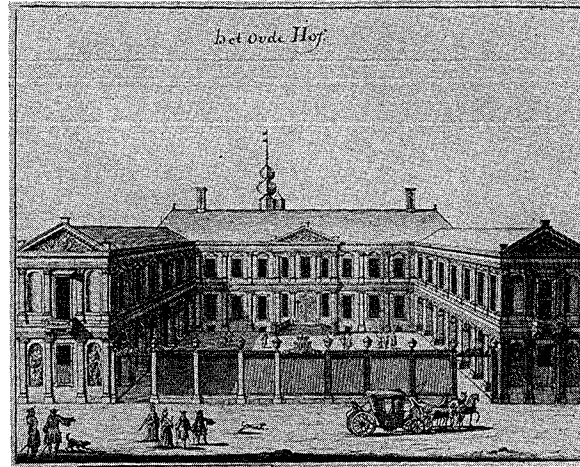


Van Campen is credited with remodeling or enlarging two houses for William III's father—the Noordeinde Palace in The Hague (c. 1639–1645) and Honselaersdijk, an estate greatly embellished by 1638 (figures 56–57). As stadholder, William's official residence was in the government complex in The Hague known as the Binnenhof; he reportedly used the Noordeinde Palace mainly as a guesthouse.¹⁴ Before William and Mary began Het Loo in 1686, their favorite country seat was Honselaersdijk. They soon came to epitomize the rapidly growing Dutch love of, even obsession with, relatively modest but chastely designed and well-laid-out houses and gardens. The nation's already well-known penchant for cleanliness and order reached higher levels after 1650 when Dutch wealth was such that more and more houses,



Dutch and English Precedents

Fig. 55. P. C. la Fargue, *View of Sebastiaansdoelen, The Hague, Arent van s'Gravesande, architect, c. 1635*, engraving, 1753, Municipal Archives, The Hague.

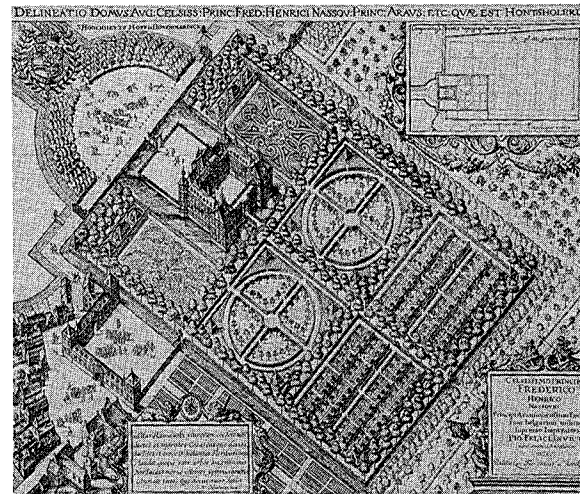


Fig. 56. Artist unknown, *View of Noordeinde Palace, The Hague, remodeled by Jacob van Campen, c. 1639–1645*, engraving, The State Service for the Preservation of Historic Monuments in the Netherlands, Zeist.

Fig. 57. Artist unknown, *View of Honselaersdijk, near The Hague, Jacob van Campen (attribution), architect, c. 1638*, print, Municipal Archives, The Hague.

even those of the “sober” Calvinists, were described with “plantations, gardens, greenhouses, fountains, cascades, game preserves [with] everything in perfect order.” Their furniture was cited as being “so clean and in order that it looks as if it is exhibited and not for use.”¹⁵

The engraving of the Noordeinde Palace shows a *hôtel de ville* in the French manner but more severely classical, as might be expected of van Campen. Typically, the main range with a

Fig. 58. Pieter Post, *Elevation, Huis ten Bosch, 1645*, print, from *Les ouvrages d'architecture de Pierre Post* (Leiden, 1715), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

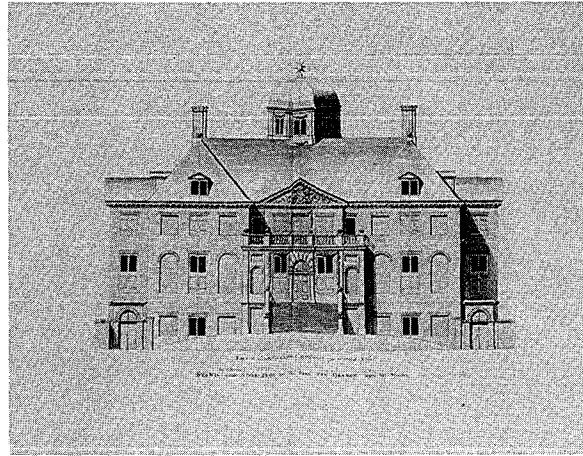
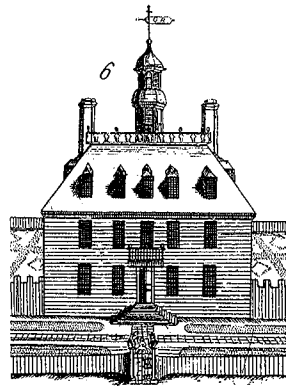
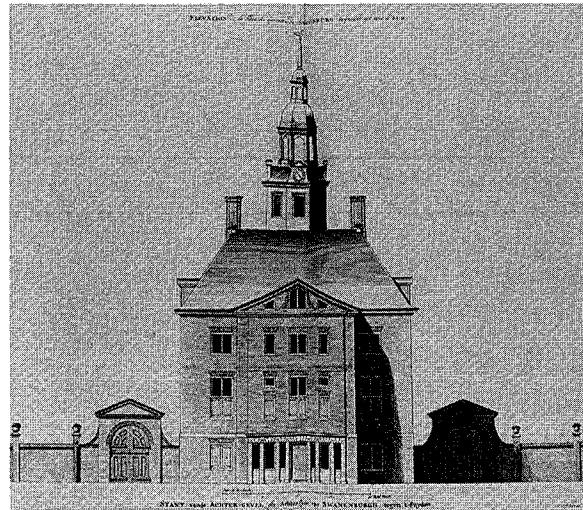


Fig. 59. Pieter Post, *Elevation, Swanenburgh, c.1643*, print, from *Les ouvrages d'architecture de Pierre Post* (Leiden, 1715), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



The Governor's Palace, detail from the Bodleian Plate, figure 21.

three-bay pedimented pavilion is set well back from the road and is flanked by two wings that project forward. Its arrangement is similar to the Volary Building at Whitehall Palace that Charles II and James II transformed into their apartments in the period 1670–1688. Honselaersdijk also shows French influence, and is entered from a semicircular-shaped square through a gate into a forecourt where the corps-de-logis is flanked by pavilions in the French manner. The main

suite of apartments was placed toward the gardens, an elaborate design by André Mollet that surrounds the house on three sides. The engraver betrayed the already distinct preference for houses made to seem less important than the surrounding extensive and intricate gardens. As a scheme basically complete by 1638, Honselaersdijk was more advanced than anything England could boast during the reigns of Charles I or Charles II until the latter had Wren begin the ill-fated palace at Winchester in 1683.

In 1645 Pieter Post began two houses—Huis ten Bosch and Swanenburgh, both near The Hague (figures 58–59). Huis ten Bosch was built for Amalia von Solms-Braunfels, William III's grandmother, and he inherited this important house upon her death in 1675, two years before his marriage to Mary. Both houses amalgamate features already presented, and by the addition of a new one (that of the cupola or lantern tower), the new vogue became a school. They show a combination of well-digested Palladian and French features that combine with indigenous traditions to result in buildings that are distinctly Dutch. The way in which Swanenburgh's three-bay pedimented pavilion isolates the two single end bays and the way in which the eye is ultimately led to the three-story lantern tower, together with proportions more vertical than those used by Palladio or Jones, led Nancy Halverson Schless to isolate it as a source for Williamsburg's Governor's Palace. Apart from the less elegantly proportioned Maltravers house by Jones, it would be difficult to find a building earlier than Swanenburgh that contained all the aforementioned features, many of which would also characterize the Governor's Palace sixty years later. Few scholars appear to have attached any importance to the fact that drawings of the Huis ten Bosch are among those in the various Wren collections published by *The Wren Society*. According to Wouter Kuyper, Post and Ving-

boons had vied for the attention of Frederick Alewijn in designing Vredenburg, his estate near Westwijck, in 1639–1640. Of interest in Post's design are the three-bay colonnades that link the seven-bay, two-story main range to one-bay, single story flanking dependencies.¹⁶

This Dutch tradition helps account for the appearance of Vingboons's *Gronden* in 1648. *Gronden* contains sixty-two fairly homogeneous designs. Vingboons had designed his version of the Mauritshuis by 1642 with the Ioan Poppen house at Amsterdam. A much simplified, vernacular version of this is the Ganzenhoef house built at Maarseveen in 1655 (figure 62). 1648 was also the year in which he, van Campen, Huygens, and Post, among others, submitted designs for Amsterdam's new Town Hall. The scale of the designs and the grandeur of their details contrasted sharply with its function as a meeting place for burghers. As was to be expected, van Campen's design was chosen, but that by Vingboons is equally interesting to this study (figure 60). The designs of both Vingboons and van Campen soon appeared in prints that found their way into England. The entrance façade of Vingboons's scheme shows a three-story building with hipped roof of thirteen bays that are articulated by three-bay corner pavilions, set apart from the central block by virtue of their depth of projection and by the Brunelleschi-like domes that crown them. Two corps-de-logis sections of two bays isolate the central three-bay pedimented pavilion, itself crowned by a single-story lantern tower the same height as the tetrastyle portico. This arrangement became common into the nineteenth century, but was most uncommon in 1648. Once again, Italian and French sources intermingle but are not obvious. The fenestration, proportions, and use of cupolas and domes is Dutch.

