HESLINGTON HALL, HESLINGTON, YORK: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE VICTORIAN RESTORATION OF AN ELIZABETHAN HOUSE

Katharine Bould

Department of History of Art
University of York

This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the course requirements of the MA in History of Art

Supervisor: Dr A Geraghty

Word count:13, 314

30th September 2013

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Abstract

This dissertation will discuss the nineteenth-century restoration of Heslington Hall. It will focus primarily on primary resource material held at the Borthwick Institute. The dissertation will focus on the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the preceding sixteenth-century building carried out by Yarburgh Yarburgh Esq.

The dissertation presents a room by room analysis of the rebuilding. Following this the dissertation explores the Victorian attitudes towards Elizabethan architecture which informed the nineteenth-century rebuilding of Heslington Hall.

The dissertation will look at the architect chosen to carry out the restoration, the later additions to Heslington Hall in 1859.

Finally the dissertation will discuss the social values which informed the planning of the house.

List of Abbreviations

AB – Atkinson Brierley.

B.I. – Borthwick Institute.

YM - Yarburgh Muniments.

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Introduction.

Heslington Hall is a large country house in Heslington, near York. It was originally built in 1568 for Thomas Eynns, Secretary and Keeper of the Seal to the Council of the North. This fine Elizabethan house was inherited in 1852 by Yarburgh Greame of Sewerby Hall, Bridlington. Under the terms of his late uncle's will, from whom he inherited the house, Yarburgh took the surname Yarburgh. In 1853 Yarburgh Yarburgh embarked on an ambitious programme of restoration and rebuilding to create a new modern residence.

Plans at the Borthwick Institute show that much of the Elizabethan fabric was retained and incorporated into the new nineteenth-century house. This dissertation will discuss the nineteenth-century restoration of Heslington Hall. It will focus primarily on primary resource material held at the Borthwick Institute. The dissertation will focus on the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the preceding sixteenth-century building carried out by Yarburgh Yarburgh Esq.

The first chapter will present a room-by-room analysis of the rebuilding focussing on recreating the plan of the sixteenth-century house. The second chapter will explore the Victorian attitudes towards Elizabethan architecture which informed the nineteenth-century rebuilding of Heslington Hall. The third chapter will look at the architect chosen to carry out the restoration.

The later additions to Heslington Hall in 1859 will be discussed in chapter four. Finally the dissertation will discuss the social values which informed the planning of the house.

Chapter One: The rebuilding of an Elizabethan house.

The chapter will discuss the nineteenth-century modernisation of the interior of Heslington Hall and the remains of the sixteenth-century house. It will look at some of the original specifications for the rebuilding of the hall, B.I.,YM/EP/17/14, the sundry additions, amendments and details of the work that was carried out, as written by the contractor, Mr Graves, B.I.,YM/EP/17/14a.

It will also look in detail at the four floor plans of the nineteenth-century house, B.I.,YM/MP/29 - 32, (Figs 1 - 4.) in particular to try and build a picture of the changes and additions made to the existing sixteenth-century house and to try and recreate the plan and room function of the sixteenth-century house.

In preparation for the work, Yarburgh drew up, presumably with assistance from the architect and the Clerk of Works, fifty-five pages of 'Specifications for works required to be done in altering and restoring Heslington Hall,'[1] outlining in great detail the work he wished to have carried out on Heslington Hall. The Specifications are undated but an approximate date for them can be gleaned from a receipt from the Clerk of Works which states that on July 5th

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[1] B.I., YM/EP/17/14.

1853, a parcel containing the Specifications was sent to Mr Yarburgh at Sewerby.[2]

Work on the new building towards the garden and the south wing together with alteration to the dining room and the library and Mr Yarburgh's room on the south side were to be completed 'in carcase' by Christmas 1853.[3]

Four floor plans were drawn up for the new house: for the basement (B.I., YM/MP/29), ground floor (B.I.,YM/MP/30), first floor (B.I.,YM/MP/31) and attic levels (B.I.YM/MP/32) of the house. The plans are useful, not only for showing the room layouts and the work that was to be carried out (marked in red), but perhaps more importantly, for showing the existing pieces of the sixteenth-century fabric which were to be incorporated into the new building. This 'ghost' of the sixteenth-century building is marked out in grey.

The shape of the Elizabethan building can clearly be seen on the OS map of 1853 (Fig. 5) it is a single pile building with projecting stair towers to the north and south of the west, garden front. The house has wings to the north and south, creating a deep U shape. The north wing has projections at each end. The remodelled Victorian house largely follows this plan, with the same

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[2] B.I., YM/EP/17/5b.
[3] B.I., YM/EP/14: 55.

size wings to the building – the main difference is the extension/building out of the garden front to the west, between the two stair towers. (Fig. 6)

The Pumphrey photo of 1853 (Fig.7) , taken before the restoration shows a large cluster of chimney stack of the upper end suggesting the presence of heated rooms in the high status end of the house. The Hearth Tax of 1672 for Heslington Hall showed that the house had sixteen hearths.[4]

The basement of the main house and north wing.

The footings of the sixteenth-century house are clearly shown in the basement plan (see Fig. 1). The main service rooms were contained in the basement of main house and the wings. The south wing was taken down to completely and rebuilt whilst the north basement remained intact. The arrangement rooms of the sixteenth-century house were particularly clear in the northeast corner. The architect decided to keep this layout and reuse the existing sixteenth-century spaces and consequently it was a bit of a warren. The plan shows a north-south passage running under the main house, providing a route for the servants through the basement. However the plan shows that there was no access to the upper part of the house from the basement. There is no access to the north tower. Presumably access to the upper end of the house was through the main rooms on the ground floor.

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[4] Kirby, n.d.: 21.

The basement of the north wing shows clearly the extent of the original wing and some room divisions. The thickness of the wall to the east of the dairy showed that it supported a considerable height of wall.

Servants quarters in South Wing

In the rebuilding the south wing, which contained the services, was a completely new building. The specifications state that it was to be taken down in its entirety. Nothing of the sixteenth-century wing remains on the basement plan, apart from one small stub of wall in the basement, which formed part of the northern wall of the housekeeper's room. However the wing was built in the same footing as the old looking at the length of the wing on the OS map of 1853 (see Fig. 5).

The servants' quarters in the sixteenth-century house would have probably been in the same position as it near to the road for easy access in out and out and is also off the low end of the house.

Ground floor, North wing, - the Long Gallery

An early eighteenth-century painting (Fig. 8) interestingly shows the north side of the north wing. Unlike the nineteenth-century north wing, it has windows on the north side, not the blank wall as on the nineteenth-century plan. There is an eight light mullions and transom. The image is not too clear but the windows are substantial, again suggesting a high status room. The

nineteenth-century gallery only has windows on the south side and a fireplace about one third of the way down.

The painting of the north wing also interestingly has two gabled projections about a little past half way along the north wall, with what appears to be a projecting oriel on the one to the west. These projections show up as one single unit on the OS map. The Victorian plan (see Fig. 1) shows an existing sixteenth-century thick projecting wall on the basement level, into which a door has been inserted to allow entrance to the new brewhouse. This is the easterly one, there is no trace of the westerly one. Thickness would suggest a chimney or something. The projection is shown on the first floor plan (see Fig. 3).

It is unclear from the painting if the long gallery extended the whole way down the wing.

The sixteenth-century gallery would have been very light and airy, lit from both sides whereas the nineteenth-century restoration only had windows on the south side. The Pumphrey photo shows smaller windows on the south side of the north wing (see Fig. 7).

The specifications said roof was to be removed[5] and the walls taken down to a level of 'two feet below the present floor and the projecting fireplace also taken out.'[6]

The gallery was given a new chimneypiece and marble fittings as in the drawing room and library[7]

Importantly in the Gallery the 'present ceiling [was to] be restored in all respects.'[8] and the sixteenth-century fabric was in part preserved.

Girouard feels that storey above the hall of the house may have contained the long gallery.[9] This would have meant it was up in the eaves, rather like at Knole (Fig. 9).[10] There is possible space for it (Fig. 10) and it would have had similar dimensions to Knole. However the position of the gallery above the hall is unlikely as there is no record in the original contract of any special care to be taken when removing the roof of the main house. If the gallery had been situated there it is likely there reference would have been made to preserving the plasterwork.

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[5] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 1.
[6] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 2.
[7] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 15.
[8] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 41.
[9] Girouard, 2009: 84.
[10] Girouard, 2009: 70.

Galleries in non-royal Elizabethan houses of the mid-sixteenth century are 'neither all that frequent nor all that large.'[11] Langdale says the gallery at Heslington Hall is 108ft long.[12] He also says it is a former gallery which rather suggests it has gone out of use. If the measurement of 108ft is to be believed then the gallery is very long compared to other examples from the mid-sixteenth century - the long gallery is therefore importantly revived by Yarburgh.

Girouard,[13] notes that the fashion for non-royal long galleries may have been inspired by Nicholas Bacon's new gallery at Gorhambury which he built c.1572. Heslington Hall's gallery dates to the 1560's is therefore earlier.

The ground floor of the main house.

The main body of the house had Mr Yarburgh's personal business rooms, dining room, hall, stair towers, dining room and library, whilst the newly extended garden front contained the billiard room and passage to connect the rooms and allow access to the tower stairs.

On the ground floor plan (see Fig. 2) the ghost of the Elizabethan ground floor plan marked out in grey. (The new Victorian additions are marked in red.)

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[11] Girouard, 2009: 70.
[12] Langdale, 1822:169.
[13] Girouard, 2009: 70.

The plan of the former sixteenth-century single-pile house with its two rooms (one to each side of the entry passage) and projecting stair towers can clearly be seen. The projection to the west end of the north wing, which on the new plan contained the library, can also be seen. The way the Victorian additions encase the older house is clearly shown.

Dining Room.

The grey colouring on the plan shows that, in the sixteenth-century house this space was one single room with three three-light mullioned windows and the lower half of one of the pair of oriel windows. This space was subdivided with a partition wall at the northern end between the first and second windows, to create two new spaces: new dining room and vestibule (Fig. 11). The doors of the dining room and the vestibule were on a line with those of the hall, drawing room and its anteroom. This created a long sightline and processional route from one side of the main house to the other, through the principal ground floor rooms of the house. Franklin said the dinner route 'needed to be ceremonious, spacious, dignified, with no turns.'[14]

Dining room is given a new chimney piece and marble fireplace.[15] On the plan the most of the original west wall of the room was replaced. This wall would have been the back wall of the single-pile house. There was a chimney here:

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[14] Franklin, 1981: 50.
[15] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 15.

the Pumphrey photograph of 1853 (Fig. 7), taken before restoration began, shows a chimney stack rising up from behind the house. Before the nineteenth-century rebuilding created a passage on the north-south axis to the west of this room, access to the south tower from the ground floor was through this room. This can be seen by the blocked doorway in the southwest corner of the room which originally led into the south tower. The southern wall of this space was also removed during the rebuilding when the south wing was demolished and rebuilt. When the south wall was rebuilt a new door was inserted in the southeast corner to allow servants to access the dining room from the services in the south wing without coming through the house. A recess for a buffet was also built in the new south wall so that servants could bring meals and leave them on the buffet and not enter the body of the dining room. A sketch for this recess (Fig. 12) survives amongst the Yarburgh Muniments.[16]

The original floor of the dining room and vestibule space was entirely removed and new raised one inserted.[17] The plan shows a set of three steps up from the entrance passage to the new vestibule and this can clearly be seen on the Country Life photo of 1913 (see Fig. 11).

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[16] B.I. YM/EP/17/18: this is incorrectly catalogued as a design for a door or a window.
[17] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 20.

The original ceiling was replaced with a new one of moulded plaster between moulded wooden ribs.[18] This new ceiling was to have more enrichments than the original one,[19] with circular ribs formed instead of square. It is possible that the original ceiling had the square ribs.

The Neale engraving (Fig. 13) shows that the windows to the dining room original had leaded glass. These were replaced with 'best British plate glass'[20] in 'Barrow and Turner's patent lifting sashes' and 'Barrow and Turner's patent fixed frames.[21]

Ante Room to Dining Room.

This small vestibule was created by inserting a partition wall in to the original single room in the sixteenth-century house. It was given a moulded and enriched ceiling instead of the plain one which was originally estimated in the contract.[22]

Hall

The hall was one of the most important rooms to survive from the 16tth house. It is still renowned for its pendant plasterwork ceiling, which still survives (Fig.14). This ceiling 'almost certainly dates from the 1560s and is

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[18] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 41.
[19] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a: 9:
[20] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 43.
[21] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 44.
[22] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a: 9.

one of the earliest surviving of the more elaborate plaster ceilings.'[23] Girouard notes that: 'as early as the 1560s the two-storey halls at Holcombe Court in Devon and Heslington Hall in Yorkshire had flat ceilings, with another storey over them instead of the gabled open-timber roofs of the traditional halls.'[24] Not only the decoration but also the construction of the ceiling make it almost unique.

The specifications note that the ceiling is to repaired and repainted white. The footprint of the sixteenth-century space is clearly visible on the plan and unlike the other sixteenth-century spaces it is not subdivided. The hall boasts a magnificent oriel window rising the full height of the eastern side of the hall (Fig.15). The other windows in the ground floor are blind to allow a continuous run of panelling along the lower half of the east wall. The windows in the upper half of the east wall have deeply sloping sills which would have thrown light down into the body of the hall, creating clerestory effect. The long run of panelling along the east wall would also have highlighted, and made an architectural feature of the oriel window, lighting the high end of the hall (Fig.16). There would be no mistaking which was the upper end.

The bottom half of the west wall contained a fireplace but there do not appear to have been windows. There do not appear to have been corresponding

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[23] Girouard, 2009: 290..
[24] Girouard, 2009: 67.

'clerestory' windows in the upper storey of the hall. None appear in the plan and there is no evidence that any windows are filled in.

An undated pen and ink drawing (see Fig. 16) does show a window in the upper part of west wall just north of the screen passage but this would appear to be artistic licence.

The hall is the only room in Heslington Hall not to have had sash windows fitted during the rebuilding. Yarburgh kept the leaded lights of the oriel window (see Fig. 15) and had '20 ornamental headed lights and glass'[25] specially made for the windows of the hall with armorial shields.[26]

Entrance porch.

The original specifications state the original sixteenth-century entrance porch was to be 'taken down [and] the old stone, columns etc from the present porch are to be preserved.'[27] Page 11 of the specifications state that the masons are to 'reconstruct the porch with its columns and other enrichments, as closely as possible from the present one.'

However for some reason the contract was changed and the entrance porch is not copied absolutely – it was embellished on the inside face with 'moulded

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[25] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a.
[26] B.I., YM/EP/17/13.
[27] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a: 24.

panelled pilasters, archivolts and pilasters inside' [28]and other mouldings instead of plain faces as on the original

Drawing Room.

The early eighteenth-century painting of the hall (see Fig. 8) shows that there was a room in this position in the sixteenth-century house. It was the last room to the north in the main house, and would have been of quite high status leading as it did off the hall into the upper end of the house. The painting shows the room had a substantial eight-light mullion and transom window on its northern wall, looking out over the grounds. In the nineteenth-century rebuilding the north and west wall of this room were knocked down and new walls built extending the space to the north and to the west to form the larger drawing room. On the plan of the basement the walls of this original sixteenth-century space can clearly be seen marked in grey (see Fig. 1).

This sixteenth-century room provided what was then the only access to the north tower, before the north-south passage was built to the west. The tower was entered by a door in the southwest corner of the room which opened to the foot of the stairs.

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[28] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a: 10.

The drawing room was given a new chimneypiece with marble fittings[29], new floorboards[30] and flooring similar to that of the Long Gallery, Billiard Room and Mr Yarburgh's business rooms.[31]

The brand new ceiling was to 'be constructed of moulded wainscot ribs' [32] - and was to be a similar pattern to ceiling in the bedroom, which had been built over the new drawing room and was to include the same enrichments and frieze. [33]

The drawing room was increased in size from the original nineteenth-century plan, as the west bay window was made bigger, which can be seen from the pencilled amendment to room on the plan, and formed a dressing room over the west bay window in the room above.[34] This meant that the new ornamental ceiling was increased in size.[35]

Royle believes that the drawing room occupied this position in the house before the renovations.[36]

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[29] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 5.
[30] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 20.
[31] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 21.
[32] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 23.
[33] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 40.
[34] B.I. YM/EP 17/14a, 4.
[35] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a: 8.
[36] Royle, 2004: 52.

Ante Room to Drawing Room.

This anteroom was created by inserting a partition into the room which was originally there in the sixteenth-century house. The room had a new moulded plaster ceiling and an enriched frieze to the cornice.[37]

Library.

The library is created from a space which existed in the sixteenth-century house as projection from the north wing. This room can be seen clearly on the early eighteenth-century painting of the hall (see Fig. 8). It was a high status room in the upper end of the house with a large mullion and transom window in the north wall and possibly a window in the west wall overlooking the formal garden. The large mullion and transom window was removed and by replaced by a canted bay in the rebuilding. The wall to east side of library was also found to be defective and so was pulled down and rebuilt.[38]

An anteroom was created with the insertion of a partition wall, as in the drawing room. The library was given a new chimneypiece and marble fittings.[39] It had a similar door to the drawing room.[40]

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[37] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a, p8:
[38] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a, p4:
[39] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 15.
[40] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 24.

There is no mention of panelling for this room but the walls 'were to be rendered ready for paper or color [sic]'[41] suggesting that any original panelling had been fully or partially removed.

The ceiling was to be similar to the one in the 'present drawing room', suggesting that the sixteenth-century one had been removed.[42] But it is open to interpretation as to whether 'the present drawing room' refers to the one on the plan or to an existing room in the house. The amendments to the original contract notes that the new ceiling had enriched soffits rather than plain as originally specified and the centre pendant was increased in size and given a pattern of circular, moulded and enriched plaster wreaths.[43]

Ante room to library.

