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THE DESIGNS FOR THE KNAVESMIRE GRANDSTAND, YORK

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On 7th December 1753, York Corporation granted a ninety-nine year lease and leave to erect a stand on the racecourse at Knavesmire Common.¹ The applicant's name is not recorded but the force behind the application was almost certainly the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham, among whose estate papers a survey of the Knavesmire, dated 1753, survives.² Rockingham, the owner of Wentworth Woodhouse and Yorkshire's foremost racing patron, headed a group of fellow enthusiasts and local citizens who were determined to raise the status of the racecourse and the politeness of the occasion. York was the pre-eminent racing venue in the north and its inhabitants were fully aware of the financial and social contribution the sport made to the city; the York historian Francis Drake acknowledged that it brought the city thousands of pounds in a single week each year.³ Writing in 1730, Simon Scrope, M.P. for Lincoln, painted a vivid picture of the city's principal attractions.

Tomorrow we set out for York . . . to join the great doings of the week, the like of which no town or city can compare with for gaiety, sports and company all of one mind. Every year there be more noble lords, gentle dames and commoners of high and low degree in York for the races, the cockings, assemblies, and meetings of horse-coursers and hunters.⁴

Racing was given a permanent home on the Knavesmire in 1730, when a course 'like a horseshoe' where 'the company in the midst and on the scaffolds can never lose sight of the horses' was laid out at the Corporation's expense.⁵ This claim was certainly over optimistic; the increasing numbers of spectators jostling to see the action would have had limited vision. York was also typical of public courses in the provision of secondary amusements – refreshment booths, cock and prize fighting and travelling players – which attracted all social classes. The races came to be viewed as a socially nebulous zone, where gentlemen were often indistinguishable from grooms.⁶ The need for a building which would provide accommodation and demarcation, by both entry and implied elevation is apparent.

Hitherto viewing platforms on racecourses had usually been temporary and always without architectural pretensions. The King's Stand at Newmarket, erected under Charles II, was a square, two-storey tower with an oblong window at the top (Fig. 1).⁷ It was related to viewing towers built by landowners in their parks, such as that at Wallasey in Cheshire, built by the 5th Earl of Derby in 1590.⁸ For a larger assembly, however, the hunting lodge, with services below and many-windowed rooms of parade on the first floor, was a more useful model.

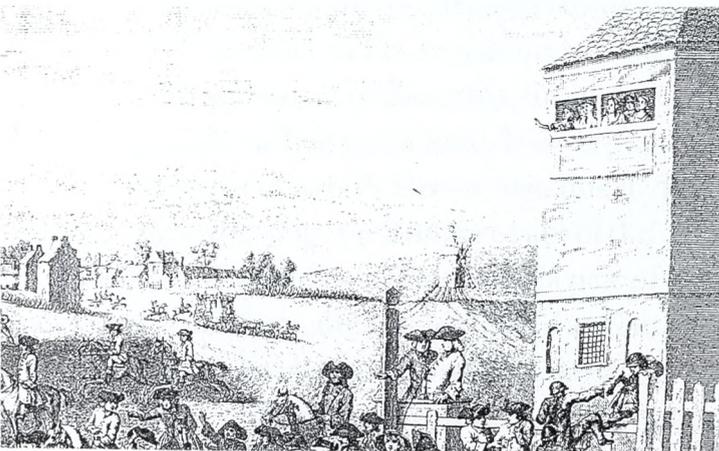


Figure 1. King's Stand, Newmarket. Detail from Bodger's plan of Newmarket Heath, 1787. *British Library*.

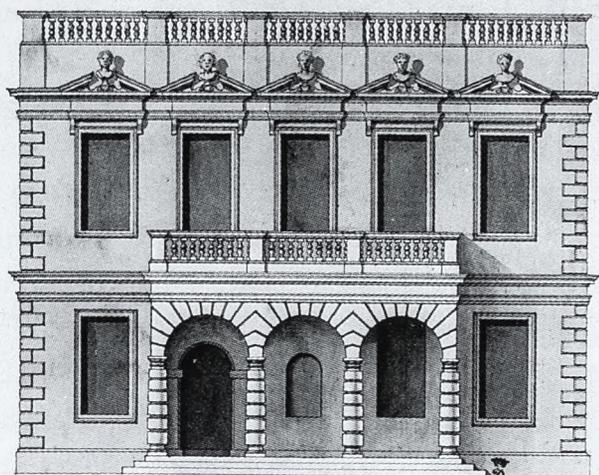


Figure 2. Henry Flitcroft, drawing of Lodge Park, Sherborne, Gloucestershire. RIBA Drawings Collection.

It is probable that one of these, Lodge Park, Sherborne, Gloucestershire, built by Sir John Dutton c.1634 (Figs. 2,3 and 4),⁹ was believed by Lord Burlington to have been the work of Inigo Jones, since he had a record made of it by Henry Flitcroft, who was in turn Lord Rockingham's own architect.¹⁰ This may therefore, have been the example before Rockingham and his fellow leaseholders when they solicited designs for the stand on the Knavesmire, and the architects who responded were to develop it further. While retaining many traditional domestic features, such as a hall with screens passage and stair leading off its high end, Lodge Park has a single room the full width of the building on its first floor and a flat balustraded roof, evidently intended as another viewing platform. The latter features are also to be found in all the surviving designs for the Knavesmire stand. They developed this formula by the addition of one-storey viewing platforms on the

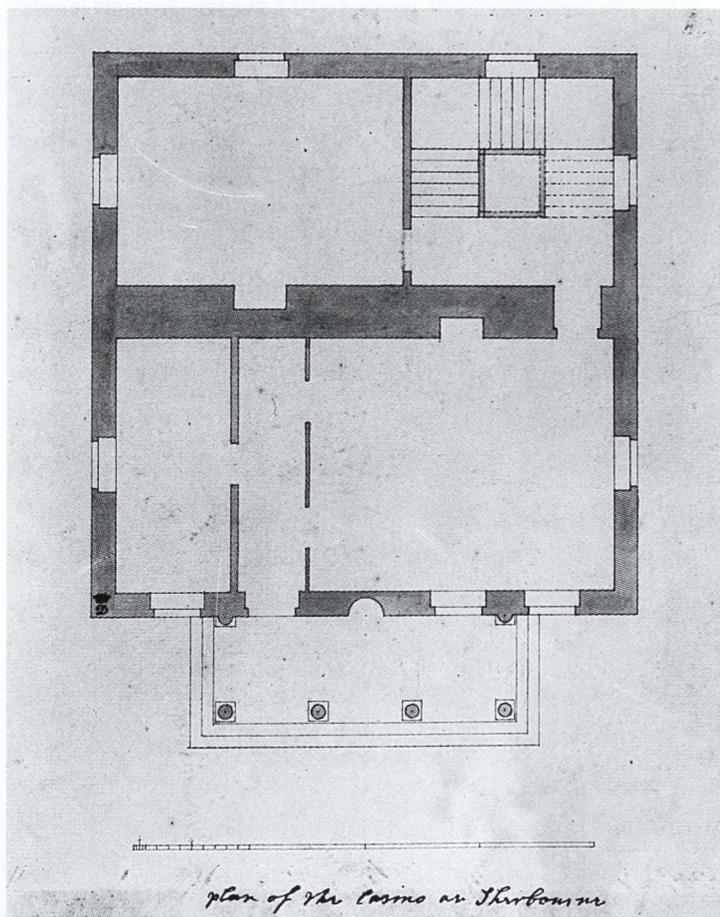


Figure 3. Henry Flitcroft, drawing of ground floor plan, Lodge Park, Sherborne, Gloucestershire. RIBA Drawings Collection.

