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CHEVENING: THE RESOLUTIONS

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The paper on Chevening which was published in last year's issue of *The Georgian Group Journal* addressed two main issues, the likelihood of Inigo Jones's authorship of the original design and the whereabouts of John Webb's 'noble room'.¹ It has provoked a most gratifying response from other historians, and prompted a more thorough investigation of overlooked material, with some rather surprising results.

I

The opening volley was fired very soon after publication, by Dr Pat Smith in her paper delivered at the Oxford conference on the seventeenth-century villa.² She questioned the hitherto unexamined assumption that the house had always been approached, as it is now, from the north, and entered directly into a combined reception and stairhall – what Roger North referred to as 'a room of *entrata*, where the great staires rise to the summit of the house'.³ Instead she proposed that the house had been turned round, and that as originally designed the stairhall was a separate room, the principal entrance being from the south. I confess that I greeted this radical challenge with a skepticism bordering on incredulity which, on further examining already available material, I quickly came to regret. I had been puzzled that comparison of the now famous perspective on the 1679 estate plan with its companion plans (Figs. 1 and 2) had revealed that the perspective was drawn from the south-east and had therefore

assumed it to show the back or garden front of the house.⁴ The evidence of orientation was the presence on both the perspective and the ground-floor plan of two unexplained cuboids of brick flanking the perron to the doorway: since the plan showed that these were on the side of the house away from the stairhall, it was plain that the principal elevation on the perspective must have been that to the south.⁵ Shortly after Dr Smith's initial challenge Dr Gordon Higgott proposed an explanation of the two lumps: they were likely to have been the stands or platforms of an incomplete perron which could have had balancing flights, either parallel to the front of the house, as in Jones's 'Ideal plan for a centralized villa' of c.1617⁶ or in the form of quadrants as on the north front of the Queen's House at Greenwich (1636–37). Either would of course strengthen the case for an attribution to Jones. By 1679 either this design had been abandoned in favour of a single straight flight of steps one bay wide or this flight was a temporary measure until the full perron could be completed; in any case the brick masses had not been removed. They may in fact have formed part of a continuous platform, the middle of which was hidden in the drawing by the steps, and it is conceivable that they still survive within the substructure of the existing three-bay perron on the south side (Fig. 3); attempts at reconstructing its appearance now (Figs. 4 and 5) suggest that it is most likely that the original idea was also for a single wide straight flight.

Confirmation of the correctness of Dr Smith's view came from an examination of two documents at



Fig. 1. Chevening: perspective from south-east, 1679. *Chevening Estate*.

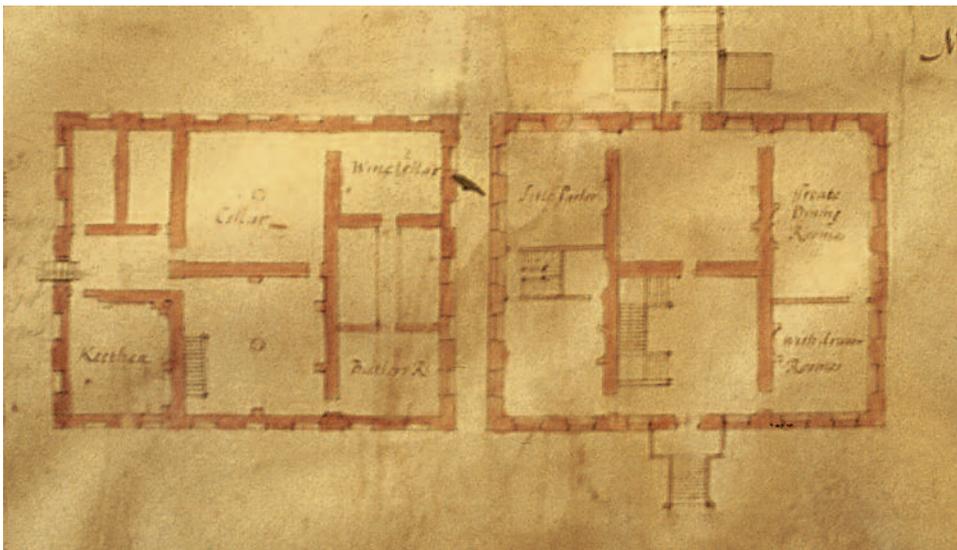


Fig. 2. Chevening: perspective from south-east, 1679. *Chevening Estate*.

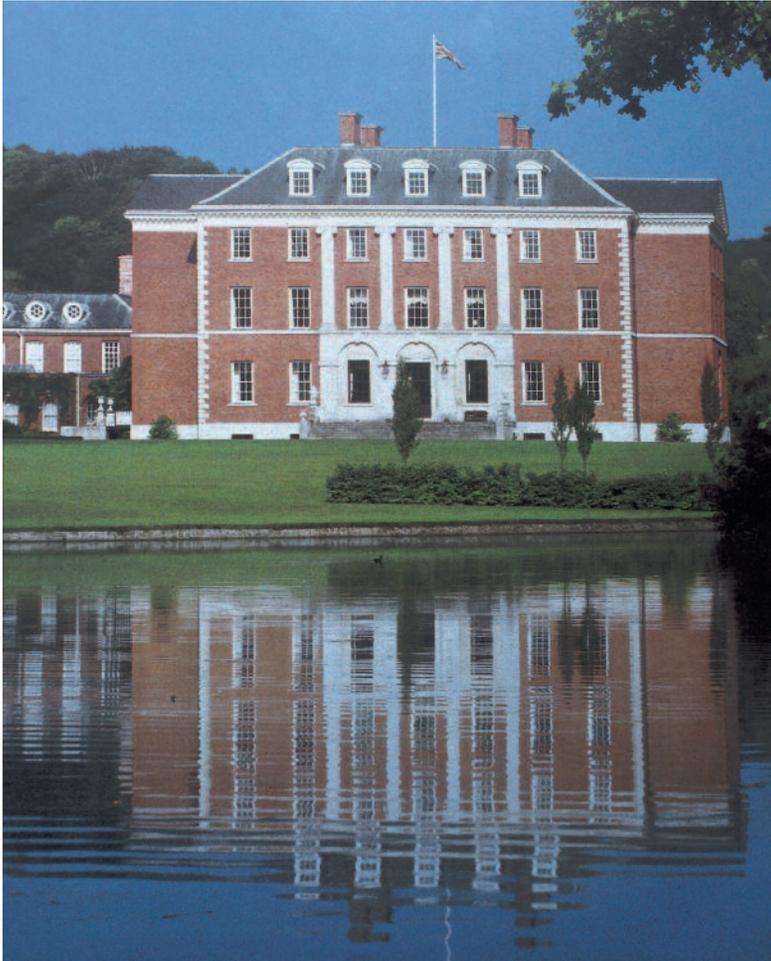


Fig. 3. Chevening from the south. *Chevening Estate*.

