

The gatehouse wing at Sutton Place, near Guildford: excavations and other fieldwork 1981–2 and further research

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Small-scale excavation and observation of construction works at Sutton Place, near Guildford, in the 1980s recorded a hint of earlier medieval occupation at the site and some archaeological evidence for the gatehouse (north) wing, the foundations of the east wing, a few buried features elsewhere around the house and earlier landscaping to the north. Subsequent research on the appearance of the north wing leads to the suggestion that elements of the demolished gatehouse were re-used in the late 18th century to make the existing grand entrance to the south range.

Introduction

Sutton Place was sold in 1980, after a period of ownership from 1959 by The Getty Oil Company (and home to J Paul Getty until his death in 1976). From 1981 to 1986 it was leased to the Sutton Place Heritage Trust, set up by Stanley J Seeger, and a large-scale programme of work was put in hand on the house and its surroundings. The grounds were the subject of extensive new landscape gardening designed by Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe, which took little account of any earlier layouts. This included massive earthmoving north of the house to create a large lake and use of the resulting spoil to make a hill (see Hanson 1986 and Sutton Place Heritage Trust 1983). Although no proper archaeological watching brief could be undertaken (this was before Planning Policy Guidance note 16), it was possible to carry out some observation of the initial stages of this work. At the house itself, the former position of the gatehouse wing was marked out on the ground by formal planting beds. Their surroundings were given concrete foundations and Geoffrey Pink, then Surrey County Council Conservation Officer, observed on a monitoring visit to the house that they had cut through the buried remnants of the original gatehouse structure. Permission was gained for limited archaeological excavation in this area, which was undertaken over 4 days in June/July 1981 by a small group drawn from the team then undertaking annual excavations at Sutton Park nearby (Bird 2011, 109). It was also possible to note a few other buried features elsewhere at the house site when they were observed as work proceeded, but this could not be done systematically. Work on the house itself continued after 1986 under the ownership of Mr Stanley Koch and was then monitored by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) (Cooper 1994a, 34–7).

Historical and architectural background

Notes on the early history of the manor of Sutton and geographical background information, including a location map, are to be found in the recent publication of the archaeological excavations at the Sutton Park site (Bird 2011, 110–16). The main purpose of the following section is to identify information from the succeeding periods likely to be relevant to alterations to the fabric of the house and in particular to the history of the gatehouse wing.

In 1521 Henry VIII gave the manor to Sir Richard Weston, who seems to have decided to build himself a great house at a short distance from the old manorial centre. The probable site of the latter has been partially excavated (Bird 2011, 109, 168). The place he chose lay on a sand- and gravel-capped plateau within the great bend of the river Wey north of Guildford. Work on the new house probably started soon after the grant of the manor and was complete by 1533 (Cooper 1994a, 34; cf Harrison 1893, 120–1).

The first Sir Richard died in 1542 as a loyal and well-rewarded royal servant, but the family was then under something of a cloud, his son Francis having been executed in 1536 for treason for his part in the Anne Boleyn affair. Sir Richard's grandson Henry was only about 7 years old when he inherited. It is likely, therefore, that there were no significant changes to the house before a major fire in 1561, which caused serious damage to the east and south wings (Cooper 1994a, 35–6) and probably part of the north, gatehouse, wing also. Harrison (1893, 143) considered that 'the rooms injured by the fire in the time of Elizabeth, in the north and the east wings, may never have been completely refitted and furnished.' There is evidence to suggest that the family lived at Clandon after the fire until that estate was sold in about 1641 (Harrison 1893, 143), although some continued use of Sutton is indicated by the record of an order to search 'Sutton House' for concealed priests in 1591 (Harrison 1893, 94; cf Cooper 1994a, 37).

The fortunes of the Westons were also adversely affected by their adherence to the Catholic faith, and in the 17th century by the expense of the third Sir Richard's great Wey Navigation project (Harrison 1893, 104). It is probable therefore that Sutton Place received little attention until the mid–late 17th century, perhaps after Sir Richard's death in 1652. In 1654 his son John must have gained considerable resources from the sale of Gatton, his wife's inheritance. The sale left Sutton as their main residence and it is very likely that the house and perhaps the grounds (see below) received much-needed attention, no doubt particularly after the Restoration. Aubrey's description (1718, 228) of 'a noble Seat, built of Brick, and [...] a stately Gate-House, with a very high Tower, bearing a Turret at each Angle' perhaps suggests that considerable restoration work had been undertaken by the later 17th century (cf *VCH* 3, 385). Cooper (1994a, 36) has evidence that a new roof was provided for the east wing at about this time.

Harrison (1893, 110; although more circumspect on 144) states that it was now that the western service court was built, but Cooper argues from detailed examination of the roof construction that it was added 'very soon after the building of the main body of the house, rather than in the seventeenth century' (Cooper 1994a, 37; cf Oliver and Baker 1980). Probably therefore it was possible to devote most attention to the main house, and work may have been undertaken over a number of years by John Weston and his successors Richard and then a second John, covering the period up to 1730. In particular, Harrison (1893, 112) attributes more restoration work to the second John (in possession from 1701), and Manning and Bray state that 'the whole building, on this [east] side, was reduced to ashes [in 1561]: and in this condition it remained till the year 1721, when the outer wall, which had tumbled down, was rebuilt, and the whole put into proper repair again by the late *John Weston, Esq.*' (Manning & Bray 1804, 136).

John's daughter, Melior Mary, succeeded to the estate on his death in 1730 and lived at Sutton Place until her own death in 1782; she is thought to have done little to maintain the property (Harrison 1893, 112). Certainly the gatehouse became ruinous (see eg Appendix, View 10, and fig 3). The *Gentleman's Magazine* records a story strangely reminiscent of the modern era: 'some London builders persuaded the late Mrs Weston, that the tower was unsafe, and pulled down so much of the building as represented in the drawing' (ie Appendix, View 7: Anon 1789). The inheritor, John Webbe (who took the name of Webbe Weston), soon had the whole wing demolished, although the exact year is uncertain (1782: Harrison 1893, 115, 132; 1784: Manning & Bray 1804, 136; 1786: Anon 1789). He seems to have brought money with him, and was able to spend some £2445 on 'repairs, restorations, and renewal of the house; and these were finished in 1784' (Harrison 1893, 115–16, 132 n1). It appears that Webbe Weston was initially considering a much more radical scheme, for he must have commissioned what Harrison calls 'the monstrous proposal of Bonomi, an Italian architect of repute in the last century, who prepared a design to transmodify [*sic*] the house in a modern bastard Italian style. He wanted to introduce classical columns, pediments, and the like, and to convert the hall into a two-storied suite of modern chambers. Mr Weston was happily deterred by the formidable estimate of his advisers' (Harrison 1893, 115–16).

Sutton was inherited by Francis Salvin in 1857 but he preferred to live elsewhere on the estate and in the later 19th century Sutton Place was leased to the Harrison family. Two of the brothers, Sidney and Frederic, took a particular interest in the house and its history and it is most unfortunate that family papers used by Frederic Harrison in writing *Annals of an Old Manor-House* (1893) seem to have been ‘irretrievably dispersed’ (Cooper 1994a, 33; cf 1994b). The book was very influential in the subsequent understanding of the house as essentially remaining as it was originally built, apart from the loss of the gatehouse wing (Harrison 1893, esp 120–35; cf Cooper 1994a, 33). Until recently, this theory has been more or less accepted by architectural historians, although not without considerable reservations (eg Nairn & Pevsner 1971, 11, 36–7 and 476–7; Howard 1994, 30; Cooper 1994b). With the benefit of hindsight one can see that it is curious that the idea persisted for so long. ‘The only comparable structure of the age with such deliberate decorative unity to the courtyard was the inner court of [...] Nonsuch, which was begun in 1538 [...] they both stand out as conceptually different in decoration from the other houses’ (Howard 1994, 30). Yet Weston was able to survive and prosper in the turbulent times of Henry VIII even when his own son was executed for treason. He is most unlikely to have been the kind of man to build himself a radical new house type that might well have been seen as competing with his king.

The detailed survey by the RCHME of the east and south wings established beyond doubt that the ‘view of the house as having had a symmetrical façade is wrong’. Walls in both wings still retained the burnt stubs of timbers associated with the first phase of building before the fire of 1561 (Cooper 1994a, 35 and fig 3, 46). In the east wing there was evidence for at least four phases of piecemeal repair, while in the south range there was clear evidence for three phases of the hall. These were an original single-storey hall with a lower ceiling than now, replaced by a tall hall some time after the fire of 1561 and then later rebuilt as the present hall (*ibid*, 35, 40). The windows facing the courtyard were moved around as part of these rebuildings: ‘even when reconstructed after the fire the windows of this [south] range were still not disposed symmetrically’ and ‘the present window arrangement is probably of the eighteenth century’. The evidence also suggested that the entrance was not originally on the centre line but further to the west (*ibid*, 35–6). The central position had always caused unease (eg Nairn & Pevsner 1971, 478), and even Harrison (1893, 138) commented that ‘the principal entrance door in the south wing is obviously planned with a view to a symmetrical façade, and is hardly the most convenient for the use of the hall itself.’

