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THE SCHOOL AND ALMSHOUSES AT SEVENOAKS

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The architectural history of Sevenoaks School and Almshouses has never been written. The institutional histories of the school agree in attributing its design to Lord Burlington,¹ doubtless on the basis of an illustration in William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* of 1727, captioned "A Design for a School and 40 Alms-Houses by the Earl of Burlington, for Sevenoak in Kent" (Fig.1).² Burlington's drawings for this design are among his drawings at Chatsworth, undated, but obviously no later than 1727 (Figs.2 and 3).³ In fact an agreement of 1724 to execute carpentry in the *thirty two* almshouses which were eventually built suggests that Burlington's design had been superseded by that date.⁴

Burlington's design and the existing building have a general disposition in common – a tall school block in the centre (five storeys in Burlington's version) with a pyramidal roof, and two long two-storey ranges either side (twenty bays each in Burlington's design), housing the alms people. But even in general disposition one distinctive feature, the recession of the school house from the street line, does not occur in Burlington's proposal; and the forty separate doors from the street proposed by Burlington were actually realised as two arches leading into rear courtyards, onto which the almshouses open. As built, the school house had three storeys over a high basement, with lower wings which were not allowed for by Burlington (Fig.4). Differences of detail are numerous. These are more than "modifications . . . introduced [by] . . . local masons . . . as work went on", but evidently the product of a different design, with different intent.⁵ This design is illustrated on an undated plan which must have been made before 1765 (Fig.5).⁶

The origin of Lord Burlington's design remains unexplained, for the documentation of the buildings does not include any reference to him. But it does reveal that a design of some sort had been proposed by 1718; that buildings were begun on the site in 1723–24 to the designs of John James; that James's buildings collapsed half-built in 1726; that they were replaced by buildings designed by Roger Morris and Lord Herbert, whose execution Morris supervised between 1726 and 1731; that in 1731–32 they were completed by James Stedman, who had acted in a subordinate capacity to James and Morris since 1718; and that an infirmary was also proposed and was only dismissed by a decree of the Lord Chancellor in 1736.

The school and almshouses were established under the terms of the will of William Sevenoak, Mayor of London, proved in 1432.⁷ Among other property, he bequeathed them a wharf and warehouses just west of the Tower of London.⁸ To their west stood Wren's Custom House, short of space and damaged by an explosion in 1715.⁹ The Commissioners of Customs treated to acquire part of the Sevenoaks property in order to rebuild their own. Between September 1718 and September 1719 Sevenoaks Corporation made "several journeys to London in order to the Letting the Wharf and Warehouses belonging to the free School and Almshouses of Sevenoaks to the Comrs. of the Customes".¹⁰ In August 1718 their surveyor, James Stedman, accompanied by the bricklayer William Tufnell, viewed and reported on the property.¹¹ The date proposed for transfer was Michaelmas.¹² By June 1719 both parties had agreed a price of £2,500 with a perpetual rent of £550 per annum, payable

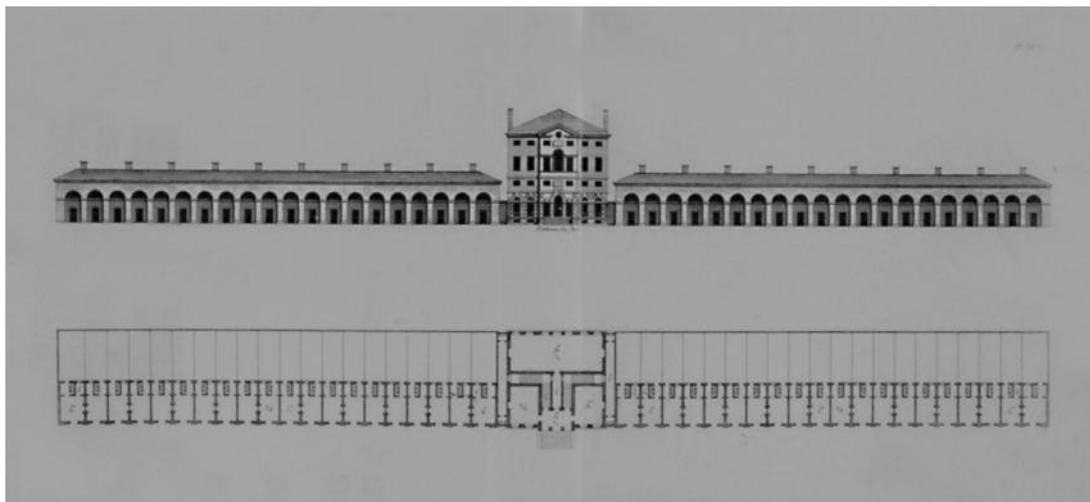


Fig.1. "A Design for a School and 40 Alms-Houses by the Earl of Burlington, for Sevenoak in Kent", from William Kent, *The Designs of Inigo Jones*, 1727.

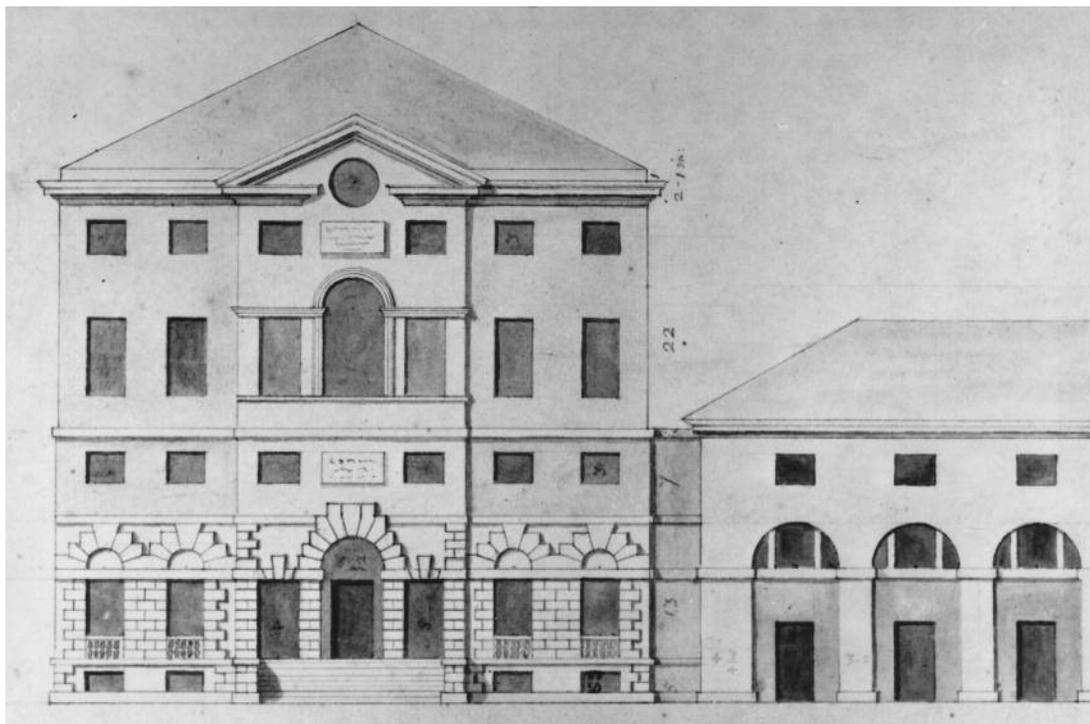


Fig.2. Lord Burlington, west elevation of proposed school house and part of almshouses. *RIBA*.

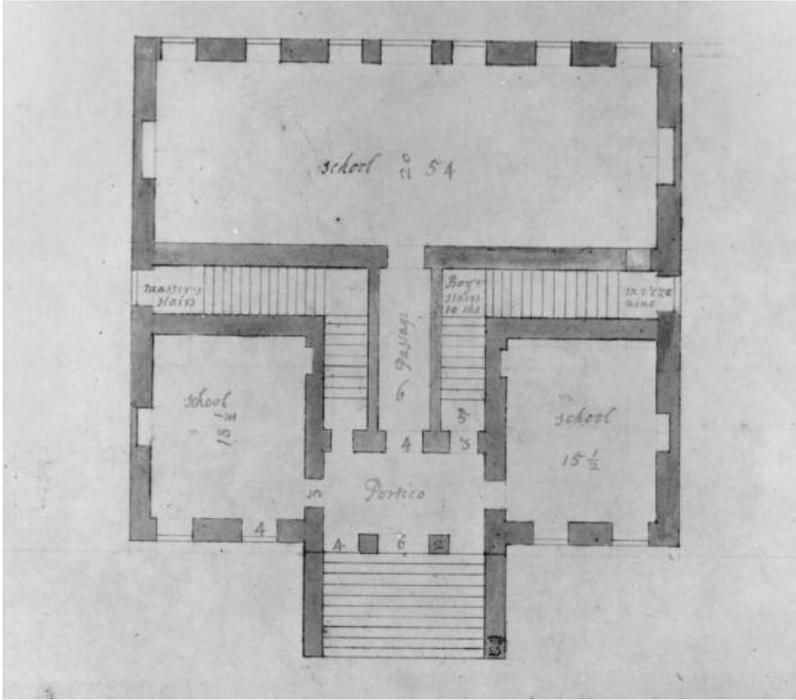


Fig.3. Lord Burlington, plan of proposed school house. *RIBA*.



Fig.4. Sevenoaks School House, west side, before 1878. *English Heritage*.

retrospectively from Michaelmas 1718.¹³ Sevenoaks's annual receipts jumped from a figure around £120 in the period 1709 to 1718, to £479 in 1719, £963 in 1720, £1,113 in 1721, and £4,038 in 1722. £3,042 of the latter were invested in the South Sea Company, but subsequent income remained high, if not stable.¹⁴ The transaction was enshrined in an Act of Parliament in 1721, requiring the Wardens and Assistants of Sevenoaks Corporation to rebuild, enlarge or repair the school and almshouses "with all convenient speed".¹⁵

Sevenoaks was a parish, not an incorporated borough, and the "Corporation" was that of the school and almshouses only. William Sevenoak's foundation had been legally incorporated by Letters Patent of 1560,¹⁶ procured by Ralph Bosville, Clerk to the Court of Wards, who owned an estate at Bradbourne in the north of the parish.¹⁷ Bosville's Statutes and Ordinances, agreed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1574, and confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1597, vested the government of the school in four Assistants, one of whom was to be Bosville's heir, the others to be chosen annually by the vestry. The Assistants were in turn to appoint two Wardens, and all six were to appoint a Master and Usher, and to allocate almshouses to the poor of their choosing.¹⁸ In 1718 the Assistants were William Bosville of Bradbourne Hall, Sir Charles Farnaby of Kippington Hall in the west of the parish, Thomas Lambard of Park Place, not far south of the school, and Thomas Petley of Riverhead, north of the town.¹⁹ Petley died in 1728 and was replaced at the annual election in September by his son, Ralph.²⁰ In the 1732 election Ralph Petley was replaced by the Duke of Dorset, whose estate, Knole Park, bordered the Corporation property on the east.²¹ The Wardens were Robert Martin, a baker, elected in 1711,²² and David Hills, soon to be replaced by John Daines, a miller, elected in September 1719 on Hills's death;²³ in 1725 Thomas Everest, an innkeeper, replaced Robert Martin.²⁴ The Master was John Simpson, appointed in 1716, and removed (on petition of the parish) only in 1748.²⁵ There had been no usher for several years.^{25a}