One anteroom is specified as having a new chimneypiece with the same marble fittings, as in the library and drawing room[44], suggesting a high status room. This is the only anteroom on the ground floor plan to have a fireplace so it would appear that this is the room which is meant. Despite being anteroom the ceiling was given a moulded and enriched ceiling.[45]

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[41] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 39.
[42] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 41.
[43] B.I. YM/EP 17/14a, p9:
[44] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 15.
[45] B.I. YM/EP/17/4 a: 9.

The floors of the Drawing Room, Library and the two anterooms were to be fixed so that they were on one level, suggesting that there was a small change in floor level in the sixteenth-century house.[46] The creation of anterooms to the drawing room and the library gave more privacy to the Drawing Room and Library by artificially creating an access route into the Long Gallery in the north wing, without the need to go through the drawing room or library. This would also be a path for the servants as there was no access from the basement services in the North wing to the ground floor.

First floor – only in the main body of the house.

The plan (see Fig. 3) shows clearly the outline of the sixteenth-century house, marked in grey on the plan. The single pile of the house was divided into three spaces – a single room to the south, the open upper part of the hall in the middle and a room to the north. In the sixteenth-century house the room to the south was only accessible via a door to the south tower in the south-west corner of the room.

In the rebuilding the space was subdivided in the rebuilding to create a connecting passage, two bedrooms and a dressing room, and three new fireplaces were inserted. It is likely that this room was heated with a fireplace on the rear west wall in the sixteenth century but this was removed when the new west front was added.

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[46] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 19.

The third room to the north of the hall was accessed via the north tower. This room was extended and subdivided in the nineteenth-century rebuilding to create a bedroom, dressing room and a closet.

There would not have been any direct access between the north and south rooms at this first floor level as the upper part of the hall was in the way. The nineteenth-century extension to the west circumvented the upper part of the hall.

There was another room just to the east of the north room. These rooms at the north end would have been of high status as they were in the upper end of the house, and on the upper floors.

Bedroom over Library:

The early eighteenth-century painting of Heslington Hall (Fig. 8) shows that there was a room here in sixteenth-century house which would have been of high status as it was in the upper end of the house. The north wall of the room had a very large eight-light mullion and transom window. The roof height was the same as the main house. The nineteenth-century plan shows the most of the original walls were kept, but that the window in the north wall was replaced with a new canted bay.

Partitions were inserted into the space to create a dressing room and bedroom suite.

The Specifications make it clear that there were original fixtures and fittings in this room. The panelling in this room was singled out to be preserved and repaired, and if required new deal panelling put in to match 'precisely similar with the old.'[47]

The chimney was to repaired and refixed, suggesting that the original room was heated and the fireplace was still intact.[48]

This room is the end of the main body of the house. It does not extend out over the wing at this level.

Bedroom over Drawing Room

In the sixteenth-century house there was room on the first floor at this northern end of the main house. It would have been quite a high status one given it is position on the upper floor at the high end of the sixteenth-century house, overlooking the gardens. The early eighteenth-century painting of the hall (see Fig. 8) shows that it had a very large eight-light mullion and transom windows on the north wall overlooking the grounds, and also a window

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[47] B.I., YM/EP/17/14: 29.
[48] B.I., YM/EP/17/14: 14.

looking west – the perfect position to appreciate the view of the formal gardens. In the nineteenth-century rebuilding the north and west walls were removed and the room extended to match the drawing room below, with a matching canted bay window to the north and a new mullion and transom window to the west. It would appear however that in this room at least, some of the original fabric was still in situ and was kept. The contract states that the sound timbers here were to be fixed and the decayed ones taken away[49] and the chimney 'repaired and refixed.'[50] It is possible that part of the ceiling was kept. The contract makes reference to the 'ceiling now in bedroom over present drawing room'[51] - the pattern of which is to be copied in the new drawing room below. However this could also mean that the new ceiling of this room was finished before the one below it and was to be copied.

On the original plan this bedroom awkwardly divided from its dressing room by the corridor to the bedroom suite over the library. This inconvenient arrangement was fixed when west bay window was increased in size and dressing room formed over the west bay window.[52]

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[49] B.I. YM EP/17/14: 19
[50] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 14.
[51] B.I. YM/EP/17/14: 40.
[52] B.I. YM/EP/17/14a: 4.

Bedrooms over dining room.

The sixteenth-century walls are clear from the plan. In the rebuilding the space was subdivided in the rebuilding to create a connecting passage, two bedrooms and a dressing room, and three new fireplaces were inserted. It is likely that this room was heated with a fireplace on the rear west wall in the sixteenth century but this was removed when the new west front was added.

Towers

In the sixteenth-century house the north tower was probably the high status route in the sixteenth-century house projecting as it did from the upper end of the house. Unlike the south tower this was a closed stairwell. The plans (see Figs 1- 4) show that the stair was kept intact – it is marked in grey showing the sixteenth-century fabric.

The early eighteenth-century painting (see Fig. 8) gives a good view of north tower. The sixteenth-century tower had three storeys with what appear to be a six-light mullion and transom on the ground and first floor, and a small three- light mullion on the upper storey. It also has a flat roof. It must be assumed that the south tower has the same pattern of windows.

The grey markings on the plan show that the sixteenth-century fabric of both towers was retained up to attic level (see Fig. 4).

These towers are the most obviously altered in the rebuilding. They are raised up and given the striking pyramidal slate roofs which are obvious even from the front courtyard, as in the Mortimer engraving (Fig. 17).

In the rebuilding the south tower is given a new staircase.

Chapter Two: Victorian attitudes towards the Elizabethan period.

This chapter will discuss the attitudes prevalent in the nineteenth century towards the Elizabethan period. Yarburgh's nineteenth-century restoration of the sixteenth-century Heslington Hall was part of wider attitudes towards the Elizabethan. The rebuilding and restoration was informed by these attitudes.

The early years of the nineteenth century had been turbulent, both socially and politically. On the home front, political trouble had come from the Chartist movement of late 1830s and 1840s - their rallies, disturbances and riots 'born of economic distress.'[53] Food prices in the late 1830s had risen dramatically[54] and wheat prices had risen in the late 1840s, leading to unrest and rioting.[55] The poor, particularly in urban areas, lived in 'degrading overcrowded and filthy conditions.'[56] These were 'potentially revolutionary' times.[57]

And on the Continent in 1848, there had been a series of revolutions known as the *Springtime of the Peoples* in almost every part of mainland Europe.[58]

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[53] Evans, 1996: 270.
[54] Evans, 1996: 277.
[55] Evans, 1996: 287.
[56] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 10.
[57] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 10.
[58] Merriman, 1996: 715.

England had been unaffected but there was a great fear that the rioting would spread.

As trouble spread in Europe, the continent began to represent Republicanism, upheaval, the overturning of proper social order. In architecture, Classicism was associated with foreign despotic powers.

In those troubled times people began to yearn for a more peaceful period in British history. Under the Tudors it was felt that there was 'peace, prosperity and stability.'[59] The public identified with the idea of a 'Merrie England of Good Queen Bess.'[60]

This nostalgic interest in old houses was best expressed in Joseph Nash's *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time* published in 1839. The four volumes of *Mansions* were 'an epoch-making celebration ... of Tudor secular architecturee.'[61] It represented the good old days of peace and prosperity, something that was sorely lacking at the time.

But even before that there was a view that Elizabethan architecture was popular. In 1834, fire destroyed the old Houses of Parliament, in the

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[59] Ballantyne and Law, 2011: 32.
[60] Mandler, 2000: 7.
[61] Sanders, 2013: p24.

competition for the design of new building, Gothic and Elizabethan were specified as the only possible architectural style for the new building.[62] Classicism had been given revolutionary overtones by the French and the Americans so the new parliament building had to demonstrate continuity with the English past.[63] Classical architecture was 'a mere transplanted ornament imposed upon older English society.'[64] And it was to that older English society that many looked for a sense of their British identity 'constructed by looking to history and finding continuity with the past, including the old England of Elizabeth.'[65] Elizabethan architecture embodied this feeling.

As well as representing peace and prosperity the Merrie England of Good Queen Bess also represented good social order, where everyone knew their place. This sentiment is expressed in the painting *Coming of Age in the Golden Time* (Fig. 18), by William Powell Frith, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849.[66] Taking its inspiration from the title of Nash's book, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time,* the painting depicts a young squire standing at the top of the steps, listening to an address, below him there is a crowd of tenantry bringing gifts.[67] He's 'a young richly attired aristocrat,'[68]

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[62] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 155.
[63] Ballantyne and Law, 2011: 40.
[64] Rorabaugh, 1973: 168.
[65] Ballantyne and Law, 2011: 28.
[66] Sanders, 2013: p22.
[67] Wood, 2006: p25.

just come of age and is being greeted by 'family retainers and by his tenants'.[69] The English aristocracy is shown as being in its prime and 'still firmly rooted in its ancestral home and in the affections of its tenantry.'[70]

Thackeray asked when he saw the painting 'Why, when a man comes of age, it should be thought desirable that he should come of the age of Elizabeth?'[71] The point of it is perhaps that it was desirable for a young man to come of age at a time of peace and tranquillity, where everyone knew their place. The picture depicts the natural order of things that was so desired, with loyal tenantry at the bottom and the benevolent gentry at the top.

The exterior of the house is by Frith's own admittance in his autobiography, an amalgamation of elements of Hiver Castle in Kent, and Heslington Hall.[72] So the architecture of Heslington Hall is associated with a better more peaceful time. The architecture of this time was' the truest embodiment of secular English history.'[73] It 'looked uniquely British and represented the olden days.'[74]

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[68] Sanders, 2013: p22.
[69] Sanders, 2013: p22.
[70] Sanders, 2013: p22.
[71] Wood, 2006: p25.
[72] Sanders, 2013: p22.
[73] Sanders, 2013: 23.
[74] Ballantyne and Law, 2011: 59.

But as a style of architecture it was by no means universally popular. Pugin writing in 1841 on the Elizabethan revival style, felt that it was 'the very worst kind of English architecture,' an 'unmeaning conglomeration of debased forms.'[75]

Sanders believes that Pugin is responsible for the suspicion with which Tudor architecture came to be viewed, as some 'impure coda to the mediaeval'.[76] The Elizabethan style 'was steadily damned as some kind of aesthetic abortion.'[77] Pugin insisted that if a new house was required by a gentleman then it needed to be one which 'was appropriate to his social standing and to the demands of the age'[78] and Elizabethan in no way satisfied that.

Pugin's views aside, many men decided to build their new houses in the Elizabethan/Jacobethan style and there were signs of increasing interest in the Elizabethan and seventeenth-century styles.'[79] Elizabethan and Jacobethan became popular choices as architectural styles for new buildings. During the Victorian period, several important houses were built in the Elizabethan/Jacobethan style.

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[75] Pugin: 1841: 61.
[76] Sanders, 2013: p27.
[77] Sanders, 2013: p27.
[78] Sanders, 2013: p27.
[79] Curl, 2007: 188.

Mentmore Towers, Buckinghamshire was 'probably the greatest of all Elizabethan Revival Houses.'[80] Built 1842 – 54, by Paxton and George Henry Stokes for the Rothchilds, the model was Wollaton [81]

Barry designed Highclere Castle, Hampshire, for Lord Carnarvon, 'in order to bring his Georgian house in line with Victorian taste.'[82] Highclere, which has allusions to Wollaton with its strapwork balustrade.[83] Lord Carnarvon rejected original designs by his architect, Barry, for a Renaissance style house. He was a Tory and the Renaissance designs were considered Whiggish and unacceptable.[84]

Harlaxton in Lincolnshire (Fig. 19) was an early example of the Jacobethan style.'[85] Designed by Salvin in 1831 – 7, Harlaxton owed its varied skyline to Burghley or Wollaton.[86] It was built for Gregory Gregory and is an 'early and sophisticated mansion in the revived Jacobean taste.'[87]

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[80] Curl, 2007: 192.
[81] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 40.
[82] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 40.
[83] Curl, 2007: 191.
[84] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 40.
[85] Curl, 2007: 191.
[86] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 38.
[87] Knox, 1993: 94.

Strangely however, a few owners tore down their Elizabethan homes and built a Neo-Elizabethan one with 'mod cons' in its place.[88] This happened in particular at Harlaxton. Old Harlaxton Manor, with a seventeenth-century house with a fourteenth-century core was destroyed to make be replaced by a brand new house in the style of the original.[89]

Yarburgh could have done the same thing when he inherited Heslington Hall. He could have knocked the house down completely and started afresh. Clearly keeping the house was important to him. Yarburgh has a real extant sixteenth-century house and he clearly does not want his architect to build him a brand new house in the Elizabethan style.

Yarburgh took great pains to stress his continuity with the past. He did not have a direct familial link to the original builder of Heslington Hall, Thomas Eymes, but he wanted to proclaim that he had. In order to achieve this he commissioned a special plaque as part of the rebuilding works which outlined the history of Heslington Hall and his part in its restoration (Fig. 20). This plaque was placed prominently on the side of Heslington Hall nearest the public road where the inscription could be seen and read by passers-by. It is now sadly obscured by a modern extension (Fig. 21). The plaque proclaimed the antiquity of the house and particularly the authenticity of the architecture.

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[88] Mandler book, p427.
[89] Knox, 1993: 94.

It stressed that this building was ancient and real, and not a modern pastiche, and that Yarburgh was very proud of that fact. (There is a pervasive idea, [probably from later groups such as SPAB], that the modernisation of an historic home is somehow a bad thing.[90] Kirby labels Yarburgh as the 'villain of the piece, with his wholly unnecessary rebuilding of the old mansion.'[91] He feels that Yarburgh's motives are inexplicable as he already possessed a spacious home where for 11 years he had pursued an uninterrupted programme of construction and improvements.'[92] Perhaps that was the reason - Yarburgh had done all he could at Sewerby and this was an interesting new project.

The plaque emphasised Yarburgh's family connection to the place and his position in Heslington society based upon long family tradition.

Yarburgh Yarburgh did not have the same close familial and ancestral ties with Heslington Hall as he did with Sewerby Hall. It was not his home and the people of Heslington would not know him, unlike his aged uncle who had been the squire of the manor for many, many years. What better way of asserting oneself with one's tenantry as the rightful squire than reviving and restoring Heslington Hall . It fitted in with the 'Olden Time' Victorian view of the Elizabethan period, where the squire is the paterfamilias of the village and

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[90] Mandler book, p68.
[91] Kirby, n.d. : 38.
[92] Kirby, n.d. : 38.

kind, wise protector of his tenants. Yarburgh was certainly keen to be seen to fill this role.

On February 12, 1853 the York Herald reported that having newly arrived at Heslington Hall to take up residency,[93] Yarburgh was waited upon by a deputation from his tenantry who presented a loyal address to him. Yarburgh's refers to himself in his reply as the hereditary representative of an ancient family and expresses his desire to care for his tenants and promote their welfare.

And on January 6 1855 the Yorkshire Gazette[94] reported that during Christmas week Yarburgh gave coals and clothes to workers on the Heslington estate, and gave all the workmen engaged in the rebuilding a new years gift of 2s-0d.

Yarburgh said in his speech to his tenantry that Heslington Hall would be 'highly valued [by him] and an object of [his] constant care'[95] and this is certainly true of his rebuilding of Heslington Hall. The contract for the restoration of Heslington Hall focused on and emphasised the preservation of the existing Elizabethan house. There was sensitivity towards the 'iconic' sixteenth-century parts such as the oriel windows and the plasterwork of the

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[93] York Herald, February 12, 1853: 6.
[94] Yorkshire Gazette, January 6, 1855: 5.
[95] Yorkshire Gazette, January 6, 1855: 5.

great hall. got for early as it fits in stylistically.) Yarburgh also chose keep the long gallery – an utterly superfluous and deeply unfashionable space in a Victorian house.

Yarburgh goes to great length to keep anachronistic bits of the old house – long gallery, minstrels' gallery (although this is not eventually built), dais end, the dais canopy, oriel windows. It is significant that the front of the house, the facade that the public saw, that was visible to passers by, was the facade that was kept as Elizabethan as possible (Fig. 22). 'The symbolism of the architecture'[96] is very important.

At Heslington Hall great pains are taken to preserve the great hall. It is an important architectural focal point. It is worth considering that in Nash's book on the *Mansions of Old England*, the halls are the main focus of the illustrations.

This valuing of hospitality showed itself most clearly in the revival of the great, or baronial hall, in the house plan. During the previous century the hall had been the 'ceremonial introduction to the house'[97] but during the nineteenth-century it became the centre of entertainment and dominated the

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[96] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 32.
[97] Franklin, 1981: 66.

planning of the house. It was often an accurate revival of the mediaeval hall,'[98] often with minstrels galleries and huge fireplaces where, according to A W Pugin,[99] the master of lords of the manor would assemble their friends and tenants together. Yarburgh did not need to go to the trouble of recreating a hall when he had a beautiful original.

The design and inclusion of the hall harked back to the 'Merrie Englande' of old where the lord of manor ruled and was paterfamilias to the tenantry, and the hall was a centre for entertainment of all kinds overseen by the kindly master. After the social unrest of the 1830s and 40s, 'the vision of the mediaeval lord exercising benevolent rule over his docile peasantry'[100] was an appealing image. Hospitality was linked to entertainment but was also connected to hierarchy, with master at the top and everyone else knowing his or her place and not upsetting the order of society.

Clearly the architecture of the house was important to Yarburgh as a symbol of his position in society and of a peaceable, stable society. Elizabethan architecture symbolised a Golden Age of stability, calm and peace – where the landlords were kind and generous to their tenantry and nobody needs to riot.

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[98] Franklin, 1981: 66.
[99] Girouard, 1978: 290.
[100] Franklin, 1981: 67.

It was this role as the benevolent country squire that Yarburgh felt he was taking on when he decided to renovate Heslington Hall.

