

Nostell Priory: History of a House, 1730-85

Volume 1 of 2

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Abstract

Nostell Priory is one of the most important eighteenth-century buildings in northern England, with a neo-Palladian exterior, and French and Neo-Classical interior. Moreover, it is one of the most richly documented houses in the National Trust portfolio, with a considerable family archive of correspondence and a large collection of architectural drawings. This thesis provides a design and construction history of Nostell, and focuses on the extant graphic and archival sources. Such material provides a rare opportunity to write a monograph of a house, providing a fuller account than has hitherto been possible by exploring why and how it was built and decorated, along with a comprehensive architectural drawings catalogue. Nostell appears in general architectural texts by John Cornforth, Eileen Harris and others. These authors, however, analyse Nostell within larger studies, and this thesis aims to provide a necessary corrective, giving equal weight to questions of local context and patronage; architecture and design; interior decoration and furniture. Issues of social, political and connoisseurial ambition were the driving forces behind the various phases of construction, which resulted in tensions between the public and private uses of the house, as expressed through the architectural ordering of space, and changes in room usage and decorative schemes. The number of creative and executant contributions at Nostell it is impossible to attribute the design of the house to a single author, resulting in a complex and fundamentally collaborative construction history. A review of the works of both celebrated architects and lesser-known craftsmen, who worked at Nostell – including James Moyser, James Paine, Robert Adam, Thomas Perritt, Joseph Rose senior, Joseph Rose junior, Thomas Chippendale, and Antonio Zucchi – can elucidate how the extant house came into being. It is hoped that this thesis will develop our understanding of the building; the reasons for its construction; the manner in which this was undertaken; and thus further inform its conservation.

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WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service
NDC	Nostell Drawings Collection
LSO	Private collection of Lord St Oswald
SM	Sir John Soane's Museum

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Author's declaration

I declare that the following thesis is my own work.

Introduction

The history of Nostell Priory begins with Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell (1706-65), a portrait of whom – painted in 1752 by Henry Pickering – remains in the State Dining Room at Nostell (fig. 1). By 1752 the central block and two southern pavilions of his house had been executed,¹ and the portrait shows the 4th Baronet standing to the north-east of the newly built fabric. We are afforded a view of his proud achievement, to which he points with his right hand, and thus the portrait is deliberately portraying the 4th Baronet as a country house builder. This thesis seeks to understand why the 4th Baronet conceived Nostell in the way that he did, and why his son, the 5th Baronet, chose to continue the work until his own death in 1785.

The period of construction history with which this thesis is concerned is confined to the eighteenth century (1730-85), during which time the house was known as ‘Nostell Park’. It was only in the nineteenth century, with the advent of the Gothic revival, that the house was renamed ‘Nostell Priory’,² drawing upon the twelfth-century Augustinian priory of St Oswald, which had stood adjacent to the site of the house.³ The eighteenth-century house will nevertheless be referred to as ‘Nostell Priory’ – its current name – throughout this thesis.

The mediaeval priory at Nostell had remained wealthy and powerful until its suppression in 1540, when it was gifted to Dr Thomas Leigh, ‘the fattest and most pompous of the King’s [Henry VIII’s] commissioners’.⁴ From Leigh, the property passed through several hands, before it was finally purchased by Rowland Winn,⁵ a wine merchant from London, in 1654,⁶ and transferred to his older brother George in the same year.⁷ George was created the 1st Baronet of Nostell at the Restoration in 1660, having contributed 2,000 guilders to the Royalist

¹ Cartwright, J.J. (ed.). ‘Dr Pococke’s Journey into England from Dublin by the way of the Isle of Man, 1750’, *Camden Society*, New Series xlii (1888), p. 63.

² Todd, C. ‘A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 205.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Hussey, C. ‘Nostell Priory, Yorkshire – I: The Property of the Trustees of the Late Lord St Oswald’, *Country Life* (16 May 1952), p. 1492.

⁵ Rowland Winn was the grandson of a Welsh draper who had made his fortune and settled in London when he was appointed Draper to Queen Elizabeth I. Hussey, C. *English Country Houses Open to the Public*, 2nd ed. (1951; London, 1953), p. 158. The family was awarded a Patent of Arms in 1604.

⁶ Hunter, J. *South Yorkshire: The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the Diocese and County of York*, 2nd vol. (London, 1831), p. 215.

⁷ Ibid.

cause.⁸ The Winn family resided in the mediaeval priory building, Nostell Hall, for three generations. In 1730, or thereabouts, the 4th Baronet decided to rebuild the house on an adjacent site. The ruins of Nostell Hall, however, were not demolished until c.1765.⁹ The estate remained in the ownership of the Winn family until 1953, when it was given to the National Trust.¹⁰

The rich Nostell archive, once housed in the Muniment Room at Nostell, is now held by the West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS), first in Leeds and now in Wakefield. It contains an array of correspondence, accounts and drawings, dating from the seventeenth-century to the present day, with a particular density of material pertaining to the eighteenth-century construction of the house. Unfortunately, however, the archive is far from complete. The archive can not explain the building history fully as it contains no building accounts. The drawings, therefore, comprise the principal primary source material for this thesis. There is a hand list of the archive available at WYAS.

This thesis describes the design and construction history of the new house, taking into account the motivations of the patrons; the local context of the building project; patronage within the locality and beyond; the architectural design and authorship of the fabric; and the changing interior decoration and furniture. The thesis also provides an architectural drawings catalogue of all of the extant eighteenth-century graphic material relating to the house. There are over 250 surviving drawings, and of these 238 pertain to the eighteenth-century works from the phases of James Paine and Robert Adam, making Nostell one of the best documented houses in the National Trust portfolio. Despite the density of this graphic material, no extended history of the design and construction of the house has previously been written. A comprehensive account of the architectural and interior decorative history of Nostell, based upon analysis of the architectural drawings, therefore, is long overdue.

The extant architectural drawings for Nostell Priory are currently held in four different collections. The National Trust is the principal custodian, preserving the drawings at the house itself. These were the drawings sent to Nostell – and never returned to Paine or Adam. As

⁸ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 36.

⁹ Hussey, C. 'Nostell Priory, Yorkshire – I: The Property of the Trustees of the Late Lord St Oswald', *Country Life* (16 May 1952), p. 1492.

¹⁰ The National Trust, *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 2001), p. 5.

such, they are largely comprised of working and presentation drawings. Secondly, a large number of drawings remain in the possession of the Winn family. Thirdly, as previously mentioned, a handful of drawings are to be found at WYAS. The latter, presumably owing to their location, have previously been conflated as part of the archive, and have never been considered alongside the other extant drawings. Fourthly, there are a handful of drawings for Nostell within the 9,000 Adam drawings at Sir John Soane's Museum, London. These drawings are what remain of the Adam office collection and therefore contain numerous preliminary designs, record drawings, rejected schemes, and anything that might have been returned to London.¹¹

The full collection of architectural drawings for the eighteenth-century construction and decoration of Nostell has never been studied together. The drawings catalogue attached to this thesis will sequence this material for the first time. There are additional drawings for the nineteenth-century additions to Nostell and for the architecture in the park. The latter drawings, however, fall outside the scope of this thesis.

Although Nostell is abundantly documented by the extant drawings collection, and to a lesser degree the correspondence within the archive, the secondary literature is not extensive. There is of course a wealth of literature on the subject of the English country house in general: its architecture, interior design, and its social and political history. But Nostell Priory has often been overlooked, and discussion of the estate is usually confined to short articles in *Country Life*,¹² *Furniture History*,¹³ *Apollo*,¹⁴ and the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.¹⁵ What little literature there is tends to deal with the mediaeval foundation of the priory, or with the Adam interior. Works on the mediaeval Priory – Nostell Hall – tell a tale of piety and patronage, with varying hypotheses proffered regarding its foundation.¹⁶ Fortunately, however, Judith Frost has

¹¹ Tait, A.A. 'The Sale of the Adam Drawings', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol 120, No 904 (July, 1978).

¹² Bolton, A. 'Nostell Priory, Yorkshire, A Seat of Lord St Oswald', *Country Life* (October 1914), pp. 583-89; Carr-Whitworth, R. 'Furniture Conservation at Nostell Priory', *Country Life* (1993), pp. 71-73; Symonds, R.W. 'Pre-Chippendale Furniture at Nostell Priory', *Country Life* (April 1952), pp. 1248-49.

¹³ Gilbert, C. 'New Light on the Furnishings of Nostell Priory', *Furniture History* (1990), pp. 53-66; Jackson-Stops, G. 'Pre-Adam Furniture Designs at Nostell Priory', *Furniture History* (1974), pp. 24-37.

¹⁴ Laing, A. 'Sir Rowland and Lady Winn: A Conservation piece in the Library at Nostell Priory' *Apollo* (April 2000), pp. 14-18.

¹⁵ Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), pp. 205-24.

¹⁶ Batty, R.E. *An Historical Sketch of the Priory of St Oswald at Nostell* (London, 1856); Burrows, T.N. 'The Foundation of Nostell Priory', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 53 (1981), PP. 31-35; Wightman, W.E. 'Henry I and the foundation of Nostell Priory', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 41 (1963), pp. 57-60.

recently translated the Nostell Priory Cartulary. Frost has also explored the foundation of the priory, utilising all of the previous literature and available evidence.¹⁷

Besides this, there is a large literature on the subject of Robert and James Adam. Naturally the work of Arthur Bolton, Damie Stillman, Alistair Rowan, Eileen Harris, Howard Colvin, and Geoffrey Beard, are paramount.¹⁸ The fullest discussion of Nostell is found in Eileen Harris's *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors*.¹⁹ Chapter 12 of this important work deals exclusively with Nostell, discussing the basics of the architectural programme, and then deals with the surviving Adam interior at length.

Adam's predecessor at Nostell, James Paine, is the subject of a major scholarly monograph by Peter Leach.²⁰ Leach gives an exhaustive study of the known details of Paine's life and work, but his discussion of the surviving drawings for Nostell is minimal. By necessity Nostell – being Paine's first architectural commission – is discussed, but rather than giving an analysis of the house and Paine's contribution to it, Leach concentrates instead on the impact that the project had on Paine's life and subsequent career. Leach mostly treats Nostell as a stepping stone on the path to greater things in Paine's life – as is appropriate within a monographic treatment of Paine.

With the exception of the widely celebrated Thomas Chippendale,²¹ the lesser known craftsmen who contributed to the fabric and interior of Nostell have been little researched. Other principal craftsmen employed there include the plasterers Thomas Perritt, Joseph Rose senior, and Joseph Rose junior, and the decorative painter Antonio Zucchi. These master

¹⁷ Frost, J.A. 'Nostell Priory Cartulary' (Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2 vols. August 2005).

¹⁸ Bolton, A.T. *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, 1922; Stillman, D. *The Decorative Work of Robert Adam*, 1966; Rowan, A. *Designs for Castles and Country Villas by Robert and James Adam* (Oxford, 1985); Rowan, A. *Catalogue of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum: Robert Adam* (London, 1988); Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008); Beard, G. *The Work of Robert Adam* (Edinburgh, 1978); Beard, G. *Robert Adam's Country Houses* (Edinburgh, 1981).

¹⁹ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (London, 2001).

²⁰ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988).

²¹ There is little surviving material relating to Chippendale's life – particularly prior to his move to London – but there is a great deal of archival material concerning his career and output. This, coupled with the demand for his furniture, promoted considerable scholarly interest in the 1960s and 1970s. Examples of works on the subject of Thomas Chippendale are: Boynton, L. and Goodison, N. 'The Furniture of Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory – I' *Burlington Magazine* (May, 1969), pp. 281-85; Coleridge, A. *Chippendale Furniture* (New York, 1968); Fitzgerald, G. 'Chippendale's Place in the English Rococo', *Furniture History* (1968), pp. 1-9; Gilbert, C. *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (London, 1978).

craftsmen appear briefly in either Beard's *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England*,²² or Croft-Murray's *Decorative Painting in England*,²³ but there is little work in addition to this, with the exception of Beard's work on the Roses.²⁴ This thesis, however, will bring to light new information about each of these men.

The context of social and political history explored in this thesis has naturally been informed by a large selection of works, but those of particular note are Larsen's *Maids and Mistresses*,²⁵ and Quinn's *Yorkshiremen go to the Polls*.²⁶ Both focus on the Yorkshire context.

The most comprehensive study of Nostell Priory itself, however, remains the guidebook produced by the National Trust in 2001.²⁷ This is largely composed of material derived from Gervase Jackson-Stops' earlier guidebook of 1973.²⁸ Prior to the first guidebook to Nostell – written by R.D.G. Winn in 1953²⁹ – there was only one work on the history of the eighteenth-century house. This was M.W. Brockwell's seminal *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory*,³⁰ published in 1915 in a limited edition. Brockwell was the first scholar to research the eighteenth-century history of the house. His book is largely concerned with cataloguing the works of fine art at Nostell – a feat in itself – but in the first section of the book he provides a detailed history of the Winn family, together with a basic overview of the construction history of the house. This work remains the starting point for research on Nostell, and, while very dated, it remains a treasure-trove of information pertaining to the history of the family and their collections.

More recently, two important pieces of unpublished research have been produced. In 2002, Tim Knox partially catalogued the collection of Nostell drawings belonging to the National

²² Beard, G. *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England: 1660-1820* (Edinburgh, 1981).

²³ Croft-Murray, E. *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837*: Volume 2: 'The Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries' (London, 1970).

²⁴ Beard's various works on Joseph Rose includes the following article. Beard, G. 'The Rose Family of Plasterers', *Apollo* 85 (1967), pp. 266-77.

²⁵ Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids & Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004).

²⁶ Quinn, J.F. 'Yorkshiremen go to the Polls: County Contests in the Early Eighteenth Century' *Northern History*, Vol. 21 (1985), pp. 137-174.

²⁷ The National Trust, *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 2001).

²⁸ Jackson-Stops, G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 1973).

²⁹ Winn, R.D.G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire: A Property of The National Trust*, 5th ed. (1953; London, 1958).

³⁰ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915).

Trust.³¹ Then in 2004, Sophie Raikes completed her 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue',³² which provides a meticulous history of the interior decoration for each of the principal rooms, including transcriptions from the relevant primary sources, and reproduces all the surviving early photographs.

All of this work is of the highest quality, but none of it – excluding the guide book – has concentrated on more than a single facet of Nostell: be that the mediaeval priory, the interior, a small selection of drawings, or a discussion of an individual patron, architect or craftsman. This thesis, then, will draw together the various strands of the eighteenth-century history of the building: the depth and complexity of the history of the house; the continuities, and indeed the discontinuities of people and place.

The approach adopted in this thesis was largely inspired by David Adshead's *Wimpole: Architectural Drawings and Topographical Views*.³³ Like Adshead, this thesis is focussed on a single building rather than on the life and work of a single architect, and by doing so it seeks to provide a more comprehensive account of the building than has previously been attempted. Studies of this kind are still rare in eighteenth-century architectural history. Over half a century ago Sir John Summerson complained that:

It is only fairly recently that architectural history has come to be considered a 'legitimate' study and, where the eighteenth century is concerned, it is still dominated by the idea of a succession of architectural personalities; the study of types of buildings, their economy and distribution, is very backward.³⁴

This remains as true today as when Summerson first wrote it. This thesis, however, is not just an account of the continuity of a single place, but will suggest the means by which the fabric came into being, taking into consideration the family, and all the people associated with the design and construction of the house. It will be argued that the history and social standing of the family, as well as their local context, can be brought to bear on the two patrons'

³¹ Knox, T. 'National Trust Catalogue of Architectural Drawings at Nostell Priory' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, Incomplete in 2002).

³² Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004).

³³ Adshead, D. *Wimpole: Architectural Drawings and Topographical Views* (London, 2007).

³⁴ Summerson, J. *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (New York and London, 1990), p. 81. This discussion appears in 'The Classical Country House' a Cantor Lecture, first delivered in March 1959, and then published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* xvii (July 1959), pp. 539-87.

motivations for building. And as well as addressing questions of architectural authorship, it will also consider the role of the many craftsmen employed at the house, shedding new light on the cabinet-maker Thomas Chippendale, the plasterer Joseph Rose, and the decorative painter Antonio Zucchi.

This thesis is divided into two parts, and each part into two chapters. The division of these parts is dictated by the basic chronology of the house: the work undertaken by the 4th Baronet and his architect James Paine (chapter one and two), and then that of the 5th Baronet and Robert Adam (chapter three and four). Chapter one will give a focussed analysis of the preparatory and construction phase of Nostell, and explore: the 4th Baronet's likely motivations for building; the early design process; and the employment and involvement of James Paine in constructing the early fabric. It will be argued that the basic design and structure of the house can tell us a great deal about what the 4th Baronet was trying to achieve through rebuilding. This will be followed in chapter two by a discussion of James Paine's interior decoration, including his use of an innovative French style. Chapter two will also explore what the room use and decoration can tell us about the function of the various areas of the house. It will be argued that the 4th Baronet expressed his domestic needs through interior decoration, the disposition of spaces, and the manner in which they were fitted-up.

The second part of this thesis will concentrate on the changes made to Nostell by the 5th Baronet. Chapter three will consider this generational shift, and the shift in architectural fashion that followed suit. The 5th Baronet employed the modish Robert Adam to complete and redecorate the interior of the house. This was done in the Neo-Classical style, at great expense. Chapter three will explore the 5th Baronet's relationship with his various craftsmen, and use these relationships to consider the hierarchy of craftsmen and artisans within the interior. Chapter four will then analyse the architectural programme of alterations and enlargements instituted by Robert Adam in 1776. Had they been completed prior to the 5th Baronet's death in 1785, these works would have resulted in a considerable aggrandisement of the house. The reasons for such a drastic shift in the stature of the house will be considered, as well as how the Adam design would have altered Paine's fabric. Chapter four will also consider the extent to which Adam took inspiration from other eighteenth-century country houses.

Finally, this thesis provides an architectural drawings catalogue, not only as a means of illustrating the thesis, but also in order to draw together the essential primary graphic evidence required in the preceding discussion given in chapters one to four. The thesis as a whole seeks to encompass the eighteenth-century story of Nostell Priory, the family that lived there, and the various architects and craftsmen who contributed to its fabric.

Part I. The 4th Baronet's Nostell (1731-65)

Chapter One. Fabric: motivation, influence and design (1731-47)

Introduction

The first period of design, construction and decoration at Nostell Priory took place under Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, between 1731 and his death in 1765. Chapter one will explore the various motives behind this work; the chronology of the design and construction; and hitherto unanswered questions of authorship. It will be argued that these issues can explain why and how the house was executed.

i. Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, and his motives for rebuilding at Nostell

Orphaned at the age of 16, Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell succeeded his father in February 1722.³⁵ Being too young to manage his estates, his uncles sent him on a five-year Grand Tour, principally to Geneva.³⁶ The 4th Baronet inherited both title and wealth, his land-holdings being extensive in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Nostell alone provided substantial rents,³⁷ valuable coal – which had been mined since the time of the mediaeval priory³⁸ – and enough timber to supply the Navy Office with £420 worth in 1730.³⁹ An inventory of his father's chattels provides evidence of the family's wealth, the estate contents alone being

³⁵ WYAS WYL1352(2) C4/1/2, Inventory of the belongings of Sir Rowland Winn, 3rd Baronet of Nostell. This inventory was made on the death of the 3rd Baronet on 15 May 1722. The 3rd Baronet died in February 1722, and was buried, along with his wife at Wragby village church on 6 March 1722. Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 37.

³⁶ One of these uncles was the Bishop of Winchester, and the other was the father of his cousin, the diarist, Catherine Cappe. Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 83.

³⁷ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/3/16, Nostell estate rental documents, 1796. This comprises a summary of the total annual rental income of each estate belonging to the Winn family. There are no extant estate rental documents dating from the 4th Baronet's lifetime, but the annual rental income from the Nostell estate in 1796 was £9773/5s/10d., which gives us a good idea of what the annual rental income would have been 50 years earlier.

³⁸ The coal mining was so extensive that it reached far under the land of the park. Indeed there is a slope only a few hundred yards east of the house, most visible along the avenue, which delineates the termination of the mining. The slope has been caused by large-scale land subsidence because of the network of mines below.

³⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1527/2, Letter from Mighells [naval officer] to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. timber sold to the Navy Office, 20 July 1730. In this letter Mighells records the total sum of £419/16s/6d. owed to the 4th Baronet by the Navy Office.

valued at nearly £4,000.⁴⁰ This inventory was made on 15 May 1722, shortly after the 3rd Baronet's death, most likely as a means of organising the inheritance.

Thanks to his wealth, the 4th Baronet was able to undertake a Grand Tour from 1722 to 1727, and his travels extended across the breadth of Europe.⁴¹ The purpose of any such Grand Tour was educational, affording experiences of foreign culture. Although the 4th Baronet travelled through France and Germany to Italy, his account sheet indicates that he spent the majority of his time in Geneva.⁴² The customary 'tour code' dictated that a young man should visit the Netherlands or France and travel on to Italy,⁴³ and 40 years later the same areas were still visited by the English, including James Boswell who also spent time in Geneva.⁴⁴ Although Germany and Switzerland were not popular with English grand tourists until the second half of the eighteenth century, Geneva was an independent state, 'outside the Swiss confederation, [and] was much frequented by British visitors. Many went to be educated: Geneva offered the French language without the pitfalls of Catholicism'.⁴⁵ Moreover, Geneva was a contemporary centre of banking, offering further educational prospects to wealthy young men,⁴⁶ and it is conveniently located on the Mount Cenis trail into Italy.⁴⁷ That there was no previous association between Geneva and the Winn family suggests that it was these advantageous facets of Genevan culture which prompted the 4th Baronet's guardians to send him there. The

⁴⁰ WYAS WYL1352(2) C4/1/2, Inventory of the belongings of Sir Rowland Winn, 3rd Baronet of Nostell, made on his death, 15 May 1722. The contents of the house, timber in the park and equipment in the stone park are listed to be worth £2728/18s/0d. The various animals belonging to the estate and the harvested arable crops in storage are listed to be worth £987/9s/0d. Neither of these large sums include the value of the estate itself, only its contents.

⁴¹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/28, Account book of Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, 1722-27. This account book records the locations where money was spent.

⁴² WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/28, Account sheet of Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, 1722-27. From the various creditors who provided him with cash recorded on this sheet it is possible to see that, chronologically, the 4th Baronet was resident in the following cities on the following dates: Geneva, 2 September 1722 to 15 May 1725; Frankfurt, 21 June 1725; Berlin, 20 August 1725; Leipzig, 26 August 1725; Dresden, 1 September 1725; Vienna, 1 October 1725; Munich, 29 October 1725; Venice, 6 December 1725 to 15 January 1726; Rome, 12 March 1726; Naples, 26 March 1726; Rome, 10 May 1726; Livorno, 18 May 1726; Milan, 19 June 1726; Geneva, 3 August 1726; Marseilles, 16 September 1726; Bordeaux, 26 October 1726; Paris, 12 December 1726 to 12 May 1727. The total money received from these various creditors was £4120/2s/11d.

⁴³ Wilton, A., and Bignamini, I. (eds.). *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), p. 14.

⁴⁴ Pottle, F.A. (ed.). *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland 1764* (London, 1953), pp. 265-272.

⁴⁵ Black, J. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (1992; London, 1999), p. 38.

⁴⁶ Cassis, Y. *Finance and Financiers in European History, 1880-1960* (Cambridge and New York, 1992), p. 303.

⁴⁷ Black, J. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (1992; London, 1999), p. 9. Although Geneva is on the Mount Cenis trail it is important to note that from the list of locations visited by the 4th Baronet, provided by his account sheet above, it appears that he had used the Brenner route (Munich to Verona) instead.

early eighteenth century was a time of growth for the city – the Genevan population grew by over 65 per cent in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸

The 4th Baronet's five-year Grand Tour cost a total sum of £4,120/2s/11d.⁴⁹ His expenditure should be put into context, however, as some Grand Tours were known to cost £2,000 or £3,000 each year.⁵⁰ The latter amounts were enormously extravagant, and a more normal level of expenditure was an annual allowance of between £200 and £1,000.⁵¹ It appears that the 4th Baronet's spending – while generous – was not obscene, especially as collectible items were commonly purchased by the English abroad.⁵² One such collectible item can perhaps be seen in the 4th Baronet's much later portrait of 1752 by Henry Pickering (fig. 1), which still hangs in the State Dining Room at Nostell. In the painting, the 4th Baronet is standing in a fictitious building to the north-east of Nostell Priory.⁵³ He points to the house with his right hand, an unmistakable gesture of ownership (fig. 2). Under his left hand an architectural drawing or print – which might have been purchased abroad – is shown on a table (fig. 3). The 4th Baronet is depicted as a country house builder, with an implied interest in architectural design. There is minimal archival evidence of the 4th Baronet's interest in architecture,⁵⁴ but the existence of such a rich and extensive collection of architectural drawings in the Nostell collection – both for Nostell and elsewhere – doubtless lends credibility to the interest implied by the portrait.⁵⁵

In the portrait the 4th Baronet's attire is conspicuously modest, consisting of plain white stockings, a plain brown jacket and a yellow, lightly embroidered waistcoat. These sartorial choices are significant as they express the 4th Baronet's social standing. The use of informal dress was a helpful indicator of status in eighteenth-century portrait art, bound up with

⁴⁸ Rosenblatt, H. *Rousseau and Geneva: From the First Discourse to the Social Contract, 1749-1762* (Cambridge and New York, 1997), p. 17.

⁴⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/28, Account sheet of Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, 1722-27. This account book records the 4th Baronet's total expenditure during his Grand Tour.

⁵⁰ Black, J. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (1992; London, 1999), pp. 83-106.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Hermann, F. *The English as Collectors* (London, 1999), pp. 23-33.

⁵³ Pickering's portrait is the only eighteenth-century depiction of Nostell without the addition of Adam's wing.

⁵⁴ The 4th Baronet subscribed to the publications of *Chinese and Gothic Architecture Properly Ornamented*, by William and John Halfpenny, published in 1752, and *Two Perspective Views* by Thomas Smith, a collection of drawings of Chatsworth and Haddon Hall, published in 1744. WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/35, Receipt from the subscription to *Two Perspective Views*, 18 April 1744, and WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/36, Volume of architectural prints entitled *Chinese and Gothic Architecture Properly Ornamented*, c.1752. Unfortunately there is no catalogue of the library at Nostell dating from the 4th Baronet's lifetime; the earliest was made as part of an inventory of the house in 1806 and only lists the number of books within specific subjects. WYAS WYL1352(2) C4/1/30, Inventory of the belongings of Sir Rowland Winn, 6th Baronet of Nostell, made on his death, July 1806.

⁵⁵ There are 336 architectural drawings in the Nostell drawings collection plan chest, and a further 167 in the private collection of Lord St Oswald.

hunting and rank.⁵⁶ Thus we see the 4th Baronet plainly dressed and carrying a sword. Another good example of this is Gainsborough's *William Poyntz* of 1762. Here the figure is modestly dressed and leaning against a tree in an informal pose (fig. 4).⁵⁷ Pickering portrayal of the 4th Baronet allies him with other wealthy, educated and well-travelled country gentlemen.

On 29 August 1729, following his return from the Continent, the 4th Baronet married Susannah, the daughter and heiress of Charles Henshaw of Eltham, Kent, an alderman and Lord Mayor of London.⁵⁸ This was certainly a favourable match for Susannah, elevating her to a titled position.⁵⁹ But the enticements for the 4th Baronet are less clear. He was young to marry at 23 years of age,⁶⁰ and it has been established that he was wealthy and would not have required a wife with a large dowry. It is likely then – despite any lucrative enticements – that this was a love match.⁶¹ Together they had eight children, and we can see from the Nostell archive that after Susannah's death in 1742,⁶² the grief of her loss was greatly expressed in correspondence between the 4th Baronet and J. Sambrooke.⁶³

It was during the years of his marriage that the 4th Baronet was most active in public life. Significantly this was also the time that he began to rebuild at Nostell. The converted monastic building of the old house, Nostell Hall, had long been the principal residence of the Winn family. The estate had been formally conveyed to Sir George Winn, 1st Baronet of Nostell in 1655, by his brother Rowland, a wealthy wine merchant, in the hopes of establishing a family dynasty.⁶⁴ The Hall was a large building and must have provided an ample family seat. Indeed,

⁵⁶ Shawe-Taylor, D. *The Georgians: Eighteenth Century Portraiture & Society* (London, 1990), p. 62.

⁵⁷ Other notable examples are: Joshua Reynolds's *Viscount Keppel*, c.1752-53, and *3rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox*, 1758; John Hamilton Mortimer's *Self portrait with his father and brother*, c.1765; David Allan's *William Inglis Playing Golf*, 1787; and John Boulton's *Robert Bakewell*, c.1788.

⁵⁸ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London: 1915), p. 37.

⁵⁹ A baronetcy is the lowest order of aristocracy, and separate to a peerage. Beckett, J.V. *The Aristocracy in England 1600-1914* (Oxford and Cambridge Massachusetts, 1986), p. 40.

⁶⁰ The average age to marry grew older during the eighteenth century. Stone, L. *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, 2nd ed. (1977; London, 1979), p. 42.

⁶¹ By the eighteenth century romantic love, and the concept of a companionate marriage, were considered to be important. Marriage had become 'an object of mockery' owing to the business-like trade of wealthy brides, with no consideration for their happiness, and the greatest contemporary proof of this is William Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode*. Tague, I.H. 'Love, Honour, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Journal of British Studies* 40 (2001), pp. 76-77.

⁶² Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London: 1915), p. 38.

⁶³ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/20, Letter from J. Sambrooke to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. the engagement of Kitty Winn, 22 March 1750. In this letter Sambrooke expresses how dearly loved Susannah was.

⁶⁴ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London: 1915), p. 36.

the inventory of 1722 lists 41 communal, private and serving rooms.⁶⁵ Why then did the 4th Baronet decide to rebuild?

The 4th Baronet may have been encouraged to rebuild by his father, the 3rd Baronet, who had commissioned a new stable block shortly before his death.⁶⁶ But despite any desire for redevelopment, it appears that Nostell Hall was comfortably fitted-out, as a number of the rooms were well furnished. Among a plethora of fine pieces in the ‘Damask Room’ were ‘1 Fine Shovell with a Silver knob’, and ‘1 Indian table & furniture’, in the ‘Dining Room’ were ‘2 Sconers over the Bouffett of Silver’, and ‘18 Turke work’d chairs’, and in the ‘Tapestry Room’ were ‘1 black Japan table’, and ‘7 Indian pictures’.⁶⁷ Moreover, the 4th Baronet’s transcription of the 1500 copy of the Nostell Act Book – a description of the foundation of the mediaeval priory, taking the twelfth-century Cartulary as its source⁶⁸ – demonstrates his antiquarian interest in the building.

Although replaced, it is apparent from an inventory of beds that the old Hall was still in use in 1763, and it was not demolished until c.1765, around five years after the family most likely moved into the new house.⁶⁹ It is probable that the demolition of the old Hall was not ordered by the 4th Baronet at all, but by his more fashion-conscious son, who inherited Nostell in 1765.

A sketch by an unknown hand provides evidence that the old Hall and Nostell Priory stood briefly side by side (cat. 2). The sketch is datable to between 1747, when Paine had built the central block, and c.1765, when the old Hall was demolished. The sketch uses artistic licence in its use of perspective, but nonetheless, the outline of the old house alongside Nostell Hall is visible.

⁶⁵ WYAS WYL1352(2) C4/1/2, Inventory of Nostell Hall, 15 May 1722. This inventory lists the contents of the house, room by room. This gives a clear sense of the Winn family’s taste prior to the construction of Nostell Priory, and will be considered within a later discussion of the interior of Nostell.

⁶⁶ Raikes, S. ‘Nostell Priory Room Catalogue’ (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004): Stables – potted history and summary of approach, 3: 2 Building History; Peers, A. ‘The Architectural Evolution of the Stables at Nostell Priory, Yorkshire’, *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 52 (2008), pp. 9-48.

⁶⁷ WYAS WYL1352(2) C4/1/1, Inventory of Nostell Hall, 12 February 1714. This inventory lists the contents of the house, room by room.

⁶⁸ Frost, J.A. ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2 vols. August 2005), p. 12.

⁶⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1539/16, Inventory of beds at Nostell, 26 March 1763. This inventory lists the number of bed in each room across the whole estate of Nostell.

There is also a surviving plan of Nostell Hall, speculatively dated c.1730,⁷⁰ which is inscribed with the words ‘The Plan of the old house as it now is’ (cat. 1). From this plan, certain inconveniences in layout are apparent. The plan shows a large building arranged around three sides of a courtyard, consisting of a central range and two lesser blocks projecting at right angles.⁷¹ From the layout of the two projecting wings it seems likely they were added to the original Priory building in the seventeenth century. They were internally divided by partition walls in order to accommodate apartments and a grand staircase, although each range is only 20 feet wide, and would have been quite small. As there is no known surviving record of the construction of these ranges, it is likely they were built before Nostell came into the possession of the Winn family in 1654.⁷² On the plan, which appears to be for the ground floor, the central range of Nostell Hall is composed of irregularly planned rooms arranged around a great hall. This hall is 30 feet wide and 70 feet long, and is therefore of a good size, but divided with a screen-wall at one end, and this space was most likely cold as there are eight windows on one side. The shape of the hall and its two rows of columns suggest that it was converted from the under-croft to the monks’ dormitory or refectory. There are also several spiral staircases set into the thickness of the wall, which probably date from the time of the Priory. The arrangement of the rooms in the central range forms a more confused combination of different-sized spaces than the side ranges. This portion was probably used as communal and service quarters during the Winn family’s residence there.

The survey plan demonstrates that by the 1730s, Nostell Hall, though perfectly serviceable, had an irregular layout which would have made an entirely new house with a clearer, more convenient disposition of rooms attractive. Moreover, as argued above, when compared to an eighteenth-century design, the old Hall would have seemed uncomfortable, and the 4th Baronet’s desire to rebuild may have been influenced by deficiencies in the older building.

⁷⁰ Knox, T. ‘National Trust Catalogue of Architectural Drawings at Nostell Priory’ (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2002) [1]. Knox presumably attributed this date to the drawing as it is around the time that the 4th Baronet was first making plans for a new house, and a survey plan of the old house might have been helpful.

⁷¹ It has been suggested that this arrangement follows the lines of the original monastic cloister. In conversation with Judith Frost, 6 February 2012.

⁷² WYAS WYL1352(2) C2/1/1(1383), Indenture of the conveyance of the Nostell estate by Rowland Winn, Merchant, to George Winn Esq., 1654. This is the legal documentation of the exchange of ownership of Nostell from one brother to another.

That the 4th Baronet decided to build a new house was by no means unusual. In the early eighteenth century, a building boom was taking place in England,⁷³ and the publication of Kip and Kniff's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707), and Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715), accelerated this building boom.⁷⁴ Architectural treatises publicised and glamorised the latest fashions in architectural development.

The expense of building a country house came to represent power and status, as expressed by Sir John Summerson:

If the land produced a surplus of wealth it usually led to political ambition and at last to the need for a new house as a prestige symbol; not merely so as to disperse large hospitality but as the visible witness of surplus, and thus of influence.⁷⁵

Doubtless Summerson was correct, as during the period 1710-25, 71% of the commoners who built country houses were MPs.⁷⁶ And the 4th Baronet fits this stereotype perfectly, for his other great ambition was a political seat in the House of Commons. It is not known if this political ambition worked in parallel with the architectural works at Nostell, or indeed, if one can explain the other, but it is surely relevant as a contributing element of the 4th Baronet's general personal ambition. Although his family was landowning and wealthy, none of the 4th Baronet's forebears had had a political career.⁷⁷

The 4th Baronet established himself as a member of the Whig party.⁷⁸ In addition to the obvious advantages of Whig affiliation to a landowner like the 4th Baronet, a political seat would have allowed him greater power than any previous member of his family. Political ambition was largely associated with the landed classes because of the vast expenditure required to maintain a political interest. But once gained, a seat in the Commons provided a member with the capacity to promote local interests, and introduce private members' bills

⁷³ Summerson, J. *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (New York and London, 1990), pp. 81-82

⁷⁴ Arnold, D. *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Gloucestershire, 1998), pp. 36-37.

⁷⁵ Summerson, J. *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (New York and London, 1990), p. 86

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁷⁷ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London: 1915), pp. 36-37.

⁷⁸ At this time the politically active part of society had been polarised over the issue of succession because in the earliest years of the century Queen Anne had failed to produce a surviving heir. In London the Whig-Tory divide ran so deep as to dictate which theatres and coffee houses members of each party patronised. Porter, R. *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 121. See also Cannon, J. *The Whig Ascendancy: Colloquies on Hanoverian England* (London, 1981).

which would directly benefit his property.⁷⁹ Moreover, political success was often the first step to ennoblement.

