the three-light window on the north wall; G, the porter's window on the south wall; H, the blocked window on the south wall; I, the lintel over the western bay; J, the tap niche on the north wall; K, the first-floor blocked doorway on the west wall; L, the south-central section of the ceiling.

English Heritage - Pete Smith

the beam and partially surviving walls in the attic plus the two central roof trusses. These in turn support the external central lantern which was added in the late 19th century. These arches are contemporary with the large central coach house doorway and the bays which were added to the north front as part of its conversion to a coach house and stable (figs 3 and 5).



Figure 7. The south arch in the central crosswing and the porter's window (right) before the removal of the plaster, December 2009.
Pete Smith P1010027D.JPG

2.2b. The North Arch

As part of the repairs carried out to the stable building between November 2009 and March 2010 two small construction pits were excavated in the floor to take the posts of a new glass screen. Within both these pits five brick courses of the original east-west wall, which was replaced by the present north arch, were discovered, and also the two lower courses of brick forming the plinth and foundation to this wall. A further section of wall was also discovered in the west pit adjoining the original east-west wall and continuing north towards the north wall of the central crosswing.²



Figure 8. The wall to the west of the west respond to the north arch with the plaster removed.
Pete Smith PI010033.JPG

The plaster was removed from the wall to the west of the west respond of the north arch and from a small section of the respond itself (figs 6 A and 8). The removal of the plaster clearly revealed the difference in brick and mortar between the original walling and the brick structure of the respond. The later darker red brick of the brick work inserted to accommodate the respond with its lighter coloured mortar contrasts with the paler orange brick of the original walling (fig. 9). The later brick work has been patched into the original wall and the horizontal mortar joints do not always correspond.



Figure 9. A detail of the exposed wall to the west of the west respond on the north arch showing the much darker red brick used to construct the respond to the arch and the original orange brick with cream mortar of the pre-existing wall.

Pete Smith DSCN6704.JPG

Most of the plaster was removed from the east respond of the north arch (figs 6 B and 10) and from the wall to the east. Though it was not possible to remove all the residual plaster from this respond some sections reveal it is constructed of the same dark red brick as the eastern respond.



Figure 10. The east respond to the north arch with the plaster removed.

*Pete Smith DSCN6707.
JPG*

2.2c. The South Arch

The south arch was filled in by a wall at ground-floor level, probably at the same time that the arch itself was inserted. This wall is clearly shown on Winstanley's plan of c.1680 forming a small room, with a central doorway, separate from the coach house and stable space (fig. 5). There is documentary evidence that this wall was removed in 1798. In March of that year Lord Braybrooke's building accounts record that the workmen were instructed to:



Figure 11. The base of the east respond to the south arch with the plaster removed.

Pete Smith DSCN6708A.JPG

Take down brickwork to the partition under the arch in the Coach House and clean old bricks and barrow out and pack up and clear out.

And in April the same year they were instructed to:

Plaster round arch in Coach House and repair plastering. Make good stone paving in Coach House where the room was pulled down.³

As a consequence of the removal of this wall the responds to this south arch were built flat; neither of these responds has fully rounded half-columns like those on the north arch.

Small sections of plaster were removed from the base of the east respond of the south arch and from the wall to the south (figs 6 C and 11). This clearly shows the distinct difference in colour between the original orange brick walling and the darker red brick of the inserted respond.

The plaster was removed from the lower half of the west respond of the south arch and from the adjacent walls (figs 6 D and 12). The removal of the plaster left a heavy residue of under plaster on the respond making it difficult to identify differences in the brickwork, but a number of bricks on the respond and on the wall, where the respond had been keyed into the existing wall, were clearly of a darker red brick which contrasted with the orange brick of the original walling.



Figure 12. The west respond of the south arch with the plaster removed.

*Pete Smith DSCN6712A.
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2.2d. The North Wall of the Central Crosswing

Irregular sections of plaster were removed from the wall immediately to the east of the central doorway on the north wall of the central crosswing (figs 6 E and 13). These included a section of the jamb of the central doorway which revealed that the same darker red brick, which has been noted on the responds (2.2b and c), was also used to construct the jamb of this inserted doorway (fig. 14). The difference in colour and form of the brickwork can be clearly seen on the exterior of the building where the paler and more irregularly shaped original brick (fig. 15 - left) contrasts strongly with the darker red brick of the inserted door surround (fig. 15 - right). There is less evidence of a difference in the colour of the mortars on the exterior due to weathering and to later re-pointing.