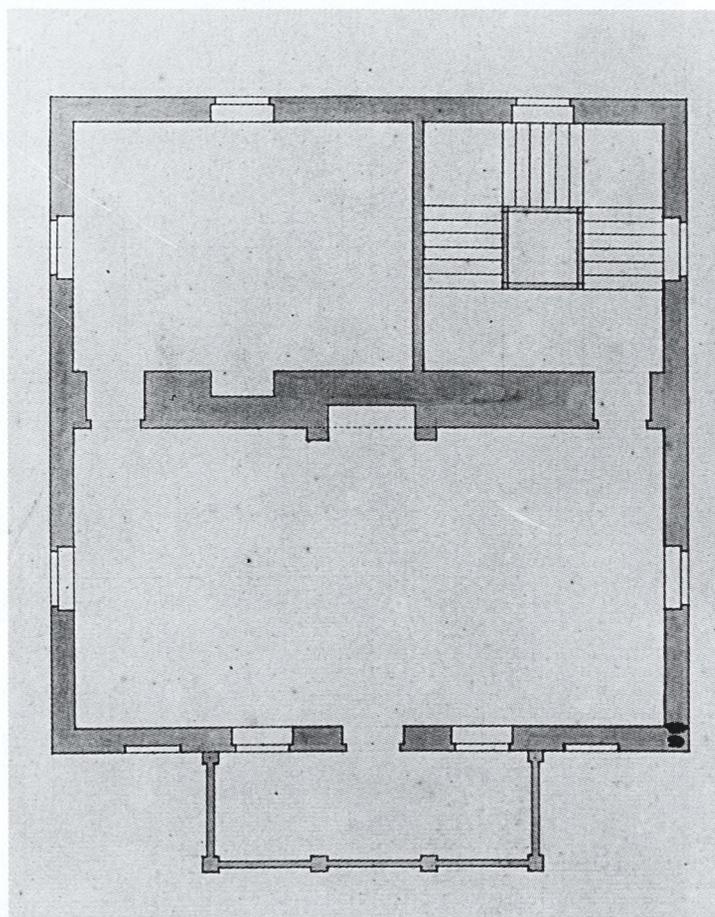
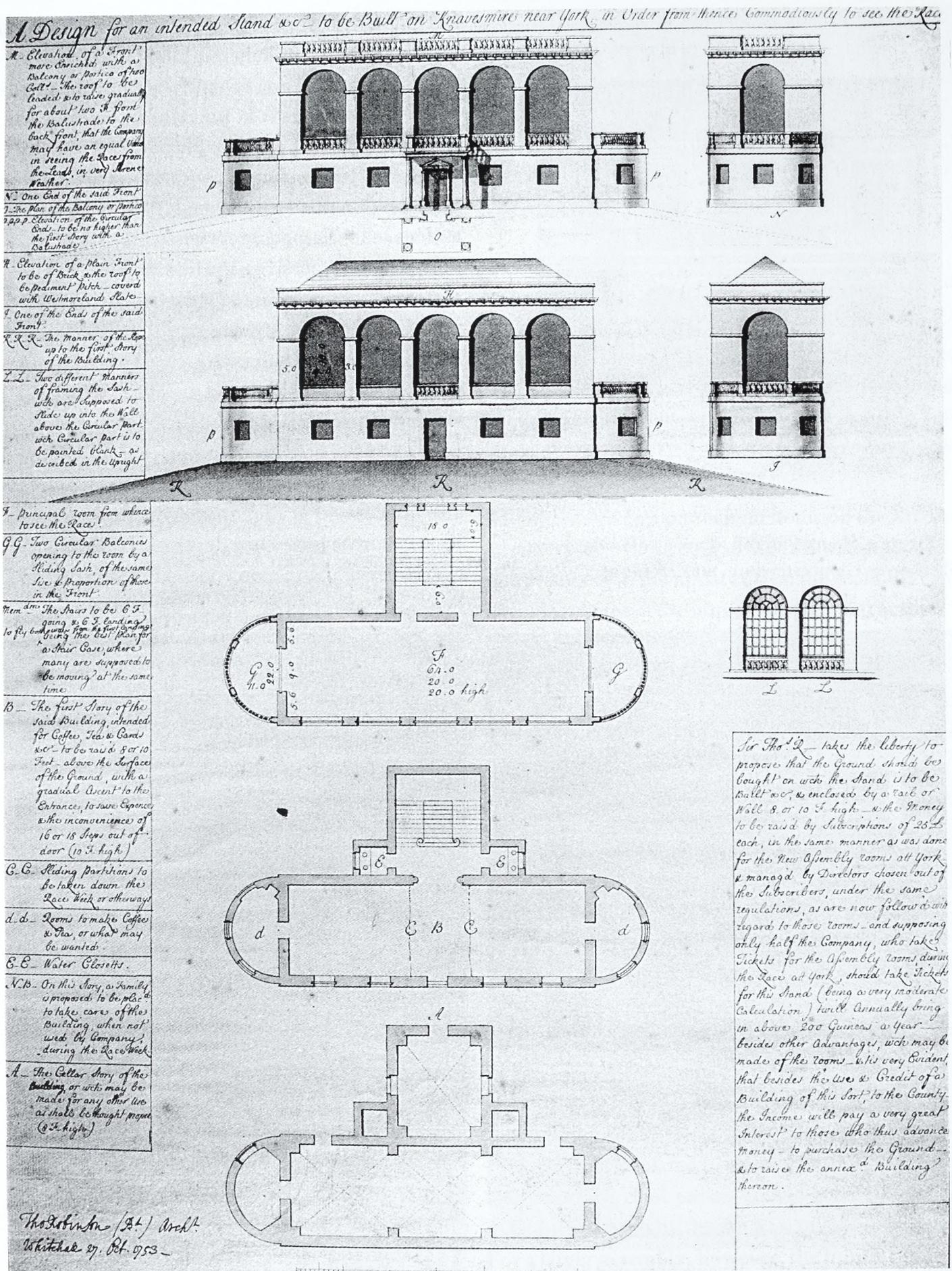


Figure 4. Henry Flitcroft, drawing of first floor plan, Lodge Park, Sherborne, Gloucestershire. RIBA Drawings Collection.



side elevations, and by taking the stairs out of the main volume and placing them in rear extensions, to make more space available in the room of parade. All three surviving designs propose stairs of imperial type, a form which was not unprecedented, but still rare.¹¹ Two of the surviving designs also increase the glazed area in this room, one of them (James Paine's) greatly; but neither of these designs was chosen.