Cooper (1994a, 36) further notes that ‘the terracotta decoration certainly dates from the first phase, but its present disposition is the result of successive reconstructions and alterations in which it was possible, by virtue of the hardness of the materials, to salvage it and re-use it [...] it is clear that external doors have been altered, windows moved, partitions lost, parapets reconstructed and terracotta dressings re-used, and that although the courtyard elevations of the two wings match each other now, they did not do so in the sixteenth century’ (but see also discussion under View 11 in Appendix). Thus Nairn’s concern that Sutton Place ‘does not [...] link up closely with any of the other courtiers’ houses of the 1520s’ (Nairn & Pevsner 1971, 36–7) is answered, and Sutton fits more comfortably into the context described by Howard (1994, 32): ‘Weston, Marney and Brandon [...] formed part of the conservative, essentially militaristic group of courtiers who rose to power before or during the early part of [Henry VIII’s] reign. For these men, the brick and terracotta houses, substantially new structures in each case, were not completely new forms of domestic architecture.’

The gatehouse wing (figs 1–9 and 11)

A number of views were made of the gatehouse wing at some point before it was demolished in 1782. Although they are somewhat contradictory when examined in detail, they provide good evidence for its original appearance seen both from outside and from inside the courtyard. It is worthy of note that there seem to be no views of the hall range before the gatehouse wing was demolished (cf Cooper 1994b). Information about the views used in the



Fig 1 Sutton Place. The northern end of the west wing in 2006 showing the location of its original junction with the north wing (vertical scars either side of the tree below the gable) and in the foreground one of the planting beds marking the outline of the gatehouse wing (in the wrong place). (Photograph: Martin Higgins, © Surrey County Council Heritage Conservation Team)

discussion below is given in the Appendix. They are numbered as ‘View 1’ and so on, roughly in chronological order, for ease of cross-reference.

Harrison (1893, 136 n1) notes that ‘the exact line of the northern wing, both on its inside and outside walls, is easily traceable, the return of the moulding of the skirting or base being visible both on the east and west wings,’ and it remains the case that the original location of the join between east and north and west and north wings is obvious (fig 1). He adds that ‘the ground has been recently opened and trenched by Mr. Sidney Harrison, who has made careful measured plans. From these the exact line of the building can be followed’ (Harrison, 1893, 140 n1 and pl O opp 154). This plan differs considerably from C F Hayward’s overall plan of the house also dated 1891 (Harrison 1893, pl HHH between 140 and 141), but the excavation in 1981 and other considerations (see further below) indicate that Sidney Harrison’s plan was much more accurate (fig 2). Perhaps for some reason Hayward did not have sight of Harrison’s plan. Using the latter and analysis of the views it is possible to suggest the most probable original appearance of the exterior and courtyard faces of the north wing. Nevertheless, not all the differences in the views can be reconciled and it is worth stressing the cautionary tale that however accurate an old ‘view’ may look it is unwise to trust it absolutely (cf Howard 1994, 5–6)!

The exterior of the north wing was dominated by a tall gatehouse that had a tower on each side, all battlemented. The towers are consistently shown with more windows in the eastern tower front face than the western (apart from View 5, which can be explained); it is also probable that the windows varied somewhat in size although all were probably single light with terracotta cusped heads. The windows in the towers were probably as they appear in View 12 (fig 3), with the addition of the three shown on View 2 (fig 5) on the western

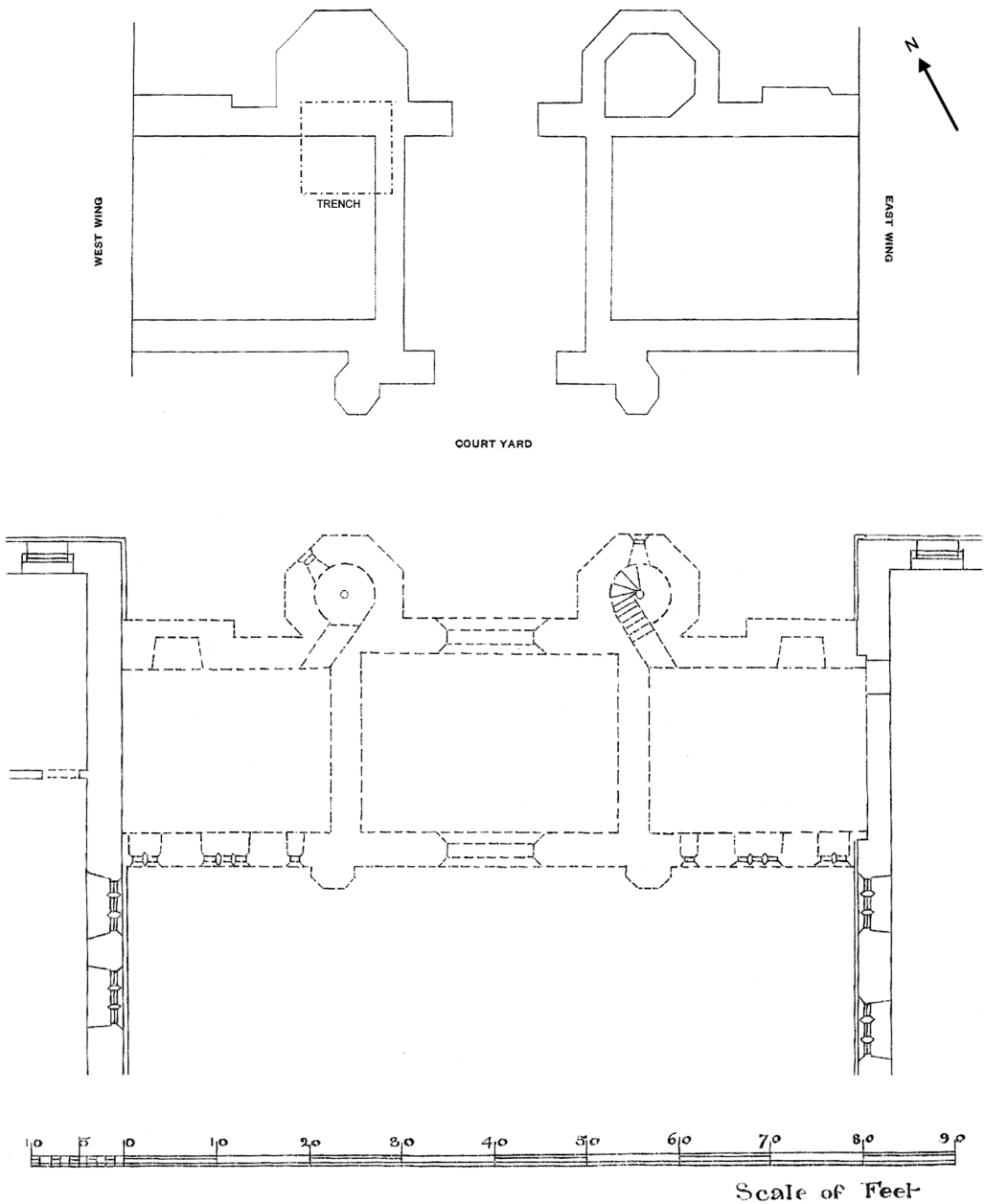


Fig 2 Sutton Place. Sidney Harrison's plan of the gatehouse wing at the top, with location of the 1981 trench (based on Harrison 1893, pl O opp 154), and below, at the same scale, the gatehouse wing portion of Hayward's plan (from Harrison 1893, pl HHH between 140 and 141).

side of the west tower, which is not visible on the angled view. It will be seen that the west tower windows are spaced as though they are lighting a staircase winding up the tower. It is likely that the towers had terracotta quoins to the facets and possible that they may have been completely faced in terracotta but this last is probably an inadequacy of the drawings (see especially Views 6 and 9). It may be noted that the rear of the north front west tower is shown as appearing above the roofline on View 8 (fig 7) with similar terracotta facing to the



Fig 3 Sutton Place. View of Sutton Place from the north-east probably about 1780. (© Surrey History Centre, acc no 8363/1/69/2; see Appendix, View 12). (Reproduced by permission of Surrey History Centre and Mrs Handa Bray)

courtyard turrets, but this was perhaps a mistake, especially as the tower looks suspiciously like a turret. The towers almost certainly had plinths and apart from the gatehouse there may have been a plinth all along the north front (there are plinths on east and west wing ends now).