Chevening whose relevance I had not previously appreciated.⁷ The first of these is an amateurish bird's-eye view by Richard Browne, apparently also drawn in 1679, entitled 'A new map of the Manors of Chevening' and showing the house and its immediate surroundings enclosed within a pentagonal wall (Fig. 6).⁸ In the middle of the front stretch of this wall is a gate leading into a forecourt parterre divided crosswise into four rectangular lawns. It is immediately clear that this parterre is the same as that shown *behind* the house on the Badeslade engraving taken

from the north and made in 1719 after Thomas Fort's alterations for General Stanhope, by which time the house had an entirely new north forecourt (Fig. 7). Browne's drawing must therefore show the house from the south at a moment at which this was incontestably the entrance front. Behind the house is a large area scattered with what were evidently farm buildings, one of them a threshing barn with a central gabled entrance. This barn appears also on George Bachelor's estate map of 1613 (Fig. 8) in the same relative position to the (apparently Elizabethan)

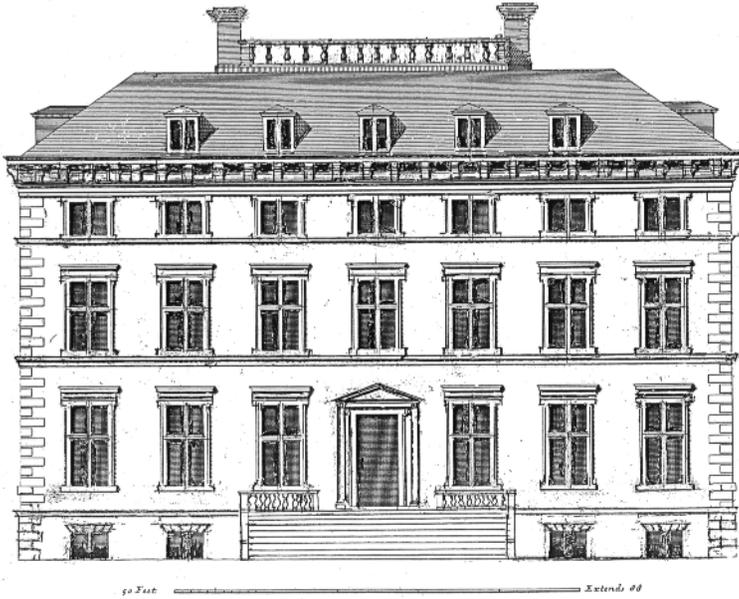


Fig. 4. Chevening, south front: Colen Campbell's elevation redrawn to show details from the 1679 perspective, and one possible form of the proposed perron. *Andor Gomme*.

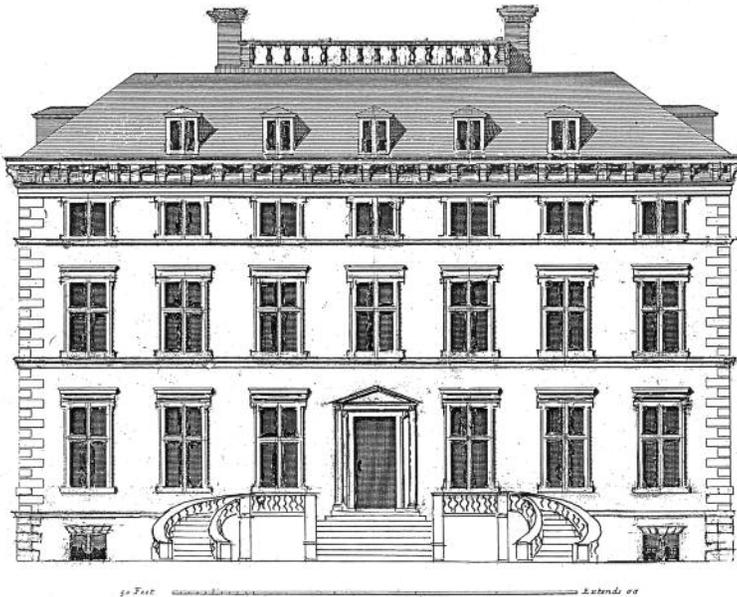


Fig. 5. Chevening, south front: Colen Campbell's elevation redrawn to show details from the 1679 perspective, and another possible form of the proposed perron. *Andor Gomme*.

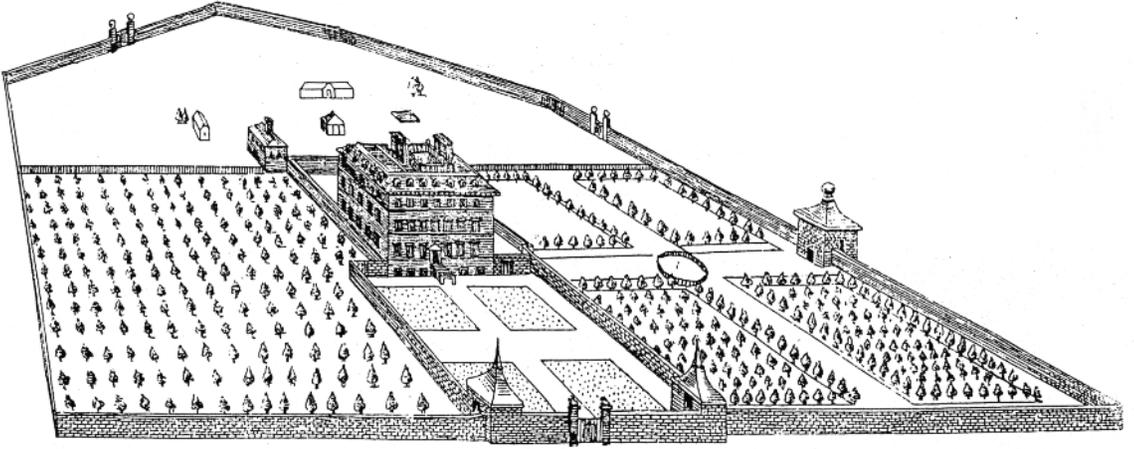


Fig. 6. Chevening from the south: view by Richard Browne, 1679.
Chevening Estate.

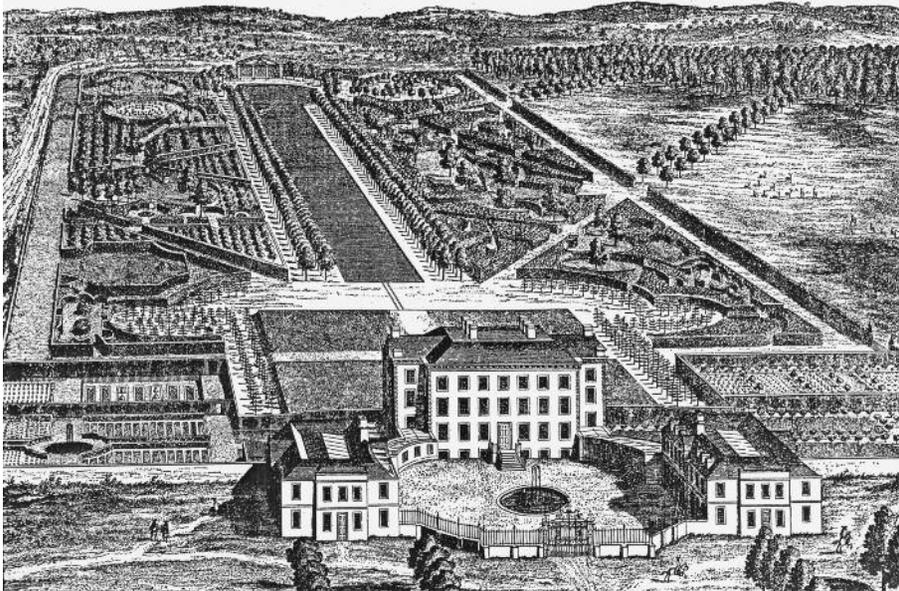


Fig. 7. Chevening from the north: engraving by Thomas Badeslade,
from John Harris, *History of Kent*, 1719.