Some time before September 1726 the Attorney-General (Sir Philip Yorke²⁶) brought a bill into Chancery against the Corporation, on behalf of a group of parishioners, led by Dr. Thomas Fuller.²⁷ Yorke was later to engage Flitcroft to re-model Wimpole;²⁸ Fuller, a famous physician, lived at The Red House, an imposing house of 1686 in Sevenoaks High Street.²⁹ The bill alleged, among numerous failures to maintain the Statutes and Ordinances, that the Corporation had "caused the school house to be pulled down, but neglected or delayed to rebuild it".³⁰

The first of these was certainly true. During the year preceding September 1724 John Simpson's goods had been moved to "Day's house", while four building tradesmen had been paid for "pulling down the Old School".³¹ Between Michaelmas 1726 and Lady Day 1730 Simpson rented a house from a Mr. Fane, except at Lady Day 1727 when half a year's rent was paid to a Henry Smith.³² Wherever these houses were, Simpson later maintained that he had resided within the parish, about one furlong from the town, while the rebuilding took place, and thus that he had at all times been able to maintain a school.³³ The old almshouse, however, survived for another five years. Its windows were still being repaired in 1726–27, its tiling in 1727–28, and its pulling down was let no earlier than the end of 1728, although before September 1729.³⁴

The second allegation was more susceptible to interpretation. The Corporation had certainly planned a new building of some kind long before. In April 1718, even before they had settled with the Commissioners of Customs, they had received a proposal for masons' work by Thomas Wigsell and Thomas Kipps, which included raising "Stonework to the height of ye Ground under the Base", so it clearly indicated a new building.³⁵ Wigsell and Kipps were actually bricklayers, but they tendered for both brick and stone work, as did all the bricklayers at Sevenoaks. They proposed to use "Kentish Ragg Stone" and "garretting"; so the materials it was eventually built of were established from at least 1718,

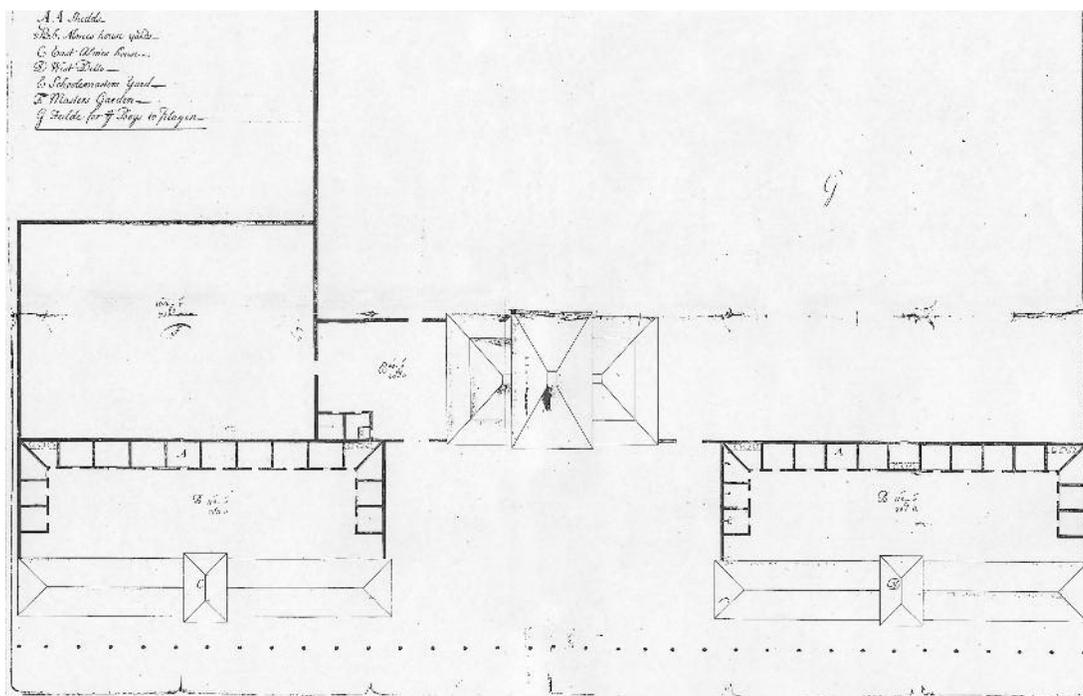


Fig.5. Plan of Sevenoaks School and Almshouses before 1765. *Sevenoaks School*.

and were neither a revision, nor an ignorant realisation of the ideal form.

There is no indication, however, that anything was actually done for another four years. First, in March 1722, the Corporation agreed with Dr. Thorpe of Rochester to purchase timber.³⁶ Over the next two and a half years the Corporation spent further large sums assembling materials. Before September 1722 it had "Lett out the Carriage of Timber for the School".³⁷ Between then and September 1724 timber was turned, flayed, faggoted, cleaved, carried, hewn, knotted, measured and viewed. Boards were sawn. Stone was drawn. Sand was fetched, lime was bought, and mortar was made. Brick earth was dug; a kiln was built; moulds, tables and troughs were made; turfs were carried to the clamp; straw, rakes, sand, rope, baskets, shovels, mats, and barrows were bought for the brickmakers.³⁸ Not long before September 1724 a plan had been drawn, the ground

had been set out, and the surveyors had written proposals for the bricklayers and carpenters.³⁹ Before the end of the year "the Sevl. Tradesmen" had returned their proposals.⁴⁰ One, John Cross, agreed to execute carpentry

in the Building a Free School and 32 Almshouses now erecting or intended to be erected by the said Govrs. in the said Parish of Seven Oak . . . according to a Plann or upright thereof now show'd to the said John Cross.⁴¹

So by 1724 Burlington's design, with forty almshouses, had evidently been superseded.

By September 1725 more stone, brick, sand and lime had been obtained, poles and deals for scaffolding had been delivered from Deptford, a well had been dug, and it would have been public knowledge that foundations had been laid, since 7s. 6d. had been allowed for ringers on that occasion.⁴² Indeed by the same date "the first Wing of the Almshouses was



Fig. 6. Sevenoaks: North Alms Row, from the north-west.
Richard Hewlings.



Fig. 7. Sevenoaks: "porticue" to North Alms Row.
Richard Hewlings.

Raised?⁴³ This must have been the north wing (Fig.6), since this was to be ceiled and rendered in August 1728, at least a year before the south wing was raised.⁴⁴ Between September 1725 and September 1726 primary materials continued to be delivered, two pumps had been fitted, floor boards and pantiles had been agreed for, and a “porticue” had been raised.⁴⁵ Nothing quite corresponds to that appellation save the arches in the centre of the almshouse ranges (Fig.7).

The school house may also have been begun by the time that the bill had been introduced into Chancery. By that time a conspicuous mishap had played into the hands of Dr. Fuller and his co-relators. It may even have inspired their action. Part of the building had fallen down. What occurred can be discovered from two reports, one, dated 18 March 1726, by John Andrews and Thomas Dunn. Andrews had been Vanbrugh’s draughtsman and Hawksmoor’s agent;⁴⁶ in 1723–24 he had measured Gibbs’s Senate House for Cambridge University.⁴⁷ Dunn was a master mason who had worked on several of the Fifty New Churches;⁴⁸ he was to build the Bank of England,⁴⁹ to tender for Bancroft’s Hospital in Mile End Road,⁵⁰ and for the Mansion House.⁵¹ The other, written by an unidentified William Hutchinson, is undated, but evidently refers to the same thing. Hutchinson, reporting on “the unhappy misfortune to ye Almes House + School House”, wrote that it

was dammaged by a greate Rain and an unexpected frost immediately succeeding it [, and] That the Almes House Roof being on but not tyl’d convey’d ye water into the Wall by which means the Mortar froze + expanded the Stone from the Brickwork.⁵²

This was presumably the same as Andrews’s and Dunn’s more laconic “some damages by wet and frosty wether”.⁵³ Andrews and Dunn did not locate the damages, although they described the building as being “the hight of two Storys”, suggesting the almshouse, and added “If the bottom part had not Bursted out ther might some part have stood.”

Hutchinson added that

the arguments cannot be alledg’d for the School House in every particular as is for the Almes House,

thereby revealing that the latter was also under construction.

Andrews and Dunn blamed the workmanship.

...the Beds of the Stonework being undercut which should have bin square from the face at least 3 Inch Inn and the Level Joints stifened, backed and bonded with Brickwork, which is not well done.

They proposed

...that the Stonework, must all be taken down, and the Beds made square, three Inches from the outer face and to be well Stiffened, Back’d and Bonded with Brickwork, and the Morter well Limed[?] and beat.

Furthermore, they continued,

Wee are doutfull that if the Stonework being taken down to the Ground, wether the Brickwork can stand.... It cannot be so good a Bond as it might be if taken down, the cost of the Brickwork comes to about Forty pounds...

And they concluded with alternative estimates:

Estimate to complet the outside carcasses with outer Doors and Windows

Schoole	425.0.0
Almshouse	150.0.0
	575.0.0

To make good the Stone and Brickwork as it is now

Workmanship only	125.0.0
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Hutchinson was more indulgent.

... no covering was or could be made sufficient to prevent the present dammage; but the tiling of the said houses the Roof being on ... uncommon or rather unnatural Rainy weather and frost succeeding softened the Morter + lifted or expanded the Stone ... for which reason larger coverings are ordered to Shelter ye Wall.

It is therefore my opinion with submission to yr. mature Judgements and consideration that yr. Poor unhappy Workman is not so culpable as at first vew he may seem to be. . .; I do assure you Gentlemen a most promising Building of this kind of work it was to all appearance, performed in a very good and workmanlike manner which I hope will engage you to support yr. Workman intended to settle himselfe and his ffamily in yr. Most happy favour and esteem.

Unlike Andrews and Dunn, Hutchinson recommended the cheaper solution.

...the present directions given to yr. Workmen which were well weighed and ordered by that Worthy and Judicious Gentleman Mr. Lambard for the present support + security of the work will be every way effectual to that end. Gentlemen the Dammage looks more frightfull than despirate and therefore in my opinion yr. Genrl. Part of the Brickwork will be made good at a smal Charge + the whole not exceed one Hundred pounds.

...being begun upon in May + carried on with deliberation will be an effectual means to dry and cement the mortar.

And he put in a word for the poor unhappy workman.

Which work yr. Unfortunate Workman Humly. Desires he may be employ'd in, which In my Humle. Opinion He will endeavour to do in the most effectual and provident Manner, for as no man has more reason to endeavour to regain your favour, so none will Endeavour to support what is thus dammaged but by augmenting yr. Charge...

