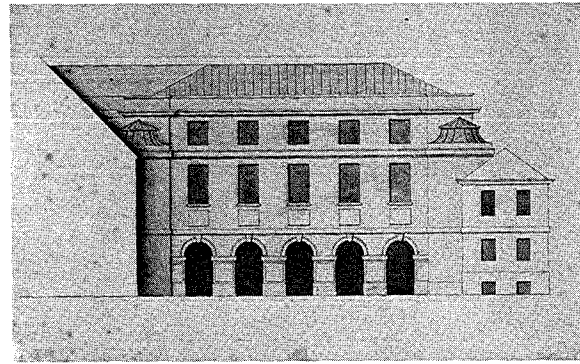


may have been the first building in England to show the influence of Wren and it appears to be the earliest entirely new college building executed in a classical style there.⁴⁵

Morden College, also in Kent, dates to 1694 and has stronger links with Wren because he served on the Greenwich Committee. Morden College was actually an almshouse that may have been modeled on Bromley College. Again, two end pavilions of two bays each enframe a main range, thirteen bays in length. The latter is relieved, though awkwardly, by a five-bay pedimented pavilion, the center axis of which is embellished by a lantern tower and by a semi-circular pedimented aedicule at the entrance.⁴⁶

A final school design, known to have involved Wren, was that prepared by Nicholas Hawksmoor for Sir John Moore's Writing School, Christ's Hospital, London, a design receipt of which was acknowledged on March 2, 1692 (figure 83).⁴⁷ Although the building needed to fit into an existing urban complex, Wren and Hawksmoor nonetheless managed to achieve basic 1:2 proportional relationships. The width and height of the building (as shown in the drawing) are basically equal to half its length. This is also the proportion of the Hall and Chapel at the College in Williamsburg; the five-bay façade of the Writing School also approximates that of the west façade of the main range at the College.⁴⁸

It should be apparent from the college buildings designed by or assigned to Wren that none, either of itself or in combination with others, provides sufficient stylistic connection to what is known about the design of the first College building to enable an attribution to Wren on that basis alone. However, taken collectively, each of the college buildings thus far considered a work of Wren or revealing of his influence has certain features that appear in the College design—a thirteen-bay length, high hipped roof, a unified



center axis, a dimension of 46 by 138 feet, a five-bay arcaded façade, an enlarged center dormer with sidelights, 1:2 and 1:3 proportions, and a quadrangular plan featuring hall and chapel in separate wings. Still, it is necessary to consider further Wren designs that have stylistic affinities to the College and Williamsburg's public buildings.

All Souls, Oxford retains drawings, ascribed to Wren, for houses otherwise unidentified. An elevation of a house, which Kerry Downes considered might have been a preliminary study for Easton Neston, ascribed to Hawksmoor, has some similarities to a rougher sketch, already presented and now assigned to Talman (figures 84a and 37). Both are nine-bay compositions with elements (the source for which is Palladio) linking the houses to flanking symmetrical dependencies covered by mansard roofs. The house shown in figure 84a is composed of five bays that are enframed by one-story, two-bay wings. The two-story pile is covered by a low hipped roof crowned by a balustrade and cupola. The center bay is enframed by a somewhat diminutive tetrastyle two-story pedimented frontispiece.

A series of four elevation studies, thought not to be in Wren's hand, shows the designer experimenting in a typically late Baroque way with the many possible combination of elements that can compose a façade, whether archuated

Fig. 83. Christopher Wren and Nicholas Hawksmoor, *Elevation, Sir John Moore's Writing School, Christ's Hospital, London, 1692*, drawing, 1692, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