Perhaps the various designs for the Town Hall in Amsterdam were already felt in England

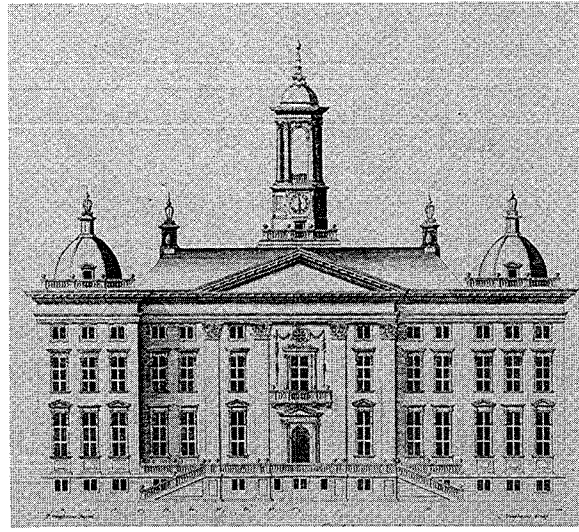


Fig. 60. Philips Vingboons, *Elevation, Design for the Town Hall, Amsterdam*, print, 1648, Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam.

when John Webb prepared his third, unexecuted design for Durham House. As Kuyper noted, there is no previous English building more like the Durham House plan than Vingboons's plan for the Town Hall. Both have similarities of scale and layout, both are thirteen bays wide on the shorter façade, twenty to twenty-three on the longer, and follow the pavilion-corp-de-logis-pavilion arrangement. No earlier plan of an English house shows such an arrangement so clearly. The Webb design, new to English architecture, left its mark on his range for Charles II at Greenwich. This, in turn, influenced Wren in what he built there a generation later.¹⁷ The Vingboons Town Hall design, perhaps even more than van Campen's, is the zenith of Dutch architectural characteristics begun only fifteen years before with the Mauritshuis.

It is with these Dutch works in mind from the period 1633–1648 and with those in England by Jones and Webb from 1616–1649 that Pratt's Coleshill in Berkshire, now dated c. 1657, should be considered. After returning to England in 1649 following a six-year sojourn in Italy, France, Flanders, and Holland, Pratt embarked on what

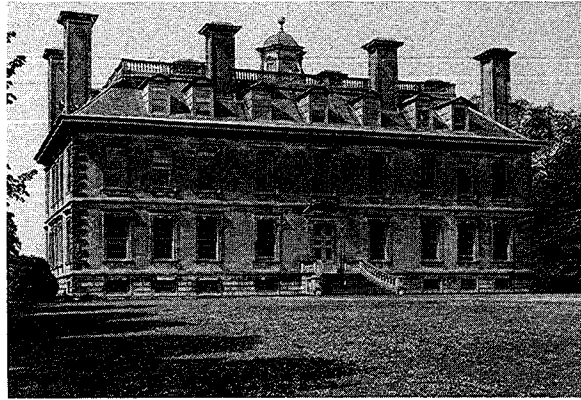
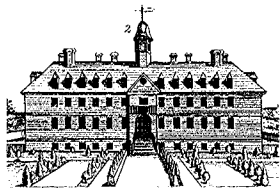


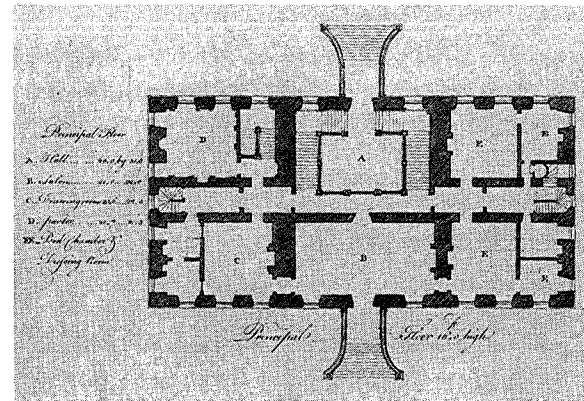
Fig. 61a. Coleshill, Berkshire, Roger Pratt, architect, c.1657, photograph: by kind permission of *Country Life*

Figs. 61b–c. Plan and Elevation, Coleshill, Berkshire, Roger Pratt, architect, c.1657, from John Wolf and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. V (London, 1771), Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Libraries, Williamsburg, Va



The College Building, detail from the Bodleian Plate, figure 21.

still appears to be his first work of architecture—Coleshill (figures 61a–c). It is an original blend of Italian, French, and Dutch features, and given Pratt's obvious knowledge of work by Jones and Webb, looks as English as van Campen's Mauritshuis looks Dutch. Like the Huygens house and Sebastiaansdoelen, Coleshill consists of nine bays, and has a double-pile plan that is covered by a hipped roof embellished by a balustrade and an octagonal cupola. Unlike most continental prototypes and like Jones's Maltravers and Arundel houses, the entrance façade of Coleshill is astylar (pilasters are not used), although the sense of emphasis on the three central bays was achieved by wider spacing of windows, much as that on the entrance façade of the Governor's Palace was achieved by a tighter spacing of the three central bays.¹⁸ The elevation of Coleshill in *Vitruvius Britannicus* should also be compared to the Michel drawing of the College. Coleshill has rusticated quoining at its corners and ashlar at the level of the basement as well as a bold modillion cornice. Michel showed the College with what might have been a similar cornice and basement treatment. The house is a rare achievement from the Interregnum. The first houses to reflect Coleshill appear not to have been built in England until after the Restoration. May's Eltham Lodge and Ashdown, now assigned Winde,

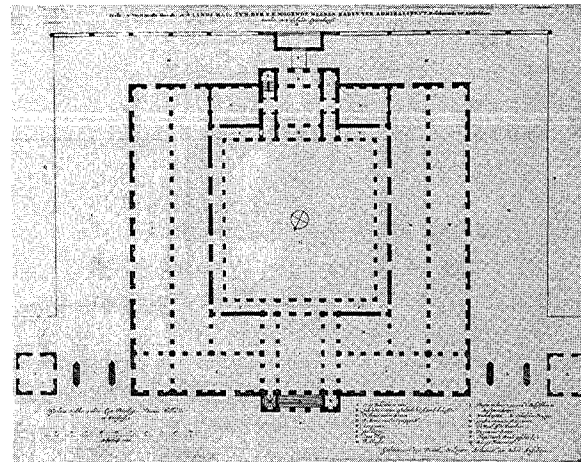
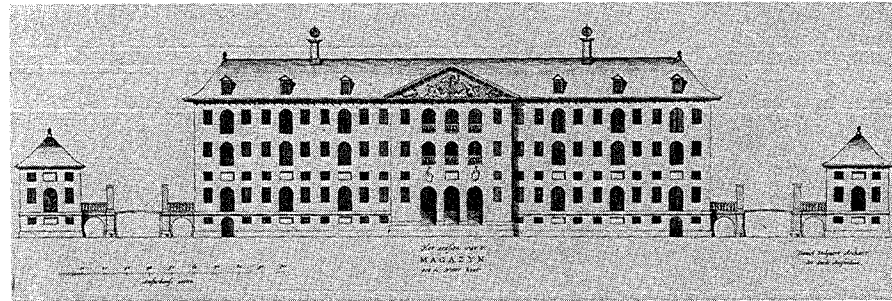
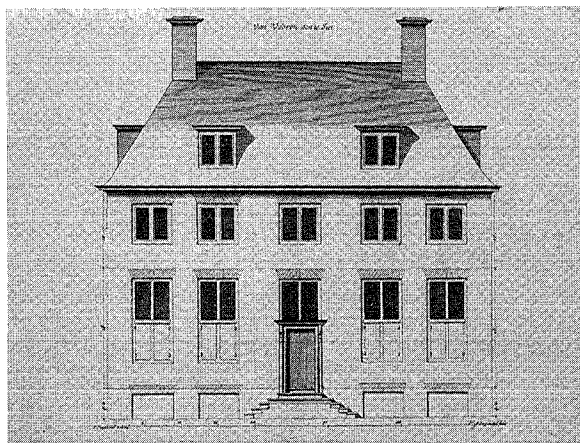


both dated c.1662, are among them.

Five additional Dutch buildings, specifically one designed by Philips Vingboons, two designed or assigned Daniel Stalpaert, and two designed by Jacob Roman and Daniël Marot, must be considered before turning to Restoration England. Dutch historians see their seventeenth-century architecture as falling into three distinct phases. The earliest, associated with de Keyser and the last phase of the "Artisan Mannerist" style, was popular before van Campen and the decade of the 1630s. The style associated with van Campen (because of its frequent application of the classical orders) is often referred to as the "Pilaster Style." Architecture

executed after 1670, especially that associated with architects like Roman and Marot, and with Steven Vennecool, increasingly dispensed with applications of the orders and, largely because of this, is known as the "Flat Style." The emergence of sash windows in both the Netherlands and in England in the 1680s provided a strong alternative to the transomed casement window, and also helped establish the character of the Flat Style. Sash windows lent a new and more classical character to Dutch, English, and American architecture. As E. H. ter Kuile noted, although plainer a mode than that dating to before 1670, the Flat Style is actually more intensely Baroque because the elimination of pilasters and the French pavilion-corps-de-logis system welds the building into an even stronger, Wölffinian unity.¹⁹ Works by Stalpaert and Vingboons may be seen as transitions to this simpler, later, more unified Dutch Baroque, a mode compatible with that developed by Wren in the 1680s.