Figure 13. The north wall of the central crosswing, showing the partial removal of the plaster from the wall to the east of the central coach house doorway.

Pete Smith DSCN6711A.JPG



Figure 14. A detail of the jamb of the central doorway inserted into the north wall of the central crosswing with the plaster partially removed.

Pete Smith DSCN6710A.JPG



Figure 15. A detail of the exterior of the north wall of the central crosswing showing the clear difference in brick used for the original walling (left) and the darker red coloured bricks of the inserted central door surround (right).

Pete Smith P230408 057A.jpg

2.2e. The Window on the North Wall

The plaster was removed from around and to the east of the ground floor three-light mullion window on the north wall and also from the timber lintel above this window (figs 6 F and 16). This revealed three rows of darker red bricks with white mortar forming the cill to this window. This infill consists of two rows of stretchers topped by a row of headers. This ground-floor window presumably had a deeply sloping cill originally and the darker red bricks are evidence of the heightening of this cill to form the flat cill which survives today. All the remaining original three-light mullion windows, which are not blocked internally, survive on the upper floor and some these windows have deeply sloping cills. The similarity in the colour of the dark red bricks and the white mortar to that found on the arch responds (2.2b and c) and central door jamb (2.2d) suggests that this window cill was heightened when the building was converted into a coach house and stable in the early 17th century.



Figure 16. The three-light mullion window on the north wall, showing the cill raised in darker red brick.
Pete Smith DSCN6716A.JPG

2.2f. The Porter's Window on the South Wall

The plaster was removed from around the single-light window on the south wall (figs 6 G and 17); positioned just to the west of the central crosswing. This window looks out onto the now blocked doorway in the west wall of the central crosswing and it was probably originally intended as porter's window, allowing him a good view of anyone entering the building through this door. The removal of plaster revealed four rows of darker red bricks with pale mortar filling the original sloping cill, as on the north window (fig. 16).



Figure 17. The single-light porter's window on the south wall, showing the cill raised in darker red brick.
DSCN6714A.JPG

The top row of bricks is not a neat row of headers, as found on the north window (2.2e), suggesting that this window may well have been blocked completely and only opened up again at a later date. Winstanley does not show a window in this position on his engraved view of the south front c.1680, though this may well have been excluded by him to make the building appear more symmetrical.⁴ The similarity in the colour of the bricks and mortar to the other alterations revealed here (2.2b,c and d) suggests this window was also blocked when the building was converted into a coach house and stable.

2.2g. The Blocked Window on the South Wall

The plaster was removed from a large section of the south wall up to a height of approximately 1.2 metres, with a small section in the south-west corner where the plaster was removed to a height of approximately 1.5 metres (figs 6 H and 18). This higher section revealed a part of the timber lintel to the now blocked, ground floor, three-light mullion window which is still visible on the exterior (fig. 2). The removal of the plaster also revealed the slightly larger and darker red bricks used to block this window and its deep sloping cill (fig. 18). These bricks are laid in an irregular pattern, mostly rows of stretchers with the occasional row of headers, unlike the original walling which is usually laid in header and stretcher bond. The difference in colour of the mortar noted in the other instances of alteration found in this report (2.1b, c, d and e) is not as marked here.



Figure 18. The south wall of the coach house, showing the timber lintel and the inserted darker red brick blocking the former three-light window to the west of the central crosswing.

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The removal of the plaster therefore confirms that the blind ground-floor windows (visible on the exterior – fig. 2) were originally constructed as fully functioning windows and that they were blocked internally when the building was converted into a coach house and stable. These windows were presumably blocked to allow the stalls for the horses to be constructed against the south wall. These ground-floor windows on the south front are shown as blocked on Winstanley's engraving of c.1680 (fig. 19). His plan does not show the stalls, but a report compiled by Sir Christopher Wren in 1695 refers to the 'Stalles' being in dire need of repair, suggesting that these stalls had been in existence for a good number of years by that time.⁵