The unfortunate workman may have been a bricklayer called Richard Bird. Bird had received intermittent small sums for work from September 1720, none greater than £8 3s. 4d. for pulling down the old school in 1723–24, except £18 6s. 3d. for building the kiln in 1722–23.⁵⁴ But between September 1724 and September 1725 he was paid over £370,⁵⁵ and in the following year (which could mean any time in it, even in the first half of it only, and thus before March 1726) he received a further £168.⁵⁶ Thereafter he was paid nothing for four years. A letter sent to Thomas Lambard by the Corporation's

attorney Thomas Harris on 1 March 1730 refers to "a dispute with Bird on account of the buildings",⁵⁷ and a small payment to Harris during the year September 1730 to September 1731 "for defending against, Bird" suggests that this may have led to litigation.⁵⁸ He may have retained some of the Corporation's favour, however, since he received a further £40 between September 1729 and September 1730;⁵⁹ but no more than this between the time of the collapse and the completion of the building in 1733, and it was well eclipsed by the £1,834 paid to the partnership of Thomas and George Kipps (subsequently George Kipps and John Mackinder) in the same period.⁶⁰ Since the first payment to the Kippses occurs in the year of the collapse it may be that they were his successors.⁶¹

The collapse may also have led to a change of architect. John Cross's articles of agreement in 1724 do not name the author of the "Plann or upright ... now show'd" to him. But Cross contracted to "be subject to... Mr. James Stedman (appointed by the Governors their Surveyor or Overseer of the said Building)".⁶² It was Stedman who had surveyed the Corporation's property in London in 1718.⁶³ Styled "Surveyor", he was paid £21 "in part for Surveying in London and in the Country about the School and Almshouses" in the year September 1723 to September 1724.⁶⁴ Between September 1725 and September 1726 he was again styled "Surveyor of the Buildings".⁶⁵ In 1727 he and others spent six days measuring carpenters' and bricklayers' work.⁶⁶ So Stedman remained in the Corporation's service, and even in an enhanced position. For between September 1731 and September 1732, still styled "Surveyor", he was paid £50 "for Draughts, and Designs, Measuring and Giving Workmen Instructions about the Buildings", clearly the function of an architect.⁶⁷ He certainly was an architect elsewhere, extensively altering Polesden Lacy House, Surrey, between 1735 and 1748, and serving as bridge surveyor for the County of Surrey in the 1740's.⁶⁸

However, even if Stedman may have ended up as

the Corporation's architect in 1731, he appears to have had a subordinate position in 1723–24. While his payment in that year was clearly for surveying, the Corporation simultaneously paid 5gns. to “Mr. James for Setting of the Ground out and Drawing a plan of the School and Almshouses”.⁶⁹ This was presumably John James, and it was the only payment which the Corporation made him, making his superior but limited responsibility clear, and this in turn suggests the continuing need for Stedman as a surveyor. But between September 1725 and September 1726 the Corporation “Paid Mr. Morriss Surveyor for drawing a Draught of the School and Almshouses” 5gns., the same as James two years previously, and for much the same task.⁷⁰ A signed estimate submitted later, in 1729,⁷¹ reveals that this was Roger Morris; presumably he replaced James. In a draft set of accounts the 5gn. payment records Sir Charles Farnaby as an intermediary (“paid Sr. Charles Farnaby the monei as he paid Mr. Morris for ye draught of the Almes house”).⁷² Morris's final payment, between September 1730 and September 1731, was £200,

for drawing Drafts, and designes, making of Molds, Surveying, and Attending, from time to time during the Building of the free School and Almshouses Giving Instructions, and Directions, to the Several Workmen and Artificers for their doing, compleating and Finishing the same.⁷³

By that date his responsibilities were evidently more extensive. The accountant noted that these last tasks “commenced abt. March 1726”, which was the time of the collapse.⁷⁴

A summary estimate of all the tradesmen's work “for Building the Almshouse and Charity School at 7 Oaks . . . according to a Design made by the Right Honble. Henry Lord Herbert” was also submitted.⁷⁵ It is undated, but it may have been made at this time. It totalled £4,204 6s.7d., but the mason's and bricklayer's work amount to £1,824 14s.5d., too close to the Kipps's and their subsequent partner John Mackinder's total receipts of £1,834 13s.1d. (which commenced at this moment) to be a co-incidence.

Lord Herbert's name does not appear in the documents, but, as the co-operation of Herbert and Morris is well attested,⁷⁶ it may be that his design was the same as Morris's, not an alternative. If it was a joint design it is nonetheless interesting to see it described as Lord Herbert's, especially as this was within the lifetime of Colen Campbell, who remained Morris's master up to his death in 1729.⁷⁷

Besides meeting (as previously) to let work or to order payments for materials, the Corporation also met between September 1725 and September 1726 “to Conclude about the Building”, then “to have the Opinion of Mr. Andrews and Mr. Dunn (Surveyors) of the Building”, and eventually “to Agree and Conclude of Matters about the Building”, all presumably after the collapse in March. A “meeting to Receive proposalls from the Bricklayers in Order to Lett the Building” must refer to new proposals, as the same process had been gone through two years before.⁷⁸ For some reason these proposals were sent to Mallings and cried there.⁷⁹ The successful tenderers were Thomas and George Kipps of Kensing, whose articles of agreement were dated 14 June 1726.⁸⁰ Thomas Kipps had tendered with Thomas Wigsell in 1718, evidently unsuccessfully.⁸¹ Andrews's and Dunn's, rather than Hutchinson's, advice seems to have prevailed, as the Kippses agreed to take down the brick and stone work in the school and alms house, and to lay “Rough Stone Work in Foundation”, suggesting a new start. Immediate payments were made to Andrews and Dunn, but not to Hutchinson. They were paid 4gns. for “Viewing the building and giving in their Opinions thereof”, and Andrews alone (though perhaps tacitly on behalf of his partner) was paid 1gn. “for Surveying the House and the Draughts”.⁸² Nevertheless Hutchinson was retained, receiving his expenses in April 1728 for his appearance in the Chancery proceedings;⁸³ but his only direct payment was recorded in May 1730, for measuring when the new work was near complete.⁸⁴

The Kippses' articles and the estimate of Lord Herbert's design reveal features of the new proposals

which correspond to what was actually built. Lord Herbert's design was to resemble the present building; it was to be executed in galletted stone, with three "cupiloes", presumably one to each almshouse range, and one to the school. It proposed pantiled roofs which were replaced in slate between 1840 and 1843,⁸⁵ but which several subsequent payments demonstrate were executed. The Kippses agreed to lay and "garret" (here used frequently as a synonym for gallet) "the Square headed Work Reduced to Fourteen inches thick", following a formula described as "Mr. Morriss method" in a separate and anonymous undated calculation sheet, in which another method is calculated according to "Mr. Bird's prises".⁸⁶ They also agreed to follow a "Specimen or Pattern set up near the said Building and according to the good liking of the surveyor appointed for that purpose". This must have been done, as the Corporation paid 3s.6d. "for setting up a Pattern for the Bricklayers to build by".⁸⁷

Few payments in the Corporation's accounts reflect a new start, except that Gervas Thorpe, the plumber, was paid "for Taking off and laying on 50 hund: of lead on the Almshouses".⁸⁸ But a payment in December 1726 "for Moving of Stones out of the Street at ye Almshouses", four days' work, may reflect the collapse, as the street is an unlikely place to have left stone newly delivered.⁸⁹ Quantity of stone eclipsed that of brick as the principal material bought in 1726-27;⁹⁰ to that was added pantiles (14,800 landed at Deptford in December 1726 alone),⁹¹ and pantile lath (sawn out of redundant scaffolding deals in October 1727).⁹² Payments for lead in December 1726,⁹³ and for smith's work in the middle of 1727 reflect progress.⁹⁴ The "School Floor and Porticue" were raised on the last day of 1726; the recipients of beer on this occasion were carpenters, suggesting that this porticue, whatever it was, was made of wood.⁹⁵ A meeting of two Assistants (Farnaby and Petley) and both Wardens on 5 April 1727 "to Consult about the Building and to Give Orders for Money to pay the Workmen" was attended

by Roger Morris, both Kippses and John Cross;⁹⁶ it may have resulted from an undated measurement of bricklayers' work by the surveyors.⁹⁷ The "School House Roof was Raised" apparently between May and July 1727.⁹⁸ "A Meeting of the Wardens and Assistants when they Consulted about Fixing on proper persons to Measure the Carpenters and Bricklayers Work" in December 1727⁹⁹ may have resulted in the "Measuring" which took place in January 1728.¹⁰⁰

Signs of finishing at least the northern row of almshouses are evident for the summer of 1728. In June tiling laths were cleaved for plastering laths.¹⁰¹ In August "Mr. Mines Plaisterer" was paid £23 6s 5d in full for "Measured Work for the Ceiling and Rending the North Wing of the Almshouses";¹⁰² this was probably John Mines, who later worked at Wolterton Hall¹⁰³ and at St. Margaret's, Westminster.¹⁰⁴ 40 bushels of hair was paid for in November, and 90 in January 1729.¹⁰⁵ Locks, hinges, staples, screws and nails "for the Almshouses" were bought from Mr. (later Sir Ambrose) Crowley in August 1728, and Edward Dalton the smith was paid for wedges, cramps and screws as well as for work.¹⁰⁶ Casement hooks and saddle bars were paid for in February 1729. A few days later Gervas Thorpe was paid for painting and glazing.¹⁰⁷ Attention shifted to the offices. In late 1728 or early 1729 "the ground behind the Almshouses was levelled". At about the same time "the Paving of the Yard behind the North Almshouses" was let to George Kipps, the bricklayer and mason.¹⁰⁸ In May boards were sawn for sheds for the almshouses.¹⁰⁹ The pre-1765 plan (Fig. 5) shows the sheds surrounding a rear courtyard, as they still do (Fig. 8).¹¹⁰ The painters' and glaziers' work was measured.¹¹¹ The "Partitioning and Cornice" at the school, and the floors and other carpenters' work done by measure in the north row of almshouses was measured.¹¹²

By this time Sir Philip Yorke's action had been brought to trial. The first sign of litigation in the Corporation accounts occurs between September



Fig.8. Sevenoaks: sheds on east side of North Alms Row. *Richard Hewlings.*



Fig.9. Sevenoaks: South Alms Row, from the south-west. *Richard Hewlings.*

1725 and September 1726, the year of the collapse, when the Corporation met “to give in our answer to the Bill in Chancery”.¹¹³ Two years later, in April 1728, Thomas Harris, the attorney, was paid his fees (£67) “for Soliciting for the Corporation and Attending the Commission”.¹¹⁴ A coach was hired to take Hutchinson up to London where he attended the Commission for two days (at the rather lesser cost of £1 6s.).¹¹⁵ Thomas Townshend, who had made bricks for the almshouses between 1722 and 1724, was paid for coming ten miles by horse and also attending the Commission for two days. Edward Dalton, the smith, was sent “to Burling, Greenwich, Wickham, and Westerham with Subpoenas and for Horses to bring down Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Hussey”, presumably another friendly witness. Stedman also went up to London on a hired horse.¹¹⁶ The case was heard by the Master of the Rolls (Sir Joseph Jekyll) on 7 March 1729 and adjourned to 1 May.¹¹⁷ Jekyll had employed Morris’s master, Colen Campbell, to build the Rolls House in 1717–24, and it is possible that he knew who Morris was;¹¹⁸ but he had a prejudice against charities, though mostly against religious ones.¹¹⁹ The Attorney-General and his relators were evidently successful, as it was the defendants who were given leave to appeal.¹²⁰

The relators appear to have alleged that £10,000 had already been spent on building, and that £5,000 was still needed to finish it.¹²¹ In fact by September 1728 little more than £3,832 had been spent, but the recital of these figures in open court may have challenged the Corporation, for on 26 May 1729 Roger Morris and Francis Hillyard (a carpenter who developed parts of Mayfair close to Morris’s own house¹²²) submitted an estimate

for building the South Wing of the Almshouses already begun – Finishing the School House in a plain manner, Also finishing the South Wing after ye manner of the North Wing already built, Inclosing the South Court behind the said Almshouses and building 32 small sheds for Fireing, also 4 Boghouses and paving the same.