The gatehouse had a large doorway under a Tudor arch with terracotta mouldings and with three windows in line above it. These windows were probably all the same width but decreased in height from lowest to highest. The lowest probably had eight lights in two rows of four, and the four-light version shown on the 1781 views (Views 9 and 11) is a mistake. All had terracotta mouldings as in the courtyard. There was a terracotta band across the façade between the towers just over the doorway, with the lowest window set down into it over probably four lozenges (or four and two halves) and then with six larger amorini settings to each side (ie twelve in total). There were two large chimneys on either side of the gatehouse, with enough room on each side for a two-light window high in the north wing walls between gatehouse tower and chimney. The eastern window was smaller and set higher than that to the west; both had terracotta mouldings. The small dormers that appear only in the eastern side roof are presumably later additions. Although there is some inconsistency, the two chimneys are always shown as different in some way, and usually the eastern one is not set right into the angle made by the projecting end of the east wing whereas the one to the west almost always meets the west wing. Harrison's plan shows that this is correct. The western chimney probably also rose higher. There may have been decorative terracotta quoins on the gatehouse sides of each chimney, but this is indicated only on the 1781 views and is probably not correct. Curiously this decoration is shown on Hayward's 19th century reconstruction drawing (fig 4) although he otherwise closely follows the mid-18th century drawings by Wolffe (see p 21 for variation of spelling) (see fig 5; View 2). As there is no reason to suppose that either Harrison or Hayward knew of the Bodleian illustrations this is

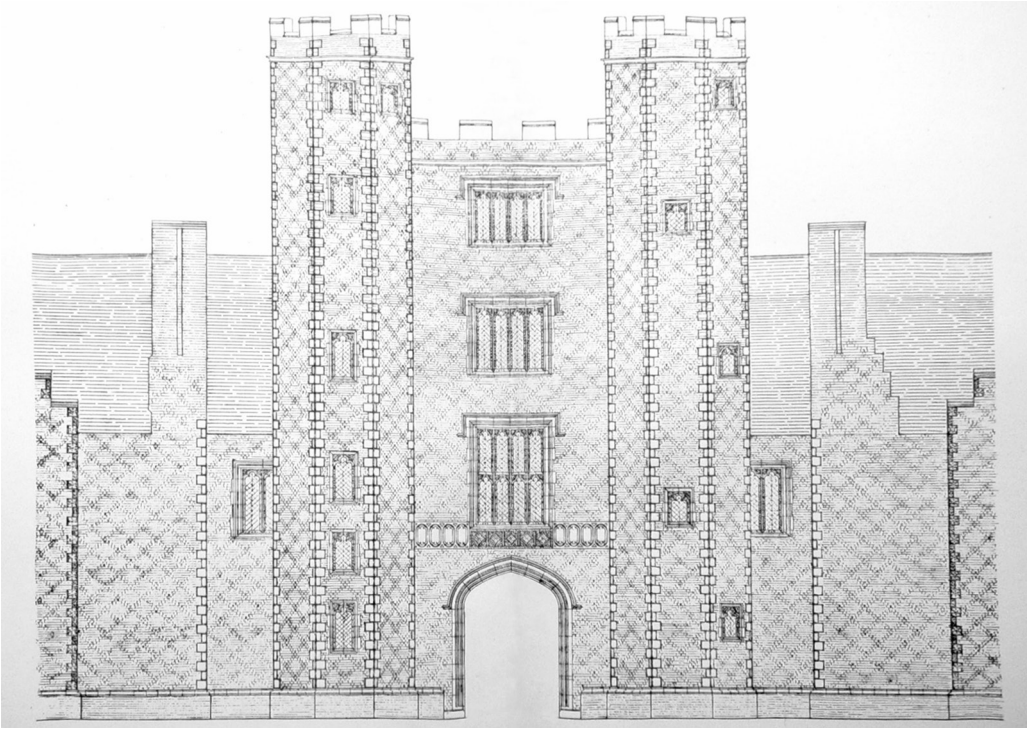
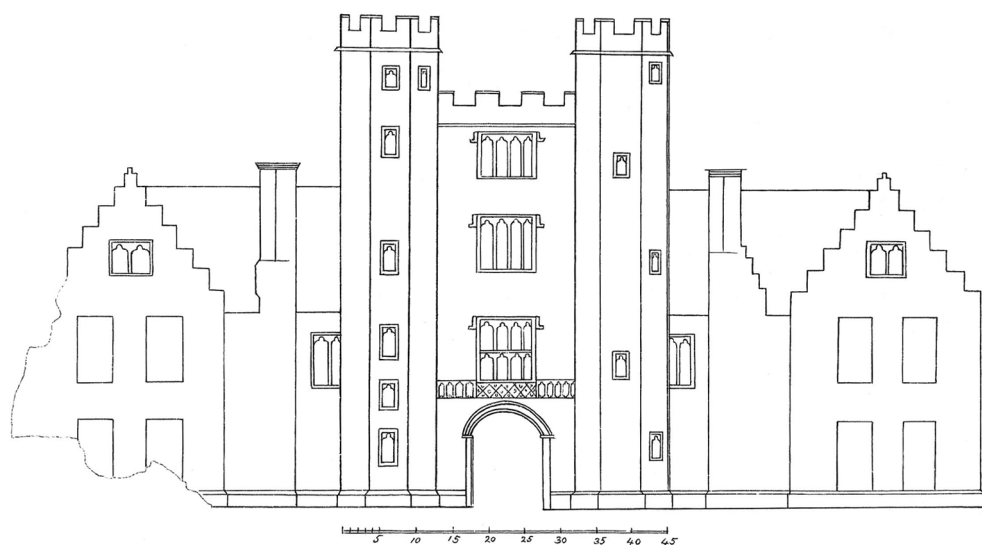


Fig 4 Sutton Place. Hayward's reconstruction of the exterior of the gatehouse wing (from Harrison 1893, pl E, between 128 and 129). The figure has been copied from a double page spread, and although adjusted, there may still be some minor distortion.

apparently guesswork.

The ends of the east and west wings both projected forward from the line of the north wing (eg figs 2 and 3). The surviving views all show these ends with large symmetrically placed windows which are almost always clearly shown as sashes (and specifically labelled as such on View 4). The effect is less clear on View 1 (fig 11), but it may be that what is shown are not the windows but the shutters that appear on the lower windows in some views (eg Views 9, 11 and 12). These windows were 'restored' with terracotta surrounds in the later 19th century (still sashes in 1892: Harrison 1893, pl 7 opp 13 and xiii; cf pl EE opp 130, and xvi: 'North end of east wing, the mullions restored'). It must, however, be more likely that there were either no windows or only smaller and higher windows originally, like those in the north wing proper and the two-light windows consistently shown in the gable ends of the east and west wings, both with terracotta surrounds. We have seen that elsewhere windows were moved around but still rebuilt with terracotta mouldings, including in the courtyard side of the east wing. It is difficult to see why, if there were large pre-existing windows in the north ends of the wings, only they should be chosen for replacement as sashes. The gable ends seem always to have been stepped, and both corners of each wing were finished with terracotta quoins in a long and short effect (cf Aubrey 1718, 228: 'the Coynes of the Walls are also of the same Brick [= 'of bak'd Earth of whitish yellow Colour'] where is *R.W.* and the Figure of a *Tun*').

The gatehouse wing was thus broadly symmetrical when seen from outside but there was no attempt to make it completely so. Projecting wings added a hint of tower at each end of the façade (especially if they had only smaller and higher windows originally). This reinforces Howard's comment that 'There remained, after all, the sense of the medieval past and its strongly fortified houses [...] Sutton Place [...] once preserved a formidable and quite



FROM A DRAWING BY JOHN WOOLFE DATED 1ST FEBRUARY, 1750-1.

On the original is written by J. Wolfe :

"Front of Sutton as it stood Jan. 22nd, 1750-1."

Fig 5 Sutton Place. Drawing by J Wolfe of the exterior of the north front in the mid-18th century (from Harrison 1893, 140, and pl Q opp 160; see Appendix, View 2).

traditional external courtyard appearance' (Howard 1994, 32).

There is less evidence for the appearance of the courtyard aspect of the north wing, but there is no reason to suppose that the 1781 views are not a reasonable representation (figs 7 and 8; Views 8 and 10). They vary from the Wolfe drawing (fig 6; View 3) principally in showing more of the decorative terracotta work, especially the cladding of the turrets on either side of the gatehouse, and in the appearance of the lowest window in the gatehouse tower. They also show what is likely to be the correct appearance of the windows nearest to the gatehouse as having four lights in two rows of two, which were probably drawn by Wolfe as partially hidden by the turrets next to them. His drawing could, however, be read as indicating only two lights, one above the other, and is presumably the reason why that is how they are shown on the Hayward reconstruction and plan (figs 2 and 9). The Harrison excavation plan (fig 2) supports the 1781 views.

The Wolfe drawings (figs 5 and 6) are obviously to some extent sketches, but in the main, they agree with the other views. The gatehouse doors differ but are not convincing and no other view shows the windows on the exterior of the north wing as similarly sized and symmetrically placed. It is curious that the plinth is not shown on the inside view of the turrets of the gatehouse tower. According to the Wolfe drawing, in the second half of the 18th century the southern face of the north wing was symmetrical. This has partial support, for the east side only, from the 1781 views, but should be treated with caution. Wolfe is very schematic in places, the gatehouse doors for instance, and the west side of the north wing is shown only in outline. On the north front Wolfe shows windows in symmetry that are almost certainly incorrect. It is possible therefore that the eastern courtyard side of the north wing had been fire damaged and was reordered at the same time as the refurbishment of the east wing, while the western side was less symmetrical.

The gatehouse tower sat in the centre of the wing and, if the Wolfe drawing is to be trusted, on either side of the courtyard elevation were two rows of three windows, those on the first floor rather smaller than those below but of the same width. Probably all had terracotta mouldings



FROM A DRAWING BY JOHN WOOLFE DATED FEBRUARY 1ST, 1750-51.

On the original is written by J. Woolfe:

“Front of Sutton towards the Court, as it stood 22nd January,
“1750-1, The little pillars 67½ high and 5 f. diameter. The Court
“81.3. square exclusive of the base.”