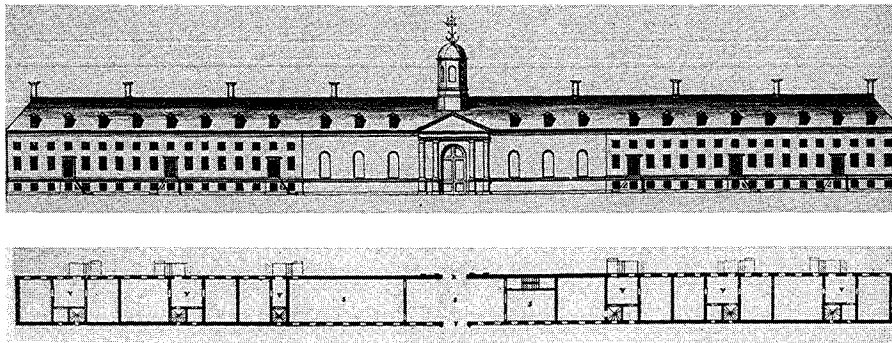
Philips Vingboons's Ganzenhoef House is a five-bay, two-story pile with a steep hipped roof (figure 62). It lacks the pilasters and pedimented pavilion of the Mauritshuis. Its astylar façade is like Jones's Maltravers House, Pratt's Coleshill, and Williamsburg's Governor's Palace, con-



Figs. 63a–b. Daniel Stalpaert, *Elevation and Plan, Admiralty Storehouse, Amsterdam, Daniel Stalpaert, architect, engravings, 1656, Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam.*

structed exactly half a century later. From the point of view of precedents for later British and American architecture associated with Wren, buildings designed by or attributed to Stalpaert are of immense interest, especially those built for the Dutch Admiralty in Amsterdam between 1656 and 1661. These include the Admiralty itself (1661), the Admiralty Storehouse, and the Ancillary Building for the Storehouse, the latter two dating to 1656 (figures 12, 63a–b, and 64a–b). The perfectly square Storehouse of twenty-five bays and three to three-and-a-half-story height is an almost vernacular simplification of van Campen's Town Hall of Amsterdam, also twenty-five bays in length. Were it not for the retention of a five-bay pedimented portico set-

Fig 62. Philips Vingboons, *Elevation, Ganzenhoef House, Maarseveen, c.1655, engraving, from Philips Vingboons, *Afbeeldsels der Voornaamste Gebouwen* (Amsterdam, 1674), Print Room, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*



Figs. 64a–b. Daniel Stalpaert, *Elevation and Plan, Ancillary Building, Admiralty Storehouse, Amsterdam, Daniel Stalpaert, architect, 1656, engravings, Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam.*



The College Building, detail from the Bodleian Plate, figure 21.

Fig 65a L. Scherm and C Allard, *View of the Entrance Gate, Het Loo, Jacob Roman and Daniël Marot, architects, begun 1686, print, National Museum Het Loo Palace, Apeldoorn. Photograph: Eelco Boeijinga.*

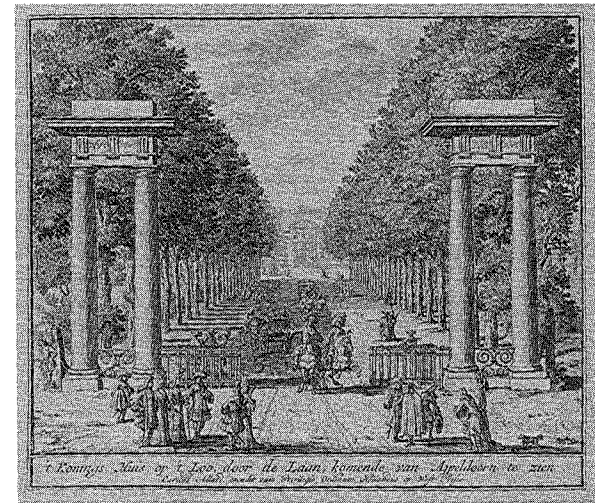
ting off the center and for the visual relief brought to the façade by seven bays of arched door openings on each floor (an obvious concession to functional needs), the building would not have been out of place in Industrial Revolution Britain. While it affords a precedent for the College's first building, it also provides one for designs by Jeremy Bentham.²⁰

The Ancillary Building is even more interesting. A narrow, single-range structure eighteen units longer than it is wide, it is relieved on one façade by a central tetrastyle portico, set beneath a lantern tower or cupola, which is flanked by a series of blind arcades. The portico and flanking arcaded sections monumentalize the central third of the wall by achieving a massiveness and simplicity lacking in each of the seventeen-bay-long end sections with their unbroken sequences of windows. Kuyper observed that this building, as shown in the engraving, has a combination of elements used a quarter century later by Wren when composing the similarly massive and utilitarian Royal Hospital in Chelsea (figures 89a–c). Sometime before 1682, Stalpaert made six engravings of the Storehouse and Ancillary Building, which, as figures 63 and 64 show, depict their plans and elevations. This obviously made the design of the Ancillary Building available to anyone interested in it, and certainly there is no earlier building designed by Wren or

by another architect that approaches the scale and style of the Royal Hospital. The similarity between this last building and the College has been noted and is reinforced by Christian Lilly's design for Codrington College in Barbados, c.1711–1714 (figures 90a–b). Moreover, the Ancillary Building has, like the College shown by Michel and the Bodleian Plate, a steeper hipped roof than is usual in England, most certainly on Wren's buildings.

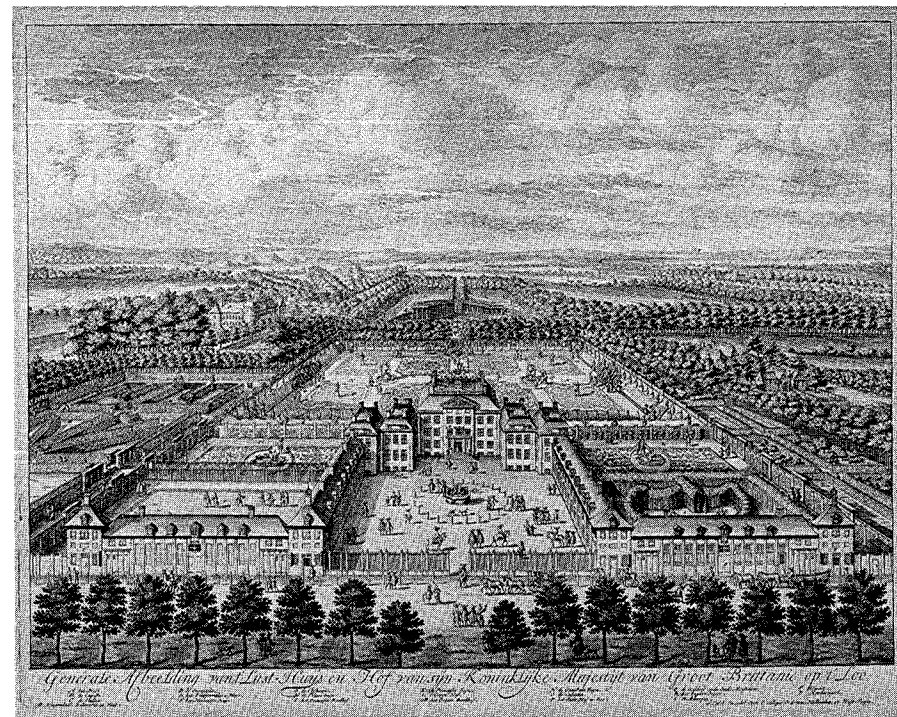
A glance at Dutch architecture in the seventeenth century is nowhere better concluded than with the Flat Style work by Roman, Marot, and Vennecool in the period 1685–1695. Perhaps the best example of this style is Het Loo, a house begun for William and Mary by Jacob Roman in 1686 (figures 65a–b). Het Loo and De Voorst, a sequel country house nearby, are the culmination of the story of Anglo–Dutch interrelationships in the seventeenth century. Het Loo was William's Versailles and came as close to architectural and landscape perfection as William and Mary found.

A three-story, seven-bay pinkish brick block, Het Loo is articulated on both road and garden



façades by a three-bay center pavilion, pedimented and set off by a moderately profiled hipped roof crowned by a balustrade. This block is enhanced further by attached double ranges of smaller two-story blocks that project forward and outward and begin to define the forecourt. On the garden façade, they recede backward and outward. While the arrangement is entirely and typically Baroque, the garden façade is quite singular and quite Dutch in its play of visual, perspective illusions. The outermost pavilions, projecting toward the road, were connected to two-story ranges, nine bays in length, which completed the definition of the forecourt. These ranges were terminated by matching three-story pavilions that were covered by hipped roofs steeper than those on the main blocks, and were further balanced by ranges or corps-de-logis thirteen bays long. These, in turn, were enframed by pavilions matching those at the entrance to the forecourt. High garden walls created square formal gardens behind and to the side of them.

Het Loo's plan is quite compatible with the one Wren was concurrently implementing at the Royal Hospital at Chelsea. Both are good examples of the developed Anglo-Dutch mode. Significant influence from Holland to England or vice versa was already a matter of the past; a compatible design mode reigned in both places just as it would soon do in Williamsburg. While it is fairly clear how Anglo-Dutch architectural exchanges might have occurred, their arrival in Williamsburg still poses problems. The engravings of Wren's Royal Hospital at Chelsea were readily available in London in 1692 as were the many engravings made of Het Loo and De Voorst by 1700. A comparison of contemporary photographs of Het Loo, Kensington Palace, and the Governor's Palace should make clear that the biggest differences between these buildings, apart from size, is the five-pane width of the sash



windows at Het Loo, a width far more frequently found in the Netherlands.