The estimate totalled £763.15s 5d..¹²³

Effort was therefore directed towards the south row of almshouses before the appeal was heard (Fig. 9). No date is recorded for their beginning. But some time between September 1729 and September 1730 “the Floors of the Almshouses (South Wing)” were raised.¹²⁴ Later in the same accounting year “the South Wing of the Almshouses [presumably the roof] were raised”. “Centers” were also made, and, as none of the rooms are vaulted, these may have been for drains or cesspits connected to the boghouses of Morris’s and Hillyard’s estimate.¹²⁵ Paving bricks were bought in February 1730, presumably for the boghouse floors, as specified.¹²⁶

Work also continued on the school. In June Mr. Pattison, a smith (probably Joseph Pattison, whom Morris later engaged at Wimbledon House and No. 3 Argyll Street¹²⁷), was paid for “the Fane and Spindle for the School and Gilding the same”, presumably the weathervane on the lantern which is so characteristic of Morris’s style.¹²⁸ Edward Dalton was paid for “cramps, Plates Bolts Chimney Irons”,¹²⁹ and the bricklayers were paid for putting in mantelpieces, possibly in either building.¹³⁰

The appeal was heard by the Lord Chancellor (Lord King¹³¹) on 31 January and 3 February 1730.¹³² Lord King was also familiar with building, having had Ockham Park rebuilt by Hawksmoor in the previous year.¹³³ Morris’s and Hildyard’s estimate was evidently accepted as evidence; Lord King decreed that the school and almshouses were to be finished up to a cost of £763 16s. 5d. . Both parties were to resolve the other contentious issues (the management of the charity) before a Master in Chancery. Costs were awarded to both sides from the Corporation’s funds. On 1 March Thomas Harris wrote to Thomas Lambard in Sevenoaks inviting his urgent comments on the Chancellor’s decree before it was registered, in particular on the sum allowed for finishing, which he suspected was not enough; with materials, he thought that £1,100 might be more accurate. He needed to speak to Roger Morris urgently, but he did not

know where to send to him and if I had he is so difficult a man to be met with that [illegible] attending had been very uncertain and if he had the other side might have objected [illegible] his saying of anything to the purpose.¹³⁴

The Corporation's belated awareness of the need for careful financial management made its appearance in their accounts between September 1730 and September 1731. Early on they met "when the Tradesmen and Artificiers brought in their Bills in order to see how far the Money was Expended yt. was allowed by the Court of Chancery". They met again "at London wn. The Wardens made affidavit yt. the Money allow'd p[er] the Court were laid out in Building".¹³⁵ Doubtless acutely aware of the penalties of negligence, the Corporation met unusually frequently. They held three meetings "to Consult abot. the Buildings", and five "to Balance Accompts with ye Several Tradesmen yt. work at the Buildings".¹³⁶ Harris was paid "the Remaindr. of his Bill of Costs, in full", £149 17s. 6d.¹³⁷

Little other than "Glaising and painting" by Gervas Thorpe and Stephen Baker needed to be done at the south alms row.¹³⁸ A large quantity of ironmongery was needed, mainly in connection with the glazing—hooks, rides, mathooks, 399 saddle bars, 28 casements with springs, one "pattern casement" and five closet locks.¹³⁹ Thorpe and Baker were paid for "putting in Quarry's".¹⁴⁰ There were two payments for measuring, one for "the Bricklayers and plaisterers Work at the South Wing of the Almshouses and paving the Yards and Walk and all the Fence Walling &c", and one "Measuring at South Almsrow, the floors, Cornice Guttering, Rafters feet, and Lintelling for the Carpenters".¹⁴¹ In the summer of 1731 the Corporation began to issue weekly pay for 32 poor people instead of the previous 16, indicating that by then both wings were occupied.¹⁴²

The sheds behind the north row were built during the same year (Fig. 8). Timber was bought for them, boards and pantile laths were sawn for them, and John Morgan, carpenter, was paid for building

them.¹⁴³ Paving bricks were bought, and John Warrington was paid "for paving over against the School and Alms row".¹⁴⁴ Thorpe and Baker mended the pumps.¹⁴⁵ Coping stones were bought, presumably for the fence walling.¹⁴⁶ "Headed stones" were bought to floor the kitchen passage.¹⁴⁷ Posts and rails "before the School and Almshouses" were sawn and painted.¹⁴⁸ The posts, at least, are shown on the pre-1765 plan (Fig. 5) and iron railings still stand on the same alignment. William Jones was paid "for Turning a Ball for the Cupiloe",¹⁴⁹ and George Kipps, bricklayer and mason, was paid for "Cutting a Ball", the last at least presumably stone.¹⁵⁰ As the vane on the school cupola had already been gilded by that date, this cupola and these balls may have been elsewhere, perhaps on the alms rows, as the estimate for Lord Herbert's design allowed for "3 Cupiloes made with Right Wainscott".

But the buildings were still incomplete. In May 1731, an "Estimate of finishing all Sevenoaks" included "Fitting up the School Room, . . . Boarding the flooring, . . . Making the Timber petition and flooring good", and £28 10s. for a "Stare Case complete", presumably all in the school house. 1500 yards of render, 1850 yards "Lath plastering", painting, "Glazing + Casments +c.", "Gates and front Doors", and "Doors Locks Hings and Lining Skirting Shelter and Wind Boards" could have been for either school or almshouses. Further sheds were required, doubtless for the south alms row, 2900 yards of paving, presumably stone, and more brick paving. The estimate amounted to £470 19s. 4d.¹⁵¹

Within a month of this estimate the Corporation had agreed with John Mackinder of Sevenoaks, carpenter, and the bricklayer George Kipps, no longer of Kemsing now, but also of Sevenoaks, to carry out these works. Their contract describes what was proposed (and almost certainly implemented) in useful detail.¹⁵² George Kipps and John Mackinder were the only building tradesmen present, with Mr. Morris, described as surveyor, at the "meeting to settling the accounts" on 28 September 1731, at

which a chine of mutton weighing 15 lb. 5oz. with capers and “cowcombers” and three fowls were eaten by the nine attenders. “Passing ower a Counts” required a rump of beef, “3 plumpudens” a leg of mutton with “turnoups” and a “gous” to be eaten.¹⁵³ Morris was paid £200,¹⁵⁴ and early in the following accounting year Kipps and Mackinder were paid their final instalment “for Finishing the School and Almshouses psuant to Articles of Agreement”.¹⁵⁵ The building needed further adjustments, but Morris was not to be paid for them, perhaps because he was on the trip to Italy which he was reported to have begun in June 1731.¹⁵⁶ Thus Stedman finally took his place as architect, expressed by his payment “for Draughts, and Designs” between September 1731 and September 1732.¹⁵⁷

There was not much for him to do. Rubbish had to be cleared and the school field levelled, ploughed, harrowed, sowed and rolled. The south alms row lacked locks and somewhere brass knockers were wanting. Mackinder put up shelves there. The tiling of the sheds was completed, and paving was laid “abt. the pump”¹⁵⁸. Some chimneys needed to be altered, carrying on into the next accounting year, when Dalton provided irons for them “and Iron Barrs for the School Windows”¹⁵⁹; the chimneys may have been in the school house, to which bricks were delivered in the same year. In that year Kipps made “Vaults to the Boghouses and new Drains and Sewers”. The boghouses were at least in part of stone, and the vaults and drains required timber centres.¹⁶⁰ Some time before September 1732 Kipps was paid for “hanging Mr. Simpsons Coppers, [and] putting up Grates and Stoves”.¹⁶¹ In the same year Simpson’s return to the school house was recorded by the transport “of Nineteen load of Hay, Fagots, Cord Wood, Coals and other Goods” for him;¹⁶² he had been elsewhere for six years.

On 11 December 1733 Thomas Bennet, Master in Chancery, heard the proposals of Sevenoaks Corporation for the further disposal of their surplus income, as Lord King had decreed he should.¹⁶³ Like

Bosville and James, Bennet was a landowner in Greenwich, and in 1722 he had sold Maze Hill House there to the Duke of Richmond, who rebuilt it, possibly to the design of Roger Morris.¹⁶⁴ He regarded the proposals as reasonable and referred the case back to the Lord Chancellor for further directions. Lord King had resigned in November 1733,¹⁶⁵ and the case was heard by his successor, Lord Talbot, on 24 April 1734. He confirmed part of the proposals, but declined a decision on the remainder until the Duke of Dorset, one of the Assistants, completed his term as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and returned to Knole.¹⁶⁶ In the meantime Bennet, fortified with more accurate or more recent figures, submitted a second, more decisive and specific report. The Corporation’s income now stood at £156 5s. 7d., and the capital at £1,073. He proposed spending the latter first on fire engines, and then on buying land for an infirmary.¹⁶⁷ The case came on, unexpectedly, before Lord Talbot on 21 January 1736.¹⁶⁸ Lord Talbot had just bought Barrington Park, Gloucestershire, and was contemplating rebuilding it.¹⁶⁹ He flatly rejected fire engines, “wash house or pest house”. On the following day Henry Bosville, son of one of the Assistants, wrote to his father with an account of the proceedings:

When an Infirmary + a Workhouse was mention’d he was entirely against ‘em, & said, no more buildings, there has been enough of that already; some favourite bricklayer is to be employ’d in it.¹⁷⁰

