

AUDLEY END HOUSE, SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX AUDLEY END STABLES

HISTORIC BUILDINGS REPORT

Pete Smith



**STABLE BUILDING
AUDLEY END HOUSE
SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX
RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS**

Pete Smith

NGR: TL 552188 238268

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ISSN 1749-8775

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SUMMARY

The Stable Building at Audley End House is a grade I listed building which has been in the care of English Heritage since 1984. The building is used for general storage at present, though from time to time the accommodation has been occupied by members of English Heritage staff. This report has been requested by Andrew Hann, Senior Properties Historian in Research & Standards, Properties Presentation, in order to facilitate decisions about the building's future usage

CONTRIBUTORS

Claire Martin and Andrew Williams produced survey plans of the building.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Pat Payne for photography. English Heritage staff at Audley End, and staff at the Essex Record Office. Amanda Atton for her invaluable assistance with the preparation of this report and Kathryn Morrison for editing and assistance.

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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, partly in the parish of Littlebury in Essex. Audley End House 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 (see fig. 21). 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.

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 (b. 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

The stable building (figs. 2 and 4), 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 (fig. 1). Originally it stood within a walled courtyard to the north of the new entrance courtyard laid out c.1610 (fig. 3); these walls were demolished in the mid-18th century. Today the building stands within open parkland to the north of the drive which leads to the Cambridge Gate and Lodge;² 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.

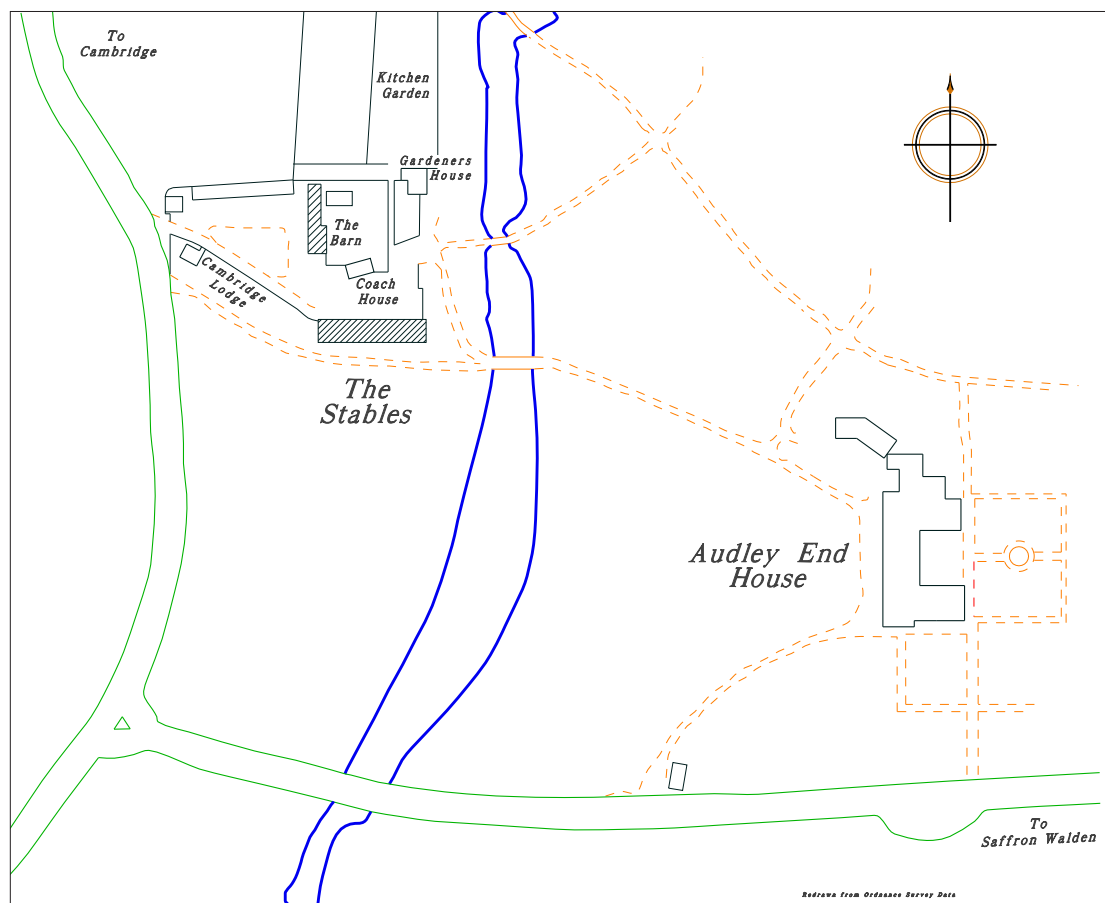


Fig. 1. The grounds of Audley End House showing the Stable Building.

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This stable building was acquired by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in 1948 at the same time as the house. Today the building is used mainly for general storage. It is not open to the public, though it has occasionally been used as an exhibition space in the past. This report aims to provide a clear picture of the stable building's history and development over the last 400 years, in order to allow positive and informed decisions to be made about its future usage.



Fig. 2. The north front of the stable building.

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1.3 Documentation and Sources

Documentary and topographical evidence concerned directly with the stable building is sparse. There are no surviving early 17th-century building accounts relating either to the construction of the house or the stable building. Any study of the stables at Audley End must begin with Henry Winstanley's set of twenty two engraved views, including two of the stable building, and his *General Ground Plot* or plan, all of which were eventually published in 1688.³ These engravings (figs. 3, 23 and 24), which were probably made from 1676 onwards, are the earliest known record of the stable building (see below 3.3).⁴ They appear to be an accurate record of the stable building at that time; the only discernable inaccuracy concerns the plinth and the plat bands.

There are a number of useful references to works proposed and carried out to Audley End in the records of the Office of the King's Works, relating to the period of its royal occupation between 1669 and 1701.⁵ These refer to minor demolition and repair works carried out to the stables in the 1685 and to later requests for further repairs which were never forthcoming.

The only visual documents that survive from the middle years of the 18th century which cast any light on the history of the stable building and yard are a series of surveys and

garden designs which trace the outlines of these buildings from c.1725 to 1783 (figs. 27 to 31). They record little change to the stable building itself though they do provide evidence of various changes to the barns and other buildings around the stable yard.

Documents surviving in the Essex Record Office refer to architectural drawings produced by John Hobcroft for two alternative schemes, one Classical and the other Gothick, for remodeling the front of the stable building, though unfortunately these drawings no longer survive. An anonymous late 18th-century painting of the park at Audley End (fig. 32), now in private ownership, shows a corner of the south front of the stables with crenellations; presumably the Gothick proposal made by Hobcroft.

The alterations carried out during the period 1771 to 1817, by contrast, are detailed in a surviving set of building accounts which contain a payment in 1814 to the architect, Thomas Cundy, for 'Working drawings for the Stable *et al.*'. Cundy was therefore presumably responsible for much of the later repair and reordering of the stables recorded in these accounts.

Two watercolour views, painted by Louisa Anne Neville, one of the north front dated July 1839 and the other of the western crosswing of the stable building from the south-east dated August 1840 (fig. 34), survive in the Essex Record Office, though it is hard to judge the accuracy of these sketchy records of the building. A surviving inventory for 1861 gives a tantalizing picture of the internal contents of the stable building, but it is of limited assistance since it does not record the separate rooms in which the contents were to be found.

Further alterations in the 1860s are recorded in a surviving drawing (fig. 35) and proposal of works by the architect Richard Hussey, though the surviving fabric suggests that not all these proposals were carried out.

Evidence of radical alteration and demolition to the buildings around the stable yard are recorded on the earliest surviving 25" Ordnance Survey maps for 1887 and 1897 (figs. 39 and 42). A small lithographic view of the south front of the building was published in the *Illustrated London News* for 1890 (fig. 38). Photographs of the stable building survive in the National Monuments Record for 1891, c.1907 (fig. 43), 1917, c.1920 and from the *Country Life* article on Audley End for 1926. These are all exterior photographs which show that relatively few changes have been made to the exterior of the building in the past century, though the interior has been refitted.

The Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, Ancient Monuments Branch carried out a detailed survey, and produced a series of survey drawings of all three floor levels with cross sections, of the stable building in 1961 which were then updated in 1981 (fig. 14).⁶

The Audley End stable buildings is a Scheduled Ancient Monument, SMR No. 406 and a Grade I Listed Building, LBS No. 406401

FABRIC ANALYSIS

2.1 The Exterior of the Stable Building



Fig. 4. The south front of the stable building.

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The stable building (figs. 2 and 4) is constructed of long, narrow bricks, laid in English bond, with alternate courses of stretchers and headers. It has a chamfered brick plinth, which steps up twice as the ground level rises to the west, and moulded brick plat bands at first- and attic-floor levels. The first-floor band does not continue around the west crosswing, except across its south gable front (this was added in the late 19th century). The attic-floor band steps up just to the east of the west crosswing. The gables and the gabled dormers have moulded brick coping, elaborate brick kneelers and stone finials topped with metal pendants. The coping appears to have been renewed, and the pendants added, in the late 19th century. The plain tile roof has a central lantern or cupola, constructed of timber and clad in lead, which was added in the late 19th century. The pair of brick, Tudor-style chimney stacks on the south front (at the junction of the east crosswing) are also late 19th century; the original pair of tall chimney stacks (figs. 23 and 24) to the west crosswing were probably removed in the late 18th century. The windows are mostly three-light, chamfered and rendered brick mullion windows with round-headed lights set in chamfered brick surrounds. The attic windows have brick Tudor hood moulds. The ground-floor windows are taller than those above. A number of original blocked doorways survive with four-centred brick arches. The external structure of the stable building clearly shows that it was built in a single campaign, and there is no evidence that it contains parts of an older building as some previous historians have suggested. A number of windows and doors have been blocked or replaced but substantially the building survives externally as built. Internally the building has been subdivided, altered, repaired and refitted on a number of occasions.

2.1a The South Front



Fig. 5. One of the unusual moulded brick kneelers flanking the dormer windows on the south front.

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Fig. 6. The blocked doorway on the west return wall of the central crosswing, the south front.

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The south front of the stable building (fig. 4) survives today almost entirely as built, and as depicted in Winstanley's engraving (fig. 23). The façade has two storeys and an attic with nine windows arranged 1,3,1,3,1, with broad gables to each of the single-bay projecting crosswings. The three windows to the central crosswing are set slightly off-centre, approximately 30 centimetres to the west. The main range has six gabled dormer windows, each flanked by unusual moulded brick kneelers (fig. 5). Most of the windows on this front have iron casements with diamond and hexagon patterned glazing bars. The first-floor plat band to the west crosswing is a 19th-century addition, as is the first-floor window; the original window was lowered to the ground floor at the same time. There is a single-light window on the ground floor immediately west of the central crosswing. This crosswing also has a blocked doorway (head visible) on its west return wall (fig. 6). There is evidence of a blocked (18th century) window on the ground floor immediately to the west of the east crosswing. The plinth and plat bands step up twice towards the west.

2.1b The North Front

The north front (fig. 2) has the same basic nine window layout, arranged 1,3,1,3,1, as the south front, though with a significant number of later alterations. It has no gabled dormer windows to the main range, as these were removed in the late 17th century, though evidence of where their unusual brick kneelers once existed can be found just below the eaves. The windows mainly have square leaded panes. The plinth steps up twice and the attic plat band steps up once to the west. The projecting central crosswing has a round-headed doorway with double doors and a brick surround of flanking pilasters with ogee finials and a pediment. The main ranges to east and west have large central canted bay windows with hipped roofs, all of which are additions. These features are constructed of a redder brick and the courses of brick do not continue through into the coursing of the original brick walls.



Fig. 7. The east bay window on the north front of the stable building, probably added c.1620.
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The projecting bays (fig. 7) are generally similar in style to the rest of the building, though the round-headed lights to the mullion windows are noticeably broader and taller and the mullions between them are noticeably narrower. The lower blind windows have been blocked at a later date, because the brick coursing of the blocking does not continue right through into the coursing of the mullions and piers. The original gables to these bays were removed in the 1685 (see below 3.4).

The central round-headed doorway (fig. 8) has flanking brick pilasters and a broad pediment containing a triangular headed four-light window. The disturbed brickwork visible either side of the apex of this pediment suggests that a three-light mullion window existed here before this door surround was added. This doorway and the bays must have been added between the completion of the building c.1616 and Winstanley's engraving of c.1676 (see below 3.3).

The arrangement of windows and doors on the ground floor has been radically altered on various occasions, particularly when the interior was subdivided in the 18th century. The two original doorways and a window to the west crosswing have been replaced by a



Fig. 8. The central entrance on the north front of the stable building, probably added c.1620.
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single wide doorway to the west. Two doorways with segment heads, which break through the plat band, have been inserted into the wall to the west of the western bay window on the main range. The original window has been blocked and partially removed, though a single blocked light of this window is still visible internally. A wide doorway, with side lights and a segment-arched head which breaks through the first-floor band, has replaced a further window to the east of the central crosswing. Another smaller doorway, a blocked doorway and a two-light window have replaced the original window to the east of the eastern bay window. The doorway (fig. 9) to the west return wall of the east crosswing has been blocked (head visible) and a new doorway inserted on the north front, where the original window has been blocked. All these later doorways have early 20th-century panelled and studded oak doors. Both the ground- and first-floor windows to this east crosswing have been removed. The original first-floor windows survive intact on the remainder of this front, though the window to the west crosswing is taller. There is a single-light window on the west return wall of the east crosswing, which has been reduced from a two-light window (fig. 9). There is also evidence of a former two-light window on the east wall of the west crosswing and the opening for this window is visible internally (see below 2.2g). The former three-light window in the gable of the west crosswing has been replaced (1771) with a pair of glazed taking-in doors.



Fig. 9. The blocked doorway on the west return wall of the east crosswing and the former two light window above, now reduced to a single light window.
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2.1c The East Front

The east front of the stable building faces towards the house with a symmetrical three window façade (fig. 10). It has a broad slightly projecting central gable and single window wings. The broad central doorway has been blocked (head visible) and the flanking two-light windows have been blocked internally. The outer wings had similar windows, which



Fig. 10. The east crosswing from the south-east.

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have since been removed; the false timber lintel and disturbed brickwork on the south wing indicate clearly the position of one of these windows. The original central three-light window and flanking two-light windows survive on the first-floor as does the attic window, with its hood mould, in the gable.