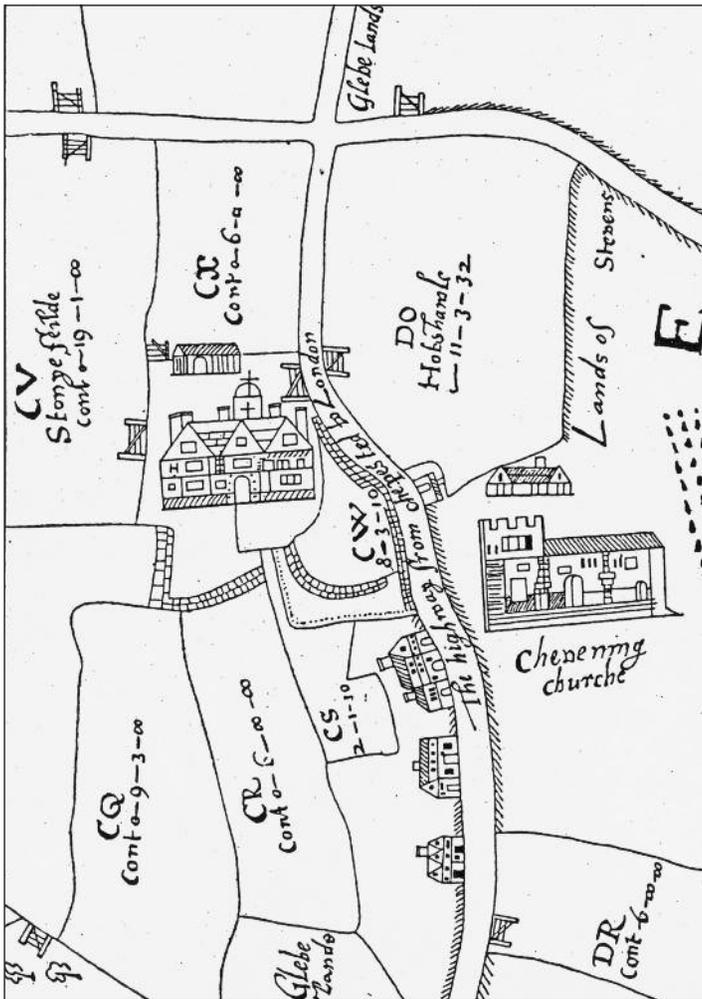


Fig. 8. Chevening: plan re-drawn from estate map by George Bachelor, 1613.

predecessor of the present house and, as the positions of the church and high road prove, indisputably to the north of it.⁹

There can therefore be no doubt that the house which the thirteenth Lord Dacre began in the 1620s faced south. This orientation, facing down hill and towards the main road, is more to be expected of a pre-Romantic house than one facing visitors approaching from a greater eminence than its own, who would have had to meander picturesquely over the North Downs.¹⁰ It was evidently reoriented at some point late in the seventeenth century, before

North's visit.¹¹ It seems plausible to suppose that the decision to turn it round was made in 1679 or soon afterward and that the estate map and its associated perspective and plans of the house were drawn up in preparation. It is worth noting that on the ground-floor plan, as Dr Smith pointed out, while three of the four corner rooms are annotated ('Little Parlor', 'Great Dining Roome' and 'withdraw-Roome') the two great rooms in the centre are unnamed, suggesting that their future may at that point have been undetermined.

We know now, therefore, that up to 1679 the

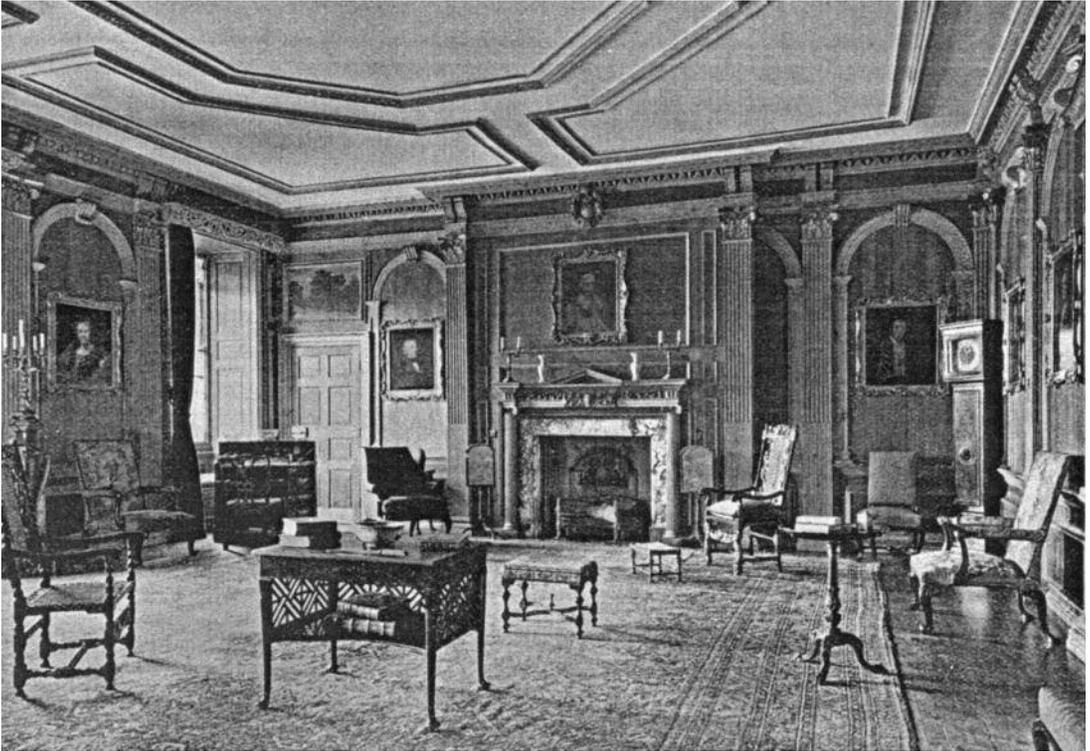


Fig. 9. Chevening: dining room. *Country Life*.

present dining room – that is, the panelled room in the middle of the south side, directly behind the present entrance-cum-stairhall – was itself the entrance hall. It is now, and by the time of North's visit already was, as he tells us, 'set off with pilaster and arcuated wainscot'. This is a curious melange (Fig. 9): between a full-height order of fluted Corinthian pilasters are lengths of dado, on the cornice of which stand miniature Doric pilasters with flat recessed panels carrying semicircular arches with an egg-and-dart extrados and a curvaceous volute at the apex. The lining of the room appears to be largely of oak but the carved and moulded work is all pine, and the Corinthian capitals are of lead. It is by no means certain that all this is of one date: Tipping likens it to the screen in the chapel at Forde Abbey (c.1658) which also has half-scale arcuation

between full pilasters, but there everything is of oak, all pilasters and arches have the recessed-panel feature, and all the capitals are in a bastard Composite; the whole is very obviously of a piece. In the Chevening room, while the main bones of the scheme may well date from an early stage in the fitting-out of the house, the bolection-moulded fielded panels of the dado look late seventeenth-century; the arcuation, which must have been glued in situ to existing panels, follows closely details of the architrave of the main order and doorcase but could perhaps be later careful imitation work. But, whether or not, it seems certain that the wainscot was not designed for this room: it simply doesn't fit, and as a result both the east and west walls are lopsided. It has long been recognized that the present very unbalanced state of the west wall, in which one bay



Fig. 10. Chevening: east wall of dining room.