Was this fair? Among artificers, the Kippses were favoured from 1718 to 1733; Richard Bird was not, with evident justification. Other partiality is impossible to discern. Among architects, it is possible to identify connections with patrons, but it is not possible to demonstrate interest. For instance, John James lived in Greenwich, in a house of his own design with a giant order and an attic storey.¹⁷¹ William Bosville also had a house in Greenwich,¹⁷² and Bradbourne Hall, his house in Sevenoaks, had a giant order and an attic, not unlike James’s;¹⁷³ it is possible that James designed it. The proposal for Sevenoaks School and

Almshouses put forward by Wigsell and Kipps in 1718 included galleting “to be done the same as is the North End of Mr. Bosvilles house at Bradbourne”, and rustic work to be modelled on “the Frieze and Facia at Mr. Bosvilles”.¹⁷⁴ Their proposal could have been to build Burlington’s design, but it is more likely to have been James’s, Burlington’s being unsolicited. If so, James may have been Bosville’s “favourite bricklayer”. And if Hutchinson’s statement that “the present directions... were well weighed and ordered by... Mr. Lambard” refer to James’s building, he may have been Lambard’s as well. However, Thomas Lambard’s brother, Multon Lambard, Lieutenant-Governor of Tilbury Fort and Gravesend, had employed Vanbrugh to design him a villa at The Vine, a little to the north of Sevenoaks School.¹⁷⁵

James had designed other school buildings. He had submitted a design for Eton College Library some time before 1726, which had not been accepted,¹⁷⁶ although he had long-standing Eton connections; he had been apprenticed to Matthew Banckes between 1690 and 1697, at the time when Banckes was building the Upper School.¹⁷⁷ He evidently retained a professional connection with Eton, enlarging Baylies House, Slough, for Provost Godolphin in 1733–35.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore James had a pedagogical background. His father had been Master of the Holy Ghost School, Basingstoke, from 1673 to 1717; so committed was he to the maintenance of professional standards that one of his pupils was alleged to have died from bruising to his liver caused “by Mr. James causing two or three boys to draw him up the end of the table to be whipped”, and a further five or six boys to have died of “consumption” from his “unreasonable correcting and whipping of them”.¹⁷⁹ The Rev. James’s extreme behaviour was presented before his patrons, the Skinners’ Company, and probably gained him some notoriety: his architect son might therefore have been recognised in schoolmasterly circles.

Morris, on the other hand, had his first payment for work at Sevenoaks from the hands of Sir Charles

Farnaby; and when he attended a meeting of the Corporation on 5 April 1727 the only Assistants present were Farnaby and Petley. This could have been a co-incidence, but, if not, it is possible that James had the backing of Bosville and Lambard, Morris that of Farnaby and Petley.

Morris may also have been known to the Duke of Dorset, who only became an Assistant in 1732, but as the owner of Knole, which overlooks the school and almshouses and whose park surrounds them, his views were probably hard to ignore. The Duke was a member of the Leicester House circle, followers of the Prince of Wales. His political leader was his uncle, Sir Spencer Compton, the Prince’s Treasurer, who had represented the Sackville borough of East Grinstead.¹⁸⁰ George Bubb Dodington was their closest political ally, and Sir Francis Dashwood, heir to the Earl of Westmoreland, was another.¹⁸¹ Roger Morris worked for all these men. He had worked for the Prince at Leicester House, where Colen Campbell was the architect.¹⁸² He succeeded Campbell as Compton’s architect at Eastbourne Place in 1729.¹⁸³ He designed Dodington’s London house in 1731, completed Eastbury for him in 1733, built a house in Hammersmith for him in 1748, and went to Italy with him in 1731–32.¹⁸⁴ He probably made additions to West Wycombe Park for Dashwood.^{184a} He almost certainly completed Mereworth Castle for Lord Westmoreland after Campbell’s death, and designed Mereworth church.¹⁸⁵

Lord Burlington had designed Westminster School Dormitory, built between 1722 and 1730, and it is possible that experience gained or interest aroused as the architect of a school building encouraged him to offer his services at Sevenoaks.¹⁸⁶ Lord Burlington also had a connection with the Duke of Dorset. The Duke’s first cousin was Charles Boyle, 4th. Earl of Orrery. Lord Orrery’s father had died when he was 8; he had been brought up by his Sackville mother, probably at Knole, and educated at Sevenoaks School until he went on to St. Paul’s;¹⁸⁷ his elder brother, the 3rd. Earl, had borne the Sackville name



Fig.10. Sevenoaks: South Alms Row, window and masonry detail.
Richard Hewlings.



Fig.11. Sevenoaks: “porticue” to South Alms Row.
Richard Hewlings.

of Lionel, had married the Duke's illegitimate half-sister, had represented the Sackville borough of East Grinstead in Parliament, and had been buried, with his wife, in the Sackville chapel at Withyham; his widow had then married another Boyle cousin, the 2nd Viscount Shannon, who represented East Grinstead from 1715 to 1734, while the school and almshouse were being rebuilt.¹⁸⁸ Elijah Fenton, the poet, and Pope's collaborator in translating *The Iliad*, had been the 4th Earl's secretary from 1704, and Master of Sevenoaks School from 1708 to 1710.¹⁸⁹ Although Lords Orrery and Burlington were only second cousins, Lord Burlington was regarded as head of the Boyle family, and when Orrery was arrested in 1722 under suspicion of complicity in the Atterbury Plot, Burlington stood surety for his bail.¹⁹⁰ Documented meetings between Burlington and the Duke are hard to find. But Lady Burlington dined at Sevenoaks on her way to Tunbridge Wells in June 1730;¹⁹¹ and when she was there in July 1733 she told her husband that she had had a message brought from the Duchess at Knole by Mrs. Chambers (niece of Lady Betty Germain, who lived there) and Mr. Carey (the Duke's secretary as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland).¹⁹²

Morris could have been recommended by Lord Burlington. Burlington would presumably have met Morris through Colen Campbell, who rebuilt Burlington House between 1717 and 1719.¹⁹³ In 1729 Morris was building Castle Hill, Devon, with advice from Lords Burlington and Herbert, so a working relationship had been established by then.¹⁹⁴ Later, in 1747, Morris and Burlington were to design Kirby Hall in Yorkshire.¹⁹⁵

Finally, simple local connections cannot be ruled out. Morris almost certainly succeeded Campbell as architect of Mereworth Castle, ten miles to the east, on the latter's death in 1729, and was probably working there from c.1720.¹⁹⁶ He was the architect of Combe Bank, only just outside the parish of Sevenoaks to the north-west, from c. 1725.¹⁹⁷ He could have been known to the Corporation by local reputation.

Had Lord Talbot not forbidden the Corporation

to add a "pest house", its ambition and diversity of charitable purpose would have been unique. What was realised is still unusual. Although there are numerous Georgian schools, numerous Georgian almshouses, and combinations of the two are not rare, very few of either were designed by leading metropolitan architects.¹⁹⁸ Sevenoaks School is almost alone, with the Dormitory at Westminster School and the Library at Eton College, as a school building of accomplished "Palladian" type. Is it a coincidence that two of the architects who were involved at Sevenoaks submitted designs for these two school buildings?

The buildings are not only interesting because of their typological scarcity. Morris's design is unusual also, and its character quite different from the patrician splendour of the buildings at Westminster and Eton. They are faced in the beautiful soft ragstone of the Weald (Fig. 10). This stone is scarcely capable of taking a smooth surface or a sharp arris, certainly incapable of maintaining them. It is therefore unsuitable for elegant or polished effects, but well suited for rustic ones. The joints are decorated with shards of ragstone galleting, meticulously set out. Although the technique is local, it is far from being unskilled or clumsy; indeed it must have increased the expense without much practical benefit. Morris used it again at Mereworth church in 1744. He must therefore have chosen these materials deliberately, responding to the colour and consistency of the ragstone and to the reflective quality of the galleting in a manner more intuitive than is usually expected from early eighteenth-century architects, who generally appear to have favoured materials which accurately translate the effect of the most finely ruled lines on chalk white paper. Instead Morris achieved an effect of shimmering or rippling lines (Fig. 11). His inspiration for this effect, in 1726, when he had not yet visited Italy, may have been a drawing, probably one of the rustic drawings of Inigo Jones's, such as Jones's proposal for a stable, which Morris could have seen in the collection of Lord Burlington.¹⁹⁹

Bred up, as he surely was, to the concept of architectural *decorum*, Morris would naturally have designed a charitable institution in a rustic style, to indicate its modest and dependent status. Benefactors would have objected to vain pilasters or showy ornament being thrown away on the poor. Consumers of art in the Rococo period were not troubled by the artificiality of expressing lowly status by skillful, even expensive techniques, so long as *decorum* was observed. Morris's intention was therefore picturesque in the literal sense, and his effect picturesque in the cultural sense, both some time before that particular word established its currency.

NOTE

All the foregoing dates have been put into New Style.

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But I am most indebted to Mr. Kim Taylor, Headmaster from 1954 to 1968, and Governor from 1983, first for opening all the doors within the school administration, and secondly for his enthusiastic assistance with my research. Mr. Taylor found the documents in the School archives cited at notes 57, 74, 75 and 153, found the long-lost Corporation Chest at Messrs. Knocker and Foskett, solicitors, where I had previously enquired without success, and arranged for its return to the School, where I was able to examine its contents.

Dr. Eveline Cruickshanks supplied information about Lord Orrery. Sir Howard Colvin read a draft of this article and suggested several improvements.

**APPENDIX I: BUILDING TRADESMEN PAID BY SEVENOAKS CORPORATION,
1719 – 36 [from SCC, Account Book, *cit.*].**

			£. s. d
Richard Bird	Mason & Bricklayer	1719–30	617. 1. 3
Thomas Wigzell (Wigsell)	Mason & bricklayer	1719–27	93. 13. 5
Thomas Kipps	Mason & Bricklayer	1725–29	} 1,035. 0. 1
George Kipps	Mason & Bricklayer	1725–33	
John Warrington	Paviour	1730–31	26. 13. 0
Thomas Cowlard	Carpenter	1719–26	56. 6. 8
Nicholas Lock	Carpenter	1722–31	26. 1. 0
William Mantle	Carpenter	1725–31	55. 4. 1
John Cross	Carpenter	1724–31	} 746. 4. 0
Thomas Piper	Carpenter	1730–31	
John Morgan	Carpenter	1730–31	} 5. 19. 3
John Mackinder			
(with George Kipps)	Carpenter	1730–32	399. 18. 6
Thomas Eldridge	Sawyer	1722–24	21. 10. 8
Thomas Pullin (Pullen)	Sawyer	1723–31	16. 17. 2
George King	Sawyer	1726–27	1. 0. 0
James Beaman	Sawyer	1730–31	6. 17. 10
William Jones	Turner	1730–31	2. 0
Mr. Mines	Plasterer	1728	23. 16. 11
John Wood	Lath river	1728	3. 14. 0
Gervas Thorp (alone)	Plumber	1725–33	122. 4. 7
Thomas Matthews			
(with Gervas Thorp)	Painter & glazier	1727–28	273. 9. 0
Stephen Baker			
(with Gervas Thorp)	Painter & glazier	1730–31	71. 7. 3
Godin Rogers	Painter & glazier	1723–27	4. 13. 0
Edward Dalton	Smith	1720–32	103. 15. 0½

**APPENDIX II: MACKINDER'S AND KIPPS'S AGREEMENT FOR
FINISHING THE SCHOOL HOUSE, JUNE 1731**

[summarised from SPL, U1000/23 E1/8, a twentieth-century copy,
and corrected from the original in Sevenoaks Corporation Chest].