Fig 6 Sutton Place. Drawing by J Woolfe of the courtyard side of the north front in the mid-18th century (from Harrison 1893, 140, and pl P opp 156; see Appendix, View 3).

and the upper row did not break into the terracotta band at the top of the wall below the parapet. In this they differed from the windows on the east and west wings but matched those on the south wing. There were some dormer windows in the south face of the north wing roof but apparently none in the east wing. The two storeys were divided by a thin terracotta band with a continuous tun device (a punning allusion to Weston). There was also a plinth along the base of the walls including the turrets on either side of the gatehouse tower but not the gatehouse itself. The turrets were entirely decorated with terracottas. The gatehouse tower had a doorway with a wide Tudor arch with terracotta mouldings making a long-and-short effect similar to that on the quoins of the north ends of the east and west wings. Above the door was a terracotta band with four lozenges in the centre and six larger amorini panels on either side; the lozenges were set below the lowest window, which as on the north face was set down into the terracotta band. There were three windows in the gatehouse tower, one above the other, probably the same width, but decreasing in height from bottom to top and probably of four lights for the top two and eight lights, in two rows of four, in the lowest window.

There is no indication in Harrison's book that he was aware of the Bodleian illustrations (Views 8-11), and it is therefore curious that he says that the courtyard face of the north

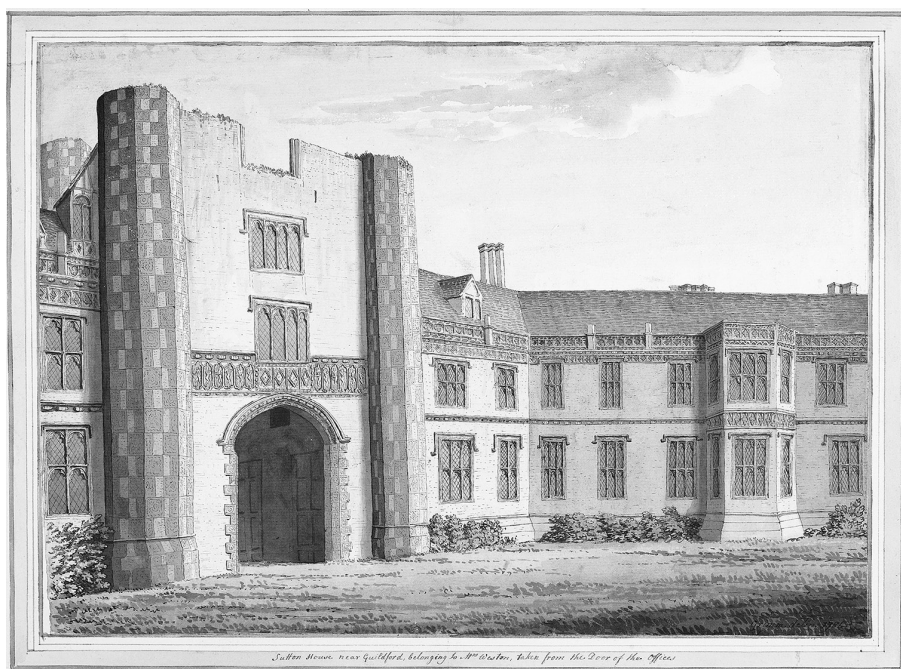


Fig 7 Sutton Place. View of the courtyard side of the gatehouse wing and part of the east wing, c 1781 (colour, reproduced in monochrome). (© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Gough Maps 30, fol 60; see Appendix, View 8)



Fig 8 Sutton Place. View of the courtyard side of the gatehouse wing and part of the east wing, 1781. (© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Gough Maps 30, fol 61, item a; see Appendix, View 10)

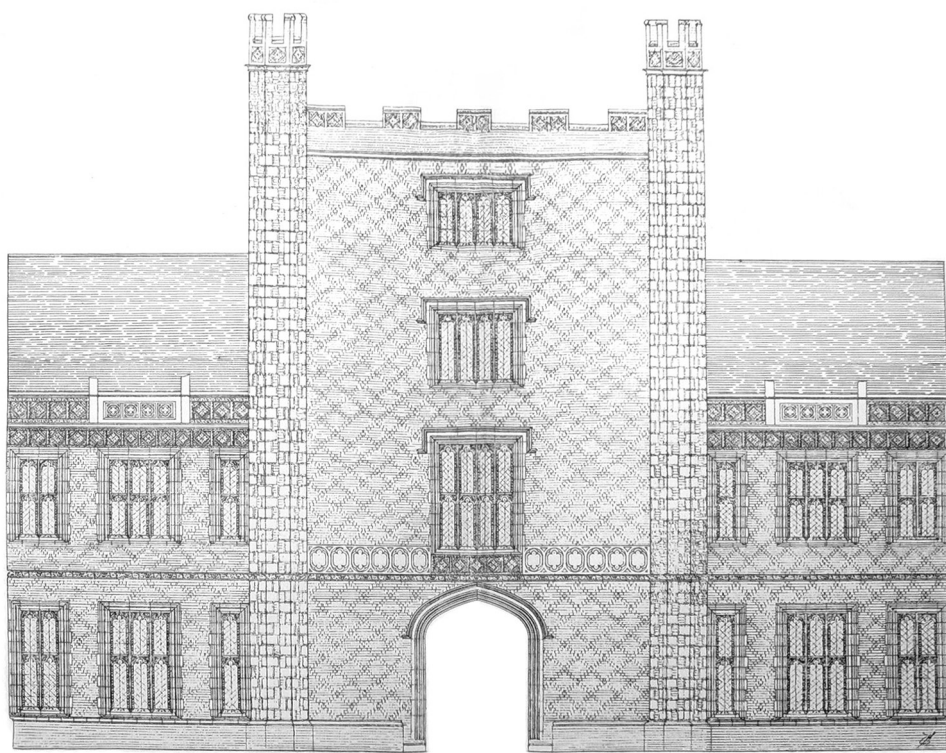


Fig 9 Sutton Place. Hayward's reconstruction of the interior of the gatehouse wing (from Harrison 1893, pl D between 126 and 127). The figure has been copied from a double page spread, and although adjusted, there may still be some minor distortion.

wing had 'mullions, labels, cornices and medallion ornaments in terra-cotta, *precisely similar* [author's italics] to those of the present façade of the quadrangle' (Harrison (1893, 132). His reference to 'a careful architectural elevation taken previous to that date [1782] [...] now in Mr Salvin's hands (1750)' indicates that this is an interpretation of the Wolffe drawing (View 3), yet that drawing shows little detail of the terracotta and seems only to have been intended as a measured sketch. Similarly, a specific reference to the drawing states that the hexagonal turrets of the gatehouse were 'precisely the same as those now standing on the south wing' (Harrison 1893, 115 n1) when this is incorrect. The same note states that 'the arch of the gateway into the court seems circular', which is certainly what Wolffe shows, but in due course this has become 'the large gateway in the centre was a four-centred Tudor arch with deep mouldings. Over this was a flat band of ornamental terra-cotta work, with the amorini similar to that over the entrance doors to the hall inside the quadrangle' (*ibid*, 140, again with specific reference to the Wolffe drawing).

The setting of the house

It is possible to glean a small amount of information about the history of the landscape around Sutton Place from the views and from historic maps, but in both cases this evidence must be used with caution. Apart from the tree-lined avenue shown on Rocque's map (published 1768), which otherwise indicates only fields around the house, none of the early maps suggests a formal park until the early 19th century.

This is a convenient place to correct a careless reading of Manning and Bray in the

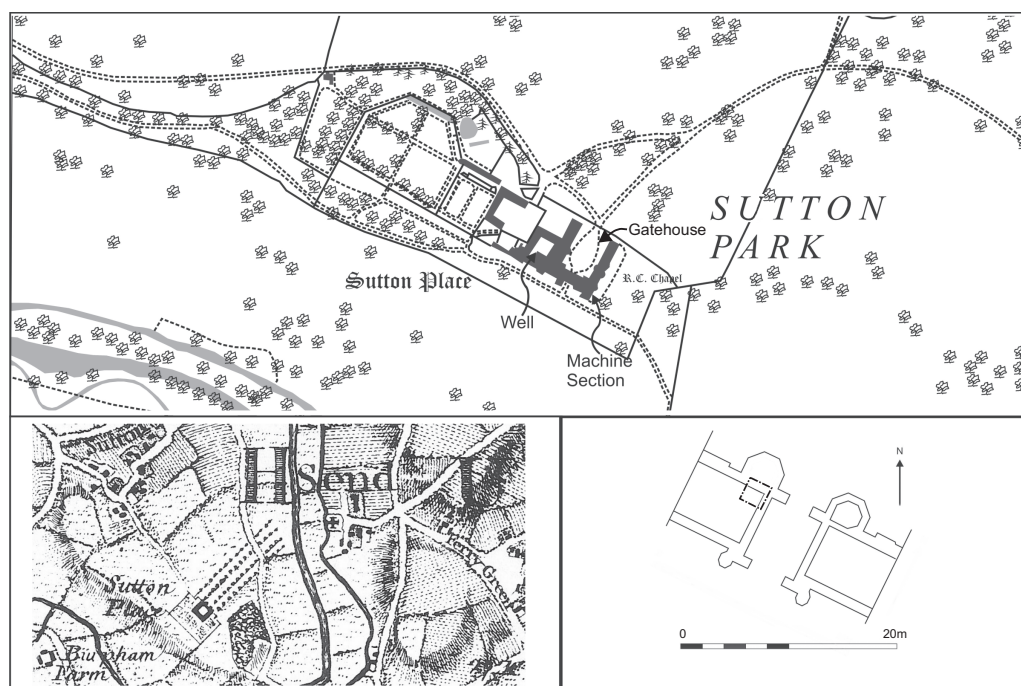


Fig 10 Sutton Place. A (top): extract from the OS 1:2500 map 1871, showing Sutton Place and its immediate surroundings. Grey tone indicates water.
 B (below, left): Extract from map by John Rocque, published 1768
 C (below, right): Sidney Harrison's plan of the gatehouse wing, orientated to match fig 10A. The wing fits at the northern end between the two side wings of the main house as marked 'Gatehouse' on A; see fig 2.