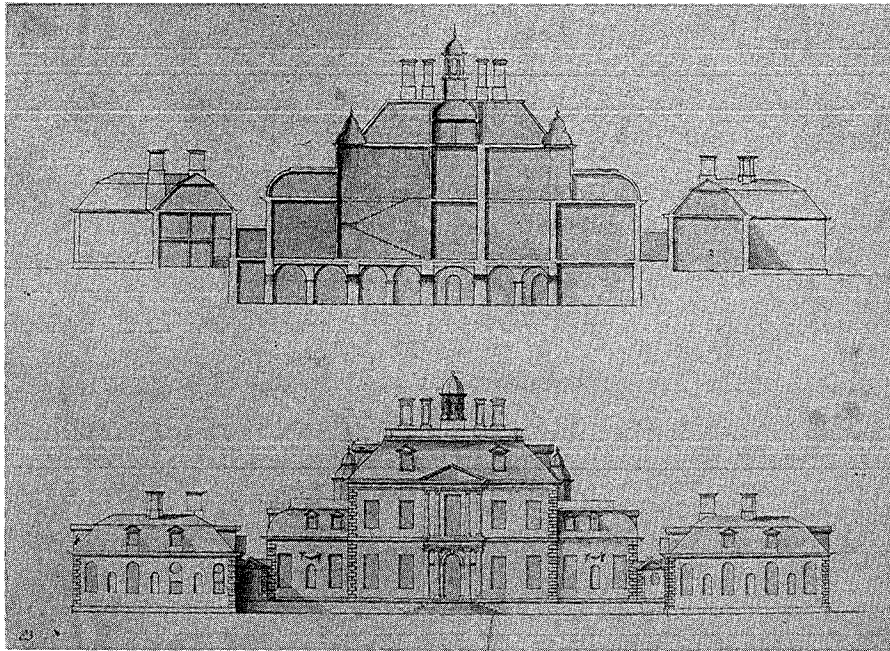
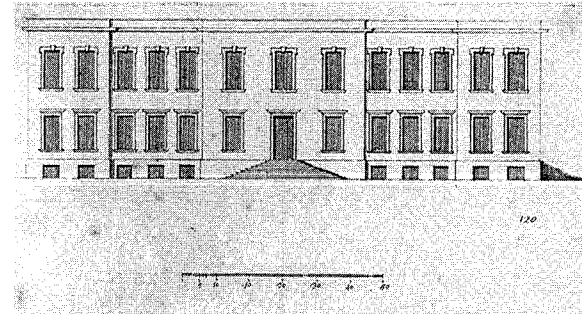
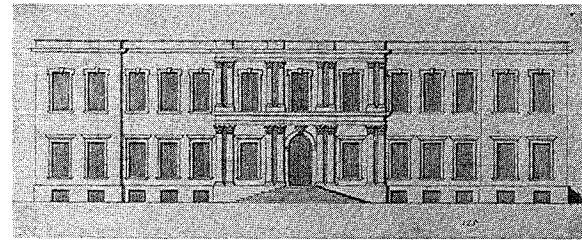


Fig 84a. Christopher Wren (attribution), *Elevation and Section, Design for a Large House*, drawings, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

Figs. 84b–c. Artist unknown (once ascribed to Christopher Wren), *Two Elevation Studies, Design for a House*, drawings, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

or trabeated (figures 84b–c). One drawing shows the design stripped of the orders altogether. All four studies, however, depict a façade of thirteen bays, about 164 feet in length.⁴⁹ A further design, for Edward Alston, mentioned in connection with the first College building, has a center pavilion with balconies and enlarged dormers, similar to what might have been built at the College (figure 25).

Wren's 1685–1686 designs for the Privy Gallery and Council Chamber have already been mentioned. Apart from the c.1695 bird's-eye view of Whitehall by Knyff (figure 10), only one other view of these buildings appears to survive—a Wren drawing showing a section of the Privy Gallery and an elevation of the adjoining Council Chamber to the right (figure 85). The Council Chamber, in turn, adjoined Jones's Banqueting House. Two coupled pilasters on the first floor of the Banqueting House are also shown in the elevation. Wren's admiration for



Jones, and for the Banqueting House in particular, explains why he retained its proportions and some of its details in the elevations of the adjoining Council Chamber. He aligned the ground as well as first floors of both the Council Chamber and Privy Gallery with those of the Banqueting House. The Council Chamber façade was composed of five bays, like that of Sir John Moore's Writing School and the west façade of the College range, and it had an ashlar loggia of five bays on the ground floor, not replicated in the Privy Gallery. The quoining shown at the corner of the Council Chamber suggests it was a brick building like the adjoining Privy Chamber. The width of the Council Chamber was about forty-six feet, a measurement also fitting exactly the width of the Privy Gallery. Forty-six feet was also the dimension from the ground floor to the attic ceiling in the latter building, just as it was the width and height of the first College building. It has been noted that the façade of the Privy Gallery facing the Privy Garden appears to have been very similar to that of the College. It

was unmistakably a quite vernacular façade running as much as 200 feet with possibly as many as twenty bays, a length determined not by ideal proportions but by the need to connect the Council Chamber and adjacent structures with the Vane Room.⁵⁰ Clearly, this building, in style, proportion, and dimension, and with its sash windows, may have been a starting point for the design of the College.