Four architects, Sir Thomas Robinson, Robert Dingley, James Paine and John Carr, submitted designs. Robert Dingley was a London-based Russia merchant, who was married to a daughter of Henry Thompson of Kirby Hall in the West Riding;¹² his design does not survive. Dingley was an amateur architect, and there is no reason to doubt the basis of his claim, in a letter of 16 November 1754 to John Grimston of Kilnwick, in the East Riding, that 'Ld Marquis of Rockingham at last approved of my plan for the stand on the course at York with some alteration proposed by Mr Carr in the Salloon [*sic*] it goes on a pace.'¹³ However, he is not mentioned in the surviving accounts in Rockingham's papers, and it is probable that he exaggerated his responsibility. Sir Thomas Robinson of Rokeby Park, Yorkshire, was also an amateur architect and additionally a longstanding patron of the races.¹⁴ He submitted a *Design for an Intended Stand &c. to be built on the Knavesmire near York from thence Commodiously to view the Races*, signed and dated 27 October 1753 (Fig. 5).¹⁵ The date, nearly five weeks before the grant of the lease, suggests that Robinson's design may have been included as part of the submission to impress upon the city the nature of the intended project. Rival proposals by James Paine and John Carr were produced in 1754, several months after Robinson's and after the Corporation's grant of a lease. What cannot be determined is whether Carr and Paine had previous access to Robinson's design. The two identical drawings which Robinson made have remained the property of the York Race Committee and it is tempting to entertain the possibility that the others'

designs responded to his.¹⁶ All four architects had the opportunity to develop a new type of building which, with the exception of the rather elementary King's Stand at Newmarket, had not previously had a permanent physical form.

Robinson's perception of the status of the stand is made clear. He drew the Corporation's attention to 'the credit of a Building of this Sort to the County', comparing its finance, direction and clientèle to the new Assembly Rooms.¹⁷ He was evidently keen to associate the races with an equally novel building whose attraction of distinguished patronage had been proved. Robinson's proposal comprises a single sheet of plans, elevations and text. His design shows a five-bay, two-storey block with slightly recessed single-storey apse-ended extensions supporting balconies, and an oblong stair projection to the rear. The internal plan provided cellar space, ground floor rooms 'intended for Coffee, Tea & Cards &c.', closets and a grand staircase rising to the first floor.¹⁸ The principal room covered the whole of the first floor and gave access to the roofs of the semi-circular extensions. The glazing of the five huge windows evidently presented a novel problem; Robinson proposed sashes which rose into a wall cavity. He drew both a hipped slate roof and a flat leaded roof as alternatives, and left their relative merits to the discernment of the commissioners. He recommended the hipped roof as a fitting counterpart to his plainer facade design, whilst the flat roof, intended for use as a viewing platform in 'serene weather' was the culmination of his 'more enriched' elevation.¹⁹ The latter offered the more commanding facade and the more versatile approach. He indicated that the roof's surface should have a gentle gradient and rise by two feet from front to rear, so 'the company may have an equal View in seeing the Races'.²⁰ Robinson also specified that the ground floor should be 'rais'd 8 or 10 Feet above the Ground, with a Gradual Ascent to the Entrance, to save Expence & the inconveniences of 16 or 18 steps out of doors (10f high).'²¹ It is perhaps surprising that Robinson's design does not

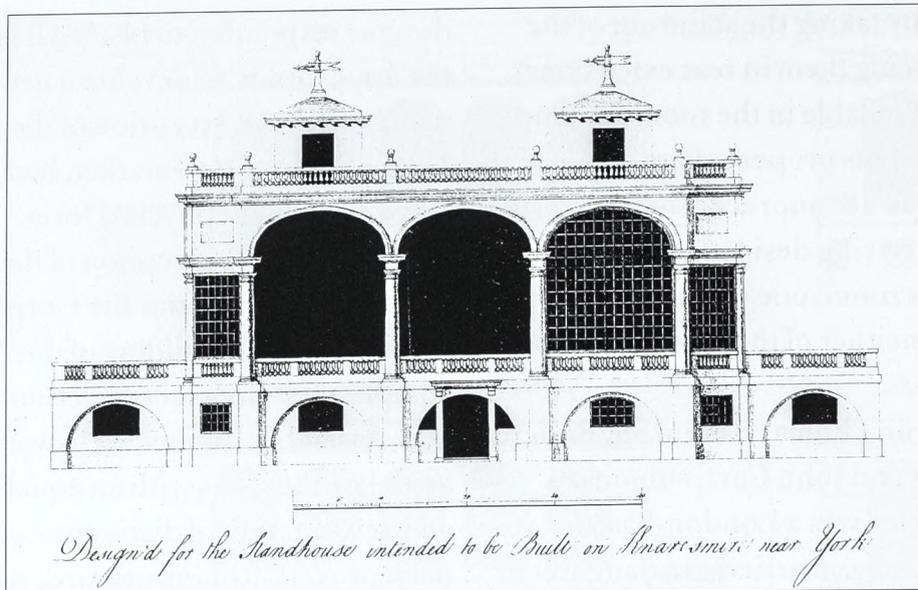


Figure 6. James Paine, Proposed elevation for the Knavesmire stand, 1754 (first scheme). *Sheffield Archives.*