In the school house the ground floor was to be paved with brick, except for the kitchen passage, which was to be paved with "Headed stone". "According to the plan" the attic storey was to be divided by oak partitions into four rooms and the garrets into two. The stair was to have oak steps on the lowest storey (where the wear was doubtless greatest), and to have a "Rail Banister and String board", which presumably means a closed string; the next storey appears to have been more elegant, with "a 3 inch Turned Banister Impost base plinths and String board". The doors on the lower storey were to be of deal, ledged and battened (the simplest door type) with H-hinges, screwed. The lower storey was to have neither "window boards" (presumably shutters) nor skirting, but all other floors were, made of deal. Doors on the principal floors were to be panelled, with 6" architraves and "good Duftail Hinges with Screws". Floors on the principal floor were of oak with straight joints, on the chamber and garret floors they were of deal with folding joints. The school room was to have closets partitioned off, "a Deske for the Master and a row of forms all Round with a Deske before it of Good Yellow Deal the Floor on the outside the

Desks to be raised 9 Inches above the floor in the middle for children to sit upon". The schoolroom was to have a Portland slab chimneypiece and hearth; other fireplaces were to be paved with tiles. Casements were to be of iron, the "Glaising as Good as yt. already done at the Almsrows". Internal doors were to have fanlights to light the passages. The two front doors were to be of double deal, and with eight raised panels, the panels 1in. thick, the frames 2in. thick. There were to be two pairs of gates, 3" thick, with raised panels to the exterior, and with one wicket in each. The shed mentioned in the estimate seems actually to have been a brewhouse, 30 feet by 18, and 8 foot high, with ten feet to be partitioned off for a stable with hayloft over. It was to be a framed building of oak, with feather-edged board walls, tarred, and a tiled roof. The stable floor was to be of stone, the brewhouse of brick, and it was to have an oven and a "flow" for the coppers. There were also to be two boghouses, details unspecified. In the Corporation's accounts these articles are summarised as "Finishing the School house, and Building, Brewhouse, Stable and other work". The brewhouse and stable were not built until 1751-52 (see Appendix III).

APPENDIX III: BUILDINGS ADDED BETWEEN
1736 AND 1890.

After 32 years in post the Master, John Simpson, was eventually removed in 1748.¹ The buildings had still to reach their full extent. A stable and brewhouse were added between September 1751 and 1752. They were presumably the buildings shown in the enclosure north of the school house, east of the north alms row, in a survey plan by E.E. and G. Cronk of Sevenoaks in 1857 (Fig. 12).² No architect is recorded, but a surveyor called Barns was paid 3gns. for measuring and valuing the workmanship, and Hampton and Morgan, two identifiably local carpenters, together with a mason called Luke Childmaid, surveyed the bricklayers' and carpenters' work. The work was carried out by George Kipps, his last work for the Corporation, for his widow was included in his £72 4s. 10d. payment; the Corporation paid for Thomas Parker to be apprenticed to Widow Kipps and Stephen Kipps, bricklayer, presumably George's son. Thomas Pain, carpenter, was paid £40, and the Corporation paid for Thomas Wilds to be apprenticed to him.³

The gate piers either side of the school house, of which those to the north still survive, were added between September 1762 and September 1763. William Covell, mason, was paid £24 os. 2d. then for "new building the Stone Piers of the great Gates at the School House and in setting up a new Boghouse there". Thomas Pain was paid £13 1s. 3d. "for the Great Gates...being fram'd of Oak and the doors of best Christiana deal".⁴

The "Iron Palisadoes" in front of the school house are clearly eighteenth-century, yet they are not shown on the only eighteenth-century plan (Fig. 5). Indeed straight joints between the dwarf walls on which they stand and the two alms rows either side confirm that they were an after-thought. They were actually added, at a cost of £142 10s. 5d., between September 1764 and September 1765. The ironmonger who both supplied and set them up was called Crowder, and William Covell was paid "for the Stone

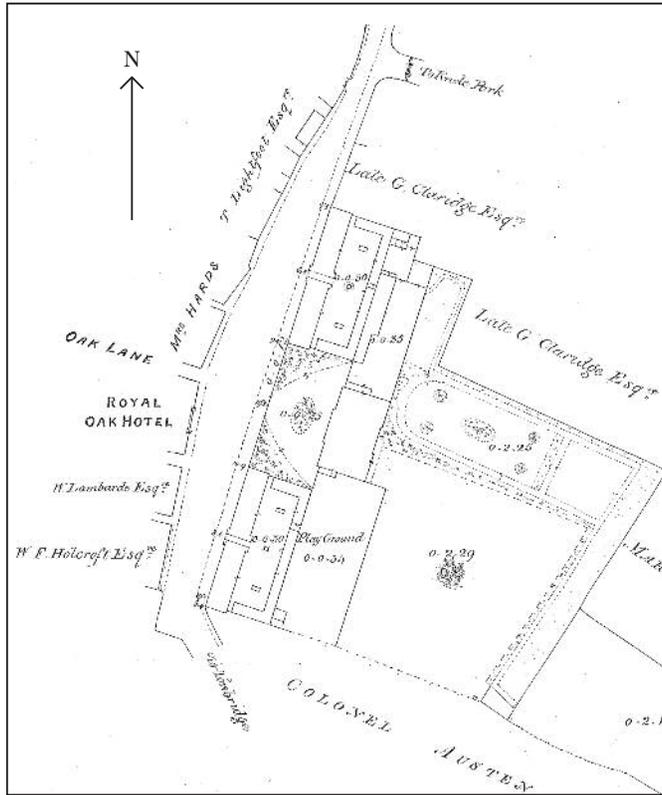
Work and Materialls in building the wall whereon the Palisadoes are set up".⁵

A coach house was added between September 1779 and September 1780, on an unidentified site. Thomas Covell was the mason; Francis Sharvill was the carpenter; John Martin was the blacksmith; and Richard Harvey was the plumber and painter.⁶

Some small improvements were made to the interior of the school house, none to the almshouses, although both were regularly maintained. Between September 1757 and September 1758 Thomas Pain, carpenter, was paid "for New Wainscotting at the School House and for work in Papering"; Holmes and Wheatley were paid "for Paper hangings for the School House"; and Thomas Bartram was paid "for Canvas and Twine used about Ditto". Bartram was paid for 67 pieces of printed paper and 2½ yds. of "Hessing" in 1762-63, and Thomas Pain, the carpenter, was paid for putting it up. In 1773-74 a new chimneypiece was set up in the hall (presumably the one that is there now), together with a Bath stove and fender.⁷

Serious repairs had become necessary by 1837. In November Samuel Green of Sevenoaks surveyed the roof and reported that the timbers were good, but that the pantiles wanted pointing and that snow got in; he advised stripping the roof. In June 1840 the architect John Whichcord, of Whichcord and Walker, Maidstone, submitted a specification for re-roofing the school house alone ("both Center and Wing buildings"). A tender for doing so jointly by Daniel Grover, James Eastwood and Bryan Burton was received; it was presumably unsuccessful, as a bill for carrying out the work was submitted by N. How and Sons, amounting to £254 8s. 3d. . Whichcord and Walker submitted another specification for re-roofing the north almshouses in May 1842, again replacing the pantiles. Tenders were received for doing so from How, William Faulks,

Fig. 12. E.E. and G.Cronk, survey plan of Sevenoaks School and Almshouses, 1857. *Sevenoaks School.*



Bryan Burton, Marchant and Groom, and R. Baker, a plumber; How's was accepted. This work is confirmed by Whichcord's correspondence in 1848, which also reveals that the guttering was put up by a man called Shewin. There is no primary documentation for re-roofing the south almshouses, but other allusions in Whichcord's correspondence of 1848 reveal that this was undertaken in 1843. Roger Morris's pantiled roofs, which must have been a distinctive feature of the buildings, were thus replaced by John Whichcord between 1840 and 1843.⁸

The wood houses, privies and pump houses, built with boarded walls in 1730-31 and shown behind the two alms rows on the eighteenth-century plan, were repaired in 1846. Tenders for doing so were received in March, and included two drawings which reveal that the front wall was to be rebuilt in 9"

brick. The buildings on this site correspond to the eighteenth-century plan, but have stone and brick walls, evidently of 1848. The tenders were submitted by How and Son, described as carpenters and plumbers, Daniel Grover, described as a bricklayer, William Faulk, Samuel Coomber, John Marchant of Riverhead, and Johnson, carpenter; How and Grover were successful.⁹

Both school and almshouse gutters, the latter put up by Shewin in 1842 and 1843, were evidently inadequate by 1848. Correspondence from Whichcord between April and September in that year discussed their replacement. Tenders for doing so were received from Edward Guest, Thomas Humphries and John Shewen [*sic*]; the successful one is not indicated.¹⁰

The fine iron gates within the arches of the two alms rows (Figs. 7 and 11), whose style contrasts with



Fig. 13. Sevenoaks School House, west side, before 1878. *Gordon Anckorn.*



Fig. 14. John M. Hooker, elevation drawing of proposed addition on the north side of Sevenoaks School House, 1877. *Sevenoaks School.*



Fig. 15. Sevenoaks School House, from the west. *Richard Hewlings.*

that of the 1764–65 palisadoes, were evidently supplied in 1850. In March of that year Bryan Burton submitted a specification for smith's and mason's work in erecting both pairs of "folding gates". Tenders for doing so were received from Thomas Humphry [*sic*], Richard Hoare and Edward Guest; Humphry's was successful.¹¹

Bryan Burton evidently acted as architect for a number of minor works between 1850 and 1854. In May 1850 he submitted a specification for building three stacks to the almshouses; a bill for doing so was put in in January 1851. In October 1851 he submitted a specification for various alterations to the school house, including re-hanging the front doors, building new steps, removing the dado in the drawing room and fitting a new chimneypiece; tenders were received from Daniel and James Grover, William Faulks and N.How and Son. In October 1852 Burton

submitted a specification for repairing windows and external doors.¹² In 1854 he provided drawings for the addition of a hat and coat room, new W.C.'s attached to the school house, and for new desks.¹³

One minor work which was not carried out was a recommendation in March 1866 by the architect and surveyor William Reddell of 10 Finsbury Circus to replace the almshouse windows with wooden sashes. Reddell's survey describes the existing windows as iron casements with lead lights.¹⁴ But the iron casements, doubtless those supplied by Joseph Pattison in 1729 and Wells, Sharpe and Whiting in 1731, still survive, though without leaded lights (Fig. 10).