Wren's statement against a quadrangular plan for Trinity College, Oxford did not hold when he came to design other buildings. Even when he had an opportunity to develop a plan without the encumbrances of existing buildings, as was the case for the design he made about 1668 for a palace on the Duke of Norfolk's London estate, he reverted to a quadrangle (figure 86). The design for both house and garden occupies a site some 600 by 630 feet. The main pile, a quadrangle about 170 feet square with a ninety foot square courtyard, had three of its four ranges composed of elements similar to those of Morden College and the elevation studies for an unidentified house (figure 84a). Three of the four ranges of the central core had thirteen bays, the center three of which formed pavilions, and the ends of which were enframed by two-bay projecting or recessed pavilions. The plan is also of interest because it is the earliest to show Wren as a designer of gardens. The sixteen parterres against the Thames were a basic quadrupling of those four parterres that

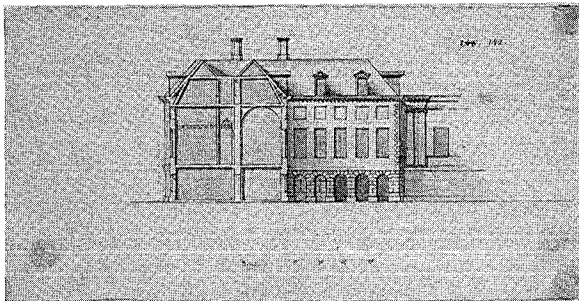
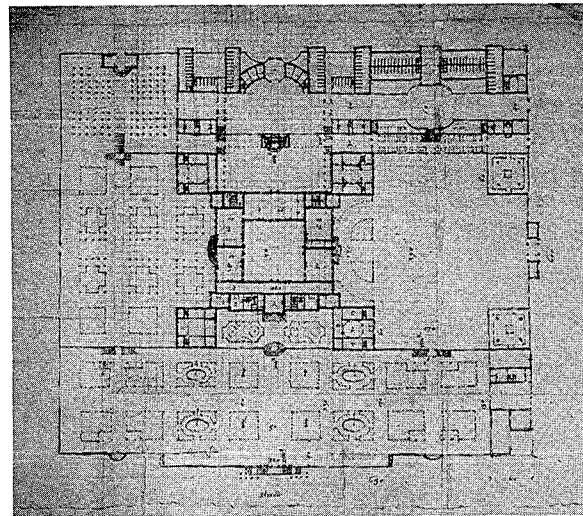


Fig. 86. Christopher Wren, *Plan for a House and Garden on the Duke of Norfolk's Estate, London, c. 1668*, drawing, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.



would be constructed for Mary at Whitehall in 1692–1693, using rubble from the 1691 fire. Both provide clues for what James Road brought from Hampton Court to Williamsburg in 1694. The range facing the Thames appears about 150 feet long as do the side ranges that also appear to have the 1:3 proportions of the College building. There was a loggia or gallery fronting the courtyard against a single-pile range of five apartments that faced the river. The range also measured about forty-six feet in width, like those of the first College design.⁵¹

Charles II's wish to rival Louis XIV at Versailles says much about the scheme Wren developed in 1683 for a new and grand palace at Winchester (figure 87). It was the closest the English ever came to rivaling Versailles in both style and scale. However, in 1689 William and Mary abandoned it, and it became a quarry for materials. The most complete view surviving of the palace appears in Thomas Milner's *History of Winchester*, which shows two flanking ranges of forecourt buildings probably almost identical in scale and style to the Privy Gallery at Whitehall and also very similar to the first College design.

Fig. 85. Christopher Wren, *Elevation of Council Chamber and Section of the Privy Gallery, Whitehall Palace, London, 1685–1686*, drawing, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

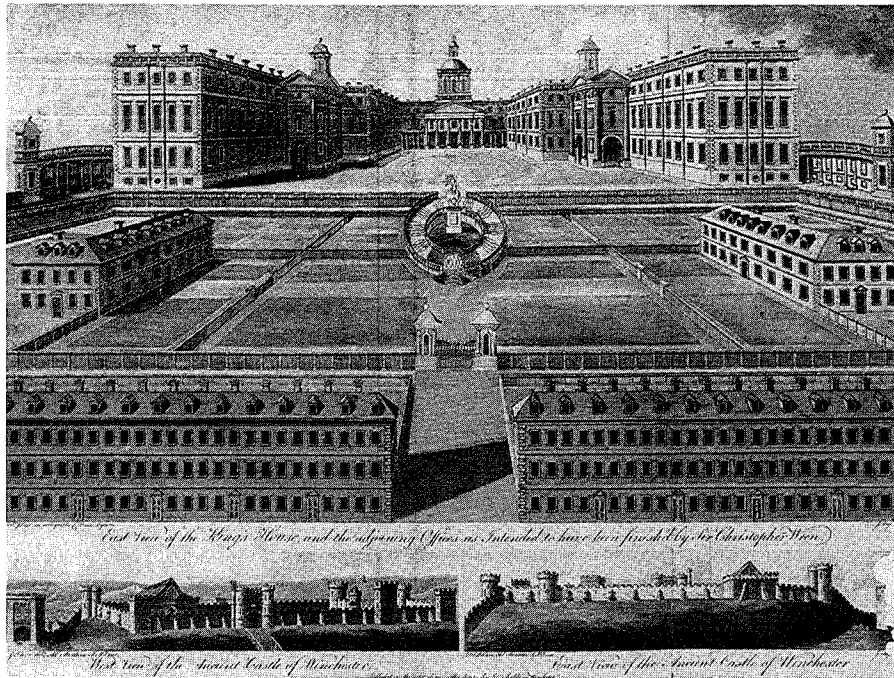
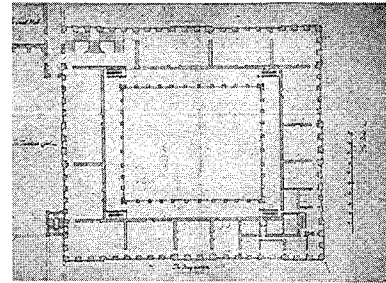