Less than a year after Mary died in 1694 and Het Loo was completed, William began construction of De Voorst (figures 66a–b). Although Jacob Roman and Daniël Marot were once again called upon to collaborate on its design, De Voorst took five years to complete. Colossal two-story pilasters, stretched beyond recognition or used as mere vertical accents at Het Loo and elsewhere, disappeared entirely at De Voorst, except as proto-Palladian “motifs” in the unusual frontispiece. De Voorst is, perhaps, the perfect example of the Dutch Flat Style because of its plain, even slick, profile, enhanced by sash windows. If elimination of pilasters is an important characteristic of the Flat Style, Wren and other English architects, as well as those of most European countries at the time, embraced a similar

Fig. 65b. B. Stoopendaal, *View of Het Loo*, Jacob Roman and Daniël Marot, architects, begun 1686, print, Collection of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands. Photograph: Eelco Boei-jinga.

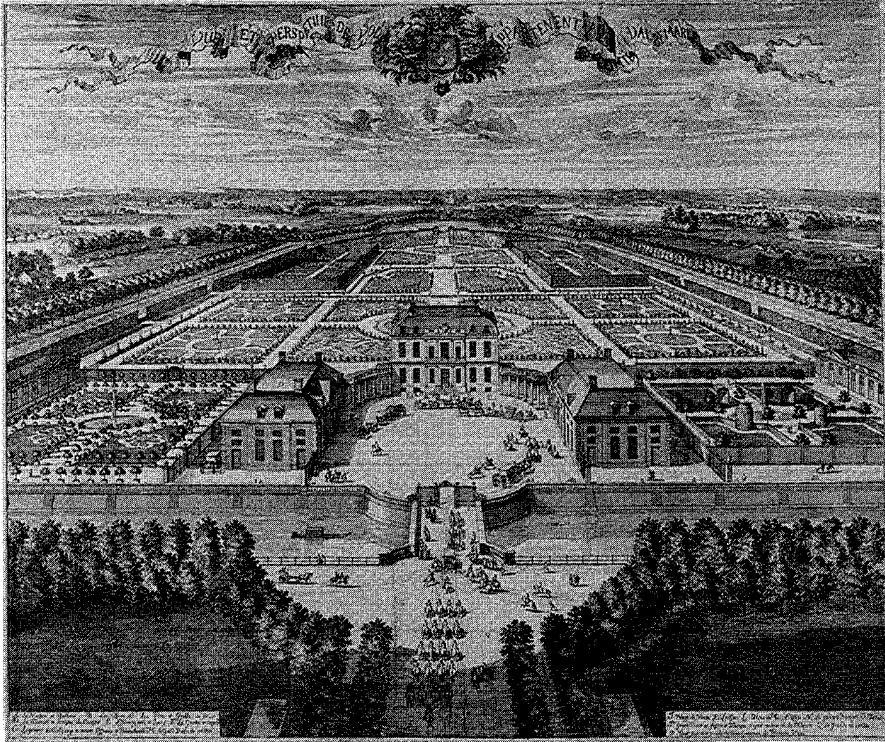


Fig 66a. Daniël Marot, *View of De Voorst*, Jacob Roman and Daniël Marot, architects, 1695–1699, etching, 1699, National Museum Het Loo Palace, Apeldoorn. Photograph: Menko ten Cate.

Fig 66b. *De Voorst*, Jacob Roman and Daniël Marot, architects, 1695–1699, photograph: The State Service for the Preservation of Historic Monuments in the Netherlands, Zeist

attitude about buildings. While some British scholars are skeptical about the influence of the Dutch in England, John Harris has shown that a remarkable pearwood model of De Voorst had been made in England by William Talman or under his supervision.²¹

The model raises important questions about a design role for Talman at De Voorst, especially since the convex hipped roofs of the house are not typical of either Dutch or English architecture of the period but can be vaguely perceived in the pavilions of the unidentified house, now also assigned Talman, in the All Souls, Oxford collection (figure 37). Both houses also have a three-bay frontispiece raised above the roofline and both are linked to dependencies by low colonnades, although those at De Voorst are now, in their quadrant form, more explicitly



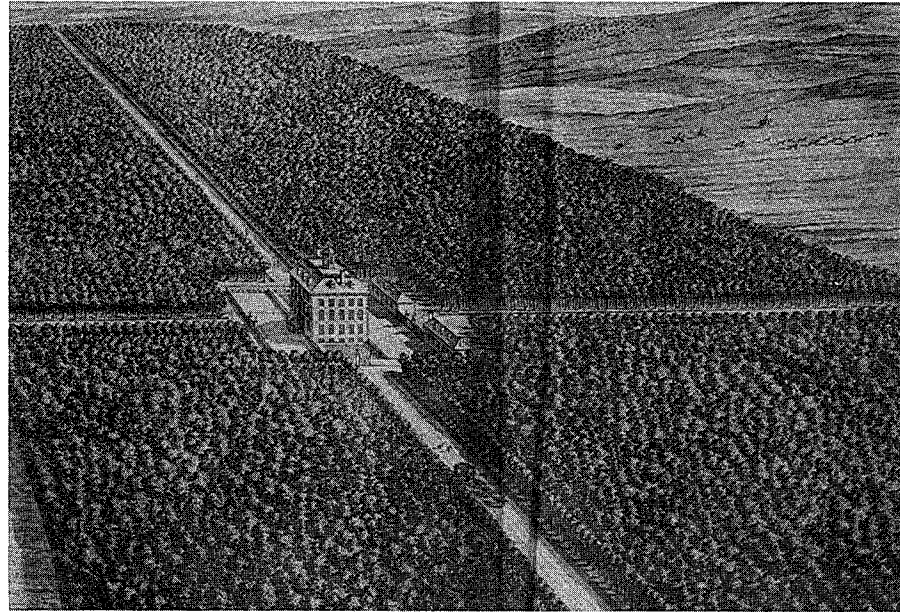
Palladian. Kuyper suggested Roman's hand in both the Clock Court and King's Gallery at Kensington Palace, when, apparently, Roman was in London in 1695. No references to him, however, have been found in any of the Palace records. The handling of the frontispiece at Kensington and De Voorst have in common the rejection of a pediment (with origins in the Greek temple) and the incorporation of an attic story characteristic of the Roman triumphal arch.²² Wren's son, Christopher Wren, visited Roman when in the Netherlands in 1705, affirming that Wren probably came to know Roman or of him as early as 1689. As Roman's contribution to Kensington Palace, or the Admiralty in London for that matter, cannot be disproved, and as Talman's involvement with De Voorst, a most important Dutch house and garden, seems assured, these buildings, built in the period 1689–1695, mark the culmination of the Anglo-Dutch interchange.



Architectural developments in England during the Restoration, 1660–1685, are an immensely important and influential part of British architectural history. Recent research by John Harris suggests one would do well to begin with

William Winde who remodeled Hampstead Marshall, an early Jacobean house in Berkshire, into a more classical building. Although destroyed in 1718, the house is illustrated in Kip's *Britannia illustrata*. Harris has also credited Winde with the design of Ashdown, also in Berkshire (figure 67). Hampstead Marshall, as a block with two projecting wings, approximates van s'Gravesande's Cloth Hall at Leiden and Post's Huis ten Bosch, clearly recalling their French origins. Ashdown resembles Post's Swanenburgh as well as many designs by Vingboons whose work Winde probably knew. Ashdown has all the elements of the Governor's Palace, although it is far from its twin.²³

In 1663, Pratt reiterated Coleshill's themes in two houses—Kingston Lacy in Dorset, built for Ralph Bankes, and Horseheath, for Lord Allington, in Cambridgeshire (figures 68–69). Like Coleshill, and like Melton Constable in Norfolk, which Pratt is thought to have designed shortly after 1664, Kingston Lacy is nine bays wide, two stories high, has transomed windows, and is covered by a hipped roof again crowned by a balustrade and cupola. With the exception of its eleven bays, this description would also fit Horseheath. New for Pratt, however, are the three-bay pedimented pavilions in both houses. Jones's Prince's Lodging at Newmarket appears to be the sole English precedent for this important motif; Post's Huis ten Bosch, with its nine bays and wide cupola is, however, more like the two



Pratt designs. Campbell illustrated Horseheath in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, wrongly ascribing it to Webb. With its dependencies, Horseheath is the most Palladian design Pratt appears to have done. An entry in John Evelyn's diary, dated July 20, 1670, recalled the house was, "sealed in a parke, with a sweete prospect and stately avenue."²⁴ Given its 1663–1665 date, Horseheath is the clearest precedent yet to appear in England establishing the principle of a center dominant pile flanked by smaller, symmetrical dependencies as would first appear in the colonies with the

Fig. 67. Johannes Kip, *Ashdown, Berkshire, William Winde (attribution), architect, c.1662*, engraving from Johannes Kip, *Britannia illustrata* (London, 1722), Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