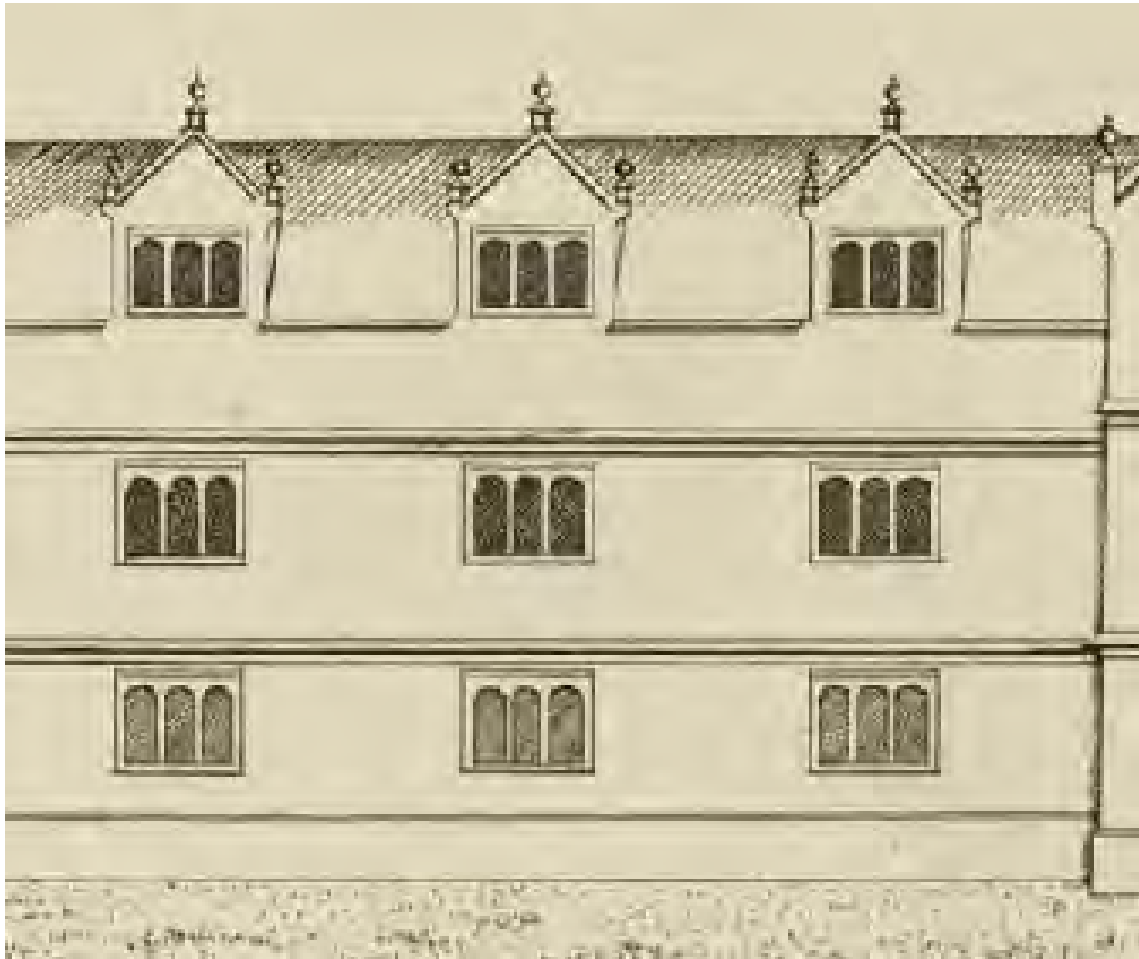


Figure 19. Henry Winstanley, c.1680. A detail of the south front showing the blind windows indicated by diagonal hatching on the ground floor, contrasting with the functioning upper windows shown with cross-hatching indicating diamond-lead casements.

English Heritage DP110817.JPG

2.3 The West Stable

The West Stable was created in the 18th century by the insertion of a wall to the east of the western bay. This stable retains its early 20th century stalls and loose boxes and the walls are boarded up to a height of approximately 3 metres on its east, south and west walls and partially on its north wall. This vertical timber boarding was not removed to facilitate these repairs.

2.3a. The Timber Lintel on the North Wall

On the north wall, above the arch inserted to accommodate the western bay, a section of a timber lintel was revealed by the removal of the plaster (figs 6 I and 20). This piece of timber once formed part of the lintel to the original first-floor, three-light mullion window which existed here before the western bay was added to the north wall. It is one of the few surviving pieces of evidence which confirms that the north front originally had three-light mullion windows on the first floor, arranged in the same layout as those which survive on the south front.



Figure 20. The former lintel to the original three-light mullion window which existed at first-floor level before the bays were added when the building was converted into a stable.
Pete Smith P1010016A.JPG

2.3b. The Tap Niche on the South Wall

The plaster was removed from the small niche immediately west of the door into the West Stable which now contains a tap (figs 6 J and 2I). This revealed that this niche was originally the central light to the three-light mullion window which once existed on the ground floor between the western bay and the west crosswing. The coursing of the brick



Figure 2I. The niche on the south wall of the West Stable showing the blocked central light of the original three-light mullion window.