Fig. 87. *Palace for Charles II, Winchester, Christopher Wren, architect, 1682–1685, engraving, The British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.*

Fig. 88. Christopher Wren, *Preliminary Plan, Hampton Court Palace, begun 1689, drawing, c. 1689, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.*

It was noted in the discussion of the first College building that a design for stables, probably for Winchester Palace, had hipped dormers with finials, possibly like those Michel showed at the College.⁵²

In the interest of economy it was determined that the massive group of buildings constituting Hampton Court would be allowed to stand unremodeled and that William and Mary's residence there would be a quadrangular addition to the east, or rear, of this late Tudor pile (figure 88). The preliminary plan for this quadrangle shows a rectangular block 260 by 326 feet, a proportion also adhered to in the courtyard. The palace is almost exactly double in size that of the first College building and is proportioned in a very similar way. If the College plan, 138 by 164 feet, were doubled, its measurements would be 256 by 328 feet. An additional similarity between the two designs is the single ranges of rooms, four or



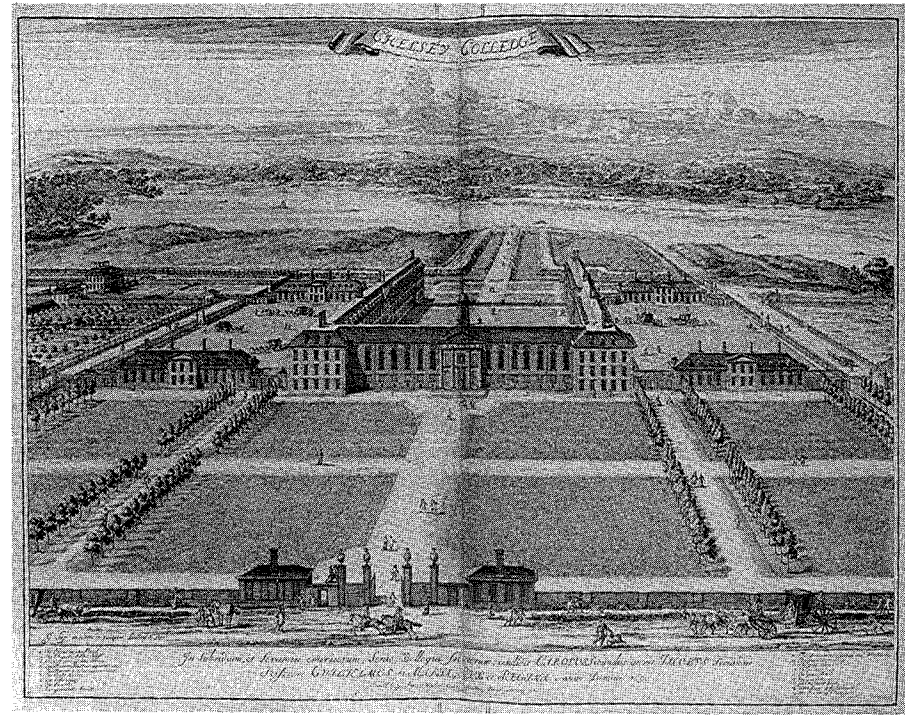
five to a side, which are fronted by loggias in the courtyards.⁵³

Kensington Palace is an even greater hodgepodge of units built somewhat piecemeal in different periods. William and Mary acquired a modest house on the site, still comprising its core, from William's secretary, the earl of Nottingham, in 1689 (figure 5). The view depicted in the painting shows its south façade dominated by the King's Gallery, an addition of eleven bays, built in 1695 shortly after Mary's death. The lower two-story ranges to its left, over which appears the cupola above the entrance to the Clock Court, were in place when Blair was in London in 1691–1693. The effect of the earlier ranges, added by Wren for William and Mary, is similar to the Privy Gallery at Whitehall and to the soon-to-be designed College.⁵⁴