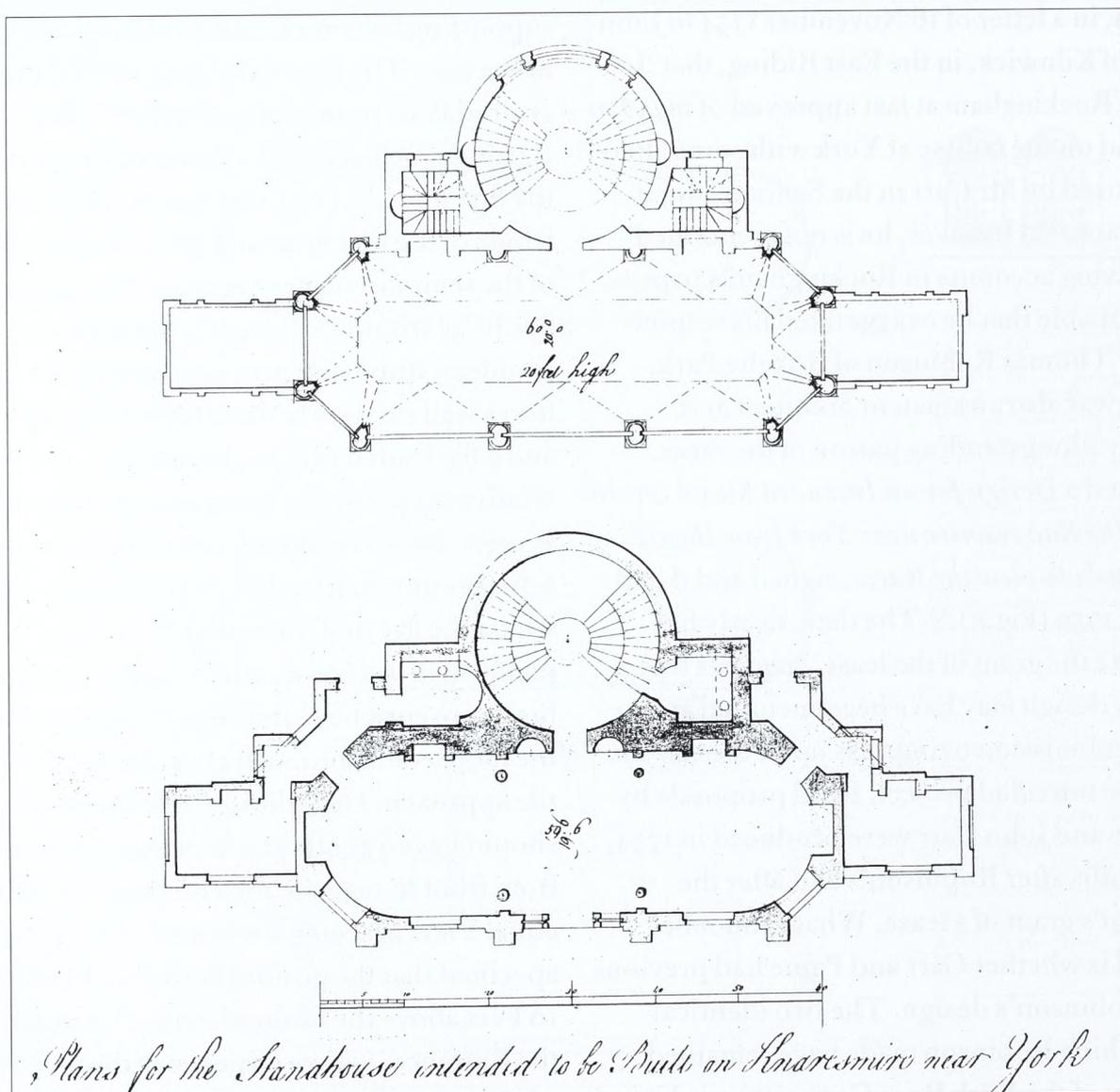


Figure 7. James Paine, Proposed ground and first floor plans for the Knavesmire stand, 1754 (first scheme). *Sheffield Archives.*



Figure 8. James Paine, Proposed elevation of the Knavesmire stand, 1754 (second scheme). *Sheffield Archives.*

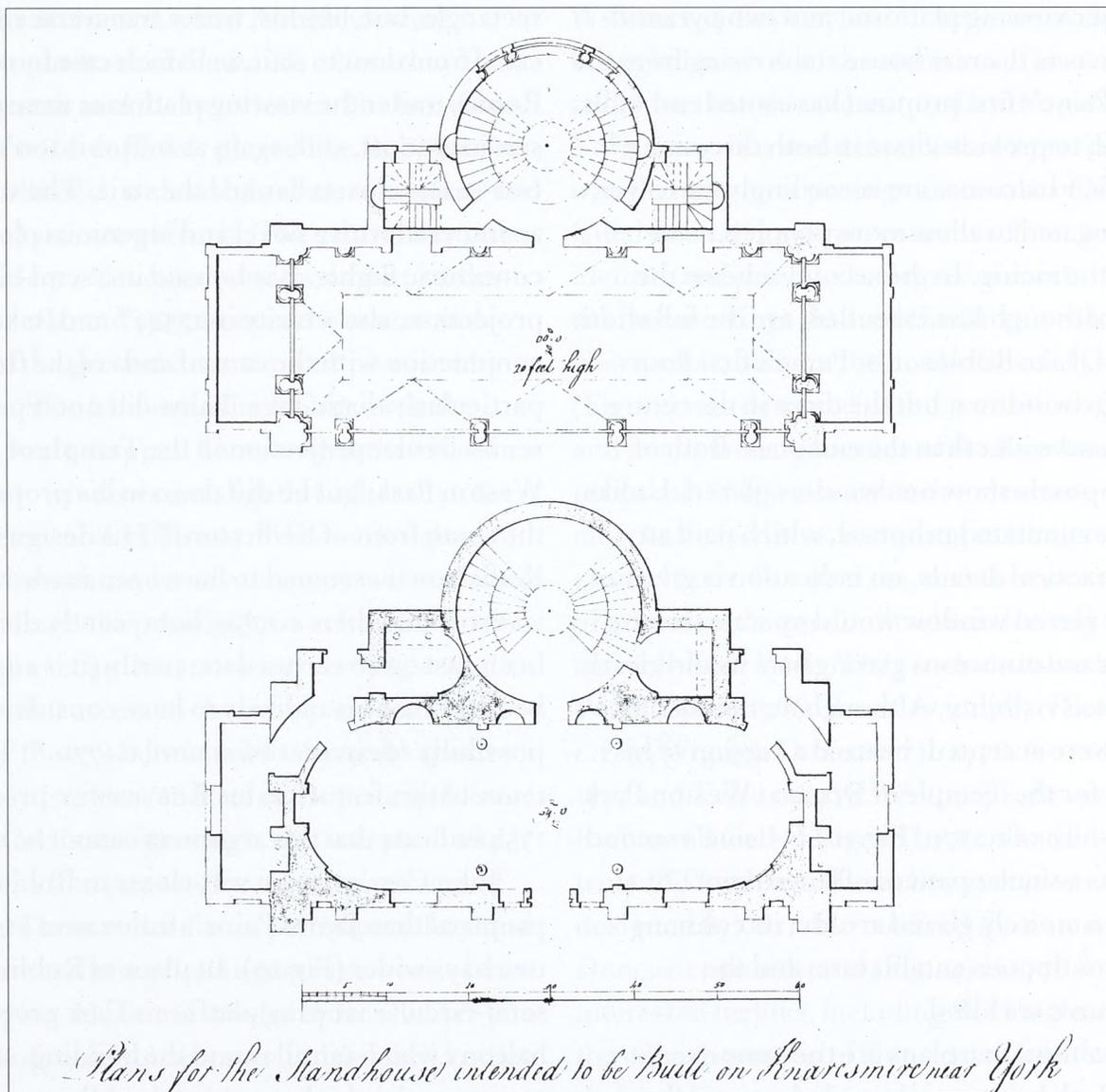


Figure 9. James Paine, Proposed ground and first floor plans for the Knavesmire stand, 1754 (second scheme). *Sheffield Archives.*

draw more closely on an ancient Roman source, given that he modelled the park at Rokeby on the hippodrome at Pliny's villa at Tuscum.²²

James Paine's design survives, among the papers of the Marquess of Rockingham.²³ Paine had a number of south Yorkshire patrons, but the Marquess was not among them, and he presumably sent him a prospectus in hope of his support (Figs. 6, 7, 8 and 9). It also illustrates two alternative proposals. Both have a basement storey with relieving arches, extended at each end like Robinson's, to provide viewing platforms, and a piano nobile which is even more extensively glazed than Robinson's. In both alternatives the first floor consists of a three-bay arcade of widely spaced Tuscan columns taking basket arches. The roofs are flat and balustraded to form another viewing platform, and two pyramid-roofed turrets at the rear house stairs rising from the first floor. Paine's first proposal has canted end walls, fully glazed, to provide views in both directions.²⁴ The first floor balconies are accordingly narrower, but are elongated to allow more people a head-on view of the racing. In the second scheme the balconies, although less extended, are the full width of the stand. Like Robinson's, Paine's first floor has five large windows, but the three in the centre are higher and wider than the end ones. Both of Paine's proposals show one window glazed. Unlike Robinson's annotated proposal, which paid attention to practical details, no indication is given as to how this glazed window would operate, for the small panes and numerous glazing bars would clearly have restricted visibility. Although neither of Paine's proposals were accepted, he used a version of his first design for the Temple of Diana at Weston Park in Staffordshire of c.1770 (Fig.10).²⁵ Paine's second proposal has a similar pattern of fenestration, but instead of an entirely glazed arcade, its columns support a continuous entablature, and the *tympana* above are blind.