Pete Smith P1010027A.JPG

blocking the window does not run through into the coursing of the jambs. The removal of the plaster from the chamfered jambs revealed the former brick mullions and the rounded head of this central light. The later infill of the chamfered mullions to form the deeper jambs of the niche was clearly visible. The bricks used to infill this window were not the same darker red bricks used for the alterations to the Coach House. On the exterior the position of the niche, immediately to the right of the door, is in line vertically with the central light of the surviving first floor window (fig. 22). The blocking of the western section of this window can be seen on the exterior brickwork. This window is shown as a still functioning window with leaded lattice casements on the Winstanley engraving of c.1680 (figs 3 and 30 bottom right), and it was presumably blocked when the door was inserted to create an entrance to the searate West Stable in the 18th century.



Figure 22. The north front showing the door to the West Stable and the surviving upper three-light window. The internal niche, which survives from original three-light ground floor window is sited immediately below the central light of the first floor window.

*Pete Smith
DSCN4572 015A.
JPG*

2.3c. The Blocked Doorway and Beam Sockets on the West Wall

Paul Drury and I visited the Stables especially to examine what Paul had identified, on a previous visit, as a possible scar of a former doorway visible in the plaster high up on the west wall of the West Stable (fig. 23).



Figure 23. The interior of the West Stable looking west before the removal of the plaster, December 2009.
Pete Smith PI010026.JPG



Figure 24. The southern section of the west wall of the West Stable after the plaster had been removed showing the south blocked doorway at first-floor level.
Pete Smith DSCN6730.JPG

The removal of all the plaster from the west wall of this stable revealed the clear outline of a former doorway above the vertical boarding (figs 6, K and 24). The infill bricks were a darker red in colour than the bricks of the original walling, and the mortar used was of much brighter whiter colour than the original mortar. The similarity of the colour of the bricks and mortar used here to those found in the alterations to the Coach House (2.2b, c, d and e) suggests that this work was carried out at the same time that the arches were inserted in the early 17th century. The infilled section is topped with a row of headers; it reaches to within three courses of the ceiling and continues downwards beneath the vertical boarding. This former doorway corresponds with another blocked doorway to the north, now hidden by the stair compartment, which extends across the northern section of the west wall (fig. 25). This other blocked doorway is partly visible from the stair, where the plaster has fallen from the wall and has not been renewed. Both these doorways appear to open into the west crosswing and they are clear evidence that this building was originally built with a floor at first-floor level.

More difficult to explain is why the scar of these doorways extend so far downwards below the level of the first floor. One explanation might be that the blocking included doors on the ground floor, as well as on the first floor, and that the intervening structures (the lintel of the lower doorways) was removed when these doorways were blocked.



Figure 25. The northern section of the west wall, now within the stair compartment, showing the north blocked doorway at first-floor level. The blocked sockets for floor beams correspond in level with those found across the remainder of this wall. The plaster was not renewed as part of the repairs. Pete Smith PI010023.JPG



Figure 26. The northern section of west wall of the West Stable showing the blocked sockets for floor beams continuing across the north blocked doorway.
Pete Smith DSCN6733A.JPG



Figure 27. The southern section of west wall of the West Stable showing the blocked sockets for floor beams.
Pete Smith DSCN6735A.JPG

A series of blocked holes or sockets for floor beams was visible across the full width of the revealed west wall, three brick courses above the vertical boarding (figs 26 and 27). These correspond in level with the blocked sockets for floor beams across the northern section of this wall, now within the stair compartment (fig. 25). This indicates that a floor of some type, possibly a gallery or a landing, once existed across the full width of the west wall. These blocked sockets continue across both the blocked doorways showing that this floor was inserted after the doorways were blocked or possibly at the same time as this blocking. They do not appear to be evidence of the first floor which presumably existed within the original lodging range, rather they must be part of a floor inserted when the building was converted to a coach house and stable, between c. 1616 and c. 1680, or at some time after this date.

2.3d. The Ceiling

The lathes and the plaster were removed from the central section of the ceiling on the south side (figs 6 L and 28). This revealed the simple structure of eleven timber cross beams which support the attic floor boards and the plaster ceiling of this stable.