Between 1710 and 1726 the Tories had dominated Yorkshire politics, and when the Whig nominee Cholmley Turner was triumphant in the by-election of 1st February 1727 – caused by the death of the sitting member – the Whig faction held a great ball in York, naming Turner as their nominee for the general election due in 1729.⁸⁰ But when George I died and an alternative general election was held on 30th August 1727 (a general election was mandatory within six months of the accession) Turner was required to find a new partner.⁸¹ His previous partner, Sir Thomas Watson Wentworth, had been created Lord Malton (later Marquess of Rockingham) and elevated to the House of Lords. The 4th Baronet was considered at this time, but he lost out to Sir George Savile of Rufford.⁸²

By the next general election held in 1734, Turner had tired of Savile, and the 4th Baronet was again considered, this time along with Sir William Strickland.⁸³ In the meantime, he had served as High Sherriff of Yorkshire (1731-32). Strickland declined owing to ill health, and the 4th Baronet was duly nominated. He received enormous support from Lord Malton, who laid out £15,000 on his campaign, a vast sum compared with the 4th Baronet's own expenditure of £6,000.⁸⁴ The 4th Baronet was successful in Sheffield, where he received 123 of the 184 votes, but less so in Beverley, where a rumour circulated that he supported Walpole's unpopular Excise Bill.⁸⁵ At the close of voting in May 1734, the 4th Baronet came third. He lost to Turner and the Tory opposition, Sir Miles Stapylton.⁸⁶ After rumours of fraudulent votes having been cast, the fervour of the 4th Baronet's ambition became deeply apparent when he contested the result. His supporters presented a petition to Parliament in December of that year.⁸⁷ But when Parliamentary discussion of the petition was postponed in April 1736, the 4th Baronet's political hopes were effectively dashed.

⁷⁹ Porter, R. *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 34.

⁸⁰ Quinn, J.F. 'Yorkshiremen go to the Polls; County Contests in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Northern History*, Vol. 21 (1985), pp. 138-140.

⁸¹ A political partner, or running mate, is the candidate for the lesser of two closely associated political offices.

⁸² Quinn, J.F. 'Yorkshiremen go to the Polls; County Contests in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Northern History*, Vol. 21 (1985), p. 141.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

The 4th Baronet was already planning to rebuild Nostell when he was nominated as Turner's partner for the 1734 general election, and with Nostell the 4th Baronet was emulating houses built by socially and politically superior Whigs. Two such men were Sir Robert Walpole, who built Houghton Hall from 1722 (fig. 5), and Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, who built Holkham Hall from 1734 (fig. 6). Both houses provided a precedent for Nostell. Wanstead – the clearest influence over Nostell, with the arrangement of its central block, and its use of quadrant links and pavilions – was built from 1714 for Sir Richard Child, who was a wealthy political financier, later rewarded by Walpole for his defection to the Whigs by being created Earl of Tylney.⁸⁸

These political activities had other implications. The 4th Baronet had served as High Sherriff of Yorkshire, doubtless a means of drawing Turner's attention and casting himself as a suitable partner for the 1734 general election. During his time in York, the 4th Baronet was conducting the business of High Sherriff at the same time that Lord Burlington was building the Assembly Rooms.⁸⁹ It is very likely that the two men met. On 10th June 1734 Lady Isabella Finch wrote to her niece, Lady Burlington, that 'the proceedings at York have been very extraordinary [...] Sir Rowland Winn intends to petition having already found out numbers of people who polled under fictitious names'.⁹⁰ From this letter it appears that the 4th Baronet was known to Lady Burlington. Could it be possible that an acquaintance had been formed? As Burlington is widely known to have been a great advocate of architectural endeavour, it seems likely that had the two men been acquainted, they might have discussed the contemporary building project at Nostell. Further circumstantial evidence of Burlington's influence can be seen in the basic architectural form that Nostell was to take – a central block with four quadrant links and pavilions. Burlington was an advocate of this plan having made use of two links and pavilions at Tottenham Park in 1721.⁹¹ Moreover, he encouraged William Kent to use four links and pavilions at Holkham Hall in 1734.⁹²

The 4th Baronet's motives for rebuilding were most likely multi-faceted. By replacing an inferior seat, he was pandering both to his own political ambitions, as well as displaying his

⁸⁸ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 215.

⁸⁹ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 199.

⁹⁰ Corp, E. (ed.). *Lord Burlington – The Man and His Politics: Questions of Loyalty* (New York, 1998), p. 162.

⁹¹ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 150.

⁹² *Ibid.*

good taste. The large size of the house illustrates the strength of the 4th Baronet's ambition – along with his vast wealth. Moreover, there is even evidence that during the early 1730s the 4th Baronet had investigated the possibility of increasing his landholdings at Nostell by purchasing an adjoining estate at Santon. On 3 October 1732 a land agent, Robert Glascock, wrote to him, having 'received a Letter from Mr Dempster of Brigg in which he desires me to send you a particular of an Estate at Santon adjoining to one of yours', writing again only twenty days later to relay the price of the land.⁹³

Following his political disappointment, the 4th Baronet abandoned public life, and this, coupled with the death of his wife in 1742, led him towards a more sedate and domestic lifestyle. That he had eight children, however, may account for the continued building work at Nostell. He travelled abroad only once more, in 1761, going to Vevey in Switzerland to negotiate the marriage of his eldest son to a French-Swiss lady, Sabine d'Hervert.⁹⁴ Only months after this journey, the 4th Baronet's health deteriorated, and he was described by his cousin Catherine Cappe as 'the honoured invalid' during the last three years of his life, which he spent at Nostell.⁹⁵ He died in 1765, aged 59, bringing the first phase of design and construction to a close.

ii. Preparation and Design (1731-36)

Until the 1970s James Paine has been solely credited with the design of Nostell. According to Woolfe and Gandon, 'the whole of the building was designed and conducted by Mr. James Paine'.⁹⁶ This remained unchallenged for much of the twentieth century despite the fact that Nostell is unlike Paine's other works. Rarely was Paine responsible for a house of such size and grandeur, and only later in his career, in the 1750s and 1760s, was he given the opportunity to work on projects such as Glentworth Hall, Lincolnshire, Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire,

⁹³ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1528/41, Letter from Robert Glascock to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. land for sale, 3 October 1732, and WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1575/23, Letter from Robert Glascock to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. land for sale, 23 October 1732. In these letters Glascock provides the 4th Baronet with the details of the sale of an estate.

⁹⁴ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/5B/9/1-2, Letters and documents relating to the marriage of Rowland Winn Esq. and Sabine d'Hervert, 1760-63.

⁹⁵ Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 87. According to her memoirs, written years later, Cappe was the daughter of one of the 4th Baronet's guardian uncles. She visited Nostell several times during her youth and was consistently respectful of the 4th Baronet, although she seems to have loathed his son Rowland, later the 5th Baronet.

⁹⁶ Woolfe, J., and Gandon, J. *Vitruvius Britannicus IV* (London, 1767), p. 9.

Sandbeck Park, Yorkshire, and Thorndon Hall, Essex,⁹⁷ although none of these is really comparable with Nostell. Paine records that ‘at the age of nineteen, [he] was entrusted to conduct a building of consequence in the West Riding of the county of York’,⁹⁸ which refers to Nostell. Peter Leach has established that Paine was baptised in 1717,⁹⁹ and he began work at Nostell in 1736, age 19. The date of 1736 is problematic, however, as Joseph Perfect and Stephen Switzer’s designs for the proposed park, datable to c.1731 (this date will be discussed below) depict a house with a central block with quadrant links and pavilions facing eastwards (cat. 3-4), an outline and orientation which remained broadly consistent throughout the subsequent design history of Nostell. In 1731 Paine was not 19, but 14, and in accordance with his own statement he could not have been responsible for the design. Indeed, the St Martin’s Lane Academy – where Paine was to receive his training – was not founded by William Hogarth until 1735.¹⁰⁰

In the 1970s, Eileen Harris discovered an anonymous annotation in the margin of a copy of the *Builder’s Dictionary* of 1734 attributing the design of Nostell to ‘Co Moyser’.¹⁰¹ Harris has also suggested that the 4th Baronet had initially consulted Colen Campbell.¹⁰² This is because of similarities between Nostell and a drawing by Campbell in the RIBA drawings collection (fig. 7). There are important similarities in the plan and elevation, but there are also significant differences in the internal layout. This is a credible source for the design of Nostell, but Nostell may equally be derived from Campbell’s design for Wanstead (fig. 8) which had been published in the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1725.¹⁰³ Both have pavilions and make use of a three-storey elevation, with a rusticated basement, exterior stairs to the *piano nobile*, similar fenestration, and a hexastyle portico. Campbell’s work was doubtless an important influence over the design of Nostell, but owing to the wide dissemination of his work in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, his direct involvement cannot be assumed.

James Moyser (c.1688-1751) came from a wealthy Yorkshire family. His grandfather – also James – had been so friendly with Burlington’s family that a principal room at Londesborough

⁹⁷ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), pp. 75-82.

⁹⁸ Paine, J. *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Houses* (London 1767), p. i.

⁹⁹ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 197.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

was named after him.¹⁰⁴ Moyser's father John, who was MP for Beverley in 1705-8, was friends with Lord Burlington, and subscribed to the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1725.¹⁰⁵ The Moyser family would therefore have been familiar with Campbell's design for Wanstead. James Moyser himself had been in the army,¹⁰⁶ and then retired home to Beverley.¹⁰⁷ Although none of his drawings have survived, he is known to have practiced as an architect in the 1730s and 1740s, and he is connected with Sir William Wentworth's Bretton Hall in Yorkshire,¹⁰⁸ and the Wandesford Hospital in York.¹⁰⁹ As a pupil at Beverley Grammar School, Moyser was part of a genteel Yorkshire circle that included Hugh Bethel and Colonel James Gee, and which gravitated towards Alexander Pope and Lord Burlington, 'the local magnate'.¹¹⁰ Like his father, Moyser is known to have been a member of Burlington's social circle: a number of Alexander Pope's letters to Hugh Bethel - with whom Moyser had travelled to Italy in 1741 - include 'heartly Compliments' to him.¹¹¹ That his father's acquaintances and architectural interests are likely to have influenced Moyser, can be seen in his use of Venetian windows at Bretton Hall, a far less ambitious undertaking than Nostell: 'merely a rectangular block dressed up with Palladian windows'.¹¹² Moyser did not take a supervisory role in its construction, nor did he take any control over the construction of Nostell as Paine was employed to do this in 1736. Moyser died in 1751, well before Paine's departure from Nostell in 1765.¹¹³

Paine may have been introduced to the 4th Baronet through Burlington, having been acquainted with Isaac Ware,¹¹⁴ another of Burlington's protégés at the St Martin's Lane Academy. And tellingly, another of Paine's major patrons, the Duke of Devonshire, for whom

¹⁰⁴ Neave, D. 'Lord Burlington's Park and Garden at Londesborough, Yorkshire', *Garden History*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1980), p. 71; Akehurst, A.M. 'Wandsford Hospital, York: Colonel Moyser and the Yorkshire Burlington Group', *Architectural History* 51 (2008), p. 125.

¹⁰⁵ Neave, D. 'Lord Burlington's Park and Garden at Londesborough, Yorkshire', *Garden History*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1980), p. 71; Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 713.

¹⁰⁶ Moyser had attained the rank of Colonel having seen active service in Spain. Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Akehurst, A.M. 'Wandsford Hospital, York: Colonel Moyser and the Yorkshire Burlington Group', *Architectural History* 51 (2008), p. 111.

¹¹⁰ Rogers, P. 'The Burlington Circle in the Provinces: Alexander Pope's Yorkshire Friends', *The Durham University Journal*, Vol. LXII (1974-5), p. 219.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 221.

¹¹² Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 713.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 19.

he worked at Chatsworth for a decade from 1756, was Lord Burlington's son-in-law.¹¹⁵ Initially employed as the Clerk of Works or executant architect,¹¹⁶ Paine was presumably obliged to use Moyser's design, but when did Paine begin to alter his predecessor's design? In a letter, hitherto unpublished, to the 4th Baronet, dated 16 February 1747, Paine wrote:

In the Sketch I Hon'r myself in Transmitting to you I have pursued his / I Jones \ Method of proportions, they differ greatly from those sent & C. Moyser wh'h your Hon'r will please to Observe wh'n you receive the other again from Bath, your Hon'r needs not Trouble C. Moyser with the knowledge of this Alteration, I will Answere for all being well.¹¹⁷

This is incontrovertible evidence of Moyser's initial responsibility for the design and Paine's later alteration of it.

The design for Nostell was already considerably developed prior to Paine's arrival in 1736. He had been employed – after Perfect, Switzer and Moyser had all been consulted – to construct the house in accordance with a pre-existing design. And as we shall see, Paine made alterations to this design, eventually taking architectural control.

iii. The Villa Mocenigo plan and the layout of Nostell

Before the contribution of each architect can be explored further, it is necessary to consider why the 4th Baronet decided to build a house making use of a central block, links and pavilions. The obvious precedent for this layout is the work of Andrea Palladio.¹¹⁸ In his 1773 publication *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham in Norfolk*, Matthew Brettingham voiced this opinion, citing Palladio's Villa Mocenigo (fig. 9) as the principal source for Holkham:

The mode of placing the four pavilions diverging from the four extreme angles of the centre building, and connected with it by four rectilinear corridors, seems to have been

¹¹⁵ Leach, P. 'Paine, James (bap. 1717, d. 1789)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition May 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21131>, accessed 5 March 2012.

¹¹⁶ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 767.

¹¹⁷ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1588/1, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. the links at Nostell, 16 February 1747.

¹¹⁸ Beard, G. *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior* (London, 1990), p. 189.

borrowed from Palladio's plan of a villa, designed for the Cavalier Leonardo Mocenigo on the Brenta.¹¹⁹

The application of such a precedent to Nostell, however, is problematic as the Villa Mocenigo is significantly different in many respects. Most importantly, the central block in the Villa Mocenigo is centred on a large square atrium, an arrangement 'informed by Vitruvius' account of tetrastyle atria in Roman houses'.¹²⁰ Broadly speaking, the central block at Nostell takes the form of a traditional seventeenth-century English house from the time of Roger Pratt. That it is divided transversely can be seen from Paine's various plans, with an entrance hall and saloon on the central axis, and further rooms to either side. The central block of the Mocenigo design is rejected, and instead Nostell is suggestive of Palladio's Villa Pisani at Bagnolo (fig. 10) which is usually only celebrated for its exquisite use of spatial manipulation, with a hemicycle entrance hall and cruciform central salon.¹²¹ The use of links and pavilions at Nostell are likely to have been influenced by the Mocenigo plan – or another of Palladio's villa designs that makes use of them, such as the Villa Pisani (fig. 10), or the Villa Trissino (fig. 11) – but the overall plan is more complicated. It is necessary, therefore, both to acknowledge the influence of Palladio over the fabric of Nostell, but also to explore the ways in which it is different.

The earliest graphic evidence for Nostell taking this form is two park designs by Joseph Perfect and Stephen Switzer (cat. 3-4). As we have seen, they are particularly important sources for the early design of the house. Perfect's design is dated 1731, and that Switzer's career was flourishing around in the same year can be seen from his correspondence with Thomas Knowlton, Burlington's gardener at Londesborough, immediately prior to his publication of *A Dissertation On the True Cythisus Of the Ancients*.¹²² Moreover, Switzer's design for Nostell was partially realised around this date. The drawing depicts an avenue lined with three rows of trees leading to the east front of the house, and though replanted since the 1730s, this avenue is still in existence.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Brettingham, M. *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham in Norfolk, The Seat of the late Earl of Leicester* (London, 1773), p. xiii.

¹²⁰ Boucher, B. *Andrea Palladio: The Architect in his Time* (New York and London, 1994), p.52.

¹²¹ Tavernor, R. *Palladio and Palladianism* (London, 1991) p. 29.

¹²² Switzer, S. *A Dissertation On the True Cythisus Of the Ancients* (London, 1731), p. viii.

¹²³ The National Trust, *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 2001), p. 45.

We can see from Perfect and Switzer's park designs that Nostell was probably the first house in the north of England to have been inspired – albeit in part – by a Palladian precedent. According to Paine the precedent for Nostell was 'seen by his Lordship abroad',¹²⁴ and since Perfect and Switzer's designs make use of a central block with quadrant links and pavilions prior to any involvement by Moyser, it may (as we shall see) have been the 4th Baronet himself who was responsible for this idea.¹²⁵

Since at least the first century AD, the wings of an Italian country villa were used as stabling for animals and the storage of crops. These buildings were often arranged around a courtyard so that they were easily accessible.¹²⁶ The term 'villa' did not refer to the central house, but to the entire complex of residential and agricultural buildings at the heart of a country estate.¹²⁷ Palladio took this a step further:

The covertures for the things belonging to a villa, must be made suitable to the estate and number of animals; and in such manner joined to the master's habitation, that he may be able to go to every place under cover, that neither the rains, nor the scorching sun of the summer, may be a nuisance to him, when he goes to look after his affairs; which will also be of great use to lay wood in under cover, and an infinite number of things belonging to a villa, that would otherwise be spoiled by the rains and the sun: besides which these porticos will be a great ornament.¹²⁸

Palladio's idea was to provide shelter, not only for the agricultural produce, but also for the master as he walked to inspect it. Moreover, Palladio mentions that these buildings provide a 'great ornament', as they enclose the courtyard in front of the villa. A courtyard could serve as an elegant reception area on the master's arrival – or that of his guests – showing off the building to its widest extent.¹²⁹ It was Palladio's great invention that the owner of the estate should have a magnificent house at the centre of the villa complex, which had not ordinarily been a feature of villa architecture until this time.

¹²⁴ Jackson-Stops, G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 1973), p. 6.

¹²⁵ Switzer would have been perfectly capable of including a Palladian-planned house in his design as it is clear from his published works that he was familiar with Italian literature, both antique and Renaissance. Switzer, S. *Iconographia Rustica: The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation: or, An Introduction To Gardening, Planting, Agriculture, and the other Business and Pleasures of a Country Life* (London, 1715), preface.

¹²⁶ Holberton, P. *Palladio's Villas: Life in the Renaissance Countryside* (London, 1990), pp. 187-188.

¹²⁷ Burns, H. *Andrea Palladio 1508-1580: The Portico and the Farmyard* (London, 1975), p. 163.

¹²⁸ Ware, I. (trans.). *Andrea Palladio, The Four Books of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (1738; New York, 1965), Book 2, p. 47.

¹²⁹ Holberton, P. *Palladio's Villas: Life in the Renaissance Countryside* (London, 1990), p. 187.

The use of links and pavilions was not new to England in the eighteenth century. In 1662, John Webb made designs to extend the Queen's House at Greenwich with the addition of quadrant pavilions.¹³⁰ Although Webb's design for Greenwich was never realised, Christopher Wren did add pavilions to Kensington Palace from 1689.¹³¹ Neither of these buildings was initially designed with their pavilions as integral features, and in this way both differ enormously from the designs of Palladio and Nostell. But it is important to note that such pavilions were under construction on palaces in England as early as the late seventeenth century.

Even greater admiration of Italian architecture was expressed by members of the Burlington circle. Not least of these admirers was Colen Campbell who included examples of Inigo Jones's executed works – directly influenced by his observations of Palladio's architecture – in the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715.¹³² That all of Palladio's books on architecture were published in English by 1720 made Italian architecture easily available in England.¹³³ Like Nostell, one of Campbell's principal works, Wanstead, made use of two pavilions, attached to the central block by links, and is also evocative of the Mocenigo-type plan. Campbell continued to use links and pavilions when he designed Houghton Hall for Sir Robert Walpole (fig. 5).¹³⁴ But English houses – including Wanstead, Houghton and Nostell – were not direct derivatives of the Italian villa: in the Italian precedent pavilions were used as agricultural spaces, while in England they were domestic. The English country house has never been used for agricultural storage. It is surely to be expected that when the Burlington circle adopted the pavilions of the Mocenigo plan, they were naturalised to suit English usage.

The English use of pavilions for the country house – rather than being affixed to a great palace – has its introduction at Holkham. We can see from Matthew Brettingham's plan (fig. 6) that the pavilions at Holkham were used as a chapel, library, guest wing and kitchen. It is impossible to know what rooms Perfect, Switzer and Moyser had intended to place in the

¹³⁰ Thurley, S. 'A Country Seat Fit for a King: Charles II, Greenwich and Winchester', in Cruickshanks, E. (ed.). *The Stuart Courts*, 2nd ed. (2000; Gloucestershire, 2009), p. 222; Colvin, H.M. (ed.). *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. V: 1660-1782 (London, 1976), p. 183.

¹³¹ Impey, E. *Kensington Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (London, 2003), p. 26.

¹³² Campbell, C. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. 1 (London, 1715).

¹³³ Harris, E. *British Architectural Books and Writers: 1556-1785* (Cambridge and New York, 1990), p. 356.

¹³⁴ The elevation of this design is similar to Jones's south front at Wilton House in Wiltshire (1635-47), but again it makes use of two attached corner pavilions.

pavilions, but from Paine's plans for Nostell, in the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 12) we can see that they were to be a kitchen; brewhouse; laundry and washhouse; and library and chaplain's quarters. The first three were separated on account of their being service quarters, especially the kitchen which posed a fire risk, and the fourth, the library and chaplain's quarters, was also separated from the central block, elevating it above the domestic sphere.

A solid central block is shown in both Perfect and Switzer's park designs for Nostell. In Switzer's drawing the dimensions of the central block are 100 x 150 feet. That the executed central block measures 80 x 160 feet indicates that Moyser was employed later and drastically altered the design and dimensions of the building. It is less likely that this was designed by Paine, as all of his plans for the central block depict an identical arrangement of rooms, and gives consistent overall dimensions (80 x 160 feet). Such consistency suggests that these features had been dictated by Moyser, and that perhaps the foundations had already been dug on Paine's arrival in 1736. The plans in question are Paine's earliest drawings for Nostell – those which facilitated the first building works – three being for the basement floor (cat. 5-7) and a fourth relating to the *piano nobile* (cat. 8). It is significant, however, that there are other, more minor differences, which show that Paine was refining the design at this very early stage.

Three of Paine's plans make use of under-drawing and scribbled dimensions, which suggests that Moyser had not already provided drawings which could be pricked for reproduction.¹³⁵ Rather, Paine was finalising various details in these preparatory drawings in order that construction could begin. The plan for the *piano nobile* is inscribed with numerous calculations, by which Paine was making sure that his dimensions added up to the required overall size of 80 x 160 feet. In the style of a presentation drawing, one of Paine's plans for the basement is not dimensioned. This was perhaps produced for approval by the 4th Baronet, but cannot have been satisfactory as this particular arrangement of door openings was not realised. It is important, however, to observe that this phase of development took place under Paine rather than Moyser, and there is further evidence of Paine's manipulation of the final design for Nostell. Throughout his series of plans he altered the arrangement of the fenestration and

¹³⁵ It is likely that Moyser remained largely within the sphere of planning, rarely taking responsibility for execution, since his military background would have exposed him to 'surveying and valuation'. Akehurst, A.M. 'Wandsford Hospital, York: Colonel Moyser and the Yorkshire Burlington Group', *Architectural History* 51 (2008), p. 124.

internal doors, the location of fireplaces, and the number of columns in the portico. Even the design for the staircases had not been finalised. We can see this from another of Paine's plans for the basement (cat. 7) in which there are stairs on the southern-most wall of the south staircase, and which were never built. All of these features clearly required finalisation before construction could begin, and as such the four plans must date from 1736, immediately following Paine's arrival.

iv. Taking control: designs by James Paine

The life and work of James Paine have been discussed in detail in Peter Leach's monograph.¹³⁶ Certain aspects of his youth, however, are of particular relevance to his work at Nostell. He was the son of a carpenter from Andover in Hampshire, and he received the opportunity to study at the auspicious St Martin's Lane Academy in London. Two of his teachers there were Michael Moser and Hubert Gravelot. Moser was a famed chaser of gold and silver, and a stuccadore, who worked in minute detail.¹³⁷ Gravelot advocated the French-style interior design at the Academy, which probably accounts for Paine's preference for a French-style interior, the *genre pittoresque*.¹³⁸ In 1736, at the age of 19, he was employed to construct the house, and until 1744 took up residence one mile from Nostell in the village of Wragby.¹³⁹ At this time Nostell, his only professional occupation, was on his doorstep,¹⁴⁰ and this proximity accounts for the scarcity of written archival material relating to this phase of construction. As Paine would have spoken with his patron and craftsmen in person, the extant architectural drawings are the best source of information on the construction of the house.

Many of the drawings in the collection at Nostell can be attributed to Paine on the basis of their draughtsmanship and inscriptions. Paine did not have an office of assistants or draughtsman at this early phase of his career and all of the drawings are therefore autograph. Moreover, it is possible to identify his hand with confidence. On most of Paine's drawings the letter forms of the inscriptions, and on the drawn scale, are consistent, showing that the annotation was added by Paine himself. This is particularly noticeable in the number '0' and

¹³⁶ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), pp. 17-19.

¹³⁷ Cornforth, J. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 197.

¹³⁸ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 18.

¹³⁹ Hey, D. *Buildings of Britain 1550-1750: Yorkshire* (Derbyshire, 1981), p. 111; Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), pp. 22-23.

¹⁴⁰ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 22.

the letter 'o'.¹⁴¹ It is important to identify features which are characteristic of Paine, rather than being typical of the period, in order to provide secure attributions. Luckily Paine's individual letter forms are distinctive and consistent. From observation of his letters, we can see that he wrote the letter 'd' in the modern form when at the beginning of a word (fig. 13), but when a letter 'd' appears at the end of a word he added a curl to the top of the upward stroke (fig. 14). Another consistency is the tail of the letters 'y' and 'g'. When placed at the end of a word, he gave them a long tail that extended under the preceding letters (fig. 15). When signing his name, Paine's letter form of 'P' was made with one fluid pen stroke (fig. 16), but in general usage the letter form was made with two separate pen strokes, often with a small distance between them (fig. 17). These features make it possible to identify Paine's hand.

In addition to Paine's plans for Nostell, another drawing dating from his earliest involvement in 1736 shows three sections through a wall, in his distinctive hand. This shows the window openings (cat. 9). Annotated with dimensions, it appears to be another example of Paine producing a drawing before construction could begin. The drawing shows three sections along the wall of the east front, from ground to roof line. The first and third sections depict the wall at either side of the portico on the east front. The portico had a small protruding perron and this is shown in the second section. It is likely that these sections illustrate Paine's development of the design in preparation for construction. That the wall is consistently 45 feet high suggests that the height had been dictated before 1736 by Moyser. But other features of this drawing confirm Paine's design control over the ornamental aspects of the east front. The three sections show alternative designs for the entablature and cornice. On one of these Paine annotated the dimensions of the frieze in great detail, but neither of the designs was executed suggesting that Paine made another design which was realised but does not survive. Moreover, one of the most striking aspects of the executed elevation – the small alternating triangular and segmental pediments over the windows of the *piano nobile* (fig. 18) – are absent from all three sections. As such, it is likely that this drawing represents only one phase of Paine's preparatory design, and does not depict the ornamental features which were already under his control in 1736.

That Paine continued to produce drawings following Moyser's designs after 1736 can be seen from another of his plans showing the arrangement of the joists for the south end of the house

¹⁴¹ See cat. 21.

on the *piano nobile* level (cat. 10). This depicts the unseen structural aspects of an architect's responsibility, and that the drawing was produced by Paine suggests that Moyser had no interest in providing details of these more mundane, structural features. The plan has rough pencil under-drawing, suggesting that – despite Moyser already having dictated the dimensions – once again Paine was finalising the details of the design in order that construction could take place. It is likely that the floor of the *piano nobile* was installed early in order that the upper register should be more easily accessible. As such the drawing can be dated to c.1737-38. In addition, a fragment of a letter in Paine's hand gives specific instructions for the dimensions of the girders and joists, and the spaces between these elements, 'For the Hall floor at Nostell',¹⁴² for which he was still following Moyser's design.

It is difficult to date the moment when Paine evolved from a clerk of works-cum-executant architect to an independent architect at Nostell with the authority to make his own designs. The first evidence of such a change occurs in a set of 11 drawings, in his hand, for a cartouche in the pediment on the east front (cat. 11-21). The sheer number and variety of these drawings make it clear that Paine was finally in a position to provide his own designs for the 4th Baronet. These drawings could have been made at any time between Paine's employment at Nostell in 1736, and 1747, when he completed the structure of the central block. But they were most likely produced earlier when the fabric of the central block was well underway. None of these cartouche designs was executed (nor were anyone else's) and none was used when Paine made drawings of Nostell for the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1767 (fig. 19).

It has been suggested that one of these drawings was intended as a new set of arms for the 4th Baronet, and there are two others which are preparatory drawings for this.¹⁴³ While this theory

¹⁴² WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/13, Letter from James Paine to unknown, specifications for the Hall floor at Nostell, no date. In this letter Paine is very specific about how the girders and joists were to be installed: 'For the Hall floor at Nostel / The 2 principal Girders to be 19 In: wide by 13 deep each put together in 2 pieces and bolted close with 14 In thick Iron Screw Bolts – and to Camber 1 Inch in the middle – / The other Girders to be 12 In thick by 13 In deep – The Binding Joists at each end of the Room to be Forty In thick by 13 In deep – The Joists between to be some deep and some shallow, the deep ones to be fram's into the Girders and the lower edges kept ½ In below the underside of the Girders to prevent the Ceiling from Cracking – The deep Filling in Joists to be 4 ½ thick by 15 ½ In deep and the Shallow ones to be 9 In by 3 In fram'd about 12 Inches apart – The Narrow Spaces between the Girders may be Joisted with Timber 5 by 3 Inches and only Notched into the Girders instead of Framing- Let it be observ'd to kep the Timber 9 Inches clear of the Chimney Funnell.' His explanation makes it clear that he had designed this feature.

¹⁴³ Knox, T. 'National Trust Catalogue of Architectural Drawings at Nostell Priory' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2002) [2]16, 19, 21.

is attractive, it is also problematic.¹⁴⁴ The design for the 4th Baronet's arms is clearly drawn in the triangular shape of a pediment. But most of the other drawings within this group are also drawn within pediments: four of the drawings are scaled within a pediment which is 12 ft 6 in. high; another one in a pediment 14 feet high; and there is a final drawing within a pediment which has no scale at all. The range of dimensions within this group of drawings is significant as it suggests that the size of the pediment was undecided. Therefore, during the 1740s, Paine was not only taking design control of the ornamental features such as the cartouche, but also of structural features such as the pediment. As none of Paine's early drawings show the roof, it is not known whether Moyser had provided a design for it, and that Paine designed the pediment suggests not. Moreover, as previously mentioned, one of Paine's early preliminary plans for the central block (cat. 8) depicts a modest portico of only four columns, rather than the six columns that were executed. Thus, despite the fixed arrangement of the central block, the portico – and therefore most likely the pediment and roof as a whole – had probably not been designed by Moyser.

As the structure of the central block was nearing completion in 1746, Paine left Wragby for London, enabling him to attract greater patronage and success.¹⁴⁵ He continued to work at Nostell until the death of his patron in 1765, but he did so from a distance and alongside other projects such as the Doncaster Mansion House.¹⁴⁶ Later in life, he received numerous lofty commissions, and was given a seat on the Board of Works in 1780.¹⁴⁷ In 1785 he served as High Sheriff of Surrey, proof of his later status as a gentleman, acquired through his architectural success.¹⁴⁸ He died in the autumn of 1789 'in France, in his 73rd year', having retired 'some months preceding his decease, finding the infirmities of age steal fast upon him,

¹⁴⁴ This would certainly be a good compliment as heraldry of this type had been self-consciously used as a form of 'genealogical identification' of long standing lineage and elevated social standing since the twelfth century, with particular designs associated with different regions and families. Coss, P., and Keen, M. (eds.). *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Mediaeval England* (Suffolk, 2002), pp. 17-29.

¹⁴⁵ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 22.

¹⁴⁶ As well as the Doncaster Mansion House Paine's other architectural projects of the 1740s include Campsall Hall, Cusworth Hall, Heath House, Hickton Hall, and Wadworth Hall, all of which are confined to Yorkshire, and it was not until the 1750s that he was able to broaden his portfolio beyond that county. Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), catalogue of works, pp. 171-217.

¹⁴⁷ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 767-72.

¹⁴⁸ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 38.

and a family occurrence of a singular nature preying upon his spirits'.¹⁴⁹ The circumstances of Paine's death in France have never been fully understood.¹⁵⁰

The central block of the house was complete in 1747 when Paine moved to London, and at this time attention was turned to the interior and the four pavilions. In 1761, when Dorothy Richardson visited the house, she described the main entrance as being on the south front between two pavilions. She wrote:

The House is built of Stone; & has two Grand Fronts; that towards the Lake is thirteen windows in breadth, & three stories high with a Lawn before it. The entrance Front has four large Windows with the Door in the middle; & over it a Venetian Window with a round top; to this Front two wings (which project before the Building) are connected by arcades.¹⁵¹

This tells us that the south front was used as the entrance front and implies that the southern parts of the house were closest to completion and most suitable for guests. In fact, Paine had only completed his decoration of the southern parts of the house, and various rooms in the northern half and the central Top Hall – now considered to be the grand entrance hall – were still shells.¹⁵²

There is archival evidence that the interior decoration of the already constructed central block was taking place at the same time that the first pavilion – the Kitchen – was being built. On 30 February 1749 Paine wrote to the 4th Baronet, discussing the design of the Kitchen pavilion and the design for the chimneypiece in the State Dining Room concurrently:

Enclosed herewith you will receive (with the same you inclosed to me) two other different designs for the Projection you Propose to make in Center of West front of yr

¹⁴⁹ Anon. 'Obituary. James Paine', *Gentleman's Magazine*, II (1789), p. 1153.

¹⁵⁰ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 768. There is no indication that Paine's death was related to the beginning of the French Revolution.

¹⁵¹ Richardson, D. *Diary* (1761), Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, pp. 11-12.

¹⁵² Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004): Top Hall – Room History 1: 1.1 Introduction.

Kitchen [...] in my last I gave you an Acct that had sketched the lower Part of ye Dining room Chimney Piece at large.¹⁵³

In addition to this, there is a sectional drawing of the quadrant link located on the verso of a drawing for an interior wall of the central block (cat. 23). This provides further proof that the central block was already built – and being decorated – when the pavilions and their links were under construction. The drawing is annotated by Paine, more so than any other in the collection, revealing that the design for the link was his own, made without any reference to Moyser.

Paine also designed the pavilions themselves. In the same letter he discussed the general design for the pavilions and the materials required for the roof:

Enclosed herewith you will receive (with the same you enclosed to me) two other different designs for the Projection you Propose to make in Centre of west front of y^r Kitchen [...] the roof in the first design ay be Covered with Lead and in the two Latter with Westmoorland Slate.¹⁵⁴

This is definitive evidence of Paine's responsibility for the design of the pavilions. That both of Paine's southern pavilions were erected quickly is clear from Dr Pococke's description of them during his visit of 1750, when he recorded that 'the grand offices on one side are finished'.¹⁵⁵ Paine's Kitchen pavilion survives in its original state,¹⁵⁶ but his Brew-house pavilion – built on the south-east corner of the central block – was demolished to make way for an unexecuted wing by Adam. This was most likely done before 1785, when the 5th Baronet died, and Adam's employment at Nostell ended. We can be certain it was demolished by 1808, because it is absent from an estate survey made in that year.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/54, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. the Kitchen pavilion at Nostell, 30 February 1749. In this letter Paine discusses the construction of both the Kitchen pavilion and the decoration of the State Dining Room at the same time.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Cartwright, J.J. (ed.). 'Dr Pococke's Journey into England from Dublin by the way of the Isle of Man, 1750', *Camden Society*, New Series xlii (1888), p. 63.

¹⁵⁶ Conveniently the majority of the material relating to Paine's pavilion design relates to the extant Kitchen pavilion on the south-west corner of the central block. This would suggest that it was the first of the two pavilions to be built, as the other was simply a mirror image of it, and considering the kitchen's important function, this would certainly seem sensible.

¹⁵⁷ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/2/19, Nostell estate survey, 1808. This survey lists every structure within the estate at Nostell.

We have seen, then, that Paine's drawings for the Kitchen pavilion, like those for the link, provide evidence that he was responsible for the design. The first of the kitchen pavilion drawings is a small preliminary design (cat. 24) showing a part plan and elevation similar to – although larger than – the structure as built. This design is five rather than three bays wide, and there is a central, projecting canted bay. The drawing includes alternative pyramidal and hipped roofs, and on the verso shows a half-dome over the central bay. It is clear, considering the several alternatives depicted in this drawing, that it was a preliminary design in which Paine was testing his ideas in an exploratory fashion. The second of Paine's drawings for the kitchen pavilion – previously attributed to an unidentified draughtsman¹⁵⁸ – is an elevation and laid-out wall-elevations (cat. 22). This is the only extant drawing to show the Kitchen pavilion almost as executed. It is certainly in Paine's hand but annotated by another hand, probably that of the tradesman that used the drawing. The design closely resembles the north, south and west fronts of the Kitchen pavilion, except for the small square central window on the *piano nobile*. The multiple designs for the Kitchen pavilion, along with Paine's letter on the subject, are evidence that by the late 1740s he had finally been given sole responsibility for the fabric.

v. Climate, Authorship and Paine's ideal Nostell

During his subsequent career, Paine developed a very personal style of architecture. Elements of this style are easily recognisable and can be seen in his *Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses* (1767). His motifs were mainly derived from William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* of 1727, but it is Paine's consistent use of them, and their combination, that is so telling.¹⁵⁹ Identification of his personal architectural vocabulary will help to clarify further the extent to which he designed the executed house at Nostell (fig. 20). Although it has been established that he was responsible for the pavilions, the authorship of the central block is unclear.

Paine's characteristic motifs have been identified and discussed by Leach.¹⁶⁰ But as the executed fabric of the central block at Nostell was a collaborative effort between Paine and

¹⁵⁸ Knox, T. 'National Trust Catalogue of Architectural Drawings at Nostell Priory' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2002) [3]1.

¹⁵⁹ Leach, P. 'Paine, James (bap. 1717, d. 1789)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition May 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21131>, accessed 5 March 2012.