2.1d The West Front

The west front of the stable building is similar in layout to the east front, though it probably never had the same fenestration. The present outside ground level to this front is 80 centimetres higher than the internal ground-floor level. It was probably raised to this height as part the landscaping of the park (in 1763), but the ground-floor level of this crosswing has always been slightly higher than the main range. This façade has a central three-light mullion window with Tudor hood mould in the attic gable. Below is a similar window, which is set significantly lower than the other first-floor windows and has a 19th-century Tudor hood mould. The brickwork to the left of this window has been disturbed

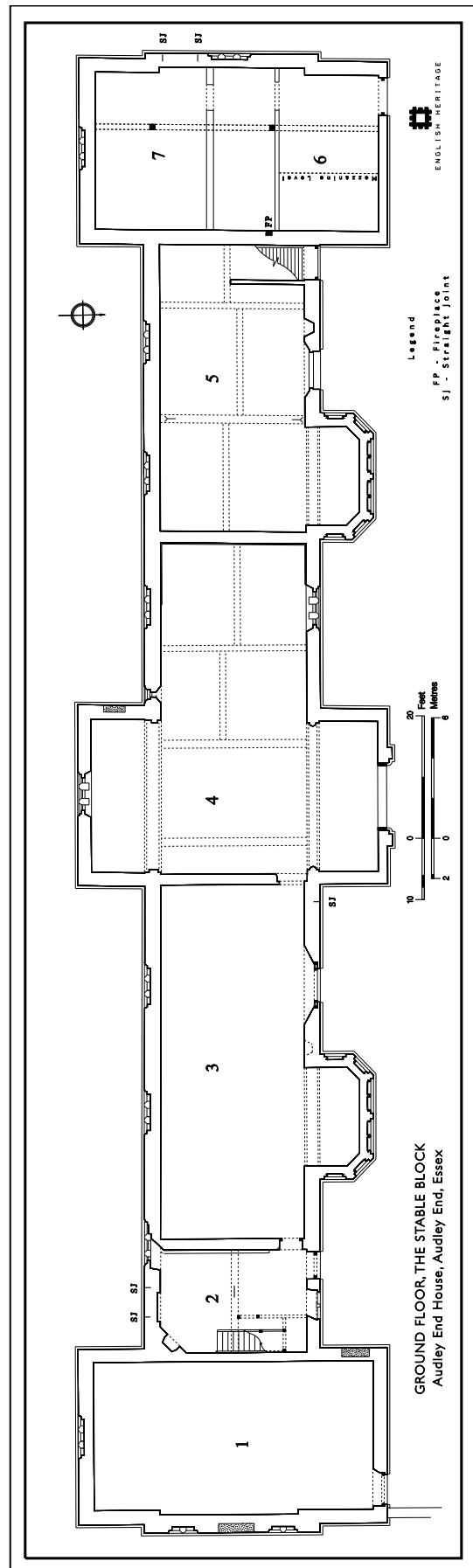


Fig. 11. Plan of the ground floor layout of the stable building, showing the present division of the building. 1. The east stable. 2. The entrance hall to the living accommodation. 3. The coach house stable. 4. The coach house. 5. The west stable. 6. The game larder. 7. The west crossing stable.

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and evidence survives inside which confirms that this was once a two-light mullion window. Another blocked window opening is visible in the south side wing at first-floor level. There is clear evidence of a blocked off-centre doorway, though there is no sign of the central doorway shown on Winstanley's plan (fig. 22).

2.2 The Interior of the Stable Building

2.2a The Main Range

The interior of the main range of the stable building was originally a single open double-height space according to Winstanley's plan (fig. 22). This is confirmed by the ceiling structure, which ignores the position of most of the cross walls, and by the cross walls

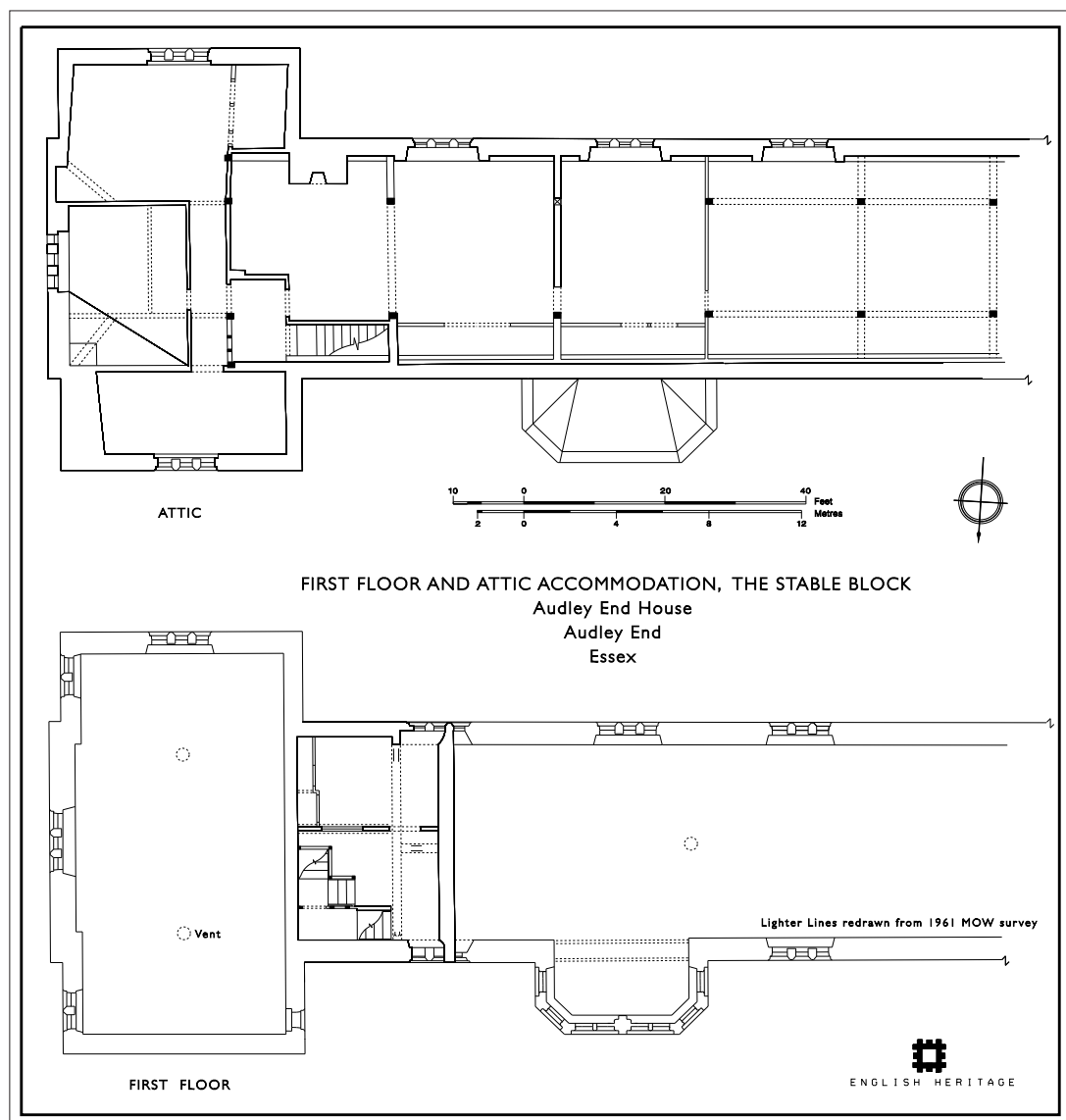


Fig. 12. Plan of the first floor and attic at the east end of the stable building. © English Heritage

themselves which are not keyed into the outer walls. Today the space is divided into four separate rooms (fig. 11). Most of these divisions appear to have existed since at least the late 18th century. From the surviving accounts from 1771 to 1817 it is possible to identify some of the names of these spaces (see below 3.6b). At the eastern end is the present entrance hall to the living accommodation which was probably the harness room, then comes the probable coach house stable, the coach house itself (incorporating the central crosswing) and then the possible lower or six stall stable to the west. The east crosswing is a single open double-height space and the west crosswing is divided into two double-height spaces.

2.2b The Entrance Hall and Living Accommodation

This room was probably first partitioned off as the harness room in 1798 (see below 3.6b), though today it forms the entrance hall to the living accommodation in the attic. It contains a stair to the first-floor room, probably created at the same time, and access to the attic above (fig. 12). This stair was renewed in 1866. The partition to the stair incorporates a reused early 18th-century door with two raised and fielded panels and H-hinges on the ground floor and a section of early 17th century carving on the first floor. The south wall has a blocked window opening, probably inserted in the late 18th



Fig. 13. The coach house stable.
© English Heritage DP029976

century and blocked up in the 19th century. The west partition wall includes a doorway through into the present coach house stable. The room has a brick or clinker floor. The spine beam to the ground-floor room has a moulded profile suggesting an early 17th-century date; this beam was presumably reused here when this section of the building was floored in the late 18th century. The room contains a corner fireplace, probably inserted at the same time. The north wall has a two-light window inserted by Richard Hussey in 1866, which replaced the original three-light window. The first floor contains a 20th-century bathroom which is divided off to the south with an early reused door. The main chamfered cross beam and the staggered spine beams, which form part of the main roof, are visible at this level. The attic forms the main part of the present living accommodation, which extends

across the whole of the east crosswing and for three bays into the attic over the main stable range. The partition walls, doors and fittings are entirely 20th century.

2.2c The Coach House Stable

This section of the original stable contains stalls for six horses, with four central stalls flanked by single loose boxes with doors at either end (fig. 13). These high timber stalls have plank sides and doors, octagonal posts topped with ball finials and iron grills to their upper divisions. The plank walling continues around the remainder of the room. These well preserved stalls, which appear to date from the early 20th century, were made by Merryweather & Son, Engineers, Longacre & Lambeth, London, with fittings supplied by Cottam & Company, 2 Winsley Street, Oxford Street, London. There is a doorway on the east wall leading into the former harness room and another on the west wall leading into the coach house. This room has a brick or clinker floor, plastered walls and a flat plaster ceiling with a central circular ventilator.

2.2d The Coach House

This coach house was probably partitioned off internally from the main stable in the 18th century. The east and west cross walls, inserted to create this room, are not keyed into the external walls. The east wall has a deep stepped plinth 122 centimetres high and a doorway, leading into the coach house stable, to the east. These walls are not plastered though they are covered in many layers of lime-wash and paint. The bricks appear to be

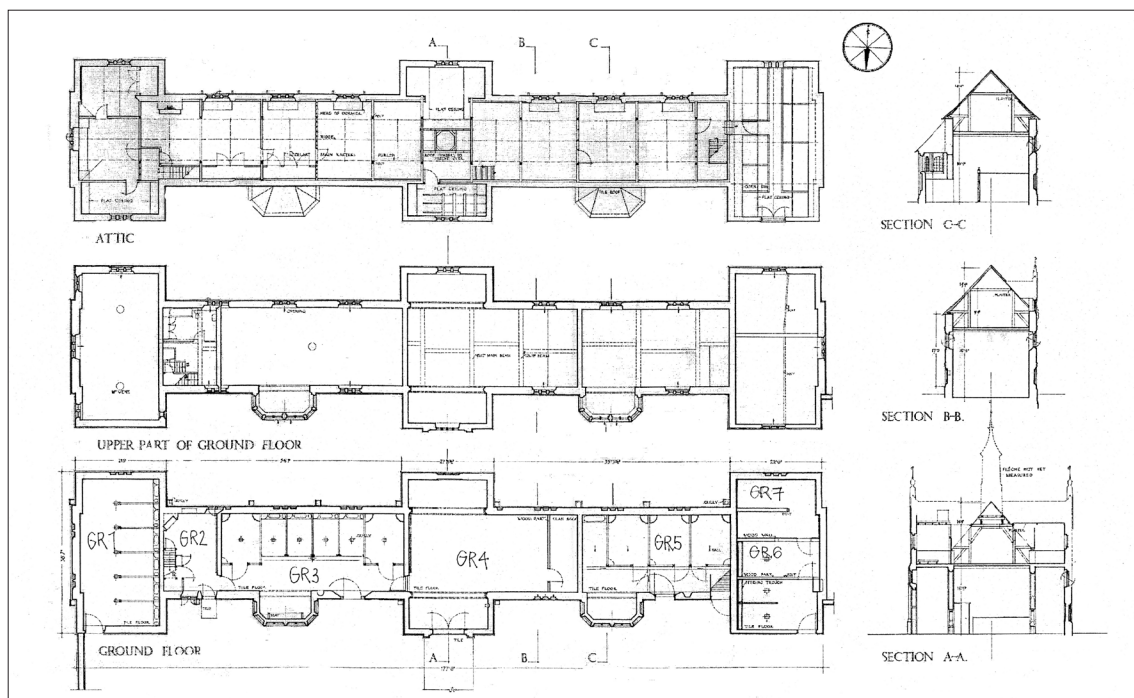


Fig. 14. Plan and cross-section of the stable building prepared by the Ministry of Public Building and Works, Ancient Monuments Branch, showing the six stalls since removed from the east crosswing. Surveyed 1961, updated 1981.

© English Heritage

similar in size to those used on the main structure of the building, and they could have been re-used from the many garden walls demolished in the early 18th century.

The coach house has plastered external walls and exposed timber beams. The late 18th-century building accounts (see below 3.6b) refer to the coach house as having a stone paved floor and the present white brick or clinker floor was probably introduced in the 19th century. The central crosswing has two broad round arches in line with the walls of the main range which support the two central trusses of the main roof. These brick arches have deep roll-moulded arches and columnar responds with high bases, which are plastered and painted. The base of the north-east respond is damaged and its brick construction is exposed. The southern arch was bricked up before c.1676 but this walling was removed in 1798 (see below 3.6b.1) and presumably the doorway on the west return wall of the crosswing was blocked at the same time. The coach house has plank walling to the west end fitted with specialist iron fixtures for the hanging of equine

tackle. This small section was partitioned off to create a tack room in the early 20th century, though the eastern partition wall to this room was removed in the late 20th century. The position of this wall is shown on the survey plan (fig. 14).



Fig. 15. The west stable.

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2.2e The West Stable

The west stable (fig. 15) contains four 20th-century stalls, including three broad stalls with doors and a single narrower open stall to the east. They have plank sides and doors with upper iron grills and square posts topped with ball finials. The planking continues around all the walls. This room has exposed ceiling beams. The north-west corner of this room contains the present stair to the attic which is partitioned off and accessed from outside. This steep ladder stair is 20th century, though the original was probably installed in 1777 when the corn chamber was created. The west wall of this stair has a blocked doorway between the ground-

and first-floor levels which probably accessed

an earlier stair arrangement from the west crosswing (see below 3.6a).