Paine's alternative plans are the same except in details. Both have an apse-ended ground floor room, with different arrangements of niches in the

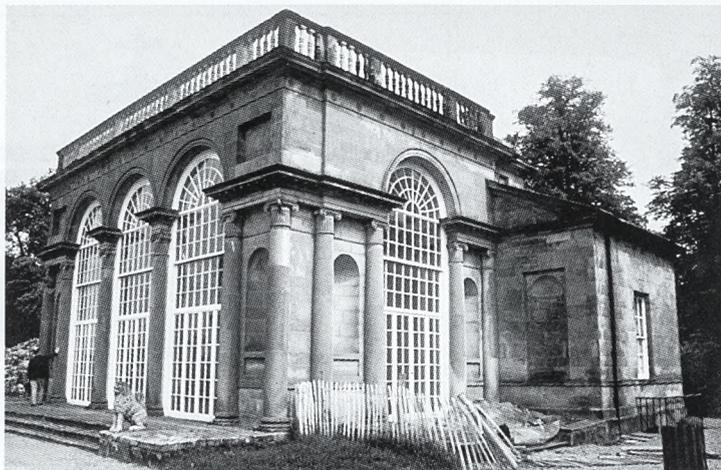


Figure 10. James Paine, Temple of Diana, Weston Park, Staffordshire, c. 1770, in 1996. *The Georgian Group*.

walls, more ornamental than Robinson's plain rectangle, but, like his, with a transverse route indicated from door to stair, in Paine's case by columns.²⁶ Rooms under the viewing platforms were probably service rooms, and, again as in Robinson's plan, two-seater closets flanked the stair. The stair is an imperial with a novel and ingenious plan of concentric flights. It is housed in a semi-circular projection, also a rarity in 1754,²⁷ and, taken in conjunction with the canted ends of the first floor, particularly distinctive. Paine did not repeat the semi-circular projection in the Temple of Diana at Weston Park; but he did do so in his proposal for the south front of Kedleston.²⁸ His design for Kedleston is assumed to have been made when he was working there c.1759; but recently doubt has been cast on so early a date, partly (it is suggested) because Paine is unlikely to have considered the possibility of circular bays until c.1770.²⁹ The existence of this feature in his Knavesmire proposals in 1754 indicate that this argument cannot be sustained.

John Carr's design was closer to Robinson's proposal than James Paine's innovative essay, but two bays wider (Fig.10). In place of Robinson's semi-circular viewing platforms Carr proposed a balcony which ran all round the building, supported on an arcade which repeated the taller arcade on the first floor. Carr removed the two service rooms

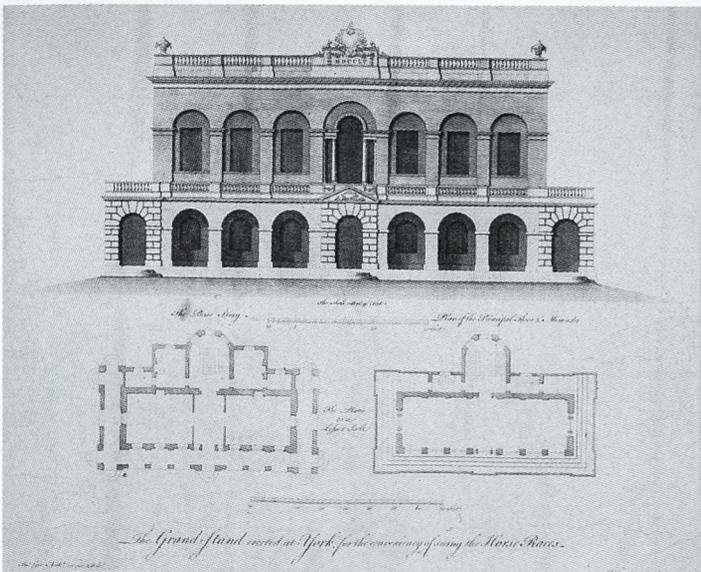


Figure 11. John Carr, design for Knavesmire Stand, 1754: engraving by Fourdrinier, 1755. *Lincolnshire Archives*.

found under Robinson's and Paine's viewing platforms to the back of the stand, where they flanked the stair and the two closets. His first-floor arcade was not completely glazed like Robinson's, but partly blinded, with sashes of more modest (and practicable) size set within it. The central bay was emphasised by a Venetian window within a taller and wider arch, and entrances in the centre and end bays of the ground floor were emphasised by rustication. The balcony, which Carr termed a 'miranda', had a stepped floor, so that the sills of the first floor windows are slightly higher than the balustrade rail of the balcony.³⁰ It was designed to give spectators the most advantageous view of the racing and freed the principal room from its dual role as both a reception room and viewing area. It also meant that ascent to the roofspace could be avoided by those who wished to enjoy the sport from the more select confines of the principal floor.

It was Carr's design which was accepted, and it welcomed its first patrons for the August races of 1756.³¹ Sir Thomas Robinson patronised the stand as a subscriber during the August race week of the following year. He found it to be a place 'where you meet most of your Acquaintance, is [*sic*] well Ladies as Gentlemen, and may without venturing any Better see every Step the Horses take',³² and he

magnanimously declared the stand to be 'a very convenient Building for the purpose it was designed for. The room is spacious and large, and has beneath a very-good Coffee house . . .'³³ Robinson himself displayed little interest in the actual racing and appears to have been present to indulge his taste for society rather than sport.³⁴

The grandstand became synonymous of the meeting and symbolic of it; each subscriber was issued with a transferable silver token engraved with his name and an impression of the stand. The initial list of subscribers ranged from dukes to prominent local tradesmen.³⁵ Carr capitalised on his stand's success with the publication in 1755 of an engraving by Fourdrinier of his design drawings³⁶ (Fig. 11) and of a perspective by his assistant William Lindley c.1760.³⁷ These are likely to have brought his work to the attention of an even wider audience than that constituted by the patrons of York races. His stand established a precedent in a way that the more prestigious course of Newmarket failed to do. It gave racecourse architecture a formal identity and provided a degree of comfort unknown at other meetings. Indeed the Duke's Stand at Newmarket, built c. 1760 for the Duke of Cumberland (Fig. 12) was designed without classical ornament and in apparent ignorance of the Knavesmire proposals.³⁸ It was a utilitarian structure with the most basic facilities, including stabling on the ground floor. But over the next thirty years a series of grandstands were built which derived their form and role from York. They include those built at Wothorpe in 1766, Beverley in 1767, Richmond c.1775 (Fig.13), Doncaster in 1776, Nottingham in 1777 and Kelso in 1778. Wothorpe, Beverley and Richmond were designed by unidentified architects.³⁹ The three others, however, were certainly designed by Carr. He received the commission for Doncaster grandstand (Fig.14) in 1776 from a trio of interested turfites, including Rockingham, who had the official sanction of Doncaster Corporation and their agreement to meet the costs incurred.⁴⁰ Carr's Doncaster stand surpassed his design for York in