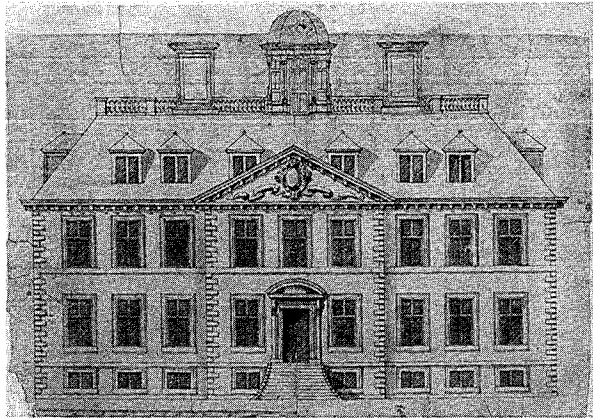
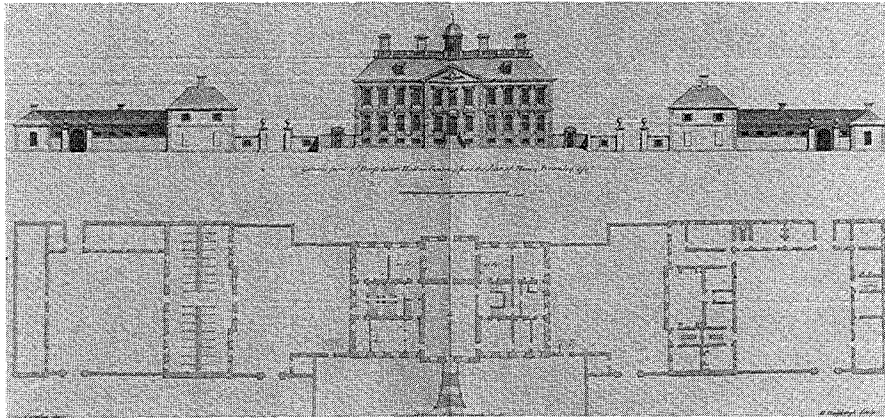


Fig. 68. Roger Pratt, *Kingston Lacy, Dorset, 1664*, drawing, 1664, by kind permission of *Country Life*.

Fig. 69. *Plan and Elevation, Horseheath, Cambridgeshire, Roger Pratt, architect, 1663–1665*, from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol III (London, 1725), Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.



Palace and College in Williamsburg.

While Kingston Lacy and Horseheath were under construction, Hugh May designed and supervised construction of Eltham Lodge in Kent, a house built for John Shaw, and long cited as the most decidedly Dutch-influenced house to survive in England from the period (figure 70). Recalling strongly both the Mauritshuis and Sebastiaansdoelen, it owes its Dutch character to May's experiences in Holland.²⁵ Both the Mauritshuis and Eltham Lodge are seven-bay piles with similar pedimented pavilions. The proportions of their roofs, dormers, and cornice treatments are nearly identical. The pavilion of Eltham Lodge and the surrounds of its sash windows appear identical to the same features of the Sebastiaansdoelen. May's next commission, Berkeley House (1664–1666), and Pratt's Clarendon House brought the new manner to London. (figure 71).²⁶

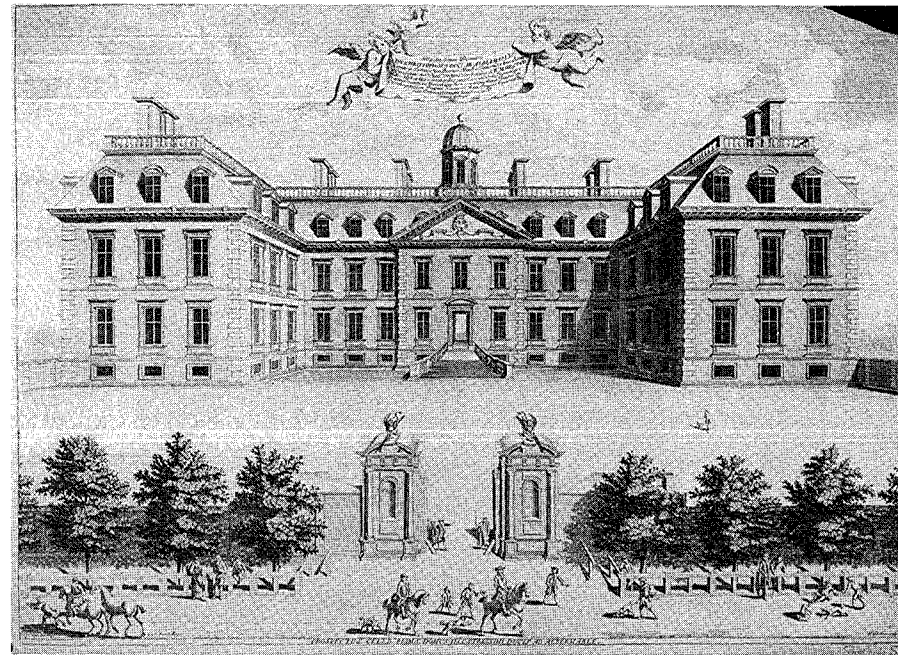
Built between 1664 and 1667, Clarendon House was demolished in 1683. However, it survived long enough to exert great influence in England. John Evelyn called it "without hyperbolies, the best contriv'd, the most usefull, gracefull, and magnificent house in England." Here, Pratt turned from the rectangular double pile plans of Coleshill, Kingston Lacy, and Horse-

heath and embraced the French pavilion-corps-de-logis system seen in buildings like the Noordeinde Palace at The Hague. The main block of Clarendon House was a Coleshill-like arrangement of nine bays embellished by a three-bay central pedimented pavilion *à la* Kingston Lacy, both of which were enhanced by three-bay square projecting end pavilions with corner quoins. The flattened hipped roof has a balustrade and a cupola. These four houses by Pratt, designed within a fifteen-year period, confirm a logical evolutionary development akin to that of Dutch architecture itself from 1633 to 1648. While the Maltravers and Arundel houses affirm that Inigo Jones was one of the creators of the astylar classical design for the English house, Vingboons had kept this style alive at midcentury, and Pratt, above all, reintroduced it into England after the Restoration. After Pratt, no one would come to build more firmly on this manner than Wren. The astylar, Flat Style also became universal in the colonies well into the mid-eighteenth century.

By 1665 Wren had made only two forays into architecture—his very Jonesian Pembroke College Chapel at Cambridge (1662) and his personal but inexperienced design for the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford (1664–1667). But these

two buildings gave Wren the distinction of first bringing a truly classical language to the buildings of England's two universities. Pembroke College Chapel is of interest as a portent of Wren's fine classical taste, the latter, as a gauge of his often pragmatic character or mind.²⁷ Although Wren would become central to English architecture after 1666, he had not yet become so; rather, Jones, Webb, Winde, Pratt, and May must be credited with planting classical seeds in England. By the time Wren came upon the scene these seeds, largely Italian, French, and Dutch, had developed into an indigenous and uniquely English hybrid. In 1667, Wren and Surveyor General Hugh May were both appointed commissioners for the rebuilding of London. After he succeeded May as surveyor general in 1669, Wren's work became increasingly important, but it is fitting to consider it last and as the culmination of earlier developments.

Among buildings shedding light upon Anglo-Dutch-American interconnections are Hooke's Bedlam Hospital in London (1674–1676), his Ragley Hall in Warwickshire (1677–1683), and Stanstead in Sussex (1686), variously assigned him or Talman. Hugh May's Cassiobury Park (1677) and Winde's Combe Abbey (1680–



1691) affirm that both architects continued to espouse and develop the new manner. Thoresby Hall in Nottinghamshire, a house of greater interest than is relevant to this study, dates to the 1670s, and has been ascribed to William Talman. Uppark in Sussex (c. 1680), also assigned Talman, represents English achievement in the country house and garden at the time William and Mary came to the throne. Finally, William Bruce's remarkable design for Kinross (1689–1693) brought the new manner to Scotland for the first time.

Robert Hooke's Dutch experiences and associations with Wren have already been discussed. Wouter Kuyper built a case for influence from specific Dutch churches on some that Wren or Hooke were rebuilding in London, and Nancy Halverson Schless cited Post's Swanenburgh as a source for the three pavilions of Bedlam Hospital (figure 72). Kuyper, however, considered two works attributed to Willem van der Helm in

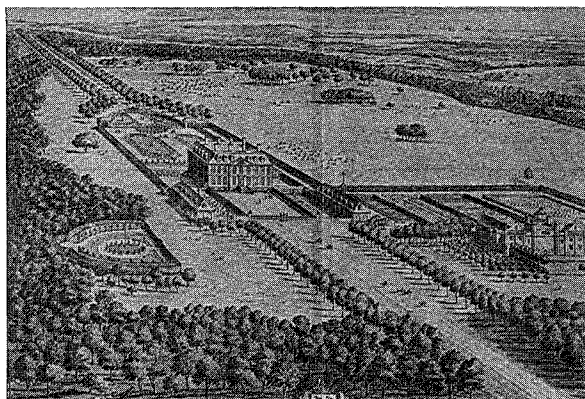
Fig. 71. J. Spilbergh (after), *Clarendon House, London*, Roger Pratt, architect, 1664–1667, engraving, reproduced by courtesy of the British Museum.

Fig. 70. *Eltham Lodge, Kent*, Hugh May, architect, 1662, photograph: Courtesy of A. F. Kersting, Architectural Photographer, London.



Fig. 72. Robert White, *View of Bedlam Hospital, London*, Robert Hooke, architect, 1674–1676, engraving, reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 73. Johannes Kip, *Stanstead, Sussex*, Robert Hooke (attribution), architect, c. 1686, engraving from Johannes Kip, *Britannia illustrata* (London, 1722), Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.