¹⁶⁰ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), pp. 41-46.

Moyser we should not expect to find the full repertoire of Paine's architectural forms. Those features not present on the exterior of Nostell include: splayed window surrounds, such as those found at basement level at Wadworth Hall near Doncaster (fig. 21); a Venetian window within a relieving arch, as at Ormsby Hall in Lincolnshire (fig. 22); and a canted window bay, as at both of these houses. The canted bay motif is used in his first drawing for the Kitchen pavilion,¹⁶¹ and to judge from his later use of it, Paine liked this feature, although it was never used at Nostell itself.¹⁶² Two motifs which are typical of Paine, however, do appear at Nostell (fig. 20). One is the subsidiary string-course that runs along the base of the windows on the *piano nobile* – Paine used this at most of his independent designs, including Wadworth and Ormsby, while the most strikingly Paine-esque feature of Nostell is the shallow portico with its oversized pediment. Many of his designs include the shallow portico and wide pediment, and a good example occurs at Ormsby, where the pediment spans most of the front. Paine's manipulation of the portico and pediment are evidence of his association with the Burlington circle. Just as Campbell had done with the designs of Wanstead and Houghton, Paine was making use of Italian features in a naturalised English way. The combination of a shallow portico with an unusually wide pediment is suitable for a northern climate as it would allow a greater amount of sunlight to penetrate the windows, but also protects a large portion of the front from the elements. Such issues of climatic suitability in Paine's architecture can help to further identify authorship at Nostell.

In order to fully understand Paine's central block, we must strip away the later Adam fabric. Although the fabric of the central block was retained, determining the layout of the house, Adam made additions to it which included a vestibule and new wing, as seen in his various architectural drawings (cat. 198-225), and most clearly illustrated in Jean Godwin's composite plan of the house (fig. 23). From these drawings we can see that Paine's house consisted of a rectangular central block, with a tripartite elevation, cornice strip, and hipped roof. The windows remain square and within an architrave in the attic; the windows remain rectangular on the *piano nobile*, and surmounted by small alternating triangular and segmental pediments; and the central aedicular door at *piano nobile* level is also retained. That the present loggia, attached to the east front, was not in existence is apparent from Adam's drawing for its

¹⁶¹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/55, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. Kitchen pavilion at Nostell, no date.

¹⁶² Perhaps the 4th Baronet had not liked this feature and this may account for its absence from Nostell.

addition.¹⁶³ The east front basement level was rusticated, but instead of windows and a door between the stairs, there were five arches forming an arcade.¹⁶⁴ The double external stairs leading to the *piano nobile* were a tighter curve than Adam's executed stairs, being more like the horse-shoe-shape stairs on the south front of Kedleston Hall. Paine's stairs are depicted in his presentation drawings of the 1760s (cat. 27-28 and fig. 19).¹⁶⁵ With regard to the ornament of the front, his drawings reveal that the present balustrading was not included, and neither was the cartouche in the tympanum of the pediment. The most apparent change from Paine's time is that the south-east pavilion – a mirror image of Paine's remaining south-west pavilion – was demolished by Adam. The south front of the house retains Paine's central Venetian window, but on the north front this was replaced by an alternative Venetian window when Adam added his north-east wing and extended the Billiard Room outwards.

Paine's early plans of the basement and *piano nobile* reveal that Nostell – like Wanstead, Houghton and Holkham – always had a solid central block, akin to a seventeenth-century house, with quadrant links and pavilions. The combined use of a Palladian footprint, and a more conventionally English plan, is surely a naturalisation of Italian design. The house would have been cold had it included an open atrium as in the Villa Mocenigo design. As previously discussed, this plan was not by Paine. He did, however, continue to build and modify the exterior at Nostell so that it would be appropriate for the Yorkshire climate.

Paine's year-long tour of Italy from July 1755 can help us to understand his use of naturalised Italian motifs.¹⁶⁶ Little is known of this trip as even the ever-watchful Robert Adam, whose Grand Tour overlapped with Paine's, made no mention of his presence.¹⁶⁷ Paine's subsequent writings reveal he was no advocate of directly imitated Italian architecture:

We have received some real advantage from Palladio, and other Venetian masters, whose works were studied with great application by our countryman Inigo Jones; yet experience daily convinces us, that the houses built by the great masters, [listed as

¹⁶³ Cat. 88.

¹⁶⁴ This can be seen in Paine's elevation of the east front for the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Woolfe, J. and Gandon, J. *Vitruvius Britannicus* IV (London, 1767), pls. 72-73.

¹⁶⁵ One possible influence for Paine's use of horse-shoe stairs may have been the Queen's House at Greenwich.

¹⁶⁶ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 767; Ingamells, J. *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy: 1701-1800* (New Haven and London, 1997), p. 731.

¹⁶⁷ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 26.

Palladio and other Venetian masters] are very ill adapted to our climate, still worse to present modes of living, and consequently are not proper models for our imitation.¹⁶⁸

Paine makes a clear point here. Primarily, he stipulates that, though admirable on its own terms, the architecture of Palladio was unsuited to the British climate. England is colder than Italy, so any dogged imitation of its architecture – that which provided airy, shaded space to combat the searing Mediterranean heat – would be unwise in the colder English climate. He writes that it is ‘ill adapted to our climate’, and, as such, should not be directly copied, and it is not a ‘proper model’ because of these climatic concerns. Paine is making a point which privileges pragmatism over strict imitation, and this became one of the chief characteristics of his design practice, as we shall see. Of artists who did slavishly imitate Italian principles he wrote:

An artist who travels, and makes proper observations, undoubtedly may be the better for it; but if by travelling, he imbibed wrong principals in his art, and a blind veneration for inconsistent antiquated modes, and in the pursuit of such studies abroad, consequently neglects to make himself acquainted with the various necessary conveniences requisite for the country in which he is to exert his talents; such an artist may be said to be a man of taste, but he will hardly be considered as a man of judgment.¹⁶⁹

Thus Paine advocated practicality and adaptation rather than ‘blind veneration’, and he directly criticises the architect who does not adapt his own designs for the ‘country in which he is to exert his talents’. Paine’s designs were, as Eileen Harris explains, ‘intended, as more proper and convenient models for imitation in England than examples from Greece or Rome’.¹⁷⁰ In accordance with this, Paine’s designs allow light to permeate the interior of a building, while simultaneously sheltering it from bad weather. A perfect example of this is the shallow portico and wide pediment at Nostell. It is possible that Paine’s distaste for the benefits of travel had been promoted by the context of the Seven Years War (1756-63) involving much of Europe, though it did not include Italy. More likely, it seems that Paine prized social practicality and

¹⁶⁸ Paine, J. *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Houses* (London 1767), p. ii.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Harris, E. *British Architectural Books and Writers: 1556-1785* (Cambridge and New York, 1990), p. 347.

climatic comfort over Italian aesthetics, wishing instead to formulate a more appropriate, indigenous version of the classical form.

That Paine was an architect who favoured convenience over orthodox Italian motifs is widely recognised.¹⁷¹ Remarkably, however, this interest in climate has never been related to Nostell. The design of Nostell, moreover, was criticised throughout the twentieth century¹⁷² for precisely those aspects inspired by Paine's climatic interests. Yet this interest in climate goes some way towards explaining the executed form, as well as establishing a new naturalised stylistic identity, Paine's attitude towards climatic practicality is an important tool when analysing which aspects of the front of Nostell were his own.

Vitruvius states that the architect should consider climate when building, adapting the structure to the location.¹⁷³ Palladio did not do this, presumably as his own work was confined to Italy. In Paine's Nostell, we can see a derivative of Italian architecture, where he established a new naturalised form of familiar designs. Paine's drawings for Nostell which most clearly belie his interest in climate date, unsurprisingly, from the 1760s. It is likely that these drawings are a direct result of his visiting Italy and developing his interest in climate. They show certain changes to the design, producing a more handsome and climatically practical house – Paine's ideal version of Nostell. Some of these were executed, but most were not – despite this, however, they are useful in understanding the house prior to Adam's alterations.

The first of Paine's drawings for Nostell from the 1760s is a set of two presentation drawings. One depicts a plan of the *piano nobile* and an elevation of the east front of the house (cat. 27), and the other depicts the west and south elevations of the house (cat. 28).¹⁷⁴ These drawings may have been produced for the 4th Baronet himself. It is more likely, however, that they are the drawings that Paine sent to the 4th Baronet in 1761, when he explained that he had been required by 'Our Surveyor General [Thomas Worsley]' to produce 'a large Set of the Plans Elevations & Sections of yr House [...] which he was to produce to his Majesty [George

¹⁷¹ Ibid.; Leach, P. 'Paine, James (bap. 1717, d. 1789)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition May 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21131>, accessed 5 March 2012.

¹⁷² In the 1930s and 1940s Ralph Dutton described Nostell as 'a bleak rectangular building [...] the only ornament of its façade being a top-heavy pediment'. Dutton, R. *The English Country House*, 3rd ed. (1935; London, 1949), p. 74. And in 1973 Gervase Jackson-Stops described Nostell as 'heavier and squatter in proportion than Palladio's published villa designs'. Jackson-Stops, G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 1973), p. 11.

¹⁷³ Schofield, R. (trans.). *Vitruvius on Architecture* (London, 2009), p. 166.

¹⁷⁴ Unfortunately both of these drawings have previously been incorrectly catalogued, and labeled as showing a different front of the house than the ones which they actually do show.

III]'.¹⁷⁵ Paine's built central block is unchanging in the drawings, but the pavilion roofs have been altered. In the first drawing, the pavilions have a hipped roof and a pediment, and in the other they have simple pedimented roofs. Both of these drawings differ from the pyramidal roofs with dormer windows that had been executed. The links are also altered, with the arcade replaced by a solid curved corridor with square windows and a rectangular door – this design would obviously have provided more shelter than the executed open arcade. In both drawings, a string-course has been added to the pavilions, and the windows on the *piano nobile* of the pavilions have been changed from square to rectangular. That the drawings were produced in 1761 explains why any proposed changes were not executed. There would have been little time to persuade the 4th Baronet of the necessity of these changes, and then carry them out, as Paine was busy with the interior. Only four years later – presumably before this had been accomplished – the 4th Baronet died, bringing Paine's employment at Nostell to an end.

Paine also produced a set of three engravings for Nostell, depicting various changes to the design for the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1767 (fig. 12, 19, 24). They consist of plans for the basement level and the *piano nobile* – which are unchanged from the executed fabric – and an elevation for the east front. In the elevation we see Paine's ideal Nostell, although this could never have been realised as it was published in 1767, two years after the 5th Baronet's succession and the dismissal of Paine. The elevation shows considerable changes, compared to previous drawings, not only to the design for the pavilions – as in the drawings of 1761 – but also to the central block including the addition of six chimneys crowning the skyline, and a cartouche and garlands in the pediment.¹⁷⁶ The arcade is also removed from the links – as had been done in the drawing of 1761 – and from between the two external staircases on the central block. On the central block Paine replaces the arcade with a door and four square windows, again providing the interior with greater shelter. The removal of the arcade, and its replacement with windows, is similar to the changes made by Adam in this area a decade later.¹⁷⁷ In addition, the roofs of the pavilions are replaced with shallow pediments with chimneys; in the basement Paine added rustication and square windows; and in the *piano*

¹⁷⁵ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/1/2, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. the Surveyor General showing drawings of Nostell to King George III, 19 March 1761. In this letter, Paine explains to the 4th Baronet that he was obliged to produce a set of presentation drawings of Nostell for the perusal of King George III.

¹⁷⁶ The chimneys were built and were most likely part of the original design, being a practical feature of domestic architecture, and had simply never been included in any of Paine's drawings prior to this one.

¹⁷⁷ As we shall see, it is possible that Adam took inspiration from this drawing by Paine.

nobile the windows are changed from square to rectangular. The link arcades are also removed in favour of a Doric colonnade, and the links are topped with balustrading and statuary.

The arcade in Paine's link was ultimately bricked up, leaving a blind arcade with small segmental windows at the top of every other arch providing greater shelter to the interior (fig. 25). It is unlikely that this was done by Adam, as he had intended to demolish both of Paine's links and pavilions. Moreover, two drawings by Paine (cat. 25-26) suggest that he had been responsible for this alteration before 1765. These two drawings are alternative designs for filling in the arcade in the link, and like Paine's drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* IV they show a rusticated wall surface, balustrading along the roof line, and the edge of the central block. One major difference from *Vitruvius Britannicus* is that a blind arcade remains. It would seem that Paine was not able to remove the arcade altogether – as he might have liked – but he was able to fill the arches in.

Conclusion

On his succession in 1722, the 4th Baronet's house was not commensurate with his wealth. His funds were plentiful enough to rebuild a magnificent country mansion. Nostell was intended to adopt a form – partly inspired by Palladio – with a central block, quadrant links and pavilions. In 1736 Paine was commissioned to construct the house in accordance with designs by Moyser, but his role changed gradually, allowing him to take control of the design. Analysis of Paine's characteristic architectural forms, his interest in climate, and the extant house, has shed new light on the authorship of the early design and construction of the house. Chapter one has suggested which facets of the house were designed by Moyser, and which facets were designed by Paine, thus explaining how the executed fabric came into being.

Chapter Two. Paine's Interior (1747-65)

Introduction

With the fabric of the central block nearing completion in 1747, and the pavilions already underway, Paine and his patron turned their attention to the interior of the house. Chapter two will explore what the layout of the house and room usage can tell us about the 4th Baronet's intentions with regard to his new home. And it will explore how Paine managed to provide an interior befitting its role. Moreover, through analysis of his drawings, chapter two will uncover the various elements of Paine's executed interior that were concealed by Adam's later fitting-up, and thereby attempt to clarify the first interior at Nostell.

i. Loyalty at local level: creating an interior fit for a purpose

It has been established that Nostell Hall did not provide an adequate or comfortable house. As well as establishing a focal point for the wealth and power of its owner, the new house required an interior that could function as a comfortable and elegant family home. The domestic interior was the perfect setting in which to exert influence, and according to Vickery, the 'embellishing of interiors was understood as an exercise in family prestige'.¹⁷⁸ While this is doubtless an important feature of Paine and the 4th Baronet's motivations in creating the interior at Nostell, there are other important considerations. Although his life changed drastically during this period, with the failure of his political hopes and the loss of his wife, the genesis of the house dates from a time when the 4th Baronet clearly sought social recognition, and the house must be seen in this context. How did this earlier ambition impose upon the executed interior, and had the 4th Baronet's ambitions produced a fabric too grand for the eventual interior that was to be executed?

A house, carefully planned, could provide the 4th Baronet with a forum in which to extend hospitality to the local community.¹⁷⁹ The inclusion of various reception rooms, a state apartment, and an upper and lower hall would surely fulfil any imaginable social requirement. In addition, the process of building and decorating fulfilled the social demands expected of a

¹⁷⁸ Vickery, A. *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), p. 133.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

landowner through local patronage and charity. Generosity must be seen as a means of contributing to a family's overall political credit and visibility within the community.¹⁸⁰ Expenditure was expected to promote loyalty, and by establishing himself as a benevolent or paternalistic social leader, a landowner could form a reputation for being concerned with the labouring poor.¹⁸¹

An important local influence over the layout and interior at Nostell was the newly built seat of the 4th Baronet's friend Lord Malton – later 1st Marquess of Rockingham – at Wentworth Woodhouse, begun a year earlier than Nostell, in 1735. The 1st Marquess of Rockingham died in 1750,¹⁸² but there is evidence that the 4th Baronet remained acquainted with his heir, the 2nd Marquess, who had inherited aged only 20,¹⁸³ because the 4th Baronet's eldest son – later the 5th Baronet – took up residence in one of Rockingham's local houses, Badsworth Hall, following his marriage.¹⁸⁴ Both Wentworth Woodhouse and Nostell were influenced by Colen Campbell's various designs for Wanstead published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-25). Wentworth Woodhouse, like Nostell, had wings attached to the central block by links, great reception rooms, a state apartment, and an upper and lower hall. The Lower Hall at Nostell, and the Pillared Hall at Wentworth Woodhouse provide the clearest connection between the two houses, as both are rectangular, both following the central axis of the house, and both have a low ceiling, and two rows of Doric columns supporting the upper register. Moreover, in her diary Catherine Cappe recorded that the Lower Hall was used in the 1760s for entertaining the local tenantry at Christmas time.¹⁸⁵

Rockingham was further involved with his local community through the provision of economic stability, being not only a great house builder, but also a large landowner over 'many diversified estates'.¹⁸⁶ He created a vast economic empire that included income from agriculture, building, a breeding stables, a coal mine, land drainage, and brick and tile works. From Rockingham's example, we can see that the local landowner was expected to bolster the

¹⁸⁰ Chalus, E. *Elite Women in English Political Life c.1754-1790* (Oxford, 2005), p. 173.

¹⁸¹ Lewis, J.S. *Sacred to Female Patriotism: Gender, Class and Politics in Late Georgian Britain* (New York and London, 2003), p. 87.

¹⁸² Farrell, S.M. 'Wentworth, Charles Watson-, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham (1730-1782)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition January 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28878>, accessed 5 March 2012.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 97.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 80-94.

¹⁸⁶ Hoffman, R.J.S. *The Marquis: A Study of Lord Rockingham 1730-1782* (New York, 1973), p. 13.

local economy, and in accordance with this, the Nostell archive is peppered with vague references to the daily wages of trades people and labourers, many presumably sourced from the local area. Obviously Rockingham was not a typical landowner, and his influence may, in part, account for the 4th Baronet's grandiose – possibly unrealistic – ambitions. But local employment had always been provided by the Nostell coal mine, and the very process of building would provide additional employment, both during construction and the subsequent staffing of the new facilities within the house and its satellites, such as stable, gatehouses, and menagerie. With regard to the interior, there is archival evidence of numerous tradesmen and artisans with more specialist skills being employed from within Yorkshire, Robert Barker, a cabinet-maker of Coney Street in York, was consulted about bookcases;¹⁸⁷ William Sykes of the local Bracken Hill Quarry provided stone for the house;¹⁸⁸ Maurice Tobin of Leeds provided solutions for lighting;¹⁸⁹ John Elwick of York provided cloth;¹⁹⁰ and let us not forget that Thomas Chippendale – thought to have worked as an apprentice cabinet-maker at Nostell during Paine's era – was from Otley and came from a family of joiners.¹⁹¹

ii. Ambitious plans: locating Paine's layout within a social hierarchy

Remaining consistent throughout its design history, the arrangement – if not the use – of the rooms at Nostell follow Paine's early plans, being a house composed of a circuit of apartments and reception rooms. We can see this from Paine's plan of the house for the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 12). However, the use of the new rooms, their suitability expressed by decorative means, and the order in which one would encounter them can give more specific details both about the 4th Baronet's intentions, and the how the house was initially decorated. A great innovation of the eighteenth-century house was to establish cyclical circuits of rooms – as opposed to the linear apartments of the seventeenth century.¹⁹² A frequently cited example of this layout-type is the first floor of Norfolk House in St James's Square which included a state bedroom, dressing room, anteroom, two reception rooms and a great room in a circuit

¹⁸⁷ WYAS WYL1352(1) C3/1/5/1/5, Letter from Robert Barker to Rowland Winn, later 5th Baronet of Nostell, re. cabinets for a library at Nostell, 25 Jan 1764.

¹⁸⁸ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/15, List of stone supplied by William Sykes, Bracken Hill Quarry to Nostell Priory, no date.

¹⁸⁹ WYAS WYL1352(2) C4/3/3, Letter from Maurice Tobin to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. lighting for Nostell Priory, 1764.

¹⁹⁰ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1528/38, Letter from John Elwick to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. a bill for lace and cloth, 28 August, 1762.

¹⁹¹ Fitzgerald, G. 'Chippendale's Place in the English Rococo, *Furniture History* (1968), p. 1.

¹⁹² Girouard, M. *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978), p. 194.

around the staircase.¹⁹³ A variety of entertainments could be provided in a space of this type, with a little less consideration for the strict social hierarchies observed a century before with regard to access. As such, a circuit of rooms – as at Nostell – could provide an ideal interior for both lavish private entertainment, as well as offering the different spaces required for hospitality given to various types of people.¹⁹⁴

We can see from Paine's plan that the intention had been to enter the house through the Top Hall at the centre of the east front – providing the 4th Baronet with a grand ceremonial entrance space. In this, he was emulating many other great English country houses, not least Wentworth Woodhouse. It was also possible to enter Nostell on the ground floor at the far south end, or into the Lower Hall, although this would have lacked the magnificence of entering directly into the light and lofty Top Hall. However, it would have afforded a visitor the use of one of the internal staircases, which extend the height of the building, lending considerable grandeur to the overall interior. From the Top Hall it is possible to access the Saloon, immediately ahead on the central axis of the house. This is a large, formal reception room of the kind lacking in Nostell Hall, and from here one might move further into an apartment beyond.

To the right (north) of the Saloon was a room – now the Tapestry Room – never implemented by Paine, and left as a shell on his departure in 1765.¹⁹⁵ On the left (south) of the Saloon is the State Dining Room which has a Bacchic theme, albeit with architectural features – such as items of furniture and the ornamental door frames – which create a formal space. This room would only have been used for entertaining guests – providing the 4th Baronet with the means of hosting the elite – as there was a 'Common Eating Room'¹⁹⁶ on the ground floor. Although not universal, formal eating spaces were widespread in the 1740s and 1750s,¹⁹⁷ but at other country houses, such as Rokeby and Marble Hill, the dining rooms were decorated as print rooms, with prints pasted onto the walls, creating a less formal atmosphere, and an alternative to the formal type of dining room we see at Nostell.

¹⁹³ Vickery, A. *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 135-36.

¹⁹⁴ Girouard, M. *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978), pp. 194-95.

¹⁹⁵ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Tapestry Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., State Dining Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

¹⁹⁷ Cornforth, J. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 47.

The formality of the interior at Nostell climaxes with a state apartment, which, appropriately, is beyond the State Dining Room, in the south-west corner of the house. It is important to question the 4th Baronet's motives for including a state apartment as he cannot have expected to entertain royalty.¹⁹⁸ The current State Bedchamber is described on Paine's plan as the 'Common Sitting Room' (fig. 12), and moreover, Paine referred to the room as the 'Drawing Room' in an undated letter to the 4th Baronet.¹⁹⁹ Correspondingly, the room was described by Lady Wentworth in 1753 as the 'Drawing Room',²⁰⁰ and one of the two 'principal Rooms that are finish'd'.²⁰¹ As the State Dining Room and 'Drawing Room' were the first reception spaces to be completed they must have been important to the 4th Baronet - clearly he prioritised the capacity to entertain. Paine had designed this drawing room with a dual purpose, being adjacent to both the State Dining Room, and the original state bedchamber, now the State Dressing Room (fig. 26). It was common for important bedchambers to be adjacent to drawing rooms.²⁰² Moreover, the present State Dressing Room was the most appropriate place for the highest bedroom as it lies behind Paine's large Venetian window in the centre of the south front, a feature designed to denote the most important interior space (fig. 27).

The function of the state apartment can be better understood through analysis of another example. A decade later Sir Nathaniel Curzon built Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire. Like Nostell, Wanstead and Wentworth Woodhouse, Kedleston has a central block, links and pavilions. Here, however, Paine intended to include a staircase between the hall and saloon, on the central axis of the house.²⁰³ When Robert Adam took control at Kedleston in 1760, he removed the staircase to the west side of the house, sandwiched between the hall and state bedroom on the first floor. We can see from a plan and section at the Soane Museum that Adam had only intended the staircase at Kedleston to extend as far as the state apartment on the first floor, leaving access to the semi-state guest rooms on the second floor via the adjacent backstairs (fig. 28-29). This arrangement was altered prior to construction, and the principal

¹⁹⁸ Although not exclusively referred to as state rooms in the primary source material, the current State Dressing Room is regularly referred to as the 'state bedchamber' in various archival items, including Joseph Rose's day accounts, and the 1818 inventory of the house. WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/4/2, Accounts from Joseph Rose to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1766-1777; C4/1/15-15A, Inventory of the Nostell estate on the death of John Winn, 19 August 1818.

¹⁹⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1566/6, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. three designs for newels for Nostell, no date.

²⁰⁰ Account of Lady Wentworth's trip through Nottingham and Yorkshire, September 1753, London, British Library, Ref. 46,277, Vol. V, p. 20.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Cornforth, G. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 53.

²⁰³ Paine, J. *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses*, 2nd vol. (London, 1783), pl. XLIV.

staircase was extended to the semi-state rooms on the second floor, necessitating a rearrangement of the decorative plasterwork. Presumably Sir Nathaniel was reluctant to force his secondary, but still prominent, guests to access their bedchambers via the backstairs, and this tells us something about the way in which the state apartment at Kedleston was used. If the second storey provided guest accommodation then it would appear that the state apartment of bedroom and boudoir on the first floor was incorporated into the circuit of reception rooms on that floor. Indeed, the boudoir is adjacent to the saloon, and the state bedroom is adjacent to the dining room, and according to Leslie Harris, Sir Nathaniel had insisted that the state bedroom take its present location,²⁰⁴ allowing its use as a gallery for his collection of paintings. It would appear that this was a space for entertainment, and the same can be presumed of Nostell, where the state apartment, and possibly the secondary – crimson – apartment were initially intended to be part of the circuit of reception rooms on the southern side of the house.

Beyond the state apartment, or alternatively to the left of the Top Hall, is this secondary apartment. This is comprised of the Crimson Bedroom and Breakfast Room, and is one of the few areas in Paine's interior where the purpose of a room is not entirely clear. In Paine's plan for *Vitruvius Britannicus* this range of rooms, in the south-east corner of the house, was labelled as an apartment (fig. 12) and its location on the south side of the house implies that it had always been intended as the second guest apartment. But there is evidence that the Breakfast Room had a dual purpose, being decorated *en suite* with the neighbouring bedchamber – as its dressing room – but, according to Catherine Cappe, it had also been used as a private morning room by the 4th Baronet.²⁰⁵ It is likely that he used the Breakfast Room as it was across the Top Hall from his own apartment – in the north-east corner of the central block – and this room is traditionally called the Breakfast Room for this reason.

Despite the formality of the internal arrangement at Nostell – with its Top Hall, Saloon, and state rooms – there was still a desire for privacy and comfort. We can see this from the way in which one of the guest rooms was regularly used as a morning room. By the time the 4th Baronet was making use of the house, he was a widower, and he was using the interior in a more sedate, private manner, explaining why he appropriated a guest dressing room and used it as his private morning room. Of course, the family's personal use of the house must have

²⁰⁴ Harris, L. *Robert Adam and Kedleston: The Making of a Neo-Classical Masterpiece* (London, 1987), p. 49.

²⁰⁵ Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 83.

always been intended to be less formal, as we can see from the private rooms on the north side of the building, along with the 4th Baronet's personal apartment. Despite more detailed decorative schemes in the southern guest apartments, it is likely that the northern rooms for the family were executed first – quickly and with less ornamentation – in order that the family could move into the new house as soon as possible – which perhaps explains why the 4th Baronet's apartment has since been entirely redecorated.²⁰⁶ We can see from the plan in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 12) that this apartment had always been intended as such, and remains to this day a private apartment, being used as the Drawing Room and the Little Dining Room. Further evidence for the location of the 4th Baronet's apartment can be seen in an inventory of beds from 1763,²⁰⁷ in which his rooms are listed on the first floor, whereas the southern half of the central block was occupied with guests' quarters, the remainder of the northern side still being a shell in 1765.

We can also see from *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 12) that the rooms in the north-western corner of the house were also intended as an apartment, and their location in the northern half of the house would suggest their use as a further family apartment. These rooms are now the Library and Billiard Room. It is appropriate that the Billiard Room – originally only half its current size – was designed to be the bedchamber of the apartment as it mirrored the location of the State Dressing Room – then the state bedroom – at the southern end of the house. Further evidence, however, that this was not decorated during Paine's era can be seen in the inventory of beds, taken at Nostell in 1763. This records that on the 'Principal Storey' there were only three beds, in three different rooms: the 'Red Room', 'Sr Rowland Winns Room', and the 'Yellow Room'.²⁰⁸ And as we know that the alcove room, the Crimson Bedroom, and the 4th Baronet's apartment were all complete at this date – accounting for all three beds – the Billiard Room can not have been fitted-up in 1763.

There is no archival material relating to the undecorated rooms, with the exception of the Billiard Room, for which there is graphic evidence – in the form of laid-out wall-elevations – that Paine changed his mind and designed an unexecuted library in this location in the early 1760s. That Paine regretted this, however, can be seen in the fourth volume of *Vitruvius*

²⁰⁶ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Little Dining Room – Room History 1: 1.1, and Drawing Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

²⁰⁷ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1539/16, Inventory of beds at Nostell, 26 March 1763.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

Britannicus, in which the rooms revert back to form an apartment (fig. 12). The engraving for *Vitruvius Britannicus* was produced in 1767, two years after Paine was dismissed. Of the two alternative laid-out wall-elevations for this library, one is in Paine's hand (cat. 65) and the other – as will be discussed later – is possibly in the hand of Thomas Chippendale (cat. 66). Both library designs were meant for the current Billiard Room as they both contain Paine's Venetian window – later demolished by Adam – which mirrored the Venetian window on the south front.

The redesignation of this space into a library – however briefly it was planned in this form – is indicative of the patron's intentions. The inclusion of libraries was increasingly fashionable at this period, displaying a classical education.²⁰⁹ The 4th Baronet's adult son, Rowland, appears to have been deeply concerned with the trappings of gentility – the library was seen as a laboratory for the production of the knowledge of antiquity, pandering to the most *en vogue* attitudes of the mid-eighteenth century.²¹⁰ Libraries were not rare, but nor was their inclusion automatic.²¹¹ Integrated shelves for books had been used in institutional libraries such as the Bodleian since the early seventeenth century.²¹² The earliest domestic library to be treated as an architectural interior, with integrated shelves rather than furniture set against the walls, was William Adam's library for Arniston in Scotland, which was published in the third volume of *Vitruvius Scoticus*.²¹³ The Arniston library is a five- by three-bay room, articulated by Ionic pilasters. Such architectural library design became fashionable during the eighteenth century, and an early English example is by William Kent at Houghton Hall.²¹⁴ Paine was evidently familiar with the genre of the architectural library design when he made his design for a library at Nostell, and the design illustrates Paine's ability to combine architecture and interior design, making use of integrated architectural shelving.

There are three extant letters from a cabinet-maker in York, Robert Barker, discussing the library,²¹⁵ although significantly his letters are not addressed to the 4th Baronet but to his eldest son. On 25 January 1764, Barker wrote: 'Sir, I have according to your order made the nearest

²⁰⁹ Jackson-Stops, G. and Pipkin, J. *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London, 1985), p. 198.

²¹⁰ Coltman, V. *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago and London, 2006), pp. 17-39.

²¹¹ Jackson-Stops, G. and Pipkin, J. *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London, 1985), pp. 198-211.

²¹² Girouard, M. *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978), p. 166.

²¹³ Cornforth, G. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 69.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Billiard Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

Calculation I possibly can of the Book Case which you will see at the conclusion of the Letter.²¹⁶ There was no other library proposed in 1764, so Paine's laid-out wall-elevations can probably be dated to this year. This is a sudden change in room usage at a time when the patron – the 4th Baronet – is described as 'the honoured invalid'.²¹⁷ Presumably this was at a time when the 4th Baronet was not able to supervise the building project, and it is likely that the inclusion of a library was to the taste of the younger man, and that the drawings illustrate the intentions of the next patron. Considering that the 5th Baronet ended Paine's employment on his succession in 1765, it is not surprising that Paine should have reverted to the 4th Baronet's plan to decorate the Billiard Room as an apartment, when he drew plans for *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1767. It is tempting to interpret this as Paine's commentary on the 5th Baronet's new scheme.

There are no drawings from this period for the Top Hall, the Tapestry Room or the current Library (the room adjacent to that in which Barker's proposed library was to be housed), so it appears that Paine had not completed his designs for the interior by 1765. While Paine had conceived the idea of the Top Hall being a formal entrance, the purpose of the other unfinished rooms was not fixed. All we know is that the south side of the house had always been intended as public, and the north side as private. In *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 12) the room adjacent to the Billiard Room, now called the Library, is labelled as a dressing room. As previously mentioned, however, the Billiard Room had reverted back into a family bedroom by this time. Had the Billiard Room been fitted-up as a library in the early 1760s, then the dressing room next door would not have been needed. In addition to this, the Tapestry Room could not have been intended as a dining room, as *Vitruvius Britannicus* indicates, as Paine had constructed the State Dining Room on the other side of the Saloon, and two dining rooms of the same size would not have been required.

Although it is not possible to know what Paine would have done with the rooms now called the Library and Tapestry Room, if, indeed, he had even considered the matter before 1765, enough of Paine's interior was executed to understand how the house would have functioned. It has been suggested here that the original intention for the interior at Nostell was to provide a formal house, capable of elevating the social status of the family, but following the various

²¹⁶ WYAS WYL1352(1) C3/1/5/1/5, Letter from Robert Barker to Rowland Winn, later 5th Baronet of Nostell, re. cabinets for a library at Nostell, 25 Jan 1764.

²¹⁷ Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 87.

changed in the 4th Baronet's life the house actually provided a compromise between two extremes. The division between the north and south ends of the house, with the separate public and private rooms, as well as the dual use of the Breakfast Room, indicates the 4th Baronet's eventual desire for a happy medium between ceremonial routes, and comfortable private apartments.

iii. Style and innovation: the State Dining Room as a case study

The 4th Baronet's life changed considerably between 1736, with the start of construction, and 1747, when the interior decoration began, having an obvious effect on the patron's motivations regarding the house. It is important to consider how this shift altered the interior at Nostell, and therefore how the interior came to be fitted-out as it was. It has been argued that there was a disparity in intention between 1736 and 1747 – formal versus domestic, although, crucially this did not mean that Paine created an interior that was any less spectacular or innovative than he would have done had the 4th Baronet won a seat in the House of Commons, and his wife not died. Each room is decorated in accordance with its particular use. These issues can be illustrated by a detailed analysis of Paine's best preserved room, the State Dining Room, including the wall and ceiling treatments, a chimneypiece, and the furniture, all in a Bacchic style.

The Nostell interior has been criticised as 'flaccid and perfunctory [...] tired Palladian tricked out in Rococo',²¹⁸ but if we examine the style of the interior more closely, irrespective of any aesthetic prejudice, the innovation of Paine's work becomes apparent. Paine made use of the French *genre pittoresque* style – a fanciful, asymmetrical ornamental style originating in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century France, a derivative of the French rocaille ornamentation that evolved during the reign of Louis XIV.²¹⁹ French interiors of this kind were to become more commonplace, but Nostell was probably the earliest house in the north of England to include them. In England, an interest in the French-style grew alongside that of the Italian,²²⁰ and it became a hybrid style used inside Palladian buildings, with French-style plasterwork concentrated on ceilings, whereas in France the emphasis had been on decorative

²¹⁸ Mowl, T. and Earnshaw, B. *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710-1770* (London, 1999), p. 313.

²¹⁹ Edwards, R. *The Shorter Dictionary of English Furniture* (London, 1964), p. 423.

²²⁰ Thornton, P. *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior 1620-1920* (London, 1984), p. 88.

wall panels.²²¹ The innovative French-style interior at Nostell could be due to the 4th Baronet's taste, but it is more likely the result of Paine's involvement with the St Martin's Lane Academy, under the tutelage of Hubert Gravelot, which had predisposed him towards the French interior decorative style.²²² The 4th Baronet had doubtless accepted Paine's French-style designs – irrespective of their novelty compared to neighbouring houses such as Wentworth Woodhouse²²³ – precisely because of their inherent innovation. He was undoubtedly still concerned with issues of taste. Paine's French-style interior work is most clearly evident in the State Dining Room (and particularly the ceiling), with asymmetrical 'C-scroll'²²⁴ foliate, linear decorative motifs (fig. 30), although it also makes use of architectural features in a Palladian style. In this room the beauty and complexity of Paine's interior decorative style is best illustrated, not only because it remains intact but also because there is more archival material pertaining to this room than any other in the house.

Paine's drawings for this room consist of laid-out wall-elevations (cat. 29), designs for the ceiling (cat. 31), and a design for a sideboard table (cat. 34). There are also further designs for a sideboard table, and a mirror frame, in an unknown hand (cat. 32-33); and laid-out wall-elevations for the room – most likely in the hand of a carpenter – showing the carved features as executed (cat. 30). It is not known whether this drawing follows Paine's design or whether it was independently produced. The former seems likely as each aspect of the design integrates harmoniously with Paine's chimneypiece.²²⁵

Paine's ornamentation depicts a Bacchic theme, which is appropriate for a dining room. As such, the State Dining Room is an excellent example of how decoration was informed by function. Paine may have been fitting-up a house for a patron who had in effect abandoned all public ambitions, but it was, nonetheless, a house which had been built and arranged earlier. And the dining room was an arena for polite conviviality and social display.²²⁶ Bacchic elements are included in the ornamental ceiling, the door cases – topped by panels of foliate

²²¹ Worsley, G. *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 206.

²²² Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 19.

²²³ At this time the eighteenth-century portion of Wentworth Woodhouse which had already been decorated was done so in the Neo-Palladian style, although it was later to receive decoration in the Rococo and Neo-Classical styles as well.

²²⁴ Wilson, M. *The English Country House and its Furnishings* (London, 1977), p. 84.