Sutton Park report (Bird 2011, 113) and add a little extra information concerning parks and deer associated with the estate. The first Sir Richard was granted licence to impark over 1000 acres in Merrow and West Clandon in 1530, not 1521 (Manning & Bray 1804, 133). Harrison (1893, 55) quotes Sir John Russell writing from Sutton in 1533: 'the kynges Highnes ys mery and in good helth and I never saw hym meryer of a great while then he is now. And the best pastyme in huntynge the redd dere that I have sene [...] And he was fayne to remove from Guylford to Sutton, Mr Weston's howsse, by cause of the sweat'. A probably apocryphal story may suggest that deer hunting was still likely in the locality in the late 18th century. Harrison (1893, 115) states that: 'there is a tradition in the family that George III, when returning from a stag hunt, was shown over the house in the absence of the owner, and then said, "Very bad, very bad! Tell Mr Weston the King says he must build it up again!"' This of course was a reference to the recently demolished gatehouse.

Rocque's map (fig 10B) shows a quadruple tree avenue widely spaced, running straight from the north front at a right angle to the house apparently until quite close to the river. The main house quadrangle is shown, with bumps no doubt intended for the gatehouse towers, but not the western courtyard (almost invariably omitted from early maps). The house is set into the northern side of a rectangular enclosure with most of its depth behind the house. This is presumably the walled enclosure the northern side of which appears on some of the views and in particular View 1, where insets about halfway along the wall on each side of the house can be matched on Rocque's map. The view (fig 11) shows a small building at each inset and a smaller octagonal building at each end of the wall, the western of which still survives (Harrison pl 37, opp 112). There is no indication of the western courtyard but a large gate through the wall is shown that must have given access to it. In front of the house is shown a semi-circular fenced or railed enclosure with a gate on the house centre-line and



Fig 11 Sutton Place. Probably an early 18th century view of the north front and its surroundings (from Harrison 1893, pl 3 opp 1, and 132; see Appendix, View 1).

some sort of garden feature inside the enclosure. Two double lines of trees approach the house but they stop at the enclosure and the outer rows split to encircle it. The trees seem to be quite young. There is no indication of a surfaced drive.

This evidence indicates that the avenues were in existence at least by the mid-18th century and there is further support in later views and photographs. Thus View 6 shows a tree on the east side and View 9 shows trees on the west and is specifically 'taken from the Avenues on the N.o [sic] side'. One of Harrison's photographs (1893, pl 38, opp 116) is of 'Lime trees, north front'. Later maps and the photographs consistently suggest that only a few trees survived the passage of time. It is very likely therefore that these were originally lime avenues. The acknowledged expert on lime, Professor C D Pigott, notes that such avenues were widely planted in the period 1690–1720. Local examples include Hampton Court and Ashted Park (Rackham 1986, 151, and pers comm John Edwards, who also kindly provided the following information). 'Many had four rows of trees, planted one, one and a half or two rods apart (5, 7.7 or 11m) to form two shaded walks with a carriage-way between'; old trees from such avenues lost in the 1987 storm were shown to be 270–300 years old (Pigott 2005, unpaginated but 19–21). It seems most likely that the Sutton Place avenues were planted around 1700, perhaps in the time of the second John Weston, shortly after 1701.

There is no obvious focus for the avenue to 'frame' when looking from the house and perhaps none was intended. Although there is no indication of a drive on any of the maps or views it was possible to see a slightly raised linear feature in 1981 at some distance from the house and clearly on the centre-line. It also appears as a white line on aerial photographs (HSL UK 1971: 175 run 01 4224 and 4225), still flanked by occasional trees. When this

line was crossed in 1981 by bulldozers creating the new lake, rubble was found strewn along its path, including some terracotta fragments. Perhaps material from the demolition of the gatehouse wing was spread along the line, or used to repair a pre-existing drive surface. Observation took place some time after the start of operations and it was not possible to find out whether there had ever been a properly packed surface.

In 1789 it was noted that 'the pleasure-ground is now laid out in an elegant taste', specifically attributing this to Webbe Weston (Anon 1789). This was presumably part of the 'great improvements in the House and Grounds' mentioned by Manning and Bray (1804, 136). The 'pleasure-ground' is likely to have been in the area to the west of the house, to judge by the 1871 OS map (fig 10A), and perhaps the creation of the more general parkland suggested by 19th century maps was also undertaken by Webbe Weston.

Excavation (figs 1–2 and 12–15)

As noted above, a small excavation on part of the gatehouse wing was possible in 1981 (Bird 1981). This was limited both in time and in the area available. It was possible to place a trench over the new concrete foundations supposedly marking the position of part of the southern side of the west tower on the north front, where it was attached to the northern side of the north wing proper. It quickly became apparent that the concrete was laid according to the plan drawn up by Hayward (fig 2), where the cross wall dividing the gate passage from the western side of the north wing is shown too far to the west (with a mirror image on the east side). The trench was therefore extended to the east to make it possible to examine the true location of the wall, showing that the plan drawn up by Sidney Harrison is much more accurate (fig 2). Some of the concrete was removed by the kind offices of Clarence McDonald (of the architects Ledward & McDonald) but what remained restricted excavation. After the excavation the concrete was replaced as it had been (fig 1) and therefore gives a false impression of the width of the original entrance (which was narrower).

The excavation quickly located brick walls laid in English Bond not far below the courtyard surface of hard-rammed gravel and clay (fig 12). Careful measurements to the plinth on the west wall indicated that the western end of wall (5) had been cut down to a point exactly twelve courses of brick below plinth level. Below this another five courses survived above a foundation plinth. In places the walls had lost one other course. Wall (6) ran north–south, defining the western side of the gatehouse, while wall (5) was the north wall of the west side of the north wing and south wall of the attached west tower. Both walls had broad foundations, with the actual wall considerably inset for the interior of the tower. It is noticeable that Sidney Harrison's plan shows the eastern tower with outline walls whereas the western is shown solid (fig 2). This could be an indication that the interior of the latter was not tested by his excavation. The 1981 excavation thus confirmed that the western tower walls followed the same plan as those to the east.

The levels on either side of wall (5) were markedly different. To the north, the courtyard surface overlay dark earth with some roof tile and brick rubble (7), probably in fact the same as the underlying level (9), although this had no roof tile and more brick rubble, the latter especially noticeable closer to the foundation plinth but overlying a thin silty layer above it. South of the wall there was dark earth and rubble ((1), (3) and (4)) only down to the level of the surviving wall tops; below this was a thick sterile layer of orangey sandy soil with some stones (2). It is assumed that the earth and rubble levels on both sides were created during demolition, while layer (2) may relate to the floor level in the occupied part of the wing (the tower was presumably used for a staircase: see above, in discussion of the tower windows). Layer (2) sealed thin layers of mortar with brick dust and small brick fragments (8) and of chalk (10); where they coincided, (8) was later. These layers presumably relate to the construction of the walls. They overlay in turn a thin layer of gravelly earth (12) which also filled a deeper feature along the line of the wall over the rammed chalk foundation (13). The latter was around 0.7m deep with two brick insets above it below the actual wall. It was