The character of Morris's design (Fig. 13) would have been changed by the replacement of the pantiles, but it was not fundamentally altered until 1877–78. In those years the north wing of the school house was extended on all three floors to the design

of John M. Hooker, architect, of 6 Duke St., Adelphi (Fig. 14).¹⁵ Hooker's extension repeated Morris's plainer details and was built of identical ragstone. It only distinguished itself from the nucleus of the school house by being set well back from the line of the west elevation (Fig. 8), doubtless mainly to allow access to the stable yard to the north; on its east side it continued the alignment of the old building and thus, for the first time, made it asymmetrical.

Ten years later the Governors sought to build a new school room and to alter the existing one. In February 1888 plans were sought from two local firms, the surveyor Cronk, presumably either E.E. or G.Cronk, who had produced the survey plan of 1857, or a relation, and Thomas Potter of 49 London Rd., Sevenoaks. In July Hooker sent in some unsolicited plans as well. On 26 July Potter's were chosen; he proposed a new school room south of the old school house, connected to it by an entrance gateway.

Approval from the Charity Commissioners was sought. They sent Potter's drawings to be vetted by their architect, Ewan Christian, in January 1889. The tender of Richard Durtnall of Brasted was accepted, and the new buildings were completed in May 1890.¹⁶

The south wing of the school house, originally three storeys high like the north wing, was increased by one storey in height, to level it with the centre. The conspicuous asymmetry it created obscured Morris's design, and consequently diminished it (Fig. 15). Like Hooker's north extension, its design repeats Morris's details and its facing material is ragstone; the break between it and the original building has been made almost invisible by weathering. It thus compounds the aesthetic offence of its conception by concealing it. Unfortunately no documentation of its design or construction has been found. It cannot be precisely dated; nor can its architect be identified.

NOTES

- 1 Brian Scragg, *Sevenoaks School, A History*, Bath, 1993, 52; J.T.Lennox, *Sevenoaks School and its founder*, Sevenoaks, 1932, 27; John Rooker, *A short account of Sir William Sevenoke and of his school and almshouses*, 1913, 18.
- 2 William Kent, *The Designs of Inigo Jones...*, II, London, 1727, pls. 52-3.
- 3 London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Library, Drawings Collection, BD VI/8.
- 4 Sevenoaks, Sevenoaks Public Library (hereafter SPL), U1000/23 E1/2.
- 5 John Newman, *The Buildings of England West Kent and the Weald*, Harmondsworth, 1969, 512-13, the only account of the architecture to date.
- 6 Sevenoaks, Sevenoaks School Archives (hereafter cited as SSA), plan endorsed "The Ground plan of the School House & Almshouses". The plan does not show the "palisadoes", illustrated in figs. 4 and 13, which were added between September 1764 and September 1765 (see Appendix III).
- 7 Scragg, *op. cit.*, 16, 24.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 20, 22-3.
- 9 H.M.Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, V, London, 1976, 347.
- 10 SPL, U1000/23 A1 (Wardens' Account Book 1576-1719), 226.
- 11 Sevenoaks, Sevenoaks School, Sevenoaks Corporation Chest (hereafter SCC), letter endorsed "Mr Stedman's Act. of the present State of Warehouses and repairs. 1718."
- 12 SCC, envelope containing three letters, 24 & 25 Sept. 1718.
- 13 Scragg, *op. cit.*, 52.
- 14 Abstracted from SPL, U1000/23 A1 (Wardens' Account Book 1576-1719) and from SCC, "The Account Book of the Corporation... of Sevenoaks. 4. Commencing 25 September 1719. Ending 29 September 1781" (hereafter Account Book), *passim*.
- 15 SSA has a copy of the Act (8 Georgii 1 1721).
- 16 Scragg, *op. cit.*, 34.
- 17 Edward Hasted, *History of Kent*, Canterbury, 1778, I, 349-50.
- 18 Scragg, *op. cit.*, 34-42.
- 19 SPL, U1000/23 A1, 225; Hasted, *op.cit.*, 18, 349-50, 350-51, 352-53, 355; GEC[okayne], *The Complete Baronetage*, V, Exeter, 1906, 64-5, for Farnaby.
- 20 SCC, Account Book, 48.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 76.
- 22 SPL, U1000/23 A1, 216.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 225.
- 24 SCC, Account Book, 36.
- 25 Scagg, *op. cit.*, 57; SPL, Ch 36/L1/1 records c.1748 that the newly built school only had two or three scholars because Simpson had been "Guilty of Sev^l Acts of Hasty and Ill timed Severity"; his conduct was "very odd even rediculous [*sic*]."
- 25a SCC, copy dated 29 Sept. 1800 of a report of the case in Chancery, 3 February 1730 (hereafter cited as Copy Report), 38.
- 26 Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy*, Oxford, 1962, 474.
- 27 SCC, Account Book, 30 ("Spent at a Meeting to give in our Answer to the Bill in Chancery"); London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), C33/353 (Part I), fols. 188 and 189v.
- 28 *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter cited as *DNB*), XXI, 1900, 1261-66, for Yorke; Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 368, for Flitcroft.
- 29 *DNB*, VIII, 1890, 760-61, for Fuller; Hasted, *op.cit.*, 353, for his occupation of the house; Newman, *op. cit.*, 515, for its date.
- 30 PRO, *loc. cit.*
- 31 SCC, Account Book, 18 (Richard Bird, bricklayer, Thomas Eldridge, sawyer, Nicholas Lock, carpenter, and Richard Hampton, probably a labourer, were paid £12 os.4d.).
- 32 SCC, bundle of loose papers, 8 July 1726 to 29 Sept. 1730, evidently a set of draft accounts (hereafter cited as Draft Accounts), unpaginated. The rent for Simpson's house was paid on 28 Dec. 1726, 29 Apr. and 10 Nov. 1727, 29 June and 31 Oct. 1728, 28 May and 5 Dec. 1729, and 14 May 1730.
- 33 SCC, Copy Report, 42
- 34 SCC, Account Book, 39, 47, 54.
- 35 SPL, U1000/23 E/1/1.
- 36 SCC, loose paper in envelope, endorsed "The agreemt. wth. Dr. Thorp for his Timber 6. Mar: 1721"; SCC, Account Book, 12. The timber came from Friendon in Chiddingstone Parish and cost £410.
- 37 SCC, Account Book, 9.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 11-20.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 19, 20.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 41 SPL, U1000/23 E1/2. This is unfortunately only a

- draft contract, with blank spaces for the day and month.
- 42 SCC, Account Book, 23–6. Stone came from Sir Charles Farnaby’s quarry, and from “Mr Mandys at Bichet”, sand came from The Vine (an open space, then north of the town, on the road to Dartford, now part of Sevenoaks High Street) and from Gallows Common, scaffolding poles from “Mr Maddox of Depford”.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 46 (“Paid Mr. Mines Plaisterer . . . for the Ceiling and Rending the North Wing of the Alms houses 23. 6. 5.”); SCC, Draft Accounts, reveal that Mines was paid on 5 August.
- 45 SCC, Account Book, 29–34 (Gervas Thorp supplied the pumps for £7 16s. 8d.).
- 46 Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh*, London, 1977, 80, n.7, and 255.
- 47 Cambridge, University Library, University Archives, VCV 13(2), and Misc. Coll. 20.
- 48 Howard Colvin, “The Fifty New Churches”, *Architectural Review*, CVII, March 1950, 195–96; Sally Jeffery, “The work of John James,” University of London Ph.D., 1986, catalogue nos. 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 59, 60 and 96.
- 49 W.Marston Acres, *The Bank of England from within 1694–1900*, London, 1931, I, 168, 169.
- 50 London, Drapers’ Company, Archives, CB23 and Folder e.15.
- 51 Sally Jeffery, *The Mansion House*, London, 1993, 49–50, 300.
- 52 SPL, U1000/23 E1/5.
- 53 *Ibid.*, E1/4. These documents (E1/1–8) are early twentieth-century transcripts of a group of documents in SCC, and contain a few, largely unimportant mistakes. E1/4, however, transcribes the date 1725/6 as 1728, a crucial error which caused confusion for me until I examined SCC.
- 54 SCC, Account Book, 5, 12, 13, 18.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 24, 25.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 29, 31.
- 57 SSA, twentieth-century transcript (hereafter cited as Harris). I am indebted to Mr. Kim Taylor for bringing this to my attention. The original has not been found.
- 58 SCC, Account Book, 64 (Harris was paid £1 6s. 6d. for this).
- 59 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 31, 41, 46, 52, 57, 65, 67, 71, 78.
- 61 Bird was ill-fated. He built the tower in the Water Court at Knole, but in February 1747 he petitioned the Duke of Dorset for payment of a further £14 or £15 outstanding for doing so. He claimed that he had borrowed to pay his workmen and had been arrested for that money. He was therefore unable to repair the butchers’ shambles, which he had relied on doing to clear his debt [Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U269, E 13/2].
- 62 SPL, U1000/23 E1/2.
- 63 SCC, letter endorsed “Mr. Stedman’s Act. of the present State of Warehouses and repairs.1718”.
- 64 SCC, Account Book, 19.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 29 (Stedman was paid £29 in this capacity during that year).
- 66 SCC, Draft Accounts, *cit.*.
- 67 SCC, Account Book, 72.
- 68 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 920.
- 69 SCC, Account Book, 19.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 34.
- 71 SPL, U1000/23 E1/6.
- 72 SCC, Draft Accounts, *cit.*.
- 73 SCC, Account Book, 68.
- 74 These four words do not occur in the Account Book, but in a part-transcript, part-digest made by J.T.Lennox, in SPL, D338c (contd), brought to my attention by Mr. Kim Taylor. Lennox may either have transcribed another version of the accounts, or he may have included his own inference.
- 75 SSA, twentieth-century transcript of document entitled “A Copy of A Estimate of the Almes + School Houses”. I am indebted to Mr. Kim Taylor for bringing this to my attention. The original has not been found.
- 76 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 489–91, 666–69.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 666.
- 78 SCC, Account Book, 30.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 80 SPL, U1000/23 E1/3.
- 81 *Ibid.*, E1/1. Although Wigsell had received a little work between 1719 and 1726, totalling £93, Kipps had not [SCC, Account Book, 2, 18, 24, 30, 31, 39]. In the meantime he had worked for the 1st. Earl Stanhope at Chevening in 1721 [Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U1590, E26/4].
- 82 SCC, Account Book, 30.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 46; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 12 April.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 59; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 5 May.
- 85 See Appendix III.