2.2f The East Crosswing

Today the east crosswing houses a double height former stable, the east stable, on the ground floor. The six former early 20th-century stalls, by Merryweathers and Cottams, which stood against the west wall were dismantled in the late 20th century, though

the planking to the walls survives. The position of the former stalls, is shown on the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works' plans of the building (fig. 14). These dismantled stalls survive and are stored in this room. It has a brick or clinker floor, plastered walls and a flat plaster ceiling with two circular iron ventilators. This stable must be 'the five stall stable next the river' referred to in the accounts of 1816. It may always have been designed as a separate stable, since its original doorway on the east front (blocked) (fig. 10), is broader and taller than the other two surviving (blocked) pedestrian doorways,⁷ and it would have been large enough to allow horses to enter. This crosswing may alternatively have been floored at first-floor level, like the west crosswing, but the interior walls are plastered and it is not possible to identify any evidence for this.

2.2g The West Crosswing

This west crosswing is divided internally into two sections, the former possibly two-storey section to the north, and the double height (game larder) section to the south. Winstanley's plan (fig. 22) shows no internal division within this crosswing, though the window arrangement shown on his elevations (figs. 23 and 24) suggests that this subdivision was original. Surprisingly this crosswing, which is the section of the building most likely to have had a first floor, has no plat bands at first-floor level. Both these sections within this crosswing contain central timber posts supporting the floor of the



Fig. 16. The surviving blocked fireplace on the ground floor in the west crosswing.

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attic above; that to the northern room has splayed braces. These posts were presumably inserted to support the extra weight of the later corn bins above. Another floor structure has also been added below the corn chamber floor to strengthen it further. This crosswing has red brick floors, which may be original; the floor to the south is slightly higher.

The northern section contains three open stalls with timber hay racks and circular posts, which are the oldest stalls in the building, probably dating in part from the 1770s. The two stalls to the north are divided off by a timber partition and have a partial ceiling. Each of these stalls has a square brick drain in the floor. This section has had the plaster largely removed from its three outer walls. It may originally have been two storeys internally as it has blocked first floor windows on its east and west walls. The east blocked window corresponds with the window shown on Winstanley's engraving.

Unfortunately there is no clear evidence of a former first floor identifiable in the surviving fabric. There is a single four-centred arched fireplace partially hidden behind the present stalls on the ground floor of the east wall (fig. 16). This fireplace was served by one of the two chimney stacks shown on Winstanley's engravings (figs. 23 and 24), suggesting that this section of the building probably contained accommodation for the senior grooms. There is no evidence of a surviving second fireplace, though this may well have been sited on the first-floor possibly against the now plastered south wall. Winstanley's engravings appear to show the two chimney stacks emerging from the central ridge of the crosswing which would agree with this interpretation. If this is so then these stacks must have been completely removed when the corn chamber was inserted in 1777.



Fig. 17. The blocked doorway on the first floor in the west crosswing.
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On the east wall between the ground and first floors is a blocked doorway (fig. 17) with a four-centred arched head and plastered surround, set within a recess. This recess has a concrete lintel above supporting a beam inserted to strengthen the floor of the corn chamber above. This doorway was presumably related to the stair shown on Winstanley's plan (fig. 22) which originally gave access, via another lost stair in the west stable, to the attics in the main range (see below 2.2h). There is not enough space between this doorway and the fireplace below to allow for the necessary floor, and it therefore seems likely that they represent two different stages in the complex development of this crosswing. The west wall has a three-light mullion window set between the former floor levels, and there is a shallow recess in the thickness of the



Fig. 18. The game larder in the west crosswing.
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lower wall whose origins and usage is unknown. Evidence of the former external doorway to the north-east corner stair, shown on Winstanley's plan and engraving (figs. 22 and 24), is visible on the internal face of the north wall.

The double height game larder (fig. 18) to the south is lined from floor to ceiling, around all four walls, with plaster and eleven horizontal timber planks with iron hooks for the hanging of game; these were probably inserted in the late 19th century.

The surviving corn bins (fig. 33) in the attic of this crosswing were installed in 1777. The corn bins with their plank sides and divisions are placed on the east and west walls with a central passage and a further access passage to the east. At the north end is an open space and a pair of taking-in doors for the loading of the corn. The roof was

simplified, the collars raised and a plaster ceiling inserted when it was converted. The floor was also raised and strengthened and access cut through its east wall up a flight of four steps from the main attic at this time.

2.2h The Roofs

The present roof structure appears to date from the early 17th century,⁸ though the trusses appear to have been reordered and repaired. The main roof runs east-west



Fig. 19. The roof structure of the stable building.

© English Heritage DP029978

across the main body of the building and the east crosswing, whilst the west crosswing has a separate roof running north-south. The main roof has eleven trusses with tall queen posts, a collar and butt-purlins. The tie beams are set into the wall approximately one metre below the wall plates, with small side collars, and diagonal struts, linking the wall plates to the queen posts (fig. 19). This arrangement is reminiscent of an aisled barn and allows for a generous open roof space. The walls and the panels between the trusses and purlins are plastered. This roof space or attic was originally well lit, with six three-light dormer windows on both sides (the six dormers on the north have been removed) plus the windows in the crosswing gables. Many of the roof trusses are, or have been, clad as partition walls, though none of these partitions appears to be original. All this evidence suggests that the main attic space was intended as a single open space for accommodation (presumably for grooms) rather than for storage.

The roof trusses retain a number of legible carpenters' marks. Some trusses have complete sets of a single number, but others have few if any visible numbers. Where they do survive these numbers are not in any logical sequence, suggesting that the roof has been dismantled, repaired and then re-erected. The constant references to the poor condition of this building, and especially its roof, in the late 17th century (see below 3.4) make it most likely that this reconstruction of the roof took place in the early 18th century. There is some evidence of fire damage on a number of timbers, though these appear to have been re-used. The flooring includes some very early broad floor boards. The brick bases to some of the former gabled dormer windows on the north side can be found on the tops of the walls.

The central crosswing has side roofs of similar construction, though that to the south has had its low cross wall and wall plate removed (evidence of the sawing through of these wall plates is clearly visible). The two trusses either side of the central bay have been strengthened with braces and iron clamps to take the weight of the cupola added c.1885. The similar roof over the eastern crosswing is largely hidden by modern cladding within the present living accommodation.

The western crosswing has a separate roof whose floor level is slightly higher than the floor level of the main attic. The wall which separates the main attic from the west crosswing continues at wall plate level. This wall has been cut through by a flight of four steps which give access to the corn chamber created in 1777. This crosswing originally had a simpler version of the main roof, three trusses with queen posts, collars and butt-purlins. The queen posts were removed, the collars were raised and a ceiling inserted at this level when the corn bins were inserted in 1777 (fig. 33) (see below 3.6b.i). Within the present roof space the rafters show evidence of former laths and a small section of plaster walling on the south gable, both of which suggest that the original attic space was plastered.

The original access to the main attic roof space is uncertain. Winstanley's plan marks only a single stair (fig. 22). This was sited in the north-east corner of the west crosswing, and does not appear to have been linked internally to the roof over the main range at attic level. A blocked doorway, visible on both sides of the east wall of the west crosswing, at a level between the ground- and first-floor levels suggests that this stair may have passed through this wall at this point and given access to the main attic above (see above 2.2g). It would seem likely that the stables or possibly the small spaces partitioned off from the central and eastern crosswings contained stairs, or more likely wall ladders, also giving access to the attics.

2.3 The Barns and the Stable Yard

The surveys and garden designs plus the 25" Ordnance Survey maps discussed below (see below 3.5a and 3.7c) show the general development and remodelling of the stable yard throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The original layout of two large barn ranges on the west and north sides of the stable yard survived up to the mid-18th century. A new east range and a small detached building were added and small additions were constructed to the west of the stable before 1753. By 1783 the north barn had been

partly demolished and the additions to the west of the stable had been removed, and by 1877 the north range had been further reduced and alterations had been made to west barn. A new coach house and a new gardener's house were added in 1875. The Ordnance Survey map of 1897 shows that the west barn had been reduced to its present size in the previous decade. In the 20th century a house was built at the south end of the west barn, which survives today.

The present barn on the west side of the stable yard is less than half the length of the original barn shown on Winstanley's plan of c.1676 (fig. 3), the southern section having been demolished in the 1890s (fig. 42). The northern section of this building constitutes



Fig. 20. The 16th century roof structure in the surviving barn. © English Heritage DP029977

a full height barn, with a lower barn to the south and a coach house beyond. The outer walls of these surviving barns were rebuilt in the late 19th century, though the original early 17th-century brick walling survives inside the main, northern barn. This barn has a mid-16th century roof structure (fig. 20) which was most likely re-used from one of the ranges of buildings shown on the c.1600 survey plan (fig. 21). It was presumably moved here in the early 17th century. The roof has two widely spaced trusses with tie beams supported by wall braces and queen posts rising to the purlins with braces; there are also added braces from the tie beams to the collars on the east side.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

3.1 The Date of Construction of the Stable Building

It has often been suggested that the main stable building at Audley End dates from the mid- or late 16th century, before the rebuilding of the house in the Jacobean style by Thomas Howard.⁹ The fact that it is built of brick, rather than stone, and that it has prominent gables, small windows with Tudor hood moulds and mullions with round headed lights, has been taken by some historians as evidence that it was constructed as part of the Tudor house built before 1605. Giles Worsley, in his seminal study of the architectural history of the stable, suggests that this building was actually built c.1603 as an integral part of the new Jacobean mansion. He explains that the reason for its seemingly old-fashioned design is the fact that it was designed for the accommodation of horses. He states that:

There is generally little sign of the advanced ideals of Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture in stable design.....This is also the case at the grandest surviving stables of this date, those at Audley End, Essex.¹⁰

Worsley illustrates many other contemporary examples of stables built in a similarly old-fashioned style that contrasts with new houses, including examples at Charlecote Park, Warwickshire (c.1558), Longleat House, Wiltshire (c.1570) and Burton Constable, Yorkshire (c.1600).¹¹

This suggestion is confirmed by evidence cited in the most scholarly and comprehensive study of Audley End to date: the *Official Handbook* by Paul Drury and Ian Gow published by HMSO in 1984.¹² This evidence consists of a copy of a survey of the estate originally made c.1600, just before Thomas Howard began his rebuilding.¹³ This survey (fig. 21) shows that though there were outbuildings sited to the south-west of the old house,¹⁴ these could not be the present stable buildings because they are sited on the eastern side of the river Cam, whilst the present stable is sited well to the west of the river. When Howard rebuilt the house, between c.1605 and 1616, he carried out far reaching alterations to the grounds, which included the canalisation of the river Cam and the moving of the Cambridge road further to the west, in order to create a larger and more fitting entrance court to his new house.

Further confirmation of the date of the stable building is evidenced in the surviving structure. The bricks are exactly the same size and laid in the same English bond as the surviving garden walls around the former Mount Garden to the south of the main house, which are known to have been built between c.1605 and 1616.

Henry Winstanley's *General Ground Plot* of c.1676 shows the stable building sited between the newly canalised river and the new road to the west (fig. 3). It also shows that the stable is aligned at exactly 90° to the main façade of the new house and that it is placed centrally between the river and the main entrance on the Cambridge road. In other words this new building forms an integral part of the overall new layout of the outer courts and is a subsidiary element within the group of new buildings which surround, and lead up to, the house itself.

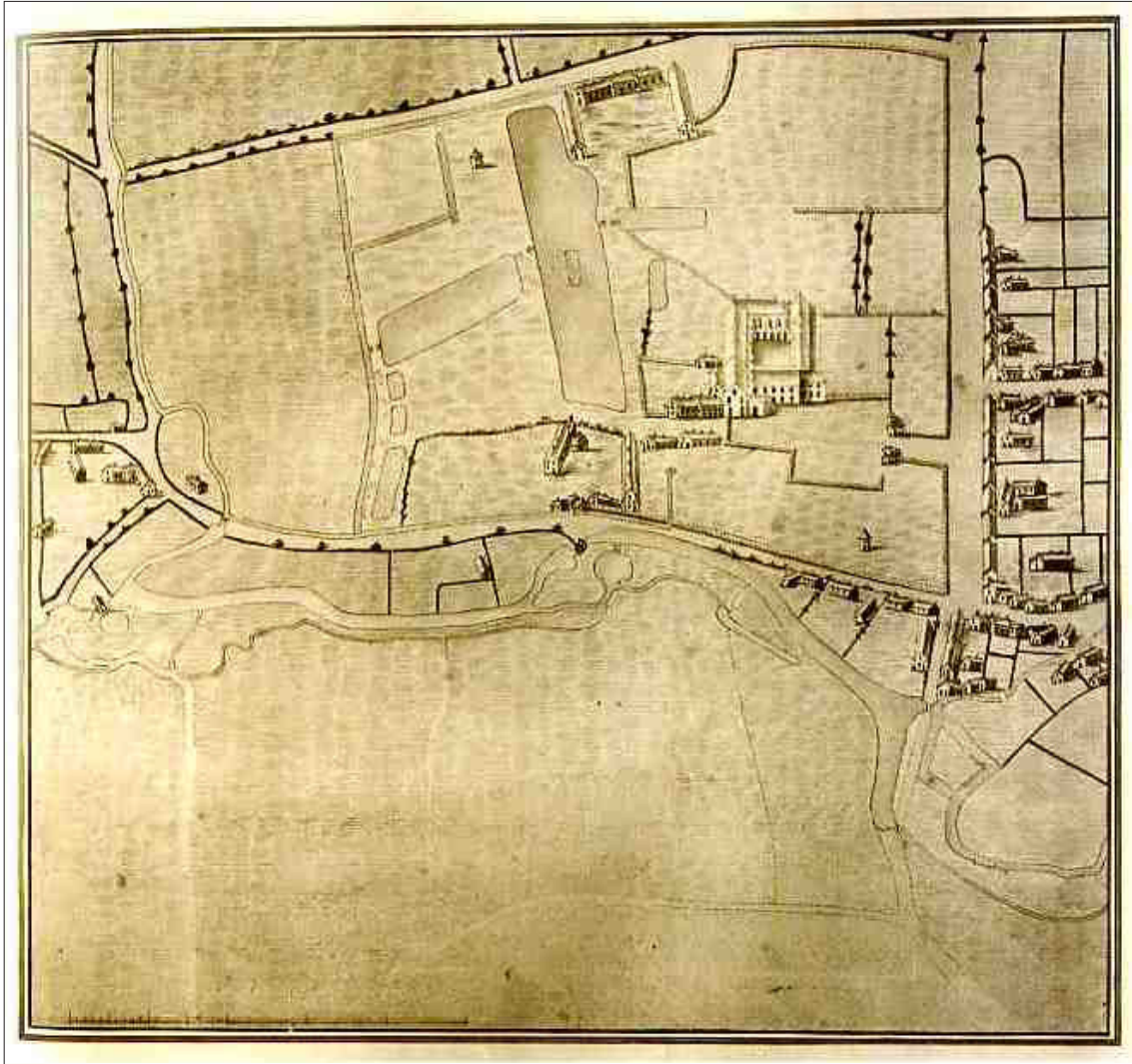


Fig. 21. A late 18th century copy of a lost survey of Audley (Inn) End c.1600.
© English Heritage NMR Y2117/17

This is perhaps the first example in England of the use of the stable building as an important architectural element within the formal layout of the approach to a country house,¹⁵ something which would become an increasingly important element in the design of the English country house from the mid-17th century onwards, and something exemplified in the design of such houses as Lowther Castle, Cumberland, and Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire. This arrangement was derived from the latest developments in contemporary French architecture. Paul Drury and Ian Gow suggest that the outer court and entrance court were not part of the initial design for the rebuilding of the house, c.1605, and that they were only introduced in a second phase of building begun 'perhaps around 1608 or 09' possibly to the designs of John Thorpe,¹⁶ a phase markedly influenced by the latest developments in French architecture. So it would therefore seem most likely that the stable building at Audley End was built as part of this later phase and that a more accurate date for its construction would be c.1610.