Chapter Three: The architect of Heslington Hall.

This chapter will discuss Yarburgh 's choice of architect to undertake the restoration at Heslington Hall. It will discuss the possible reasons behind the choice of architect and will also discuss the possibility that the architect credited with the work at Heslington Hall may not have in fact been the original choice of architect and that he may, in fact, have been continuing the work of a previously uncredited architect.

Yarburgh was a man who seemed to actively enjoy undertaking renovation and building projects. Royle notes Yarburgh was 'a builder, an improver.'[101] He had therefore worked with a number of architects before he began his project of rebuilding and renovation at Heslington Hall.

In 1848, Yarburgh employed the Hull-based architect, Henry F Lockwood, to carry out building work at his home at Sewerby Hall, Bridlington.[102] Sewerby Hall, built circa 1714,[103] was inherited by Yarburgh in 1841.[104] The work carried out by Lockwood included raising the wings of the hall by one storey, rebuilding the stone cornice and pediment, and adding a conservatory.[105]

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[101] Royle, 2004: 46.
[102] Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 678.
[103] Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 678.
[104] Royle, 2004: 46.
[105] Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 678.

Yarburgh also showed an interest in the restoration of older buildings. He was recorded in his obituary as having paid for restoration work to be done at Bridlington Priory.[106] The Priory was one of the oldest buildings in Bridlington, having been founded in the early eleventh century for a group of Augustinian Canons.[107]

As well as restorations and alterations, Yarburgh also commissioned new buildings. In 1846 – 8 he chose celebrated architect George Gilbert Scott to design a new chapel in the Neo-Norman style at Sewerby Hall (Fig. 23).[108]

Despite having used Scott for this important commission Yarburgh does not appear to have called upon Scott's services when it came to choosing an architect for the restoration of Heslington Hall. This is perhaps surprising – the restoration of Heslington Hall was a fairly big and prestigious undertaking would require the services of an architect with experience and a good reputation and George Gilbert Scott would seem to have been that person.

However it is clear from the records that Scott had not particularly enjoyed working with Yarburgh on the chapel at Sewerby. Writing in 1879, in his *Personal and Professional Recollections,* he records that 'difficulties arose from

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[106] Yorkshire Gazette, February 9, 1856: 9.
[107] Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 342.
[108] Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 677.

the fads of my employer.'[109] One of the fads could well have been Yarburgh's insistence on the use of the Neo-Norman style for his new chapel. This Gothic Revival style had enjoyed 'a brief flowering for about ten years from circa 1835 to circa 1845'[110] but was already falling out of fashion by the time the new chapel was commissioned. It is unlikely that Scott, who by the 1840s had been converted 'by Pugin to the one and only Middle Pointed,'[111] would have willingly chosen to work in the Neo-Norman style. He may also have been reluctant to work upon the restoration of an Elizabethan building. Whilst he was not as outspoken a critic of sixteenth-century architecture as Pugin, who regarded Elizabethan architecture as 'the very worst kind of English architecture,'[112] Scott cannot be said to be wholly enthusiastic about it. Writing in 1857, Scott felt that 'the architecture of the latter half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, while retaining much of the noble feeling of the previous age, had lost its purity and simplicity.'[113] This antipathy towards Elizabethan architecture must have contributed to his not being approached for the restoration of a large piece of domestic sixteenth-century architecture. Royle notes wryly that Heslington was 'at

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[109] Scott, 1879: 148.
[110] http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1083693. Accessed September 3 2013.
[111] Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 677.
[112] AW Pugin, 1841, quoted in Sanders, 2013: 27.
[113] Scott, 1857: 4.

least spared the rebuilding of the Hall in the style of St Pancras station hotel!'[114]

Scholars agree that the architect brought in by Yarburgh to work on Heslington Hall was Philip Charles Hardwick.[115] The restoration of the hall was a very large and complicated undertaking and required an experienced architect to take charge.

Philip Charles Hardwick came from a family of distinguished architects - his father and grandfather were well renowned for their sympathetic restoration work.[116] According to his obituary, Hardwick 'passed the early years of his education in the office of Edward Blore'[117] who was an extremely famous and sought after architect. Having served an apprenticeship with Blore, Hardwick joined his father's practise in 1843 when he was twenty-one years old. [118]

Father and son seem to have worked mainly in London and the South-East of England on a variety of projects including Euston Station, where Hardwick senior had been responsible for the famous and now much lamented, Doric propylaeum.[119] Philip Charles was amongst the 'most prominent of railway

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[114] Royle, 2004: 47.
[115] Royle, 2004: 47. Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 463.
[116] Hobhouse, 1976: 32.
[117] The RIBA Journal, 1892: 174.
[118] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 260.
[119] Hobhouse, 1976: 41.

architects'[120] and continued his father's work at Euston, adding a great hall in the Classical style in 1846.[121] At Paddington, in 1851, he designed the new French-influenced station hotel, described by Hitchcock as 'notably Second Empire, *avant la letter.*'[122] His first notable restoration, as opposed to a new building, was the rebuilding of Aldermaston Court in 1848 – 51 in the Jacobethan style.[123]. The lists of commissions given by Hobhouse[124] and Port[125] of Hardwick's work do not show much work outside of London, apart from a foray to Ireland to build an addition to Adare Manor for the earl of Dunravan (Fig. 24), where he continued work by which had be started by Pugin in the Gothic style.[126].

He took over his father's practise in circa 1852 - 3,[127] but at this point in his career, Hardwick does not seem particularly known for his restoration work or for working in the Elizabethan or Tudor style.

The commission for the restoration and rebuilding of Heslington Hall came very shortly after Hardwick took over sole charge of the practise and marked one of his first solo large-scale commissions. However his work on Heslington

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[120] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 104.
[121] Hobhouse, 1976: 41.
[122] Hitchcock, 1954: 212.
[123] Dixon and Muthesius, 2008: 260.
[124] Hobhouse, 1976: 151 – 2.
[125] Port, 2008 - http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk accessed July 9 2013.
[126] Hobhouse, 1976: 47.
[127] Felstead, Franklin and Pinfield, 1993: 410.

Hall does not appear in any of the major lists of his work, even the extensive list drawn up by Hobhouse[128]. The only official reference to it was made in his obituary in the RIBA journal, and even then Heslington is misspelled as *Heslingdon.*[129]

In summary, Philip Charles Hardwick does not appear at first glance to be the most suited architect for the restoration of an Elizabethan building in the North of England. A piece of evidence has come to light which suggests that perhaps Hardwick was not entirely responsible for the initial drawing up of the plans for the rebuilding of Heslington Hall.

Previously overlooked by scholarship however is a small but possibly telling reference in a small account book, B.I.,YM/EP/17/2, held in the Yarburgh Muniments at the Borthwick Institute, which outlined the various expenses incurred in the restoration of Heslington Hall, and is dated March 1853 to October 1855.[130]

The very first entry in the account book, which is dated 3rd March 1853, records that £52-10s-0d was 'paid to Mr Blore for his inspection of the house

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[128] Hobhouse, 1976: 151 – 2.
[129] The RIBA Journal, 1892: 175.
[130] B.I., YM/EP/17/2.

and second plans for the purposed alterations, for which purpose he came from London (architect).'[131]

This strongly suggests that at the beginning of the project, Edward Blore was the architect chosen to begin the work on Heslington Hall. By March of 1853 he had produced not one but two sets of plans, and had, at some point in the previous months, visited the house to inspect it for the *purposed alterations.* The wording suggests that by March 1853 the project for the restoration of Heslington Hall had been proposed and the first steps were being taken in getting the project underway and that Blore was being consulted as the chief architect. The drawing up of several sets of plans would need time and this suggests that Blore visited Yorkshire in the months prior to March 1853.

Blore was by this point sixty-six years of age and had officially given up his practise and retired in 1849.[132] He must therefore have been very interested in the proposed restorations to come out of retirement and to make the journey, presumably in the late winter or early spring, from London to York to view Heslington Hall.

In many respects, Blore was a more obvious choice of architect to undertake the restoration of a sixteenth-century building, than Hardwick. Blore was

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[131] B.I., YM/EP/17/2.
[132] Colvin, 2008: 130.

well-known for his country house building, and Tudor and Elizabethan style were a speciality.'[133] He was well respected as an antiquarian and artist[134] and made a serious study of fifteenth and sixteenth-century architecture.[135]

Blore was extremely experienced in the field of restoration and had worked on a large number of very important buildings. His entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography[136] has an exhaustive list of commissions including, Lambeth Palace, London, in 1829; Pull Court, Worcestershire, in 1834; the early seventeenth-century Crewe Hall, Cheshire in 1837; Merevale Hall, Warwickshire, in 1838.

Not only was Blore nationally renowned for his restoration work, he was also well known for his work in the York area. He had carried out repairs and alteration at Escrick Park, circa 1835, which is only a little over seven miles from Heslington. And in 1844 – 7, he had designed Thicket Priory (Fig. 25), at Thorganby, only ten miles or so from Heslington. Pevsner describes the style of Thicket Priory as 'Tudorish.'[137]

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[133] Colvin, 2008: 130.
[134] Port, 2008 - http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk. Accessed 9 July 2013.
[135] Colvin, 2008: 130.
[136] Port, 2008 - http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk. Accessed 9 July 2013.
[137] Pevsner and Neave, 1995: 722.

Only one writer makes any connection between Blore and Heslington Hall and this is only seemingly accidentally. Kirby makes the assumption that the architect of Heslington Hall was influenced by Blore's work at Thicket Priory, based upon the stylistic similarities of the two buildings and that the stone quoins, brickwork and towers at Thicket Priory were copied at Heslington Hall.[138] It is however more logical to conclude that the architectural influence was the other way around. As a keen antiquarian Blore would most likely have taken note of buildings of local historic interest and, being interested in sixteenth-century architecture, it is far more likely that he would have studied Heslington Hall as a model for Thicket Priory.

It is not inconceivable therefore that when Yarburgh was casting round for a suitable architect to work at Heslington Hall that Blore's name came up first.

But as quickly as Blore appears in records for the rebuilding of Heslington Hall, he disappears, and in the following month, April 1853, Hardwick's name appears for the first time. A letter from Hardwick to Yarburgh survives in which Hardwick acknowledges receipt of £250-0s-0d and encloses the accounts of Mr Chapman, the Clerk of Works at Heslington Hall.[139] However the letter only mentions drawings of some stables, which he had promised to

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[138] Kirby, n.d.: 40.
[139] B.I., YM/EP/17/3a: letter dated 3rd April, 1853.

Yarburgh, and there is no mention anywhere of plans or drawings he has made of Heslington Hall.

A receipt from the Clerk of Works records that on July 24th 1853 a parcel of drawings was sent to Hardwick at Sewerby Hall.[140] Presumably Hardwick was visiting in order to discuss with his client the work at Heslington Hall.

So by March 1853 Blore had inspected Heslington Hall and made a number of plans and the following July, Hardwick was visiting Yarburgh at Sewerby.

There is no mention anywhere in the records of Hardwick being paid to make any sort of visit of Heslington Hall for the purpose of an inspection and there is no record anywhere of his having made plans of the hall himself. The only plans mentioned are recorded as being drawn up by Blore. The four floor plans for Heslington Hall are unsigned and it is not possible at this stage to identify who wrote the labels on them. It is perhaps a possibility that for some reason Blore felt unable to continue his involvement in the project at Heslington Hall. Rather than let the project stall, which would have been costly, Yarburgh decided to bring in a former pupil of Blore's to continue the work. As there is no record of Hardwick's visiting Heslington Hall it is possible that he used Blore's plans as a basis for his own work. Blore may well

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[140] B.I., YM/EP/17/5b.

have been happy to entrust his work to a former pupil, rather than a rival architect.

The mystery is unlikely to be cleared up as there are no records in the Blore archive at Cambridge which cover this period. The full extent of his involvement in the restoration of Heslington Hall may never been known and unless evidence is found from another as yet undiscovered source it may never be known if the plans which were used in the restoration and rebuilding of the Hall were drawn up by Blore or Hardwick.

Chapter Four: The additions of 1859 to Heslington Hall by J.B and W. Atkinson.

The restorations and renovations of 1853 – 55 were not the only building works to have been carried out at Heslington Hall during the nineteenth century and there is some difference of opinion among scholars as to when the subsequent building took place.

Pevsner writes that the architect David Brandon was employed in 1876 to make alterations to the Hall.[141] However, he does not specify the nature of the work and, as yet, no evidence has been found amongst the Yarburgh Muniments to verify his statement. Allison suggests that the alterations of 1876 may have consisted of an addition to the south-west corner of the building.[142] Royle also states that the southern end of the main range of the house was further extended but gives the year as 1878[143] and does not provide a reference for this statement.

The additional building work done at Heslington Hall in the nineteenth century was in fact carried out sometime after 1859 by Yarburgh's successor to Heslington Hall, George J Lloyd.

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[141] Pevsner, 1995: 463.
[142] Allison, 1976: 70.
[143] Royle, 2004: 47.

On January 25th 1856, Yarburgh Yarburgh died,[144] sadly not having lived to see his work on Heslington Hall completed and never having lived in the house which had occupied much of his time and his money, some £15,165-4-2.[145] He died at Stockton Hall, home of his brother-in-law, George Lloyd, and was buried in the family vault at Bridlington Priory.[146] His obituary in the Yorkshire Gazette sadly notes that he had not lived 'to enjoy occupation of this fine baronial seat'.[147] The original contract to the contractor specified the work on the main house and the south wing should be finished by the 1st July 1854 with the work to the north wing to be completed later. A later amendment to the contract states work was finished on April 28th 1855. The obituary notes also that 'these works have been in progress for many years, and are on the eve of completion'[148] which suggests that the work on Heslington Hall was still not complete.

Having no children Yarburgh Yarburgh left Heslington Hall to his nephew George J Lloyd, who promptly changed his name to Yarburgh, echoing Yarburgh Greame's own inheritance of Heslington Hall and change of surname. George and his wife Mary had two girls and clearly found Heslington Hall lacking in terms of accommodation for them.

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[144] Yorkshire Gazette, February 2nd, 1856: 5.
[145] Royle, 2004: 48.
[146] Yorkshire Gazette, February 2nd, 1856: 5.
[147] Yorkshire Gazette, February 2nd, 1856: 5.
[148] Yorkshire Gazette, February 2nd, 1856: 5.

There are three drawings, B.I., AB/7/34/5 - 7 (Fig. 26 - 8) which are dated circa 1859 in the Atkinson-Brierley Archive, showing a plan and two elevations of a new addition to Heslington Hall. The date of 1859 is shortly after the Lloyds took up residence at Heslington Hall.

They commissioned a new extension for the south-west corner of the hall, comprising on the ground floor a large nursery with attached bedroom, either for the girls or for their nurse, and a large housemaid's closet and toilet. An adjoining toilet was also built which was only accessible from the garden. A neat arrangement so that facilities were on hand if ever any member of the family, or a guest, was 'caught short' in the garden and would not need to come back round and through the house.

The basement level (see Fig. 28) comprised a new butler's bedroom, replacing the previous rather cramped accommodation under the south tower, and a new tea-room for the maid. On the plan the room is marked *maid's* rather than *maids'* suggesting that this could be for a single high ranking servant such as a ladies maid.

There was also a new baking oven and kneading room – suggesting that the old arrangements, whatever and wherever they were, were no longer adequate for providing food for the family, and for the increased numbers of

servants. Census data[149] from 1851 shows the household consisted of the unmarried Nicholas E Yarburgh and seven servants. By 1861[150], there was George Yarburgh and his wife and two children, and there were now fifteen servants.

This neat arrangement of the baking oven and kneading room in the basement would have provided additional warmth for the school room and bedroom above.

Unfortunately no correspondence has yet been found regarding the exact date of the commissioning of the of the additions. The three plans, B.I., AB/7/34/5 - 7 are dated circa 1859 in the Atkinson-Brierley Archive, which is shortly after the Lloyds took up residence at Heslington Hall. As they had children it would make sense for them to get accommodation for the children as quickly as possible. It must be assumed that the building began shortly afterwards.

The plans are not dated with any certainty, but they are labelled as being for 'G.J. Yarborough [sic] Esq.' who died in 1875 aged 64.[151] Royle implies that this was the extension to the south done in 1878.[152] This schoolroom

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[149] 1851 census data: http:www.ancestry.co.uk. Accessed 15th July 2013.
[150] 1861 census data: http:www.ancestry.co.uk. Accessed 15th July 2013.
[151] Kirby, n.d: 44.
[152] Royle, 2004: 47.

extension appears to be the only addition made to the south range of Heslington Hall. In 1878 however the owner of Heslington Hall was George Yarburgh's son-in-law, George William Bateson[153] and the plans were clearly not drawn up for him. The name on the plans would seem to confirm that the work was commissioned before George Yarburgh's death.

This is further verified by the census of 1861 for Heslington Hall which records a governess and a schoolroom maid, suggesting that there was a schoolroom already built and in use by this point. Taken together with name on the drawings, the earlier date of 1859 for the addition would appear to be correct.

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[153] Kirby, n.d: 45.

Chapter Five: Victorian social values and the planning of Heslington Hall.

Victorian social values were reflected in nearly every aspect of the planning of the country-house in the nineteenth-century and these values appear in the planning of rooms in the rebuilding of Heslington Hall. Complex social patterns were brought to bear on the structure and were shown by the layout and ordering of the rooms of the country house.

While there were many Victorian values one might discuss with reference to house planning this chapter will primarily focus on three types of social value that were particularly important – namely propriety/morality, hierarchy and hospitality.

Victorian social values regarding sexual morality and propriety were reflected in many aspects of country-house planning in the nineteenth-century. The segregation of the sexes seemed to have been a point of obsession and was one of the key aspects of the 'essence of Victorian planning [which] is segregation and specialization.'[154]

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[154] Franklin, 1981: 39.