²²⁵ Peter Leach claims that these more traditionally Palladian features of Paine's interiors – which can also be seen at the Doncaster Mansion House – are the result of occasional stylistic immaturity. Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 147. And that all of these features, including the chimneypiece, do conform to the 'immaturity' of Paine's use of Palladianism and suggest that they were indeed all designed by him.

²²⁶ Jackson-Stops, G., and Pipkin, J. *The English Country House. A Grand Tour* (London, 1985), pp. 122-23.

plasterwork – and the cornice – which is ornamented with vines and satyr motifs.²²⁷ Paine also used Bacchic themes in later dining rooms, such as at Felbrigg Hall in Norfolk, dating from 1752, where the plasterwork depicts lions' pelts, garlands of leaves, and hunting equipment.²²⁸

The ceiling in the State Dining Room at Nostell has a foliate border and central panel depicting Ceres – the goddess of agriculture – and four putti hawking, ploughing, fishing and building a fire. Minus these figurative details, Paine's drawing for this ceiling is as executed (cat. 31), and that these apparently central features are missing from the drawing can be explained by Paine's lack of confidence in drawing the human form. In a letter of February 1749 to the 4th Baronet, Paine wrote 'I am but a young student in figures or that Part of Drawing',²²⁹ and these figurative elements of the ceiling were presumably designed by someone else unknown. On 11 January 1748, Paine had previously written: 'I will use my best endeavour to send you down the ceiling for the [State] Dining Rm, Abt the time Mr Rose returns from the north',²³⁰ from which it is quite apparent that the gifted local plasterer, Joseph Rose, contributed the figurative work. But there is no evidence whether he was responsible for the design of Ceres and her putti, and their origin is uncertain.

Paint sections have been used to determine the original colour scheme in the State Dining Room,²³¹ and it has been decorated by the National Trust accordingly. The only additions to Paine's scheme are the Neo-Classical arabesques in pink wall panels, and the overdoor medallions, which were added later by Adam.

It has been claimed that Paine did not generally design furniture.²³² Amongst other things, however, he made a design for sideboard tables for the State Dining Room (cat. 34). These continue the Bacchic theme, with a central ram's head and garlands, and a very similar sideboard table moreover, appears on Paine's laid-out wall-elevations for the room, albeit with unexecuted panelled walls and ceiling (cat. 29). The sideboards were executed and remain *in*

²²⁷ Although the ornamentation here is Bacchic and of a delicate French-style, the use of such solid door cases was Palladian in style, usually dating from 1720 to 1740. Beard, G. *The National Trust Book of the English House Interior* (London, 1990), p. 175.

²²⁸ Jackson-Stops, G., and Pipkin, J. *The English Country House. A Grand Tour* (London, 1985), p. 125.

²²⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/54, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. Kitchen pavilion at Nostell, 30 February 1749.

²³⁰ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1622/11, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. building materials for Nostell, 11 January 1748.

²³¹ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dining Room – Room History 1: 1.2.1.1.2.

²³² Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 145.

situ, and it is possible to understand the origins of their design, as they are similar to a sideboard table for Lord Orford by William Kent, which had been published in *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr Wm Kent* (1744) (fig. 31). It is likely that Paine had seen this publication as Kent's table also uses a foliate design and a central satyr's mask.²³³

Paine's design for a sideboard table is indicative of his control over the interior. An unexecuted design for a sideboard table by an unknown draughtsman also survives (cat. 33), and it would seem that Paine's designs were executed in favour of those by this craftsmen. Moreover, there is a drawing for a mirror frame in the same hand (cat. 32) which is similar to the pier glasses in the State Dining Room, but not representative of the executed design, demonstrating that here again Paine provided his own design. In 1755 he wrote to the 4th Baronet, 'Inclosed you'll please to receive the Drawings for the Pier Glass in your Dining room'.²³⁴ Sadly this drawing does not survive, but without question it would have articulated the executed mirror frame more closely than the extant drawing by an unknown anonymous draughtsman.

Paine's remit extended to ensuring that the dining chairs were designed to match the rest of the room. On 29 November 1750 he wrote to the 4th Baronet that he had 'finished the sketches on the other side at the time I promised you & sent them to one Duboy for Estimate'.²³⁵ He refers here to three extant drawings of chairs, the first of which is sketched on the back of the letter (cat. 35), and two others on small separate pieces of paper (cat. 36-37). On the verso to the third sketch Paine wrote: 'The right hand side of this Chair with red Moroco Leather bottom at £3/15s, the left hand side with ditto Bottom £3/3s'.²³⁶ Morocco leather was popular in dining rooms as it could be wiped clean and did not absorb odours.²³⁷ It is not known whether the 4th Baronet took Paine's advice regarding the leather as the set of 12 chairs in the State Dining Room do have red leather seats, but their frames are of an unknown date.²³⁸ There is some debate as to whether these chairs are nineteenth-century imitations, or whether they were recycled from Nostell Hall. Indeed, there are '12 Dutch chairs' listed in the

²³³ Vardy, J. *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr Wm Kent, with some Additional Designs* (London, 1744), pl. 41.

²³⁴ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1588/3, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. State Dining Room at Nostell, 16 February 1755.

²³⁵ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1590/1, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. State Dining Room chairs for Nostell, 29 November 1750.

²³⁶ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1590/3, Drawing of a dining chair in the hand of James Paine, no date.

²³⁷ Gilbert, C. 'New Light on the Furnishings of Nostell Priory', *Furniture History* (1990), p. 54.

²³⁸ Raikes, S. *Nostell Priory Room Catalogue* (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dining Room – Room History 1: 1.9.1.2.2.

inventory of 1722,²³⁹ but there is no evidence as to whether it is these chairs that survive in the State Dining Room.

The architectural features of the room are Palladian in style, as one would expect of Paine, and include the doorcases and the picture frames, which are topped by broken pediments,²⁴⁰ and the chimneypiece which is supported by tapered term and herm stiles. For this chimneypiece it is possible that once again Paine used Kent and Gibbs for inspiration.²⁴¹ It is the central feature of the room, and the subject of correspondence between Paine and the 4th Baronet,²⁴² proving Paine's authorship despite a lack of graphic evidence:

In my last I gave you an acct that had sketched the Lower Part of yr Dining room Chimney Piece at large, but Very Conscious of my inability for Drawing those terms so large, Correct enough for a Carver (as I am but a young student in figures or that Part of Drawing) I have got them painted in size which will Greatly Facilitate the Carver's Operation.²⁴³

We know that the chimneypiece mentioned in this letter is the same one which survives in the State Dining Room as Paine mentions the figures of Ceres and Bacchus. These features are also recorded in Lady Wentworth's diary,²⁴⁴ which must have been complete when she visited Nostell in 1753. Indeed, Paine had written to the 4th Baronet in 1749 that he 'hope[ed] very

²³⁹ WYAS WYL1352(2) C4/1/2, Inventory of the belongings of Sir Rowland Winn, 3rd Baronet of Nostell, made on his death, 15 May 1722.

²⁴⁰ Although these picture frames take an architectural Palladian form, they are ornamented with French C-scroll motifs. These frames express an interesting half-evolved state, taking both the form of a 'William Kent frame', and the Rococo frames of the 1730s and 1740s. The style of William Kent's frame's is well explained in the following: Jacob, S. *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain* (London, 1996), p. 61. So here again the design must be attributed to Paine as it makes use of his 'immature' style which is both Palladian and French.

²⁴¹ In his *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, William Chambers pointed out that the ancients had lived in a warmer climate than Britain and that they had no need for chimneypieces. This expresses the eighteenth-century anxiety over finding an antique precedent for the chimneypiece, and the reason that Gibbs's chimneypieces in his *Book on Architecture* were so influential. Gilbert, C. and Wells-Cole, A, *The Fashionable Fire Place: 1600-1840* (Leeds, 1985), p. 5.

²⁴² WYAS WYL1352(1) A4, 1525/51, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. lamps and marble for Nostell, 13 February 1749, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/52, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. chimneypiece for the State Dining Room at Nostell, 20 January 1749, and WYL1352(1) A4/1564/1, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. chimneypiece for the State Dining Room at Nostell, 10 March 1749.

²⁴³ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/54, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. Kitchen pavilion at Nostell, 30 February 1749.

²⁴⁴ Account of Lady Wentworth's trip through Nottingham and Yorkshire, September 1753, London, British Library, Ref. 46,277, Vol. V, p. 20.

soon to get yr Side of the Dining Room furnishings made & will send them as soon as possible',²⁴⁵ which suggests that the room had been completed a few years before Lady Wentworth's visit. But unfortunately Paine makes no mention of whether the figures 'painted in size' for the carver were his own design or that of someone else.

The Bacchic theme integrates well with both the Palladian architectural features and the French-style plasterwork ceiling. Paine intended this ceiling to be executed by the local plasterer Joseph Rose, as we have seen from his letter. French interiors are generally considered to be incompatible with Palladian architecture. This is largely because of William Hogarth's lampoon of Lord Burlington, which he entitled 'Man of Taste'.²⁴⁶ This is not the case, however; as Giles Worsley observed, 'some of the finest exponents of French interiors, particularly, Daniel Garrett and James Paine, [emanated] from Lord Burlington's circle',²⁴⁷ and during the eighteenth century it was considered to be a modern alternative to Palladianism.²⁴⁸

iv. Paine's role: uncovering the original interior

Paine's characteristic French style is enormously helpful in disentangling the authorship of the interior. However, much of his original work has been concealed by Robert Adam and later architects. As with the State Dining Room, and in order to understand how each room came into being, it is necessary to assess the interior decoration. It is, therefore, crucial to examine Paine's surviving work, and to uncover speculatively that which is concealed, in order to reveal the interior of the 4th Baronet's era. Moreover, such an exploration of the largely lost pre-Adam interior will also develop a greater understanding of James Paine the architect and his various craftsmen, who were important – if overlooked – figures in the history of Nostell.

It appears that chimneypieces were increasingly important to Paine, as there are 16 extant drawings for chimneypieces, grates and fenders in the Nostell drawings collection (cat. 67-82), all in the hand of unknown draughtsmen, probably sent to Nostell as advertisements of

²⁴⁵ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1591/1, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. a picture and decorative items for the State Dining Room, 10 March 1748.

²⁴⁶ Worsley, G. *Classical Architecture in Britain: The heroic age* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 208.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Mowl, T., and Earnshaw, B. *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710-1770* (London, 1999), p. 14.

particular craftsmen's work.²⁴⁹ From the 1760s onwards, Paine maintained a private group of craftsmen for chimneypieces alone,²⁵⁰ since for Paine the choice of particular craftsmen was evidently paramount. In his *Plans, Elevations and Sections and Other Ornaments of the Mansion House at Doncaster* he reports that he employed Thomas Perritt – the leading plasterer in York – and his apprentice, Joseph Rose (Senior).²⁵¹ It is likely that he also used them at Nostell,²⁵² as he did at Cusworth Hall.²⁵³ Perritt had worked for Lord Burlington at the York Assembly Rooms,²⁵⁴ and it may have been through Burlington that Perritt came to the 4th Baronet's attention. There is direct evidence for Rose's involvement as in 1766 he submitted a final bill of '£69/15s/4d.',²⁵⁵ and although there is no evidence of Perritt at Nostell, it is certainly likely that he was involved, as Rose's apprenticeship with Perritt only started in 1738,²⁵⁶ and Rose was still a young craftsman in 1747. Perritt and Rose are known to have worked on a number of commissions together,²⁵⁷ including the plasterwork medallions in the Long Gallery at Temple Newsam for the 7th Viscount Irwin, which are related to those in the north and south staircases at Nostell.²⁵⁸

The two principal staircases at Nostell are built symmetrically – with one each side of the central axis – and extend from the basement to the glass roof-lights. Like the State Dining Room, the staircases remain as Paine left them (fig. 32-33), and they were described in 1763 by Dorothy Richardson as 'Stone with Iron Banisters the sides and top stucco, with white ornaments; it is lighted from the Top'.²⁵⁹ Like this succinct description, Paine's two structural drawings for the staircases depict the work as executed: the first shows the ceiling of the north staircase, the roof-lights of which are exactly as executed (cat. 40),²⁶⁰ while the second shows laid-out wall-elevations for a staircase (cat. 39) from which the second and third flights of stairs

²⁴⁹ Knox, T. National Trust Catalogue of Architectural Drawings at Nostell Priory (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, Incomplete in 2002) [6].

²⁵⁰ Leach, P. 'Paine, James (bap. 1717, d. 1789)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition May 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21131>, accessed 5 March 2012.

²⁵¹ Paine, J. *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and other Ornaments of the Mansion-House belonging to the Corporation of Doncaster* (London, 1751), p. 3.

²⁵² Beard, G. 'The Rose Family of Plasterers', *Apollo* 85 (1967), p. 266.

²⁵³ Beard, G. *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England: 1660-1820* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 185.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1603/27, Letter from Joseph Rose to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, re. his account, 2 January 1766.

²⁵⁶ Beard, G. *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England: 1660-1820* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 275.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Dorothy Richardson's Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.Eng.Mss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, p. 12.

²⁶⁰ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Staircases – Room History 1: 1.5.1.1.1.

are similar to those executed.²⁶¹ Only the ornamentation was altered in execution – although not significantly – with the omission of the executed medallion portraits (fig. 34), and it is these roundels – so similar to those in the Long Gallery at Temple Newsam – which suggest Perritt’s involvement. There are two possible explanations for this omission. One is that, as discussed above, Paine was not confident in drawing the human form. Another is that the medallions are characteristic of Perritt. There are further drawings for the metalwork balustrades (cat. 43-50), and two for the plasterwork. Of the latter, one depicts a mirror frame for a landing (cat. 42), and the other is a design for an octagonal panel of stucco on the ceiling (cat. 41).

The north staircase is decorated with the eagle crest of the Winn family, roundels containing family portraits, and hunting trophies. As in the State Dining Room, the choice of ornament was again determined by function, since the north staircase was the family staircase – it led to the family bedchambers in the attic, and the 4th Baronet’s apartment on the *piano nobile*. According to Cappe, the 4th Baronet was very fond of hunting, and hence there are hunting trophies included here.²⁶² There are also two small portraits of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I, the first is possibly a reference to the anti-monastic policies of Henry VIII – which made Nostell available to the Winn family²⁶³ – and the second to the founder of the Winns’ fortune, George Wynne, Elizabeth I’s Draper.²⁶⁴ This decoration appears to make dynastic allusions as well as signifying the purpose of the space.

The plasterwork in the south staircase is quite different, being less ornate and made up of foliate decorative patterns as appropriate for an impersonal space – the visitors’ staircase leading to the state rooms. The division between the public and private halves of the house had always been evident, most notably from the plasterwork. It has been suggested that this arrangement was inspired by a plan for Devonshire House,²⁶⁵ and it may explain the inclusion of two symmetrical stairwells – an arrangement more commonly found in Baroque

²⁶¹ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Staircases – Room History 1: 1.4.1.1.1.1.

²⁶² Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 81.

²⁶³ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Staircases – Room History 1: 1.3.1.1.1.2.

²⁶⁴ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 36.

²⁶⁵ Peter Leach has established that the 4th Baronet did not settle the arrangement for the staircases at Nostell until after he had purchased a plan of Devonshire House in Piccadilly in 1739, and that the staircase layout at Nostell is based on this plan. Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 203.

architecture. Naturally, Paine's decoration was informed by room function – as dictated during the time of the 4th Baronet's political ambition – with accordingly variant ornamental vocabularies. This is evidence that he was treating separate rooms as individual entities. Suddenly it is clear why some of Paine's rooms, such as the State Dining Room, were lavishly fitted-out, and others, such as the family apartment (discussed below) were less so.

Drawings by Paine also survive for the metalwork balustrade in the staircase. These consist of four elevations for balustrades (cat. 43-46), and four elevations of single balusters (cat. 47-50). Paine wrote to the 4th Baronet about three of these metalwork designs, explaining 'the first is that executed at Lady Bell Finches [Isabella Finch was the aunt of Lady Burlington who had written to her about the 4th Baronet petitioning parliament for a seat] the Second is the Column you proposed which I have practised, [...] the third is an Invention of my own'.²⁶⁶ This letter explains Paine's various stylistic sources for the banister designs: one being copied from another house; one being designed by the 4th Baronet; and one being Paine's own design.²⁶⁷ Although highly detailed, none of these drawings correspond with the executed banisters, which were installed in the north staircase in the summer of 1747. Henry Allen – the 4th Baronet's estate manager or steward – wrote to him on 13 June 1747 that 'the man who is to put up the Banisters on the North Stare Case will be down in a fortnight or three weeks and these with all the Hand Rails to get Ready for him Mr Paine desires your Honour would let him have the drawing for the North Stare Case'.²⁶⁸ This probably explains the absence of the final drawing, and so despite Paine humouring his patron with a drawing of his own idea for the banisters, the executed design was by Paine himself. Similar metalwork by Paine can be observed at the Doncaster Mansion House, Hickleton Hall, Wadworth Hall, and Felbrigg Hall. The blacksmith responsible for the banisters was Thomas Wagg of London of whom Paine wrote to the 4th Baronet in December 1747: 'Mr Wagg Says he Can make the Bannister Agreeable to the Sketch',²⁶⁹ while in a later letter of February 1749 Paine wrote, 'Wagg the Smith

²⁶⁶ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1566/6, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. three designs for newels for Nostell, no date.

²⁶⁷ The precedent for this style of foliate ironwork was the dissemination of French ironwork patterns during the reign of Louis XIV. These were published in *A New Booke of Drawings* by Jean Tijou in 1693, who had come to England to work at Hampton Court with Talman and St Paul's with Wren. By the time Tijou left England in 1712 a firm tradition of French ironwork had been established here. Harris, J. *Decorative Ironwork from Contemporary Source Books: 1610-1836* (London, 1960), pp. 1-6.

²⁶⁸ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/1/1, Letter from Henry Allen to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. progress of building works, 13 June 1747.

²⁶⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1566/12, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. banisters and newels for Nostell, 31 December 1747.

mutters that he don't hear from yr Honr',²⁷⁰ implying that his account had not been paid, as well as corroborating the date of the production of the Nostell banisters as 1747-48.

It is odd that the north staircase was completed first, as the southern rooms – the guests' side – were the most comprehensively decorated before 1765, and included the State Dining Room, the state apartment (discussed later) and the crimson apartment. As previously mentioned, the Crimson Bedroom was the second-most important guest's room (fig. 35), and along with its adjacent dressing room (now the Breakfast Room) (fig. 36) is located in the south-east corner of the central block. Only one of Paine's drawings can definitely be associated with the Crimson Bedroom, and this is an unused alternative ceiling design (cat. 59), and the attribution of this drawing has only been deduced from the scale of the room and the depth of the ceiling cove. In addition to this, one of Paine's laid-out wall-elevations may show the Crimson Bedroom (cat. 56) although this is less certain – it depicts a room of similar scale, and the shape of the door frames and ceiling cove are comparable. There are also two wall elevations in Paine's hand, which contain alternative window surrounds and appear to be for this apartment (cat. 57-58). The drawings bear little relation to the extant rooms with the exception of the cornice in the laid-out wall-elevations, but many of Paine's cornices in the house take the form shown in this drawing. Both of these wall elevations depict a similar cornice, albeit with variant decoration. Both can possibly be attributed to the crimson apartment because of the fenestration, the size and shape of the walls, and the deep ceiling cove. Each contains alternative window surrounds, one being splayed (cat. 58) and the other stepped (cat. 57). Although the splayed window surround was characteristic of Paine, it was the stepped alternative that was executed in the Crimson Bedroom. It is not known if stepped window surrounds were used in the Breakfast Room as they were unrecorded when the room was destroyed by fire in 1980.²⁷¹ We do know that the ceiling and chimneypiece in the Crimson Bedroom were replaced by Adam,²⁷² and the chimneypiece from the Breakfast Room was removed to the second storey of the house.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/51, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. lamps and marble for Nostell, 13 February 1749.

²⁷¹ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Breakfast Room – Room History 3: 3.1.

²⁷² Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Crimson Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

²⁷³ Hussey, C. 'Nostell Priory – II: The Property of the Trustees of the Late Lord St Oswald', *Country Life* (23 May 1952), p. 1574.

The Crimson Bedroom has always been used for guests, and the current bed is datable to the mid-eighteenth century, possibly being Paine's original.²⁷⁴ In the 1970s, remnants of red wallpaper were found here, and the room has been redecorated accordingly.²⁷⁵ Although this colour scheme was part of Paine's original design,²⁷⁶ Richardson records that both rooms were decorated with 'yellow Silk Damask'²⁷⁷ as Paine had redecorated the apartment in yellow in the 1760s.²⁷⁸ This yellow colour scheme was preserved until 1980, when a fire in the Breakfast Room caused considerable smoke damage to the adjoining rooms, and large-scale conservation and redecoration were essential.²⁷⁹ Moreover, when conserving the ceiling of the Crimson Bedroom, the National Trust used Paine's alternative ceiling design (cat. 59). The original ceiling was lost in the fire but the drawing provided the National Trust with an authentic, albeit alternative, Paine ceiling design.

As discussed above, it seems likely that the family rooms – in the northern half of the house – were implemented first, allowing the 4th Baronet to move into the new building as quickly as possible. This would explain why the north staircase was decorated first, but sadly little is known of the less spectacular decorative scheme in these rooms, and it would be impossible to recreate these Paine interiors as there is very little evidence relating to their production, and no surviving drawings. There is one extant drawing for an elegant clothespress, which may have been designed for this area of the house (cat. 84). The drawing dates from Paine's era at Nostell and includes delicate foliate ornamentation in the French style. But it is not in Paine's hand, and is more likely that of a craftsman or cabinet-maker. An item of such grandeur, however, would have been appropriate for the patron's private apartment. The only written account of Paine's design for the 4th Baronet's apartment is from Dorothy Richardson's diary. She described a 'Bed Chamber', now the Drawing Room, and a 'Dressing Room', now the Little Dining Room, both decorated with 'Crimson Flock Paper'.²⁸⁰ No remnant of this paper exists because, as will be discussed in the second part of this thesis, Robert Adam and Thomas

²⁷⁴ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Crimson Room – Room History 1: 1.10.1.1.1.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 1: 1.2.1.1.1.1.

²⁷⁶ By the 1740s wallpaper was highly fashionable and no longer considered to be a cheap alternative to textiles. Saumarez Smith, C. *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London, 1993), p. 127.

²⁷⁷ Dorothy Richardson's Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, p. 14.

²⁷⁸ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Crimson Room – Room History 1: 1.2.1.1.2.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., Breakfast Room – Room History 3: 3.1.

²⁸⁰ Dorothy Richardson's Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, p. 14.

Chippendale transformed the 4th Baronet's private apartment into a green dressing room for the 5th Baronet and a blue dressing room for his wife.²⁸¹

It is well documented that Chippendale returned to Nostell under Adam once he was established as a superior London cabinet-maker.²⁸² But it is also thought that he had been apprenticed at Nostell under Paine,²⁸³ when he is thought to have worked for various members of the local Yorkshire gentry: the 4th Baronet at Nostell, Henry Lascelles at Harewood and the Fawkes family at Farnley.²⁸⁴ There is even a drawing at Nostell, dating from Paine's era, which has been attributed to Chippendale on stylistic grounds,²⁸⁵ being laid-out wall-elevations for a library, replete with elegant shelving (cat. 66). Gervase Jackson-Stops has pointed out that the Venetian window in this drawing shows that it was intended for what is now the Billiard Room, and as such, the drawing must date from Paine's time at Nostell, since Adam immediately implemented a library elsewhere.²⁸⁶

Chippendale was linked with Paine in other ways as both were connected with the St Martin's Lane Academy,²⁸⁷ and later in life Chippendale dedicated his *Director* – to which Paine was the only architect to subscribe – to the Earl of Northumberland, one of Paine's major patrons.²⁸⁸ Moreover, there is an extant drawing by Paine in the Victoria and Albert Museum which depicts Chippendale's shop-front on St Martin's Lane,²⁸⁹ and there exists a plausible tradition that Chippendale crafted the Nostell dolls' house as an apprentice's project (fig. 37).²⁹⁰ This dolls' house is also an important tool when examining an interior by Paine, as it uses realistic architectural features, such as the cartouche in the tympanum of the pediment, and a traditional Palladian chimneypiece in the hall. By including these features it appears that the dolls' house had been designed by someone with architectural knowledge, quite possibly Paine himself.²⁹¹ The continuation of colours and materials through sequences of rooms in the dolls'

²⁸¹ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Little Dining Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

²⁸² Harris, E. *The Furniture of Robert Adam* (London, 1963), p. 93; Stillman, D. *The Decorative Work of Robert Adam* (London, 1966), p. 88; MacQuoid, P. *A History of English Furniture* (London, 1988), pp. 268-69, 317, 338-39; Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), pp. 200-201.

²⁸³ Fitzgerald, G. 'Chippendale's Place in the English Rococo', *Furniture History* (1968), p. 1.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Jackson-Stops, G. 'Pre-Adam Furniture Designs at Nostell Priory', *Furniture History* (1974), pp. 30-31.

²⁸⁶ Jackson-Stops, G. *The Treasure Houses of Britain* (London, 1985), p. 661.

²⁸⁷ Leach, P. *James Paine* (London, 1988), p. 25.

²⁸⁸ Fitzgerald, G. 'Chippendale's Place in the English Rococo', *Furniture History* (1968), p. 3.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁹¹ Cornforth, J. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 18.

house provides – in miniature – a contemporary example of eighteenth-century decorative schemes.²⁹² On the first and second floors are two apartments, one fitted-up with yellow silk, the other with red, in a similar fashion to Nostell itself, which also suggests that Paine designed it.

Paine was certainly responsible for designing a number of smaller elements of the interior, including plasterwork (cat. 31, 40-42, 59), metalwork (cat. 43-50), chimneypieces (cat. 83), furniture (cat. 34, 53-54), and most notably of all, a bed in an alcove (cat. 53). This drawing for a bed – seen in the alcove of the State Dressing Room – is signed by Paine and attests to his belief in significant items of furniture being integral to an architect's responsibility,²⁹³ most especially with regard to furniture for such an important space as the state apartment.

For the State Bedchamber there is one architectural drawing, an elevation of the chimney wall (cat. 51) in which the chimneypiece, door frames, ceiling cove, cornice, dado, and skirting are all similar to those executed.²⁹⁴ The plasterwork of the ceiling decoration in this room is in the French style, typical of Paine, and similar to that in the State Dining Room. But instead of a Bacchic theme, here we find representations of musical instruments, suggesting that this room was intended for musical entertainment,²⁹⁵ although we know that it was not specifically designated as a music room, as Lady Wentworth described it as 'ye Drawing Room Furnish'd with a Bad Green half Damask'.²⁹⁶ The existence of this 'bad' green silk was corroborated in 1761 by Richardson who wrote: '3d The Drawing Room; hung with Green Silk Damask with a Gold edge'.²⁹⁷ She placed this room third on her list, having described the Saloon first, a dining room second, and fourthly a bedchamber,²⁹⁸ so the third room in this sequence could only have been Paine's drawing-cum-music room. Lady Wentworth was evidently unimpressed with Paine's decorative scheme here as she refers to a 'Bad Green half Damask',²⁹⁹ although there is no further evidence as to why the silk was deemed unsuitable. All drawing rooms were

²⁹² Ibid., p. 275.

²⁹³ V&A, *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England* (London, 1984), pp. 201-202

²⁹⁴ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Bedroom – Room History 1: 1.4.1.1.

²⁹⁵ It has been claimed that this room exhibits some of the earliest French-style plasterwork in England. Fitzgerald, G. 'Chippendale's Place in the English Rococo', *Furniture History* (1968), p. 2.

²⁹⁶ Account of Lady Wentworth's trip through Nottingham and Yorkshire, September 1753, London, British Library, Ref. 46,277, Vol. V, p. 20.

²⁹⁷ Dorothy Richardson's Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, p. 13.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

²⁹⁹ Account of Lady Wentworth's trip through Nottingham and Yorkshire, September 1753, London, British Library, Ref. 46,277, Vol. V, p. 20.

expected to be lavishly decorated, and this may explain why it was redecorated with Chinoiserie wallpaper and green japanned furniture in 1771.³⁰⁰ The most elaborate example of a contemporary drawing room in the French style is Matthew Brettingham's White and Gold Room at Petworth (fig. 38)³⁰¹ created as the drawing room adjacent to the State Bedchamber for the King of Spain. Here the sumptuous French ornamentation extends to the panelled walls as well as the ceiling. Brettingham had produced this design shortly after purchasing a book of French designs.³⁰²

Dorothy Richardson described Paine's state bedchamber as fourth in the sequence of rooms: 'A Bedchamber hung with Crimson Flock Paper the Bed & Chairs Crimson Damask',³⁰³ although the red colour scheme can no longer be seen. The cornice, however, is similar to that in the neighbouring room, and as such, can be attributed to Paine, but the remainder of the room, including the chimneypiece and the bed alcove, were redesigned by Adam in 1771.³⁰⁴ The bed alcove can be seen in Paine's early plan and in his drawing for the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 12), and the use of an alcove was, unsurprisingly for Paine, a French fashion. At Nostell it is another sign of Paine's training at the St Martin's Lane Academy, whose artists were responsible for the promotion of the French-style.³⁰⁵ The only remaining drawings specifically for this room are for the alcove itself, three of which are in Paine's hand (cat. 52-54) and one is by an unknown draughtsman – a crude representation of a bed in an alcove, and probably produced by an upholsterer,³⁰⁶ since it is inscribed with an estimate of '£20'. Paine's drawings constitute a plan and elevation of the alcove itself (cat. 55), an elevation of a bed in an alcove (cat. 53), and an elevation of an alternative canopy in an alcove (cat. 54). This last drawing is only the top portion of a larger drawing – torn away – and probably part of a full elevation of a bed. Collectively, these drawings are of the utmost importance as they show the plan and elevation of Paine's original executed alcove, although, it is impossible to know if any of these designs were executed, as the current bed is a later addition.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁰ Raikes, State Bedchamber – Room History 1: 1.1, and State Dressing Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Dorothy Richardson's Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.Eng.Mss.1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, p. 13.

³⁰⁴ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dressing Room – Room History 1: 1.3.1.1.1.

³⁰⁵ Croft-Murray, E. *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837*, Vol. 2 (London, 1970), p. 39.

³⁰⁶ Jackson-Stops, G. 'Pre-Adam Furniture Design at Nostell Priory', *Furniture History* (1974), p. 27.

³⁰⁷ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dressing Room – Room History 1: 1.4.2.2.3.1.

Paine took delight in composing every part of an individual interior, and his work can shed light on the development of a fully integrated mode of interior design, in which every facet of the room was carefully designed by the architect. Several of Paine's laid-out wall-elevations for rooms at Nostell do this (cat. 65, 38, 39, 60-62, 64), and within these drawings every element of the room is detailed. The decorative ornament is so prescribed that the craftsmen would not have had any opportunity to design independently. At this time, interior design was spurred on by the publication of catalogues of designs, example of which are: William Kent's *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr Wm Kent* of 1724, Batty Langley's *The City and Country Builders and Workmens Treasury of Design* of 1740, and William Delacour's *First Book of Ornament* of 1741.³⁰⁸ These publications provided inspiration to interior designers, and it is clear that Paine relied heavily on the work of William Kent for a number of the decorative features at Nostell. John Cornforth tells us that William Kent was the first to combine the skills of an architect and an interior designer, and produce laid-out wall-elevations. He had trained as a painter,³⁰⁹ and then became an architect under the tutelage of Lord Burlington. Kent 'achieved a new balance between architecture and decoration in England',³¹⁰ and we can see that Paine continued in this vein at Nostell. In 1742, even before the house was habitable, Paine was planning the interior, as we can see from a vast shipment of furniture sent to the 4th Baronet, largely composed of wood and metalwork items, but seemingly for an array of different rooms.³¹¹ Five years later decoration began, and in 1748 Paine wrote to discuss small items including lamps and an 'Ink Stand Dish',³¹² showing that these fine details were already under consideration before the rooms for which they were intended could have been completed.

While the 4th Baronet's contribution to the design process is documented, as previously mentioned, it is unlikely that he was responsible for the choice of a French-style interior. He

³⁰⁸ Cornforth, J. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 199.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ This shipment included 'No. 1, a large Chest 20ft 8In 2. Scrutoer 14ft 0In 3. a Mahogany table 10ft 4. a Spinnet 16 ft 5. a Large Chest 23 ft 6. a large picture 61 ft 7. a picture case 10ft 8. and 9. Glass Cases 17ft 10. a Case 10ft 11. a Case 1ft 4 In 12. a Mahogany table 2ft 13. a Japan table 6ft 8In 14. a Case 1ft 6In 15. a Case 1ft 16. a table 7ft 8In 17. a Scrutoer 19ft 18. a Case with Clock 4ft 19. a Corner Cubbert 4ft 7In 20. Case w^h Glass 1 ft 7In 21. ditto 1ft 6In 22. a Mahogany Cardtable 6ft 8In 24. a Skreen w^h Comnz 2ft 7In 25. the black Clock case 26. Fenders 27. a Stove & cc 28. a Copper & c 29. Stove backs 30. Miss Charlot swing Iron 31. bases & c oth beds 32. Ladles & c 33. a basket 34. a case 8ft 35. Window Curtain – 15 bundles of chairs two settees & a Easy Chair no In 2,3 &c'. WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1563/3, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. items delivered from London to Nostell, 1 July 1742.

³¹² WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1528/15, Letter from James Paine to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, re. purchase and delivery of furniture and building materials, 13 December 1748.

had travelled through France during his Grand Tour,³¹³ but it was Paine's influence – and ultimately that of the St Martin's Lane Academy – that accounts for the style of the Nostell interior from this period. There is one area of the house however that does not conform with Paine's characteristic interior style, the Lower Hall (fig. 39). That this space was ideal for entertaining guests such as tenants – in imitation of Wentworth Woodhouse – has already been suggested, and here we can also observe the 4th Baronet's desire to preserve elements of his dynastic heritage and the monastic roots of Nostell itself. There are two extant drawings relating to the basement floor, one of which is laid-out wall-elevations for the Lower Hall (cat. 38). It is likely that this design was executed early, as the room was used as the principal entrance to the house until the Top Hall was finished in the 1820s.³¹⁴ According to Lady Wentworth's diary, the Lower Hall was also the location of the famous Thomas More portrait (fig. 40) as early as her visit in September 1753.³¹⁵ Only a decade later, the painting was discovered to be a copy of the original Holbein, as we can see from H Zouche's letter to Rowland Winn, later the 5th Baronet. He wrote:

Another and perhaps a better reason for my giving you this trouble is to ask, Sir, whether you have ever seen Mr Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting" & c; if you have, you would there perceive the genuineness of Holbeins celebrated picture in Your Father's possession protesably disputed.³¹⁶

The painting, despite its origin, makes a suitably historic decoration for the Lower Hall, although the room itself takes the form of an Egyptian hall, and is largely as Paine proposed in his laid-out wall-elevations. In the latter, we can see the central columns, the chimneypieces, and the inside of the original arcade on the east front – the only feature of this drawing not to have been produced was the ceiling rose.³¹⁷ Both from the laid-out wall-elevations and the extant room we can see why the first guide book to Nostell informed its visitors that the room evoked Nostell Hall, the Mediaeval Priory,³¹⁸ although this atmosphere is more forcibly

³¹³ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/28, Account sheet of Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, 1722-27.

³¹⁴ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Top Hall – Room History 2: 2.1.

³¹⁵ Account of Lady Wentworth's trip through Nottingham and Yorkshire, September 1753, London, British Library, Ref. 46,277, Vol. V, p. 20.

³¹⁶ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1524/6, Letter from H Zouche to Rowland Winn, later 5th Baronet of Nostell, re. the Holbein painting of Thomas More at Nostell, 13 November 1763.

³¹⁷ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Lower Hall – Room History 1: 1.3.1.1.

³¹⁸ Winn, R.D.G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire. A Property of The National Trust*, 5th ed. (1953; London, 1958), pp. 7-8.

achieved with the inclusion of Elizabethan and Jacobean oak furniture recycled from the older building.³¹⁹ As is appropriate in a room for this purpose, and in this location, there is nothing French about the interior of the Lower Hall, which makes use of a compartmental ceiling, an obviously Anglo-Palladian motif. But Paine cleverly prevented this transition from jarring by continuing the sandstone colour of the Lower Hall in the stucco work and joinery of the staircases.³²⁰

The other surviving laid-out wall-elevations for the basement floor illustrates a water closet (cat. 64) expressing the detail with which Paine designed the interior of the house himself. This was located at the back of the Museum Room – also by Paine – and was originally the footmen's room.³²¹ The room usage in most of the basement was directed by Paine, and includes the Servants Hall, the Butler's Pantry, the kitchen, now the Staff Room, the housekeeper's room, now the Pantry, and several bedchambers, now used as National Trust offices.³²²

Other less formal rooms at Nostell include those in the attic, and Dorothy Richardson described many bedchambers at Nostell, too numerous to be confined to the *piano nobile* level, and decorated with a variety of materials and colours.³²³ These included: 'Crimson Flock Paper [...] Yellow Silk Damask [...] Green Flock Paper [...] Red and White Paper [...] and] yellow silk'. However, it is not possible to discern from this diary which rooms she was referring to. For rooms in the attic, there are two laid-out wall-elevations by Paine (cat. 61-62) and one by an unidentified draughtsman (cat. 63), each of which can be identified from the inclusion of its half-height, square fenestration. While these drawings prove that Paine did provide interiors for the attic floor, they contain no ornamental embellishments, as is appropriate for these less formal rooms.