3.2 The Stable Building

This stable building has always been referred to as a stable - but was it originally designed for this purpose? It does not look like any contemporary stable building, in fact the large number of windows gives the impression that it was built for human occupation. It looks more like the lodging range of a great house or an Oxbridge college, though it lacks the entrance doors and chimney stacks that such a building would have needed. There is no visible internal evidence that the double-height main body of the building was ever floored in, though the windows and the plat band suggest this on the exterior. So perhaps the building was designed simply to look like a lodging range, to disguise its stable function, because it would have been seen clearly by all those approaching the house from its main entrance from the Cambridge road to the west.¹⁷

The additions made in redder brick - before c.1676 (the bays windows, the central doorway and the small addition to the central crosswing) - might be construed as evidence of an early change of function, though they might equally have been necessitated for other reasons. If, for example, the stable was originally designed without permanent stalls, then their later introduction would have led to the blocking of many of the ground floor windows and the addition of the bay windows would have been needed to give extra light. Or perhaps the downturn in Thomas Howard's fortunes after 1618, meant that a separate coach house, which had been planned initially, was never built, and that forced economies meant that the stable building had to be adapted to take coaches as well, hence the insertion of the large new central doorway.

The early 17th century was a time of transition in the design of stables. The Audley End stable building is the earliest surviving example of a new symmetrically designed, single range stable, a type which was to become the standard during the later 17th century, as at Burley-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire (c.1625), Cornbury Park, Oxfordshire (1663) or Dunham Massey Hall, Cheshire (c.1721).¹⁸ Also developed at this time was a new quadrangular plan type, like those at Theobalds Palace, Hertfordshire (c.1607) and Petworth House, Sussex (1616-23),¹⁹ which would become almost *de rigueur* during the 18th century. Audley End stables falls into both these categories, for, though the stable itself is a single detached building it also forms part of a partial and irregular quadrangle of associated buildings (fig. 3). Winstanley's plan clearly marks the main building as 'the Stables' and the lesser ranges to the north and west as 'the Barnes'. These buildings do not form a symmetrical group, but they do show a first stage towards this quadrangular plan type.

The overall design of the stable building is both old-fashioned and up-to-date. The details of its design are old-fashioned whilst its strict symmetry and its position in relation to the house and its outbuildings are very modern. Its construction in brick and its old-fashioned design are appropriate to its subsidiary position, well away from the main house, and to its function as a stable. The fact that it was clearly visible on the main approach to the house probably explains its careful symmetry of design.

3.2 Henry Winstanley's Plan and Views c.1676

Henry Winstanley's two engraved views of the north and south fronts of the stable building and the plan included in his *General Ground Plot*, were probably made c.1676 (figs. 3, 23 and 24). They form part of the large set of twenty two engraved views of Audley End which he published in 1688. They are the earliest surviving record of the stable buildings.

3.3a The Plan

The plan of the main stable building, clearly delineated in Winstanley's general plan (fig. 22), shows the exterior of the building largely as it survives today. Internally it shows the main range and the central crosswing as a single open space - presumably the actual stable for the horses - entered through a single main entrance on the north, courtyard side. It does not show the divisions of any stalls within this space, and it is probable that Winstanley felt that these internal features were not relevant to his survey.²⁰ Permanent internal divisions between horses, with fixed hayracks, had become commonplace within the grander stables built in the later 16th century,²¹ and this stable is recorded as containing stalls which were in need of repair in 1685 (see below 3.4). Whether the stalls had full timber divisions or simply timber posts with 'bales' slung between, such as those which survive at Dunster Castle, Somerset, (c.1617) is unknown.²² Similarly no evidence survives to indicate whether there might have been an arcade in front of the stalls, such as the famous example surviving at Peover Hall, Cheshire (1654).²³ The present flooring within this section of the building is of brick. During the 16th century wooden planking was the usual flooring for stables, but towards the end of the century the 'unsuitable Italian habit' of paving was first introduced.²⁴ One contemporary example of the use of 'Holland bricks placed upon edges' was recorded in the new stables built for the Earl of Strafford at Dublin Castle (pre-1635).²⁵ These bricks, known as clinkers, provided a far more durable and hygienic flooring surface for a stable. If the surviving brick floors in the west crosswing, which have not been repaired and re-laid, are original then they are the probably the earliest surviving examples in England. Thomas Howard's desire to have the largest, best and latest of everything else in country house design would suggest it is a possibility. The main stable, which is approximately 45 metres (135 feet) long internally, would have provided accommodation for approximately 30 horses.

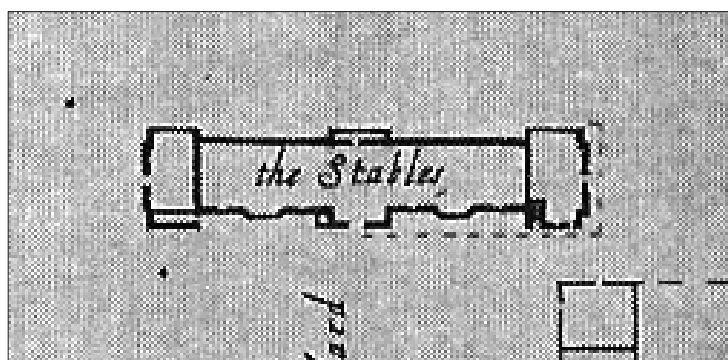


Fig. 22. Henry Winstanley. The plan of the stable building, a detail from the *General Ground Plot*, c.1676.

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The two outer crosswings to east and west are delineated as large separate rooms on Winstanley's plan (fig. 22) with no internal access through to the main stable. They each

had a separate external entrance on the centre of their side front; that to the east is now blocked (head visible), and partial evidence for the west doorway is visible internally. The room to the east crosswing may originally have been a separate double-height stable (see above 2.2g) as it is today, and as it has been since at least 1808 (see below 3.6b.2). It is also possible that this crosswing was originally floored-in at first-floor level, like the west crosswing, but the walls of this former stable are plastered and it is not possible to identify any evidence for this. This crosswing had a small room partitioned off to the north with its own entrance on the west (blocked, head visible) and a reduced single-light window above (fig. 9). There was a similar room partitioned off from the south end of the central crosswing (within the coach house), with its own entrance from the west (blocked, head visible) (fig. 6). The partition wall, shown on Winstanley's plan (fig. 22), was removed from below the original arch in 1798 (see above 2.3e). The fact that this large moulded arch, which matches the arch at the northern end of the central crosswing, existed before this partition wall was originally built, i.e. before c.1676, suggests that this partition wall was a later insertion. If so, then it was most likely inserted when the bay windows and the central doorway were added, probably between 1618 and 1624. This is the only evidence of alteration to the internal fabric of the building at this early date. This room and the room partitioned off in the east crosswing may have been used as tack rooms for the storage of valuable saddles, harnesses and other riding paraphernalia.

The two 'Barnes' shown on Winstanley's plan (fig. 3) and originally sited on the north and west sides of the stable yard would have provided plenty of storage for hay, so it would not need to have been stored within the stable itself.

3.3b The Views

The two views by Henry Winstanley of the south and north fronts (figs. 23 and 24) of the stable building appear to be an almost entirely accurate rendition of the building at this date, c.1676.²⁶ The most obvious inaccuracy of these views concerns the plinth and floor bands. The original surviving plinth and plat bands step upwards to the west as the land rises gently, though on Winstanley's engraving they, and the ground level, are shown flat right across the whole building. One further omission concerns the unusual kneelers flanking the dormer windows which are not shown on these engravings.

The view of the south front (fig. 23) shows how little this façade has been altered in the intervening years (fig. 4). Only the window arrangement to the west crosswing has been altered. Here the original single three-light mullion window shown on the engraving has been dropped to ground-floor level (and blocked internally), a first-floor plat band added and a similar window inserted above at first-floor level, though it is still double height internally and filled with game racks (fig. 18). This alteration was carried out in the late 19th century, presumably to complete the symmetrical arrangement of the fenestration. The two-light window shown by Winstanley on the east return wall of the west crosswing has since been removed.

Winstanley's view of the north front (fig. 24) shows that this façade of the stable building has been far more altered. It has two canted bay windows with pointed gables and parapets, which were removed in 1685 (see below 3.4). These bays, constructed

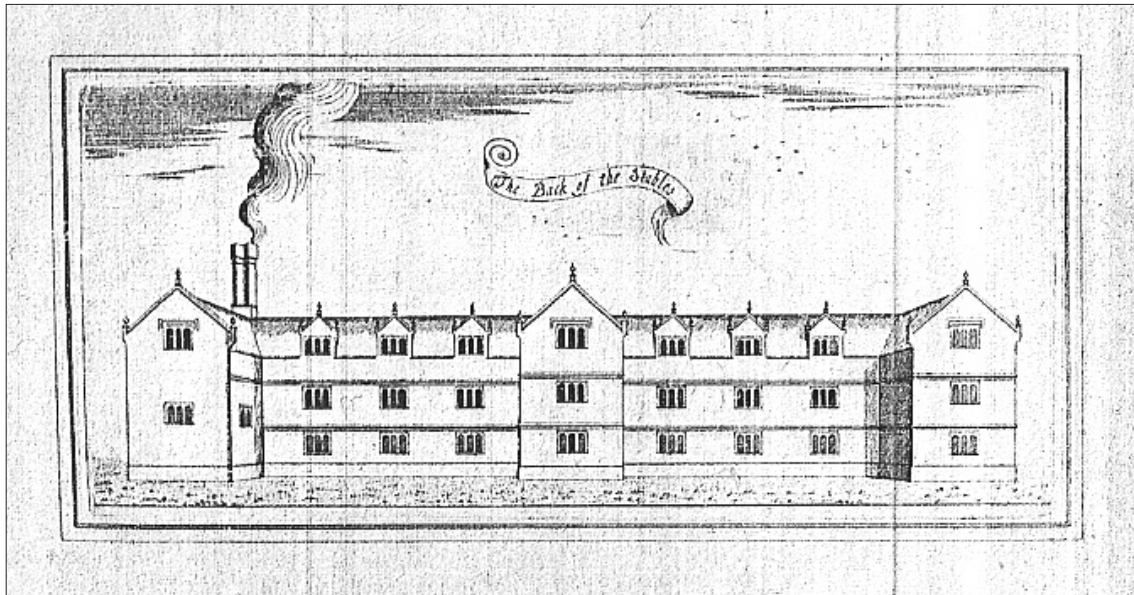


Fig. 23. Henry Winstanley. The south front of the stable building, c.1676.

of slightly redder coloured bricks, are additions (see above 2.1b). Since these bays are delineated on Winstanley's plan of c.1676 they must have been added soon after the building was completed in c.1616. They were most likely added between 1618, when Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk was arrested and stripped of his offices and much of his income, and his death in 1626, as part of a rethinking of the building's function in the light of Suffolk's changed financial circumstances.²⁷ Perhaps the bays were added when the ground-floor windows were blocked, to make up for the loss of interior light. The ground-floor windows on the south side would have been inconsistent with permanent stalls, so perhaps these changes took place when stalls were first added. There is evidence surviving in these bays that at one time they were lime washed, if this is

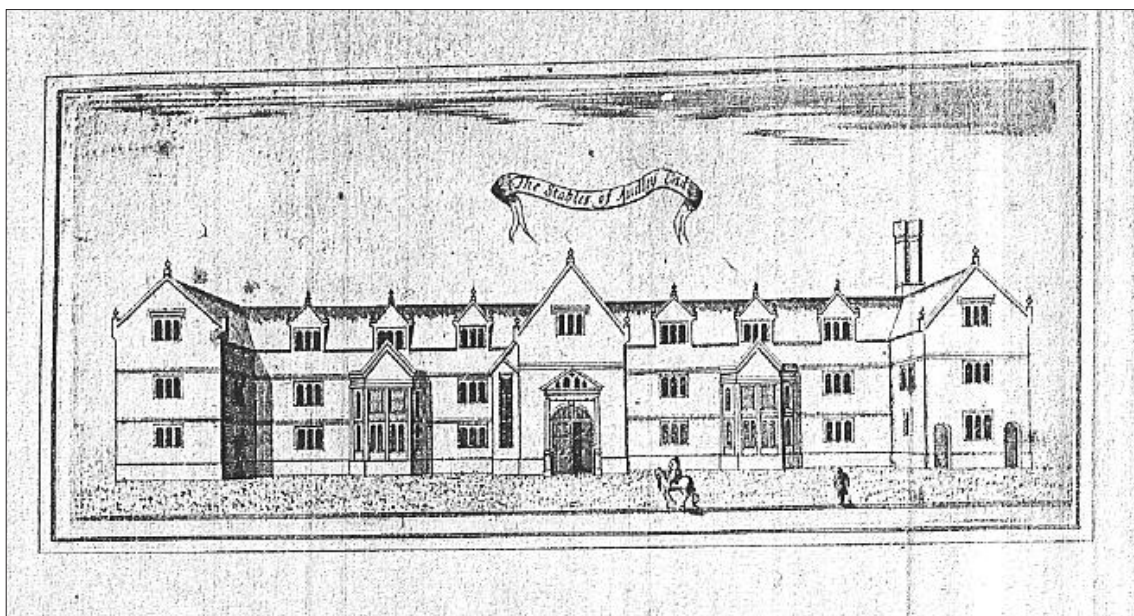


Fig. 24. Henry Winstanley. The north front of the stable building, c.1676.