Looking at the main house first, there was usually a division between principal rooms which were used during the day by the female members of the family and guests and those used by the men. The masculine rooms were the library, study, billiard room and smoking room whilst the feminine rooms comprised the drawing room, morning room and boudoir. This division of the sexes is not as apparent at Heslington Hall as Yarburgh was a bachelor and as such arranged the rooms for his sole use. Broadly speaking the rooms are more masculine, as one would expect in a bachelor establishment – such as the billiard room and library. There is no feminine boudoir or morning room.

Yarburgh had a billiard room created in the new west front of Heslington Hall – is an important position facing west with good views of the garden. In a non-bachelor establishment this sunny room on the garden front would probably have been set aside for a lady's drawing room. Sometimes smoking rooms were paired with billiard rooms to create a small suite of rooms for the head of the household.[155] The creation of a male suite of rooms did not happen at Heslington Hall until the early twentieth century when Lord Deramore converted the Long Gallery on the ground floor of the north wing (Fig. 29) and moved the billiard room there and added a smoking room.

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[155] Girouard, 1979: 36.

In many houses the bedrooms of the male and female members of the household were on opposite sides of the house.[156] At Heslington Hall, which was a bachelor establishment, there was no immediate need for such separation but Yarburgh would doubtless have expected to receive guests of both sexes. The bedrooms on the plan (see Fig. 3) are not labeled so it is not clear which were intended for male guests and which for female. It would appear that Heslington Hall was unusual in that, being planned for the use of bachelor, the usual segregation of rooms was not felt to be as important.

This separation of the sexes was mirrored in the servants' quarters where even more effort went into the planning of keeping the male and female staff apart. The situation was not helped by the increase in the number of servants working in a country house during the nineteenth century.

This specialisation can be seen in the increase in the numbers of servants required to run a nineteenth-century country house and Heslington Hall was no exception. This type of data can be found in the census records.

There is unfortunately no census data for the years of rebuilding and restoration in 1853 – 54 or for the short period of residence of Yarbrugh

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[156] Franklin, 1981: 79.

Yarburgh at Heslington Hall. The censuses were taken in 1851 when the elderly Nicholas Yarburgh (Yarburgh Greame's uncle) was resident in the hall, and in 1861 when the Lloyd-Yarburghs had taken up residence.

However the information from the two censuses is important because from it can be gleaned the social/servant/family/domestic arrangement of Heslington Hall, firstly for the older unrestored Elizabethan house, and secondly the modernised Victorian house.

From the 1851 census:[157] the head of the household was Nicholas E Yarburgh, unmarried and 80 years of age. The household consisted of only seven servants:

- Ann Smith (housemaid)
- Jane Atkinson (dairymaid)
- Elizabeth Bean (cook)
- Anne Leaf (kitchenmaid)
- John Lonsdale (footman)
- William West (gardener)
- William Kendal (groom)

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[157] 1851 census data: http:www.ancestry.co.uk. Accessed 15th July 2013.

Clearly the sixteenth-century building only needs a small number of servants in order to function or perhaps only a small number of servants was felt to be necessary.

Information from the 1861 census,[158] shows that the number of servants had doubled - there were now fifteen servants required to run the newly modernised house. The household consisted of George and Mary Yarburgh and their two daughters Mary and Susan Yarburgh. The 1861 census lists more servants than in the 1851 and more have specialised roles:

- Susan Staple (governess)
- Jane Fuller (cook and housekeeper)
- Mary Cornell (lady's maid)
- Harriet Hurton (housemaid)
- Elizabeth Clark (laundrymaid)
- Ann Large (kitchenmaid)
- Mary Bangs (schoolroom maid)
- Ann Bulmer (housemaid)
- Mary Anderson (dairymaid)
- Mary Neil (housemaid)
- Elizabeth Weldon (scullerymaid)
- Samuel Dalby (butler)

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[158] 1861 census data: http:www.ancestry.co.uk. Accessed 15 July 2013.

- Joseph King (footman)
- Thomas Simpson (groom)
- Thomas Swann (footman).

The number of servants has almost doubled. Three housemaids are required to keep the house clean and attend to the needs of the family, two footmen to serve at dinner, both a scullerymaid and a kitchenmaid to assist the cook/housekeeper and a maid whose sole job it was to look after the needs of the schoolroom.

The jobs that the servants performed were split into those performed by women and those by men and, ideally, the rooms in which these jobs were carried out were then put into physically separate areas in the house plan which limited the amount of contact that the men and women could have during the day.

It is not so clear if this was the case at Heslington Hall. The servants' quarters in the south wing were a new build so a strictly segregated room pattern could have been imposed if one was wished (see Figs. 1 and 2). In broad terms the female servants would have been working in the east end of the south wing, where the female domain of the kitchen, scullery and larder. There was further segregation between the upper and lower servants. The

'lower' servants were divided on the plan from the upper servants rooms of the housekeeper and butler.

But there seems to be more close association of men and women – for example the housekeepers room was next to the butler's room and the butler's bedroom appeared to be opposite the still-room, a traditionally female room under the strict control of the housekeeper.[159]

The only area of common ground where the sexes were able to mix was in the servants' hall, in a supervised environment to prevent improper behaviour.[160]

The typical servants hall felt gloomy especially in comparison to the usual housekeeper's room.[161] This was true at Heslington Hall where the servants' hall was tucked under the dining room on the east side of the hall. It would only have had sun in the morning. If the servants' hall faced the entrance it was to be placed so that no-one could look in or out.[162] At Heslington Hall the servants' hall is lit by two small windows, and was tucked away behind and

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[159] Franklin, 1981: 96.
[160] Franklin, 1981: 97.
[161] Franklin, 1981: 98.
[162] Franklin, 1981: 98.

beneath the front balustrade. On the other hand the housekeeper had a room almost as large as the servants' hall with south facing windows.

Traditionally the servants' hall came halfway between the male and female domains.[163] This was broadly speaking true at Heslington Hall where the female domain was to the south of it and the male domain of the brushing room, and cellars for wine and ale were to the north.

However in the basement of the main body of the house and the north wing the architect was forced to work with existing spaces (see Fig. 1) and so the segregation could not be so complete. The north side was cooler and so was required for the dairy (a female room), apple and bacon stores which would have been required by the cook. The long corridors and twists and turns of the basement plan at Heslington Hall may have made it very difficult for the butler and housekeeper to keep an eye on their staff and make sure that propriety was maintained.

The emphasis on propriety and morality is particularly evident in the extreme lengths to which house planners went when organising the laundry area,

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[163] Franklin, 1981: 87.

which Girouard describes as the 'Achilles heel' of the Victorian house.[164] The laundry, a female area, needed to be at the end of the servants' wing due to the amount of steam, smoke and unpleasant odours it created, plus there was a need for an open air drying area.[165] By necessity the laundry area ended up in close proximity to other outdoor areas. This put the laundresses in the potentially dangerous position (to the Victorian mind) of being able to mix freely with the outside servants such as grooms and gardeners in the course of their work. At Pakenham the planners went so far as to create a sunken passage and a tunnel so that the laundresses could move about without being seen by any men.[166]

At Heslington Hall the architect did not quite go to the lengths of building a tunnel but the laundry and washhouse was situated at the furthest end of the south wing from the main house and did not have windows out onto the entrance courtyard. It had a completely separate external entrance so there was no access to it from inside the service range. The entrance was also hidden by a dog-leg in the outside passage. It had its own coal shed and water closet and was therefore completely self-contained (see Fig. 1).

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[164] Girouard, 1978: 283.
[165] Girouard, 1978: 283.
[166] Girouard, 1978: 284.

The segregation of male and female servants usually continued with separate sleeping quarters for male and female servants on either different floors, on different corridors and accessed by separate staircases.[167] This does not seem to be the case at Heslington Hall where the bedrooms for both sexes are on the ground floor of the service wing (see Fig. 2). The three bedrooms marked for the maids were in the middle of the south wing, with two bedrooms marked for menservants just beyond them. There was a set of stairs leading down to the basement dividing the sets of bedrooms and it is possible that male servants were expected to access their rooms via that route – rather than using the passageway in front of the maids rooms. These bedrooms were also on a different floor to the butler's so making sure everybody kept separate may have been difficult.

A second key aspect of the 'segregation and specialisation' of Victorian country-house planning concerned segregation associated with social hierarchy. The values of social station and one's place within the hierarchy in nineteenth-century England and were reflected in many aspects of country-house planning. They were expressed in the planning by the rigid segregation of the servants and the family. In previous generations the daily lives of the servants and family had been more interwoven[168] but this was not so during

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[167] Franklin, 1981: 100.
[168] Franklin, 1981: 39.

the Victorian period where the servants were housed in a completely separate wing. The landlord was now 'master and father to his subordinates.'[169]

In the rigid social hierarchy of nineteenth-century England, those from lower social orders did not come into the main house: the study was often marked as 'Mr X's room' and was always on the servants side of the house and near to the outside entrance and away from the main reception rooms.[170] This was the head of the household' business room. At Heslington Hall this done exactly – Yarburgh's business rooms were adjacent to the service wing and the stair from the outside entrance. Any tenantry or tradesmen with whom Yarburgh had business could come to see him without having to go through the main house which, according to Franklin, 'would have been unthinkable.'[171]

The social inferiority of the servants' wing could shown by being lower in height and architecturally different on the outside to show its lesser status for example as at Brodsworth Hall (1861) (Fig. 30). But at Heslington Hall this was not possible if the symmetry of architecture of the courtyard was to be maintained.

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[169] Girouard, 1978: 274.
[170] Franklin, 1981: 51.
[171] Franklin, 1981: 52.

The social hierarchy was also enforced within the ranks of the servants, with the upper servants such as the housekeeper and butler being given their own private rooms on the plan as at Heslington Hall.

Privacy was also highly valued by the families who lived in the houses. In keeping with the strict hierarchy of the age they did not want to mingle with, or in many cases even see, the servants.[172] To this end at Heslington Hall there were a limited numbers of doors between the servant wing and the main house, and two backstairs which enabled the servants to get between the basement and the ground floor of the main house without being seen. The newly created north-south passageway to the west of the hall and dining room meant servants did not have to go through the main rooms on the ground floor. It is possible that the south tower functioned as a servants' stair to the upper floors of the main house. The north tower, being closer to the principal rooms on the ground floor may have been reserved for Yarburgh and any guests he may have had.

There was usually a separate entrance to the servants' wing and the servants' wing was often around an enclosed courtyard so the activity within could not

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[172] Girouard, 1978: 285.

be seen as at Heslington Hall where a long sunken external corridor is provided. The servants quarters were also completely invisible from the gardens, screened by the south tower and Yarburgh's business rooms, enforcing the notion expressed by the Victorian architect Kerr in 1864, that the family and the servants were two communities, 'invisible and inaudible to each other'.[173]

Segregation – both between the sexes and hierarchically - was clearly a key component in country-house planning, but this was not the only value. Another important social value which expressed itself in the country-house plan was that of hospitality. The importance of having guests for house parties, shooting or hunting parties was, according to Franklin, the main function of the house 'without [it] the country-house lost most of its raison d'etre.'[174] The nineteenth-century ideal of the country gentleman was a courteous and hospitable host.[175] The house plan needs to be large to include all the bedrooms required for guests. This was certainly true at Heslington Hall which had eight bedrooms and four dressing rooms marked on the first floor plan and a further five bedrooms in the attic. This was certainly more than was needed by its bachelor owner.

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[173] Kerr quoted in Franklin, 1981: 39.
[174] Franklin, 1981:41.
[175] Girouard, 1978: 271.

Family life and domesticity were valued highly by the Victorians who were eager to show that however huge their houses were they were still homes and the centres of happy family life.[176] Although Franklin states that nineteenth-century country houses were planned to keep children as far away from the adults as possible,[177] this was not true in all cases. As Girouard notes some households had the parents' rooms in close proximity to the nursery and that 'great care was taken to see that the children were properly accommodated.'[178]

The schoolroom, built at Heslington Hall circa 1859 for the children of George Yarburgh, was next to their father's business rooms (see Fig. 28). This was probably more to do with spatial considerations. An extension to the south-west was closer to the kitchen and to the servants who take daily care of the children. An addition on the north side would have intruded too much into the garden and have would spoiled the arrangement of the principal rooms. Clearly they felt that the welfare of the children was worth the investment of building a addition to the sunny side of the house, overlooking a secluded bit of garden. A nursery could easily and cheaply have been put in the attic, where there were clearly plenty of rooms. The bedroom appeared to be for the governess rather than for the children so they perhaps occupied one of

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[176] Girouard 1978: 270.
[177] Franklin, 1981: 81.
[178] Girouard, 1978: 286.

the bedrooms and dressing room suites in the main house near to their parents.

Victorian social values permeated every aspect of nineteenth-century country-house planning, from the choice of the exterior architecture to the layout of the rooms.

Those social values which were particularly important and influential were hierarchy and morality. The country-house plan such as at Heslington Hall segregated males from females, servants from family and placed a value on people knowing their place in the social structure. The country-house became an embodiment of values Victorians held most dear – they were monuments to morality and houses of hierarchy.

Conclusion.

This dissertation discussed the nineteenth-century restoration of Heslington Hall. It focussed primarily on primary resource material held at the Borthwick Institute and examined the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the preceding sixteenth-century building carried out by Yarburgh Yarburgh Esq.

The dissertation presented an analysis of the nineteenth-century rebuilding and explored the Victorian attitudes towards Elizabethan architecture which informed the nineteenth-century rebuilding of Heslington Hall.

The dissertation also looked at the architect chosen to carry out the restoration and concluded that an another architect may have been involved The later additions to Heslington Hall in 1859 were also examined and found to be by Atkinson for G Yarburgh.

Finally the dissertation discussed the social values which informed the planning of the nineteenth-century house with reference to Heslington Hall.

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B.I., YM/MP/30 1850s: Ground floor plan of Hall'

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B.I., YM/MP/32 1850s: Attic plan of Hall.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

All photographs were taken by the author, unless otherwise stated.

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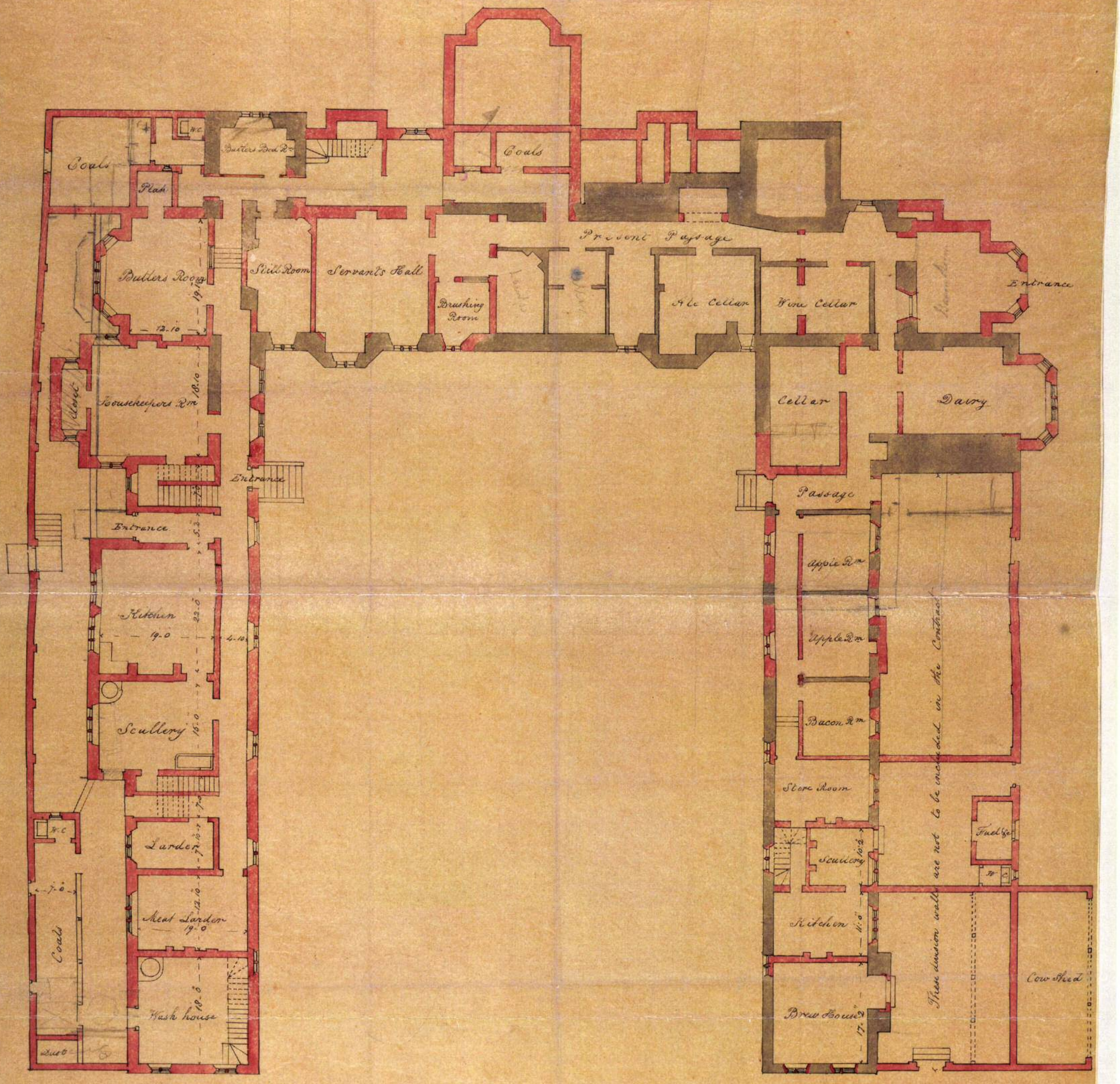
2. BI,YM/MP/30. Heslington Hall, York. Ground Floor Plan. 1850s. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York. (see second overleaf)
3. BI,YM/MP/31. Heslington Hall, York. First Floor Plan. 1850s. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York. (see third overleaf)
4. BI,YM/MP/32. Heslington Hall, Attic Floor Plan. 1850s. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York. (see fourth overleaf)