None of Wren's designs is more analogous to the first (or second) College building than is the Royal Hospital at Chelsea (1682–1691).⁵⁵ It was this design that Hugh Jones singled out in 1723–1724 as the one most closely approximating the College design (figures 89a–c). When Jones stated rhetorically that the College was “not altogether unlike” the Hospital, he obviously meant the two had many features in common. As London's newest and most grandiose secular building, the Hospital was without rival. It consisted of a main range with two symmetrically flanking ranges—Wren's “three-legged table”—set at right angles to it. These two ranges, pro-

jecting toward the river, were also given additional ranges projecting outward from them, which tripled the length of the road façade, especially as this appears in the plan. In elevation, however, these large four wings clearly read as dependencies connected to the main pile by hypphens. The pivotal point of the entire scheme of buildings and gardens is the octagonal vestibule in the main range, a porte cochère really, which was enframed on both the road and river façades by pedimented, Doric tetrastyle frontispieces on which was centered a cupola. The vestibule leads immediately to the courtyard and to the chapel and hall on either side. The vista shown in the engraving leading from the vestibule toward the river was grand indeed. A series of parterres led beyond the courtyard to a wide and long five-part allée terminating at the river similar to that shown of the College's gardens in the Bodleian Plate (figure 21).

The Hospital, perhaps more than all Wren's designs for colleges, provides every essential element used in the first College design, many of which are evident in the Bodleian Plate. The elements that Wren used in the Hospital design are also to be found on the façade of Stalpaert's Ancillary Building for the Admiralty in Amsterdam (figures 64a–b). Both brick buildings are similar in scale and style, are three stories high, have hipped roofs broken by dormers, and have their three-story ranges separated by single-story ranges of equal height. The ranges in both are



articulated by large arched recesses or windows, and the compositions of the main façades of both also culminate in tetrastyle Doric frontispieces crowned by similar cupolas. The Hospital and the present College both have four five-bay "pavilions," two on each façade, enframing Hall and Chapel; those of the Hospital face road and river, those in Williamsburg face north and south.

The first design for the College, while not imitating any one façade of Chelsea Hospital, shifted its elements. For example, if the vestibule between the hall and chapel in the Hospital is removed entirely, if the chapel is then moved to a position parallel to the hall but against the end pavilion nearest the river, and is then connected to it by a range matching that already joining hall and chapel, the resulting quadrangular composition closely approximates that of the

Fig. 89a. Johannes Kip, *Bird's-eye View of Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London, Christopher Wren, architect, 1682–1691, engraving, 1691–1692, Master and Fellows, Magdalene College, Cambridge*

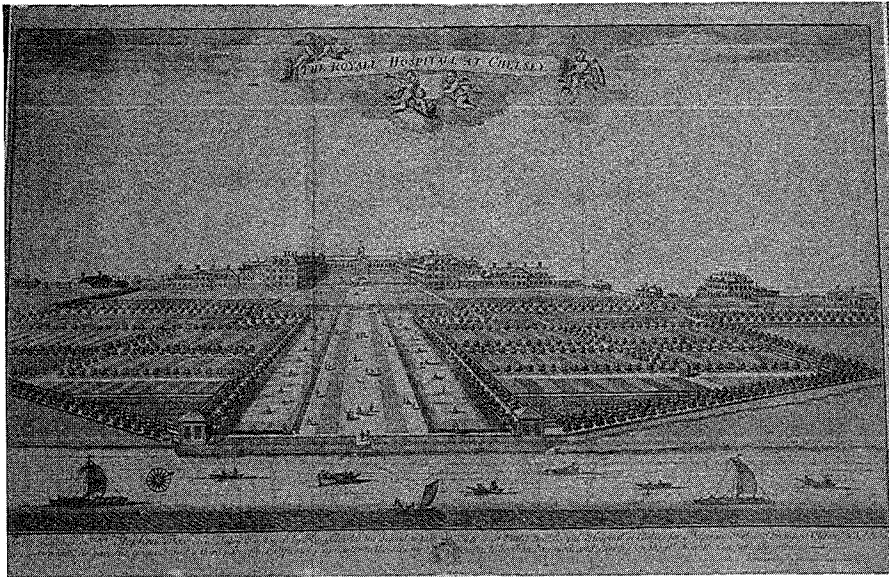
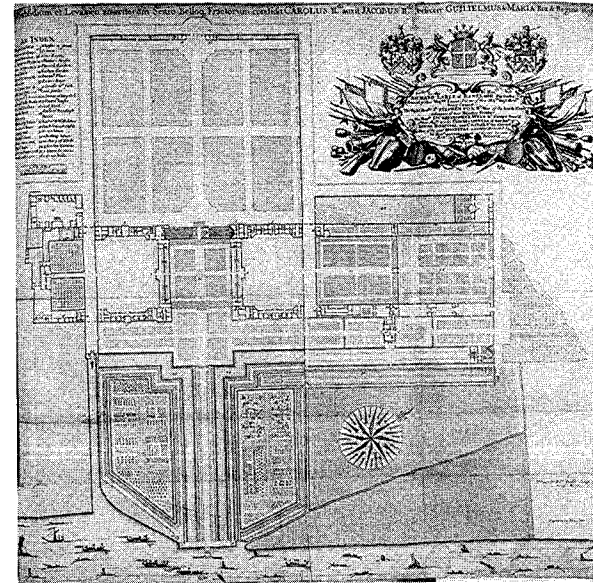


Fig. 89b Artist unknown, *Bird's-eye View of Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London, Christopher Wren, architect, 1682–1691*, engraving, Joseph and Margaret Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary.