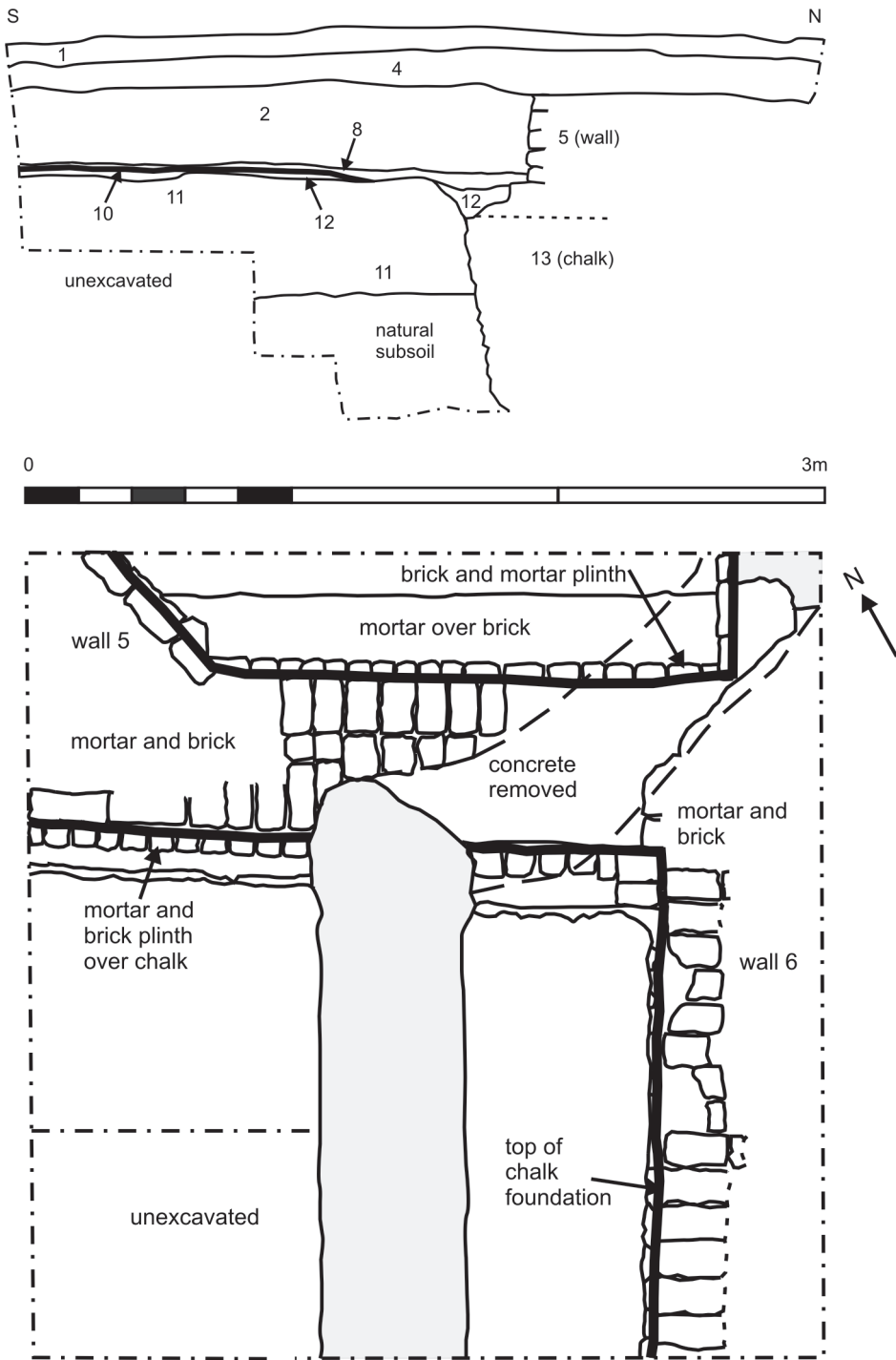


Fig 12 Sutton Place. West section (top) and plan of the 1981 excavation. (Illustration: Alan Hall)

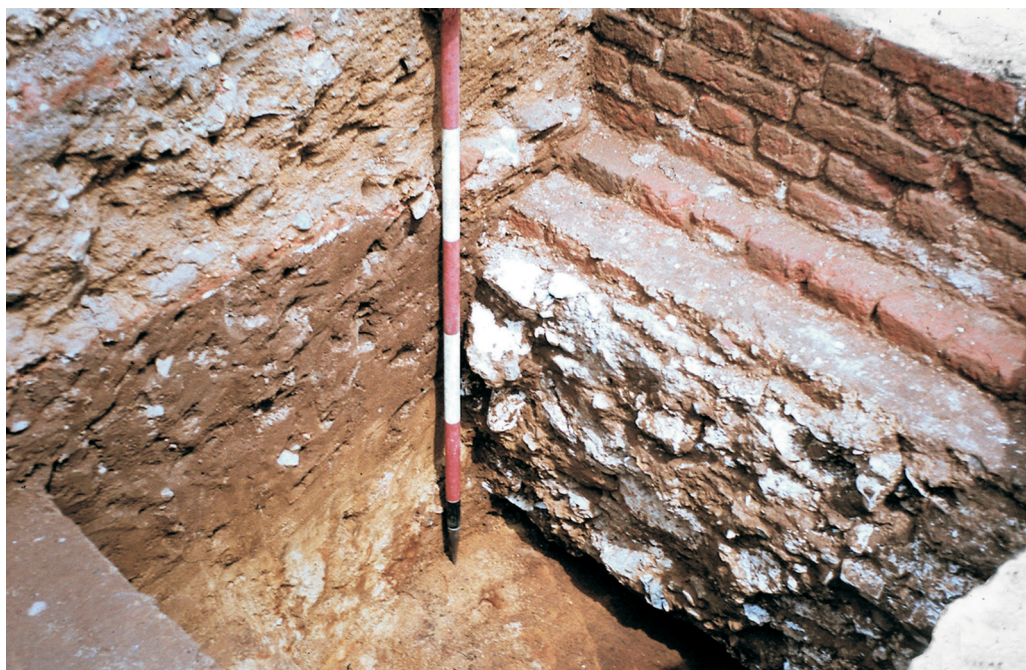


Fig 13 Sutton Place. Close-up of the west section of the trench and the south side of wall (5) and its foundation.



Fig 14 Sutton Place. Overall view of the 1981 excavation from the west.

clear that the chalk had been packed into a wide trench, which sloped gradually inwards. It was cut through a thick layer of dark moist earth (11) overlying the yellow sand and yellow and orange gravel natural subsoil layer. (11) is interpreted as a pre-existing cultivation level. A few roof tile fragments were noted at the very top of this layer and a few sherds of pottery were recovered from it, which have been examined by Phil Jones. They included two joining fragments of a whiteware pie base dating from the second quarter of the 13th century up to the early 16th century; it was noted that one fragment came from the top of the fill but the other was much further down in it. The other pottery is earlier, perhaps early to mid-13th century (although one fragment is of a fabric that might be earlier than this).

The chalk foundation extended to the northern edge of the trench under wall (5) and was therefore about 1.25m wide and c0.7m deep. There was not time or space to reach the base of the foundation of wall (6) and the full width was not available for excavation but it is likely that it was similarly strong. By chance, it was possible on the final day of excavation to observe a deep machine-dug cut being made against the east front of the house, at the foot of the southernmost chimney on this side (figs 10A and 15). It was intended to examine the strength of the foundations before work began on digging out a large pond nearby. As a result, it was possible to confirm that a deep rammed chalk foundation was provided on this side of the house of a very similar depth to that found for the north wing. At this point, there were only sixteen courses of brick, including the offsets, above the foundation and below the terracotta plinth. It was unfortunately not possible to monitor the subsequent excavations for the pond, although it should be noted that no rumour was heard of the destruction of foundations similar to those already described, and the architects did draw attention to some other later discoveries. Had foundations existed in the area of the pond they would certainly have caused problems for the digger drivers.

A few other observations may be noted. In February 1982, the top of a rectangular brick-built well was found within a building roughly in the centre of the southern side of the western courtyard area (fig 10A). It measured 1.42m north-south x 1.54m east-west and was mostly constructed of 2-inch (51mm) bricks. Holes in the brickwork suggested that the



Fig 15 Sutton Place. View of the machine-cut east wall foundation section.

lining was only one brick thick. There was no other dating evidence. Much more recently an excavation and watching brief by Oxford Archaeology a little further to the west located postholes thought possibly to represent a 16th–17th century temporary structure associated with construction of the house or the domestic functions of the western courtyard (Howe *et al* 2011, 286).

Evidence was also recorded in 1981–2 that might be relevant to disposal of rubble from alterations to the house, particularly including the gatehouse. A number of service trenches were dug across the lawn in front of the house, which revealed a considerable amount of rubble nearer the building. A layer of crushed brick with some large pieces of brick and terracotta fragments was noted in a trench right across the width of the main house and about 5m to the north. The trench turned to the north a little beyond the eastern edge of the building and the deposit was noted continuing for a further 5m to the north. Few roof tile fragments were seen. Another trench south of the house cut along part of a buried wall that seemed to have once bounded a terrace from opposite the south door to probably more than 10m beyond the east side of the house. The foundation was composed of large fragments of terracotta door and window surrounds and lumps of chalk. A Getty Oil visitor to the Sutton Park excavation in 1980 remarked that there was a great deal of rubble in the ‘kitchen garden’ at Sutton Place, said to be from the gatehouse wing (although of course this would have been a natural assumption). Finally, Cooper (1994b) records a reference to the use of rubble from the demolished gatehouse for the construction of a dam in the river and the rest being dumped in the park, although he was unable to locate any of it.

Conclusions

There is just sufficient information from the excavation to hint at medieval occupation of some sort on or close to the site at least as early as the 13th century, but it need not have been of any great importance. It has been established that Sutton Place itself was constructed on wide and deep foundations of rammed chalk, and that Sidney Harrison’s plan of the gatehouse wing is likely to be accurate.

What evidence there is suggests that the wing was at least partially damaged by the fire of 1561 and that it was not repaired for a long time. This may have been as late as the early 18th century, but Aubrey’s description appears to suggest that, at least when seen from outside, the front seemed to be in good condition somewhat earlier than this. The gatehouse wing was removed in the 1780s and the main feature of the courtyard now is its symmetry and the elaborate centrepiece for the hall (fig 16), described by Cooper as ‘a sort of two-dimensional gatehouse, echoing perhaps the gatehouse proper’ (1994a, 34). Both symmetry and centrepiece are without doubt the result of later alterations. Cooper suggests that this was all the work of the second John Weston around 1720, giving good reasons for dating the third period hall to this time and suggesting that the decorative material for the new centrepiece came from demolition of parts of the eastern range (Hall 1996, 114; Cooper 1994b: the full argument is being prepared for publication). He accepts, however, that a degree of uncertainty remains and that the centrepiece in particular might be the work of John Webbe Weston.