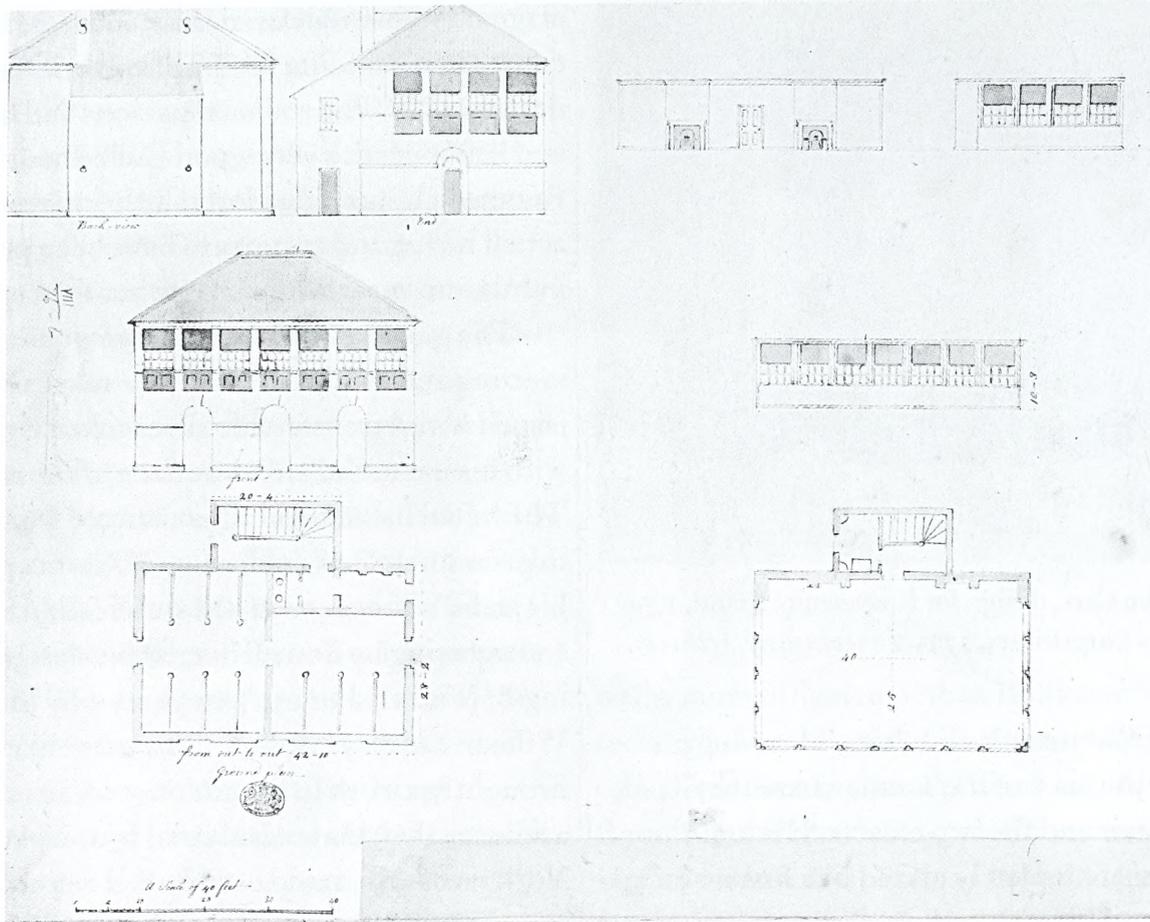


Figure 12. Design for the Duke's Stand, Newmarket, c. 1760. *British Library*.

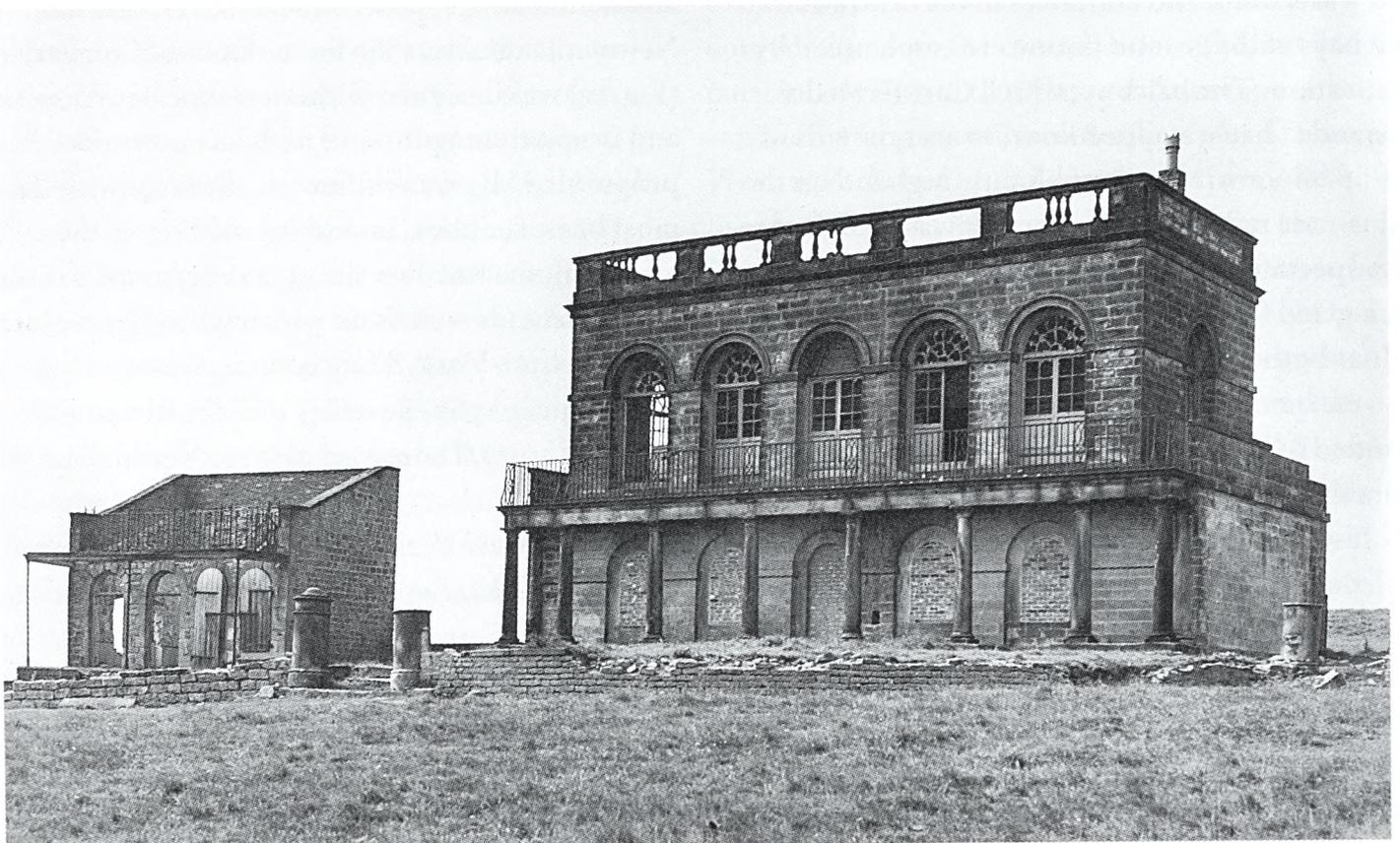


Figure 13. Richmond Grandstand, c. 1775, in the 1940s. *The Georgian Group*.