Fig. 89c. Robert English, *General Plan, Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London, Christopher Wren, architect, 1682–1691*, engraving, 1691, Gough Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

College. This reworking of elements may seem contrived, but this is exactly what Christian Lilly did with the design of Codrington (figures 90a–b), as did Wren and other Baroque architects. Whether Wren knew or even drew on Stalpaert's Ancillary Building (figures 64a–b) in designing the Hospital is secondary to the fact that he used similar elements in a similar composition.⁵⁶ As Hugh Jones suggested, the College does not imitate the Hospital, and because it does not, the case is strengthened for it coming from the Office of Works more than if it were as imitative as the Codrington design. Like William and Mary's quadrangle at Hampton Court, the Hospital was much larger than the College, but once again proportional arrangements and details are quite similar. Wren's predilection for buildings comprising thirteen bays is footnoted four times by the one-story dependencies (with center pavilions of three bays and two stories) placed to either side of the side ranges at all four corners.

An undated memorandum thought to have been drafted by Wren at the outset of work on



Chelsea Hospital in 1682 is useful to compare to what was first designed and built for the College.

The Royall Hospital at Chelsea . . . consists of a Large Courte built on three sides, the 4th side next to the Thames lying open to the Gardens and Meadows. . . . The two sides of [the] Court are double building [wings] in three stories and garrets, both containing 16 galleries.

The College also consisted “of a large Courte” to be built on four sides, but because of a lack of funds and possible stylistic considerations was left to stand with only three sides with the court also “lying open to Gardens and Meadows” designed by the Office of Works.⁵⁷ The College, too, had “three stories and garrets,” and the east range also appears to have had “16 galleries” or four rooms on each of the four floors, not including the basement.

The upper end or front hath an octagonal Vestibule in the middle, covered with a Cupolo or Lanthorne 130 fot high.

The wing comprising the Hospital's chapel, hall, and vestibule was about 260 feet long, twice the

measurement of the height of the cupola. The center section of the College's east range also had a "Vestibule" embellished with balconies and was "covered with a Cupolo or Lanthorne." It originally rose at least ninety-two feet above ground to a height double the range's width, a 1:2 proportion like the Hospital.

Wren continued:

On each side of the Vestibule are assents to the Hall on the one hand and Chappell on the other, each of which is 115 fot long, 38 fot broad, and the Hall is 37 fot high, the Chappell 42 foote high.

Here one sees Wren's readiness (for aesthetic and functional reasons) to depart from rigid adherence to proportional systems, yet both his hall and chapel basically conform to a 1:3 proportional relationship. The College, too, had a "Hall on the one hand and Chappell on the other," though in different positions. Each probably was originally intended to measure thirty-two by seventy-two feet, a roughly 1:2 proportion. Its main range is, however, an exact play of 1:3 proportions. Both College and Hospital have these similarities of proportion.

On the corners of the Building are 4 Pavillions 54 foote square.

The College also had "4 Pavillions," forty-six rather than fifty-four feet in length. The pavilions of the Hospital are also three stories high and five bays wide, as noted, and are thus arranged like the north and south façades of the east and west ranges of the College's first design. Wren's pavilions had stone quoins on the corners. Given the rustication, possibly executed in stucco at basement level in the first College building, as shown by Michel, it may be wondered whether stucco quoins were not also applied at the corners there. Given his drawing this cannot be detected.

The whole building is 382 fot long from North to South and 348 from East to West.

The College, 138 feet from north to south and

164 feet from east to west, was much smaller than the Hospital. But, again, as at Hampton Court, the proportions are alike: both buildings have a rough 7:8 overall proportion, unlike the square plan of Christian Lilly's Codrington College (figure 90b), which was also modeled on the Hospital.