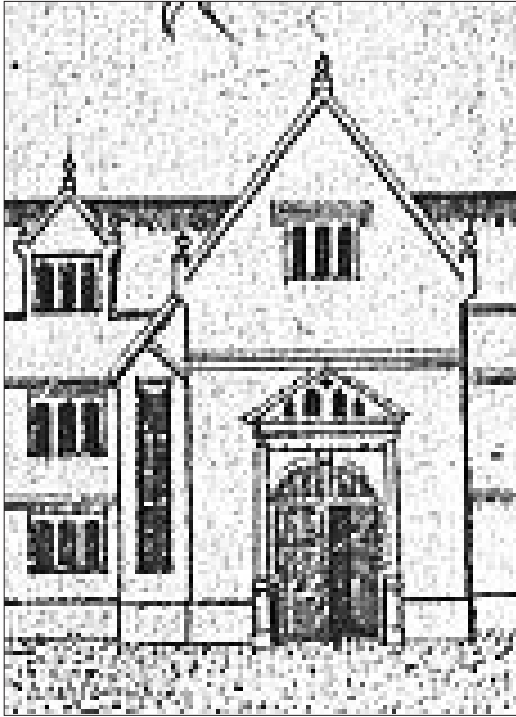


Fig. 25. Henry Winstanley. Detail of the north front of the stable building, showing the lean-to addition to the east of the central crosswing, c.1676.



Fig. 26. The east corner of the central crosswing, where the lean-to addition once stood.
© English Heritage DP029974

original then it would have made no difference if the bricks did not match exactly, for these differences would have been covered up by their outer coating of lime.

The decorative door frame (fig. 8) to the central entrance on the north front of the stable building is also constructed of a similar slightly redder brick and it, too, is an addition (see above 2.1b). Perhaps this broad round-headed entrance arch was added to allow coaches to be stored in this building as well as horses. The engraving does not show the first-floor plat band either side of the central door.

One further feature of this building, which was probably also made of this same redder brick, was the small addition made to the east side of the central crosswing on the north front, visible on the Winstanley plan (fig. 22) and on his view of the north front (fig. 25). This tall, narrow lean-to addition had a single, tall narrow window on its north front. Even today the faint scar of this addition and its roofline, can still be seen on the surviving brickwork (fig. 26). But this brickwork shows no sign of really radical alteration, proving that this corner bay was indeed an addition, which was removed after 1839. The moulded plat bands, for example, appear undisturbed, with only slight damage where the wall and roof of the addition interrupted them. What is far more difficult to comprehend is why this small addition was made and what function it served. The tall narrow window could suggest that it was a stair, though there is no indication of this on Winstanley's plan. The walling to the main range on both floors does appear to have been disturbed, which could be interpreted as evidence of former access doorways serving this stair.

The west crosswing had a tall double chimney stack rising from the ridge of its roof, as seen in both Winstanley's views of the stable building (figs. 23 and 24). There is a blocked fireplace with brick four-centred head surviving on the ground floor against the east wall (see above 2.2g), suggesting that this section of the building was accommodation, probably for the senior grooms. Access to the upper floors of this crosswing were originally from the outside via a small stair in the north-east corner from a doorway on the north front, as shown on Winstanley's plan (see above 3.2h). This stair may also originally have given access, via another lost stair, to the attics in the main range.

3.4 A Royal Palace, 1669-1701

In 1669 Charles II purchased Audley End from the 3rd Earl of Suffolk, after three years of protracted negotiation.²⁸ The king was in need of a new royal palace, since most of his former palaces had been either ruined or destroyed during the Civil War, and Audley End was conveniently sited close to the fashionable racecourse at Newmarket. The 3rd Earl's estates were heavily encumbered by debt when he inherited in 1640,²⁹ and he willingly sold the house with 283 acres of parkland to the king for '£50,000, of which £20,000 was to remain on mortgage, secured on the hearth tax in Ireland'.³⁰ In 1667 the Earl was appointed 'Keeper of the King's House at Audley End',³¹ and in March 1679 Henry Winstanley (who had previously been employed by the 3rd Earl) was appointed Clerk of the Works at Audley End.³² Winstanley's important survey, his *General Ground Plot* and his twenty two engraved views of Audley End published in 1688, were undertaken during this period. As a royal palace Audley End attracted many visitors who have left descriptions of the house, but unfortunately none mentions the stable building or the barns.³³

In the 1670s and 80s Christopher Wren, as Surveyor of the King's Works, visited regularly, and minor internal alterations and external repair work were carried out on the main house, including the re-leading the roof and the re-building of a number of the turrets and many of the chimney stacks.³⁴ Work on the stable building is also recorded, including payments in November 1685 to Will Austin:

A bricklayer employed in mending Part of the Tyling of the Great Stables and taking downe the Brick front of three Lutherne lights at the said Stables. Part beeing falling downe and the Right beeing in danger of falling and making good and newsetting the Stable fronts.³⁵

And again to Will Austin in December 1685:

A bricklayer employed taking downe two Great Gables Fronts at the Great Stable most part beeing fallen before and Cutting of Bricks and new setting of Said fronts and making good the Tyling of part of the Said Stables and mending Several Places in the Brick walles there.³⁶

The first entry refers to the removal of three of the dormer windows, the 'three Lutherne lights', on the north front and the second to the removal of the 'two Great Gables' over the bays on the same front. This confirms that the views of the stable building (figs. 23 and 24) were drawn by Winstanley prior to this date, as part of his series of engravings of Audley End in c.1676,³⁷ and it also confirms that the bay windows

were added soon after the building was built; if they had decayed enough for their gables to have collapsed by this date.

In 1695, after a particularly destructive storm, George Howard, 4th Earl of Suffolk (1626-1691) wrote to Wren begging him to draw the king's attention to the increasing dilapidation of the palace, which the new king, William III, rarely visited. His report includes one entry of particular interest:

The Stable and barnes is in very ill condition, in truth both of them and the house itself in a very little time will by degrees fall downe.³⁸

As a result of this letter Wren drew up a report entitled *Audley End: Dilapidated Condition of the House: Suggested Repairs, 1695*, which includes items 'of particulars absolutely necessary to be done to prevent Greater Charge', amongst which are two items of interest:

A large Stable 100 Sq. to be repaired in ye Roofe, Tyling, pitching and Stalles..... £400
A large Barne of 240 Sq.£180³⁹

These entries tell us two things of particular importance. Firstly, that the stable building contained stalls for individual horses by this date, and that they had existed for some considerable time, since they were in need of repair. This confirms the assumption that stalls existed at the time of Winstanley's plan, and that he chose not to mark them on his survey. Secondly it tells us that the stable building and the barns were both still in a very poor state of repair, and that the main problem with the stable building was the condition of its roof.

3.5 The Stable Building in the 18th century

In 1701 Audley End was returned to the ownership of Henry Howard, 5th Earl of Suffolk (1627-1709), by which time it was in an even worse state of repair. This is confirmed by Daniel Defoe who states in his *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* that he:

saw the ruins of the once largest and most magnificent pile in all this part of England, (viz.) Audley End; built by, and decaying with the noble Dukes and Earls of Suffolk.⁴⁰

In a document outlining the reasons given for returning the house to the Earl there is an item which reads:

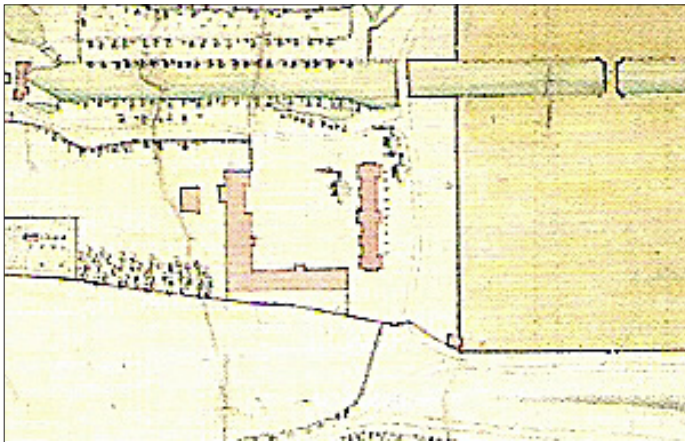
3dly Tis not only the Dwelling house that is out of Repaire & gone to Decay, but all the Outhouses; the stables, Barnes & others are falling Downe & perishing, besides the Bridge that leads to the Stables is actually fallen into the River.⁴¹

These references, to the poor condition of the stable building, suggest that repair work must have been carried out soon after, probably including the removal of the three remaining gabled dormer windows on the north front and the rebuilding of the roof structure. Perhaps it was part of Vanbrugh's alterations to the house of c.1708 or part of the large scale demolition of the outer court carried out by Nicholas Dubois in c.1725.

The internal subdivision of the main stable into the harness room, the east stable, the coach house and the west stable possibly also took place at this time, and this would have necessitated the opening up of the various external doorways into these rooms on the north front.

3.5a The Garden Surveys and Designs c.1725 to 1783

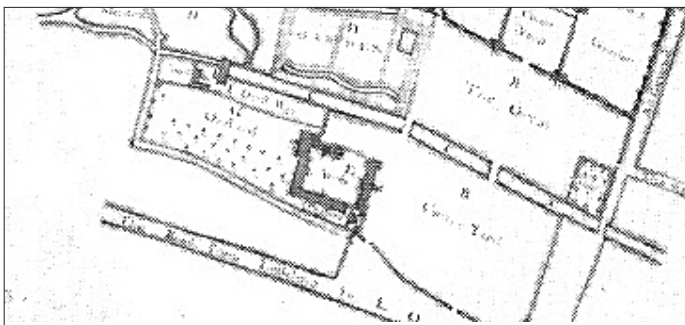
Apart from this work, the stable building appears to have undergone little change during the remainder of the 18th century. The evidence of a number of surviving garden designs and surveys of the house and its grounds of c.1725, 1753, c.1755, 1763 and 1783 suggest that no major alteration took place to the stable building itself, though the buildings around the stable yard were altered and extended. The first of these plans (fig. 27), attributed to Charles Bridgeman, shows the proposed new garden planned to accompany the substantial reduction of the house by John Vanbrugh for Lord Bindon.⁴² This plan shows that the stables and the stable courtyard had not been altered during John Vanbrugh's major remodelling of the house c.1708.⁴³ It also shows that a small square building had been constructed to the north of the north barn range.



*Fig. 27. Charles Bridgeman (attrib.)
Detail of the stable yard from a
garden design c.1725.*

*Bodleian Library, University of Oxford,
Gough Drawings A4, fol. 67*

A surviving survey (fig. 28) of the house and park at Audley End was carried out by F. Warren in 1753 for Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth.⁴⁴ This survey shows that a small addition and a detached building had been constructed at the west end of the stable building by this date. It also shows that a new range had been added across part of the east side of the stable yard, and that the small square building added to the north of the north barn range had been removed.



*Fig. 28. F Warren. Detail of the
stable yard from a survey of the
grounds dated 1753.*

*Reproduced by courtesy of Essex
Record Office*

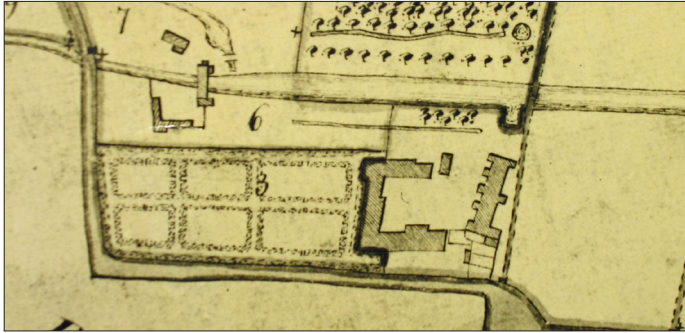


Fig. 29. Anon. Detail of the stable yard from a survey of the grounds c.1755.

Reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office

An anonymous surviving survey plan (fig. 29) shows the grounds after the house had been reduced in size even further for the Countess of Portsmouth in c.1755.⁴⁵ This plan shows that no further changes had been made to the main stable building though it does show all the changes visible on the 1753 plan (fig. 28) in greater detail. It shows that the small addition and the small detached building to the west of the stable building with walls dividing the area around them into small yards. It also shows that a major new kitchen garden had been laid out in regular rectangles to the north of the stable yard.

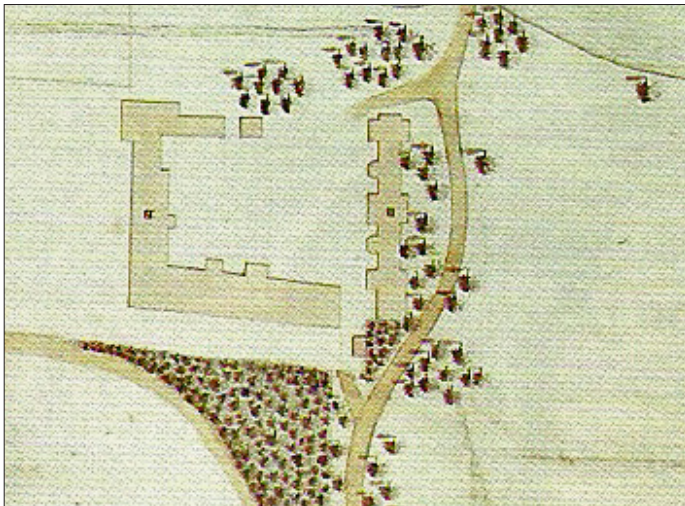


Fig. 30. Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. Detail of the stable yard from a garden design dated 1763.

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A(CN)9811/21*

The garden design (fig. 30), produced by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown for Sir John Griffin in 1763, casts further light on the development of the stable buildings. It shows the proposed new informal landscape garden and the new lake formed from the previously canalised river Cam to the west of the main house. These proposals show an entirely new setting for the stables, partly hidden behind an open belt of trees, and new entrances into the stable yard from the new drive which passes in front of the stables,

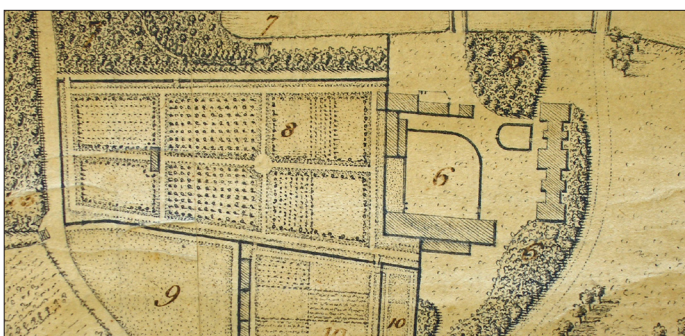


Fig. 31. Thomas Warren. Detail of the stable yard from a survey of the grounds dated 1783.

Reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office

leading to the main Cambridge road to the west. This plan also shows that the addition to the west end of the main stable building has been enlarged, and that the surrounding walled enclosures have been removed.

A further survey plan of the house and the landscape garden (fig. 31) was produced by Thomas Warren for Sir John Griffin in 1783.⁴⁶ It shows that the belt of trees to the south of the stables, planted by Brown, had matured and completely hidden the stable from view from the main house, though there is no sign of the entrance roads into the stable yard that Brown proposed. (This survey is not entirely accurate for it shows the stable building with projections on its south side, which can never have been built.) It does show that the additions at the west end of this building had been demolished by this date. This survey also shows major changes to the layout of the stable yard and barns. The barn on the west side of the stable yard has had its former projection on the east front removed and a new projection added to the west. The barn occupying the western end of the north range has been demolished and replaced by a walled yard. A curved wall has been constructed dividing off the yard in front of the barns to the north-west and a rectangular walled enclosure, with a curved north end, has been added in front of the eastern section of the main stable building. This survey also shows that the walled kitchen gardens to the north, (shown on the c.1755 survey (fig. 29), though not shown on Brown's plan (fig. 30) still survived and had been extended to the north-west.

3.6 Building Accounts 1768 to 1817

James Essex and John Hobcroft, 'a carpenter and builder of Tichfield Street, London, who also acted as an architect',⁴⁷ built a new chapel within the house from 1768. Hobcroft also designed and eventually built a new heated Greenhouse between 1774 and 1776, and he produced 'Two plans and Elevations one Gothick and one modern for Altering the front of the stables',⁴⁸ though unfortunately these drawings no longer survive. An existing painting, by an unknown artist, of the park at Audley End shows the south-east corner of the south front of the stable building with crenellations on the extreme left (fig. 32). This suggests that Hobcroft's Gothick proposal was carried out, for his 'modern' design would no doubt have been in the Classical style. These crenellations were removed and the brick coping restored in the later 19th century.

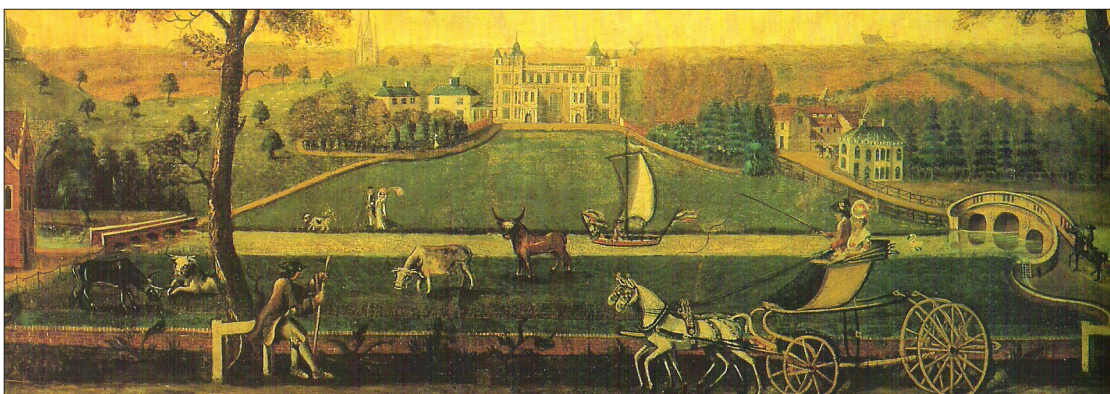


Fig. 32. Anon. Audley End from the west c.1780. This painting shows the stable building (far left) with the crenellated gables added by John Hobcroft, and Lord and Lady Braybrooke in a 'crane-necked' pheaton (right). Stanley Falconer

From 1771 to 1817 the Braybrooke Papers in the Essex Record Office give a detailed picture of works carried out to the house and the buildings on the estate. The references concerned with the stables have been transcribed in detail by Maryann Bowen in her report for English Heritage, *Historic Stables as a Building Type with reference to the Stables at Audley End House, Essex*, issued in March 1994.⁴⁹ Though these accounts are detailed, it is often difficult to understand which stables they refer to, because of the plethora of names applied to the individual stables. There are over twenty five names used to refer to stables throughout these accounts, suggesting either that many of the other buildings around the stable yard contained stables, or more likely, that the individual stables were referred to by a variety of different names at different times.⁵⁰

3.6a Alterations for the 1st Lord Braybrooke, 1771-1791



Fig. 33. The corn bins in the attic of the west crosswing, installed c.1777.
© English Heritage DP029979

Surviving accounts of building works mention minor and intermittent alterations to the stables from September 1771 to January 1791 for the 1st Lord Braybrooke. They make no mention of an architect, though it seems likely that Hobcroft was responsible, since he also remodelled Lord Braybrooke's townhouse at No. 10 Burlington Street, to the designs of the Adam brothers, from 1778.⁵¹ Most of the payments in these accounts were to William Jackson, carpenter, though from 1778 onwards they also include payments to Richard Ward, bricklayer. The entries for 1771 and 1774 are largely concerned with repairs to the stalls in the various stables, whilst the entries for 1777 are

concerned with the creation of a corn chamber. This chamber, which still survives in the attic of the west crosswing (fig. 33), is fitted out with corn bins on either side of a narrow central passage (see above 2.2g and h). The entry for November 1777 states 'Making separations in the Binns in the Corn Chamber'.⁵² Today the corn chamber is accessed from the main attic to the east up a short flight of four steps, which break through the top of the eastern wall of this crosswing and up a new steep stair in the main range. Work on a stair is referred to in the accounts in three separate entries for 1777, and this may well refer to this new arrangement. The construction of the corn chamber probably coincided with the removal of the chimney stacks from this crosswing and the blocking of the internal doorway which is visible on the west wall of the west stable (see above 2.2e) and on the east wall of the west crosswing (see above 2.2g) (fig. 17). The blocking of this doorway and the removal of its stair would have then required a new stair to give access to the attic and the corn chamber. The corn chamber was served by the surviving double taking-in doors to the north, which must have been inserted at this time in place of the original three-light mullion window, though this is not specifically mentioned in these accounts.

The remaining entries for 1777 and 1778 concern the fitting out of lodging rooms over the 'Grooms stables', whilst the entries in the accounts for 1791 refer to repairs particularly in the 'Grooms stables'.⁵³

3.6b Alterations for the 2nd Lord Braybrooke, 1797-1817

After 1797, the year that Richard Aldworth Neville inherited as the 2nd Lord Braybrooke (1750-1825), this trickle of information becomes a flood of alterations in three distinctly separate phases; one from 1789 to 1802, a second from 1805 to 1809 and a third and final phase between 1811 and 1817.

(1) 1798 -1802

The entry in these accounts for March 1798 states:

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 another entry for April the same year states:

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

Both these references are to the removal of the south wall of the central crosswing, shown on Winstanley's plan (fig. 22) as dividing off a narrow room at its south end, and making good the surviving round arch. The access doorway to this room on its west wall was presumably blocked (head still visible) at this time (fig. 6).

The third entry in these accounts is also very informative, it states:

New chimney in Harness Room at Coach House stable, make good tiling and walls, plaster chimney, put in grate.⁵⁴

This first mention of a harness room probably refers to the room partitioned off at the

east end of the main range, which now forms the entrance to the attic flat. This would agree with the present building if the 'Coach House stable' referred to, occupied the eastern section of the main range, next to the coach house, as seems most likely. This harness room retains a fireplace served by a chimney stack on its south side which does not appear on Winstanley's views of the stable (figs. 23 and 24). Presumably this chimney was inserted at this time, though the elaborate pair of Tudor-style chimney stacks (fig. 4) which serve this fireplace (and a fireplace in the attic) may date from the late 19th century.

In 1800 there is a reference to repairs to the 'Chamber over the stabels for the Gardening lad' possibly identifiable as the attic of the east crosswing. In 1801 repairs include the underpinning of a partition wall in the Great Stable and work on the Grooms' stable. In October there is a reference to the 'hay Chamber over the stabels' possibly referring to the attic space. 1802 saw further general repair work to the 'Grooms stable', 'the Coach house and Stabels' and 'the harness house and the Chambers and Staircase', whilst the final entry for October mentions the 'Saddle house' for the first time. Richard Ward (bricklayer) who was responsible for all this work was also working on the building of the new kitchen garden walls to the north of the stable yard as recorded on a plaque over a gate on its west wall dated 1802 (fig. 33).

(2) 1805-1809

The accounts record consistent payments to Richard Ward from September 1805 to July 1808 and with a final payment to Elizabeth Ward in October 1809. Elizabeth was probably Richard's widow, though it was presumably his son, who is often mentioned in the earlier accounts as assisting him, who carried out the work. These payments are largely for repair work, though the first entry for 1805 refers to 'the new Stable'. The position of this new stable cannot be identified, nor can 'the chamber over the Stabels where the old harness room was', referred to tantalizingly in November. All the entries for December 1806 refer to the creation of 'a new Sadle room', probably the 'Grooms Saddle house' referred to again in 1807. The remaining 1807 entries largely refer to repair of the 'Upper Six Stall Stable' and the 'upper two stall stable' and 'the Stabel Doors, putt in new to the upper stabels'. Though it is not possible to be certain which part of the stable building is being referred to, it might be the stable in the western section of the main range. The entries for July 1808 are more helpful for they state: 'Cut a doorway threw the End of the Stabel in the five stall Stable next the river'. This is presumably, therefore, the stable in the east crosswing, and the new doorway on its north front. A further entry, 'brick up the old doorway in the front', probably refers to the blocked doorway (head still visible) on its west, return front (fig. 9). The subsequent entry, 'brick in Doorway to the bow to the Grooms stable' suggests that the grooms' stable contained one of the projecting bay windows. In 1809 the single entry for October reads, 'To the Coachmans Stable Cut a doorway threw the wall into the harness Room' most likely referring to the surviving internal doorway between the ground floor entrance to the flat and the stable to the west.

(3) 1811-1817

A single entry for 1811 refers to the replacement of the ceiling in the 'Grooms Stable' and another single entry for 1813 records the removal of partition walls in the 'Coach

House'. Most interesting of all is the entry for April 1814 which records a payment to the architect Thomas Cundy (1765-1825) for 'Working drawings for the Stable et al.' suggesting that he was responsible for these repairs and alterations to the stables.⁵⁵ Cundy had become known as an architect who had a particular interest in stable buildings and advanced ideas about their layout and the accommodation they provided.⁵⁶ The remaining entries for 1814 and 1815 refer to replacing the ceilings in the 'Lower Stable' and the 'Coach House Stable' and repairs to the 'Grooms Stable'. A final series of entries occur in 1817. The entry for August refers to 'the lower Stable to Lath and tile the roof where the Old Front was taken down' which might refer to one of the bays whose gables were 'taken down' in 1685. The remaining entries for September 1817 refer to general repairs including new drains and new windows. The penultimate entry includes an item, 'Splash wall outside', perhaps referring to the lime washing of the exterior walls of the stable building. The record of this campaign of repairs and alterations ends abruptly in 1817.

These alterations to the stables were not only necessitated by changes in the fashion for hunting, which became far better organized and required far faster and more specialist 'thoroughbred' horses.⁵⁷ They were probably also encouraged, in part at least, by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke's eldest son, Richard Neville, the future 3rd Lord, who took a particular interest in horse racing in his youth. In fact part of these alterations may well have been carried out to accommodate one particularly successful race horse of his, Sir Joshua, who 'won eight times at Newmarket, gaining its greatest renown by beating – in April 1816 – the St. Ledger winner, Filho de Puta, for the 'thousand-guineas'".⁵⁸

3.7 The Stable Building in the mid-19th century

The remainder of the 19th century saw further alterations to the stable building, due largely to changing ideas about the care and accommodation of horses generally. Two watercolour views of the stable painted by Louisa Anne Neville in July 1839 and August 1840 survive in the Essex Record Office. One taken from the south-east shows the west end of the south front of the building. This watercolour (fig. 34) also shows the gable to the west crosswing un-coped and without crenellations. If this painting is accurate then it suggests that the crenellations added by Hobcroft were removed in the early 19th century and that the gables with their moulded brick coping were restored in the late 19th century. The other, a view of the north front entitled 'Audley End Stables, July 1839', confirms that the east doorway to the west crosswing had been blocked and a new doorway added to the west of the west bay window.⁵⁹ It also shows the yard in front of the stables without the curved wall dividing off the yard in front of the barns to the north-west and the rectangular walled enclosure, with a curved north end, shown on the 1783 survey (fig. 31), suggesting that these features had been removed by this date. This painting shows that the bay windows were lime-washed at this time.

3.7a The Inventory of 1861

An inventory including the stable building survives for the year 1861; it was taken on the death of Richard Neville, 4th Lord Braybrooke (1820-1861). This inventory gives us our first glimpse of the contents of this building (see Appendix 1).⁶⁰ Unfortunately



Fig. 34. Louisa Anne Neville. 'The front view of the stables Audley End taken from the Billiard Room window, August, 1840'. Reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office

the inventory only lists the contents without specifying the rooms they were to be found in or their functions. It tells us that the building contained ten carriages of various types, including an old coach,⁶¹ three barouches, a Clarence, a Brougham, an invalid carriage, a pony carriage, a mail Phaeton and a van with springs. None of these coaches is identifiable as the 'crane-necked phaeton' proudly portrayed in the mid-18th century painting of Audley End (fig. 32).⁶² This inventory confirms that a section of the stable building was in use as a coach-house, presumably the west-central section which is still the coach-house today. The inventory also mentions '12 headstalls' and '1 pony's headstall', probably sited in the two sections either side of the coach-house. It also includes all the expected riding accoutrements, such as saddles, bridles and bits.

3.7b Alterations for 5th Lord Braybrooke

In 1866 further alterations were made to the building for the 5th Lord Braybrooke. He, and his wife, Lady Florence, undertook a major campaign of modernization to the house in the 1860s supervised by the architect, Richard Charles Hussey (1806-1887), who presumably designed these alterations to the stables. The specifications for one part of this work (see Appendix 2), including an elevation and plan (fig. 35), survive and show the changes made to the eastern end of the stable building, though they also indicate that these designs were not carried out entirely as shown (fig. 36).⁶³

These proposals confirm the position of the harness room, now the entrance hall, shown

on the plan to the west of the east crosswing (fig.11). They also show that this room already had an external north doorway and a further internal doorway leading into the coach house stable, and that it already contained a stair and fireplace. This confirms that the creation of the harness room and the first-floor room above and the insertion of a fireplace on its south wall probably all took place in 1798. The specifications make no mention of the doorway on the north wall of the east crosswing, which is shown as altered on the plan. The plan seems to show that this doorway was to be widened, and the specification refers to stables in the plural, confirming that the ground-floor room of the eastern crosswing was already in use as a stable.