- 86 SCC, loose sheet entitled “The Workmanship for masons work”, currently (2001) in an envelope.
- 87 SCC, Account Book, 30.
- 88 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 89 *Idem*; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 3 December 1726.
- 90 All the stone bought from September 1726 to September 1731 (1, 316 loads) came from Black Hall Farm, evidently the property of William Bosville [*Ibid.*, 41, 53, 58, 65]
- 91 *Ibid.*, 38 (bought from Mr. Maddox); in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 7 December.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 45; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 20 October 1727.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 38 (“Mould” lead and “Milld” lead bought from Gervas Thorp); in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 20 December 1726.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 38; the date and the nature of the gift are given in the Draft Accounts.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 39; the date and the names of those present are given in the Draft Accounts.
- 97 *Idem*.
- 98 *Idem*; the date is not given, but the payment falls between two which are dated in the Draft Accounts.
- 99 *Ibid.*, 47; in the Draft Accounts the meeting is dated 28 December 1727.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 46; this may conform to a payment dated 17 January 1728 in the Draft Accounts.
- 101 *Idem*; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 3 June. Timber for the laths came from Penshurst.
- 102 *Idem*; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 5 August.
- 103 Gordon Nares, “Wolterton Hall, Norfolk-II”, *Country Life*, CXXII, July 25, 1957, 168.
- 104 Jeffrey, *John James, cit.*, catalogue no. 16.
- 105 SCC, Account Book, 53; in the Draft Accounts these payments are dated 28 November and 27 January.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 46; in the Draft Accounts Crowley’s payment is dated 23 August.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 53 (William Wells was paid for the former and Gervas Thorpe for the latter); in the Draft Accounts the former payment was made on 3 and 22 February, and the latter on 26 February.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 53 (the sawyer was Thomas Pullen); in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 5 May.
- 110 SSA, plan endorsed “The Ground plan of the School House & Alms Houses”.
- 111 SCC, Account Book, 53.
- 112 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 46; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 22 April.
- 115 *Idem*; in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 12 April.
- 116 *Idem*.
- 117 PRO, C33/351, fol. 205v.
- 118 Colvin, *King’s Works, cit.*, 358.
- 119 Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715–1754*. London, 1970, II, 174–76
- 120 PRO, Ch 36/L1/2(a); but *ibid.*, 2(c) puts date as 3 May 1728, presumably in error.
- 121 SSA, Harris, *cit.*.
- 122 Hillyard built No.17 Bruton Street, with Edward Cock, in 1736 [Victor Belcher, “The Queen’s Birth Place”, *London Topographical Record*, XXIV, 1980, 81]. In the same year they took a building lease in the future Berkeley Square area from the 4th. Lord Berkeley of Stratton [B.H.Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, London, 1952, 174]. In 1744 Hillyard was the lease-holder of Nos.51 and 52 Berkeley Square, and in 1746 he mortgaged the former to Roger Morris [London Metropolitan Archives, MLR 1744/1/5,6 and 1746/2/404].
- 123 SPL, U1000/23 E1/6 (Bricklayers’ work, which presumably, as elsewhere at Sevenoaks, included mason’s work, was estimated at £353 5s 9d., carpenters’ work at £171 10s., plasterers’ work at £105 6s 8d., smiths’ work at £64, painters’ work at £35, glaziers’ work at £29 13s., and plumbers’ work at £5).
- 124 SCC, Account Book, 58.
- 125 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 126 *Idem* (from John Skinner); in the Draft Accounts the payment is dated 7 February.
- 127 Frances Harris, “... Wimbledon House”, *The Georgian Group Journal*, II, 1992, 88; F.H.W.Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, XXXI, London, 1963, 286.
- 128 SCC, Account Book, 60 (Pattison was also paid for “Pattern Casements” at the same time).
- 129 *Ibid.*, 57.
- 130 *Ibid.*, 58.
- 131 Williams, *op. cit.*, 469.
- 132 PRO, Ch.36/L1/2(a); *ibid.*, 2(c); SCC, Copy Report, *cit.*.
- 133 Laurence Whistler, “Ockham Park, Surrey”, *Country Life*, CVIII, December 29, 1950, 2218–221.
- 134 SSA, Harris, *cit.*. The illegible words were illegible to the early twentieth-century transcriber.

- 135 SCC, Account Book, 64.
 136 *Ibid.*, 64 and 67.
 137 *Ibid.*, 64.
 138 *Ibid.*, 65.
 139 *Ibid.*, 64 and 65 (Edward Dalton for the hooks, rides and mathooks, William Wells and Robert Sharpe for the saddle bars, casements and springs, and Henry Whiting for one pattern casement weighing ten pounds, paid for by its weight).
 140 *Ibid.*, 65.
 141 *Ibid.*, 67.
 142 *Ibid.*, 63.
 143 *Ibid.*, 64 and 67 (John Mackinder was paid for the timber, and Thomas Pullen for sawing boards, slitting deals and sawing pantile laths).
 144 *Ibid.*, 64 (John Skinner supplied 1,800).
 145 *Ibid.*, 65.
 146 *Idem* (from George Kippes).
 147 *Ibid.*, 64.
 148 *Ibid.*, 64 and 65 (James Beaman sawed them and Thorpe and Baker painted them).
 149 *Ibid.*, 65.
 150 *Ibid.*, 67.
 151 SPL, U1000/23 E1/7.
 152 *Ibid.*, E1/8, summarized at Appendix II, *infra.*
 153 SPL, D338c contd.. I am indebted to Mr. Kim Taylor for bringing this document to my attention.
 154 SCC, Account Book, 68.
 155 *Ibid.*, 71.
 156 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 666.
 157 SCC, Account Book, 72.
 158 *Idem* (a Mr. Mollineux supplied brass knockers and locks for the sheds).
 159 *Ibid.*, 72 and 78.
 160 *Ibid.*, 78.
 161 *Ibid.*, 72.
 162 *Ibid.*, 73.
 163 PRO, Ch 36/L1/2(a) and (b).
 164 Neil Rhind, *Blackheath Village and Environs*, London, 1983, 229, and plate 117. This attribution is only a guess. Morris worked for the Duke at Goodwood [Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 667, 668; T.P.Connor, "Architecture and planting at Goodwood", *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, CXVII, 1979, 186, 188, 190], and Maze Hill House resembles Morris's design for George Bubb Dodington's house at Hammersmith.
 165 Williams, *op. cit.*, 469; *DNB*, XI, 1892-3, 146.
 166 PRO, Ch 36/L1/2(a) and (c).
 167 *Ibid.*, 2(b).
 168 *Ibid.*, 2(c); SPL, Bosville Papers, U1000/20, Ch 36/Ac 3.
 169 Nicholas Kingsley, *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire*, II, Chichester, 1992, 68-70.
 170 SPL, Bosville Papers, U1000/20, Ch 36/Ac 3.
 171 Frank Kelsall, "Hillside and Park Hall, Crooms Hill, Greenwich," *Transactions of the Greenwich and Lewisham Antiquarian Society*, VIII, 1977, 210-15.
 172 Hasted, *op. cit.*, 349-50; SCC, one of three letters in an envelope, concerning the transfer of the warehouses to the Commissioners of Customs, was written by W. Bosville, at Greenwich on 24 September 1718.
 173 Christopher Rayner, *Sevenoaks Past*, Chichester, 1997, 64; Hasted, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 350.
 174 SPL, U1000/23 E1/1.
 175 Hasted, *op. cit.*, I, 18 and 352-53, for the relationship of Thomas and Multon (later Sir Multon) Lambard; Charles Dalton, *George The First's Army*, I, London, 1910, 231, for Lambard's military position; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 1009, for the attribution to Vanbrugh; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints and Drawings, D.98-1891 (inscribed "Coll. Lamberts house"), D.103-1891, and D.111-1891 appear to be Vanbrugh's drawings (although D.115-1891, D.119-1891, and D.120-1891, although catalogued as the same building, do not resemble it at all); London, Sir John Soane's Museum, MS diary of William Freeman, p.78, contains a description of it.
 176 T.P.Connor, *Unbuilt Eton*, Eton, 1993, 8. The attribution of this design to James was made by Mr. John Brushe in a letter to Dr. Connor, after publication; Dr. Connor and I are both convinced.
 177 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 98 and 536.
 178 *Ibid.*, 539.
 179 Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, II, Westminster, 1903, 380-81.
 180 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 335, 568-69, II, 400.
 181 *Ibid.*, I, 501, 605.
 182 T.P.Connor, "Colen Campbell as Architect to the Prince of Wales", *Architectural History*, XXII, 1979, 66.
 183 Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, Archives, Eastbourne Estate Papers, Box P, Folder 2/18 (17 Nov. 1729 "Mr. Morris ye Survaioir is Just now Come") and 27 (9 May 1730 "Mr. Morris ye

- Surveyer was here"). In these papers he is distinguished from Arthur Morris of Lewes, indicated as "Mr. Morris ye mason".
- 184 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 668–69; John Ingamells, *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800*, New Haven and London, 1997, 683–84.
- 184a [Gervase Jackson. Stops], *West Wycombe Park*, London, 1978, 11, 12.
- 185 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 669.
- 186 Susanna Smith, "The Westminster Dormitory", in Edward Corp (ed.), *Lord Burlington—The man and his politics*, Lampeter, 1998, 51–70.
- 187 G.E.C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, X, London, 1945, 178–80; *DNB*, II, Oxford, 1885, 1017. I am indebted to Dr. Eveline Cruickshanks for the information that he attended Sevenoaks School.
- 188 G.E.C., *op. cit.*, 178–79; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 335.
- 189 *DNB*, VI, 1888–9, 1186–87.
- 190 Eveline Cruickshanks, "The Political Career of the Third Earl of Burlington", in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington, Architecture, Art and Life*, London and Rio Grande, 1995, 206.
- 191 Chatsworth, Letters, Lady Burlington (at Tonbridge) to Lord Burlington (at Tottenham Park), 25 June 1730.
- 192 *Ibid.*, Lady Burlington (at Tonbridge) to Lord Burlington, 25 July 1733; Charles J. Phillips, *History of the Sackville Family*, London, Toronto, Melbourne and Sydney, [1929], 36, for Mrs. Chambers; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 529–30, for Walter Carey.
- 193 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, 211.
- 194 *Ibid.*, 667.
- 195 *Ibid.*, 668.
- 196 *Ibid.*, 212, 669.
- 197 *Ibid.*, 667.
- 198 Malcolm Seaborne, *The English School*, 2 vols., London, 1977, lists numerous schools, but not Sevenoaks.
- 199 John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones Complete Architectural Drawings*, London, 1989, 49.

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

- 1 Scragg, *op. cit.*, 57.
- 2 SSA, unreferenced.
- 3 SCC, Account Book, 179, 180.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pagination ceases after p. 223.
- 5 *Idem.*
- 6 *Idem.*
- 7 *Ibid.*, 216 *et al.*, unpaginated.
- 8 SCC, papers loosely wrapped in brown paper.
- 9 *Idem.*
- 10 *Idem.*
- 11 *Idem.*
- 12 *Idem.*
- 13 SSA, unreferenced; partly reproduced in Scragg, *op. cit.*, 78.
- 14 SCC, papers loosely wrapped in brown paper.
- 15 SSA, unreferenced.
- 16 SCC, bundle entitled "Papers +c relating to New Buildings".