The Saloon was similarly undecorated. As the principal reception room in the house the Saloon would presumably have been fitted-up in an opulent manner, but was perhaps less of a priority in later years (fig. 41). There is only one architectural drawing by Paine – laid-out wall-

³¹⁹ Symonds, R.W. 'Pre-Chippendale Furniture at Nostell Priory', *Country Life* (April 1952), p. 1248.

³²⁰ Bristow, I.C. *Architectural Colour in British Interiors: 1615-1840* (New Haven and London, 1996), p. 61.

³²¹ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Ground Floor – Room Histories.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Dorothy Richardson's Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, pp. 14-17.

elevations – depicting the Saloon (cat. 60) although it is difficult to know whether this shows the Saloon as executed as it was subsequently remodelled by Adam.³²⁴ Numerous drawings for the Saloon by Adam, held at Sir John Soane’s Museum and within the Nostell drawings collection, fully describe Adam’s executed scheme which remains *in situ*. The extant cove is characteristic of Paine,³²⁵ but this cove unlikely to be his design owing to Adam’s extensive remodelling between 1767 and 1776.³²⁶ The only other means of understanding Paine’s Saloon is from Dorothy Richardson’s diary in which she wrote that ‘at the top of the first flight is 1st a large Room hung with Crimson Flock Paper, with a handsome marble Chimney Piece & Slab, & the Furniture Crimson Silk Damask’.³²⁷ She describes the Saloon as having red wallpaper, but there are no remnants of this. Moreover, there is no way of knowing whether the chimneypiece that Richardson describes is one of the remaining two in the Saloon. In his early plans for the principal floor of Nostell (cat. 8), Paine showed only one chimneypiece in the Saloon, at its north end, but in the later presentation drawing, which has been dated to 1761 (cat. 27), he provided two. As Richardson only describes one chimneypiece, it is likely that Paine built only one, and this second must have been added by Adam. Indeed, there is only one chimneypiece depicted in Paine’s laid-out wall-elevations which is thought to be for the Saloon (cat. 60). It is likely that this room was insufficiently grand for the taste of the 5th Baronet. Hence it was substantially remodelled as the fashion for the main parlour of a great house was to have panelled walls,³²⁸ in the form of the White and Gold Room at Petworth. At the very least the Saloon should have been hung with silk to provide a suitable background for mounting pictures.³²⁹

The death of the 4th Baronet brought a sudden halt to Paine’s decoration at Nostell, and as the 5th Baronet decided not to proceed with Paine’s scheme it was left incomplete. In her diary of 1761, Dorothy Richardson recorded ‘several unfurnishd Rooms’,³³⁰ which were presumably the rooms, predominantly in the northern half of the central block, which were still shells in 1765:

³²⁴ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Saloon – Room History 1: 1.1.

³²⁵ Ibid., 1: 1.3.1.1.

³²⁶ Ibid., 1: 1.1.

³²⁷ Dorothy Richardson’s Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, p. 11.

³²⁸ Cornforth, G. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 40.

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 95.

³³⁰ Dorothy Richardson’s Diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 11-17, p. 14.

the Top Hall, the Billiard Room, the Library and the Tapestry Room.³³¹ The paint expert, Ian Bristow, who examined paint sections from the interior at Nostell in 1981, found no underlying decoration in the Top Hall predating the Adam scheme,³³² which strongly suggests that none ever existed.

Conclusion

With the fabric of the central block nearing completion in 1747, work on the interior was then begun. It appears that the initial intention had been to provide a grandiose private home in the northern half of the house, and apartments suitable for providing hospitality in the southern half. But the house never functioned in this way, as we can see from the 4th Baronet's use of the Breakfast Room. The layout of the central block – and to an extent the general room usage – had been dictated by the fabric of the house, designed in the 1730s when the 4th Baronet was had been more ambitious. When the interior was decorated in the 1740s and 1750s, he was a more sedate widower. However, this did not result in an inferior interior, as Paine's work was stylistically innovative, and suited to the individual rooms it graced. This much is apparent from Paine's best preserved interior in the French-style State Dining Room. It is clear that Paine himself was responsible for most of the interior at Nostell, including the principal items of furniture such as the state bed. Despite the removal of one of the 4th Baronet's principal motivations for rebuilding – his social ambition and possibly also his political ambition - it would appear that the requirements of the patron and the creativity of his architect were well-matched.

³³¹ Raikes, S. Nostell Priory Room Catalogue (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Billiard Room – Room History 1: 1.1, Library – Room History 1: 1.1, Tapestry Room – Room History 1: 1.1, Top Hall – Room History 1: 1.1.

³³² Ibid., Top Hall Transcripts.

Part II. The 5th Baronet's Nostell (1765-85)

Chapter Three. An Adam interior (1765-76)

Introduction

The first part of this thesis described how Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, employed James Paine to build a Palladian house between 1733 and his death in 1765. His son, Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell (1739-85) had grown up amid this architectural activity. On his succession in 1765 he employed Robert Adam to redecorate the interior of Nostell, and later to redesign the fabric. Adam remained in employment at Nostell until the 5th Baronet's sudden death in 1785.³³³ The phase of design and construction under Adam and the 5th Baronet will be the subject of the second part of this thesis.

Few British architects have been more written about than Adam, and on the subject of his interior at Nostell there is a collection of impressive scholarship.³³⁴ As a result chapter three will not analyse every aspect of Adam's interior. Instead, it will continue the themes explored in chapters one and two, asking why and how the extant house came into being. Questions of why Adam was employed; how his interior was implemented; and the extent to which Adam's reinvention of the house successfully catered to the needs of its second-generation patron will be addressed. Moreover, it will be argued that, like his father, the 5th Baronet's ambitions were the driving force behind the reinvention of the house, and it will be necessary to assess the extent to which the aesthetic and social functions of the house were related. Adam was the most modish architect of the day, and it will be argued that his contribution appears to have been sought in order to lend the house and family a degree of fashionable polish.

Next, in order to understand the process by which the extant interior was created, the ways in which Adam changed Paine's interior will be explored, based on analysis of the fabric and the surviving architectural drawings. But it will be argued that like Paine, Adam worked in

³³³ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/5A/10, Correspondence on the death of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1785. These are largely letters of condolence addressed to Sabine Winn from friends and family, but there are also letters discussing the expeditious sale of their house in London.

³³⁴ The most detailed scholarship on the Adam interior at Nostell is: Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004); and Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), chapter 12.

collaboration with others, principally craftsmen such as Joseph Rose, Thomas Chippendale and Antonio Zucchi. And through consideration of Adam's relationship with his patron, and by comparing this to the way in which other craftsmen were treated, it will be possible to further understand the design hierarchy at Nostell and broach previously unanswered questions of attribution.

i. An architect of taste and fashion: motives for reconceiving Nostell Priory

Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, led an extravagant existence. The expensive continuation of his father's building project at Nostell is therefore unsurprising. From the age of 17 he was educated in Vevey and Lausanne, Switzerland,³³⁵ during which time his tutor, Isaac Dulon, reported that he made exceptional progress in the French language.³³⁶ At first he was timid, and never academically gifted, but he took great pleasure in music, theatre and drawing.³³⁷ With such interests in the arts it is understandable that he – like his father – had a desire to build. The principal problem that Dulon reported to the 4th Baronet was extravagance.³³⁸ As discussed in chapter one, it was known for some grand tourists to spend lavishly, and Rowland appears to have taken to this with enthusiasm, developing a life-long habit for profligacy while in Lausanne. The younger Rowland spent lavishly on clothes and hospitality, and indulged his passion for horse racing.³³⁹ This interest continued throughout the 5th Baronet's life – albeit without any success³⁴⁰ – and he added a riding school to his grandfather's stables at Nostell, commissioning Adam to redesign the building.³⁴¹

He required an extravagant wardrobe, and from Switzerland Dulon noted that Rowland 'was not splendid enough to go in fine company'.³⁴² Indeed, one of the most costly acquisitions was

³³⁵ Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), pp. 205-6.

³³⁶ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1530/15, Letter from Isaac Dulon to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, regarding his son's progress, 9 September 1758. With regard to this, Christopher Todd notes: 'Indeed when one reads the many letters he wrote in French throughout the rest of his life, one cannot help but be struck by his fluency and the ease with which he writes in the language, even if he shows scant regard for verb endings and especially the subjunctive.' Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 206.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 207.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Jackson-Stops, G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 1973), p. 30.

³⁴² Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 206.

an embroidered coat. Moreover, rather than allowing his servant to tend to him, he took-up the expensive Swiss habit of employing a wig-maker to dress his hair, something he continued when he returned home.³⁴³ It seems that his fine tastes, and corresponding expenditure did not decrease when he returned to England. Catherine Cappe met the future 5th Baronet in 1763, and again in 1764, describing him as: ‘elegant in his person and manner, specious in conversation, and insinuating in his address: his lady was trifling in her turn of mind, and in her temper, violent and imperious; at once, covetous and extravagant’.³⁴⁴ Cappe’s testimony adheres to Dulon’s reports of a spoilt and extravagant young man, deeply interested in fashion and very little else. And this was echoed in his luxurious fitting-up of Nostell.

It was in Switzerland that Rowland met his future bride, the older, and already married, Sabine Louise. She was the only child of Jacques-Philippe d’Hevert, Baron de Saint-Légier, the French governor in Vevey, to whom Rowland had taken a letter of introduction on his arrival in Switzerland.³⁴⁵ Following the death of Sabine’s husband, Gabriel May, Dulon was instructed to inform the 4th Baronet of the attachment.³⁴⁶ Although she was worth £70,000, the 4th Baronet strongly objected to the marriage on the grounds that a foreign wife, with poor English, would be an embarrassment.³⁴⁷ It therefore seems unlikely that Sabine’s money was the key to the 5th Baronet’s building works at Nostell. Marriage was often considered a ‘social duty’ since it would widen the ‘social contacts’ of the family,³⁴⁸ not least for a family with political aspirations. But the convenience of a wealthy bride would be negated by the nuisance of all her contacts being abroad. Moreover, the first half of the eighteenth century saw greater strictures placed upon female conduct. This is echoed by an increase in instructional publications on conduct specifically for women.³⁴⁹ Sabine would not have been familiar with the typical conduct of English ladies, and this – along with the language barrier – was likely to be the cause of social awkwardness. The 4th Baronet asked his son to reconsider, reminding him that ‘without connections and means a man will make but a mean figure in this country’.³⁵⁰

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 85.

³⁴⁵ Todd, C. ‘A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory’ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 205.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 208.

³⁴⁷ Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 78.

³⁴⁸ Beckett, J.V. *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford and Cambridge Massachusetts, 1986), p. 103.

³⁴⁹ Tague, I.H. ‘Love, Honour, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century’ *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40 (2001), p. 81.

³⁵⁰ Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 78.

Although increasingly common – as with the 4th Baronet and his wife Susannah – a love match was not automatically expected to be the correct one,³⁵¹ and doubts would have been exacerbated by Sabine's nationality.³⁵² It appears, and with good reason, that the 4th Baronet was concerned about the tide of xenophobia that was prevalent in all facets of English culture during the eighteenth century.³⁵³ The English national identity was considered a safeguard against the 'other',³⁵⁴ especially with regard to their fear of the French, the 'prime exponents of autocracy and Catholicism'.³⁵⁵ Although the panic over Jacobitism was largely quelled by the second half of the eighteenth century – indeed, it was not to affect Adam's popularity despite his Scottish origins³⁵⁶ – the long-standing political connections between the French and Scottish should not be overlooked. Sabine was destined to be unpopular for nothing other than her nationality, just as the 3rd Earl of Bute, political adviser to King George III, Secretary of State (1761-62) and Head of the Treasury (1762-63) was widely disliked owing to a fear that he – as a Scot – would encourage the King to expand his power by unconstitutional means.³⁵⁷

Despite opposition, the marriage between Rowland and Sabine took place on 4th December 1761, after the 4th Baronet had travelled to Switzerland especially to negotiate the terms of the union.³⁵⁸ Following their marriage the young couple returned to England.³⁵⁹ The 5th Baronet did not inherit until his father's death in 1765 despite claims made by his cousin that the heir-apparent had expected his father to step aside as soon as he returned from Switzerland.³⁶⁰ So the young couple divided their time between Badsworth Hall – some four miles from Nostell,

³⁵¹ Baird, R. *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses* (London, 2003), p. 8.

³⁵² The 4th Baronet remarked that his son's attraction to Sabine 'was only an amusement'. Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 78. Rowland's brother called it 'that disagreeable affair' and his aunt Mary wrote that people involved with such matches 'are lost to the world & never make any figure in life'. Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 209.

³⁵³ Sudan, R. *Fair Exotics: English Xenophobic Subjects in English Literature, 1720-1850* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 6-7.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Schweizer, K.W. 'English Xenophobia in the 18th Century: The Case of Lord Bute', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, Vol. 22 (1997), p. 8.

³⁵⁶ Duffy, C. *The '45* (London, 2003), pp. 543-44.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 6-7; Schweizer, K.W. 'Stuart, John, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-1792)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition October 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26716>, accessed 5 March 2012.

³⁵⁸ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/4/8, Letter from four of his daughters to Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the marriage of their brother Rowland, 28 November 1761. This letter was written to the 4th Baronet during his trip to Switzerland.

³⁵⁹ Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 78.

³⁶⁰ Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 86.

a property of the Marquis of Rockingham³⁶¹ – and London, where they bought a house at 11 St James's Square in 1766.³⁶² It was in this town house that their two children, Esther and Rowland, were born in 1768 and 1775.³⁶³

Following the birth of her son, Rowland, in 1775, Sabine remained largely at Nostell.³⁶⁴ She still found conversation with non-French speakers difficult,³⁶⁵ and it must be questioned how welcome she, as a French-Swiss woman, was made to feel by society in London. She was also an overly protective mother.³⁶⁶ This was not unheard of, as Frances Irwin, 9th Viscountess of Temple Newsam preferred to remain in the country with her daughters. Unlike Sabine, however, Viscountess Irwin suffered no social difficulty caused by xenophobia. It is possible to see from the many letters that the 5th Baronet wrote to Sabine – in French – that he spent large amounts of time away from Nostell,³⁶⁷ often attending to domestic matters on her behalf,³⁶⁸ or his own health. He suffered from mysterious headaches, bilious attacks, and gout in his hands, often taking him to doctors in London and Bath. Sabine's health, though not perfect, was better than that of her husband,³⁶⁹ and she remained at Nostell to care for her children and tend to domestic matters. It is clear from her letters in the Nostell archive that Sabine was not interested in the building works, and spent much of her time in the management of her servants, and the concoction of homemade remedies,³⁷⁰ an occupation perhaps motivated by her husband's ill health.

The combination of the 5th Baronet's absence, and Sabine's disinterest, necessitated the employment of a Clerk of Works, Benjamin Ware. On 26 August 1766 Robert Adam informed

³⁶¹ Ibid., p. 97.

³⁶² Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 199.

³⁶³ Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 211.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Conversation for Sabine was not easy; 'as one mutual acquaintance put it, 'they did nothing but laugh at each other','. Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 78.

³⁶⁶ The 5th Baronet's 'widow stopped the work at Nostell and shut herself away with her children... Now in 1785, she turned away visitors and notably refused an invitation from Charlotte for her daughter to spend some time in London'. Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 220.

³⁶⁷ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/5A/3, Letters to Sabine Winn from Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1766-84. From these letters we can see that the 5th Baronet spent a great deal of time away from Nostell.

³⁶⁸ Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 213.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 216.

³⁷⁰ Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 79.

the 5th Baronet that ‘Since I came to London I saw Mr Rose and told him I had engaged Mr Ware for you. I have fixt his wages for you at Eighteen Shillings per Week, which is the same that I pay him myself in Town’.³⁷¹ That Ware’s pay was so generous demonstrates how very useful he was, and most of the Nostell correspondence from the Adam office was sent to him.

Despite problems with his health, the 5th Baronet considered it his duty – as his father had done – to stand for parliamentary office. And like his father it is not known if these political hopes were directly related to the building works, or merely another element of the man’s ambitions. His political career, however, was to be ill-fated. That he stood as MP for Pontefract connected him with one place, his constituency and his local seat, and as such the building work at Nostell can perhaps be seen as a means of promoting loyalty through stimulating the local economy, as it had under the 4th Baronet. This meant that the London house was no longer the family’s home. Nostell became the principal family residence, and the improvement works can also be considered within the context of personal comfort and aggrandisement.

As a burgh borough,³⁷² Pontefract had two main patrons, George Morton Pitt and Lord Galway. They worked together to canvass the local community and held the majority between them.³⁷³ But in 1766 John Walsh bought Pitt’s burgages, and after persuading Galway to follow his lead, Walsh put an end to the expense of canvassing. Instead faggot votes were cast shortly before the election.³⁷⁴ Naturally the ‘voteless populace’ of Pontefract were not pleased, and persuaded the 5th Baronet of Nostell to stand in the general election against Walsh in 1768.³⁷⁵ According to the *Whitehall Evening Post*, on 21 March – the day of the election – the mob prevented voters for Walsh from reaching the polls, and consequently Galway and the 5th Baronet were elected.³⁷⁶ As a result, on 24 November of the same year, the result was declared void by the House of Commons and Walsh was duly given the 5th Baronet’s seat.³⁷⁷ Although

³⁷¹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1562/27, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the employment of Benjamin Ware, and architectural drawings for Nostell, 26 August 1766.

³⁷² An estate in which the right to vote was only attached to particular tenants in accordance with their occupation.

³⁷³ *The History of Parliament* on CD-ROM (Cambridge, 1998), 1754-1790: I-1754-33.

³⁷⁴ *The History of Parliament* on CD-ROM (Cambridge, 1998), 1754-1790: I-1754-33. Faggot votes were allowed through loop-holes in the law. Such votes were cast by men who owned property in title, but for which the entire value was owing, for example in a mortgage, and as such should not, in principal, have had any right to the vote.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ Todd, C. ‘A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory’ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 213.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

the 5th Baronet had been unsuccessful in holding the seat for Pontefract he remained popular in the town. The inhabitants celebrated his birthday in 1769, the same year that they founded the 'Free and Easy Society', a dining club for his supporters.³⁷⁸ Unfortunately this popularity only lasted until 1774 when the 5th Baronet demanded the freedom to choose his own fellow candidate but was refused. Despite lavish spending he was unsuccessful in both the 1774 and 1784 elections;³⁷⁹ *The Leeds Intelligencer* reported that the 5th Baronet had spent £20,000 on electioneering in Pontefract,³⁸⁰ a sum that certainly contributed to Sabine's financial difficulties during her widowhood.

The 5th Baronet's change of fortune embittered him and resulted in a change of his political affiliations. He turned away from the Whigs and sought an audience with the Tory Prime Minister, Lord North,³⁸¹ bringing him into the same political party as Robert Adam. Adam had been a Tory MP for Kinross in 1768,³⁸² but it cannot have been this shared politics which attracted Adam to the 5th Baronet as he was employed at Nostell from 1765, and in the 1760s the 5th Baronet was still a faithful member of the Whig party. As such it is necessary to consider alternative motivations which prompted the 5th Baronet to select Adam as his architect.

James Paine had worked faithfully for the 4th Baronet for over 20 years. But on his patron's death in 1765 he was dismissed by the 5th Baronet in favour of Adam. Thankfully Paine's departure was amicable as he was much engaged elsewhere at Kedleston Hall.³⁸³ Moreover, there is a copy of Paine's *Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses* in the library at Nostell in a contemporary binding,³⁸⁴ clearly Paine and the 5th Baronet had parted on amicable terms, signifying that the 5th Baronet had not behaved ungraciously. But why did the 5th Baronet consider Adam to be a more suitable architect than the long-serving Paine, and rather than reacting to what he may have seen as his father's staid attitudes – by employing a fresh architect – were there real issues of taste involved in Adam's employment?

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 214.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Anon. 'Obituary of considerable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes', *Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1792), p. 283.

³⁸³ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 13.

³⁸⁴ Edward Potten, of the National Trust, has suggested that this was presented by Paine in recognition of the 4th Baronet's patronage. Personal conversation, 30 July 2007.

A brief review of Adam's background and life make it clear why the 5th Baronet should have been impressed by him. Robert Adam (1728-92) was an intellectual and ambitious man, a product of the Scottish Enlightenment, the second son of William Adam³⁸⁵ the leading Scottish architect of his generation.³⁸⁶ According to his obituary, Robert Adam was educated at Edinburgh University among some of the finest minds of his generation, including David Hume and Dr Adam Ferguson,³⁸⁷ and following William Adam's death in 1748, Robert was created a partner in the family's architectural firm by his eldest brother John.³⁸⁸ In Adam's early architectural schemes John Summerson has recognised William 'Kent's staccato quality... [with] hints of the 'movement'³⁸⁹ which the Adams were later to place so high in the scale of architectural values',³⁹⁰ and therefore Adam's style – later to make him so famous – had already begun to evolve before his Grand Tour.³⁹¹ Certainly this period of Adam's architectural career was thoroughly successful as it afforded him invaluable training and a fortune of £5,000.³⁹² This sum was used to finance his Grand Tour – something that he and the 5th Baronet had in

³⁸⁵ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 55.

³⁸⁶ Fleming, J. *Robert Adam and his circle* (London, 1962), p. 3.

³⁸⁷ Anon. 'Obituary of considerable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes', *Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1792), p. 282.

³⁸⁸ Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 44.

³⁸⁹ Adam, J. and Adam, R. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, p. i.

³⁹⁰ Summerson, J. *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th ed. (1953; New Haven and London, 1993), p. 393.

³⁹¹ At Blair Adam, William Adam's estate, there remains a large collection of drawings by Robert Adam dating from 1749 until 1756, the year in which he left Scotland for his Grand Tour. West Register House, *Robert Adam at home, 1728-1778: The Drawings from the Collection at Blair Adam* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 2-3. It would seem that he had been encouraged to draw, and the architecture and landscape of lowland Scotland provided ample inspiration. Tait, A.A. *Robert Adam and Scotland: The Picturesque Drawings* (Edinburgh, 1972), introduction. Indeed, the collection includes schemes to improve Blair Adam. West Register House, *Robert Adam at home, 1728-1778: The Drawings from the Collection at Blair Adam* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 10-11. Doubtless Adam's enthusiasm for drawing was partly a result of his father's profession, and he joined the architectural practice in preference to his university education. But in addition, the unsuccessful Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 had forced a number of draughtsmen loyal to the Stuart cause to take refuge in Scotland, helping the profession to flourish. Tait, A.A. *Robert Adam, The Creative Mind: from the sketch to the finished drawing* (London, 1996), p. 5. William had developed his own drawing style, of a sturdy baroque character, influenced by Vanbrugh and Gibbs, while Robert Adam's earliest technique was quite different from his father's. We can see from the collection at Blair Adam that the majority of his youthful drawings display a romantic, picturesque style. Tait, A.A. *Robert Adam and Scotland: The Picturesque Drawings* (Edinburgh, 1972), introduction. Adam's drawing changed dramatically during his time in Italy but he retained an interest in the picturesque. When his collection of books was auctioned at Christies in 1818 by his youngest brother William, it included four volumes by Reverend William Gilpin (1724-1804), the clergyman and schoolmaster who had published a definition of the picturesque. Watkin, D.J. (ed.). *Sales Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, Vol. 4: Architects (London, 1972), p. 177.

³⁹² Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 44.

common – although Adam’s tour was undertaken not for pleasure but for further experience of Classical architecture and architectural motifs.³⁹³

When Adam left Edinburgh in 1756 he was a successful architect, but his Grand Tour provided an ‘international gloss’.³⁹⁴ He made a three-year tour of Italy under the tutelage of the French artist Charles-Louis Clerisseau,³⁹⁵ and the drawing style that Adam cultivated in Italy was less contrived than his earlier picturesque style, conveying an elegantly realistic – albeit sketch-like – result.³⁹⁶ It was this, combined with a new-found knowledge of antique architecture, which enabled Adam to develop his own architectural style when he returned to England, in 1759, returning to London rather than Edinburgh, to set up his architectural practice in Lower Grosvenor Street.³⁹⁷ He set straight to work, ignoring any sentimental desires to visit his family, but he was joined by his younger brothers James and William, and by two of their sisters, who kept house for the brothers.³⁹⁸ They remained in Lower Grosvenor Street until 1772, when the Adam office moved to the ill-fated Adelphi buildings on the banks of the River Thames.³⁹⁹

The Adam office provided designs in deliberate contrast to the severe Palladian style that had dominated England for 30 years,⁴⁰⁰ providing the 5th Baronet with the ability to alter his father’s house in a manner stylistically contrary to Paine’s work. The Adam brothers instigated a new fashion by producing a greater arsenal of architectural motifs and varied interior plans, largely inspired by what Adam had seen in Italy,⁴⁰¹ and was rooted in variations of form, with ovals, arches, niches and columns providing the ‘movement’⁴⁰² that afforded a sense of spatial mystery and architectural innovation. In addition to these stylistic innovations, in the time leading up to Adam’s employment at Nostell, his career, and social standing were also

³⁹³ Oresko, R. (ed.). *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London and New York, 1975), p. 17.

³⁹⁴ Tait, A.A. *Robert Adam, The Creative Mind: from the sketch to the finished drawing* (London, 1996), p. 5.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 5, 10; Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 44.

³⁹⁶ Tait, A.A. *The Adam Brothers in Rome: Drawings from the Grand Tour* (London, 2008), pp. 63-65.

³⁹⁷ Tait, A.A. *Robert Adam, The Creative Mind: from the sketch to the finished drawing* (London, 1996), p. 5.

³⁹⁸ Wilson, M. *The English Country House and its Furnishings* (London, 1977), p. 105.

³⁹⁹ The Adelphi was a failed speculative scheme to build and sell London townhouses which caused considerable financial distress to the Adam family. Tait, A.A. *Robert Adam, The Creative Mind: from the sketch to the finished drawing* (London, 1996), p. 5.

⁴⁰⁰ Wilson, M. *The English Country House and its Furnishings* (London, 1977), p. 105.

⁴⁰¹ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), Introduction, pp. 1-17.

⁴⁰² Adam, J. and Adam, R. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, p. i.

flourishing. Between 1760 and 1764 he worked at 15 different country houses,⁴⁰³ and his patrons during these five years included six men with the rank of duke or marquis, 16 with the rank of earl, viscount or baron, and nine with the rank of lord, baronet or knight,⁴⁰⁴ one of whom, the 6th Earl of Coventry, was to carry the pall at Adam's funeral.⁴⁰⁵ Clearly Adam was moving in elite circles, and perhaps this was a group which the 5th Baronet of Nostell was keen to join. Adam's patrons held no common political or social affiliations, other than their architectural patronage, but they were all wealthy.

The vogue for Adam's style overcame political considerations. Following his employment of Adam in 1765 the 5th Baronet, as previously mentioned, was to make strenuous efforts to acquire a seat in the House of Commons. Although his patronage at Nostell smacks of social ambition, there does not seem to be any uniformly Whiggish aesthetic in place as the Adam style does not allow for this. If the 5th Baronet's loyalty to the Whig party had never been recorded it is unlikely that it could be established through analysis of his house.

So the Adam style was indicative of an aesthetic fashion that superseded political affiliation. Adam himself claimed that his architectural style was entirely original, writing in the preface to *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, that: 'We have not trod in the path of others,

⁴⁰³ King, D. *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam and Unbuilt Adam* (Oxford and Boston, 1991), Vol. I, p. 412.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 414. In 1765, the year that the 5th Baronet of Nostell employed Adam, he was also working for the Lascelles family at Harewood House; for the 6th Earl of Coventry, the greatest landowner in Worcestershire, at Croome Court; for the 1st Baron Scarsdale, the Tory Magnate of Derbyshire, at Kedleston Hall; for the Earl of Shelburne, during the 1780s a Whig Prime Minister, at Bowood House; for Lord Willoughby de Broke at Compton Verney; for William Beckford, the wealthiest sugar baron of the West Indies and Whig MP, at Witham Park; for Sir Wyndham Knatchbull at Mersham-le-Hatch; for the 1st Duke of Northumberland, who had been active as both a Tory and a Whig, at Syon House; for the 4th Lord Clifford at Ugbrooke Park; for Robert Child at Osterley Park; for Sir Lawrence Dundas, a very wealthy military contractor, member of the Society of Dilettanti, and Tory MP, at Moor Park; for Sir John Griffin Griffin at Audley End; and for the 4th Duke of Manchester, a friend of Rockingham and active Whig in the House of Lords, at Kimbolton Castle. Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 50-51; Lane, J. 'Coventry [Gunning], Maria, countess of Coventry (bap. 1732, d. 1760)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6481>, accessed 5 March 2012; Cannon, J. 'Petty, William, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, and 1st Marquess of Lansdowne (1737-1805)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition May 2010), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/220701>, accessed 5 March 2012; Sheridan, R.B. 'Beckford, William (1744-1799)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1904>, accessed 5 March 2012; Cannon, J. 'Percy, Hugh, 1st Duke of Northumberland (bap. 1712, d. 1786)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition January 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21943>, accessed 5 March 2012; Fereday, R.P. 'Dundas family of Finglask and Kerse (per. 1728/9-1820)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition January 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64103>, accessed 5 March 2012; Cannon, J. 'Montagu, George, 4th Duke of Manchester (1737-1788)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19016>, accessed 5 March 2012.

⁴⁰⁵ Anon. 'Obituary of considerable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes', *Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1792), p. 283.

nor derived aid from their labours.⁴⁰⁶ Presumably, Adam believed that his success was due solely to his own genius – something the 5th Baronet was keen to utilise for his own personal glorification. Despite this claim to complete originality, Adam recognised the enormous effect that his Grand Tour had had on his design capacity, and he was an advocate of foreign travel in the study of architecture. He wrote to his sister that ‘in order to become a great man, five or six years well employed in Italy is the only Receipt’.⁴⁰⁷ In addition to this, he stated in the opening lines of his first published work *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*:

The buildings of the Ancients are in Architecture, what the works of Nature are with respect to the other Arts; they serve as models which we should imitate, and as standards by which we ought to judge: for this reason, they who aim at eminence, wither in the knowledge or in practice of Architecture, find it necessary to view with their own eyes the works of the Ancients which remain, that they may catch from them those ideas of grandeur and beauty, which nothing, perhaps, but such an observation can suggest.⁴⁰⁸

Here Adam is emphatic in telling his reader that all good architecture evolves from the antique, and that all good architects should therefore have experienced it. He continues by discussing the problem that ‘scarce any monuments now remain of Grecian or of Roman magnificence but public buildings’,⁴⁰⁹ and that it was also necessary for him to view domestic examples, and hence he published his drawings of Diocletian’s palace at Spalatro in order to provide the British public with their first taste of domestic antique architecture. Through this specifically domestic publication Adam legitimised his own interior decorative work, making him the perfect candidate for the fashion-conscious 5th Baronet to employ. The domestic genre of Adam’s publication was its only novel feature, however, as architectural treatises and print books flourished in England from 1715 onwards; with Turkish power over south-east Europe beginning to recede, travelling to this area became safer,⁴¹⁰ and works such as Robert Wood’s

⁴⁰⁶ Adam, J. and Adam, R. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, p. i.

⁴⁰⁷ Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York. *Robert Adam and His Style: City Dwellings and Country Houses* (New York and Oxford, 1982), p. 9.

⁴⁰⁸ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London, 1764), p. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Dutton, R. *The English Country House*, 2nd ed. (1935; London, 1943-44), p. 74.

The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmore, in the desert of 1753 began to appear.⁴¹¹ But it is surely no coincidence that Adam – an aspiring country house architect – should set himself up in the public gaze as the nation’s foremost expert of the domestic antique. Indeed, the Adam office clerk, John Austin, sent a copy of the ‘Book of Spalatro’ to Nostell in 1771,⁴¹² shortly before Adam was commissioned to provide architectural alterations there in addition to his interior decorative work.

The timing of Adam’s publication was crucial to his success, as well as the 5th Baronet’s attraction to him as a suitable architect. If connoisseurship and the ‘science of taste’ was rooted in Italy and Greece,⁴¹³ the 5th Baronet must have been acutely aware that his own Grand Tour had not extended to the Mediterranean, and with Adam’s help he would be able to compensate for this. We know from the 5th Baronet’s letters of 1764 to a York cabinet-maker, Robert Barker, about the library at Nostell, that he was keen to begin making his own changes to the house.⁴¹⁴ These letters provide evidence that the 5th Baronet was considering the work he would undertake at Nostell as early as 1764 – the same year that Adam published *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*. It is likely that the young man – soon to be the 5th Baronet – was affected by the new vogue for Adam’s Roman Neo-Classicism.

A Greek revival had started in the eighteenth century,⁴¹⁵ accelerated by archaeology and publication, and promoted in England by the Society of Dilettanti.⁴¹⁶ The 5th Baronet was not a member of the Society of Dilettanti, but this does not dilute their influence. Indeed, the Dilettanti’s authority was pervasive.⁴¹⁷ Easier trade, as well as travel and general access to the Greek archipelago came with the foundation of the English Levant Company in 1586.⁴¹⁸ This facilitated an interest in antique collectables, and during the seventeenth century avid collectors began to buy antique marbles.⁴¹⁹ Then in 1732 the Society of Dilettanti was founded as a club

⁴¹¹ Wood, R. *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmore, in the desert* (London, 1753), title page.

⁴¹² WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/12, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding books sent to Nostell, 14 August 1771. The books listed include Robert Adam’s *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764).

⁴¹³ Brewer, J. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), p. 256.

⁴¹⁴ WYAS WYL1352(1) C3/1/5/1/4, Letter from Robert Barker to Rowland Winn, later 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the cost of wood for cabinets for a library, 20 Jan 1764. WYL1352(1) C3/1/5/1/5, Letter from Robert Barker to Rowland Winn, later 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding cabinets for a library, 25 Jan 1764.

⁴¹⁵ J Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760-1870* (London, 1972), p. xi.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴¹⁷ Worsley, G. *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 256.

⁴¹⁸ J Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760-1870* (London, 1972), p. 1.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. 3. These collectors included King Charles I, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arundel.

for ex-grand tourists and soon they were offering financial support for the study and excavation of antiquities,⁴²⁰ testifying to a sincere academic interest in the antiquity of both Greece and Rome. This was largely the result of the work of a low-born German scholar, Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Patronised by the Elector of Saxony, Winckelmann travelled to Rome and became involved with the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum.⁴²¹ Prior to his trip, in 1755, he had published *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, for which he had acquired some fame for his scholarly work,⁴²² and through his publications Winckelmann had raised the awareness of the Society of Dilettanti, but it was his *Open letter on the Discoveries made at Herculaneum*, of 1762, and two years later his *Report* on the new discoveries made there, that had the greatest impact.⁴²³ Winckelmann's *Open letter* was both an attack on the Neapolitan management of the archaeological project, as well as an explanation of how the writings of Vitruvius could be better understood through comparison with the remains at Herculaneum and Pompeii,⁴²⁴ and being quickly translated into French,⁴²⁵ and then English – allowing for wider dissemination – promoted a fashion for both Greek and Roman motifs described therein, as well as establishing a craze for historical awareness.⁴²⁶ Winckelmann had provided a serious and scholarly foundation for interior design.⁴²⁷

In his publication of the *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* – a copy of which was sent to Nostell – Adam was directly feeding into this new fashion for Neo-Classicism, and in a letter to his sister Janet Adam on 30th March 1757, Adam expressed his wish to travel to Athens, 'taking Clerisseau & my two Draughtsmen with [u]s two, we would furnish a very tolerable Work to Rival Stuart & Revett in 3 months time & return home laden with Laurels'.⁴²⁸ Here Adam articulates his desire to publish his own work on antique Athenian architecture intended as a direct rival to the *Antiquities of Athens* by Stuart and Revett, which had been funded by the Society of Dilettanti in 1751, and the first volume of which was finally published in 1762.⁴²⁹ Adam's dream of a publication on Athens was never realised, and instead

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴²¹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴²² Ibid., pp. 24-27.

⁴²³ Leppmann, W. *Winckelmann* (London, 1971), pp. 179-80.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., p. 180.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., p. 181. They were translated into French at the expense of Count de Caylus, an enemy of the Neapolitan state, who saw an opportunity to embarrass them.

⁴²⁶ Betsky, A. *Building Sex: men, women, architecture, and the construction of sexuality* (New York, 1995), p. 123.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Wiebenson, D. *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London, 1969), p. 108.

⁴²⁹ J Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760-1870* (London, 1972), p. 14.

he produced his work on Spalatro. As previously stated, the purpose of this work was to establish himself – at a time when fashion demanded archaeological awareness of an architect – as the foremost expert on antique domestic architecture, a field which had hitherto been overlooked.⁴³⁰ But Adam delayed the publication of the *Ruins*,⁴³¹ presumably in order to elongate the divide between the *Antiquities of Athens* and his own work, thereby allowing the public thirst for further archaeology to be refreshed before he published his own book. And with regard to his commission at Nostell, this seems to have worked in his favour, not only because the 5th Baronet was sent a copy of the *Ruins*, but also because it coincided with Winckelmann's Report on Herculaneum. As such the *Ruins* was published at a moment of heightened archaeological interest – this would not have gone unnoticed by the fashion-conscious 5th Baronet of Nostell. Certainly this is a plausible contributing factor to his employment of Adam.

Giles Worsley tells us that in his architectural designs, Adam made little use of the motifs he recorded from Spalatro: 'archaeological accuracy was not an important consideration'.⁴³² He used motifs from antiquity to inform his own style, rather than following the Palladians in their dogged imitation of it. Equally, however, Worsley is at pains to stress that Neo-Classicism was not a new feature of British architecture as it had been in evidence since the time of Inigo Jones, and though dominant during the second half of the eighteenth century – as we can see from the popularity of Robert Adam – it was never comprehensive.⁴³³ The *Ruins*, therefore, should be seen primarily as a means of generating publicity for the Adam brand.