Leiden to be still closer sources.²⁸ The two corps-de-logis linking the three Bedlam pavilions are little more than enlarged versions of Pratt's Kingston Lacy. Hooke's loose and impersonal style is, perhaps, of less interest than his association with Wren whom he might have directed to Dutch sources.²⁹ At least, Bedlam, in scale and composition, is a precedent for Wren's Royal Hospital. Hooke's designs for Montagu House in London (1674–1680) and for Ragley in Warwickshire show a combination of Dutch influences. Both are composed much like Vingboons's design for Amsterdam's Town Hall, and the flanking, freestanding dependencies on

either side of the forecourt at Ragley are an early instance of this Palladian feature in Britain. Stanstead in Sussex (figure 73), whether a work by Hooke or Talman, offers little not already seen at Kingston Lacy, although the views of both it and Ragley by Kip show the growing influence of French- and Dutch-inspired gardening in England. Stanstead is also shown with one-story symmetrical flanking dependencies on either side of the forecourt. Both Stanstead and Ragley reveal how, by the mid 1680s, the new style had become common enough to pose attribution problems and difficulties in finding new features. They also show that England had developed a school of design much as had the Netherlands thirty years before.³⁰

By 1680 the gardens of English country houses had become as intriguing, if not more so, than the houses they surrounded. At least, this is the impression left after a perusal of *Britannia illustrata*. For example, in 1677 Hugh May remodeled and enlarged Cassiobury in Hertfordshire, a Tudor house with an H-plan (figure 74). The gardens of Cassiobury are shown to dominate a house of some scale. The Le Nôtre-like radiating allées, punctuated and terminated by *rond-points*, all lead through forested parks. They were laid out by Moses Cook, beginning in 1667, and influenced George London (Cook's later partner with Henry Wise) in the important Brompton Park Nurseries, founded outside London in 1681. Cassiobury's gardens were, then, an important precedent for those laid out by London in collaboration with Talman at Chatsworth (1688). These, in turn, were followed by Hampton Court's gardens and those designed in 1694 for the College in Williamsburg.³¹

Buildings assigned William Talman date to c.1683–1706, which makes him eligible as the designer of Thoresby Hall (figures 75a–b). Campbell included its plans and elevations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in which he stated that it

was a work undertaken by the same designer of Chatsworth, namely Talman. John Harris, on the other hand, considered it a work by craftsmen who “were all to move on as Talman’s team at Chatsworth,” a house that “comes out of the Office of Works stable . . . central to the parapeted brick and stone-quoined style of William’s Hampton Court.”³² Whoever the designer may be, Thoresby is still relevant to any search for precedents for the first College building. Like the east façade of the College and the entrance façade of Vingboons’s design for the Amsterdam Town Hall, Thoresby’s principal façade is composed of thirteen bays and three stories that are surmounted by a cupola. Like Vingboons, its designer also added two smaller dome-like cupolas flanking the central cupola. Pediments were confined to the first story only, and the entrance and window above were integrated. The main range of Thoresby measures about 48 by 148 feet, similar in scale and proportion to the east and west ranges of the first College building (46 by 138); both have a 1:3 proportion.

Talman is now assigned the design for a country house in the All Souls College collection of Wren drawings, a work already mentioned in connection with sources consulted early in the restoration of the College building (figure 37). A reason for the attribution to Talman is its somewhat eccentric character, embodying features considered fanciful and eclectic. The drawing shows a main block some forty by eighty feet (1:2) flanked by two forty-foot square dependencies set on lateral axis with the house and connected to it by low colonnades some sixteen feet in length, and identical to those Post used in the design of Vredenburg. The house has four diminutive, single-bay corner pavilions, capped by what appear to be convex hipped roofs *à la* Louis Le Vau at Vaux-le-Viscomte. The pedimented frontispiece rises into and above the hipped roof of the attic story. The design is a

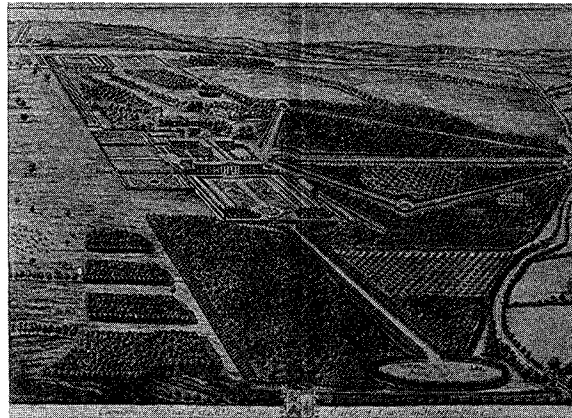
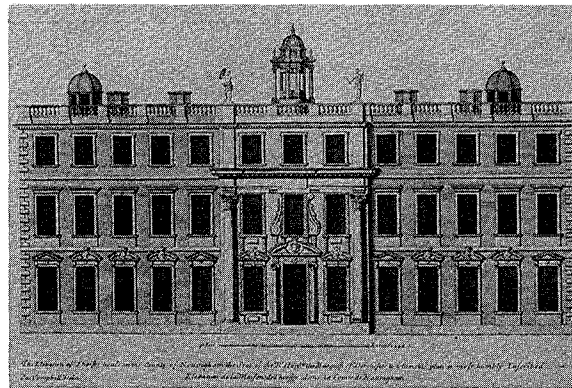


Fig. 74. Johannes Kip, *Cassiobury, Hertfordshire*, Hugh May (attribution), architect, c.1677, engraving from Johannes Kip, *Britannia illustrata* (London, 1722), Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.



Figs. 75a–b. Colen Campbell, *Plan and Elevation*, *Thoresby Hall, Nottinghamshire*, William Talman (attribution), architect, c.1680, engravings from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. I (London, 1715), Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Libraries, Williamsburg, Va.

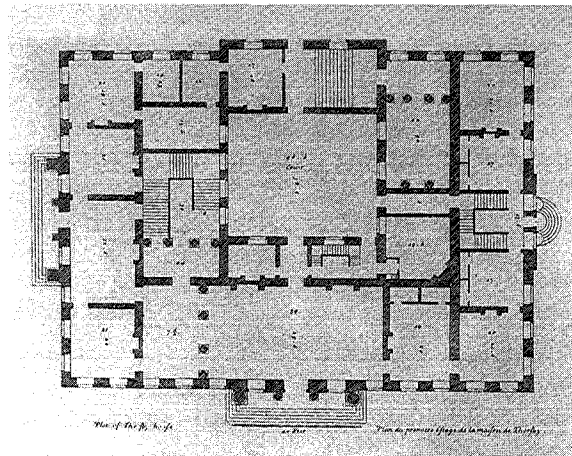
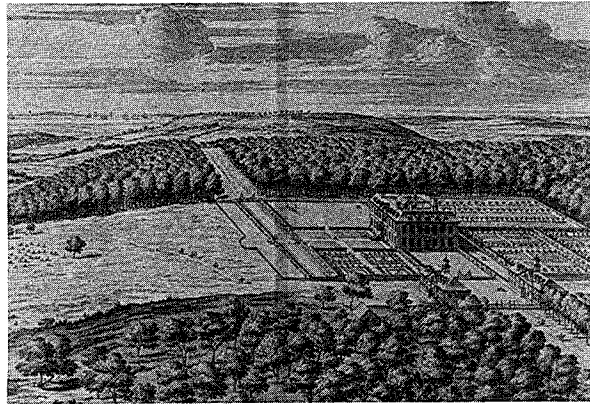


Fig. 76. Johannes Kip, *Uppark, Sussex, William Talman (attribution), architect, c.1690*, engraving from Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata* (London, 1722), Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.



unique, if barely interwoven, blend of Dutch, French, and English features that appear typical of Talman.

Uppark (c.1690), as depicted in its landscaped setting by Knyff and Kip, once again shows the country house subordinated to the grounds surrounding it (figure 76). As such, Uppark is a clear precedent for the Governor's Palace. This is supported by the fact that the "garden façade," rather than being placed opposite that of the entrance, was placed to its left, presumably in order to take advantage of the vista over a naturally descending meadow, proto-Picturesque in context. Also of interest and indicative of Talman's style are the two dependencies that flank the forecourt. They are diminutive, nine-bay, two-story ranges with three-bay pedimented center pavilions that repeat exactly, but on a much smaller scale, the garden façade of the main pile, but with one exception. The dependencies have lantern towers; the main house does not.³³

A final architect requiring a word before turning to Wren is William Bruce.³⁴ Bruce had visited the Netherlands at least twice; moreover, he amassed a considerable library and employed Dutch artisans on various projects. His place in architectural history is secure as the founder of Scotland's classical school of architecture, an

achievement Colen Campbell acknowledged by the inclusion of Kinross (1689–1693) in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Kinross is an impressive house, a monumental structure measuring 60 by 140 feet. It has a rusticated basement story surmounted by two stories, which, in turn, have a low attic story set above them below the low hipped roof (figure 77). The eleven-bay block, capped with a lantern tower, has, then, some similarities to the first College design. Not least of these is the massive effect of the building, a heaviness generally alien to both Dutch and English architecture, but indigenous to Scotland. This is in part achieved by the smaller scale of fenestration, a scale more readily apparent in photographs. The first College building appears to have had a similarly massive, somewhat gaunt Scottish character, readily perceived in the existing pile, though the similarity may be coincidental.³⁵ Also noteworthy at Kinross are the Palladian quadrant arms terminated by pavilions that visually link the flanking dependencies of the forecourt.