Andor Gomme.

of the arcading is cut in half, is due to the introduction of a Georgian fireplace which was evidently wider than its predecessor, and its original form is not easy to work out. But the east wall, which has no such interruption and includes a dummy door introduced for the sake of symmetry, is still not symmetrical (Fig. 10): the southernmost bay is narrower than the others and has neither arch nor pilasters.¹²

It can be further argued that this type of wainscoting does not suggest itself as characteristic of an entrance hall, which we now know was the original function of this room: its role as a dining room, which it has had ever since North's time, seems right, since it was clearly something to be looked at and admired, though the evidence of the dado implies that it was smartened up when installed in its new home. Where then was the panelling beforehand? It is not really to be believed that it was

imported from some other house. Where else in this one, then? Not in the old great dining room to the west which it cannot conceivably be made to fit. It could of course be put into the room immediately above, but no more comfortably than where it is, and in any case, as we shall see, much greater things were in mind for that room. But measurement of the existing lengths of wainscot suggests the possibility that it could have once been in the stairhall, when that did not also have to serve as the entrance.¹³ The dimensions of the south wall are identical with its reflexion on the north wall of the north or stairhall; the existing panelling of the east wall would fit, with a little to spare to allow for completing the final bay, on the west of the north hall; and, with one important reservation, that on the dividing wall between the two rooms could simply be reversed. The reservation is that Campbell shows the first

flight of the great stair against this wall, which, if correct, would obviously rule it out. But is Campbell correct? Except for the plans we know nothing of the form of the stair that preceded Nicholas Dubois's magnificent creation of 1727. But it might seem more appropriate that the great stair should emerge on the first floor next to the door to the great chamber, rather than amorphously near the opposite side of a very large landing. Perhaps Campbell or his engraver accidentally exchanged the ground- and first-floor plans of the staircase.¹⁴ And at the risk of overdoing the supply of unprovable guesses, there is alternatively the possibility that the stair was itself reoriented when it was felt that its first flight was too near the new front door.

II

A recent further examination of the basement confirmed that the surviving lintels in the middle of the east and west wall are of a refined early seventeenth-century form (Fig. 11).¹⁵ Their source, Robert Crayford has pointed out to me, is a lintel and cornice moulding at the so-called Temple of

Vesta at Tivoli, illustrated in detail by Palladio. Jones heavily annotated the relevant page in his copy of the 1601 edition, including precise proportional measurements; and he used the same details – window and door entablatures without friezes and with cornices of just three mouldings – at the Queen's House. They are further compelling evidence for Jones's involvement in the design of Chevening: no-one else at the time would have had this source material or the understanding of how to apply it.¹⁶ The structural layout of the basement (Fig. 12) must of course determine that of the house above, with two major transverse load-bearing walls and a lateral one spinally across the middle void. The cells at each end, which were subdivided (east) into kitchen and pantries, (west) into butler's room and wine cellars, have shallow segmental tunnel vaults running north-south, like those beneath the north section of the Queen's House, except that at Chevening the rere-arches of the windows are shaped to ease themselves under the curve of the vault. The central section of the basement, below the hall and dining room is much more problematical. It consists of two identical vaulted rooms, divided by a solid wall within which are two crudely inserted windows, one of two and



Fig. 11. Chevening: lintel of basement window.

Richard Brook.

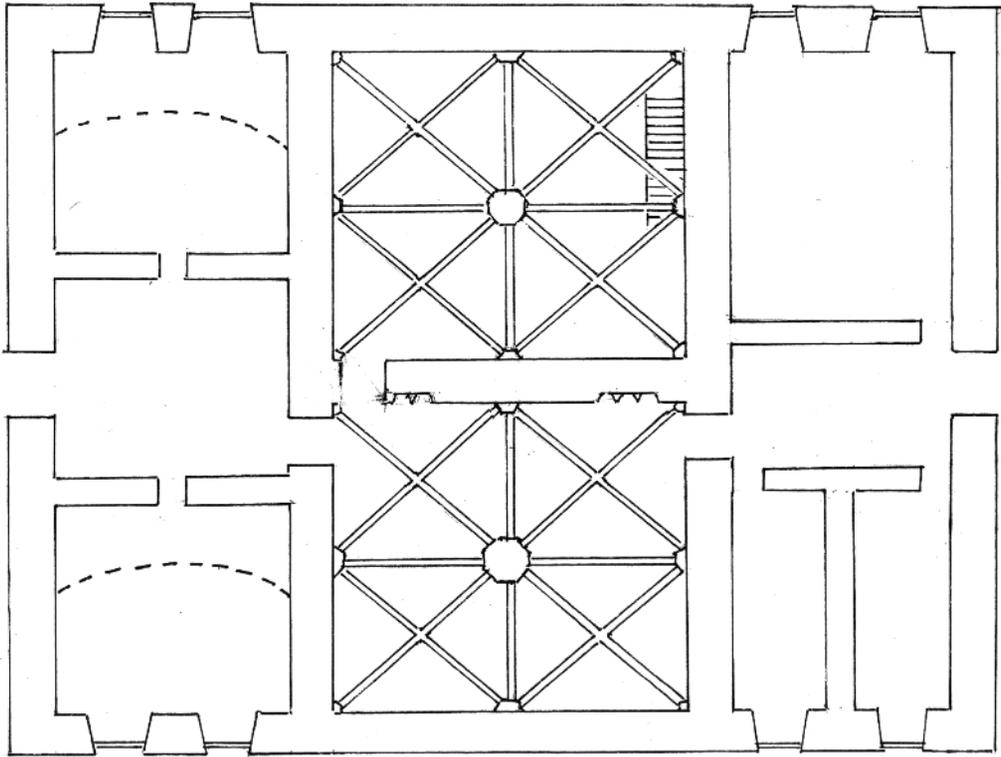


Fig. 12. Chevening: plan of basement. *Andor Gomme*.

one of three lights, with ovolo mullions (Fig. 13). This wall has been interpreted as the base of the front wall of the Elizabethan Chevening,¹⁷ but the windows are not evidence for this, since they have certainly been reset, in one case badly.¹⁸ The wall must in any event be at least coeval with the vault, if not older, for into each side of it is embedded one of the four corbelled responds of the four-by-four vaults which cover the two central rooms. Each is centred on an octagonal brick pier from whose eight sides spring semi-elliptical ribs which are broad and flat but quite deep: diagonals from the responds complete a set of four quadripartite bays.¹⁹ The effect, as John Newman remarked, is startlingly Gothic, though the great slabby ribs are of no ordinary Gothic profile.²⁰ Is that necessarily

surprising? It is scarcely to be believed that these rooms are contemporary with the segmentally vaulted cells to each side – though it should be admitted that the exact fit of the two mirror-image rooms to those of the 1620s directly above must make one cautious. Nor can the vault relate to an Elizabethan house whose front wall splits the vaulted section in two: if they relate directly to that house at all, they may have underlain either a wing at right angles to the front or a T-plan projection into a chapel which is hinted at in the 1613 sketch. But the vaults are not Elizabethan in character either: what they appear to be is the undercroft of the hall of a perhaps early sixteenth-century house which must have been oriented at right angles to the present one, probably facing east towards the high road, though