Adam had always been an ambitious man. While in Italy he had posed as a gentleman rather than an architect, and even years later, during a successful career, his principal portrait depicted a fashionable and learned gentleman rather than an architect (fig. 42) – someone more likely to have made friends with the 5th Baronet of Nostell. In Italy Adam had insisted that his family write to him not as Robert Adam, Architect, but 'Robert Adam Esquire' or 'Robert Adam Gentil-homme Anglois'.⁴³⁴ But, as previously illustrated, his profession as an architect had brought him into the social orbit of the elite. Indeed, he did form a close friendship with the 5th Baronet during his employment at Nostell, as is clear from Adam's letter of thanks, written

⁴³⁰ Wiebenson, D. *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London, 1969), p. 43.

⁴³¹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁴³² Worsley, G. *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 260-61.

⁴³³ Ibid., p. 245.

⁴³⁴ Fleming, J. *Robert Adam and his circle* (London, 1962), p. 2.

when the 5th Baronet secured the Adam family's loan of £5,000 taken in 1772 to ease their financial difficulties following the failure of the Adelphi scheme.⁴³⁵ Adam wrote that, 'I did not doubt But our very sincere friend Sir Rowland Winn would join with us in that Bond as a Collateral Security'.⁴³⁶ It is clear that the nature of Adam's friendship with the 5th Baronet was such that financial assistance was not only forthcoming, but expected as by this time the 5th Baronet had joined the ranks of Adam's various smart patrons.

It is worthy of note that the 5th Baronet was always keen to deal with the interior design at Nostell as a priority, and architectural alterations were not commissioned until later, in 1776, when the interior was complete.⁴³⁷ This may be because Adam was famous for his interiors and the 5th Baronet was utilising him accordingly, but it is more likely however, that the 5th Baronet's desire a house fitted-out in the famous Adam style. Who, specifically, the intended audience can have been we do not know.

The 5th Baronet died unexpectedly when his carriage turned over on 20th February 1785,⁴³⁸ leaving his wife in considerable financial difficulty, and bringing a sudden halt to Adam's work at Nostell. The London house – exclusively used by the 5th Baronet since the birth of his son – was sold off quickly, and within the Nostell Archive there is a letter dated 'March 29th: 1785',⁴³⁹ only a month after the 5th Baronet's death, concerning the sale of the London house, and illustrating the seriousness of the financial situation. The letter is from a 'Mr Leach', who wrote to an unknown party that

Her Ladyship has a Letter in her possession from Mr Christie to Sir Rowland, [6th Baronet of Nostell] whom her Ladyship informs me, if there is no mistake she learns the House was sold for £6,930. Now her Ladyship would have the rest of the Money that shall be wanting procured, and the Mortgage satisfied in his lawful Demands.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁵ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/7, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the security for a loan taken after the failure of the Adelphi speculation, 22 August 1772.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/11, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the end of the interior decoration, 15 February 1776.

⁴³⁸ *The Leeds Intelligencer* reported that 'On Sunday last died suddenly at Retford, in Nottingham, on his road to London, Sir Rowland Winn, Bart, of Nostell in this county'. Todd, C. 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77 (2005), p. 220.

⁴³⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/5A/10, Correspondence with family and friends on the death of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1785. Within this collection of letters are held those discussing the sale of the 5th Baronet's house in London.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

Not only was the house at 11 St James's Square sold within a month, but Sabine was anxious to receive the proceeds. Perhaps such financial difficulty was inevitable after 50 years of building works, but it seems that Sabine's problems continued well after the 5th Baronet's death. Adam final account of 1785 for '£247/15s/5d.',⁴⁴¹ remained unpaid, and he was obliged to remind her of it as late as the '9th Sept'm 1788'.⁴⁴² Sabine was thus forced to rely heavily on her solicitor, Shepley Watson in Wakefield, for the rest of her lonely life.⁴⁴³ Adam's work at Nostell was ceased in 1785 due to financial necessity as well as the loss of its most enthusiastic supporter and exponent.

ii. Turning to Adam: a new interior for the 5th Baronet

It is not the intention of this thesis to perform a detailed analysis of each individual room of Adam's interior, and his alterations will be discussed in a more thematic vein. Thus far we have considered why alterations were deemed necessary, but how and with which decorative motifs was Paine's interior masked? In what ways do Adam's structural alterations to the interior manifest themselves? And how did these change the function of the house?

That the interior at Nostell was the 5th Baronet's priority demonstrates his interest in the modish interior style. James Paine had already provided interiors for much of the house, and areas such as the state apartment were of the highest quality.⁴⁴⁴ While much of Paine's interior was incomplete, it is essential to assess which areas of Paine's executed work were altered; why this was done; and why large-scale structural alterations were necessary.

Style: the Library

On Adam's employment at Nostell in 1765 he immediately commenced with the Library.⁴⁴⁵ This room appears to have held considerable importance to the patron as an emblem of learning and taste. The Library is, therefore, an appropriate room through which to consider

⁴⁴¹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1551/3, Letter from Robert Adam to Sabine Winn, giving a reminder of his account, c.1785.

⁴⁴² WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1551/1, Letter from Robert Adam to Sabine Winn, giving a reminder of his account, 9 September 1788.

⁴⁴³ Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 82.

⁴⁴⁴ Dorothy Richardson's diary, 1761, Manchester, John Rylands Library, RYL.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol. 13.

⁴⁴⁵ Beard, G. *Robert Adam's Country Houses* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 10.

the reasons for the change of style that came with Adam's employment, and the resulting reconception of the interior at Nostell.

In 1764, prior to his succession, the 5th Baronet had started making designs for a library, having made contact with the York cabinet-maker Robert Barker in 1763.⁴⁴⁶ But there is no evidence as to where this intended library was to be located. The Adam Library (fig. 43) was begun in 1766,⁴⁴⁷ just months after the 5th Baronet's succession. Although most of the letters from the Adam office that relate to the Library are dated 1767, the earliest is dated 28 August 1766. This is a letter of introduction for Benjamin Ware – Adam's Clerk of Works at Nostell – to the 5th Baronet himself. Here Adam also explains that he had sent the drawings for the Library and Dressing Room with Ware,⁴⁴⁸ and refers to laid-out wall-elevations for the room (cat. 85). Work could not have commenced before the arrival of the Clerk of Works so this scheme was the first to be designed.

We know from Paine's plans for the house that he intended the current Library – which he had left a shell in 1765⁴⁴⁹ – as half of a family apartment (fig. 12), and as the other room within this proposed apartment – now the Billiard Room – reflects the alcove bedchamber of the state apartment on the southern side of the house, one must assume that the current Library would have been the dressing room to this grand family alcove bedchamber.⁴⁵⁰

Adam's extant drawings, sent to Nostell from 1766. Along with the room itself these express a change in function – no longer was the room to be used as a mere dressing room. Instead it was to be a magnificent book room, and Adam's drawings depict the room exactly as executed,⁴⁵¹ being composed of: the laid-out wall-elevations sent in August 1766 with Ware (cat. 85); designs for the window shutters, drawn on a letter from Adam to Ware of 14th October 1766 (cat. 96);⁴⁵² an elevation and details for the chimneypiece (cat. 87-93) sent with a

⁴⁴⁶ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/1/6, Letter from Robert Barker to Rowland Winn Esq., regarding the availability of wallpapers, 2nd January 1763.

⁴⁴⁷ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1568/2, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the arrival of Benjamin Ware, 28 August 1766.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Library – Room History 1: 1.1.

⁴⁵⁰ From his plans, we know that Paine had intended to include a library, in the north-west wing.

⁴⁵¹ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Library – Room History 1: 1.1.

⁴⁵² WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/35, Letter from Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the Library, 14 October 1766.

letter from Adam to Ware on 2nd December 1766;⁴⁵³ a detail of the mouldings over the chimneypiece on the verso of a letter sent from Adam to Ware on 23rd May 1767 (cat. 92); a design for the doorframe (cat. 94); and there is also a plan of the Library ceiling held at the Soane Museum (cat. 86) which is listed in an undated 'Memorandum of Mouldings left at Sir Rowland Wynn's at Nostill'.⁴⁵⁴ The surviving drawings express very clearly what Adam intended for the room, with integrated, architectural shelving for books.

Adam transformed a room that would have been comparatively plain into a modish Neo-Classical interior, suitable for masculine entertaining, making it a worthy setting for the 5th Baronet and Sabine's portrait by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (fig. 44).⁴⁵⁵ This portrait was originally intended for their London house at 11 St James's Square,⁴⁵⁶ and expresses the 5th Baronet's pride in his new Library at Nostell.⁴⁵⁷ Moreover, the size of the Library is greatly exaggerated in the portrait, emphasising the architectural magnificence of the space. Raikes has suggested that the Library was produced 'almost as an extension of his [the 5th Baronet's] private apartment', as it was located next to, and designed immediately before, his new dressing room, which was located within the current Billiard Room.⁴⁵⁸ This is further evidence that the Library was of considerable personal importance to the 5th Baronet, but, as was typical of double portraits in the second half of the eighteenth century, the emphasis of the pose is the emotional relationship between spouses.⁴⁵⁹

The collection of books – and appearing to be educated – was of the utmost importance to the country gentleman of eighteenth-century England, as 'his classical education was at the root of his appreciation for the art of antiquity, just as much as his belief in political liberty'.⁴⁶⁰ And we know that the 5th Baronet highly valued his reputation as a fashionable member of the social

⁴⁵³ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/28, Letter from Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the Library, 2 December 1766.

⁴⁵⁴ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1528/61, Memorandum of drawings left at Nostell, no date.

⁴⁵⁵ In 2000 Alastair Laing established that the portrait of Sabine and the 5th Baronet is by Hugh Douglas Hamilton. In the archive he found an account for 'two small whole length Portraits on one Canvas', at 'Guineas 32'. Laing, A. 'Sir Rowland and Lady Winn: A Conversation piece in the Library at Nostell Priory', *Apollo* (2000), p. 15.

⁴⁵⁶ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Library – Room History 1: 1.10.4.2.

⁴⁵⁷ The Douglas Hamilton portrait of the 5th Baronet and his wife is now located in the Library at Nostell.

⁴⁵⁸ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Library – Room History 1: 1.1.

⁴⁵⁹ Retford, K. *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven and London, 2006), p. 49.

⁴⁶⁰ Jackson-Stops, G. and Pipkin, J. *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London, 1985), p. 198.

elite, explaining his interest in the en mode Adams style. Moreover, as discussed in chapter 2, the inclusion of an actual library – a designated room for the storage of books on integrated shelving – was a relatively new concept, with Robert’s father, William Adam’s library at Arniston,⁴⁶¹ and William Kent’s library at Houghton,⁴⁶² being notable examples. It has become clear that William Kent influenced Adam, though Adam largely dismissed Kent as a ‘beginner’.⁴⁶³

There is no extant drawing, or reference to, an over-arching design for Adam’s interior scheme at Nostell. Like the Library, each room was conceived individually, but within the compass of Adam’s modish Neo-Classical style. This surely suited the 5th Baronet, who required the completion of his father’s house – already partially decorated by Paine – and the inclusion of a library was evidently paramount. It would seem appropriate, then, to consider Adam’s work at Nostell not as a reconception of the original house, but as a definitive shift in taste – the 5th Baronet presumably knew and liked Adam’s style, giving him free reign to execute his first design for the Library.

Taste versus money: the state apartment and Top Hall

The immediate inclusion of Adam’s new Library at Nostell is evocative of the 5th Baronet’s preoccupation with fashion and taste. Despite this, there are clear instances at Nostell where the Adam style is overlooked in favour of monetary considerations – both the 5th Baronet showing-off his wealth, and Adam’s preoccupation with income. We know that the 5th Baronet spent £20,000 to maintain his political interest, and perhaps physical expressions of wealth were as important to him as issues of style. Adam’s interior decoration at Nostell was intended not simply to complete Paine’s work, but to reconceive a considerable portion of the house, and it is significant, therefore, that changes were made to rooms which had already been decorated by Paine. The crimson apartment and the State Dining Room were largely left untouched,⁴⁶⁴ but the state apartment was very much altered.

⁴⁶¹ Cornforth, J. *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 69.

⁴⁶² Jackson-Stops, G. and Pipkin, J. *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London, 1985), p. 200.

⁴⁶³ Adam, J. and Adam, R. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, p. i.

⁴⁶⁴ In the crimson apartment, only minor plasterwork repairs were required by Joseph Rose during Adam’s time at Nostell. Raikes, S. ‘Nostell Priory Room Catalogue’ (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Breakfast Room – Room History 1: 1.2.2.1.1; Crimson Room – Room History 1: 1.2.2.1.1 and 1.3.2.1.1. Adam also designed a new marble chimneypiece for the Breakfast Room, and the design was included in one of Adam’s undated lists, as well as his letter of 21 January 1773. WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1528/61, Memorandum of drawings left at Nostell, no date. WYL1352(1) A4/1528/62, A list of mouldings and sections sent from Nostell to London, 1773. No drawings for alterations to either room survive. In addition, to the State Dining Room, Adam

The state apartment – the State Bedchamber, the State Dressing Room and the State Bathroom – was hung with Chinese wallpaper after 1771, Thomas Chippendale having written to the 5th Baronet on 21 March 1771 that ‘there are 36 Sheets of the India paper and the Person they belong to will not sell them separate nor will he take under 15s a sheet’.⁴⁶⁵ Here Chippendale was referring to the Chinese paper which still hangs in the state apartment – it was customary to call Chinoiserie wallpapers ‘Indian’, as they were imported by the East India Company from the later seventeenth century.⁴⁶⁶ They had first arrived in Europe having been gifted to Spanish and Italian traders to secure contracts.⁴⁶⁷ At Nostell 18 sheets of this paper – decorated with hand painted flowers and birds on a light green ground – were used,⁴⁶⁸ having been delivered from Chippendale’s warehouse ‘by the Leeds Waggon’ in April 1771.⁴⁶⁹ Pauline Webber and Maryle Huxtable of the V&A, who conserved the paper have argued as follows:

The design of birds and flowering trees with a lower margin of plants and rocks suggests that it is pre-1750. Further information gained during its conservation i.e. excise stamps which have been found on the paper from the State Bathroom – JP relates to the first quarter of the 18th Century [...] We also found Chinese words written – directly where the design should be executed.⁴⁷⁰

The paper at Nostell is of a genuine Chinese origin, but it is second-hand, and was not commissioned by the 5th Baronet. Even second hand, Chinoiserie papers were so expensive that they were rarely affixed to walls, but rather hung on wooden frames so that they could be transported.⁴⁷¹

added arabesques in pink wall panels, and overdoor roundels by Zucchi. There are no surviving drawings for these additions either, but both are datable to 1777. Raikes, S. ‘Nostell Priory Room Catalogue’ (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dining Room – Room History 1: 1.2.1.1.2 and 1.2.1.2.1.

⁴⁶⁵ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/23, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the availability of India wallpaper, 21 March 1771.

⁴⁶⁶ Beard, G. *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior* (London, 1990), p. 165.

⁴⁶⁷ Hoskins, L. (ed.). *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper* (London, 1994), p. 42.

⁴⁶⁸ Beard, G. *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior* (London, 1990), p. 165.

⁴⁶⁹ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/26, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding a delivery of India wallpaper, 27 April 1771.

⁴⁷⁰ Raikes, S. ‘Nostell Priory Room Catalogue’ (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dressing Room – Room History 1: 1.2.2.2.5.

⁴⁷¹ Hoskins, L. (ed.). *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper* (London, 1994), p. 46.

It seems that the 5th Baronet had been keen to redecorate the state apartment from the beginning of his baronetcy. We know from Chippendale's accounts that only two years after the 5th Baronet's succession, Paine's green damask in the State Bedchamber was removed to a bedroom on the second floor,⁴⁷² and following this – even before the paper was provided – Chippendale produced green and gold curtains for the State Dressing Room,⁴⁷³ anticipating the style of the interior. Although implemented by Chippendale, it has previously been held that the Chinoiserie theme in the state apartment – both the paper and furniture – was conceived by Adam,⁴⁷⁴ but there are no known letters to or from Adam concerning the Chinoiserie paper or furniture. He seems only to have taken direct responsibility for the repair of the plasterwork;⁴⁷⁵ the insertion of new chimneypieces in the State Dressing Room and Bathroom;⁴⁷⁶ and the remodelling of the alcove in the State Dressing Room,⁴⁷⁷ as will be discussed below. One must wonder, therefore, whether the inclusion of the Chinoiserie theme was actually Adam's idea at all. The paper and furniture were all supplied by Chippendale, he, working in a style with which he had clear familiarity – 'Chinese Chippendale' – as we know from plates within *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*.⁴⁷⁸ Adam's interiors at Nostell are otherwise definitely Neo-Classical, and bespoke in character. Chinoiserie was falling from fashion during the 1760s,⁴⁷⁹ and everything else about Adam's work was *en vogue*. Indeed, lacquered furniture designed by Adam was very rare,⁴⁸⁰ and it seems unlikely that he would

⁴⁷² Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Bedroom – Room History 1: 1.2.2.1.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., State Dressing Room – Room History 1: 1.4.2.1.1.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid. State Dressing Room – Room History 1: 1.1 and 1.10.2.1.

⁴⁷⁵ Joseph Rose's account includes repairs made to dado and window jambs in the State Dressing Room in 1767, and the ceiling, cove, cornice and capitals in 1769. WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/4/2, Account from Joseph Rose to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1766-1777. Rose also billed for repairs to the ceiling in the State Bedchamber in 1767.

⁴⁷⁶ The chimneypiece in the State Bathroom was installed by Adam in c.1769-71. Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Bathroom – Room History 1: 1.6.1.1.1. There is a drawing for ornaments to the frieze of this chimneypiece in the hand of an unknown eighteenth-century draughtsman (cat. 131). The chimneypiece in the State Dressing Room was designed by Adam in 1767. The drawing for this was sent to Ware at Nostell in June 1767, but it no longer survives. WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/49, Letter from Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the State Dressing Room, 23 June 1768. Both of these chimneypieces are of a clear Neo-Classical style and seem to have been designed separately from the Chinoiserie theme.

⁴⁷⁷ Adam sent a drawing to Nostell for the alteration of the alcove in the State Dressing Room in June 1768. This drawing no longer survives. Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ 'Chinese Chippendale' furniture was not taken from genuine Chinese precedents but Chippendale included several prints in this style in the *Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* in 1754. Honour, H. *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London, 1961), p. 137.

⁴⁷⁹ The height of the Chinoiserie style was the 1740s and 1750s when it was used alongside the French style. Beard, G. *The Work of Robert Adam* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 1-2.

⁴⁸⁰ MacQuoid, P. *A History of English Furniture* (London, 1988), p. 313.

have advocated the inclusion of second-hand wallpaper in a style that did not fall within his arsenal of motifs.

There is no record of why a Chinoiserie theme was chosen for the state apartment, and the most plausible explanation is that the 5th Baronet had been persuaded by Chippendale. Green and gold curtains had already been commissioned, after which Chippendale may have come across the paper for sale, and seeing an opportunity to produce a whole set of lacquered Chinoiserie furniture to match, offered the paper to his wealthy patron. It is possible that the 5th Baronet had been captivated by the reputation of Chinese papers for being lavish and valuable,⁴⁸¹ and as such it would seem that in the state apartment expressions of wealth were allowed to override issues of interior decorative fashion.

This theme of money is central to the interior decoration at Nostell. Even Adam seems to have been swayed by it, and is apparent from his use of stucco. Stucco had been widespread during the reign of King Henry VIII, and then enjoyed a resurgence of popularity during the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸² This revival was stimulated by Adam's frequent use of the medium, requiring numerous costly working drawings for ornamental details. And the more detailed a plasterwork ceiling design, the more working drawings Adam could produce. It is therefore tempting to consider Adam's heavy use of stucco in his ceiling designs as being motivated by the income it would generate. There are nearly 650 designs for Adam ceilings in the drawings collection at the Soane Museum,⁴⁸³ but Adam justified this blatant abuse of his own artistic integrity by writing in the preface of *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* that, 'we have introduced a great diversity of ceilings, friezes, and decorative plasters, and have added grace and beauty to the whole'.⁴⁸⁴ As such, Adam ceilings are considered a principal facet of his genre, and while they generally do express 'grace and beauty', it is likely their pervasive appearances in Adam interiors were prompted by financial as well as aesthetic desires.

⁴⁸¹ Even in the 1760s, when the fashion for Chinoiserie was waning, one panel of Chinese paper was up to 20 times the price of a roll of flock paper. Hoskins, L. (ed.). *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper* (London, 1994), p. 42.

⁴⁸² Beard, G. *Stucco and Decorative Plasterwork in Europe* (London, 1983), p. 136.

⁴⁸³ Stillman, D. *Decorative Work of Robert Adam* (London, 1966), p. 27.

⁴⁸⁴ Adam, R. and Adam, J. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, pp. i-ii.

The clearest example of Adam's use of stucco at Nostell is in the Top Hall (fig. 45), which was not decorated until the early 1770s. Although Paine had originally conceived the Top Hall as a grand ceremonial entrance – as we can see from his plans for the house (fig. 12) – it cannot have been considered a priority at that stage as there was an alternative entrance in the Lower Hall, which is filled with its dynastic allusions and the Thomas More family portrait – the family was probably still using the door on the ground floor of the south front of the house, as the 5th Baronet's father had done.⁴⁸⁵

The majority of the architectural drawings for the Top Hall, all of which propose stucco ornamentation, were sent to Nostell with a letter from Adam's London clerk, John Austin, on 7th July 1772.⁴⁸⁶ A surviving memorandum lists 26 drawings (of the surviving 41 drawings for the Top Hall), all of which are dated 1st June 1772.⁴⁸⁷ This memorandum must, therefore, be the list of drawings to which Austin referred in his letter (cat. 140, 142-163, 165-67).⁴⁸⁸

In a letter of 1774, to the 5th Baronet, Adam did refer to an alteration to the plasterwork design for the Top Hall,⁴⁸⁹ but his original design for the ceiling, which was sent to Nostell in 1772, shows the stucco work as executed.⁴⁹⁰ The only elements of the design which were not executed were the figurative panels over the windows, doors and chimneypieces.⁴⁹¹ Despite this Adam would have made a considerable profit from this scheme from producing such a large number of drawings for the detailed plasterwork design. Evidently he was a shrewd business man – and the executed scheme in the Top Hall is physical evidence of this.

It is apparent from the interior decoration in the state apartment and the Top Hall that money was key, both its generation, and the appearance of surplus.

⁴⁸⁵ Dorothy Richardson's diary (1761) Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ryl.EngMss1122, Vol. I, fol 11-17, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁸⁶ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/41, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the Top Hall, 7 July 1772.

⁴⁸⁷ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1528/60, Memorandum of drawings for Benjamin Ware, no date.

⁴⁸⁸ The drawings listed in this memorandum are all presentation and working drawings illustrating ornamental details for the Top Hall.

⁴⁸⁹ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/10, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding drawings for the Top Hall, 27 September 1774.

⁴⁹⁰ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Top Hall – Room History 1: 1.3.1.1.

⁴⁹¹ The figurative panels are most clearly depicted in Adam's laid-out wall-elevations for the Top Hall (cat. 133-134). This stucco scheme was not completed by Adam and the room was used as storage until the early nineteenth century. Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Top Hall – Room History 1: 1.1.

Structure

During the first decade of Adam's employment at Nostell – prior to 1776 when he was commissioned to make architectural alterations to the house – he was undertaking interior design work. One exception to this was the addition of the vestibule at basement level on the east front which enlarged the Lower Hall and insulated the house from the weather (fig. 46). The vestibule structure will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four, but it provided a new room in need of decorating. Similarly, after 1776, when Adam was supposedly making alterations to the fabric of the house, his extension to the Billiard Room on the north front necessitated a new interior (fig. 47). This structure will also be discussed fully below, but the interior of these two spaces – which were both decorated by Adam – provided extensions to the already sizable central block. What purpose did this fill, and were these extensions just another example of the 5th Baronet's concern with appearances?

The vestibule was an entirely new structure added to the central block forming a lobby between the external door and the Lower Hall (cat. 179-180). Adam sent laid-out wall-elevations showing the decoration of the vestibule with a letter dated 4 January 1770 (cat. 180),⁴⁹² and this was executed exactly in accordance with Adam's drawing and remains *in situ*. There are two other drawings for the interior of the vestibule: a plan for the ceiling (cat. 180), and an elevation for the chimneypiece (cat. 182). Although this is a small area of the house, it was a prominent one, being decorated before the Top Hall, and providing an entrance to the house.⁴⁹³

The Billiard Room – behind a Venetian window on the north front of the central block – was left a shell on Paine's dismissal in 1765. On Adam's arrival, the 5th Baronet commissioned a private dressing room, his green dressing room, in this location, next to the new Library.⁴⁹⁴ There is an extant design for a ceiling rose dating from this period (cat. 95), although the executed rose would have been demolished when the Billiard Room was extended and

⁴⁹² WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/19, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the vestibule and Saloon, 4 January 1770.

⁴⁹³ The interior of the majority of this room echoes the sparse Roman hall interior of the Lower Hall, but the ceiling, as we can see from Adam's drawing, has a stucco ornamental pattern of grid-work, a ceiling rose and two fans (cat. 181).

⁴⁹⁴ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Billiard Room – Room History 1: 1.1.

redecorated in the 1770s,⁴⁹⁵ and we can see from Adam's 1776 plan for alterations to the house (cat. 204) that the extended Billiard Room was intended to function as a vestibule between the central block, the Family and Music Room wings.⁴⁹⁶ However, the Family Wing was unfinished, and the Music Room wing never built, so the Billiard Room could not fulfil this purpose, and was used instead, during the nineteenth century, for storing and displaying paintings.⁴⁹⁷

Both the extension to the Lower Hall and to the Billiard Room were relatively practical, providing access and insulation, but these two entirely new architectural additions were not Adam's only structural alterations which made a profound effect on the interior of the house. From Adam's plan of Nostell, we can see that other structural changes took place: the remodelling of the bed alcove in the State Dressing Room; the addition of an apse in the east wall of the Saloon; and the reduction of the size of the Top Hall to provide space for a larger apse and three small lobbies (cat. 133-134, 172). These alterations, however, were not made for practical purposes – as the extensions to the Lower Hall and the Billiard Room had been – rather they were purely aesthetic.

The 'revolution' of the Adam style of interior decoration was not confined to the intricacy of his ornamental design, but also involved his manipulation of planning and space. This was manifested through a variety of differently shaped rooms such as the library at Kenwood, the saloon at Kedleston, or the hall at Syon. Although, as previously mentioned, the only precedent that Adam admitted was the antique, but Burlington had also been an advocate of differently shaped rooms, and his York Assembly Rooms, with its various ante-chambers, is the best example of this (fig. 48). The ultimate precedent for any such manipulation of room shapes comes from Roman bath architecture, and 'Roman Baths were [...] obviously of the greatest importance to Adam. What interested him besides classical archaeology was the recapture of the Roman style of interior decoration, which he rightly insisted was something wholly different to the marble temple architecture'.⁴⁹⁸ Certainly Adam's preoccupation with the Romanisation of Neo-Classicism was the result of his time in Italy, as well as, most probably,

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ All of the drawings pertaining to the Billiard Room – with the exception of the ceiling rose from the 1760s (cat. 95) – relate to changes made for the extension of the room into a Vestibule. There are sections, details of masonry and stucco work, and drawings for the ceiling and frieze (cat. 224-234).

⁴⁹⁷ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C4/1/15-15A, Inventory on the death of John Winn, 19 August 1818.

⁴⁹⁸ Summerson, J. *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th ed. (1953; New Haven and London, 1993), p. 395.

his acquaintance with Giovanni Battista Piranesi whom he met there.⁴⁹⁹ The influence of ancient Rome, especially through the manipulation of room shapes, is evident in the Adam style, and one of the best examples of his manipulation of space is in the Saloon at Kedleston Hall, which is circular, has apses, and a coffered dome (fig. 49).⁵⁰⁰

At Nostell, this Romanisation can be seen through Adam's structural alterations to the interior of the Hall-Saloon complex and the state apartment. The State Dressing Room (fig. 26) – which during the eighteenth century functioned as a state bedchamber⁵⁰¹ – is located in the centre of the south front of the central block, behind Paine's Venetian window (fig. 27). Adam entitled this room the 'Alcove Bed Chamber',⁵⁰² for the simple reason that the bed is located within an alcove, and it was his changes to this alcove that constituted his structural alterations in this area.

Paine's three drawings for the alcove show an arch supported by Tuscan piers (cat. 52-54). Raikes has deduced from these three drawings that Paine's alcove measured 7 feet, 6 inches wide, 9 feet deep, and 11 feet, 2 inches high.⁵⁰³ While no architectural drawings for Adam's alterations to the alcove exist, there is a reference to it in a letter, dated 1st June 1768, from Adam to Ware:

By the Leeds coach that set out Yesterday Morning from the Blue Boar in Holburn I have sent a Drawing of the alternative for the Alcove Bed Chamber and a Frize with the Capital & Base at large.⁵⁰⁴

Drawings fitting this description are listed as having been returned to the Adam office on 11th April 1773,⁵⁰⁵ although unfortunately they do not survive in the Adam office drawings

⁴⁹⁹ The influence of Piranesi is likely to have been pervasive. Adam appears to have been friends with Piranesi as he dedicated *Campus Maris* to 'Roberto Adam Britann'. Colvin, H.M. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (1954; New Haven and London, 2008), p. 44.

⁵⁰⁰ Beard believes that the Saloon at Kedleston Hall is the most Roman of Adam's executed interiors. Beard, G. *Robert Adam's Country Houses* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 4.

⁵⁰¹ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), 2004: State Dressing Room – Room History 1, 1.1.

⁵⁰² WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/22, Letter from Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the State Dressing Room, 1 June 1768.

⁵⁰³ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), 2004: State Dressing Room – Room History I, 1.2.1.2.2.

⁵⁰⁴ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/22, Letter from Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the State Dressing Room, 1 June 1768.

⁵⁰⁵ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1528/62, A list of mouldings and sections sent from Nostell to London, 1773.

collection, now in the possession of Sir John Soane's Museum. Doubtless then, alterations to the State Dressing Room must have taken place between June 1768 when the drawings were sent to Nostell, and April 1773 when they were returned to London. We know from his bill that Joseph Rose took down Paine's original archivolt and piers in August 1768,⁵⁰⁶ and presumably the remaining drawings were subsequently destroyed or sold off to someone unknown.

It is therefore only possible to understand the structural alterations made by Adam in the State Dressing Room through analysis of the existing room. That there are no records of further alterations to this alcove allows for the assumption that it remains as Adam designed it. The existing alcove is not as deep as Paine's had been,⁵⁰⁷ and takes the form of a square opening, topped by a thin entablature decorated with a delicate frieze of recurrent rosette motifs, and the piers are in the Ionic order, with bases resting on tall pedestals. The ornamental elements of this design are painted in green and gold to match the Chinoiserie decoration which was, as previously mentioned, installed after 1771. It is clear that none of this work in the State Dressing Room was structurally necessary – rather it was an aesthetic choice. Here Adam was manipulating the shape and ornamentation of the room to make it meld with the Adam style of his other rooms at Nostell, and he provided a variety of forms reminiscent of the Roman Baths.

A clearer and large-scale example of Adam's manipulation of room shapes can be seen in the Top Hall (fig. 45) and Saloon (fig. 41) on the central axis of the house. Paine's drawings for the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* show that he intended the Saloon to be a simple rectangular room, and the large Top Hall to have one small apse, feeding directly into the Saloon (fig. 12), to either side of which are narrow backstairs. When Paine left Nostell in 1765 the Top Hall remained a shell,⁵⁰⁸ and the decoration in the Saloon had been described in 1753 by Lady Wentworth as, 'Furnish'd with a Bad Green half Damask',⁵⁰⁹ suggesting that it was in need of redecoration. We can see from Adam's 1776 plans for alterations to the fabric, that he added an apse in the east wall of the Saloon and reduced the size of the Top Hall in order to

⁵⁰⁶ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/4/2, Account from Joseph Rose to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1766-1777.

⁵⁰⁷ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dressing Room – Room History 1: 1.2.2.1.1.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., Top Hall – Room History 1, 1.1.

⁵⁰⁹ Account of Lady Wentworth's trip through Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, September 1753, London, British Library, Ref. 46,277, Vol. V, p. 20.

provide space for a much larger apse in the west wall and three small lobbies (cat. 133-134, 172). The largest, central lobby connects the Saloon and the Top Hall, and flanking this, the other two lobbies connect the Top Hall to the north and south staircases. We know from Paine's plans that he had always intended the Top Hall to provide a grand ceremonial entrance on the *piano nobile*, and Adam did not change the function, following this typical eighteenth-century plan. The hall of the country house had been an integral feature since the mediaeval period when an entire feudal community would gather there,⁵¹⁰ and it seems unusual, therefore, that neither Paine nor Adam made this room a priority, but it was probably rendered less essential by the existence of doors on the south and east fronts into the basement level, especially following the construction of Adam's vestibule leading into the Lower Hall.

It is possible to ascertain the date of Adam's structural changes in the Hall-Saloon complex from a letter that Adam wrote to the 5th Baronet on 18th August 1767: 'I am just now busy, with the Designs of your Hall & saloon & hope they will turn out to your liking'.⁵¹¹ Adam was beginning his design for the Hall-Saloon complex only two years after his employment at Nostell, but there seems to have been some delay, as it was not until 22 April 1772 that Austin reported to Ware that 'I have inclosed in the Covers the Plan & three Sides of the Hall at Nostel, on the Plan is drawn the manner of framing the floor, as also inclosed is the Scan [same] thing of the different Timbers markd'.⁵¹² Here Austin was clearly referring to drawings made for structural alterations to the Top Hall, as he described the timber supports for the floor of the newly arranged room. All four of these drawings survive at the house and are, as Austin wrote, a plan of the joists for the floor (cat. 172), and three wall elevations for the new room (cat. 135-137), and all four are dated, in accordance with Austin's letter, 22nd April 1772.

A design for completing the oval lobby between the Top Hall and Saloon, however, was not provided until later, when on 27th September 1774 Adam wrote to the 5th Baronet: 'I have [...] made the design for the little Passage between the Hall and Salon'.⁵¹³ From a measured plan of the Top Hall it is possible to see the size of the new apse and lobbies, and elevations further

⁵¹⁰ Jackson-Stops, G. and Pipkin, J. *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London, 1985), p. 44, and Girouard, M. *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978), p. 30.

⁵¹¹ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/1, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding Zucchi's pictures, drawings for the Hall and Saloon, door furniture, and the Library chimney, 18 August 1767.

⁵¹² WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/43, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the Top Hall and work in the Saloon, 22 April 1771.

⁵¹³ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/10, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding drawings for the Top Hall, 27 September 1774.

depict the new apse and doors onto the lobbies – the large new apse dominates the interior, giving it an irregular shape, and as such, the first impression that Adam intended a guest to form when entering Nostell was one of spatial complexity, and a reference to antique, specifically Roman architecture. This impression is strengthened when passing through one of the small lobbies to access the saloon or staircases beyond. With all of the detailed Adam-style stucco work ornamentation, and the large apse, the Top Hall promotes an air of archaeological knowledge.

The delay in producing designs for the Top Hall had been caused by difficulties with the Saloon, which took precedence as the principal reception room of the house. This was caused by a problem with the height of the ceiling and the depth of the cove – this cove can be seen in two laid-out wall elevations for the room (cat. 101-102). Ware had not carried out his orders correctly and was sent the following by Austin on 19 December 1769:

Mr Adam received yours and desired I would write to you concerning the Saloon, he being much surprised that you never observed the hight in the Section before this time, and by your Letter does not understand in what manner you have set off the Cornice, whether you have set it off the same hight from the floor as in the Section & thrown the 3.6 all into the Cove, or whether you have set off the Cornice 4 feet from the Ceiling as markt in the Section, this he desired to be informed of by the return of the Post, as also to know how much is done to the Ceiling & Cove.⁵¹⁴

It is apparent from this letter that Ware had misinterpreted the depth of the coved ceiling. Although the surviving drawing – laid-out wall-elevations – is undated, it is likely that it was sent to Nostell before Austin's letter in December 1769, as it contains the feature in question but no measurements to mark it out in particular. The sectional drawing referred to by Austin is not extant, and later, Ware corrected his error and the current Saloon ceiling includes a magnificently deep cove. It is likely that Adam wanted to know how far the stucco work had progressed on this ceiling, suspecting it would need to be altered, and eventually, it was changed following another letter from Austin to Ware on 31 January 1770 in which he wrote: 'Mr Adam has seen Sir Rowland about the Ceiling of the Saloon and they have determined that

⁵¹⁴ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/48, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding the height of the ceiling in the Saloon, 19 December 1769.

it shall be lower'd according to the Section'.⁵¹⁵ So after all this difficulty with the ceiling, and the first drawings having been sent as early as 1767, it was not until 1774 that the chimneypiece was installed,⁵¹⁶ and 1776 when the paintings were hung.⁵¹⁷

Very few of the extant architectural drawings for the Saloon depict the structural alterations to the room, and the majority relate to ornamental features.⁵¹⁸ These drawings were sent to Nostell between November 1767 and December 1770,⁵¹⁹ although many were returned to London on 21 January 1773,⁵²⁰ and this may account for the density of drawings relating to the Saloon at the Soane Museum. The room is highly ornamental, as befitted the principal reception room of the house, but it is Adam's structural alterations which make it special. Only three drawings relate to this aspect of the work. Two are the laid-out wall-elevations (cat. 101-102), one of which shows the full decorative scheme, and the other is annotated with labels giving directions for colours; and a plan for the semidome in the apse. 108). There are no measurements inscribed on either of the laid-out wall-elevations, but the plan of the apse is scaled and also shows that Adam had originally intended a screen of two columns across the apse. Although initially executed, this screen does not exist today as on 3rd July 1771 Austin wrote to Ware:

I suppose Sir Rowland has told you the Alteration he intended in the Saloon, that is, to take away the Columns in the Nich, with the Cornice & Frize over do [ditto] and the two pilasters only to remain.⁵²¹

Clearly the screen was built, but it would seem that the 5th Baronet had not liked it, and ordered its removal, and as we know that the apse screen was removed before the end of 1771,

⁵¹⁵ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/2, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding the lowering of the ceiling in the Saloon, 31 January 1770.