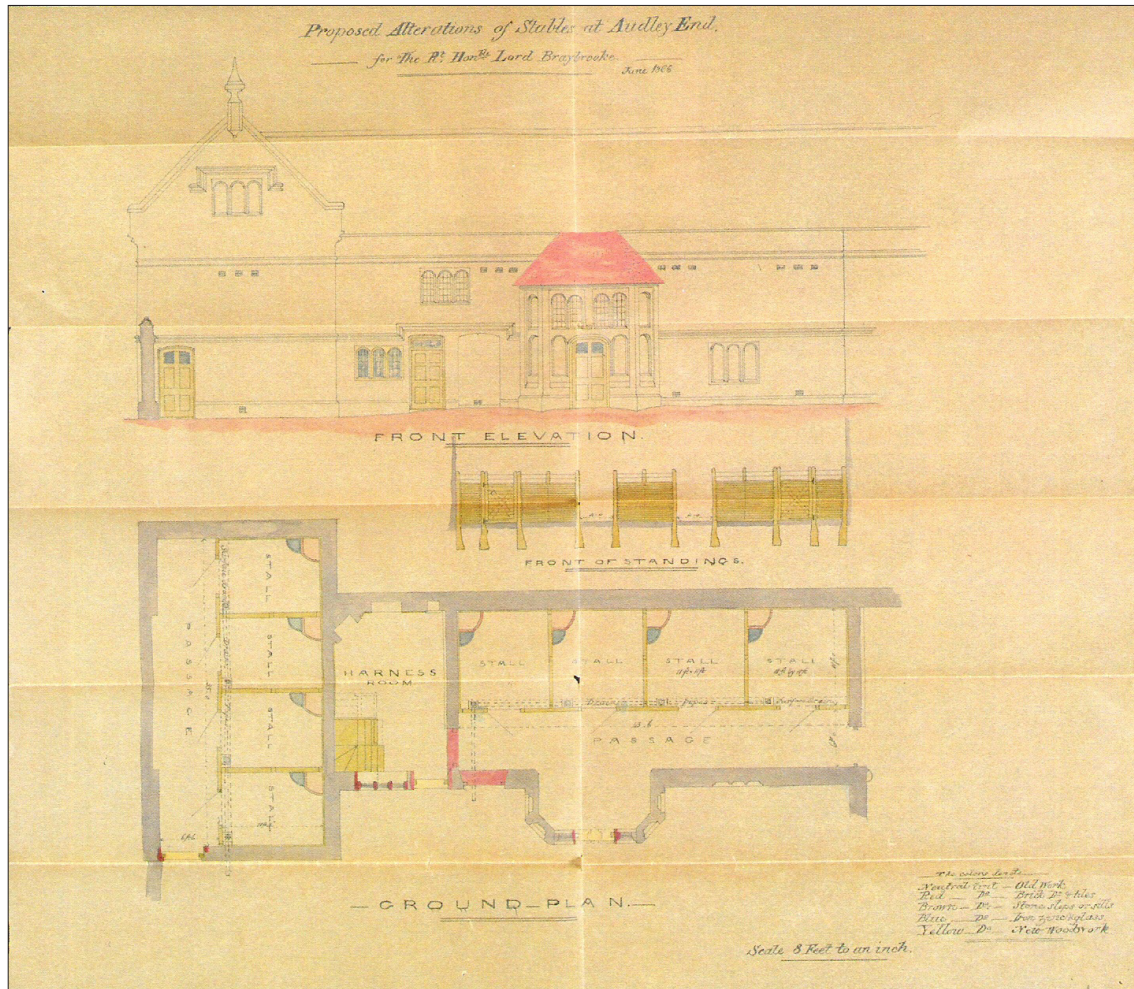


Fig. 35. Richard Hussey. Proposed alterations to the east end of the stable building, June 1866.
Reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office

These alterations involved the general modernization of the stable accommodation at this end of the building. The clinker floors were taken up, drains inserted and the floors re-laid, ventilation holes were inserted into the stable walls and generous sized modern stalls and mangers were also inserted. Many of these alterations, including the new door, window and stair to the harness room, were carried out, though not exactly as shown on the surviving drawing (fig. 35). The proposed three-light window to the harness room became a two-light window. The proposed blocking of the internal door between



Fig. 36. The eastern section of the north front of the stable building.
© English Heritage DP029968



Fig. 37. The central cupola or lantern added in c. 1885, probably designed by Richard Hussey.
© English Heritage DP029962

the harness room and the coach house stable appears never to have taken place, as this door still survives today (fig. 36). Hussey's drawing also suggests that the external doors to the harness room and the coach house stable already existed and that they were both set beneath a section of raised plat band, something which appears to be confirmed by the present structure. The original door to the coach house stable was blocked, though the proposed new door into this stable, through the canted bay window, can never have been inserted, as no evidence of disturbance to the brickwork of this bay is visible today (fig. 7). Presumably the broad doorway with side lights to the west of this bay window was inserted at this time instead. The three-light window on the first floor was not removed as the proposal drawing seems to suggest.

The 19th century also saw the most important external alteration to the stable building, the addition of the cupola or lantern over the central crosswing (fig. 37). This Gothic Revival fantasy was obviously added at the same time as the tall metal pendants on the finials which crown all



Fig. 38. View of the stable building from the south-east published in the *Illustrated London News*, June 1890, XXIV.

Reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record Office

of the gables. They appear to date from the later 19th century. The cupola is visible in a distant view of the stables (fig. 38) included in an article on Audley End published in the *Illustrated London News* for June 1890,⁶⁴ so it must have been added in the 1880s for the 5th Lord Braybrooke, probably to the designs of Richard Hussey.⁶⁵

If, as the early 19th-century watercolour of the west crosswing (see above 3.7) suggests, the crenellations added by Hobcroft were removed in the early 19th century, then the original coping must have been renewed by Hussey. The brickwork below the coping on many of the gables does appear to have been disturbed and the moulded coping bricks do all appear to be late 19th century. This repair work may well have also included the alteration of the fenestration on the south and east fronts of the west crosswing and the fitting up of the double-height room in the southern section of this crosswing as a game larder, with its hundreds of hooks, which still survive today (fig. 18). The creation of a game larder is indicative of the huge increase in the sport of pheasant shooting in the second half of the 19th century.

3.7c The Ordnance Survey Maps, 1887 and 1897



Fig. 39. Detail of the stable yard from the 25" Ordnance Survey map of 1887.



Fig. 40. The head gardener's house, probably designed by Richard Hussey in 1875.

© English Heritage
DP029975

The earliest detailed 25" Ordnance Survey map of 1887 (fig. 39), shows that the belt of trees to the south of the stable building, planted by Capability Brown, had been removed, exposing the building to view once again from the south. No change is shown to the outline plan of the stable building since the survey map of 1783, but this map does show that radical changes had been made to the remainder of the buildings around the stable yard. The north range buildings had been removed and replaced by a wall, and a new head gardener's house, with a date-stone inscribed 1875, had been added at the north-east corner of the stable yard (fig. 40).



Fig. 41. The new coach house, probably designed by Richard Hussey c.1875.
© English Heritage DP029952

A new small coach-house building (fig. 41) replaced the former curved wall in the centre of the stable yard, dividing it into two. Two additions are also shown to the west side of the west barns range, and a small (surviving) building, linked by a wall to the north-east corner of the stable building, is also shown for the first time. Richard Hussey was presumably responsible for the design of these additions.

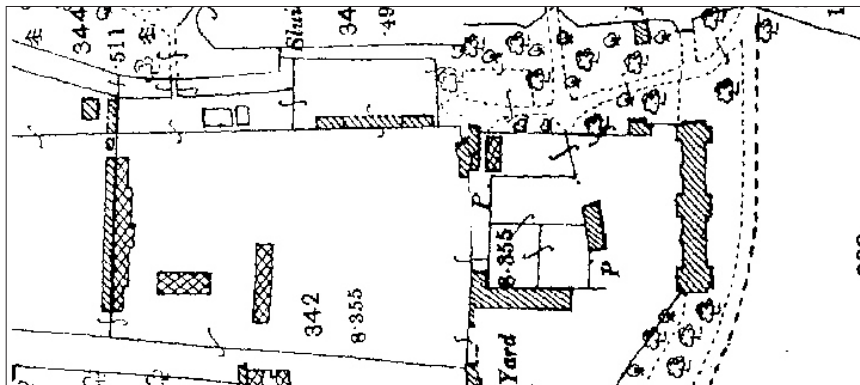


Fig. 42. Detail of the stable yard from the 25" Ordnance Survey map of 1897.

Comparison of the map of 1877 with the 25" Ordnance Survey map of 1897 (fig. 42) shows that the northern section of the original barn on the west side of the stable yard was demolished between 1877 and 1897. This is perhaps not surprising since it was described in the article in the *Illustrated London News* for June 1890 as a 'vast tumbled-down barn [which] is empty'.⁶⁶ The later map also shows an addition to the head gardener's house and changes to the adjoining glasshouses.

3.8 The Stable Building in the 20th century

Audley End was to remain the family home of Henry Neville, 7th Lord Braybrooke (1855-1941), up until the outbreak of the Second World War, when it was requisitioned by the Ministry of Works. During this period the house and the stable building changed very little. Early photographs from 1891, c.1907, 1913 and 1926 show that the exterior of the stable building has changed little in the intervening years.⁶⁷ The photograph of c.1907 (fig. 43) shows that the west crosswing had a painted plank door, which had been replaced by a studded eight-panel oak door in the 1913 photograph.⁶⁸ This door matches all the other surviving doors, suggesting that all the doors to the stable building were replaced between c.1907 and 1913. The c.1907 photograph also shows that the west bay window had some blocked upper lights which had been re-opened as windows by 1913. These alterations were presumably part of the major refitting of the internal stable accommodation which appears to have taken place during the brief tenancy of the property by Lord Howard de Walden from 1902. A new tack room was partitioned off at the west end of the coach house; this partition was removed in the late 20th century. The present stalls (figs. 13 and 15) which survive within the main range of the building, and those which have subsequently been removed from the east crosswing, are narrower than the previous Victorian stalls, as shown in Richard Hussey's drawing of alterations to the stable in 1866 (fig. 35). These new stalls, which were mostly made by Merryweathers with iron fittings by Cottams, would have accommodated a greater number of horses; 19 horses in all. It seems ironic that extra stalls for horses were inserted within this building during the period when horses were being replaced by the motor car, though it should



Fig. 43. The north front of the stable building in c.1907.
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of course be remembered that hunting and riding for pleasure were still vital elements of country house living.

During the Second World War Audley End House was the headquarters of the Special Operations Executive, Polish Section and the stables were used as an ammunition store, which at one time contained 20 tons of explosives.⁶⁹ It had been proposed that the stables might be adapted as additional lecture rooms but this scheme was never carried out.⁷⁰ The stables were also the setting for training in 'silent killing' when 'a trainee had to enter the stables in pitch darkness to strangle one of the cats in preparation for the noise and struggle when having to undertake 'the real thing'".⁷¹

Since Audley End passed into the ownership of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in 1948 the stable building has undergone little change. The living accommodation in the attic of the east crosswing has been modernized and extended into the main attic space. The six stalls in the ground-floor section of the east crosswing have been dismantled, though their layout is recorded in a series of plans of the building prepared by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in 1961 and updated 1981 (fig. 14). They appear to have been of the same design as those which still survive in the coach house stable (figs. 13), though without doors. These plans also record the existence of the new harness room partitioned off at the west end of the coach house; this wall has since been removed.

The stable building is not open to the public at present, the living accommodation is unoccupied and most of the rooms are used for general storage.

CONCLUSION

It can now be stated with confidence that this stable was built for Thomas Howard as part of the vast new 'prodigy' house he built at Audley End. It was most likely constructed as part of the second phase of building between c.1608 and c.1616, and it was possibly designed by John Thorpe. The building was altered soon after it was completed, probably before Thomas Howard's death in 1628, with the addition of the two bay windows, the lean-to and the central doorway on the north front, and the partitioning off of the south end of the central crosswing. These alterations may have been necessitated by the severe decline in Thomas Howard's fortunes, after his arrest in 1618, and a partial change in the function which this building served.

The brief period of royal ownership of Audley End from 1669 saw some repairs and minor demolition to the stable building, including the removal of the gables from the bay windows and the removal of three of the gabled dormer windows on the north front. The building was still in a poor state of repair when it was handed back to the Howard family in 1701, and major repairs, including the reassembly of the main roof and the removal of the remaining three gabled dormer windows on the north front, must have taken place during the early 18th century. Minor additions to the west end of the stable building were made in around 1750, though these were removed before 1783.

John Hobcroft's lost designs for remodeling the stables in the Gothick style seem to have amounted to little more than the addition of crenellations to the south façade. Hobcroft was probably also responsible for further internal alterations prior to his death in 1802. Further extensive alteration and refitting of the stables took place in the early years of the 19th century. Much of this work was probably designed by Thomas Cundy.

Richard Hussey made some alterations to the internal arrangement of the stables in the 1860s and added the cupola and the metal pendants to the finials before 1890. He also restored the coping to the gables and probably created the game larder in the west crosswing. Further alterations, including new doors and an almost complete refitting of the stable stalls, took place during the brief tenancy of Lord Howard de Walden from 1902.

Since the stable building has been in public ownership, the stalls from the east crosswing have been dismantled. These stalls, which are stored in this room, could easily be reinstated if required. The east partition wall has also been removed from the early 20th-century tack room at the west end of the coach house.

This report has shown that this unique early 17th-century stable building is one of the earliest, largest and most important stable buildings in England, and that, along with the Riding House and stables at Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire, it is the most significant horse-related building which English Heritage has in its care.

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APPENDIX I

Inventory of the Stables in 1861.

Transcribed from Essex County Record Office [A8422 Box 11/6] by Andrew Hann.