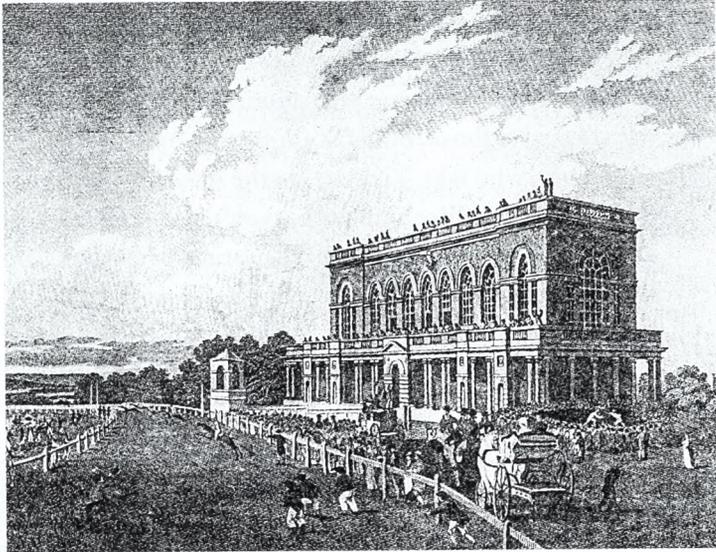
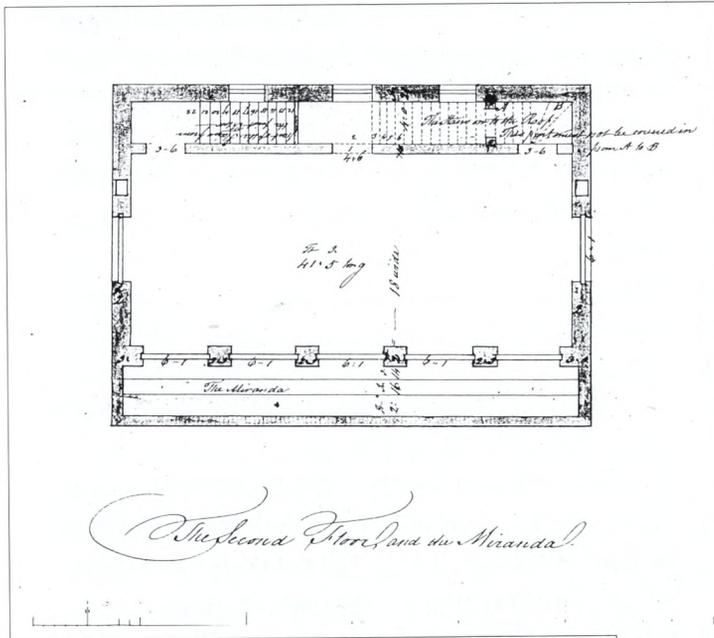


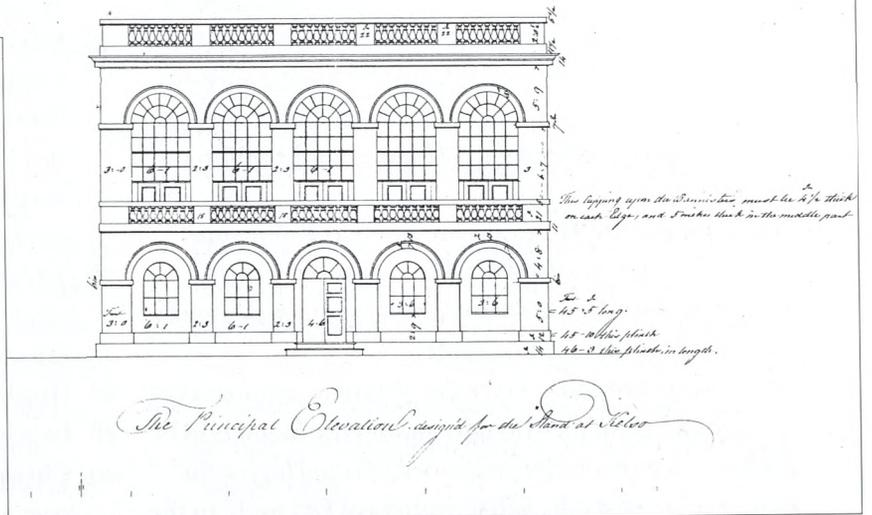
Figure 14. John Carr, Doncaster Grandstand, 1777–81: engraving in E. Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity*, 1804. British Library.

both size and elegance. The York stand was over twenty years old by this time, and its architect hailed as the foremost practitioner in the north, a mantle he had inherited from Paine. Rockingham’s choice of Carr was decisive and apparently unquestioned; he no longer had to fend off the competition of other noted architects. Carr was also employed by the subscribers of Nottingham racecourse to furnish them with a design for a stand, built in 1777.⁴² Nottingham’s stand was an exact copy of York’s.⁴³ In 1778 Carr made designs, at the request of the 4th Lord Minto, for Kelso, which were not executed. Surviving plans illustrate his second proposal (Fig. 15), which his accompanying correspondence records is ‘on a more Simple & less expensive Idea than that which I first made.’⁴⁴ The chief economy which Carr proposed was the inclusion of the stair in the main body of the building. This variant is achieved without demeaning the form and illustrates the adaptable nature of his prototype. A second economy was the use of tarred paper as a roof covering.⁴⁵ The stand at York remained a fashionable and functional building however, and the seminal example of its type, as the later derivations demonstrate.



The Second Floor and the Alcove

Figure 15. John Carr, proposal for a stand at Kelso, 1778. National Library of Scotland.