⁵¹⁶ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/4/2, Account from Joseph Rose to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1766-1777.

⁵¹⁷ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3A/5, Letter from Antonio Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding canvasses for the Saloon and the Top Hall, 16 August 1776.

⁵¹⁸ The drawings for the Saloon include details for various mouldings (cat. 110); six plans for the stucco work ceiling (cat. 103-108); five cartoons for plasterwork bas-relief roundels (cat. 111-115); a plan for the placement of paintings (cat. 116); an elevation for a glass frame (cat. 118); an elevation for a single chimneypiece (cat. 115); a plan for the stucco work in the semidome of the apse (cat. 109); and a design for a table and its slab (cat. 119-120).

⁵¹⁹ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/34, Letter from James Adam to Benjamin Ware regarding drawings for the Saloon, 18 November 1767, and WYL1352(1) A4/1525/38, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the Top Hall and the Library, 19 December 1770.

⁵²⁰ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1528/62, A list of mouldings and sections sent from Nostell to London, 1773.

⁵²¹ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1525/18, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the Stables and alterations to the Saloon, 3 July 1771.

it must have been the first area of the Hall-Saloon complex to have been completed. Moreover, it is a great shame that this feature – so characteristic of Adam – was removed, since it is one of the few aspects of Roman Bath-style spatial manipulation that Burlington had not used before Adam.⁵²² The only remaining architectural drawing for the Saloon is a plan for the apse (cat. 90) which omits the screen, and must have been made in response to the 5th Baronet's wishes, but it also depicts a section of the cornice for the chimneypiece – not installed until 1774.

It would seem that these lengthy – and surely expensive – alterations to the Hall-Saloon complex, and to a lesser extent the State Dressing Room alcove, were entirely contrived by Adam to imbue Nostell with a flavour of Roman architecture. This was an essential feature of the Adam style, and therefore integral to the associations of taste that the 5th Baronet was keen to express in his home. The Romanisation of the structure of the house, through the manipulation of room shapes, is an aesthetic feature of the Adam style, and provides a means of observing Adam's expertise with the antique.

iii. The finest fittings: Thomas Chippendale and Antonio Zucchi at Nostell Priory

We know that the 5th Baronet established a firm friendship with Robert Adam, and he sent Adam venison from the Nostell estate.⁵²³ In order to understand why and how the extant house took the form it did, it is important to compare this close and friendly relationship with those enjoyed by other craftsmen employed by the 5th Baronet. To do so will also shed light on the hierarchy of design control that was held by various contributing members of the 5th Baronet's group of craftsmen. Adam was certainly not alone in the creation of the 5th Baronet's interior at Nostell. Although his reach was extensive, he also made use of master craftsmen – for example the famed plasterer Joseph Rose (junior) – but some were trusted to produce their own designs, as was likely the case with Thomas Chippendale's Chinoiserie decoration in the state apartment. And it is the work of the cabinet-maker, Chippendale, and that of the painter, Antonio Zucchi, which express a move away from Adam's control of the design, and towards artistic collaboration. It would appear that it was not only the work of Adam himself, but that

⁵²² This was not an original motif as William Kent had used it on the front of the Temple of Venus at Stowe, and Isaac Ware had used it in a design for the Mansion House of 1737 which was later engraved. Worsley, G. *Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 252.

⁵²³ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/10, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding drawings for the Top Hall, 27 September 1774.

of his craftsmen, which would lend the 5th Baronet the appearance he required to impress the local community, and moreover, it is of interest to the study of Robert Adam to note that he was willing to collaborate with master craftsmen.

It is important not to over-stress the idea of autonomous craftsmen at Nostell.⁵²⁴ The pervasive nature of Adam's control over the design for the interiors can be observed through the wide range of architectural drawings that he produced for seemingly small features and unimportant rooms, including laid-out wall-elevations for the Muniment Room and wine cellar on the ground floor (cat. 184-185); designs for doors (cat. 170, 196-197); a design for a picture frame (cat. 194); and various designs for small unidentified sections of masonry and ornamental work (cat. 235-238). Significantly, the only two wall elevations for Nostell, that date from Adam's era but are not by Adam himself, record the arrangement of pictures for walls in the Saloon and Little Dining Room (cat. 100, 114); these were probably drawn by the 5th Baronet himself.⁵²⁵

It is hardly surprising, then, that the only craftsmen employed by Adam allowed to make their own designs at Nostell were both highly skilled: Antonio Zucchi and Thomas Chippendale. Antonio Zucchi (1726-1795) a Venetian by birth,⁵²⁶ came to England at the invitation of Robert Adam, and settled in London where he received his many patrons and met his wife Angelica Kauffman.⁵²⁷ Zucchi had been employed by Adam in 1757 to produce plates for the *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, and became the most prolific, and one of the best known, of all of Adam's subcontracted artists. We can see from the Nostell archive that he was trusted to make his own designs.⁵²⁸ Owing to the scarcity of available history paintings produced by master artists, coupled with the British scepticism of native painters, it was Adam's custom to provide pictures – produced by artists such as Zucchi – within his interior schemes.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁴ Although Adam employed the finest artisans at Nostell the social distinction between the elevated, educated architect, and the mechanical work of the craftsman must be noted. These roles were socially constructed and based upon the division between the cerebral versus the manual, as well as the social origins of the individual. Such had been the case since antiquity. Sennett, R. *The Craftsman* (New Haven, 2008), pp. 291-94.

⁵²⁵ Knox, T. 'National Trust Catalogue of Architectural Drawings at Nostell Priory' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, incomplete in 2002), [19].

⁵²⁶ Croft-Murray, E. *Decorative Painting in England: 1537-1837*, Vol. 2 (London, 1970), p. 296.

⁵²⁷ Beard, G. *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior* (London, 1990), p. 215.

⁵²⁸ Sands, F. 'The Art of Collaboration: Antonio Zucchi at Nostell Priory', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. XIX (2011), pp. 106-119.

⁵²⁹ Christie, C. *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 2000), p. 217.

At Nostell, Zucchi produced various paintings for the 5th Baronet. For the Saloon he made four small roundels and four large-scale rectangular canvasses in 1776;⁵³⁰ for the drawing room – now the Tapestry Room – he made nine painted panels for the ceiling, which he delivered himself in September 1774;⁵³¹ and for the State Dining Room he made six overdoor roundels during the 1770s.⁵³² It seems that not only the design, but also the decision to include roundels in the State Dining Room, was Zucchi's own idea as in one of the 5th Baronet's many lists of questions for Adam he wrote about 'the alterations Mr Zucchi wishes to make in the Dining Room'.⁵³³ Here the 5th Baronet must have been referring to Zucchi's roundels as they were the only addition he made in the State Dining Room.

Among the collection of extant drawings for the Tapestry Room – which also include Adam's laid-out wall-elevations, ceiling plan and an elevation for the chimneypiece (cat. 121-125) – there are preserved five of Zucchi's cartoons for ceiling roundels (cat. 126-130). They depict Flora attended by putti; Flora attended by putti and a seated female figure; and there are three of Apollo with nymphs attending the Horses of the Sun.⁵³⁴ From the preparatory nature of these drawings it is clear that Zucchi was responsible for their design. These sketches were produced for the medallions in the ceiling, which were removed to the Breakfast Room in the nineteenth century and destroyed by the fire in 1980.⁵³⁵ That Zucchi had control over his own work at Nostell is to be expected as he was a gentleman-artist of considerable acclaim. His status is best expressed through his correspondence with the 5th Baronet, and like that between the 5th Baronet and Adam it is of an amicable and respectful nature. On 9th October 1780 Zucchi wrote to the 5th Baronet:

I am very sensible for you kind inquiry after the state of my health, which indeed has suffered on account of the incessant application; however I hope the change of climate and a little repose may be beneficial to me – the report you heard of the intention I have to enter in the conjugal state is not without foundation, and I hope it will

⁵³⁰ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Saloon – Room History 1: 1.10.2.1.

⁵³¹ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/10, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding drawings for the Top Hall, 27 September 1774.

⁵³² Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Dining Room – Room History 1: 1.8.2.1.2.

⁵³³ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1619/17, List of questions for Robert Adam about the building works in the hand of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1772.

⁵³⁴ Knox, T. 'National Trust Catalogue of Architectural Drawings at Nostell Priory' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, incomplete in 2002), [17]8-12.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

contribute much to my felicity, as the person who is to be my companion [Angelica Kauffman], is in every respect agreeable to my wishes – and her merit as an artist, is sufficiently known to the world by the great number of prints published after her works – I shall take the liberty to send a specimen of them to your House in S. James Square, and shall likewise add a print of her own portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds – and engraved by Bartolozzi – the Layd Prints, I take the liberty to present to Lady Winn, as production of an artist of her own sex: in the mean time, I beg you will render my Respectful Compts acceptable to Her Ladyship – and since I was not so fortunate as to assure you personally of the sincerity of my regard towards you, accepts by means of this letter my best regards towards you, accepts by the means of this letter my best thanks for your kind wishes.⁵³⁶

Although the 5th Baronet's letter which prompted this response is not extant it is clear that it had been polite, friendly and respectful, and in return Zucchi wrote in a gentlemanly fashion imparting various details of his private circumstances which were clearly of interest to the 5th Baronet. Although perhaps not social equals, they seemed to have behaved as such. Moreover, the 5th Baronet must have highly valued Zucchi's role as although he produced only 19 small paintings and four large ones for Nostell he was very handsomely paid. There are various receipts for large sums of money sent to him by the 5th Baronet,⁵³⁷ and following the 5th Baronet's death his executors paid Zucchi further.⁵³⁸ The total recorded sum which Zucchi earned at Nostell was £1,885/5s/10½d.

The 5th Baronet did not value Thomas Chippendale so highly, which seems paradoxical, as it is now the large collection of Chippendale furniture for which Nostell is most famous, and – to the contemporary viewer – possibly the clearest expression of taste within the interior. There are still over one 100 pieces of Chippendale furniture at Nostell, all of which were commissioned by the 5th Baronet;⁵³⁹ indeed, the 5th Baronet was one of Chippendale's major

⁵³⁶ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3A/6, Letter from Antonio Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding a payment by bond, and his personal news, 8 September 1780.

⁵³⁷ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3A/2, Receipt from Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell in the amount of £100, 30 September 1767. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3A/4, Receipt from Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell in the amount of £300, 7 October 1771. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3A/3, Receipt from Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell in the amount of £121, 9 October 1771. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3A/7, Receipt from Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell in the amount of £657, 12 September 1780.

⁵³⁸ On 4 April 1788 the 5th Baronet's executors paid Zucchi a further £707/5s/10½d. WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3A/12, Letter from Shepley Watson, regarding money paid to Antonio Zucchi, 4 April 1788.

⁵³⁹ Carr-Whitworth, R. 'Furniture Conservation at Nostell Priory', *Country Life* (29 April 1993), p. 71.

patrons.⁵⁴⁰ Despite this, his letters to Chippendale were often unfriendly. The most extreme example of this was written on 27 September 1767, and reads:

As your behaviour Convinces me that you do not think my custom & protection worth paying any Regard to, I shall endeavour to find out some other person that will be more grateful & that will not use me in the manner you have done which I shall not Easily forget & must tell you that you may Expect to find me as great an Enemy as I ever was your Friend it is not to be Conceived the great Expence & Inconvenience you have put me to by your neglect therefore as I will not be trifled with any longer desire you will send my Bill immediately & also the Damask Beds and Glasses with the Borders finished or not as to the other Furniture that you was made of this Letter you need not send them as I shall yet think well to have made me if they are not finished on the time being long Expired that you promised to send them & that you declared if they did not come at the time you wou'd not have one Farthing for them, your Behaviour to me is not to be Boreen & [I] shall take care to Acquaint those Gentlemen that I have Recommended you to & desire that they will oblige me in imploying some other person.⁵⁴¹

This angry letter was precipitated by the lateness of Chippendale's furniture delivery. It is clear that the 5th Baronet did not treat Chippendale with the same respect he afforded Adam and Zucchi. Unlike these other two Chippendale was not extensively educated or well travelled. From his letters it is apparent that his education was remedial – his handwriting is child-like, and his vocabulary limited.⁵⁴² The 5th Baronet was extremely impatient with Chippendale, and unsurprisingly, therefore, many of Chippendale's letters open with an apology.⁵⁴³ It is notable,

⁵⁴⁰ Boynton, L. and Goodinson, N. 'The Furniture of Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory – I', *Burlington Magazine* (May, 1969), p. 281.

⁵⁴¹ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/8, Letter from Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell to Thomas Chippendale, regarding Chippendale's neglect of his commission, 27 September 1767.

⁵⁴² Gilbert, C. *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (London, 1978), p. 17.

⁵⁴³ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/7, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding various items nearly finished, 23 September 1767. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/9, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, giving an apology for the lateness of a delivery, 1 October 1767. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/14, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding Chippendale's need for money, 3 February 1769. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/17, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding problems with the barometer, 22 October 1768. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/22, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding Chippendale's need for money, 20 November 1770. WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/32, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding Chippendale's need for money, 3 January 1772.

however, that in his letters, Chippendale was constantly making excuses for the lateness of his work, or his need for money, and this is relevant to understanding his professional life.⁵⁴⁴ One does suspect that he was a ‘devious operator’,⁵⁴⁵ and deserving of the 5th Baronet’s anger. Either way, it is apparent that the 5th Baronet did not value his cabinet-maker as highly as he did his architect and his painter. Moreover, it gives an unmistakable expression of the 5th Baronet’s opinion of design hierarchy, and therefore which of the arts within his home were most likely to win him admiration.

It has been claimed that Chippendale had served early patrons – possibly as an apprentice – in various Yorkshire houses including Nostell.⁵⁴⁶ Indeed, Paine was later the only architect to subscribe to Chippendale’s *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker’s Director* of 1754. Chippendale was born in Otley, and in June 1718 was recorded in the Parish Register.⁵⁴⁷ There is a Winn family tradition – which Christopher Gilbert calls a ‘frivolous notion’⁵⁴⁸ – that Chippendale had been responsible for the Nostell Doll’s House (fig. 37) commissioned by the 4th Baronet for his wife Susannah in the 1730s, and this is possible, as Chippendale was of an apprentice’s age at this time. And though there is no proof of the authorship of the Nostell Doll’s House, a previous connection with the Winn family would explain the 5th Baronet’s heavy patronage of Chippendale as opposed to the other cabinet-makers associated with Adam, such as John Linnell or Ince and Mayhew. It must be remembered, however, that there is no proof of this, and Adam subcontracted several of his projects to Chippendale.

Most of Chippendale’s work at Nostell is beautifully ornamented pieces of furniture made from mahogany,⁵⁴⁹ and an example of this is his green lacquered furniture in the Chinoiserie

⁵⁴⁴ In one of Chippendale’s letters to the 5th Baronet he asks for £200, giving the reasons that he needs money to pay off the executor of his late partner Rannie: ‘I have as you desired sent your bill for Town, The other I have not yet been able to settle, if your Honour could give me a note of Two Hundred pounds at 6 months date it would answer my purpose as I only want it to pay away, I would not ask any such thing, If I was not absolutely oblig’d to make up £500 this week to pay to the Executors of Mr Rannie my late Partner, His Brother is come to Town from Scotland to settle accounts with me and other people, wich must be done this week’. WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/15, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding Chippendale’s need for money, 3 March 1769.

⁵⁴⁵ Gilbert, C. *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (London, 1978), p. 17.

⁵⁴⁶ Boynton, L. and Goodinson, N. ‘The Furniture of Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory – I’, *Burlington Magazine* (May, 1969), p. 281.

⁵⁴⁷ Gilbert, C. *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (London, 1978), p. 1.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁹ The recycled seventeenth-century furniture at Nostell is mostly made of walnut, but the luxury eighteenth-century furniture, including many pieces by Chippendale, are of mahogany. Following the Naval Stores Act of 1721, when taxes levied on imported goods were lifted from American timber, the popularity of mahogany as a luxury imported timber increased enormously. Moreover, timber was generally an unpopular cargo; being light

style for the state apartment (fig. 26),⁵⁵⁰ or his fitting-up of the Library. Most of Chippendale's original furnishings for the Library, which were made between 1766 and 1768, remain *in situ*.⁵⁵¹ These include the magnificent library table (fig. 43) delivered to Nostell in June 1767, and costing £72-10s,⁵⁵² which was the most expensive piece that Chippendale produced for Nostell, and, as Raikes has pointed out, its importance is signified by its inclusion in Hugh Douglas Hamilton's portrait of the 5th Baronet and Sabine (fig. 44).⁵⁵³

Not all of Chippendale's work at Nostell was as glamorous as this, however, and his men were responsible for a great many general repairs and smaller items, perhaps contributing to the 5th Baronet's disrespect for him. Indeed, when The 5th Baronet's executors paid Chippendale's final accounts these included: 'Oct 28 3 yrd Cotton for Quilts 6s [...] June 6 A Man taking down a Canopy Bed from on 1st floor & moving the bedding to 2d floor 2s6d [...] August 29 A Man taking down a Bed cleaning from Buggs and refixing 2s6d'.⁵⁵⁴ Unfortunately it is not possible to know who was responsible for instigating these works and whether they were below Adam's notice or not.

As in the state apartment and the Library, Chippendale produced suites of furniture for other parts of the house, including Sabine's apartment. Hers and the 5th Baronet's bedroom was located in the current Drawing Room, and 'Lady Winn's Blue Dressing Room' was adjacent in the current Little Dining Room (cat. 97). Many of the items for Sabine's apartment were prepared in November 1767 – on 5th November 1767 Chippendale wrote to the 5th Baronet that 'the 2 Ovals for my Lady's Dressing Room and bed Chamber were sent of last Tuesday by Beals Waggon The Cloathes press, Canopy Couch, and Venear shall be sure to come next Tuesday and I think the picture frame for the Dressing room it may be done very well'⁵⁵⁵ (cat.

and bulky it usually required additional ballast, but mahogany is heavy and acted as its own ballast. Bowett, A. 'The Commercial Introduction of Mahogany and the Naval Stores Act of 1721', *Furniture History* (1994), p. 43.

⁵⁵⁰ Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), State Bathroom – Room History 1: Furniture; State Dressing Room – Room History 1: Furniture; and State Bedroom – Room History 1: Furniture.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., Library – Room History 1: 1.1.

⁵⁵² WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/1, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the library table and a clothespress, 27 December 1766; Raikes, S. 'Nostell Priory Room Catalogue' (Research Project, National Trust, Yorkshire Region, 2004), Library – Room History 1: 1.11.1.2.3.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., Library – Room History 1: 1.11.1.2.3.

⁵⁵⁴ WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1551/9, Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell's Executor's record of dealings with Thomas Chippendale, no date.

⁵⁵⁵ WYAS, WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/3/11, Letter from Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding furniture for Lady Winn's dressing room, 5 November 1767.

98). And although these interiors no longer survive it is possible to understand the decorative schemes from the drawings by Adam, Zucchi and Chippendale.

Chippendale was also responsible for the design of numerous picture frames, for which three drawings in his hand survive (cat. 191-193). He also made a survey drawing of one of the windows on the *piano nobile* level at Nostell in order to construct a spring blind (cat. 195). Drawings for these items remain in the house and in the Nostell archive, providing proof of Chippendale's limited independence from Adam. It is quite apparent that both Adam and the 5th Baronet trusted Chippendale to make his own designs, just as they did Zucchi, but he was not treated with the same respect. His basic education and profession as a cabinet-maker – albeit a highly successful one – did not elevate him to the level required for the 5th Baronet to write to him as an equal. Despite this it is important to note that Chippendale was only one of two craftsmen permitted to collaborate with Adam at Nostell, and it is thanks to all three men – Adam, Zucchi and Chippendale – that the extant Adam interior came into being.

Conclusion

Robert Adam was a well travelled gentleman who had received great acclaim for his expertise in domestic antique architecture, primarily through his publication of *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*. Examples of this at Nostell can be seen from the Library, in which the 5th Baronet's understanding of the antique could be showcased, and through the various structural alterations to the interior – in the vestibule, the Billiard Room, and the Hall-Saloon complex – which, through Adam's love of 'movement'⁵⁵⁶ and spatial complexity, imitated Roman bath house architecture. It has been argued here that certain aspects of the interior, however, were not produced simply because of their antique credentials, and more material concerns are, at times, apparent. This can be seen from Chippendale's decoration of the state apartment with Chinoiserie wallpaper, a style that expressed the 5th Baronet's wealth. Another example is Adam's heavy use of stucco work, which enriched him through the necessity for numerous working drawings of ornamental details.

⁵⁵⁶ Adam, J. and Adam, R. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, p. i.

From their correspondence we can see that during Adam's time at Nostell he and the 5th Baronet became friends. Two of his significant craftsmen, however, were treated quite differently. The sophisticated and educated painter, Antonio Zucchi, was treated with the utmost respect and kindness, and handsomely paid, but Thomas Chippendale was treated as a social inferior. Despite this, the relationship between cabinet-maker and patron is telling of a design hierarchy, and which elements of the interior were expected to support the 5th Baronet's social aspirations. An Adam interior with beautiful paintings was a social triumph, but furniture, it seems, was more simply a necessity of life; even if it was supplied by Chippendale.

Chapter Four. Completion and reconception of the fabric (1776-85)

Introduction

In 1776 when his interior at Nostell was nearing completion, Adam proposed making considerable architectural alterations to the house. Chapter four will question how Adam intended to alter the fabric, and the reasons his patron deemed this necessary, taking into account the issues of a growing family, personal ambition, and the influence of other great men. This task is warranted, as a full exploration of Adam's structural work at Nostell has never been conducted before. This will be followed by a focussed discussion of Adam's only built wing at Nostell, the Family Wing, and the new front which Adam gave to Paine's central block. Despite vehemently claiming that his work was original in the preface to *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, it will be argued that analysis of Adam's architectural additions to Nostell can reveal the stylistic sources of the design. Significantly, this chapter will constitute a more critical analysis of Adam's architectural additions made to Nostell than has before been proffered.

i. The 5th Baronet's request and Adam's proposal for a new layout at Nostell

The 5th Baronet had hired Adam to decorate the interior of the house, but when this was complete Adam remained at Nostell, working on alterations to the architectural fabric. So why, in 1776, when Adam's costly employment could have come to an end, did the 5th Baronet engage him in these new works? It is significant that on Paine's dismissal in 1765 the architectural fabric of the house was not yet complete. We know that Paine had only built two of his four pavilions, and that for around 16 years the Winn family had lived at Nostell in its unfinished state. It is likely that in 1765 the 5th Baronet had considered it prudent to prioritise the interiors of the existing building, as it was at around this time that the old Nostell Hall was demolished. Moreover, the 5th Baronet needed somewhere to live in comfort whilst in Yorkshire.

It is unlikely that Sabine's money had prompted the large-scale building works that began in 1776, no more so than it did Adam's initial employment in 1765. We know that the 4th Baronet's disapproval of the match had not been swayed by her wealth, and, moreover, she did

not receive the balance of her fortune until after the death of her mother in 1782.⁵⁵⁷ The 5th Baronet could not have predicted in 1776 that his wealthy mother-in-law would die in six years' time, easing the financial burden of his building project, and there must have been other reasons that led the 5th Baronet to restart building at Nostell, allowing Adam to begin a costly redevelopment of the house.

The end of Adam's work on the interior at Nostell came at a convenient time for the 5th Baronet with the birth of their children in 1768 and 1775. As previously mentioned, Sabine was not only reclusive, but also a very protective mother, retiring from society in London – which was no doubt problematic with her broken English⁵⁵⁸ – and she raised her children in the solitude of the Nostell estate. It was on 7 March 1776 that the 5th Baronet approached Adam about extending Nostell, when he wrote: 'We are in great want of a sett of apartments for our young family, Miss Winn having got a new Governess & we are att a loss (we have so large a house) how to fix them',⁵⁵⁹ and evidently it was the presence of the children which the 5th Baronet used to explain his need for alterations to the house.

This request resulted not in a simple extension or rearrangement, but in a new design for the house, with four new wings to replace Paine's pavilions. It was also proposed to make various alterations in the park: redesigning the south and west ranges of the stables, and building the riding school, three lodges, the greenhouse, and the Menagerie House.⁵⁶⁰ Adam had convinced the 5th Baronet to commence a building programme of a larger-scale than he had perhaps intended,⁵⁶¹ extending Adam's job of redecorating into a major architectural project. This was done at a convenient time for Adam as his money was running short following the failure of the Adelphi scheme.

Adam responded to his patron's request with designs for large-scale additions to the architectural fabric, providing the 5th Baronet with a set of presentation drawings (cat. 203-207) showing a scheme which was much more extensive than the executed works would suggest. There are five surviving presentation drawings produced by Adam in 1776, and they depict

⁵⁵⁷ WYAS, WYL1351(1) A1/5/16, Letter from unknown, regarding the settlement of the D'Herwart estate, 1782.

⁵⁵⁸ They 'did nothing but laugh at each other'. WYAS, WYL1352(1) A4/1541/5, Letter from Lady Charlotte Erskin to her father, 19 August 1762.

⁵⁵⁹ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 209.

⁵⁶⁰ Jackson-Stops, G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 1973), p. 30-31.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

plans of the ground and principal stories, and elevations of the east, west and north fronts of the house. From Adam's bill, sent to the 5th Baronet in 1778, we can see that the presentation drawings were produced in September 1776,⁵⁶² just six months after the 5th Baronet had hinted that such a scheme would be welcomed, and these drawings must have been made with the express purpose of explaining the proposed architectural scheme to the patron, and as a means of acquiring his approval. As such they are the perfect tools from which to understand Adam's scheme, although unfortunately these presentation drawings are not available for public view.⁵⁶³

Another way for the public to view Adam's scheme is from five preliminary designs held at Sir John Soane's Museum (cat. 198-202) which are very like the presentation drawings. They are mostly drawn in pencil, with just a few details overdrawn in pen – they are unfinished, with, for example, only one of the curved staircases depicted on the east front elevation. The plans are merely given in pencil outline, and are not as clear as the presentation drawings, in which the walls are washed in black. These preliminary designs were clearly not sent to Nostell, and remained in the Adam office drawings collection.⁵⁶⁴

While there is no record of the 5th Baronet having accepted the design that is shown in Adam's five presentation drawings, the surviving architecture suggests that he did – some areas of Adam's design were built and remain *in situ*, and there is clear archaeological evidence that other features, shown in the presentation drawings, were under preparation when work was halted in 1785. From the five presentation drawings we can see that Adam intended to build four new wings, each being 65 x 45 feet – larger than Paine's original pavilions, which were 50 x 50 feet – and they were intended to replace Paine's two attached corner pavilions on the south front. Adam designed the wings to correspond with the architecture of the central block (fig. 51), and as such, they are three stories high, with a half-height rusticated basement with square unmoulded windows, a *piano nobile* with rectangular windows within architraves, and a

⁵⁶² WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1551/2, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding drawings sent to Nostell, no date. This letter contains details of drawings including the presentation drawings mentioned above.

⁵⁶³ One can only observe photographs of Adam's five original presentation drawings as they are held in the private collection of Lord St Oswald, and are not available for public view.

⁵⁶⁴ Following the deaths of Robert and James Adam in 1792 and 1794, their remaining, and youngest brother, William, was not well provided for. He sold large collections of his brothers' possessions at Christies in 1818 and 1821. Watkin, D.J. (ed.). *Sales Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, Vol. 4: Architects (London, 1972), p. 135. The 9,000 Adam drawings held at the Soane Museum comprise what is left of the office drawings collection and were purchased for £200 by Sir John Soane in 1833. Tait, A.A. 'The Sale of the Adam Drawings', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 120, No 904 (July, 1978), p. 454.

half-height attic with square windows within architraves, each with a hipped roof, and attached to the main block by a three-bay link. The links corresponded with the architecture on each side, being half-height, rusticated, and containing square un moulded windows, albeit without the hipped roof. Moreover, Adam intended to add a string-course between the windows on the *piano nobile* and the attic level, running the length of the entire building, and providing a further display of architectural continuity, although this was not executed in full.

Pevsner claimed that the ‘wing makes nonsense of the Palladian scheme’,⁵⁶⁵ as although Adam conformed with the orders on the central block, the new wing is of a different proportion. According to the National Trust, the Adam wing provides a ‘welcome vertical emphasis to the long entrance front’,⁵⁶⁶ and Paine’s elevations do indeed often appear squat. It is difficult, however, to judge the success of Adam’s scheme for Nostell by the single built Family Wing, and therefore the 1776 presentation drawing of the east front takes on greater significance (cat. 200) as it is only here that we can see Adam’s scheme in full. Had the counterbalancing south-east wing been built, the totality of the east front would have achieved the ‘movement’ that Adam advocated so strongly in the preface to his *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* when he wrote:

Movement is meant to express, the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition.⁵⁶⁷

Although Adam’s wing at Nostell was designed to harmonise with Paine’s built central block, its very existence illustrates both his adherence to Paine’s work and his deviation from it. Although very different from Paine’s design, and providing an alternative interior, Adam’s design included four wings attached to the central block by links, approximately retaining the original footprint of the house. Adam’s work is often praised for offering an escape from the decades of stark Palladian design, but, as previously discussed, this type of house is particularly Palladian, and in this way Adam was adhering to Palladian architecture through his use of the English naturalised pavilion – a pavilion on an English country house, used for domestic rather than agricultural purposes.

⁵⁶⁵ Pevsner, N. *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: The West Riding* (Middlesex, 1959), p. 381.

⁵⁶⁶ The National Trust, *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 2001), p. 42.

⁵⁶⁷ Adam, J. and Adam, R. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, p. i.

In reconceiving the house, and especially the wings, Adam had greatly enlarged Nostell. His new wings were larger than Paine's, and their arrangement and size changed the grandeur of the house considerably. We can see from the presentation plans of 1776 that the wings were attached to the central block by straight corridor links, rather than curved quadrant links, allowing for the inclusion of long enfilades of up to five rooms (cat. 204). As such, the sense of a wing as a secondary compartment within the spatial hierarchy of the house, which had been so prevalent in Paine's design, was lost. As previously discussed, the 4th Baronet's house had circuits of rooms which were probably intended for entertaining. The 5th Baronet however agreed to Adam's more formal arrangement. But we should bear in mind that with Adam's new, recently instituted, interior in the central block, there were plenty of reception spaces.

This new arrangement at Nostell would have been used in a more formal way than the original – and existing – fabric of the central block, and it is perfectly possible that the proud 5th Baronet had considered the less formal arrangement of his father's time beneath his dignity. We can see from Adam's presentation plan that the two southern enfilades would have been incorporated into guest apartments; the north-east enfilade was part of the 5th Baronet and Sabine's own apartment, and led to the family wing; and the north-west enfilade was to be filled with grand reception rooms, including the library, and led to a vast music room in the north-west wing (cat. 204). Had this plan ever been realised the house would have been considerably more magnificent, as the domestic apartments were to be extended from two rooms to four and five rooms each, and with larger formal eating and reception spaces. This arrangement is reminiscent of Holkham Hall in Norfolk, built by Matthew Brettingham in the first half of the eighteenth century for the Earl of Leicester (fig. 6) where the enfilades extend through the central block, through the connecting links, and into the wings. Such sets of apartments would have been appropriate in the house of an Earl, and it is perhaps the case that Adam was recreating such grandeur for the 5th Baronet of Nostell.⁵⁶⁸ It is beyond doubt that Adam was familiar with the plans of Holkham, as Brettingham had published them in 1761.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁸ The principal, public rooms at Nostell express the full impact of the modish Adam style, such as the Top Hall, Saloon, and Library, but the more private rooms in the family apartment, the ground storey, and attic are not so splendid. As such Nostell must be seen as an attempt to emulate Adam's first rate contemporary works, such as Syon and Osterley, but owing to the inconsistent use of the Adam style it is more akin to a house such as Kenwood, the home of the financially cautious Lord Mansfield.

⁵⁶⁹ Brettingham, M. *The Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Holkham in Norfolk, The Seat of the late Earl of Leicester* (London, 1761).

Another possible influence for this arrangement at Nostell is taken from Kedleston Hall in the neighbouring county of Derbyshire. Here the enfilades do not extend through the quadrant corridors, but like Adam's wings for Nostell they were designed to provide a mixture of service rooms and grand domestic apartments. We can see from Adam's plan (fig. 28) that had the two southern wings at Kedleston ever been built, they would have housed a large music room – as at Nostell – and a family chapel. Scarsdale too demolished his original house which had been on the same site – this one being a seventeenth-century brick building commissioned by his grandfather, the 2nd Baronet of Kedleston in c. 1700.⁵⁷⁰ Like the 5th Baronet Scarsdale had started making plans to alter his father's house prior to inheriting it in 1758.⁵⁷¹ They had a great deal in common, and considering their comparative geographical closeness to one another, it is likely that they were acquainted.

Clearly Adam's new arrangement at Nostell was emulating other great contemporary houses, and it is significant that both Holkham and Kedleston belonged to men of higher rank than the 5th Baronet. The 5th Baronet was perhaps building himself a house, not for the rank he already held, but for the rank to which he aspired.

ii. New wings: innovation or reproduction?

Since Adam's work was often intermingled with that of another architect,⁵⁷² it is necessary to recognise his style, and thereby extricate his work at Nostell very carefully, as he made great efforts to complement the existing fabric.⁵⁷³ When Adam described his own designs he spoke of stylistic originality, and his original engagement with the antique.⁵⁷⁴ As previously mentioned, in the preface to *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, he claimed: 'We have not trod in the path of others, nor derived aid from their labours'.⁵⁷⁵ But it is important to note that Adam's work was not uniformly original in design, despite his claim.⁵⁷⁶ This was an interesting assertion considering that when his books were auctioned in 1818 they included

⁵⁷⁰ Harris, E. *The Country Houses of Robert Adam: From the Archives of Country Life* (London, 2007), p. 37.

⁵⁷¹ The National Trust, *Kedleston Hall* (Swindon, 1999), p. 34.

⁵⁷² Wilson, M. *The English Country House and its Furnishings* (London, 1977), p. 105.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁵⁷⁴ Rowan, A. *'Bob the Roman' Heroic Antiquity & the Architecture of Robert Adam* (London, 2003), p. 11.

⁵⁷⁵ Adam, J. and Adam, R. *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773), preface, p. i.

⁵⁷⁶ It is essential to note Adam's familiarity with Burlington's work, as in 1730 Burlington had published a treatise on the Roman *thermae*, exhibiting sequences of differently shaped rooms. Burlington also made use of this when he designed the Assembly Rooms at York. And it could be argued that the spatial mystery of varied rooms shapes, for which Adam was famed, had been – at least in part – inspired by Burlington's 'Roman-baths architecture'. Wittkower, R. *Palladio and English Palladianism* (New York and London, 1974), pp. 104, 143.

works by Andrea Palladio, Sebastiano Serlio, Giorgio Vasari, James Gibbs, Isaac Ware, Inigo Jones, William Kent, Lord Burlington, John Bretingham, and Colen Campbell.⁵⁷⁷ Moreover, there are certain clear precedents for Adam's architectural designs at Nostell, and his reliance on Paine's existing building should also be noted.

From the 1776 presentation drawings (cat. 203-207) we can see that Adam intended the two wings on the principal (east) front to be rectangular, with giant Ionic pilasters on each corner, each with its own vestibule comprising a portico of four giant Ionic columns supporting a pediment, and thereby echoing the central block, although there were to be no exterior steps on these wings. The two wings on the rear (west) front were also to be rectangular, with giant Ionic pilasters on each corner, but with a large central bow on the basement level of the west front, supporting a portico of four giant Ionic orders topped by an entablature, but with no pediment. The only wing that was ever built was the Family Wing on the north-east corner which remained a shell until the late-nineteenth century.⁵⁷⁸ Preparations were made for the south-east wing, when Paine's wing on that corner of the house was demolished, and an extension was added to the centre of the north front in preparation for the north light-well (fig. 51) but these had not been started when Adam's employment at Nostell came to an abrupt end in 1785 with the 5th Baronet's death, and his family's subsequent financial difficulties.

On the north and south fronts, the four larger wings would have left very little space between them, so Adam therefore designed a light-well on each side of the house, formed by a screen of Ionic columns, behind which was a small courtyard and – on the north front – the Venetian window of the Billiard Room. This Venetian window echoed that which had been used in this location by Paine, as well as on the south front. It is therefore notable that Adam chose to retain a motif associated with the Palladian revival of the Burlington circle. Indeed, Giles Worsley tells us that 'despite his anxious, self-proclaimed novelty, Adam's buildings display many features which, in another architect, would be explained as neo-Palladianism'.⁵⁷⁹ It seems that this feature had been directly influenced by Paine's preceding design, and although Adam

⁵⁷⁷ Watkin, D.J. (ed.). *Sales Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, Vol. 4: Architects (London, 1972), p. 154-90.