The views (Views 3, 8 and 10) of the courtyard side of the gatehouse wing suggest that it was symmetrical by the mid-18th century if it was not so before, and it would make sense for this to have happened at the same time as the rebuilding of the east wing, which Manning and Bray specifically attribute to 1721 (1804, 136). However, some problems remain. Although they are inconsistent, both 1781 views (Views 8 and 10) show a lower window south of the bay in the east wing that had been altered by the later 19th century (see Appendix, discussion after View 11). View 8 appears to show that the east wing façade was not then entirely symmetrical, while View 10 has a path from the gatehouse that does not go to a centrally placed door in the south wing, but seems to head for the old entrance tucked into the south-west corner. Next, we need three periods of hall; the first existed up to 1561, but



Fig 16 Sutton Place. The centrepiece of the south wing in 1981.

it is not clear when the second is to be dated. If the third period hall belongs to the 1720s as Cooper argues, then period two can only really fit after the 1641 sale of Clandon, and more likely in the later 17th century in the time of the first John Weston; but that would mean that the changes in period three would follow on rather quickly. Furthermore, Manning and Bray could be read as meaning that the period two hall should be dated to 1721 (1804, 136), although Aubrey's comments and other considerations (*VCH* 3, 385) probably favour the first John. It is not possible to resolve all the difficulties, but even if the final period hall is to be dated to the 1720s, a good case can be made for the elaborate centrepiece to be seen as the work of Webbe Weston.

There is no reason to suppose that there were plans to remove the gatehouse wing when work on the restoration of the eastern side of the house was undertaken. Aubrey's 'stately Gate-House, with a very high Tower' still therefore served as a bold statement in the approach to the front of the house. As previously noted, there seem to be no views known of the north face of the hall range until after the gatehouse was demolished (none are known to Cooper: 1994b), which might well suggest that there was nothing special to record, for example when the 1781 views were taken. The centrepiece surrounds the centrally placed doorway into the hall range, which is matched by one on the south side that more or less has to be of the same date. It too has a decorated parapet above, in this case incorporating elements of the Copley arms, probably placed by the second John in memory of his grandmother (Cooper 1994b; Harrison 1893, 141–2). It seems strange that he did not do the same on the other side if he was responsible for the great centrepiece, and this also makes it more likely that it is later.

It is known that Webbe Weston considered a grand alteration to the appearance of his house, with 'classical columns, pediments and the like', which had to be ruled out on grounds of expense (Harrison 1893, 115–16). He did however spend what must have been a considerable sum in the 1780s. If the gatehouse wing was to be demolished he would have been left without a grand entrance. The solution would have been literally staring him in the face. Failing Bonomi's scheme, what could be more logical than to recreate the elaborate

spectacle of the inside of the gatehouse, with the decorative material ready-made to hand? Not exactly a pedimented front with columns, but something of the sort that was much less costly. The effect Webbe Weston was hoping to achieve may be demonstrated by the highly inaccurate illustration that he chose to contribute to Manning and Bray (1804, pl opp 136). Here the east and west wings have become symmetrical, appearing to have regular sash windows without terracotta surrounds, and the gable ends of the former north wing have disappeared.

Most of the gatehouse wing seems to have ended up as rubble, sometimes used in foundations, perhaps in a dam or a drive and often just spread about. But it may be that a small part lives on in the existing building, as the impressive entrance to the centre of the house.

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APPENDIX: VIEWS OF THE HOUSE

Harrison mentions 'three drawings in the possession of the current owner [ie Salvin]' (Harrison 1893, 132) and reproduces four views (see Views 1, 2, 3 and 6 below). The current whereabouts of the first three does not seem to be known (Cooper 1994a, 33; 1994b). Several others now in the Bodleian Libraries were apparently not known to Harrison, and only one seems to have been previously published, in a booklet prepared for an exhibition at Sutton Place in 1983 (View 8 below).

The views held in the Bodleian were among the topographical collections made by Richard Gough, who left them to the Library on his death in February 1809 (Madan 1897, 151). There seems to be little specific information about the origins of most of the Gough collection, but the items must at least date to before February 1809. Part of the collection was obtained from that of Andrew Ducarel after his death in 1785, but the items are not specified. Ducarel was keeper of the library at Lambeth Palace from 1757 and went on antiquarian tours each August for many years arranging for record drawings (Stephen 1888, 84), so might well be responsible for some of the Sutton Place drawings. View 12 has only recently come to light, being part of a collection of Surrey Illustrations formed by William Bray of Shere, discovered by Mrs Handa Bray and deposited in the Surrey History Centre (Julian Pooley, pers comm).

View 1 (fig 11). Harrison reproduces an ‘Old Drawing, Sixteenth Century, showing Gateway and Tower, North Front’, also described as ‘being about the beginning of the seventeenth century, say 1600’ (Harrison 1893, pl 3 opp 1, and 132). He gives no reason for the date and it is open to challenge. Up until at least the mid-17th century part of the north wing was fire damaged and abandoned, according to Harrison himself. The tree-lined avenues are likely to have been planted around 1700 (see discussion of the setting of the house, above), the writing and drawings of animals also have the look of such a date (Shirley and Emma Corke, pers comm), and it may be noted that the trees seem to be young. There are good grounds too for thinking that the large windows in the ends of the east and west wings are likely to be later. It seems probable that the drawing is closer to 1700, and perhaps around the time of the restorations in the 1720s.

In most respects the drawing is similar to other views of the outside of the north wing with only a few minor differences. It is the only one to show much of the wider setting of the house, with garden walls on each side, both with inset angles inside which small garden buildings are set, and with smaller angular buildings still further along. Although there is no indication of the western service court, there is a noticeably elaborate gate in the west garden wall that might well have given access to it.

View 2 (fig 5). A pencil drawing of the outside of the north wing (Harrison 1893, 140, and pl Q opp 160). This is one of two drawings made in 1751 reproduced by Harrison, who gives somewhat erratic information about them in the index of plates, on the plates themselves and in his text. The main description (Harrison 1893, 115 n2) is best reproduced in full (spelling, etc, as original):

The elevation of the north wing and gatehouse as seen from within is exactly reproduced in a careful architectural drawing, signed and dated – “Front of Sutton in com. Surry as it stood, Jan. 22, 1750, John Wolffe delin. 17 Feb. 1750.” [= *View 2*] “Front of Sutton towards the Court as it stood Jan. 22, 1750, the little pillars 67½ high, 5 ft. diam. The Court 81.3 [sic] square exclusive of the base.” [= *View 3*] These drawings show that the quadrangle was perfectly symmetrical; one gives the northern (outside) view of the gatehouse, and one gives the southern (inside) view of the same. The hexagonal turrets were precisely the same as those now standing on the south wing, which are also 67½ feet high, 5 feet diameter. The arch of the gateway into the court seems circular. The gatehouse had three stories, the lower window of eight lights, the two upper windows of four lights. On each side of the gateway were three windows uniform with the east and west wings. The drawing is evidently by John Wolffe, first cousin of Melior Mary [Weston], the then owner, who may have been contemplating the removal of the ruined wing.

The repeated reference to a single drawing suggests that the two views were on one sheet, and this is supported by the reproductions, which show a scale only for *View 2*, and the information in the note that only this view had the reference ‘John Wolffe delin’. Probably, therefore, a single sheet presented the inside view above and the outside below. Although the note gives the date as 22 January 1750 the date given on the plates is 1750–1, to reflect the difference between new and old style dates (in the old style, before 1752, the year began in late March and not January). There are other differences between the wording of the note and on the plates and it is probable that the version in the note is to be preferred. There are also three versions of the recorder’s name: Wolffe as above; Wolfe in the index of plates and Woolfe on the plates themselves (Harrison 1893, xvi, 112–15, and *Views 2* and *3*; on 140 he even gives W Woolfe). No doubt the name varied on occasion; Wolffe is used hereafter (following Manning & Bray 1804, 136).

According to Harrison (1893, 112–13), Melior Mary’s aunt married William Wolffe (who

also claimed a Weston descent). By the mid-18th century the Wolfes were expected to inherit Sutton, but in the event William's grandsons were all dead by 1768. Harrison makes no mention of the intervening generation but William had a son John (died 1764; Manning & Bray 1804, 136) and probably it was he who prepared the drawings. If it was the grandson John he must have been a rather precocious 7 or 8 year old in 1751 (Harrison notes a portrait of him aged 11 in 1754). Perhaps the Wolfes wanted a record before some remedial work was undertaken, which might explain the expression 'as it stood'. At some point before 1782 the prospect of material falling from the tower while people were passing below must have caused concern. Work was carried out by 'some London Builders' involving a partial removal of the top of the gatehouse and the provision of stout supports as shown on later views (eg Views 6, 7 and 12; Anon 1789).

Harrison makes a very curious error in discussing the two drawings. In the passage quoted above he clearly states that the 'hexagonal' turrets on the interior of the gatehouse 'were precisely the same as those now standing on the south wing, which are also 67½ feet high, 5 feet diameter'. This is hopelessly inaccurate as shown by his own text and illustrations, for instance the correct description 'two regular half-octagonal turrets, 3.2 feet [*sic*] in diameter above the base, rising to a height of 48 feet' (Harrison 1893, 138).