Stables

- 1 old coach
- 3 barouches
- 1 Clarence
- 1 Invalids carriage
- 1 Pony carriage
- 1 mail phaeton (carriage for single horse)
- 3 sets of pair horse harnesses complete
- 1 pair single horse harness
- 1 pair brougham harnesses
- 1 pair pony harnesses complete
- van on springs
- 2 riding and driving saddles
- 4 long traces for riding and driving
- 13 curb bits
- 11 snaffle bits
- 9 curbs
- 6 double bridles
- 1 snaffle bridle
- 4 snaffle bridle for exercising
- 7 saddles
- 3 side saddles
- 1 pony side saddle & bridle
- 1 donkey's Spanish saddle & bridle
- 12 headstalls
- 1 pony's headstall
- 4 sets of horse clothing with rollers & pads cloths complete
- 2 pony cloths
- 10 rugs
- 6 hoods

APPENDIX 2

Transcription of Specification for Work to the Stables at Audley End, 1866.

Transcribed from Essex County Record Office [A8422 Box 11/16] by Andrew Hann

Specification of Sundry Works to be done in Repairs and new Fittings to the Stables and Harness Room, at Audley End, Essex, for the Right Honourable Lord Braybrooke.

June 1866

To take down and clear out the old standings, mangers, and racks. To take up the Clinker floors in Stables, and relay those that are sound again, making up with new ones to be found by the Estate; all of them and the surface drains to be laid with mortar to proper falls and grouted.

Dig out for Drains and cesspools; mark $\frac{1}{2}$ brick cesspools 1 foot and 1 foot 3 deep in the clear with paved brick bottoms and lay 75 feet run of 4 inch Glazed socket pipe drains jointed in cement. Provide and fix 8 Cast iron trapped Horse pots in 4" x 3" Oak dishes frames 16 inches square.

Take up the paving brick floor in harness room. Lower the earth 6 inches and relay the sound paving bricks in mortar making up with new floors bricks, and stop up 2 doorways into stable; all bricks to be found by the Estate.

Knock off the old Lath and plaster and fur out the ceilings and bottom of ventilator to stables, and relath and plaster and set the same.

Wash, stop and twice color the walls of the Stable and Harness room where not lined with wood, and stop and twice white the ceilings of same. Run a Portland cement skirting 7ins. High to walls not lined.

Provide and set a 30 inch iron range with boiler and tap in harness room. Take out the old window in harness room and make a new window with brick arch, oak lintels, & $\frac{3}{4}$ in. deal wrot. head lining, cut brick jambs and mullions rendered in Portland Cement and provide and fix cast iron casements with 21oz. Glass in same with middle light to open with proper fastening.

Cut away the brick door jamb & label; put in oak lintels with $\frac{3}{4}$ inch deal wrot head lining, and make good to same and put a solid stone sill with iron dowels for proper door frame 5" x 4" with transom rail 4" x $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Ovolo moulded fanlight and glass 2 inch deal wrought 6 panel bead flush and square door hung on 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pairs of 4in. butts, and a 6 inch mortice lock with iron bronzed octagon knobs.

Take down and refix the harness closets and line the walls round the harness room as high as the harness rails, with 1 inch yellow deal wrot. Rebated, and beaded upright boarding on fillets plugged to walls.

Take down the old staircase and provide and fix one as shown on the drawing with inch deal wrot. and rounded treads, Inch risers, and Inch close strings, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. deal wrot. rebated and beaded ledged spandrels to form closet under; retaining the old closet front, and put 3 in. chamfered handrail, and newels above with Inch square balusters.

Strip, fur up and repantile the cant roof over projection to stable with new oak eaves lath and rafter's feet.

Provide and fix 11 Dozen glazed stoneware ornamental air bricks in holes cut through the brick walls 2 outside and 2 inside in each hole, and make good to same. Cut away and make good brickwork for doorway in cant to front of stable, make good the cement rendering to same and color this projection all round with Portland Cement. Put solid stone sills to Stable doors with iron dowels, fir proper rebated and beaded frames 5" x 4", 2 inch deal wrot. 6 panel doors (7ft 7 by 4ft in Cant) bead flush outside, inside lower panels bead butt, and the top panels moulded; those coloured blue to have perforated zinc panels each door hung on $1\frac{1}{2}$ pairs of 4 inch butts with 6 inch mortice locks with bronzed iron octagon knobs. To put an iron frame and make one more of leadlight windows open over doorway.

To fit up the Stables with Boxes or Stalls as shown by the drawings with wrot. oak posts 6 in x 6 in free from sap, not less than 3 feet in the ground and 6ft 6 out of the ground with oak sills and studs $4\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 in, oak chamfered Capping 6" x 2", oak fillets 2 x 2 to posts, oak fillets 3" x 1" plugged to walls, 2ft 6 apart, and Oak chamfered Capping to same 3" x 2". All the above oak to be cut out ready upon the Estate. Line the boxes or stalls all round inside and outside of the fronts with small dry larch poles cut down the centre, and well nailed on with round side outwards; that next the walls to be 6 ft high and all the divisions and fronts to have 2 tier of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch iron gas tubing fixed as shown on the drawing. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. oak wrot. Framed and braced doors with stiles and rails 4" x $2\frac{1}{2}$, braces 5" x $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and filled in with Inch yellow rebated and beaded batten boarding and gas tubing to match fronts, hung on 30 inch strong cross garnets, screw bolts and screws, large slide bolts with screw eyes and rings and 3 plates to each; Oak stops $2\frac{1}{2}$ x 1" to doors.

Mangers to be with circular chin rails $3\frac{1}{2}$ " x $2\frac{1}{2}$ " , $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch bottoms 2ft x 2ft, Inch rebated, beaded and tapered circular fronts 12 inches deep, Inch backs 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins deep, cant pieces 3" x $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in corners and top pieces 3" x $1\frac{1}{4}$ " and bearers with 8 rings and staples and 8 cast iron enameled water troughs with brass plugs and washers.

To refix the old slopping topped Corn bin on the left hand side of the new doorway to the stable and to take up and relay the clinkers and pebbles at doorways.

Paint the doors and frames 4 times in oil colour and grain twice varnish same in imitation of oak. Paint all the ironwork and casements black and stain and twice varnish all the woodwork to Boxes or Stalls and the wall linings to harness room and handrail, newels and string and spandrels to staircase.

The Contractor to find all materials except bricks, clinkers, tiles and sawn oak timber, and

he to find wrought oak for the doors to boxes and for the mangers; also all scaffolding, tools, tackle, etc. & Carriage of his own materials that May be required for the due completion of the works by the middle of September next.

Specification of Repairs and new Fittings to Stables etc. at Audley End.

June 1866.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Richard, Lord Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End and Saffron Walden*, London, 1836.
- 2 The Cambridge Lodge and Gate were originally built in 1768. They were rebuilt in 1834 to the designs of Thomas Rickman, for the 3rd Lord Braybrooke. Michael Sutherill, 'The Garden Buildings at Audley End', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. VI, 1996, 105-06, fig. 5. Paul Drury and Ian Gow, *Audley End*, MHSO, 1984, 36 and 39.
- 3 These two engravings of the stable building are sometimes referred to as the 'Scrapbook views' because copies are included in the surviving Scrapbook compiled by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke in 1809. Audley End House, Picture Store, Scrapbook, fol. 30, i and ii. They are now known to have been drawn and engraved by Winstanley around 1676, and are included in the twenty two views of Audley End which he published in 1688. Essex Record Office (hereafter ERO), E/WALD, C194/14/F9/COL, C194/14/1A/COL, C194/3/B3/COL, C194/3/1A/COL, C194/3/4C/COL, C194/3/D6/COL, C194/14/H12/COL, C194/14/4C/COL, C194/14/7E/COL, C194/14/10G/COL, C194/14/B3/COL, C194/14/D6/COL.
- 4 A survey of Audley End by George Sargeant dated 1666 includes the earliest illustration of the stable building, but the detail is not of high enough quality to be useful. NA, MPE, 366. The earlier Thorpe drawings include a plan of the house but not the stables. John Summerson, 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in the Sir John Soane's Museum', *The Walpole Society*, Vol. XL, 1964-66, 97-8, pl. 93.
- 5 Howard Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol V, 1976, 131-32 and *The Wren Society*, Vol. XVIII, 1941, 122-23, 157-58.
- 6 559/20A, MP/AEH 0016.
- 7 This blocked doorway is 132 centimetres wide, whilst that to the west return wall of the east crosswing is 100 centimetres wide and that to the west return wall of the central crosswing is 80 centimetres wide.
- 8 Dendro dates were not possible on the timbers of the roof. I am grateful to Brenda Watkin and John Walker, local vernacular experts, for their comments on these roofs.
- 9 H Avray Tipping, 'Audley End - I', *Country Life*, LIX, 19 June 1926, 879. RCHM(E), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, I, 1922, 238. 'It is interesting that the only part of the old abbey buildings remaining to-day.....is the building of mellow Tudor brick between the river and the road, which is now called the Stables, but may have been the monastic pilgrims hospice. Much of it is of sixteenth-century date and could not have been built much before the dissolution of the abbey in 1537. The third Lord Braybrooke attributed it to that period. But the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments dated it later in the century. On the whole, it seems probable that a building stood here before the dissolution, but that it was much altered, or partly rebuilt, by Audley or the Duke of Norfolk', William Addison, *Audley End*, London, 1953, 9.
- 10 Giles Worsley, *The British Stable*, New Haven and London, 2004, 31.

- 11 Worsley, *op. cit.*, 25-35, pls. 19, 20 and 35
- 12 Paul Drury, 'No other Palace in the Kingdom will compare with it'; The Evolution of Audley End, 1605-1745,' *Architectural History*, 23, 1980, 1-39. Drury and Gow, *op. cit.*, 41-51.
- 13 Included in the Scrapbook compile by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke in 1809, ERO, D/DBY F41.
- 14 These outbuildings would have been sited where the brewhouse yard and the store yard are indicated on Winstanley's plan.
- 15 The matching stable and service ranges which flank the entrance to Blickling Hall in Norfolk were probably designed in 1618, when the house was begun, though they were not built until 1623-24; John Maddison, *Blickling Hall*, National Trust Guidebook, 1987, 15.
- 16 Drury and Gow, *op. cit.*, 51.
- 17 The near contemporary stable building at Blickling Hall is not obviously identifiable as a stable from the main drive. Maddison, *op. cit.*, 15.
- 18 Worsley, *op. cit.*, pls. 70, 81 and 120-21.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pls. 69 and 68.
- 20 Wren mentions 'stalles' existing in the stable building in 1695, which were then in need of repair. The Wren Society, *op. cit.*, 122.
- 21 The Smythson drawings include a number of stables with stalls clearly indicated. Mark Girouard (ed.), 'The Smythson Collection in the Royal Institute of British Architects', *Architectural History*, 5, 1962, 67, 89, 134 and 154.
- 22 Worsley, *op. cit.*, pl. 43.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pl. 41.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 43.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 44-45.
- 26 ERO, CI94/3/D6/COL.
- 27 The estate survey by George Sagaent of 1666 appears to confirm the existence of the bays at this date, but the detail is not of high enough quality to be certain.. NA, MPE, 366. The estate inherited by the 2nd Earl of Suffolk, Theophilus Howard (1584-1640) and the 3rd Earl was heavily in debt and it seems unlikely that they would have carried out these alterations. Drury and Gow, *op. cit.*, 54.
- 28 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 131.

- 29 The 3rd Earl inherited debts of at least £55,000; he sold his London townhouse, Northumberland House to Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, for £15, 000 and his Dorset estates at Bindon Abbey and Lulworth Castle to Humphry Weld in 1640. Addison, *op. cit.*, 37-38.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 39.
- 32 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 474.
- 33 For example: Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1669, see Addison, *op. cit.*, 28, or Ralph Thoresby in 1680, see R. Thoresby, *Diary*, I, 65, or Celia Fiennes in 1697, see Christopher Morris, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, London, 1947, 63-4.
- 34 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 132.
- 35 Maryann Bowen, *Historic Stables as a Building Type with Reference to the Stables at Audley End, Essex*, report commissioned by English Heritage, 1994, 63, Fig. 67. PRO, Works 5/39.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 63, Fig. 68. PRO, Works 5/39.
- 37 If the gables were removed from these bay windows in 1685 then the engravings must pre-date 1685.
- 38 The Wren Society, *op. cit.*, 123.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 122.
- 40 Published in 1724, though this description may have referred to a visit any time in the previous 20 years. P. N. Firbank, W. R. Owens and A. J. Coulson (ed.), *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, New Haven and London, 1991, 39.
- 41 Drury, 1980, *op. cit.*, 5.
- 42 A second garden design survives for a far more elaborate green Baroque garden attributed to Nicholas Dubois, c. 1725, which confirms the arrangement of the stable buildings at this date. Drury, *op. cit.*, 25, pl. 23.
- 43 Bodleian Library, Gough Drawings A4, fol. 67.
- 44 ERO T/M 123.
- 45 ERO, D/DBY/PI.
- 46 ERO D/DQy 8. Illustrated in full in J. D. Williams, *Audley End, The Restoration of Audley End, 1762 – 1797*, Chelmsford, 1966, 48 n. 59, pl. XVIb.

- 47 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, (3rd edition), New Haven and London, 1993. 499-500.
- 48 Michael Sutherill, 'John Hobcroft and James Essex at Audley End House', *Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. IX, 1999, 17-25.
- 49 Bowen, *op. cit.*, illustrated in Appendix B, 63-74, figs. 67-96.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 75-76, Appendix C.
- 51 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 500.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 64.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 55 These alterations are not included in Colvin's entry for Thomas Cundy. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 284-86.
- 56 Worsley, *op. cit.*, 186.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 182-84.
- 58 Addison, *op. cit.*, 185-86.
- 59 Louisa Ann Neville, Watercolour album, ERO, E910009, Dec 1990. Bowen, *op. cit.*, 87, fig. 24, ERO, Mint Portfolio.
- 60 ERO, A 8422 Box 11/6. Thanks to Andrew Hann for transcribing this document.
- 61 Perhaps this was the "travelling coach' bought on 1st June of that year [1687] cost £80 12s. 6d.' Addison, *op. cit.*, 48.
- 62 Michael Sutherill, *The Gardens of Audley End*, English Heritage, 1995, 5. Stanley Falconer.
- 63 ERO, A 8422 Box 11/16. Thanks to Andrew Hann for bringing this document to my attention.
- 64 ERO, Mint Portfolio, Saffron Walden. Bowen, *op. cit.*, Fig. 25.
- 65 Hussey died in 1887, so it is probable that he was responsible for the design of this cupola.
- 66 *Illustrated London News*, 1890, XXIV.

67 Bowen, *op. cit.*, figs. 53-59.

68 *Ibid.*, fig. 54, NMR, Neg. No. BB76/4250.

69 Ian Valentine, *Station 43, Audley End House and the SOE's Polish Section*, Stroud, 2004, 97.

70 *Ibid.*, 63.

71 *Ibid.*, 95.



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