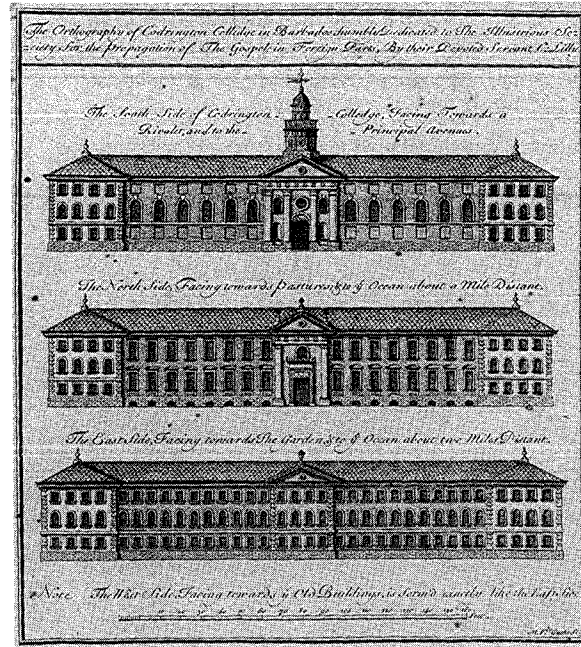
The Galleries are 12 foote high in the cleere.

Each of the College's original three "Galleries" or stories was probably also an average of twelve feet "in the cleere," that is, three floors, twelve feet in height = 36 feet, separated by 16"-thick floors and joists = 4 feet, for a subtotal of 40 feet. A six-foot exposed basement story then brings the pile to its suspected forty-six foot height, a height equaling the width.

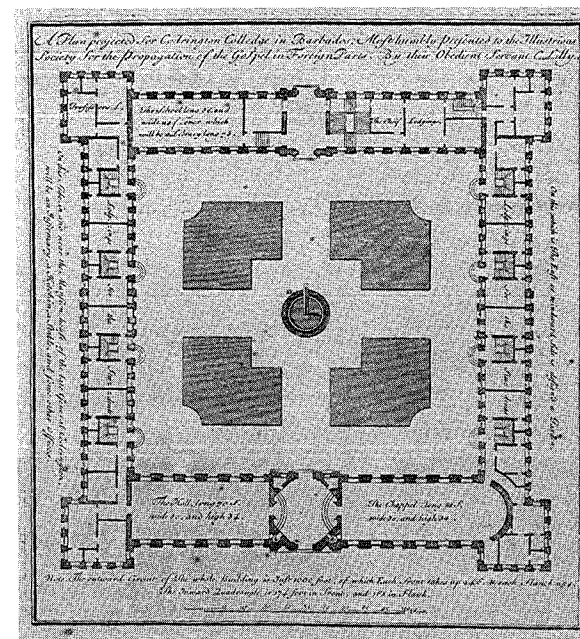
Adjoining are enclosures of brickwalls for Walks, Gardens, Kitchin Garden, Back Courts, and Buriall place⁵⁸

The College was also provided with "Walks, Gardens, Kitchin Garden, Back Courts, and Buriall place" and with a garden design prepared by George London whose role in landscape design was equivalent to Wren's role as architect in the Office of Works. If what is shown in the Bodleian Plate half a century later reflects the initial garden design, it was approached much as the Hospital was from the Thames, albeit on a smaller colonial scale. There can be little doubt, given Hugh Jones's statements about the College's "good Courts and Gardens" and its "large Pasture enclosed like a Park with about 150 acres," that the Hampton Court design for the College's gardens was more extensive than what the plate shows.

It has been suggested that the College of William and Mary was the first manifestation of the effort to strengthen the Anglican church "in foreign parts." This effort led to the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Foreign Parts.⁵⁹ The founding



Figs 90a–b. Elevations and Plan, Codrington College, Barbados, Christian Lilly, architect, c.1711–1714, engravings, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.



of Codrington College in Barbados (figures 90a–b) in 1711–1714 by the S.P. G.F.P. was made possible by a gift of £30,000 from the Codringtons, a wealthy sugar-planting family. In 1714, the Society reported:

There is a Model of the said College now preparing by the kind Assistance and Direction of that worthy Gentleman, Colonel Christian Lilly, one of Her Majesty's Engineers, who formerly made a Present to the Society of a large Plan of their Estates in Barbados, which Model, when perfected, will be sent over to Barbados.⁶⁰

Lilly thus appears to have made his design a charitable gift much as Wren's Office might have been expected to do for the College. Lilly's design emulated Chelsea Hospital even more closely than appears to have been done with the first College design. The hall and chapel of Codrington College are arranged exactly like those at Chelsea Hospital. Like the first College

design, Codrington was a bilaterally symmetrical quadrangular plan, wherein Lilly simply inserted a range between the pavilions Wren placed closest to the Thames. The range opposite this in the Lilly design contained the hall and chapel. Separated by an octagonal vestibule and fronted on both sides by a Doric tetrastyle frontispiece, it is a virtual imitation of Wren's scheme. If Hugh Jones had discussed Lilly's design, he surely would have written that it was based almost entirely on Chelsea Hospital. The three-story elevation of Codrington had quoining at its base as did the College; the Hospital did not. The Codrington design was, therefore, achieved by combining features of the Hospital in Chelsea and the College in Virginia: the College is, in fact, the link between the two. Wren must certainly have known of the Codrington project and must have been aware of the similarity of its design to the Hospital and College. One is almost

led to hypostatize that a copy of the William and Mary design might have been made available to Lilly.