Fig. 13. Chevening: basement vault. *Andor Gomme*.

in this case it is a puzzle to know why the undercroft should have been divided in two by a solid wall.²¹ And if it is so, we must assume that Jones was in some way obliged to accept the partially existing basement layout which did in fact provide a substructure for rooms of a good size to form the central range of his re-oriented design.²²

III

It was argued in my previous paper that the ‘noble room’ for which John Webb told Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport in 1655 that he was ‘now making ornaments of wainscott’ must have been intended to occupy the three central bays on the two upper

floors of the south front, which are now taken by the tapestry room and the two rooms immediately above, the prime position on what is now known to have been the entrance front.²³ Dr Higgott has now brought further evidence to my attention which proves this conclusively. Among the architectural drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum are two large measured drawings by Webb which are plainly designs for two contiguous walls – the west and north – of the same room (Figs. 14 and 15), whose overall dimensions fit the space at Chevening exactly.²⁴ Although these drawings have been published previously, the coronets among the ornament which they illustrate, with five visible balls, implying eight altogether, an earl’s, led to their identification as ‘possibly for one of the cube rooms’

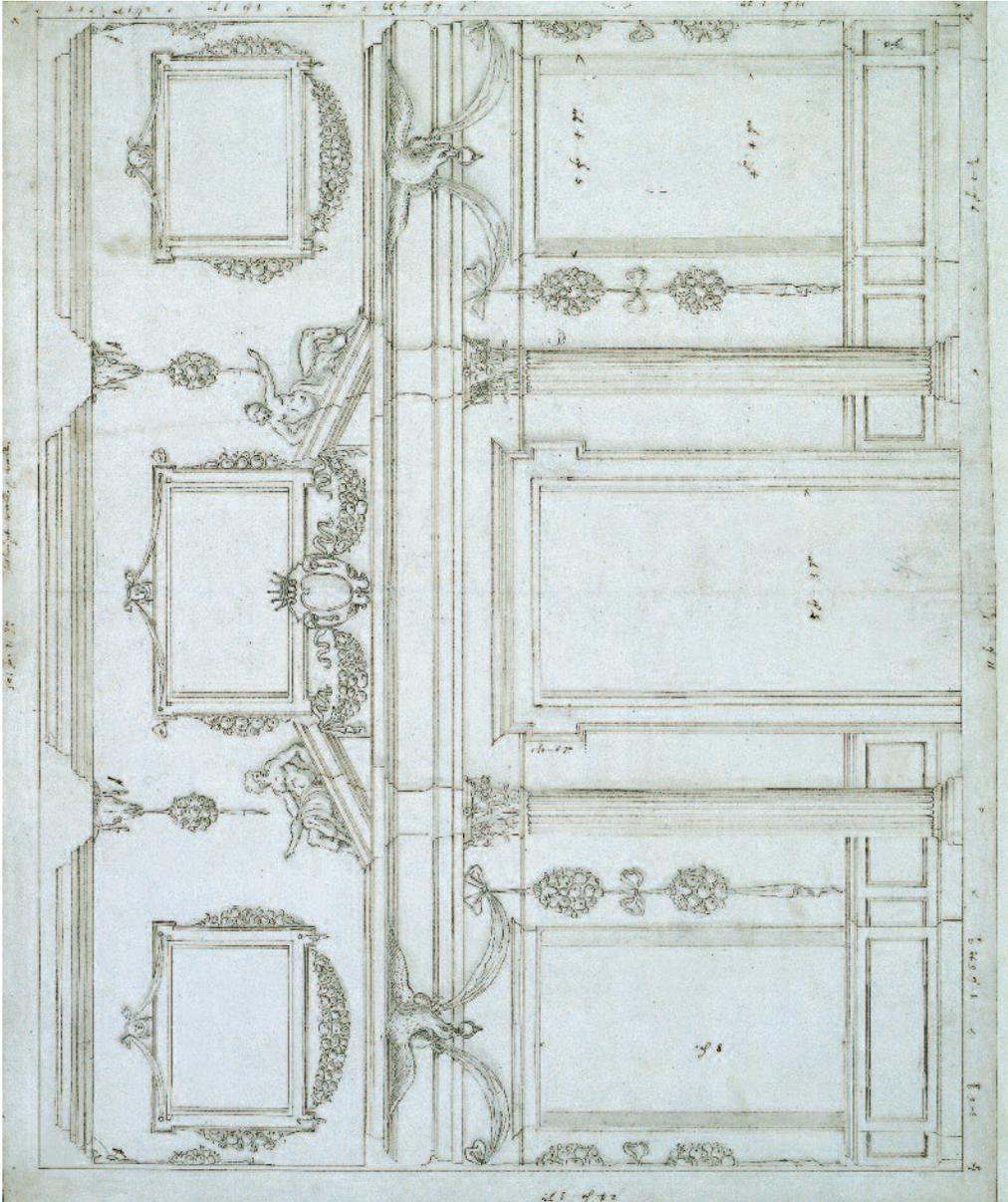


Fig. 14. John Webb, proposed elevation of north wall of Great Room at Chevening.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