Heslington Hall

No 1



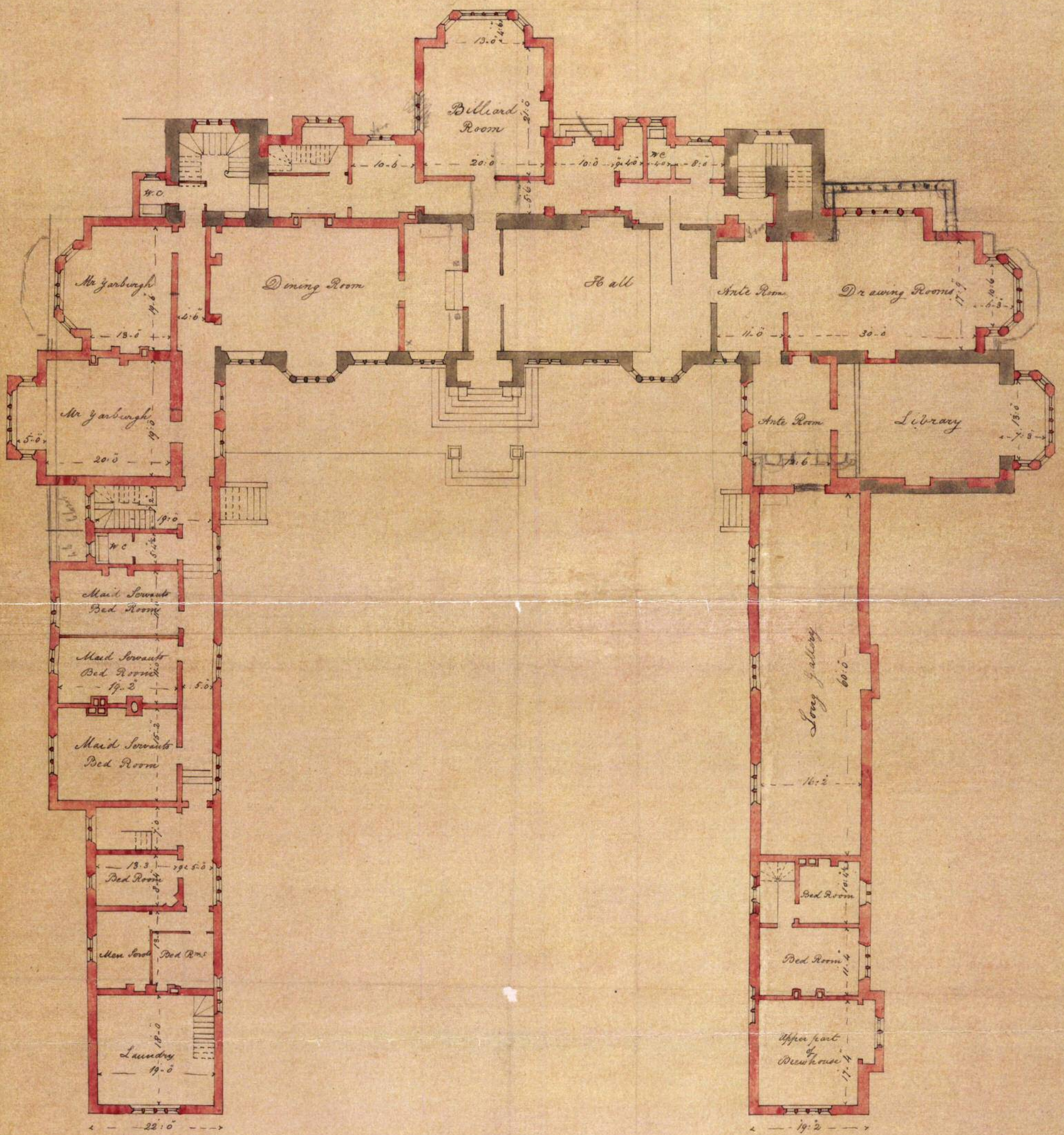
Basement Plan

Scale of Feet

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

Heslington Hall

No 2



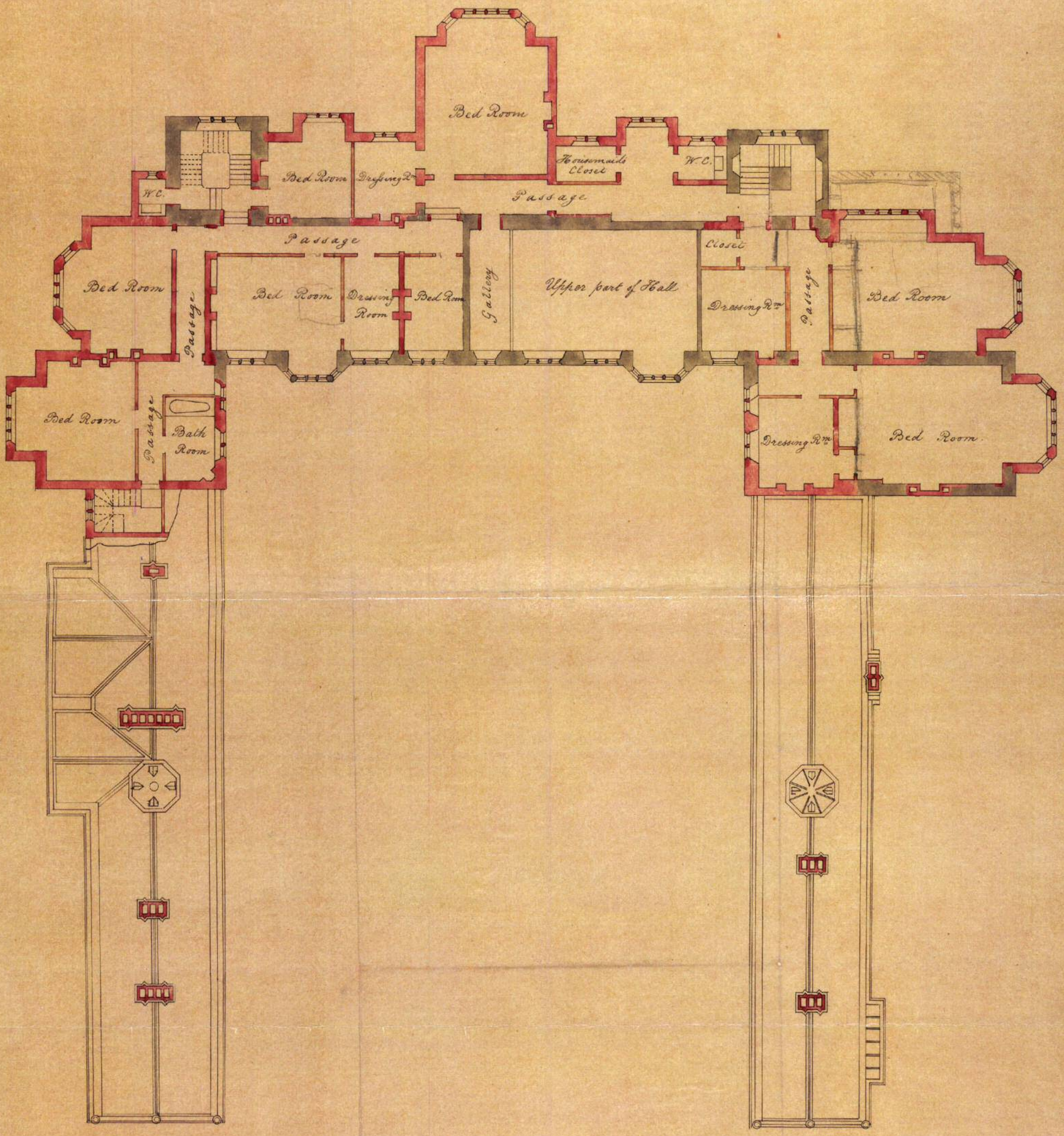
Ground Plan

Scale of Feet

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

Heslington Hall

No 3



One Pair Plan

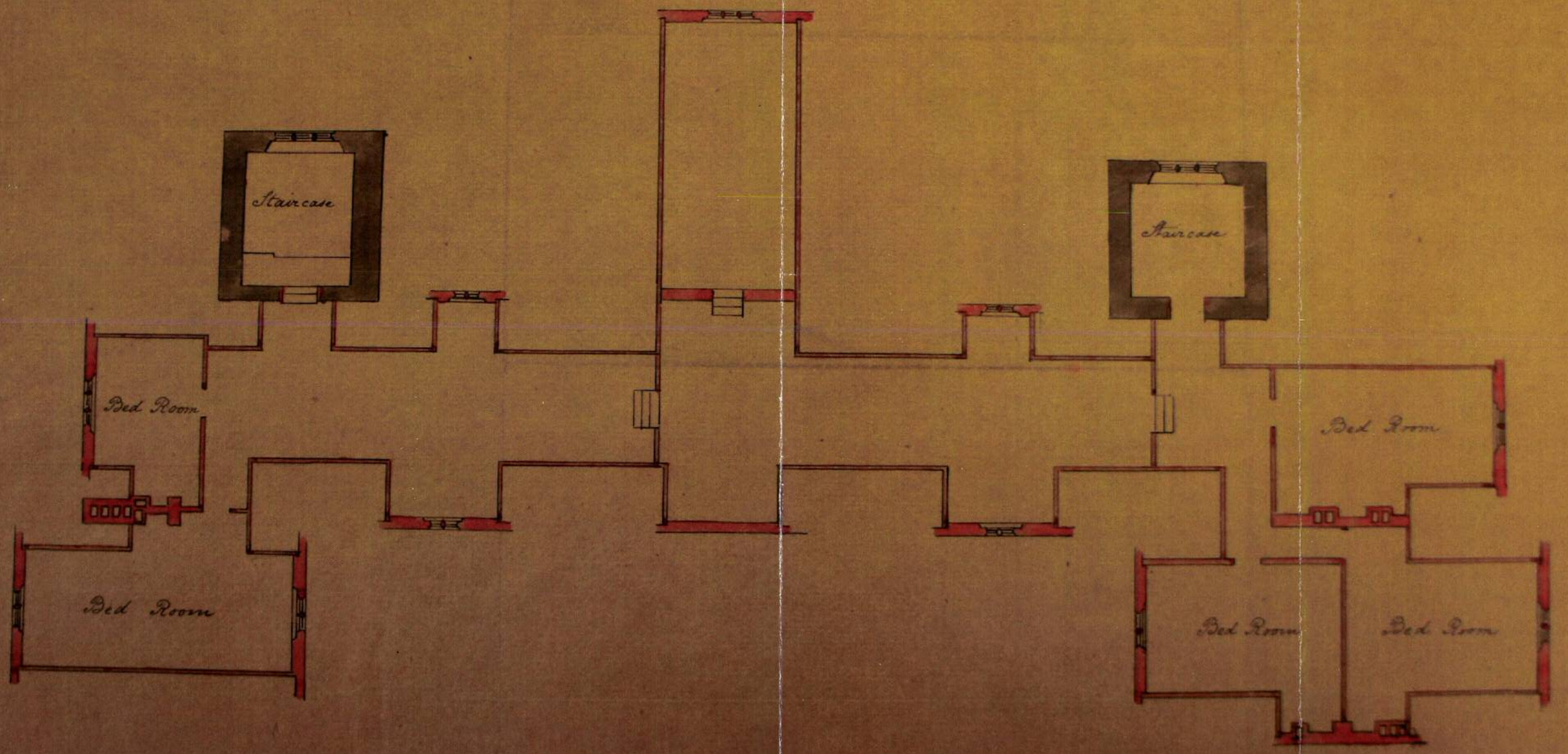
(Shewing Roofs over Wings)

Scale of Feet

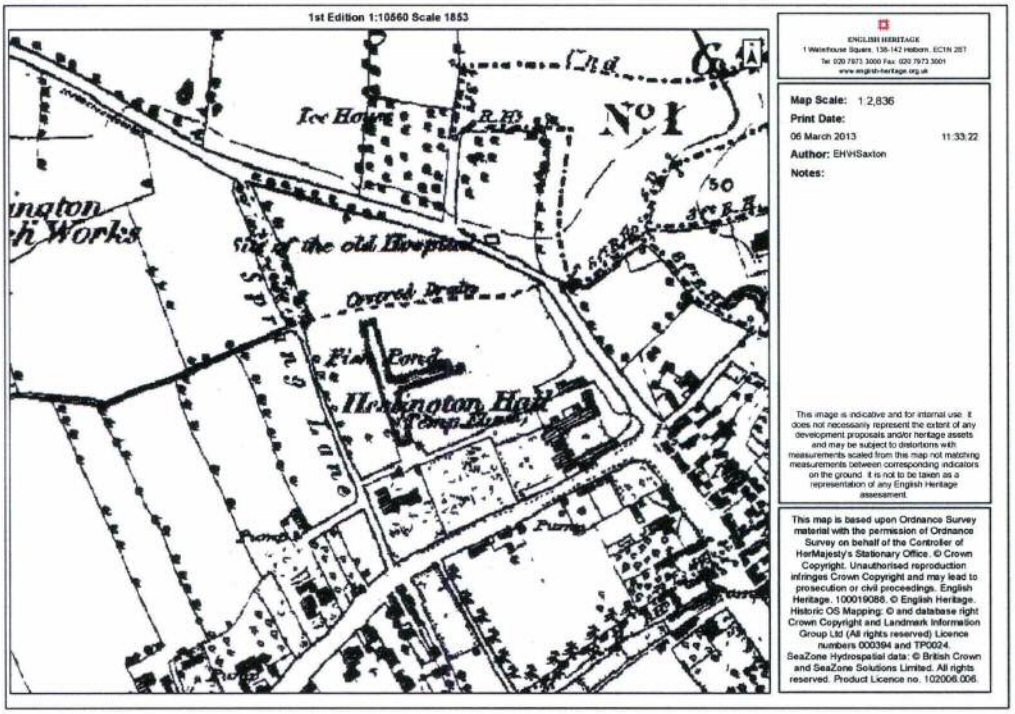
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

Heslington Hall

No 4.

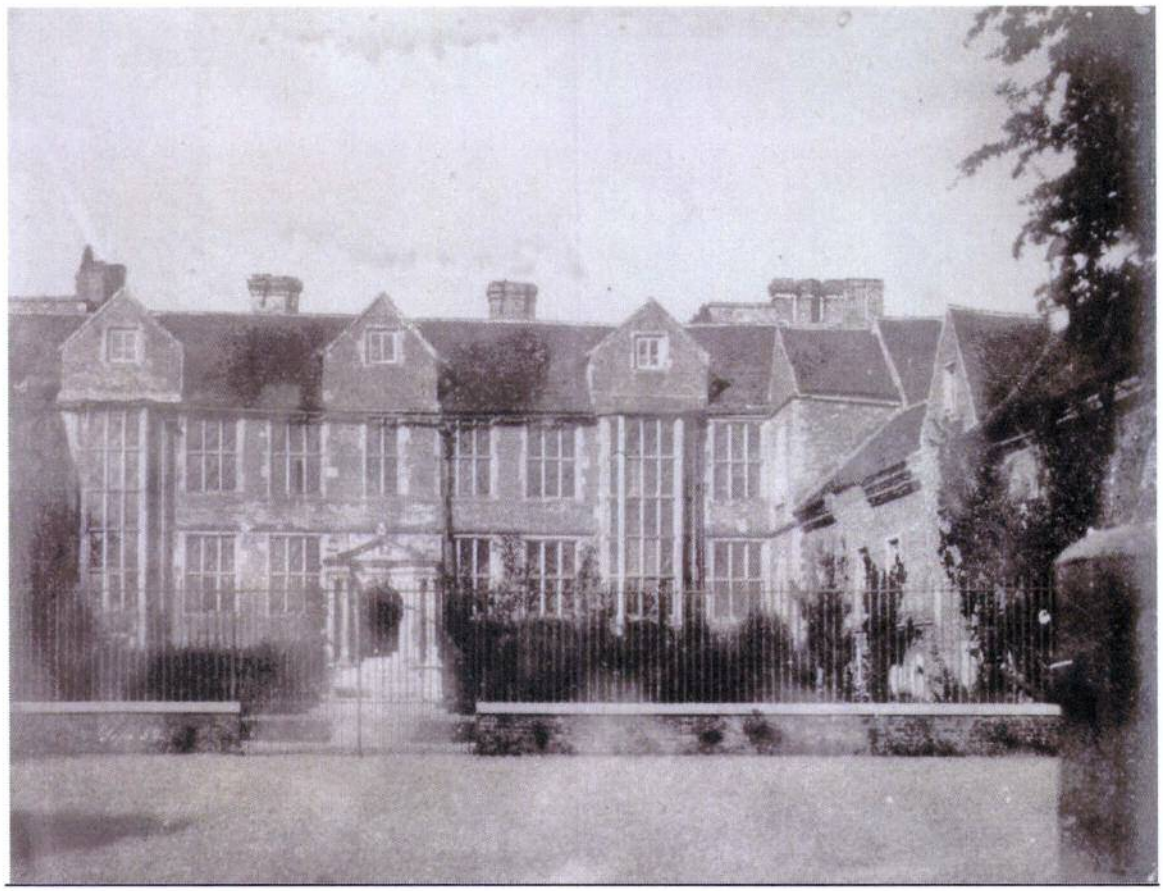


Attic Plan.



5. Ordnance Survey map, 1st Edition, 1:10560, 1853, showing Heslington Hall, York. © English Heritage.

6. West Front of Heslington Hall.



7. Photograph of Heslington Hall, east front, by William Pumphrey. 1853.

8. *Prospect of Heslington Hall near York from the slopes of Heslington Hill,* 1720s Private collection (reproduced with thanks to Dr Connell).