Figure 28. The central section of the ceiling on the south side of the West Stable.
Pete Smith PI010031D.JPG

CONCLUSION

The removal of the plaster from various sections of the walls in the Coach House and West Stable has revealed a number of alterations carried out to the building. Almost all these alterations used a darker red brick, fractionally larger and more consistent in size than the original orange brick, and a mortar which was whiter in colour. These darker bricks were similar to those used for the central north door surround and the flanking canted bays (figs 15 and 29); both features which were additions to the original structure. They were not only made of different colour bricks and mortar, but the brick coursing do not follow through from the original walling. The door surround and the bays are clearly illustrated in Henry Winstanley's engraving of the north front of the Stables produced sometime between 1676 and 1688 (fig. 3). This proves that they must have been added, and the building converted to a stable and coach house, sometime between the completion of the original lodging range in c.1616 and the date of Winstanley's engravings c.1680.



Figure 29. A detail of the north front showing the junction of the orange brick of the original walling (left) and the added western bay constructed of darker red brick (right). The brick coursing does not carry through.

Pete Smith P230408 058.jpg

The dark red colour of the bricks used to construct the responds to the arches in the central crosswing (2.2b and c) shows that the insertion of these arches formed part of this same set of alterations. This also corresponds with the opening up of the large central north doorway to allow coach access. The blocking of the ground floor windows on the south wall (2.2f and g), confirms the evidence of Winstanley's engraving of the south front (fig. 19) and reinforces the documentary evidence of Wren's list of repairs, which included stalls, presumably ranged along this south wall. The evidence of the blocked cill to the north window is also consistent with the building's conversion to a stable (2.2e). The sloping cills would have allowed a maximum amount of light to enter the ground floor rooms of this originally domestic space, but the blocked cills would have allowed less direct light to enter the stable. In fact Winstanley shows this window externally as partially blocked (fig. 30 left); with diagonal hatching and small openings in each of the upper lights, probably indicating that these windows were boarded or shuttered, rather than completely blocked. It is unfortunate that the opportunity was not taken to test the lintel of this window to see if it was suitable for dendrochronological dating. This was not possible with the timbers of the roof because the rings were too widely spaced.

The lintel uncovered over the arch of the western bay (2.3a) inserted into the north wall of the West Stable, is clear confirmation of the existence of a three-light window on the first floor prior to the construction of the bay. This, and the revealed central light of the ground floor window to the west (2.3b), confirms that the north front originally had three-light mullion windows arranged in an almost identical pattern to that which survives on the south front.



Figure 30. Henry Winstanley, c.1680. A detail of the north front showing the partially blocked window (bottom left) with its diagonal hatching and the small openings in its upper lights, probably indicating that it was boarded or shuttered. The unblocked windows (top left and right) are shown with cross-hatching indicating diamond-leaded casements.

English Heritage. DPI10816.jpg

The first-floor doorway revealed on the west wall of this stable (2.3c) is probably the most interesting feature to be uncovered as part of this repair work. It confirms that a first floor was built, or intended to be built, within the central section of this building prior to its being converted to a coach house and stable, and it proves that there was originally access through to the west crosswing at first-floor level, all of which was altered when the building was converted to a coach house and stable.

All these discoveries confirm theories about this building's development which have been deduced from other evidence, both physical and documentary. It has been especially useful to have these theories confirmed by this clearly surviving physical evidence. A more complete and detailed account of the results of these discoveries and other new evidence, and their implications for the architectural development of the building as a whole are included within the initial report, Pete Smith, *Audley End Stables*, English Heritage Research Department Report Series no. 65-2008, and in an article, 'The Audley End Stables in the 17th Century', written by Paul Drury and Pete Smith, published in the *English Heritage Historical Review*, No. 5, 2011, 44-81.

ENDNOTES

1. Richard, Lord Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End and Saffron Walden*, London, 1836.
2. David Webb, *Audley End, Saffron Walden, Essex; Archaeological Monitoring*, Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report No. 939 (Draft Document), March 2010, 18, fig. 9.
3. Pete Smith, *Audley End Stables*, English Heritage Research Department Report Series no. 65-2008, 36. Essex Record Office, D/DBY A56 (1-4).
4. There are a number of other instances in Winstanley's engravings where the Stable was made to appear more symmetrical than it ever actually was. See Paul Drury and Pete Smith, 'The Audley End Stables in the 17th Century', *English Heritage Historical Review* No. 5, 2011, 66-68.
5. Smith, op. cit., 31. The Wren Society, Vol. XVIII, 1941, 122.



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