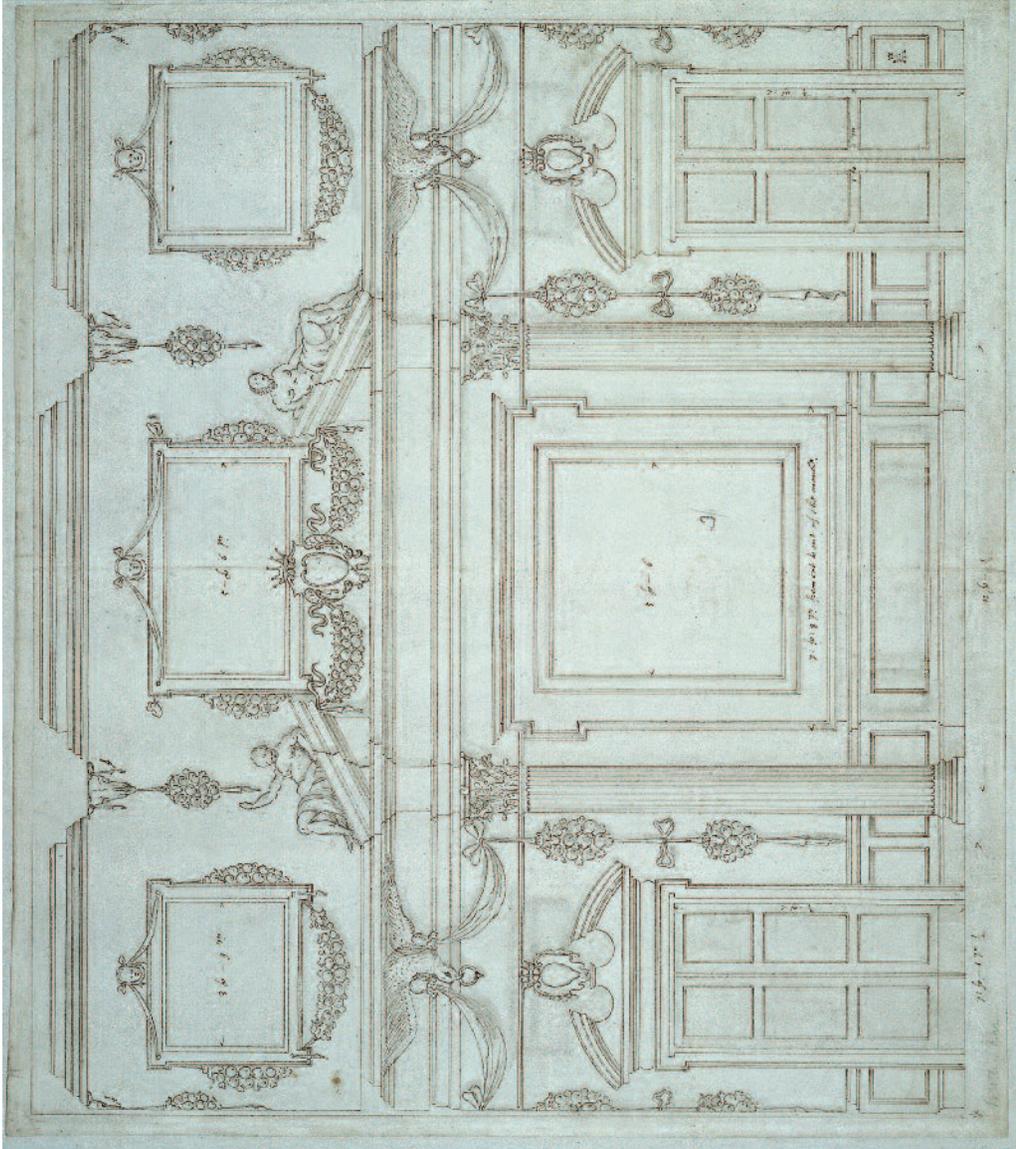


Fig. 15. John Webb, proposed elevation of west wall of Great Room at Chevening.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

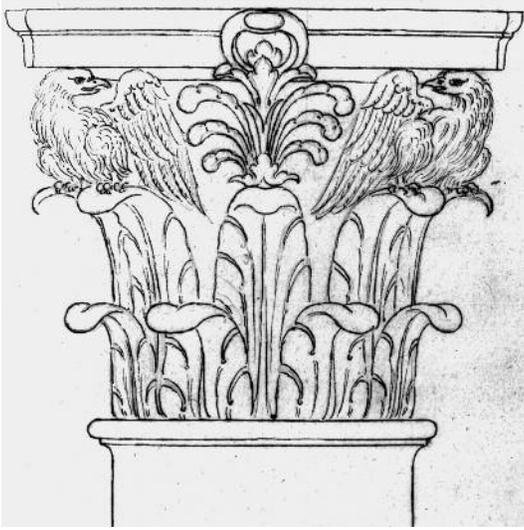


Fig. 16. John Webb, proposed capital for the Great Room at Chevening, from his 'Book of Capitals' at the RIBA Library Drawings Collection. *Conway Library*.

at Wilton, seat of the Earl of Pembroke.²⁵ However, a drawing in Webb's so-called 'Book of Capitals', annotated in Webb's hand 'For y^e E: Dacres at Chevening in Kent' reveal that Webb mistakenly believed that Dacre was an earl rather than a baron. This is one of two large-scale sketches of Corinthian capitals, in one of which the topmost acanthus whorls are replaced by eagles with their heads turned back towards one another, while in the second, much larger eagles take over the whole capital.²⁶ The capital annotated in Webb's hand (Fig. 16) is demonstrably to the same design as that of the four capitals to the columns flanking the centrepieces of the two walls in the elevation drawings.

The specific dimensions given on the latter drawings, however, demand some latitude of interpretation.²⁷ In the first place, on the north-wall drawing – the more fully annotated and the only one to include measurements of the height of the room and of its various elements – there is an inconsistency between the single figure of 24ft. 3ins., measured

from floor to ceiling, in the left-hand margin, and the sum of those of individual features in the right-hand. These latter total altogether 25ft. 9ins., of which 1ft. 5ins. is the depth of the cornice and of the ceiling beams, leaving 24ft. 4ins. for the total height from floor to the soffits of the beams. Webb therefore seems to have been uncertain whether the 24 feet and a bit which was to be the height of his room did or did not include the depth of the beams and/or cornice; and comparative measurements of individual features show that he has proportionately exaggerated in the measurements in the right-hand margin the vertical space available for each.²⁸ Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, on both drawings, though the breadths of the principal features are given, unannotated gaps are left (in each case between the centre line of a column and that of the adjoining drop), suggesting that Webb was not certain of the total size of the room when he made the two drawings. This is the more curious in that a comparative scaling of the overall lengths of the walls in relation to the total height gives 31 feet for the north wall, 27ft. 9ins. for the west, which shows that Webb's overall dimensions coincide exactly with the size of the rooms as recently measured (and as shown on Campbell's plans in *Vitruvius Britannicus*).²⁹

It was pointed out in the previous article that in his letter to Sir Justinian Isham Webb was in error over the breadth of the room (*i.e.* the overall size of the west and east walls), giving 22 feet instead of a little less than 28.³⁰ The degree of uncertainty and the inconsistency indicate that, as one might expect, he was away from the house when actually preparing the drawings, though, if one were to disregard some of the annotated measurements, it would be possible to create the walls, working from the drawings alone. They appear however to be not so much working drawings for craftsmen to follow as fully worked-out proposals for the client. Doubtless a wood-carver would have been left to body out the anatomically sketchy loungers on the pediments and details of the fruit-laden swags; and while some features, most

notably the spread eagles perching head-down on the upper moulding of the architrave, are drawn with meticulous care, others, such as the overdoor cartouches on the west wall, are quite crude. Furthermore, blurry marks behind these cartouches suggest that a quite different design with a wide rectangular panel has been rubbed out and replaced by the broken-pediment layout. A particularly uneasy feature of both drawings is the horizontal moulding running across the walls at the level of the astragal of the capitals and colliding awkwardly with the lugs of the door and main picture frame. It is hard to believe that Webb would have allowed such an anomaly to remain in the executed design.

The evidence now seems strong that Webb's great scheme remained on paper alone. The two drawings include outlined sections of elaborately moulded ceiling beams which imply a nine-part noughts-and-crosses layout of a square (of 11ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) surrounded by eight rectangles, in which a fine point to note is that Webb has observed (from Palladio, doubtless via Jones) the propriety of framing the central ceiling panel with complete cornices, whereas those of the subordinate panels only have partial ones.³¹ However, as explained in the previous paper, the existing beams in this crucial section of the second-floor ceiling (which at some later point was divided between two rooms) are structurally eccentric, probably because of a shortage of timber of adequate length or scantling; they are now enclosed within hefty plaster mouldings. Furthermore the layout is not precisely regular, the central panel being not square, as Webb planned his to be, but rectangular, and the end sections slightly unequal.³² Though there is an evident similarity between their layout and that implied on the drawings, Webb's west wall could not be made to fit under them: his beams would have to be closer together and presumably in consequence the whole centrepiece of the wall narrowed by about 1ft. 7ins. The structural asymmetry may suggest that the whole of the present ceiling is a later piece of cobbling after the noble

room had been abandoned, or the explanation could once again be that Webb was uncertain of the critical dimensions of the space he had to deal with. North referred to the room as 'not finished' on his visit to Chevening; but he also observed that 'the great staires rise to the sumitt of the house, and so open to the midle room above also' – which (at the summit of the house) must refer to a room on the second floor; the middle room would in that case already have taken the place of the upper storey of the great room, which '*was* [my italics] intended to be done with lunetts' but evidently was so no longer. It may be not through accidental loss that we have only two drawings out of at least five that would have been needed³³ – in addition to an amended version of the west wall: the others may never have been made, and it was perhaps the 'discontent with his lady' which drove the fourteenth Lord Dacre abroad in 1655 that deprived Chevening not only of what would surely have been its greatest glory but even of a complete view of what it might have been.