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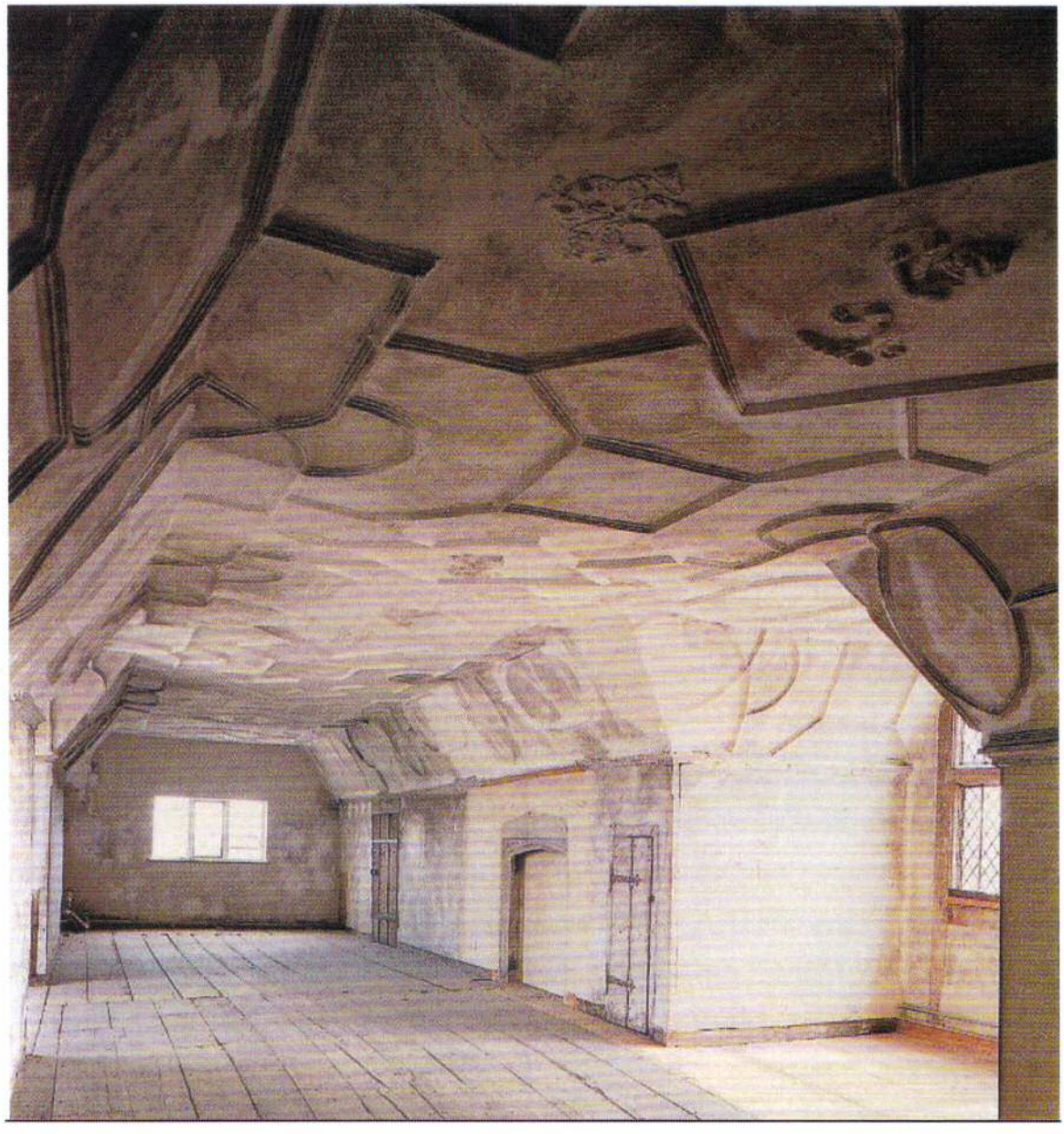
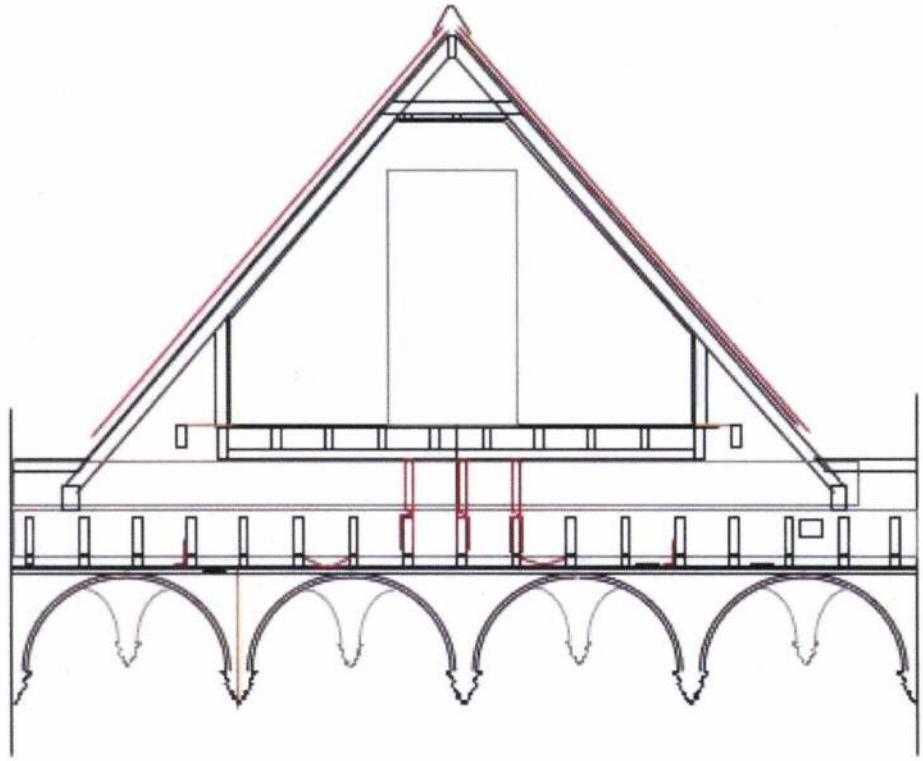
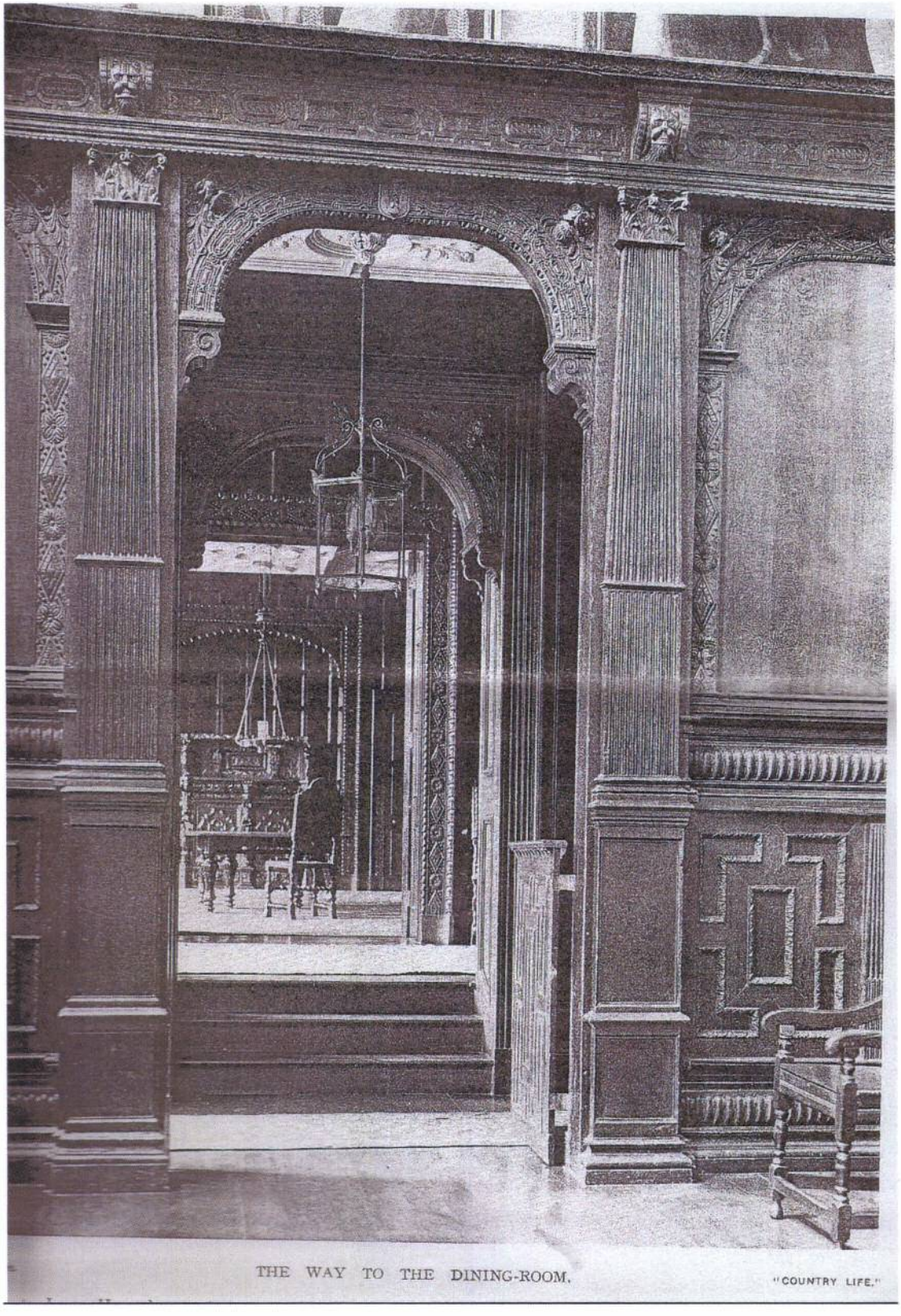


9. Long Gallery in attic at Knole. Girouard, 2009, page 70.

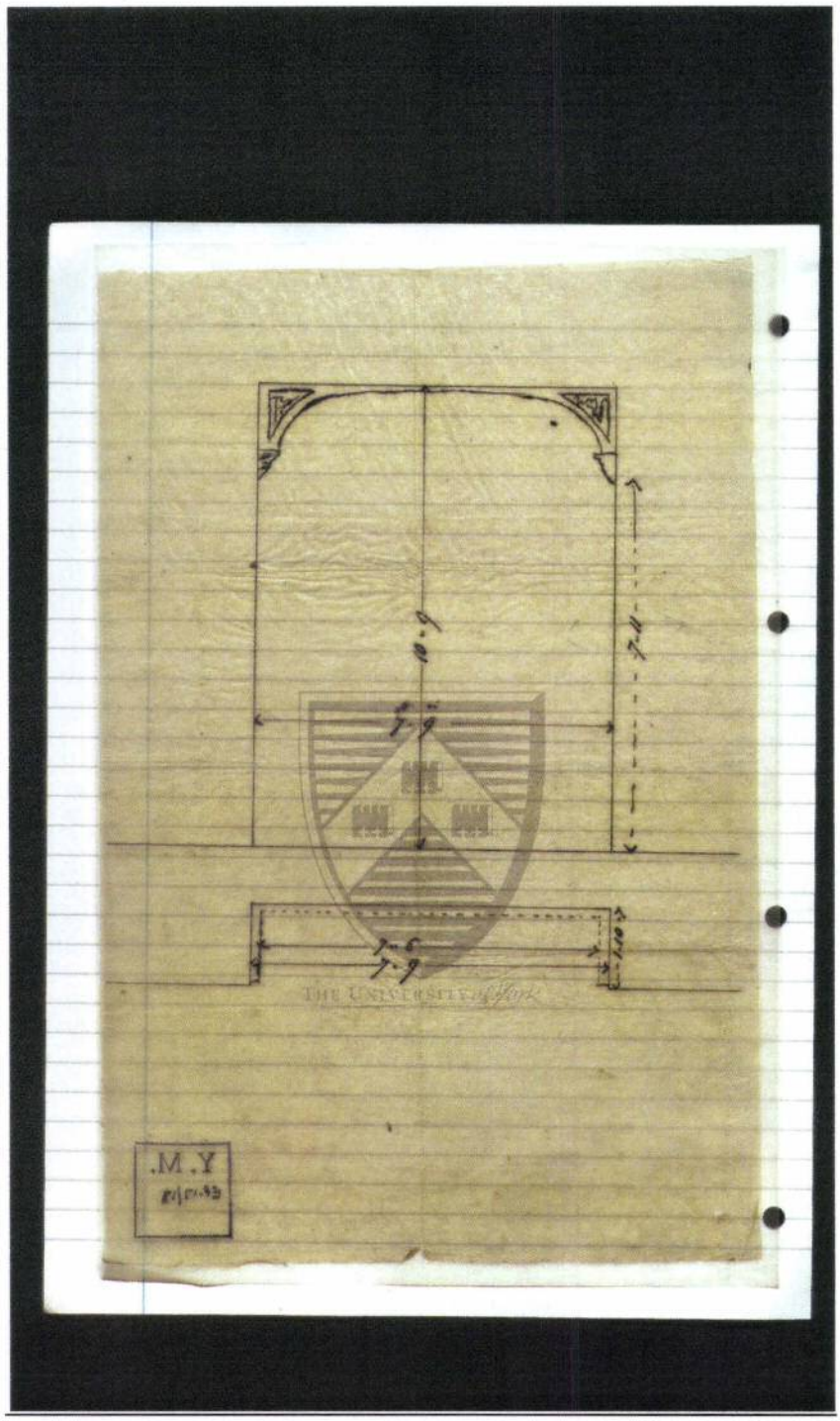


Diagrammatic cross section

10. Cross-section of roof of Heslington Hall. ©Holland Brown.

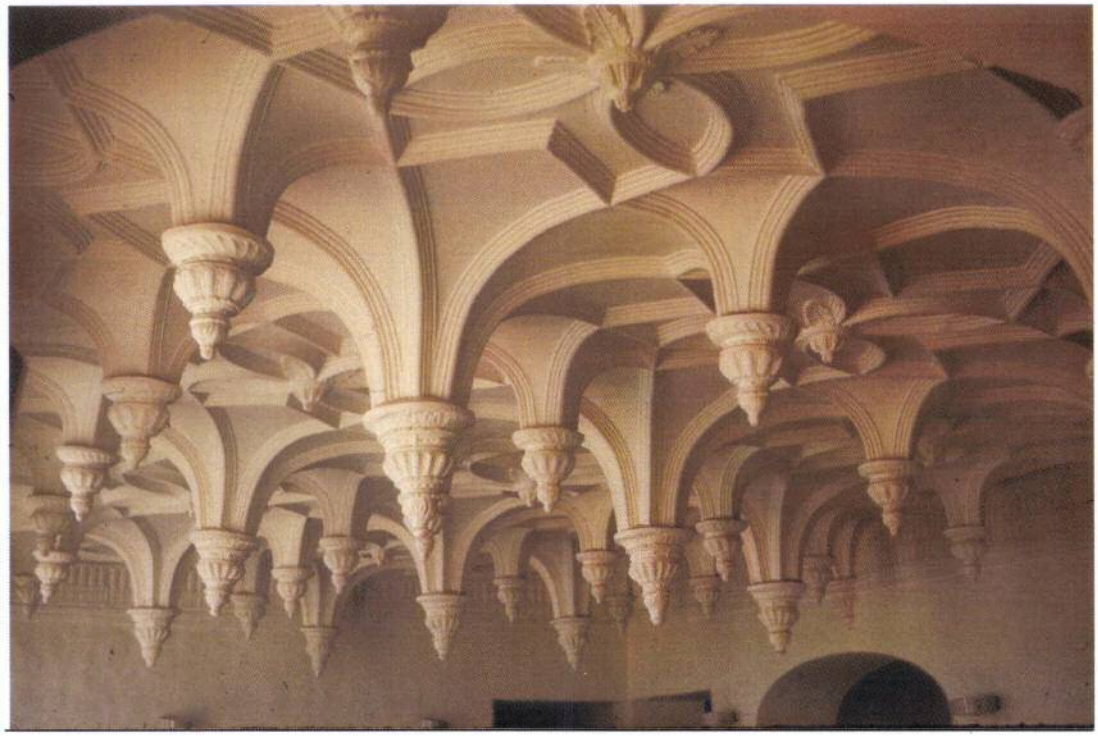


11. Dining Room and vestibule, 1913. © Country Life.



12. B.I., YM/EP/17/18 nd mislabelled sketch design of window or door. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York.