⁵⁷⁸ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and Other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 39.

⁵⁷⁹ Worsley, G. *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 247.

intended to demolish Paine's earlier pavilions, he retained their approximate footprint. There are, however, larger and more obvious examples of this in Adam's work at Nostell.⁵⁸⁰

In a major review of Adam's architecture entitled *Designs for Castle and Country Villas by Robert and James Adam* (1985) Alistair Rowan included a villa which is 'comparable to the Adam wing at Nostell Priory' (fig. 52).⁵⁸¹ This is indeed true, and the garden front of the villa is similar to the east front of the Family Wing, with a three-storey, five-bay elevation, composed of a rusticated vestibule at basement level, supporting a portico of giant Ionic orders (fig. 50).⁵⁸² There is no scale or date on the villa design however, so it is not possible to compare it directly. If Adam was recycling a design that he had already conceived, then this may explain why the Family Wing has the appearance of a complete building attached to form a wing. But is this composition one of Adam's famous designs of unique originality, or are there any precedents for it? The wing at Nostell also appears to be based upon Brettingham and Paine's Family and Kitchen pavilions at Kedleston (fig. 53), where Adam had replaced Paine as architect in 1760, and where he totally revised the design for the unbuilt south front.⁵⁸³ Although the plans of the various wings at Kedleston and Nostell are unrelated, there are striking similarities in elevation.

Adam built his one and only executed wing at Nostell from 1776, nearly two decades after Brettingham and Paine had designed their two wings at Kedleston in 1758 and 1759 respectively.⁵⁸⁴ That Adam was familiar with Brettingham and Paine's work at Kedleston is beyond doubt, as he took their place as architect there.⁵⁸⁵ As such, a comparison between the wings at Nostell and Kedleston is valid, and their similarity is indicative of Adam's likely source of inspiration. At both Kedleston and Nostell the wings have a three-storey, five-bay elevation,

⁵⁸⁰ Nostell is not the only instance of Paine's influence over Adam. Giles Worsley has pointed out that this is the case at a number of places: the composition of the south front of Adam's Kenwood House, Middlesex, of 1767 is one which had been regularly used by Paine throughout his career, starting at Heath House, Yorkshire, in 1744. The south front of Adam's Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, of 1771, takes its design from Paine's pavilion at Kedleston and his unused design for the west front of Whitehall, Sir Matthew Featherstonehaugh's house, which was published in Paine's *Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses* in 1767. And Adam's Deputy Ranger's Lodge for Green Park, London, of 1768, is similar to Paine's design for the garden front at Kedleston. Worsley, G. *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 253.

⁵⁸¹ Rowan, A. *Designs for Castles and Country Villas by Robert and James Adam* (Oxford, 1985), pl. 4.

⁵⁸² It is likely that this image was produced prior to Adam's design for the wings in 1776 as he had made similar alterations to David Garrick's house at Hampton in 1775. Rowan, A. *Designs for Castles and Country Villas by Robert and James Adam* (Oxford, 1985), p. 30.

⁵⁸³ Harris, L. *Robert Adam and Kedleston: The Making of a Neo-Classical Masterpiece* (London, 1987), p. 25.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

⁵⁸⁵ Beard, G. *The National Trust Book of the English House Interior* (London, 1990), p. 191.

with a rusticated half-height basement, rectangular windows on the *piano nobile*, and half-height windows in the attic storey, and both have the same composition of string-courses articulating the three registers. Both have hipped roofs with a protruding chimney at each end, and each has an Ionic portico and pediment spanning three bays. It is very difficult to spot any variation between the elevations of the two designs, but there is a telling difference which illustrates their authorship. At Kedleston we can see an arched doorway in the central bay of the basement level, matching the arcade in the middle five bays of the central block, and this is known to have been Brettingham's design, whereas at Nostell, Paine was merely using this feature for greater architectural unity though it was contrary to his interest in climatic considerations.⁵⁸⁶ That Adam does not imitate this feature at Nostell is hardly surprising as he also removed the arcade from the middle five bays of the central block, replacing it with a vestibule (discussed below) (cat. 205), and as such there was no need for him to echo this arch in the adjoining wing.

Other formal differences between the elevation of the wings at Kedleston and Nostell are merely ornamental. At Kedleston, we see a balustrade along the bottom of the *piano nobile* level windows, in imitation of Jones's Queen's House at Greenwich, but at Nostell the balustrade is transplanted to the roof line; at Nostell we see a roundel in the tympanum of the pediment, while at Kedleston this is bare; and there are no additional pilasters on the wings at Kedleston in accordance with Paine's characteristic use of wide and shallow porticos, as on the central block at Nostell. So although the south front of Kedleston is so often used to illustrate Adam's originality through his use of antique forms, for the purposes of comparison with Nostell, it is far more helpful to observe the wings on the north front.

If Scarsdale exerted such influence over the 5th Baronet's architectural ambition, then it is important to note that the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham (1730-1782), a family friend, did so to

⁵⁸⁶ Brettingham was responsible for the overall plan of the house and the north-east wing, but Paine refaced the north front. Wood, B.C. (ed.). *Kedleston Hall* (Stoke-on-Trent, 1973), pp. 23-25. It is difficult, therefore, to extricate which features of the Kedleston wings were designed by Paine. Clearly the majority of the composition was by Brettingham as he built a wing before Paine's employment, but from observation of the extant architectural drawings by these two architects, it is likely that Paine made changes to Brettingham's kitchen wing prior to the end of his employment. The one extant drawing for the wing at Kedleston by Brettingham is similar to the built wing. It does, however, depict Corinthian capitals, whereas the built wing has Ionic capitals, and there are arches instead of rectangular windows in the three central bays of the *piano nobile*. Paine's design for his wings at Kedleston mimics Brettingham's closely as the two were required to exist in harmony. This is exactly as the wings are built although there are filled-in arches with small Diocletian windows at the top in the bays either side of the arch in the central bay of the ground floor level. Harris, L. *Robert Adam and Kedleston: The Making of a Neo-Classical Masterpiece* (London, 1987), pp. 18-21.

an even greater degree. The 5th Baronet certainly knew Rockingham, as he lived in one of the Marquess's houses, Badsworth Hall, prior to inheriting Nostell.⁵⁸⁷ Indeed, they were part of the same social circle, and as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, Rockingham's father, the 1st Marquess of Rockingham, had financially supported the 4th Baronet's political interest. Rockingham's house at Wentworth Woodhouse was large and magnificent (fig. 54). Rockingham, unlike the 5th Baronet, had successfully 'used his wealth and social standing to further his political agenda',⁵⁸⁸ and at the time that Adam was making plans for the extension of Nostell, Rockingham had already served the first of his two ministries as Prime Minister from 1765 to 1766.⁵⁸⁹ The 5th Baronet must certainly have aspired to Rockingham's achievements.

The 1st Marquess of Rockingham had retained his seventeenth-century house to the south of his new eighteenth-century one.⁵⁹⁰ He had consulted Burlington – the 'Apollo of the Arts'⁵⁹¹ – about his architectural venture, he employed Henry Flitcroft, one of Burlington's many protégés, as his architect,⁵⁹² and the new fabric remains largely as Flitcroft designed it, as the 2nd Marquess, who succeeded in 1750,⁵⁹³ continued Flitcroft's employment until the architect's death in 1769.⁵⁹⁴

Although Wentworth Woodhouse is executed on a much larger scale than Nostell, the central projecting portions of the wings to either side of the central block are comparable to Adam's Family Wing at Nostell. At Wentworth Woodhouse these wings do not appear as discrete buildings as they do at Nostell, because they were integral to the first construction phase, and were not added later as extensions. Both have a three-storey, five-bay elevation, crowned with balustrading, and a hipped roof; and both have a portico over the central three bays supported by four giant Ionic columns, resulting in a very similar structure. But, as at Kedleston, there are

⁵⁸⁷ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 38.

⁵⁸⁸ Akehurst, A.M. 'Architecture and philanthropy: building hospitals in eighteenth-century York' (Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2 Vols. (2008), p. 154).

⁵⁸⁹ Farrell, S.M. 'Wentworth, Charles Watson-, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham (1730-1782)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition January 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28878>, accessed 5 March 2012.

⁵⁹⁰ Country Life, *Wentworth Woodhouse* (Guildford, 1925), p. 5.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁹² Connor, T.P. 'Henry Flitcroft (1697-1769)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9753 (accessed 24 March 2012).

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

notable differences – at Wentworth Woodhouse the shape of the windows is different; there is a rectangular door on the ground floor; Adam’s wing at Nostell has a rusticated basement; the giant orders rest atop the basement floor, rather than the ground; the portico is deeper; and as previously mentioned, the front is articulated with additional giant Ionic pilasters. The sheer scale of the east front at Wentworth Woodhouse necessitated more than one entrance, so the rectangular door on the ground floor of the wing is an item of convenience. And Adam’s use of fenestration, rustication and giant orders resting atop the basement floor are all included in order to harmonise with the pre-existing central block at Nostell. The use of a deep portico – leaving space for the pilasters – is unlike both Kedleston and Wentworth Woodhouse, and more closely related to Adam’s design for the villa discussed by Rowan.

Adam’s emulation of other great houses may have been at the suggestion of the 5th Baronet who evidently approved the design for the new building works immediately after having seen the five presentation drawings in 1776. This is apparent from the fact that Adam very quickly produced a set of dimensioned working drawings for the first wing, in October 1776,⁵⁹⁵ only one month after the production of the five presentation drawings. There are five existing working drawings inscribed ‘Adelphi October 1st 1776’ and a sixth, which although undated, is likely to have been sent to Nostell at the same time, since all six pertain to the initial building phase of the Family Wing. These comprise a plan of the attic storey (cat 208) which contains four bedchambers; and elevations and sections of the east and north fronts, showing the external treatment, and the light-well (cat. 209-212), and which corresponds closely with the presentation drawings of 1776, both in scale – being 65 x 45 feet – and in ornamental particulars. The only drawings which are clearly missing from this collection are plans for the ground and first storeys of the wing, which are known to have existed on 1 October 1776 when Adam included them in his bill for the 5th Baronet.⁵⁹⁶ The sixth, undated drawing is an elevation of the basement on the west front (cat. 213), and must have been provided to Ware at about the same time, as it also deals with the early building work. Ware had to build the basement before he could move on to the upper register, and it would have been unnecessary for Adam to rush to provide working elevations of the north, east and west fronts in their entirety if they were not required immediately. Hence he provided this part elevation.

⁵⁹⁵ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1551/2, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding drawings sent to Nostell, no date.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid. In this letter Adam’s list of drawings also included plans for the ground and first floors of the Family Wing, though these drawings no longer exist.

Building must have progressed quickly because on 10 April 1777, Adam's account to the 5th Baronet lists the vast sum of £194-13s-1d owing to Edward Gray, 'in full of Bricklayers Work'.⁵⁹⁷ In addition to this, only eighteen months later, on 15 April 1778, Adam sent drawings for the stone ornamentation for the Family Wing to Ware, and six of these survive in the Nostell drawings collection. They are all full-sized working drawings from which the mason could work directly (cat 214, 216-220) and are for important decorative features, none of which could have been executed if the fabric of the building had not already been complete. That they were sent to Nostell in April 1777 illustrates the speed with which Adam's one existing wing at Nostell was erected. Moreover these details are duplicated exactly from Adam's 1776 presentation drawings, suggesting that Adam held considerable sway over his patron's choice of ornament. According to Harris, patrons such as the 5th Baronet 'were content to put themselves entirely in Adam's hands and accept his ideas'.⁵⁹⁸

The batch of Adam's drawings sent to Nostell on 15 April 1778 also included a plan and section for the roof skylight of the Family Wing. This is densely inscribed with complicated structural instructions (cat. 221). Naturally, the roof could not have been applied to the wing if it had not already been built, and it is therefore safe to conclude that the fabric of the Family Wing had been erected by this date. It is significant that Adam began with the Family Wing on the north-east corner of the central block as he was clearly answering the 5th Baronet's request for more domestic space for the family. This is also consistent with the motivations that the 5th Baronet explained to Adam in his letter of 1776, and was no doubt prompted by Sabine moving to Nostell after the birth of their son in 1775. Unfortunately, however, owing to the 5th Baronet's unexpected death in 1785, the Family Wing remained a shell until 1875.⁵⁹⁹

iii. A new front: additions to the 4th Baronet's central block

The five presentation drawings of 1776 (cat. 203-207) also depict the intended architectural alterations that was to be applied to the central block of the house. As previously discussed, this work included the string-course which – though executed on the new wing – was never

⁵⁹⁷ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1551/4, Account sent by Robert & James Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 10 April 1777. The total sum of this account is £829/9s/7d.

⁵⁹⁸ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 4.

⁵⁹⁹ Jackson-Stops, G. *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 1973), p. 12.

extended across the central block; we can also see a stone balustrade around the base of the hipped roof; and statuary on the pediments of the central block and eastern wings, as well as along the top of the curved porticos of the two western wings. There is no evidence that these ornamental features were executed, and much of the architectural fabric remains as Paine left it. One of his two pavilions is intact, and most of the central block is unaltered (fig. 20). But in addition to the construction of his north-east Family Wing, Adam made preparations for another wing on the south-east corner of the house, when he knocked down Paine's Brewhouse pavilion. Adam also made some small additions to the central block, comprised of a vestibule on the east front; preparations for the Winn family crest sculpted in relief in the tympanum of the pediment on the west front; and on the north front is an extension to Paine's Billiard Room in preparation for Adam's light-well. Each of these additions will now be explored in turn.

Vestibule

Adam's most striking addition to the central block at Nostell is the vestibule, which occupies the central five bays of the basement level on the east front, and replaces the arcade built by Paine. Although the vestibule extends the plan of the basement, it maintains the theme of a rusticated wall surface and square unmoulded windows. The central window is replaced by a door which was subsequently topped (in the early twentieth century)⁶⁰⁰ by a small triangular pediment supported by Doric columns.⁶⁰¹ On either side of the vestibule there are double, gently curving external staircases leading up to the *piano nobile*, which replaced the semicircular staircases built by Paine.⁶⁰²

We can see from his presentation drawing of the east elevation that Adam intended an ironwork balustrade for the external stairs and over the top of the vestibule (cat. 205), but there is currently an early twentieth-century stone balustrade in its place.⁶⁰³ When the house

⁶⁰⁰ King, D. *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam and Unbuilt Adam* (Oxford and Boston, 1991), Vol. I, p. 200.

⁶⁰¹ The pediment over the ground floor door in Adam's vestibule is slightly larger than the other small pediments over the windows of the *piano nobile*. As such this new pediment matches the scale of that over the door in the upper register instead of the windows. But Adam did not design his door in the vestibule to echo Paine's door above, as Adam's is supported by Doric columns, and Paine's by two console brackets. Despite the matching scale of these two doors and their pediments Adam cannot have intended them to be in aesthetic harmony with one another. They are not set up as a matching pair but instead as alternative means of entry, emphasising the different uses of the two doors.

⁶⁰² These staircases can be seen in Paine's 1761 presentation drawing of the west elevation (cat. 27).

⁶⁰³ King, D. *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam and Unbuilt Adam* (Oxford and Boston, 1991), Vol. I, p. 200.

was visited by T.F. Dibdin – at some time before 1838 when he published *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and Scotland* – he described Nostell as ‘a large and noble stone mansion, with a grand flight of steps – unsecured by a balustrade’.⁶⁰⁴ So if Adam did execute his ironwork balustrade, then it must have been removed by the time of Dibdin’s visit in the 1830s. Adam’s design for the balustrading is mentioned in a list of items, written by the 5th Baronet on 11 April 1773,⁶⁰⁵ from which it is clear that construction of the vestibule had begun before 1776. The construction of the vestibule therefore took place during the era of Adam’s interior works at Nostell, despite the fact that it manifests itself so clearly on the principal front. There is evidence that the vestibule was being contemplated as early as 4 January 1770, when Austin explained to Ware that ‘Inclosed [in the letter] is the Ceiling of the vestibule and the Cornice and Soffite at large’,⁶⁰⁶ and then in 1772 the 5th Baronet included features of the vestibule in a lists of questions to ask Adam:

Mem: 1772. To Mention to Mr Adam amongst other Things – [...] What kind of pears at Bottom of Vestibule Steps for Lamps or how the steps are to be Light [...] To know how the slabs are to be set on the vestibule & a Cost Terras is to be layd.⁶⁰⁷

It is understandable that the 5th Baronet would consider the addition of the vestibule to be a good idea, even before he resolved to extend the house, because Moyser’s open arcade was still in place. Nostell is located on the top of a hill in Yorkshire, and the inclusion of the arcade would have made the house cold. This room, by virtue of its function, would have been in constant use, and moreover, the adjoining Lower Hall functioned as a social space (as described in Catherine Cappe’s memoirs).⁶⁰⁸

Despite these early references to the vestibule, there is no evidence of when it was actually built. There is an account for stone supplied by William Sykes of Bracken Hill Quarry to the 5th

⁶⁰⁴ Dibdin, T.F. *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland*, 2 vols. (London, 1838), p. 140.

⁶⁰⁵ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/19/1, List of drawings required from Robert Adam, in the hand of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 11 April 1773. This letter lists items for which Adam had not yet provided architectural drawings, including iron balustrading for the vestibule.

⁶⁰⁶ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/19, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding drawings for the vestibule and Saloon, 4 January 1770. Enclosed with this letter Adam sent drawings for the vestibule and Saloon.

⁶⁰⁷ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1619/17, List of questions for Robert Adam about the building works in the hand of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, 1772.

⁶⁰⁸ Cappe, C. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe* (London, 1822), p. 81.

Baronet, which includes, ‘Ston[e] for under the Vestable’,⁶⁰⁹ but this is not dated. In addition, there are only two undated drawings for the vestibule: the first is a simple roof plan and elevation (cat. 179), which shows little more than the area and shape of the extension; and the second shows the laid-out wall elevations for its interior (cat. 180), which depicts Paine’s arcade, the vestibule space beyond, and the extant door and windows. The dimensions of 66 x 20 feet remains consistent throughout all of Adam’s representations of the vestibule (cat. 198-200, 203-205), and show an accurate depiction of the vestibule as executed.

The only architectural drawing to shed any light on the date of the construction of the vestibule is Adam’s plan of the new exterior steps (cat. 183). These steps must have been constructed after the fabric of the vestibule itself, as they are built onto it, and the drawing is dated 25 February 1777. It would therefore seem that when Adam made the presentation drawings in 1776 the vestibule was either being built, or was already complete. Adam’s design for these steps is less elaborate than Paine’s semicircular ones that had been in contrast to the austere Palladian front of the central clock and its sombre engaged order, so their demolition was a significant change in the aesthetic of the principal front.

It is important to consider what the 5th Baronet and Adam saw as the aesthetic advantages of this vestibule, and from where they took inspiration. There is one clear precedent, and this is the vestibule on the east front of Wentworth Woodhouse (fig. 54), which, like the vestibule at Nostell, is five bays wide, with square windows and a central door, rusticated, and flanked by a pair of external staircases which are dog-leg in form rather than curved. The addition of the vestibule brought the basic arrangement of the central block at Nostell into conformity with what already existed at Wentworth Woodhouse (fig. 55). Like the Lower Hall at Nostell (fig. 39), the Pillard Hall at Wentworth Woodhouse is rectangular in shape, located on the lower register, and on central axis of the house, and both are – compared to other rooms in the house – low and dark, with two rows of Doric columns running the length of the room. It is possible, despite the various manifest attractions of adding a vestibule to Nostell (particularly that of warmth), that one of the 5th Baronet’s motives was to emulate Rockingham further. Moreover, the vestibule at Wentworth Woodhouse is clearly based on that of Campbell’s Wanstead (fig. 8) – the house that Nostell resembles most – and with which Adam was doubtless familiar.

⁶⁰⁹ WYAS WYL1352(1) A4/1525/15, List of stone supplied by William Sykes, Bracken Hill Quarry to Nostell, no date.

Arms on the west front

Another unexecuted addition in Adam's 1776 presentation drawings occurs on the west front of the central block. This is the Winn family crest sculpted in relief and affixed into the tympanum of the pediment, similar to that which had been planned by James Paine in the 1740s (cat. 11-21). Evidence for this occurs in a letter by John Austin, Adam's office manager in London, written to Ware on 15 October 1771:

This is to inform you that a Drawing of the Arms for the Tympanum of the West Front was sent by the Fly to Day directed to the Care of Mr Lowe at Ferrybridge which I hope you will receive safe.⁶¹⁰

It would seem from this letter that a Winn crest, similar to that in the tympanum of the pediment on the east front, was being planned at this date. The drawing described in this letter is no longer extant, but there is archaeological evidence of preparations for such a relief (fig. 56), as there is a crest-shaped masonry base in the tympanum of the pediment on the west front, which begs the conclusion that this area had been prepared, and was awaiting the start of work.

It is understandable that the 5th Baronet would have agreed to adding a crest to the west front, as it can be seen from the nearby bridge which carries the public road, and was a display of rank. Indeed, the 5th Baronet was keen to emphasise his own position as we know from his attempts at a political career, and this is another opportunity to observe the 5th Baronet's emulation of great men in the locality. Certainly applying a crest to one's house was not uncommon, but there is one example in particular which is pertinent when other such imitations are considered, as there are such crests at Wentworth Woodhouse, over the windows of the south end, which are composed of the Wentworth crest and the letters 'T.W.' for Thomas Wentworth.⁶¹¹ Adam's crest at Nostell, while perhaps just being a symptom of the 5th Baronet's vanity, and may also be an emulation of Rockingham.

⁶¹⁰ WYAS WYL1352(1) A5/1525/45, Letter from John Austin to Benjamin Ware, regarding the arms for the tympanum of the pediment on the west front, 15 October 1771.

⁶¹¹ Country Life, *Wentworth Woodhouse* (Guildford, 1925).

But Adam's crest was never executed and the pediment is empty to this day. Indeed, no such crest appears in Adam's 1776 presentation elevation for the west front (cat. 206), and it would seem that during 1771-76 it was decided to omit it. There is no evidence why this decision was made, or indeed, why the masonry base was left redundant in the gable.

The Billiard Room and Light-well

By agreeing to Adam's 1776 design for the extension of the house, the 5th Baronet had given his architect a free hand to construct both the practical areas of the plan and the impractical areas. The new wings that Adam had designed for Nostell would greatly increase the usable space within the house, but they were bulky, leaving a narrow gap in between. This is especially clear from Adam's presentation plans from 1776, and his elevation of the north front (cat. 203-204, 207). Harris has observed that it was necessary for Adam to construct the stairwell for each wing in the light-well courtyard, between the two wings, so as not to use any of the precious interior space,⁶¹² thus further reducing the gap between the wings to a mere 15 feet,⁶¹³ and obliging Adam to design the light-well in order that this part of the house would not be lost as a shadowy cave-like area.

It is possible to see from the remaining archaeological evidence that preparations for the light-well between the two northern wings were being made at the same time as the erection of the Family Wing. The first addition to this area was the extension to the room now called the Billiard Room, which was done in accordance with the presentation plans of 1776. This extension would have linked the two northern wings together and formed one side of the courtyard enclosed by the light-well screen. A small section of the proposed screen-wall was actually built and attached to the west front of the Family Wing (fig. 51), and can still be seen. Moreover, there is an area of rough brickwork on the north-west corner of the central block, which indicates that preparations for the Music Room wing (north-west wing) – or at least its link – were underway before the 5th Baronet's death, and Adam's dismissal, in 1785. The existence of this archaeological evidence prompts speculation as to the order in which Adam's wings were to be built – clearly the Family Wing was built first, and it appears that the adjacent Music Room wing was to follow next. This is certainly logical, as the two adjacent north wings would have provided the additional domestic space that had been the 5th Baronet's principal motivation for reconceiving the fabric. Moreover, the execution of both wings on the north

⁶¹² Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 210.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

front would have allowed the construction of Adam's light-well feature. The third task was to build the Brewhouse wing on the south-east corner of the central block. We know this because Adam demolished Paine's pavilion in readiness of this, and it was sensible to replace the south-east wing before the south-west kitchen wing as this would give balance to the principal front of the house. Presumably the family required the use of Paine's Kitchen pavilion until Adam's new Brewhouse was built, and thus it survives.

The construction of the north-west wing would have allowed the completion of the light-well screen-wall on the north front. It is generally claimed that the only architectural additions made by Adam were the family wing and vestibule.⁶¹⁴ But there is persuasive archaeological evidence of a partial screen-wall and preparations for the attachment of the north-west wing, which proves that the light-well was also under preparation. We can see from the existing house, and Adam's architectural drawings for the light-well, that he intended to use the motif of a screen of columns (cat. 210-212), behind which lay the Venetian window of the Billiard Room extension. A drawing of the cornice and archivolt of the window were sent to Nostell on 25 June 1777 (cat. 215). This was only ten months after Adam had provided drawings of the north-east wing which also depicted the light-well. The drawing for the Venetian window behind the screen of columns was sent to Nostell before any other drawing that exists for the light-well area, and clearly the extension to the Billiard Room, though a single part of the light-well design, was executed prior to, and separately from, its other constituent parts.

The screen of columns, on the outer wall of the light-well, is depicted both in Adam's presentation drawing for the north front (cat. 207), and in his working drawing of October 1776 (cat. 211). This screen, as previously mentioned, was a motif used elsewhere by Adam, usually within an interior setting.⁶¹⁵ In this instance it would have been used to great effect in channelling light. The screen motif is reminiscent of the architecture of Roman baths and further relates to the shift towards Roman culture that had become evident in Adam's interior design at Nostell. Within the architecture of the Roman baths, the manipulation of room shape and disposition, through forms such as apses and screens of columns, was practical as well as

⁶¹⁴ The National Trust, *Nostell Priory, Yorkshire* (London, 2001), p. 48.

⁶¹⁵ Some examples of other places where Adam makes use of a screen of columns are: the interior of the Mausoleum at Bowood House; a dressing room at Kedleston Hall; the Library at Kenwood House; the Library at Newby Hall; the Entrance Hall and Dining Room at Syon House; and of course, the Billiard Room at Nostell itself. Adam's use of this motif was usually made within interior design, but it does appear on the south front of Luton Hoo, and was clearly familiar to him. The use of a screen of columns across the light-well is unsurprising therefore.

aesthetic.⁶¹⁶ Niches and apses for example could contain washbasins,⁶¹⁷ while the inclusion of screens of columns was presumably a means of structural support whereby the air flow was not interrupted. Clearly these issues do not apply to Adam's light-well wall at Nostell, but just as air could flow between the columns in Roman baths, so light could permeate the screen into the light-well at Nostell.

From the chronology of the drawings for the light-well it seems that this work immediately followed the completion of the Family Wing. On 24 September 1778 the Adam office sent Ware a batch of drawings for the billiard room and light-well, including an elevation of the screen-wall (cat. 223), but there is evidence that the extension to the Billiard Room was delayed, as the Adam office did not send working drawings for it until 17 June 1783. Two of these drawings depict a section through the extension, showing a new screen of columns within the room, and a plan and section of the same area (cat. 224-225). The scant number of drawings for this part of the fabric are doubtless explained by the suppression of the work.

There is no evidence why there was a gap between the supposed completion of the fabric of the Family Wing and the cessation of works in 1785. Only the extension to the Billiard Room seems to have been erected in this time, but perhaps the masonry and the roof of the Family Wing took longer to build than expected. Perhaps the demolition of Paine's south-east pavilion – to make way for a new Adam wing – took place in this time and detracted effort from the building of the light-well and the north-west wing. It is likely that at this time, when the 5th Baronet's money must have been dwindling, Ware tried to tackle the light-well, the north-west wing and the new south-east wing at the same time and everything ground to a halt.

Conclusion

Adam's interior decoration work was coming to an end in 1776,⁶¹⁸ and it was at about this time that the 5th Baronet decided he wanted to alter the house in more substantial ways.⁶¹⁹ In response, Adam produced a set of five presentation drawings which proposed the addition of

⁶¹⁶ DeLaine, J. 'The Baths of Caracalla', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplementary Series, Number 25 (Portsmouth, 1997), p. 68.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., p. 159.

⁶¹⁸ WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/5/2/11, Letter from Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell, regarding the end of the interior decoration, 15 February 1776. In this letter Adam makes it clear that his work on the interior decoration was nearing an end.

⁶¹⁹ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 209.

four large wings containing formal enfilades of rooms, and with light-wells on the north and south fronts. Adam's drawings for this scheme are not only an invaluable resource for reconstructing what he and the 5th Baronet had intended to do with the house, but they also demonstrate Adam's reliance upon precedents other than his creative ingenuity. The fact that Adam duplicated the Palladian layout of a central block with four wings, is deeply telling, but these new wings greatly enlarged the house, and its formality, and had they all been executed Nostell would surely have become a palace suited to a family of higher rank than a baronet. It has been argued that Adam was re-envisaging the fabric in order to provide both more space for the family, and a house suited to the elevated position for which the 5th Baronet continually strived. Only a month after Adam produced his drawings for the new scheme in 1776, work on the Family Wing began. This wing was designed to meld aesthetically with the 4th Baronet's central block. Despite this, however, it has been argued that the wing is not as original in design as Adam's published works would have us believe. There are striking similarities between the Family Wing at Nostell and parts of Wentworth Woodhouse, the highly publicised Holkham Hall, and Brettingham and Paine's wings at Kedleston. Clearly, with regard to Nostell, Adam's claims of novelty and originality are not entirely valid. And these stylistic sources hint at the 5th Baronet's social ambitions.

Although the halt to Adam's work at Nostell in 1785 meant that more of Paine's architecture was preserved, it would have been interesting to see Adam's project completed. One wonders whether Adam's south-east wing would have given the house greater balance; whether the light-wells would have been successful; and whether the proposed bow-fronted western wings would have harmonised with the west front of the 4th Baronet's central block. It is unlikely, however, that the family finances would ever have stretched this far. Simply put, Adam's proposals for a grandiose palace were out of reach for this particular patron.

Conclusion

Nostell Priory is one of the most important Georgian houses in the north of England. This thesis has sought to map the issues of why and how the house came into being, focussing on its eighteenth-century design and construction history, and using the family archive and the extant graphic material as its principal sources. Issues of patronage, authorship, and construction have been central themes throughout, shedding important new light on the architecture and interior decoration of the house.

For the 4th and 5th Baronets, Nostell was not only a new house, but a means of self-promotion. This thesis has argued that both father and son sought to realise their personal ambitions through the construction of a grandiose fabric, and that Nostell was envisaged from the outset as an environment in which to receive eminent guests – something that was not possible with Nostell Hall. The thesis has also argued that the house was intended to demonstrate the philanthropic, political, social and connoisseurial status to which both men aspired. Yet the construction of the house was not an entirely vainglorious pursuit, as the erection of a suitable seat provided the Winn family with a comfortable home in which to celebrate their dynastic longevity, as is apparent firstly from the inclusion of furniture from Nostell Hall in the Lower Hall, which established a sense of continuity within a single location, and secondly from the plasterwork in the north staircase, which incorporates portrait medallions of the family alongside those of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I. The creation of the house, however, would eventually drain the family finances to a precarious degree, especially after the acceptance of Adam's ambitious proposals in 1776.

Chapter one of this thesis considered why the 4th Baronet coveted such a magnificent house, and argued that his intentions for the house were bound up with his personal ambitions. The chapter also sought to explain the specific stylistic decisions that were made, and considered the early contributions of Joseph Perfect, Stephen Switzer, and James Moyser. From a detailed analysis of drawings, we saw that James Paine was initially employed to construct the house, but that he gradually assumed control of the design in the 1740s. Paine's contribution to the design of Nostell has also been related to his interest in climate, allowing us not only to extricate his contribution but also to understand, for the first time, the principles underlying his deployment of architectural form at Nostell.

Paine's interior was decorated after 1747, when the fabric of the central block was nearing completion. Chapter two argued that the interior at Nostell catered to the requirements of a man whose political and social hopes had been dashed, and who was enjoying a more sedate mode of living. We saw that the fabric of the house was conceived with a formal public half and a private domestic half, and was fitted-up accordingly. The use of an innovative French-style interior, however, was almost certainly due to Paine rather than the 4th Baronet, as Paine had been trained in this style at the St Martin's Lane Academy. Moreover, analysis of Paine's interior decorative work has shed light on the development of a fully integrated mode of interior design, in which every facet of the room was carefully designed by him. Yet, by setting the house within the norms of English Palladianism, the 4th Baronet took influence from the local aristocratic elite, and it was argued that the 4th Baronet and his architect consciously emulated houses of various high-ranking contemporaries, such as Walpole's Houghton, Leicester's Holkham, Child's Wanstead and, most significantly, Rockingham's nearby Wentworth Woodhouse.

The death of the 4th Baronet in 1765 brought about a new era of architectural ambition, as discussed in chapter three. This chapter argued that the considerable vogue for Adam's interior style best explains why the 5th Baronet chose to employ him, for the Baronet was keen to join the shining ranks of elite Adam patrons. This attitude, moreover, was reflected in the 5th Baronet's willingness to form a close friendship with Adam, as well as with his gentleman painter, Antonio Zucchi, but not with his socially inferior cabinet-maker, Thomas Chippendale. As well as sharing his father's ambitions, the 5th Baronet was a spendthrift. He was a proud man with focused ambitions for the house, and this is best expressed through his immediate implementation of the Library, and its adoption as the setting for the couple's principal portrait.

It has been argued throughout the second part of this thesis that Adam's Romanisation of the interior, and his proposed enlargement of the exterior at Nostell, were ultimately due to the 5th Baronet's desire for grandeur. Chapter four also discussed Adam's scheme of 1776 for reconceiving the fabric of the house. Close analysis of this scheme has revealed that Adam's work at Nostell lacked the complete originality that he claimed for himself in the preface to *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*. That said, had the scheme been completed, it

would have resulted in a truly magnificent house. The 5th Baronet lacked the financial capacity to see Adam's scheme through to completion, and it has become clear that had he not died unexpectedly in 1785, he was on course to drive the family into bankruptcy.

The various constituent parts of this thesis have sought to establish the piecemeal and fundamentally collaborative fashion in which the house came into being. My analysis of the numerous architectural drawings – chronicled in the attached architectural drawings catalogue – has charted the changing and evolving design of the house throughout its eighteenth-century history.

The confines of this thesis – the eighteenth-century design and construction history of Nostell – is not the whole story, however. The 6th Baronet made no further alterations to the house, lacking the money to do so – even on his death in 1805 the family debt totalled £2406-12s-2d.⁶²⁰ The baronetcy then passed to a cousin, Edmund Mark Winn of Ackton, the only direct heir-male.⁶²¹ Nostell itself however was inherited by the 6th Baronet's 12 year old nephew John Williamson.⁶²² John was the son of the 6th Baronet's sister, Ester, who had been disinherited after she eloped with a local baker.⁶²³ All three of Ester's children changed their surname from Williamson to Winn in honour of their uncle.⁶²⁴ John died young in Rome,⁶²⁵ and was succeeded by his brother Charles in 1817,⁶²⁶ and it was during the ownership of Charles that much of the nineteenth-century restoration and redecoration was commenced. But the Adam wing was not fitted-up until Charles's son, Rowland, inherited in 1884.⁶²⁷ Numerous extant drawings chronicle the works undertaken by Charles and Rowland.⁶²⁸ Not only did Rowland commission extensive rebuilding works at Nostell, but he was also the great founder of the

⁶²⁰ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/6/15, Letter from Lord Strickland to Shepley Watson following the death of Sir Rowland, 6th Baronet of Nostell, 2 December 1805. Strickland acted as executor of the estate and this letter to the family solicitor discusses the remaining debt.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ Larsen, R.M. (ed.). *Maids and Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York, 2004), p. 84.

⁶²⁴ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/8/35, Licences for John, Charles and Louise Williamson to assume the name and arms of Winn, 27 February 1815 and 29 January 1818.

⁶²⁵ WYAS WYL1352(1) A1/7/4-5, Documentation relating to the death of John Winn, 15 November 1817. The detail was also described in an obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol LXXXVII (ii) (1817), p. 629.

⁶²⁶ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and Other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 39.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ LSO and NDC [21]-[32]; WYAS WYL1352(2) C3/1/4/248(662), C4/10(625), and C4/10(1713), various nineteenth-century architectural drawings for improvements and additions to Nostell Priory.

Winn family's current status. He served as MP for North Lincolnshire between 1868 and 1885, he was Lord of the Treasury from 1874 to 1880, he was Conservative Chief Whip in the Commons from 1880 to 1885,⁶²⁹ and he was created 1st Baron St Oswald of Nostell on 6th July 1885.⁶³⁰ Moreover, it was during the 1st Baron's lifetime that the Winn family developed the Nostell coal mines (extant since the twelfth century), and through mining in quantity beneath the Nostell estate the family's fortune was restored.

Additional architectural works were undertaken during the nineteenth century picking up where the 5th Baronet had left off in 1785. It has been argued throughout this thesis that the 4th and 5th Baronets' motivations for rebuilding, decorating, redecorating, and reconceiving Nostell were partly politically motivated, and it is therefore ironic that it was only when the family finally achieved political success in the nineteenth century that it was possible for the work on the house to be recommenced. But to this day the house remains lopsided and incomplete. The previous pages have helped us to understand the place of country house building in aristocratic culture. Nostell Priory is a testimony to unrealised ambition.

⁶²⁹ Brockwell, M.W. *Catalogue of the Pictures and Other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London, 1915), p. 39.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.