Webb wrote to Isham that he was confident that the latter's room would be 'more proportionable' than Lord Dacre's. This was probably politeness or flattery to the client, for the Chevening room, had it ever been built, would have been of a splendour to leave the Lamport room far behind and to rival the best of Wilton, with which indeed it would have had much detail in common.³⁴ Dominating each wall is a grand Corinthian aedicule containing the main door (north) and a large rectangular panel doubtless for a picture (west): the columns carry a widely broken pediment between whose wings are two bulgy festoons of fruit flanking a cartouche surmounted by an earl's coronet; half-naked figures recline on the slopes of the pediment, and on each side the columns are flanked by drops consisting of two ovals of fruit, one above the other, slung on a ribbon tied in a bow between them. All these details derive directly, with only minor variations, from the door to the anteroom in the double-cube room at Wilton (Fig. 17). The Chevening mouldings would have been slightly less



Fig. 17. Wilton, Double Cube Room: door to the Ante Room.
English Heritage, National Monuments Record Centre.
Courtesy of the Pembroke Estate.

complex, the doorcase and picture-frame lugs have sunk a few inches below the top of the upper architrave, and at Wilton the lounging figures are draped; but the only major differences are that the elaborate scroll frieze at Wilton is missing and that the festoons-and-cartouche feature has been lifted from its position in a sub-frieze, level with the capitals. There would, we assume, have been a third great aedicule surrounding the fireplace in the east wall. In the west wall are flanking doorcases, each with conventional lugs, a pulvinated frieze and above that a broken segmental pediment cradling a cartouche. The source again is Wilton – an apparently discarded design for the door from the

king's bedchamber (or colonnade room) to the double-cube room (Fig. 18).³⁵ In this case the adaptation is freer: the Wilton doorcase has no lugs, the panelling in the doors is different, as is the frieze, but the crowning pediment is identical. Above these doors at Chevening, and also above flanking panels to the main door, eagles lunge down with rings in their beaks and festooned ribbons swinging from their claws. More ribbons spread from cherub heads above the upper-storey panels which appear as if superimposed on a great ring of apples. Higher still, under the ends of the beams, are elongated ox-skulls, biting the ends of ribbons with, once more, oval bunches of fruit.³⁶

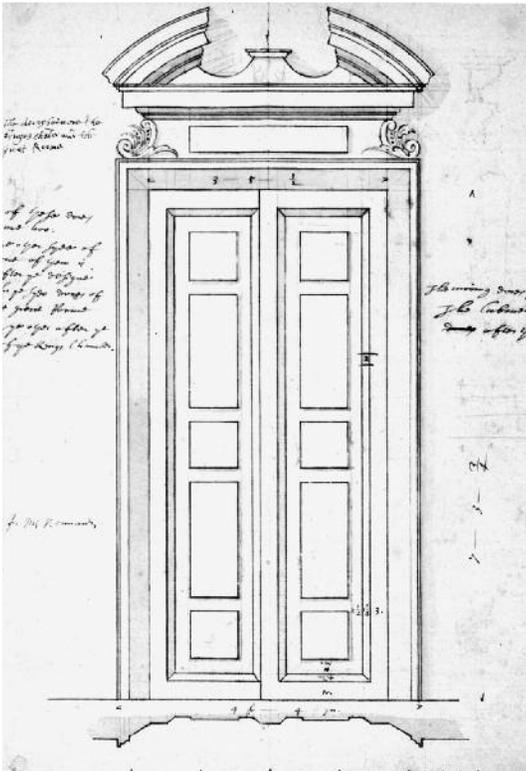


Fig. 18. John Webb, proposed elevation of King's Bedchamber door at Wilton. English Heritage, National Monuments Record Centre. Courtesy of the Pembroke Estate.

This would have been a spectacularly festive room, perhaps overcrowded with incident as are some of those at Wilton, suggesting something of a *horror vacui*: the west wall looks really congested, almost as if Webb was trying to include as many as possible of his favourite motifs. What the drawings especially reveal, however, is that, in contrast to the relative austerity of the Lampport music room, Webb had, during the heart of the Commonwealth, by no means turned his back on the rich exuberance of Wilton; at this point only Forde Abbey offers an equivalent in lavish display.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Once again I express my gratitude to the Trustees of the Chevening Estate for allowing us free access to the house, and in especial to Colonel Richard Brook for his constant and most courteous helpfulness. The further study of the house and of Webb's drawings is greatly indebted to the perceptiveness of my wife and to the learning, advice and caution of Gordon Higgott and Robert Crayford. I am also grateful to the Trustees of the Chevening Estate for a contribution towards the publication costs of this article, and to the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, which has generously borne the costs of reproduction fees of the Webb drawings illustrated in figs, 14, 15 and 16.

APPENDIX

ANNOTATIONS ON THE WEBB DRAWINGS

North wall.

At top: 30: fo. 1: Iⁿ

At bottom: 1 1/4 / 3 - 6 3/4 / 3 fo 6 Iⁿ 3/4 / [space] / 11 fo - 1/2 Iⁿ / [space] / 7 fo - 1 - 1/2 / 1 1/4

In L.H. margin: 24 fo - 3 Iⁿ

In R.H. margin [from bottom]: 13 fo - 1 Iⁿ / 2 fo - 7 Iⁿ / 2 fo / 3 fo - 1 Iⁿ / 2 fo - 1 Iⁿ / 1 - 5