Of the eight architects whose work has already been considered, the four who did the most to develop the new style—Jones, Webb, May, and Pratt—were all dead by 1685. Their influence on the design of the first College building was, therefore, indirect. Of the remaining four any one of them could have made the design, but none is more likely to have done so than Wren. Bruce is an unlikely candidate because he was unpopular with William and Mary and because there is no evidence that Blair or Nicholson went to Scotland. Hooke and Winde had no direct, official connections with the crown; Winde also had none with the Church of England. Hooke designed buildings relevant to the College's first design, but still remains a less likely candidate than Talman because he was not employed by the Office of Works as were Wren and Talman. Although evidence exists linking Talman to William III, none shows his contact

with Mary. When either monarch had business with the Office of Works they appear mainly to have dealt with Wren, whose principal assistant during the reign of William and Mary was Nicholas Hawksmoor.

Christopher Wren alone enjoyed both extensive and unrivaled experience with the design of colleges in seventeenth-century England. As many as ten commissions were undertaken by him before that for the College might have been presented to him by the queen and her bishops in 1692–1693. The design character of eight college buildings known to be by Wren or attributed to him makes them relevant to a search for precedents for the College's first design. Three of them are attributions (Pembroke College Chapel, Bromley College, and Morden College); two are projects that were either not built or have problematic authorships (Senate House, Cambridge, and Queen's College, Oxford). Chronologically, they include: (1663) the chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge (a firm attribution); (1664–1667) the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford; (1668–1673) the chapel and gallery of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Trinity College, Oxford (north wing, 1668; west wing, 1682); the Williamson Building of Queen's College, Oxford (north yard, 1671–1674, very likely by Wren); (1672) Bromley College in Kent (a doubtful attribution and not a college but a residence for widows of Anglican clergy); (1675–1676) the ill-fated Senate House at Cambridge (analogous

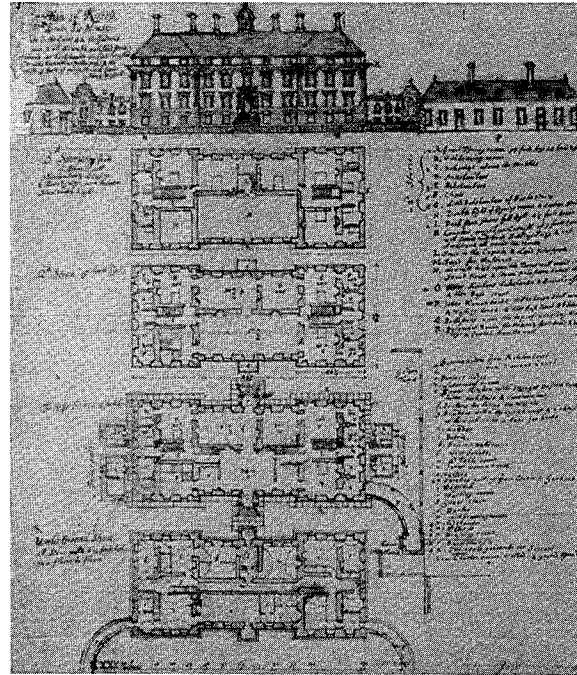
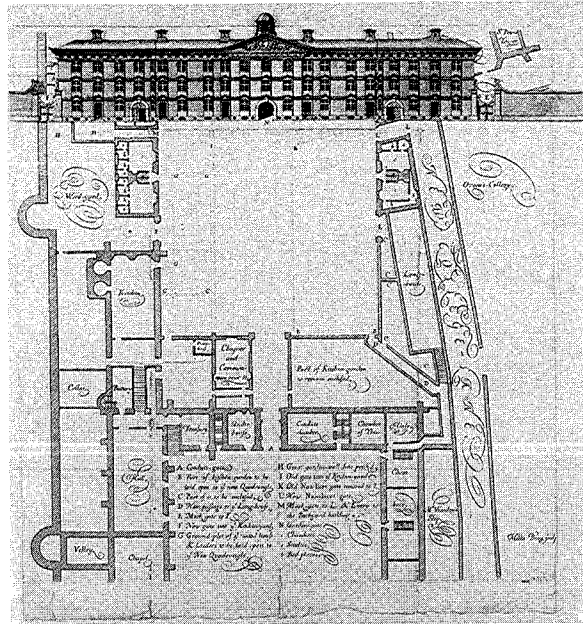


Fig. 77. William Bruce, *Plans and Elevation, Kinross House, Kinross, Scotland, begun 1686*, drawing, lent by permission of the School of Architecture, Edinburgh College of Art.

to Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre); (c. 1682) a problematic plan for the main quadrangle of Queen's College, Oxford; (1692) Sir John Moore's Writing School, Christ's Hospital, London, and a commission Wren largely entrusted to his principal assistant, Nicholas Hawksmoor; finally, (1694–1695) Morden College, an almshouse at Blackheath, Kent, a very doubtful attribution.³⁶

Because only Wren and Hawksmoor of all the architects considered here are known to have

Fig. 78. William Byrd, *Elevations and Plan of a Proposed Design for New College, Oxford* (elevations drawn on hinged flaps to form a model), c. 1682, The Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford.



designed college buildings, four additional designers of colleges in the period require mentioning—Henry Aldrich, Roger North, Dr. George Clarke, and an Oxford master mason, William Byrd. According to Howard Colvin, because Wren had left Oxford in 1669 every major building undertaken there was built only after Aldrich and Clarke had been consulted. Had Aldrich not discarded most of his papers, it might be determined whether James Blair had been advised to consult him. Architecture was a mere avocation for Aldrich but it was one strong enough to result in a treatise (not published until 1789) and firm attribution of at least three buildings at Oxford in the period 1691–1717. The earliest of these is the chapel of Trinity College (1691–1694), a building very much like the chapel of the College of William and Mary. As his proposal for the Peckwater Quadrangle of Christ Church shows, he was not averse to quadrangular design. George Clarke is a possible candidate, as is Jacob Roman, for the design of

the Admiralty as shown in the Knyff sketch of c. 1695 (figure 10). Kerry Downes has also associated Clarke with the designs for Queen's College, Oxford, and he is known to have designed the library for Christ Church, Oxford. Clarke visited the Netherlands and gathered an important collection of architectural drawings and prints. Roger North also wrote a treatise on architecture that has only recently been published.³⁷

William Byrd is interesting because, according to Howard Colvin, Wren employed him as a mason almost from the start. He had done the carving on the Sheldonian Theatre in the 1660s and in 1683 was contracted to construct the south wing of Winchester Palace. Byrd also made several designs for New College, Oxford beginning in 1682, which are important for several reasons. The first design was intended to create an almost perfectly square quadrangular courtyard incorporating earlier irregularly placed structures (figure 78). His original plan and elevations survive in the form of a pasteboard model with hinged elevations that may be raised above the plan in order to create a three-dimensional image. Colvin has shown that earlier models of this type also survive—the model made shortly before 1634 for University College, Oxford. Given Hugh Jones's remark that Wren "first Modelled" the College, it may well be that Blair or Nicholson obtained a similar model of the first College design. Byrd's model shows an

eleven-bay, three-story brick range, about the length of the College's range, the focal point of which is a three-bay pedimented pavilion capped by a broad cupola. It has a low hipped roof, unlike the roof that Michel showed on the College. As modified, the design provides an argument for those who think Wren would not have designed a quadrangular College. Colvin believed it was Byrd's work for Wren on Winchester Palace (a design clearly showing the influence of Versailles in its arrangement) that caused Byrd to reject the quadrangle and to open it with successively expanding and matching flanking wings. On the other hand, it may be that Blair could not be persuaded to abandon what may have seemed to him the only appropriate plan for a college as could then be seen in all English and Scottish universities.³⁸

It is widely accepted that Wren designed Pembroke College Chapel. This chapel is, therefore, his earliest known work and shows him first emerging in 1663 as a student of Inigo Jones. According to Nikolaus Pevsner, Pembroke is the "earliest purely classical building" at Cambridge.³⁹ Its design is, like Jones's Queen's Chapel, St. James (1623–1627), based on a Roman temple; the road façades of both are similarly proportioned tetrastyles, although Wren used pilasters and embellished his façade with an octagonal cupola. These last features are more typical of the Dutch than of Jones, the Dutch being a more immediate and, perhaps, fashiona-

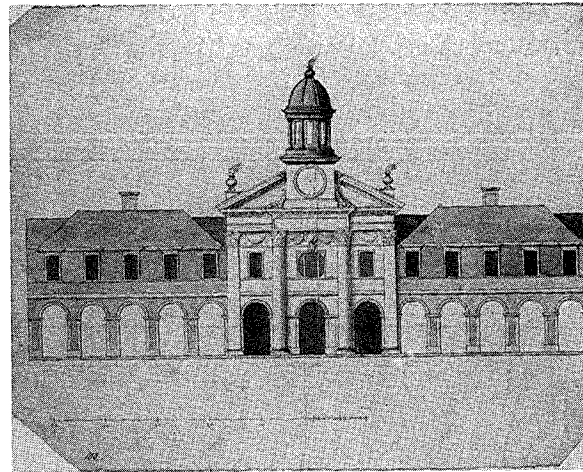
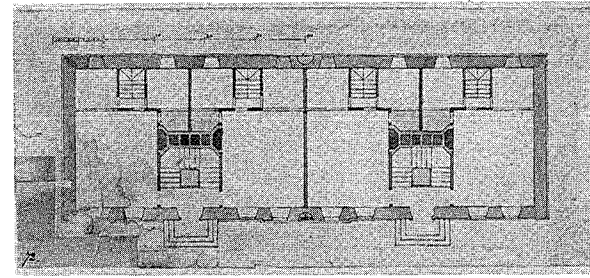
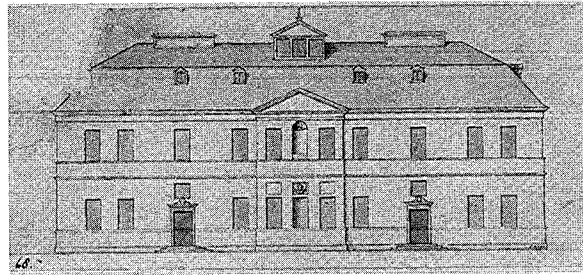


Fig. 79. Christopher Wren, *Elevation, Chapel of Emmanuel College, Cambridge*, c.1663, drawing, c.1663, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

ble source for them than the books of Serlio and Vignola. Both the Trinity and Emmanuel college designs date to 1667–1668, a few years after Wren's nearly year-long sojourn in France. Neither seems, however, to require extensive knowledge of contemporary French architecture.