The Wolfe drawings are obviously to some extent sketches but, in the main, they agree with the other views. The gatehouse doors differ but are not convincing and no other view shows the windows on the exterior of the north wing as similarly sized and symmetrically placed. It is curious that the plinth is not shown on the inside view of the turrets of the gatehouse tower.

View 3 (fig 6). A pencil drawing of the courtyard side of the north wing (Harrison 1893, 140, and pl P opp 156). For discussion, see View 2.

View 4 (no fig): Bodleian Libraries, Gough Maps 30, f 59B, item e. Pencilled rough sketches and notes for an illustration (or illustrations) of Sutton Place, on a folded sheet of paper. The sketches show details of a quoin with terracotta decoration, a six-light window, in two rows of three, and the eastern half of the exterior of the gatehouse wing with the gatehouse and its eastern tower. The word 'sashes' appears above the windows in the north end of the east wing. The notes are not easy to read and some are probably not relevant to Sutton. This and View 5 (derived from it) are the only drawings to suggest that the lowest gatehouse window was wider than the others. The top of the gatehouse is shown partially demolished.

View 5 (no fig): Gough Maps 30, f 59B, item f. Pencil drawing, labelled 'Sutton house'. A view of the exterior of the gatehouse wing clearly derived from View 4 as it reproduces a mirror image of the details shown on that view to represent the western side. The roof of the wing is drawn almost as though it is a castle wall.

View 6 (no fig). Gough Maps 30, f 59B, item g. A coloured view of the exterior of the gatehouse wing that must have a different origin to View 5 as it is obviously much more accurate. It must itself be the origin of a view reproduced in different ways in the two editions of Harrison's book (see View 7) as it is a very close match and the sash windows on the north front of the east and west wings are shown with identical openings. The other details match most of the other views. The gatehouse is shown partially demolished and there are four large timber props, one on the gatehouse east tower, two on the gatehouse itself and one raised up to near the window between gatehouse and western chimney. A small part of the garden walls on either side can be seen, and a little of the western courtyard.

View 7 (no fig). The first edition of Harrison's book included a view on page 119 of the exterior of the gatehouse wing, described at the end of the index of plates as a woodcut by G N Martin 'from an old drawing in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1789, vol. lix. p. 108'

(Harrison 1893, xvii). In the text (1893, 132) its publication is wrongly dated to 1779. It is surely a tidied-up version of the one that appears in the second edition of the book (Harrison 1899, 17) which is not explained but is the actual *Gentleman's Magazine* version (Anon 1789). The latter is also reproduced more clearly, but back to front and wrongly labelled as early 18th century, in the 1983 exhibition booklet (Howard 1983, 23; catalogue no 38b, 71, which gives the drawing location at that time as Sutton Place). As noted, View 7 is clearly derived directly from View 6.

View 8 (fig 7). Gough Maps 30, f 60. A coloured view, drawn with a frame, of the courtyard interior showing a small portion of the western part of the north wing, the gatehouse, the eastern part of the north wing and most of the east wing. Across the foot of the drawing carefully written in ink is 'Sutton House near Guildford, belonging to Mrs Weston, taken from the Door of the Offices'. The view is reproduced in the 1983 exhibition booklet (Howard 1983, 21) but with part of the east wing not shown. This omission is unfortunate in that while the windows, and the way they relate to one another and to the terracotta band below the parapet, are much the same as today, the lower window beyond (south of) the bay is shown as markedly out of symmetry with the one above it. It is interesting also that the windows on the gatehouse wing are shown as very similar to those of the east wing except that the upper ones are smaller and are not set into the terracotta band at the top of the wall. The treatment of the gatehouse door surround and the facing of the turrets with terracottas is in marked contrast to the Wolffe drawing (View 3), as is the depiction of the lowest gatehouse window as having only four lights. The courtyard appears to be grass covered and there are shrubs all round the base of the walls.

View 9 (no fig). Gough Maps 30, f 60B. A coloured view, drawn with a frame, of the north front, obviously by the same hand as View 8, and inscribed in similar fashion: 'East Front of Sutton House, near Guildford taken from the Avenues on the N.^o [sic] Side'. As well as a view of the north front the view includes some of the garden walls running to east and west, part of the western courtyard and trees in the avenues. Most of the details of the main building agree with the majority of the other views, but there are some curious differences that are discussed further above, when considering the likely original appearance of the north wing. These include the lowest gatehouse window again having only four lights (as in View 8), a different terracotta band below it, immense chimney pots on the western chimney, and terracotta decoration on the chimney corners. The timber props seen on other views such as Views 6, 7 and 12 are not shown although their existence is noted on View 10, which must be by the same hand.

View 10 (fig 8). Gough Maps 30, f 61, item a. A grey version of View 8 but with no drawn frame and some differences in detail. Written in ink across the top of the drawing, possibly in the same hand not seeking to be neat and careful: 'Courtyard of Sutton place [sic], 3 miles from Guildford in Surry [sic], built in the time of Henry the [sic] VIII, entirely brick, the inside in front of the Drawing was ['already' crossed through] burnt down early in the time of Queen Elizabeths [sic] Reign, when the drawing was made it was in the possession of a Mrs Weston, an old Roman Catholic Lady, since dead, & the whole building (that was even ['then' inserted] kept together by props of beams only) probably demolished'. Separately (ie clearly date of drawing and not of the probable demolition): 'June 19th 1781'.

There can be little doubt that this is an earlier version of View 8, used as the basis to produce a properly finished picture. The differences between the two versions are interesting and are considered further below, in discussion of View 11. Particularly noteworthy in View 10 is a curving path in the foreground, coming from the gatehouse and implying that the entrance in the south front was not in the centre but on the western side.

View 11 (no fig). Gough Maps 30, f 61, item b. A grey version of View 9 but with no drawn

frame and some differences in detail. Written in ink across the top of the drawing: 'Sutton place, Surrey. 3 miles from Guildford, built in the time of Henry VIII [thus], inhabited by an old Roman Catholic lady, Mrs Weston'. Again the date separately: 'June 19th 1781'. Once more this must be a working version (of View 9), and again the differences are of interest.

Presumably Views 10 and 11 were made rapidly on the spot as record drawings, and the improved colour versions (Views 8 and 9) were made elsewhere, at more leisure. Most of the differences between the two versions can be explained as corrections or improvements. These are most likely to have been done from memory because both versions retain some details that are unlikely to be correct. Thus the Wolffe drawings and other views agree that the lowest gatehouse windows had eight lights in two rows of four, and that the exterior window was set down into the terracotta band across the centre, with lozenge decoration under it and larger amorini panels on either side, whereas both View 9 and View 11 show this band as a single height and entirely of amorini. Two changes in particular on the finished View 8 might suggest a second visit to check accuracy: the tops of chimneys are now shown rising behind the east wing, and the furthest south lower window on the east wing has been moved considerably out of symmetry. But as the other probable errors were not corrected perhaps the visit was a rapid one, or a few notes were supplied based on the original drawings.

The colour courtyard view (View 8) is a convincing representation when compared to what is still there. The proportions of the windows, for example, and the terracotta band on the bay window represent marked improvements on the grey version. The path clearly shown on the latter has presumably been omitted for artistic effect, but this cannot explain the deliberately moved window, which may therefore be accurate. It is a six-light window, in two rows, in both views, and neither shows the window in its current size and position, as a four-light window, in two rows, alongside a door. This was already there in the Harrison era (1893, pl 4, opp 4), and is also shown by Hayward (Harrison 1893 pl C, between 124 and 125). His drawing is not entitled 'restored', as it is for the north wing, and neither is his drawing of the west wing (Harrison 1893 pl B, between 122 and 123), where the top window just south of the north wing scar is shown placed symmetrically above the lower one, whereas even in 1981 it was pushed right into the angle with the wall scar – so much so that there was no room for the terracotta surround on the northern side. The surround was subsequently 'restored' (see fig 1, where it can be seen to cut into the scar left by the former wing). Presumably this window is still in its original position. Whether or not this is correct it is certainly not symmetrically placed, but this seems to have been ignored in all discussions, perhaps because it usually seems to have been buried behind foliage.

The colour view of the north front (View 9) is again an 'improvement', most notably in the proportions of the gatehouse towers. Amorini are added where the working version just has their settings, but the mistaken representation of the band on which they are set has not been corrected, and a similar mistake appears on the third window up from the base of the eastern tower, which is shown as having a double light, although this is not shown on other views and seems unlikely. The western chimney base has been extended into the angle with the west wing, which is probably an accurate correction. Again, a path shown on the working version, leading to the front entrance, has been removed in the finished product although it must surely have existed.

View 12 (fig 3). A coloured view of the exterior of the gatehouse wing and the east wing. It is similar to Views 6 and 9, and must date from about the same time, but is taken from further round to the north-east, giving an angled view of the north front. It appears to be a better representation than 9, but is less definite about the window terracottas and probably shows more decoration under the lowest gatehouse window than actually existed. This window appears wider than the one above but that is probably an optical illusion. There are more timber props than shown on View 6 and perhaps a hint of greater dilapidation, with weeds

on the cut-down tower tops, but smoke shown rising from the western chimney presumably implies that some of the north wing was still in use. There is a curving earth track approaching the gate from the north-east and no hint of a drive heading straight out at right-angles to the house. It seems as though the main drive at this time was directly alongside the north front, coming past the west wing.

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