The Principal Elevation designed for the Stand at Kelso

NOTES

- 1 York, City of York Archives, City House Book, B43/432.
- 2 Sheffield, Sheffield Central Libraries, WWM, Survey of the Knavesmire, 1753.
- 3 Francis Drake, *Eboracum: Or the History and Antiquities of the City of York*, York, 1736, 241.
- 4 Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, Oxford, 1989, 192. For an examination of racing's growth from pastime to industry, see Borsay.
- 5 Drake, *loc. cit.*.
- 6 Contemporary concerns were voiced. George II's Act of 1740 had sought 'to restrain and prevent the excessive increase of horseraces' on the grounds that they contributed very much to the 'encouragement of idleness' and 'to the impoverishment of many of the meaner sort of subjects of this kingdom' [Borsay, *loc. cit.*].
- 7 The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Cambridgeshire*, v, London, 1973, 280; London, British Library, Map Library, King's Top. 8.72, Bodger's Plan of Newmarket Heath, 1787.
- 8 Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard, *Cheshire*, Harmondsworth, 1971, 372–3. What remains of this structure now forms part of Leasowe Castle.
- 9 Nicholas Kingsley, *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire*, 1, Cheltenham, 1989, 155–58. I am grateful to Dr Jennifer Freeman for initially drawing this to my attention.
- 10 London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Burlington-Devonshire Collection, Q5/IV/9/1–3.
- 11 Richard Hewlings advises me that there are thirteen known examples of imperial stairs, beginning with Danvers House, Chelsea (c.1623) [John Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle*, London, 1990, 37, fig.20], prior to their use in the Knavesmire stand.
- 12 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 304–5.
- 13 Beverley, East Yorkshire Record Office, DDGR 42/4 (109).
- 14 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 830. Robinson appears among a list of Stake money subscribers at York in 1722–5 [J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, *Northern Turf History*, III, London, no date, 28].
- 15 York, York Racing Museum, Sir Thomas Robinson, *A Design for an Intended Stand & c. to be built on the Knavesmire near York in Order from thence Commodiously to view the Races*. Robinson wrote:
Sir Thomas Robinson takes the liberty to propose that the Ground shou'd be bought on wch the Stand is to be Built &c. – & enclosed by a rail or wall 8 or 10ft high & the money to be raised by subscriptions of £25 each, in the same manner as was done, for the New Assembly Rooms att York, & managed by Directors chosen out of Subscribers, under the same regulation, as are now follow'd with regard to those rooms & supposing only half the Company, who take Ticketts for the Assembly Rooms, during the Race Week att York, shou'd take Ticketts for this Stand (being a very moderate Calculation) twill Annually bring in above 200 Guineas a year – besides other advantages wch may be made of the rooms & tis very Evident, that besides the use & credit of a Building of this Sort to the County – the income will pay a very great interest to those who thus advance money to purchase the Ground – & to raise the annex'd building thereon.
- 16 The architects involved in the commission of the York stand could have been introduced to Flitcroft's renditions of Lodge Park by Lord Burlington, or the Marquess of Rockingham, Flitcroft's employer at Wentworth Woodhouse. Viewed in this context, the submitted designs constitute the architects' responses to a specialised commission, which they believed had previously been articulated by Inigo Jones. In the light of this, the development of the grandstand form from the mid eighteenth century onwards, may be considered in relation to the Jonesian tradition it sought to both perpetuate and imbue with contemporary resonance.
- 17 York, York Racing Museum, *cit.*.
- 18 *Idem.*
- 19 *Idem.*
- 20 *Idem.*
- 21 *Idem.*
- 22 Giles Worsley, 'Rokeby Park, Yorkshire – I', *Country Life*, CLXXXI, March 19 1987, 74.
- 23 Sheffield, Sheffield Central Library, WWM MP 35 a–d.
- 24 Paine's choice of canted ends was also fashionable. See Richard Hewlings, 'Leoni's drawings for 22 Arlington Street', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 1992, 25.
- 25 Peter Leach, *James Paine*, London, 1988, 122. The windows above the glazed doors of the Temple resemble Paine's proposals for York. Their fanlights are fixed and their lower parts are sashed. This arrangement may have been what Paine proposed in his first design for the Knavesmire stand.
- 26 The dimensions of this room closely correspond to the equivalent space in Sir Thomas Robinson's design; they have the same 20ft width and height but are 4ft less in length.
- 27 Hewlings, *loc. cit.*.
- 28 Leach, *op. cit.*, 89–91.
- 29 Christopher Webster, 'Architectural illustration as revenge . . .', in Maurice Howard (ed.), *The Image of the Building*, 1996, 83–97; Peter Leach, 'James Paine's

- design for the south front of Kedleston Hall . . .', *Architectural History*, LX, 1996, 159–70. These articles were drawn to my attention by Richard Hewlings.
- 30 Carr's use of the term 'miranda' to denote his balcony was seen by R.B. Wragg as a mistake which revealed the architect's 'limited knowledge of India!' [R.B. Wragg, 'The Standhouse on the Knavesmire, *York Georgian Society Report 1965–6*, 1966, 7]. But in Latin *mirandus* means wonderful, to be admired, and suggests something of the quality of the view [I am indebted to John Newman for this information]. If it was an error on Carr's part, it was one which he continued to make. His designs for a grandstand at Kelso, dated 1778, also feature a 'miranda' [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Minto Papers, MS 13233, ff.112–21].
- 31 Wragg, *op cit.*, and Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England, *City of York*, III, 1972, 50–1, describe the building and its construction history. The only visible remnant is the arcade from the main elevation, which was re-erected in the paddock, c.1920, and is currently used as a bar.
- 32 York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, No. 13632, Sir Thomas Robinson to his father, 7 September 1757.
- 33 *Idem.*
- 34 *Idem*, 'It is happy for me that you care as little for receiving any Information about the Course, as I do and that you are indifferent about hearing of it, as I am incapable of informing you, for I protest I never knew who won or lost . . . the Conqueror and the Conquered are alike to me.'
- 35 Sheffield, Sheffield Central Library, WWM A1395, Grandstand at York Subscription Book 1755. Many of the subscribers were to become Carr's employers, including the Marquess of Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse, the 5th Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, Lord Irwin at Temple Newsam, Daniel Lascelles at Goldsborough Hall, Edwin Lascelles at Harewood House and Viscount Fairfax at Fairfax House, York [York Georgian Society, *The Works in Architecture of John Carr*, York, 1973].
- 36 Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, MM 15/7/4.
- 37 York, York City Art Gallery, R1774.
- 38 The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Cambridgeshire*, v, London, 1973, 281; London, British Library, Map Library, King's Top. 8.76.b, Two drawn plans of the Stand House at Newmarket. The Duke of Cumberland, brother of George III, attended Newmarket races from 1753 until his death. His stand, the Duke's Stand, was erected towards the end of the Beacon Course, a short distance from the King's Stand-which stood at the finishing post. It was not a public building.
- 39 Dr Ivan Hall has suggested to me that Richmond grandstand could be the work of John Fuss of Richmond, who worked with Carr on Middleton Lodge [Jane Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture*, Richmond, 1990, 220].
- 40 Colvin, *op cit.*, 219. The minute books of the Corporation record both the terms of the undertaking granted to Rockingham, Peregrine Wentworth and Childers Walbanke Childers, and the civic commitment to the scheme for which Rockingham had petitioned for over two decades. 26th September 1776. Racecourse and Grandstand ordered: that the setting out and erection of making a new course on Doncaster Common and a commodious stand shall be referred to the Marquess of Rockingham, Peregrine Wentworth Esq., and Childers Walbanke Childers Esq. . . . the expenses thereof to be paid by the corporation.
- [J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, *A Short History of Doncaster Racecourse*, London, 1950, 22, 24]. The Doncaster commission had the advantage that it was to form part of a comprehensive scheme for a racecourse planned from scratch, in a new location on the Town Moor.
- 41 The two men had maintained the working relationship established at York. In the intervening years Rockingham had become one of Carr's principal patrons. At the time of the Doncaster commission he was engaged on the Wentworth Woodhouse stables (1766–89), and Keppel's Column (1776–81), and continued to be employed on the estate by Rockingham's successor the 4th Earl Fitzwilliam [Colvin, *op cit.*, 193].
- 42 The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Nottinghamshire*, II, London, 1910, 389. The subscription list for Nottingham's stand was begun on 21 October 1776 and the foundation stone laid on 1 February 1777. In the literature relating to Nottingham a chronological error has perpetuated the view that their stand established the paradigm. The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Nottinghamshire*, *cit.*, relates that the grandstand 'was at the time of its erection taken as a pattern for the rest of the country, and that at York is an exact replica.'
- 43 The relative costs of the two contemporary stands are revealing. Nottingham was by far the cheaper endeavour, costing £1,701 19s 9d, in contrast to lavish £2,637 of Doncaster [John Tyrrel, *Racecourses on the Flat*, Ramsbury, 1989, 46]. York had cost £1,896 0s. 7 ½d. [Sheffield, Sheffield Central Library, WWM A1395, Grandstand at York Subscription Book 1755].
- 44 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Minto Papers, MS 13233, fol.113, John Carr to 4th Lord Minto, 24 August 1778.
- 45 Malcolm Aird, 'The Strange History of Paper Roofs', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, XLII, 1998, 41.