In L.H. frame [upright]: 8 fo

By lug of doorcase [upright]: 1 fo - 6 Iⁿ

In doorway [width]: 5 fo - 3 Iⁿ

In R.H. frame [externally]: 5 fo - 4 Iⁿ ; [internally]: 4 fo - 4 Iⁿ

West wall

At bottom: 1 1/4 / 7 fo - 1 Iⁿ 1/2 / [space] / 11 fo - 1/2

On L.H. door [R jamb, upright]: 7 fo - 1/2

In central picture frame [internal width]: 5 fo - 6

Below central picture frame: 7: fo: 8 Iⁿ from out to out of the mould

On R.H. door [width between jambs]: 3 fo 9 Iⁿ

On R.H. door [R jamb, upright]: 7 fo - 1/2

In L.H. upper panel [internal width]: 3 fo - 9 Iⁿ

In central upper panel [internal width]: 5 - fo 6 Iⁿ

NOTES

- 1 Andor Gomme, 'Chevening: the Big Issues', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2004, 167–186.
- 2 Held at Rewley House on 7th–9th January 2005.
- 3 Howard Colvin and John Newman (eds.), *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, Oxford, 1981, 72.
- 4 Gomme, *op.cit.*, 167.
- 5 *Idem.*
- 6 John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, London, 1989, 72–3.
- 7 Though, embarrassingly enough, a small reproduction of one and a redrawing of part of the other both appear on one page of Tipping's account [H. Avray Tipping, *English Homes*, Period V, Vol.1, London, 1921, 12]. It is curious that Tipping, who must have seen these at Chevening, preferred the crude bird's-eye by Richard Browne to the far more carefully drawn perspective on the 1679 map.
- 8 Kept at Chevening.
- 9 *Idem.*
- 10 The main road, the modern A25, is the prehistoric track known erroneously as the Pilgrims' Way [Alan Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization: the evolution of Kentish settlement*, Leicester, 1986, 17 and *passim*]. It runs up the Darent valley, east-west from Maidstone towards Guildford, parallel to the scarp of the Downs, and is presumably the approach from which visitors were expected.
- 11 North refers to Chevening as 'My lady Dacre's house', and though the precise date of his visit is uncertain, it must have taken place before July 1698, when his aunt, the nonagenarian widow of the 13th Lord Dacre (the original builder of Chevening) died. Colvin and Newman have shown that the manuscript of *Of Building* was almost certainly written in the same year [*op.cit.*, xxiii]. Lady Dacre's apparent ownership of the house is curious: had she been granted a lifetime interest in it? Her son, the 14th Lord, was certainly in residence and seemingly in charge in the 1650s, and her grandson, who succeeded to the title in 1662 and was later created Earl of Sussex, eventually died at Chevening in 1715, having lost most of his other properties through excessive gambling. (As noted in Gomme, *op.cit.*, 169–70, Campbell's dedication to the Countess of Sussex of the plate in *Vitruvius Britannicus* shows that it must have been made between 1715 and 1717.)
- 12 Campbell's plan [*Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, London, 1717, 85] is inaccurate here, showing four equal bays: there are in fact five, one smaller than the remainder. Even Campbell has not managed to make the west wall symmetrical; so it too never was.
- 13 The present wainscot in the entrance hall is fairly commonplace late seventeenth-century panelling which corresponds to the dining-room dado and must date from after 1679.
- 14 As he definitely did at Newbold Revel [*Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, *cit.*, 94]: see Andor Gomme, *Newbold Revel* (guide to the house), 3. The stair on the estate map plan can be understood either way round.
- 15 They differ considerably in size, the wider (which one would suppose to be so in order to admit large barrels) being curiously on the west side, where the privy garden was, rather than the east, adjacent to the high road. Mr Crayford confirmed that the lintels are of Kentish rag and concluded that if they were typical of architraves throughout the house, it would have been feasible for these to have been carved from that stone.
- 16 See *Quattro Libri*, IV, cap.xxxiii, and Bruce Allsopp (ed.), *Inigo Jones on Palladio*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, I, 60–1. The relevant drawings in the 1601 edition used and annotated by Jones are on Book IV, 94. I am deeply indebted to Dr Higgott for schooling me in the details and significance for his architecture of Jones's close study of Palladio.
- 17 John Newman, *The Buildings of England: West Kent ad the Weald*, Harmondsworth, 1969, 203–04.
- 18 Mr Crayford pointed out that the simple fastenings on the wrought-iron casements and the rectangular panes of leaded glass indicate that they were inserted in the early eighteenth century under Fort, presumably for ventilation of the north vaulted room.
- 19 It has not so far been possible to ascertain whether the ribs are of stone or, as would seem more likely, of brick thickly coated with plaster. The upper courses of the dividing wall definitely appear to be of stone.
- 20 Newman, *loc. cit.*
- 21 Cf. the partly surviving early Tudor brick vault in the Dutch House at Kew, which has different rib profiles but in principle a similar layout to that at Chevening. Several medieval authorities to whom I sent a photograph of one of the vaulted rooms agreed broadly on a sixteenth-century date with a general preference for late rather than early.

- 22 If the two vaulted rooms were on their own, it might be possible to see them as very late, *i.e.*, seventeenth-century, Gothic survival or even to relate them to John-Smythson-like ‘chivalric revival’ as at Bolsover. What is surely *inconceivable* is that they should have come from the same hand as the one that designed the lintels.
- 23 Gomme, ‘Chevening . . .’ *cit.*, 176–81. This is the room which North [*loc.cit.*] described as ‘not finished, and was intended to be done with lunetts and small lights *all’ Italiana*’.
- 24 3436.66 (291 x 330 mm.) and 3436.67 (292 x 362 mm.), drawn to a scale of approximately 1:27. These two drawings, which were purchased by the Museum from C. J. Richardson probably in the 1850s, were first associated with Chevening when photographed by the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute of Art in 1981. The identification was made by Geoffrey Fisher of the Conway Library on the basis of similarities with the drawing in fig. 16, discussed below, of the repeated presence of eagles (thought to be significant of the Dacre crest) and that of an earl’s coronet. It has not, however, previously been argued in print. I am most grateful to Dr Higgott for drawing my attention to the existence of the Conway Library photographs.
- 25 Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline*, London, 1966, 86. Their link with Wilton is explored later in this paper.
- 26 RIBA Library, Drawings Collection, ff.28 & 29. A third un-annotated sketch (fol. 42), showing merely a part of a capital, an eagle sitting on acanthus, may also have been for Chevening.
- 27 See Appendix for the full annotation.
- 28 In fact the height from present first-floor level to second-floor ceiling is 24ft. 3ins., exactly as stated for the total in the left-hand margin of the north-wall drawing, and this must of course include the depth of the cornice. There is a rather obscure phrase in Webb’s letter to Isham referring to the height of the music room at Lamport on which he was working simultaneously with Chevening; noting that Lord Dacre’s room is to be 24 feet high, he adds, ‘wh height if I forgett not yors is to bee, because thee Cornice wh makes the Ceeling I have reduced to that height’ [Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office, IC 4772/6]. This probably refers to the Lamport ceiling (which is not visibly beamed), but may indicate how Webb was in the habit of measuring room heights, and may account for the inconsistency in the vertical measurements in the Chevening north-wall drawing.
- 29 There is the further oddity that on the north-wall drawing he nevertheless quotes a length of ‘30: fo. 1: In’, contradicting the 31 feet of the drawing itself. Lateral measurement shows that the second-floor window voids (measured between the brick reveals) correspond exactly with those of panels in the upper part of the drawing of the north wall, opposite to the windows.
- 30 Gomme, Chevening . . .’ *cit.*, 176.
- 31 As Dr Higgott notes, this principle derives ultimately from Palladio’s reconstructions of the *atria* of Roman houses, where only the beams defining the central area, open to the sky, have complete cornices. Inigo Jones’s understanding of this principle is apparent from his notes about such cornices against Palladio’s illustrations of the four-columned atrium and of the Corinthian atrium of the Convento della Carità in Venice [*Quattro Libri*, Book II, 28 and 31]: see Allsopp, *loc.cit.* [n.16 above]. Webb had considerable experience in drawing beamed ceilings for Wilton House in c.1648–9 [John Bold, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, London, 1988, 46–9 and John Harris and A.A. Tait, *Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb & Isaac de Caus at Worcester College, Oxford*, Oxford, 1979, 25–6 and pls.40–8].
- 32 In fact only by about two inches. I am most grateful to Colonel Richard Brook for providing us with accurate measurements of this ceiling.
- 33 One for each wall and one for the ceiling.
- 34 Webb was involved with the design of the state apartments at Wilton from 1648 to 1652.
- 35 Trowbridge, Wiltshire Record Office, 2057/H1/1a; Bold, *op.cit.*, fig.46. A more elaborate and differently proportioned version is in the single-cube room.
- 36 Each oxhead is marked by an italic capital A, suggesting a reference to a now lost legend of explanation.