13. Heslington Hall, York. 1830. After a drawing by J P Neale © York Digital Library.



14. Plasterwork ceiling of hall, Heslington Hall, York. © York Digital Library.

15. Heslington Hall, York. Stained glass coats of arms in oriel window of the hall. © York Digital Library

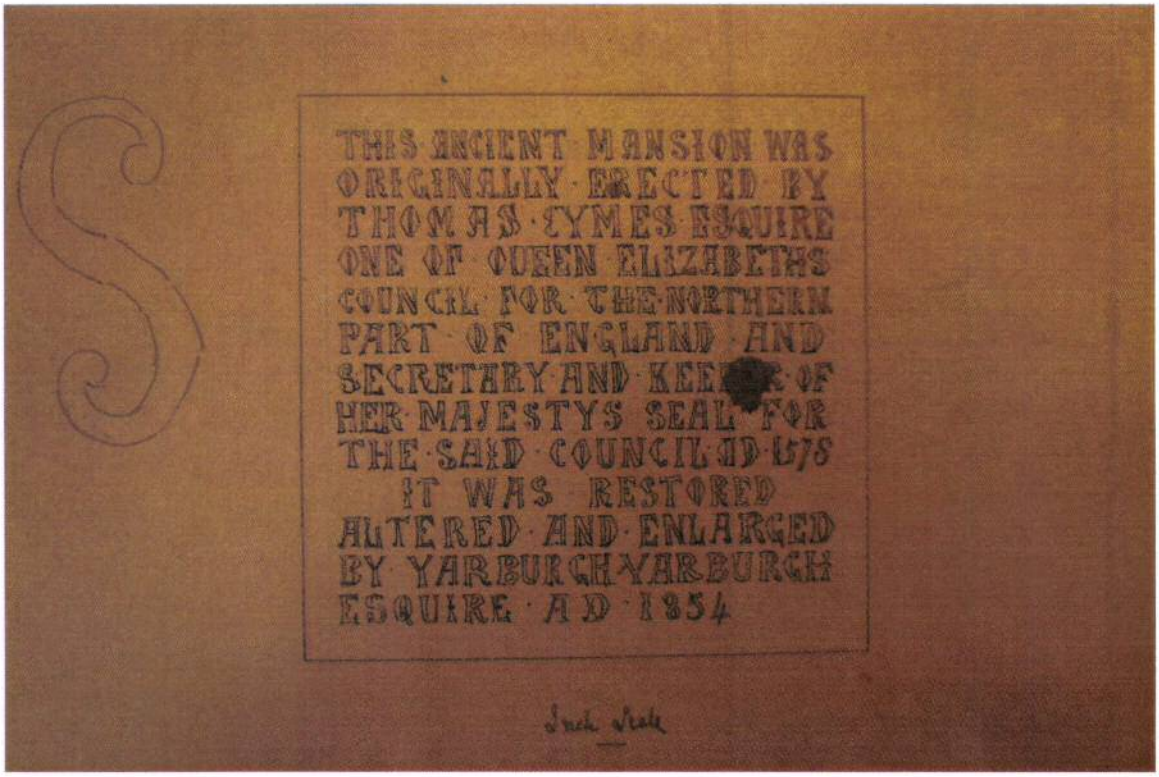
16. The great hall, Heslington Hall, York. After a drawing by Delt Barstow

©York Digital Library.

17. Heslington Hall, seat of George Lloyd Esquire by W. Monkhouse 1860.

18. William Powell Frith, *Coming of Age in the Golden Time*, 1849. Oil on canvas 127 x 200 cm. Private collection.

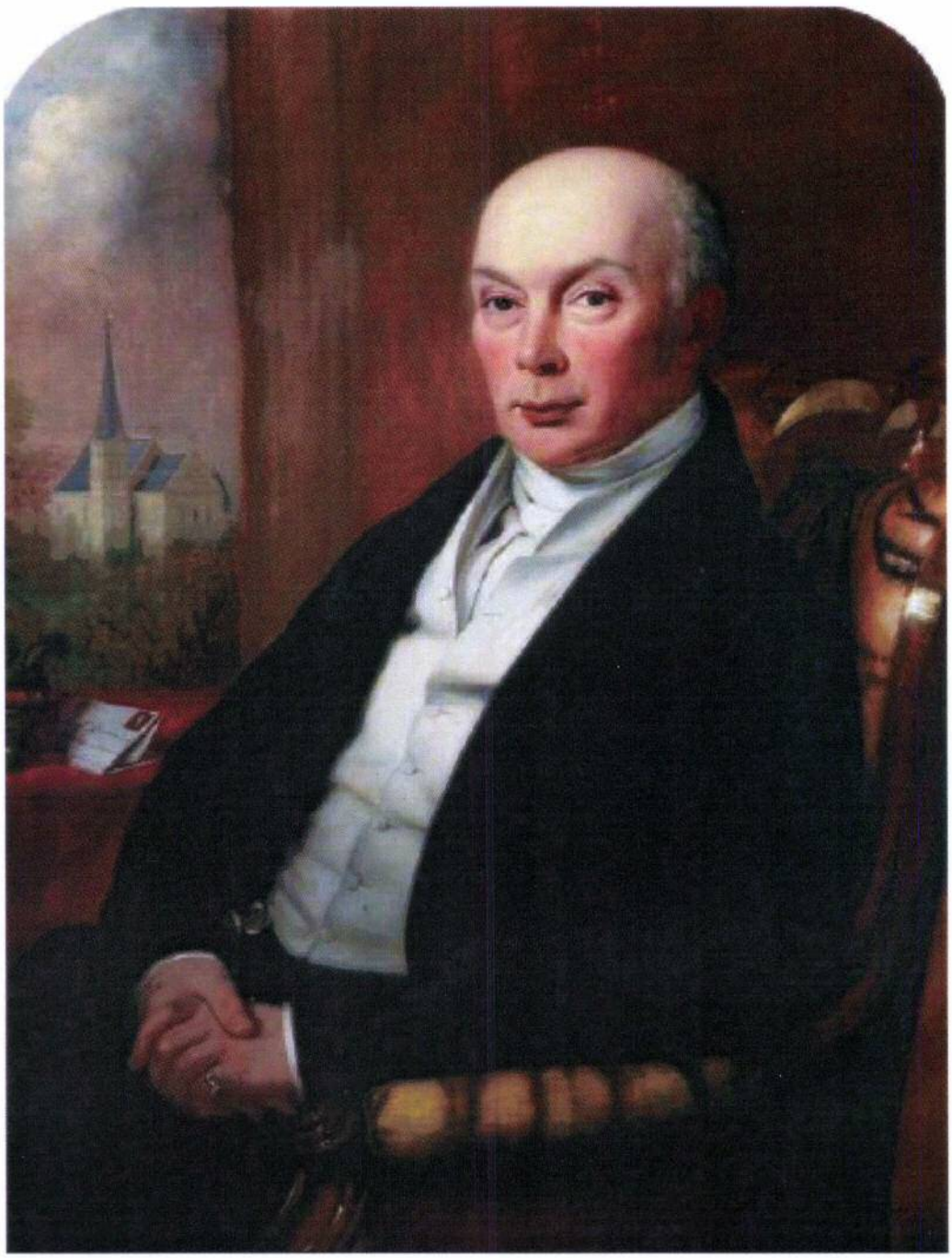
19. Harlaxton manor, Lincolnshire. © Richard Croft (http://www geograph org uk)



20. B.I., YM/MP/37 1850s. Details of plaque commemorating restoration. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York.

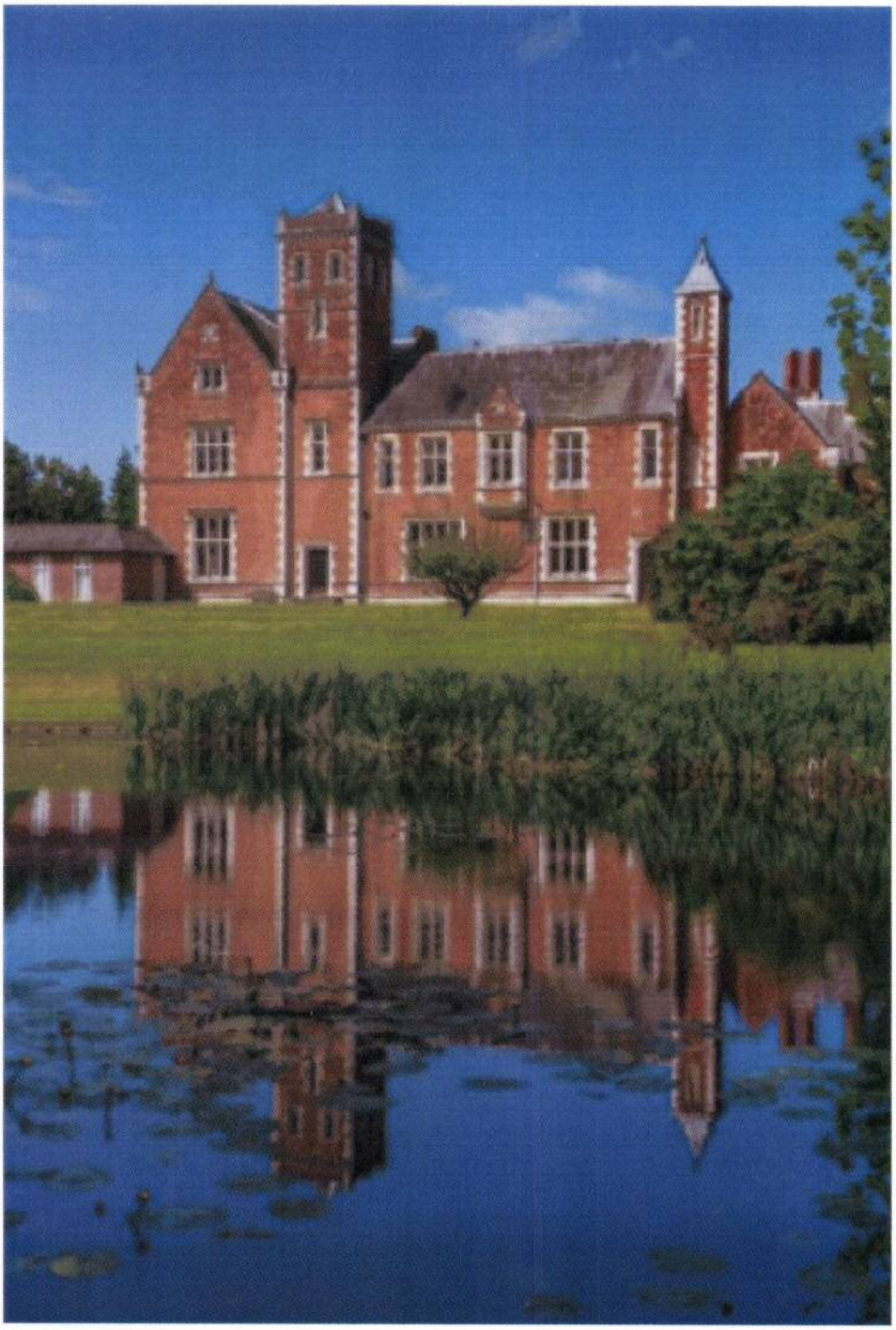
21. Heslington Hall, York. Inscription plaque hidden by modern extension.

22. Heslington Hall, York. East Front.



23. John Perret Harrison.*Yarburgh Graeme Esq. of Sewerby House, seated in a chair covered with tiger skin and claws.,* 1847. Oil on canvas, 112.5 x 101.6 cm. Sewerby Hall Museum and Collection

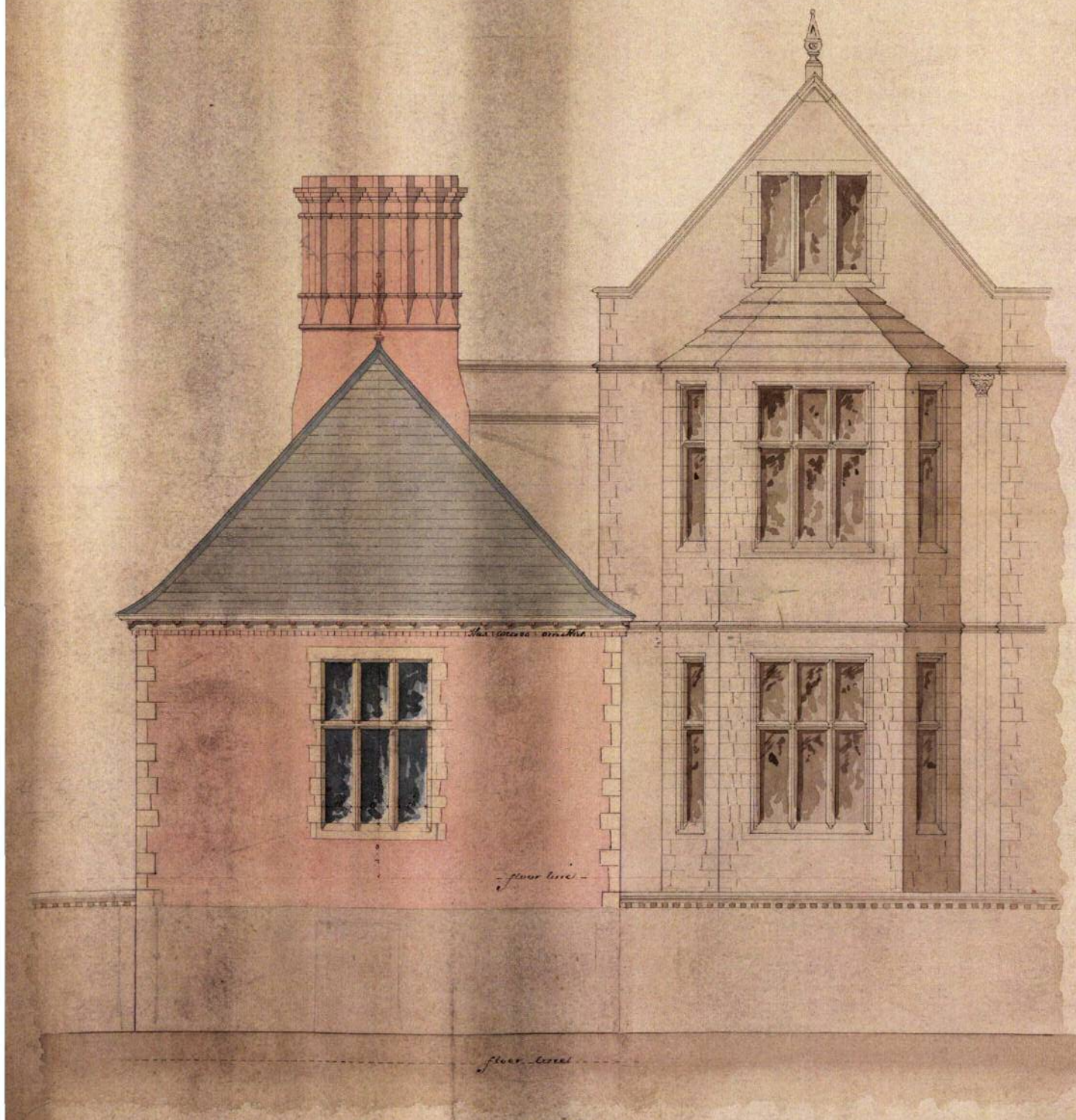
24. Philip Charles Hardwick. *Adare Manor*. © RIBA



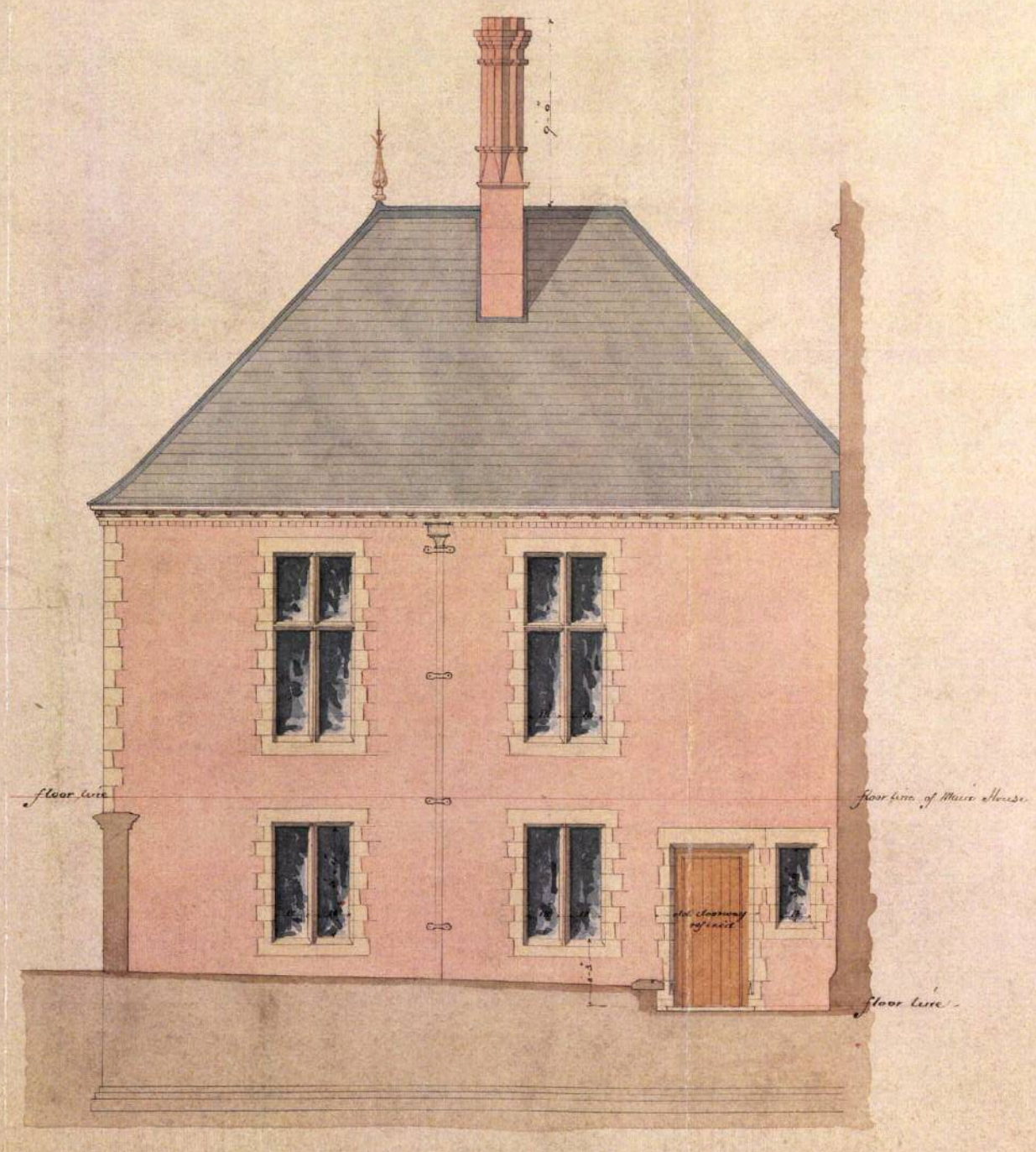
25. Thicket Priory.