The chapel of Emmanuel College, like that for Pembroke, is a tetrastyle temple of three bays, but at Emmanuel the arcades of the flanking five-bay galleries continue through the lower section of the chapel and integrate the units in a manner that is entirely Baroque (figure 79). Interestingly, the overall composition consists of thirteen bays. The chapel is more elaborate than that for Pembroke insofar as the entablature was broken in order to support two applied columns that define the center bay. This increase



Figs. 80a–b. Christopher Wren, *Elevation and Plan, Trinity College, Oxford, 1662*, drawing, 1662, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

of weight in the center was justified by Wren's placement of the quite prominent cylindrical lantern tower in front of the pediment that was broken for this purpose. The resulting 1–2–3–2–1 build-up is also intrinsically Baroque and is akin to concurrent Dutch architecture, as is the simplicity of the flanking galleries. The Michel drawing of the first College building shows a similar build-up of elements on the center axis, whether it be its balconies, enlarged dormer, or cupola. As Paul Venable Turner noted, Wren sharply departed from earlier medieval traditions in this regard.⁴⁰

With few exceptions, collegiate design at both Oxford and Cambridge remained overwhelmingly medieval before Wren, as his own college there, Wadham College, shows (figure 46). However, the Cambridge tradition (followed by Harvard) of grouping sometimes freestanding buildings around courtyards rather than implanting quadrangular buildings, typical of Oxford, was violated with Wren's Emmanuel design. As the print in David Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata* (1688) makes clear, Emmanuel only became a quadrangle with Wren's design and thus contradicts his alleged aversion to that form. Wren's Emmanuel design is immensely important, however, for later British and American collegiate architecture. It heralded the arrival of cupolas or lantern towers, classical arcades, temple façades or porticoes, hipped roofs, an emphasis on central axes by various devices, and

ranges of secondary façades left relatively plain and unadorned. Not least important was the new Jonesian sense of classical proportion, also readily apparent in the Emmanuel design, in which the distance to the top of the cupola is half the width of the façade. The height of each gallery at Emmanuel is about one-fourth its length while the wall and roof sections of the galleries are about equal. It is this sense of strong proportional relationships that also characterizes Williamsburg's public buildings and makes them seem so Wren-like.⁴¹

A similar play of proportional relationships can be seen in the more vernacular north range of Trinity College, Oxford, the plan for which, measuring thirty-two by ninety-two feet, achieves the 1:3 proportion of the College building in Williamsburg (figures 80a–b). Here, however, any similarity with the College ceases because of the functional way Wren placed greater emphasis on the interiors. These consist of four suites of rooms on each of the two floors, an arrangement that leaves a marked legacy and that may owe something to the French tradition of dividing a range or pavilion into *appartements*, or to Jones's planning in the Arundel townhouses. The interior division of space, then, accounts for the uneven, if uniform, fenestration. It was with regard to the nature of the design for the Trinity ranges that Wren desisted from supplying the traditional quadrangle requested, writing that the building should be, instead, "a lame one,

somewhat like a three-legged table."⁴² Wren's Baroque predilection for open form has been cited as proof that he would not or could not have designed the quadrangle of the first College design. Yet, he was perfectly capable of transforming buildings into closed quadrangles where they were not usual, as was seen with Emmanuel. Moreover, the Trinity design is a residential building, unlike the Williamsburg building, which besides having a residential function also needed to house the chapel, hall, library, and classrooms. Wren may merely have been recognizing the appropriateness of the open form for a residential unit. Weaknesses in the Trinity design surely include the pavilion that is somewhat pinched and overpowered by the whole, as is that shown on the first College building. The pavilion may be the consequence of Wren's sometimes pragmatic emphasis upon interior function that here encouraged an exterior disguise. A final detail is the pedimented "dormer" in the upper section of the mansard roof where one now expects to find a lantern tower. As a contrast to the four diminutive dormers in the lower roof, it is usefully compared to the enlarged center dormer shown in Michel's drawing of the first College building. Both dormers heightened the sense of the central axis and that at the College provided access to the attached balcony.

The Williamson Building at Queen's College, Oxford, accepted as a Wren design of 1671–

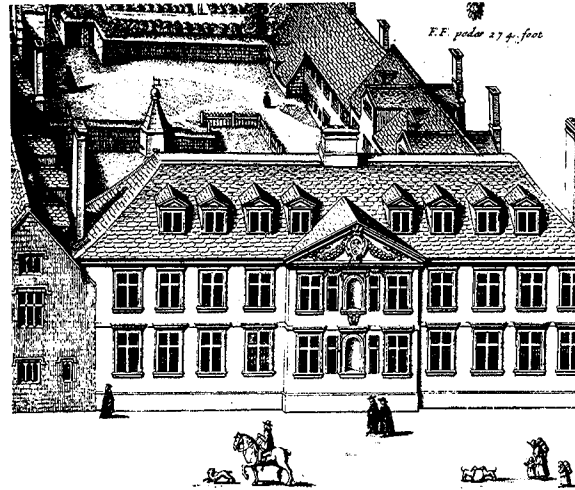


Fig. 81. *Williamson Building, Queen's College, Oxford, ascribed to Christopher Wren, 1671–1674, detail from engraving, David Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata* (Oxford, 1675), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.*

1674, could not be in greater contrast to Trinity or, for that matter, Emmanuel (figure 81). With Trinity College, the Williamson Building brought the classical language to Oxford for the first time, but the latter building did so far more emphatically. Here again, Wren located the block in such a way as to complete a quadrangle otherwise composed of earlier Tudor ranges. The eleven-bay façade, enlivened by a three-bay pedimented pavilion in the center, consists of two stories covered by a steep hipped roof pierced by eight dormers. Its design affirms that Wren had by then joined the Anglo-Dutch school, possibly inspired by Pratt's recently completed Kingston Lacy. But here Wren gave the tradition of which Kingston Lacy is a part a

wholly new direction. He brought to collegiate design a style previously confined to country houses. Wren's turn to domestic sources for collegiate design is important, and it is another precedent for the College of William and Mary.⁴³

Wren's ill-fated design for a Senate House at Cambridge is pertinent not for the character of its design but for its function and proportional arrangement. As a center of Puritan and, later, Whig sympathy, University officials felt, by 1675–1676, when Wren made the design, that University-wide functions such as commencements should not be held in chapels. Perhaps this is why Wren provided a somewhat Palladian and Roman “basilica” for the “Senate”. If an allusion to Rome was intended, the Senate House is a precedent, functionally, for the Capitol in Williamsburg. Its arcaded façade consists of thirteen bays and is about 138 feet long and forty-six feet high, corresponding nearly exactly to the dimensions of the College's ranges. Plans for rebuilding the main quadrangle at Queen's College, Oxford appear to date as early as 1682. However, a final design was not forthcoming for another thirty years and is, therefore, not a factor for the College.

Although Howard Colvin has recently reiterated that Queen's College was a result of team effort, he also gave Hawksmoor major credit for it. Hawksmoor was in Wren's office when the first College building at William and Mary was designed and was Wren's main adviser, but his own style is so unlike the College any part he may have played in its design is obscured. Wren may also have been consulted about a new Queen's College. *The Wren Society* reproduced a quadrangle plan, about 175 feet square, of Queen's showing it arcaded on three sides with a chapel and hall arranged opposite each other, rather like the Royal Hospital at Chelsea. If the design dates to 1682 both are contemporary. Pevsner claimed that another design for this quadrangle, dating to 1693 and by Henry Aldrich, survives, and Colvin illustrated several plans of the College assigned Hawksmoor. One of them has a road façade of thirteen bays. This is mainly of interest to the College of William and Mary because Bishop Compton was a graduate of Queen's, the college from which William and Mary drew more professors than any other in the Colonial period.⁴⁴

In about 1672, the classical mode Wren first brought English colleges was applied to an entirely new building—Bromley College in Kent (figure 82). Bromley was not a college in the usual sense, since it was a residence for widows of Anglican clergy. Wren's name has been associated with the building on wholly stylistic grounds because only he had designed similar buildings previously. The road façade, as shown in the 1720 print by Thomas Badslade, consists of two projecting end pavilions of two bays each that flank a main range of thirteen bays. There is no pedimented center pavilion, however, but a frontispiece of one widened bay enframed by engaged columns that support a curvilinear pediment. The quadrangle behind was handled in a quite vernacular manner. Bromley College

Fig. 82. Bromley College, c.1672, engraving, from T. Badslade's Book (1720), Gough Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