26. B.I., AB/7/34/5. nd 1859: Heslington Hall, Heslington, York - Additions and alterations for G.J Yarburgh: elevation towards road and elevation towards court. J.B and W Atkinson. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York. (see first overleaf)
27. B.I., AB/7/34/6. nd 1859: Heslington Hall, Heslington, York - Additions and alterations for G.J Yarburgh: garden elevation and two sections of additions. J.B and W Atkinson. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York. (see second overleaf)
28. B.I., AB/7/34/7. nd 1859: Heslington Hall, Heslington, York - Additions and alterations for G.J Yarburgh: basement and ground plans. J.B and W Atkinson.. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York. (see third overleaf)
29. B.I., AB/7/34/2. nd 1910: Heslington Hall, Heslington, York plan of ground floor. Brierley. Reproduced from an original held at the Borthwick Institute, University of York. (see fourth overleaf)

— PROPOSED - ADDITIONS —
— TO - HESLINGTON - HALL —
— FOR - C - J - YARBOROUGH - ESQ —



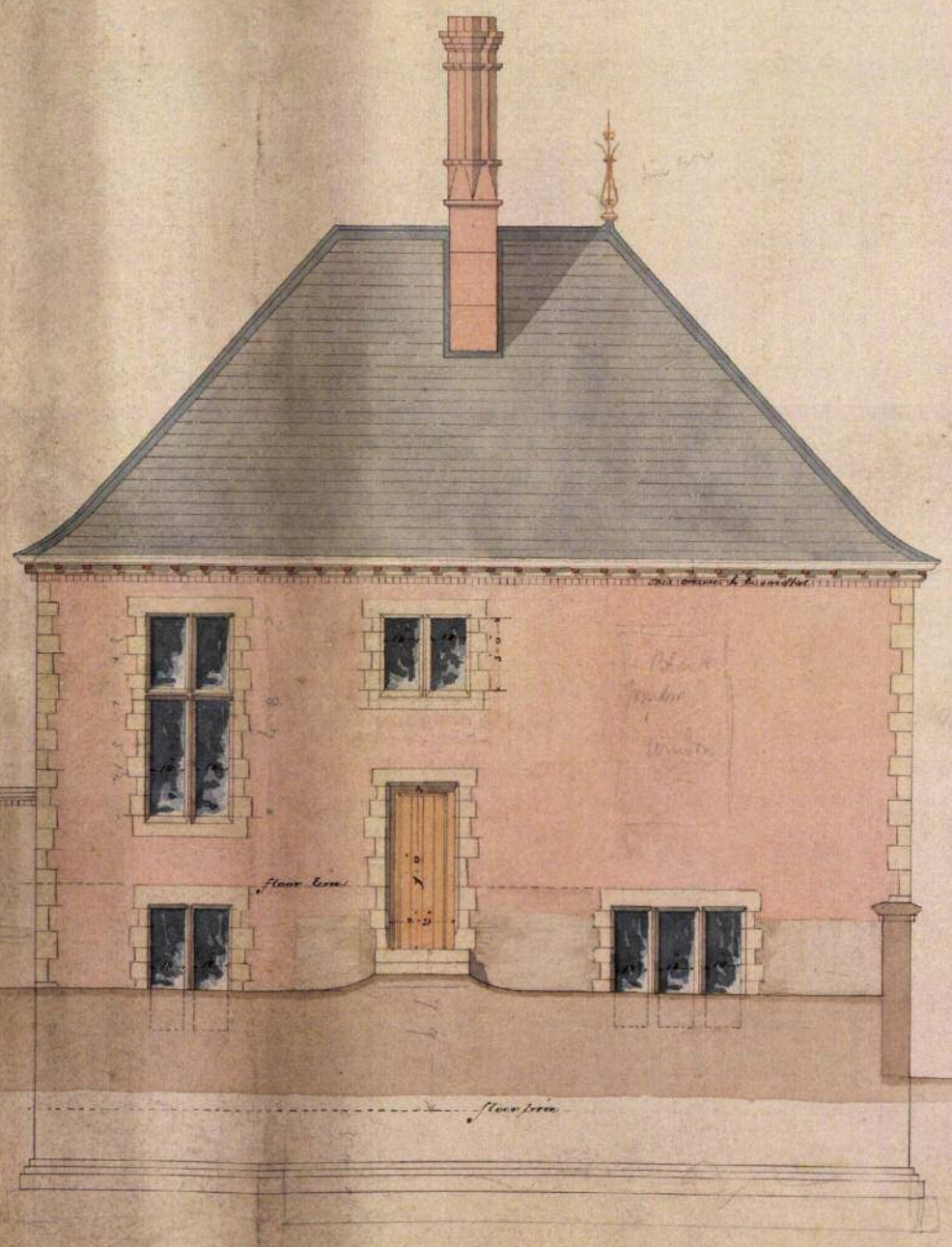
— ELEVATION - TOWARDS - ROAD —



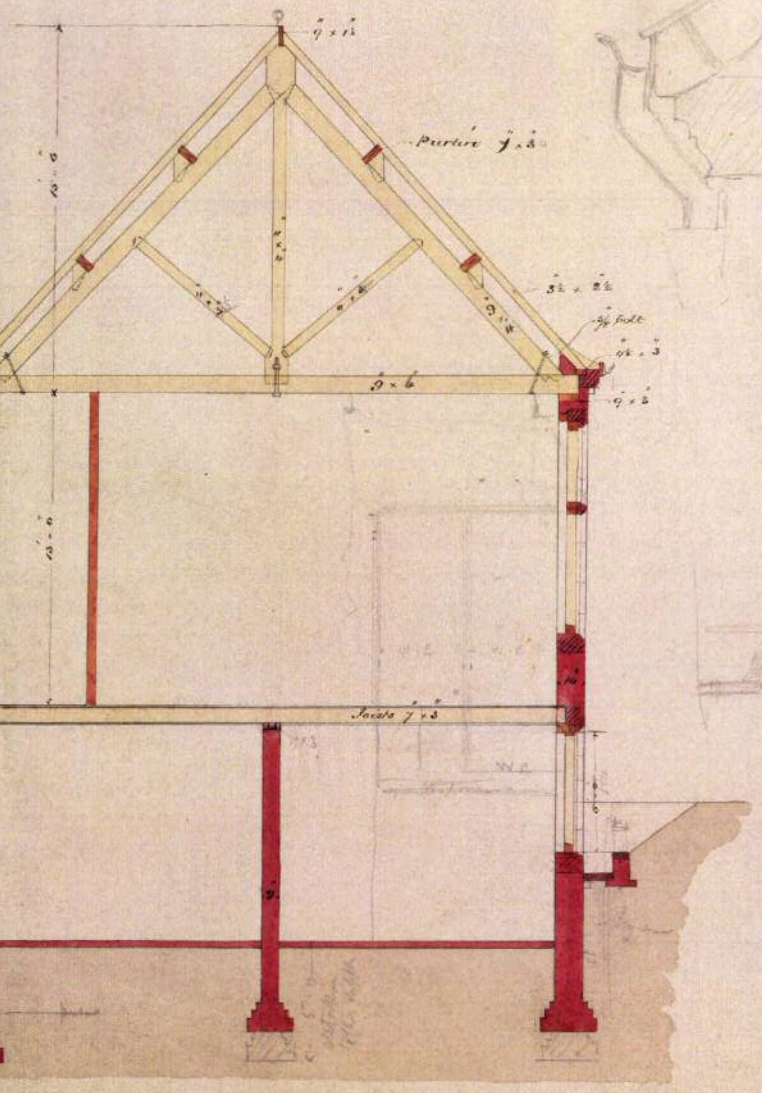
— ELEVATION - TOWARDS - COURT —

— Scale 4 feet to an Inch —

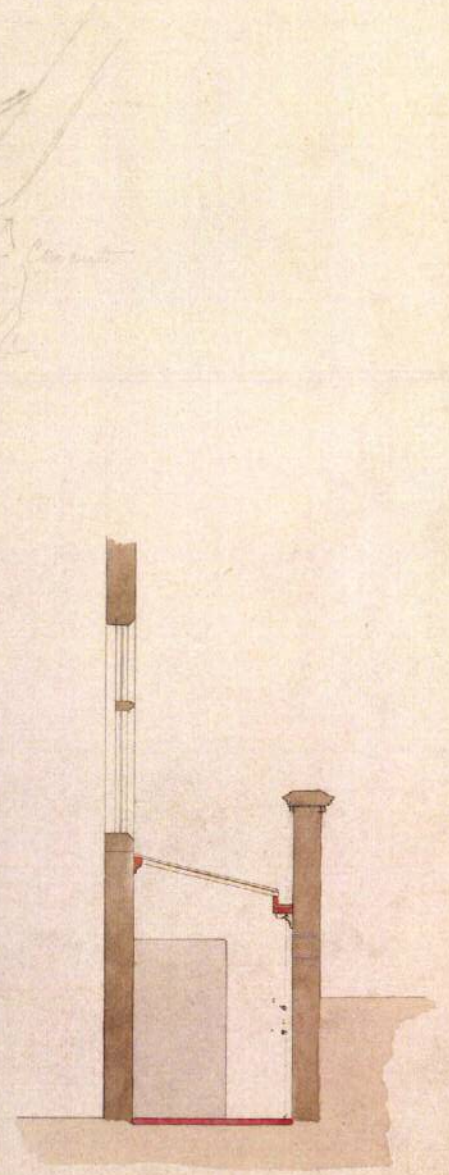
— PROPOSED · ADDITIONS —
— TO · HESLINGTON · HALL —
— FOR · G · J · YARBOROUGH · ESQ —



— GARDEN · ELEVATION —



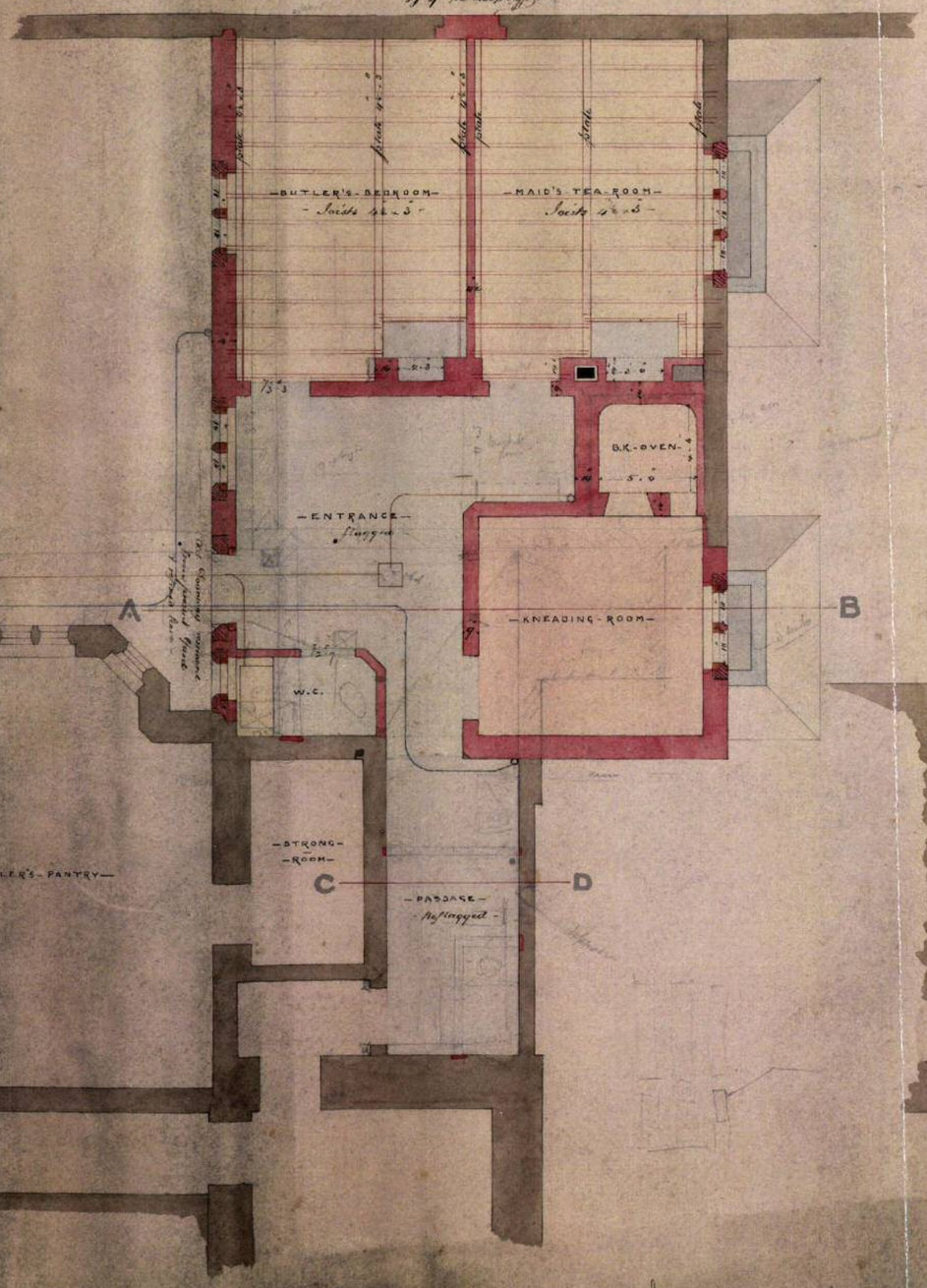
— SECTION · ON · LINE · A · B —

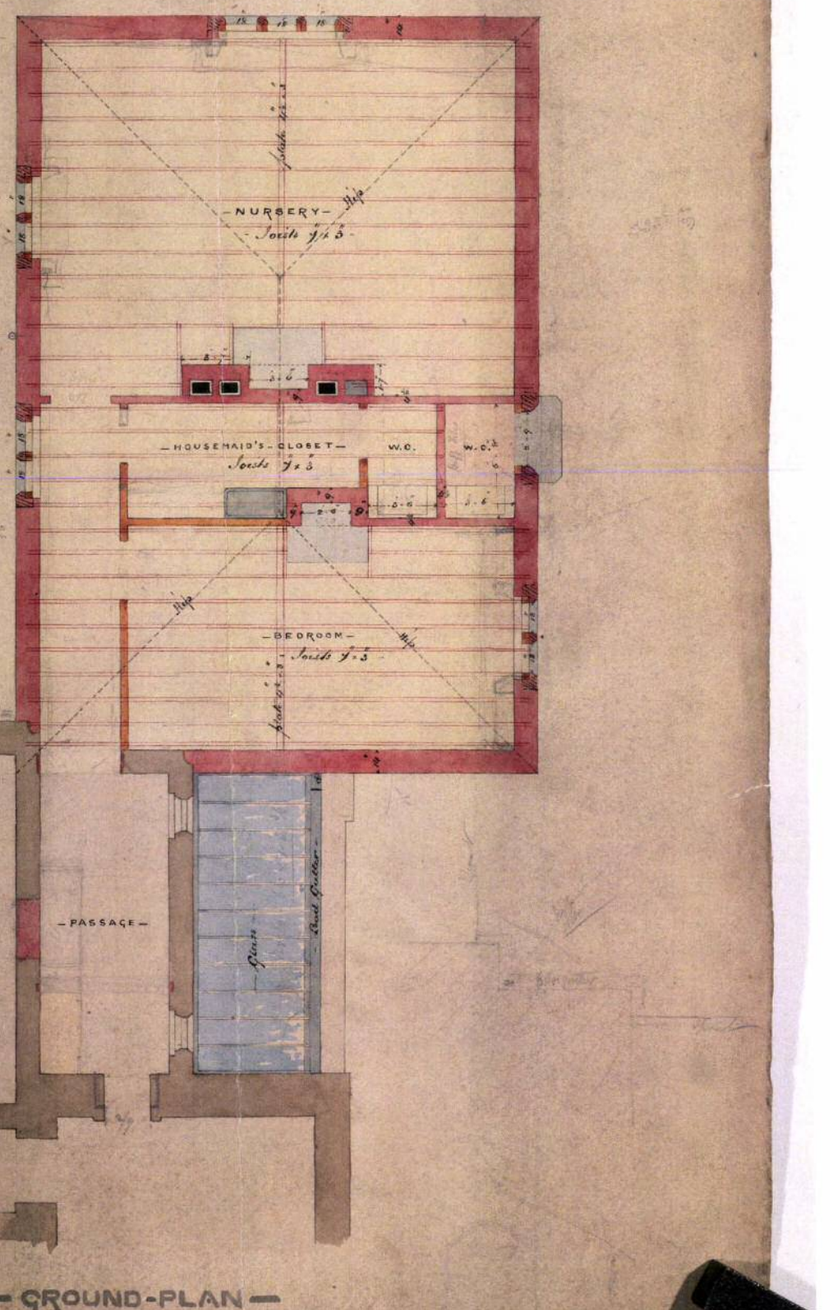


— SECTION · ON · LINE · C · D —

— Scale 4 feet to an Inch —

— PROPOSED - ADDITIONS —
— TO - HESLINGTON - HALL —
— FOR - C - J - YARBOROUGH - ESQ —





— Scale 1/4 feet to an inch —

HESLINGTON HALL YORKS

S. Hall.

SCHOOL ROOM

BED ROOM

DRESSING ROOM

BUSINESS ROOM

BEDROOM

BEDROOM

BEDROOM

BEDROOM

BEDROOM

BEDROOM

BOUDOIR

DINING ROOM

THE HALL

DRAWING ROOM

SMALL DRAWING ROOM

FORECOURT

BILLIARD ROOM

SMOKING ROOM

LAVY

GARDENERS HOUSE.

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60

WILFRID H. BRIGGS F.R.I.B.A.
LEEDS

30. Brodsworth Hall.