There are a number of portraits and prints of Christopher Wren where he is shown with symbols of his art and with his *magnum opus*, St. Paul's Cathedral, in the background. When Charles Bridges was commissioned to paint a portrait of James Blair, he used this same format (figures 91 and 22). Blair probably intended to have himself portrayed as the College's "architect" as well as its founder and president. The epitaph on Blair's tomb at Jamestown praises [O]PERA MARMORE PERENNIORA (work more enduring than marble); that on Wren's tomb in St. Paul's also alludes to marble—SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE (If you seek his monument, look about you). Blair, with Nicholson, made the College a major focal point when they created a new capital and Capitol for England's largest colony, and these buildings are surely their monuments. Of course there is also the strong likelihood that Williamsburg's first "monument" was a design of Wren.



It is preposterous to believe that a donor who made possible the founding of an institution, who provided sufficient funds and lands to enable its creation, who then authorized and endorsed efforts to increase its endowment, and

who finally provided this institution with both a landscape design and a gardener to implement it would not also be greatly interested in the design of the first building itself and have made sure that this design was included in the gift. This is especially true in the case of the College's donors who not only had a demonstrably great interest in and involvement with architectural and landscape design, but actually had at their immediate disposal, unlike most donors, an architect unrivaled in the design of the very kind of institution they had just founded. Little survives to show that Blair was interested in architecture, but if he was not, he certainly would not have risked offending his cultivated donors. Clearly, then, the first design for the College originated in England, in the Office of Works, and with some kind of assistance from Wren, to the point of establishing its essential character.

It is probable that this design, whether drawings or a model, was prepared in late 1692 or early 1693, that it was planned for a level site, and that Blair returned with it in April 1693. The English origin of the classical design of the College is virtually assured by the fact that no one in Virginia at the time could design it, supervise its construction, or even build it. No structure of its style and scale had yet been built in any of the colonies and there is no evidence, except for Penn and his English architect, Porteus, in Philadelphia, that any American architect was then living who was capable of creating



Fig. 91. J. B. Closterman, *Portrait of Sir Christopher Wren*, painting, Council of the Royal Society, London.

“so good a design.” Nor had the art of landscape design yet reached the colonies, for why else supply the College with a landscape plan, as well as with a Hampton Court gardener, to lay it out? Furthermore, that there was no one in Virginia capable of overseeing its construction is exactly why Thomas Hadley was sent as undertaker and why at least three English masons, Baker, Cryer, and Pocock, were brought over to build it. An English contractor and English craftsmen surely imply that its designer was also English.

Unlike Harvard College, which was an American, Congregationalist, and nonconformist institution, the College of William and Mary was an English, Anglican, and royal foundation. Therefore, it would have been natural for its design to have also been English, Anglican, and royal. The combination points directly to the Office of Works, the only administrative and functional structure existing that designed buildings authorized by the sovereigns and, at times, the Church. If William and Mary had granted a royal charter to a new college at Oxford or Cambridge in the same period rather than to one in Virginia it could be expected that Wren and his office would have been asked to design it. Why then should it have been any different for a royal college in Virginia? Because the design for its gardens originated in the Office of Works, it follows, therefore, that the design for its building also originated there. It is also usual for an architect to begin a building's design by first studying its site, fix on a scheme for the building, and then finish with a plan for its grounds. In the case of the College, no site had yet been acquired; thus, its designer had a free hand. Given the sovereigns' love of gardens, it now becomes clearer why an English garden design and an English court gardener were sent to Virginia from Hampton Court immediately after the College site had been acquired.

As a new royal foundation, the College

needed an entirely new building, and since its site had not yet been purchased, even less constraint was posed for its design. If Wren conceived the design and had done so without any constraints, it might be admitted that its form would not have been quadrangular. That it was quadrangular suggests not that he would not design such a building under any condition, but that he had been pressed to do so by the strong hand of the client as well as, possibly, various clergymen. Despite Wren, English colleges continued to build quadrangles. If Wren had been asked by Blair, by Nicholson, by the sovereigns, by Tillotson, or by the College's chancellor, Henry Compton, to prepare a “Modell,” how could he have turned down what William had called “so good a design,” what Mary had defended against its detractors with such zeal that “no objection against it could move her,” and what the archbishop of Canterbury called “our” College? To whom else would king, queen, and clergy have advised Blair and Nicholson to turn but to the country's greatest and most renowned designer of churches and colleges? If Wren was not given the opportunity to design the College, then he missed the only chance of his career to design an entirely new college unencumbered by existing buildings.

Despite Wren's remark against a quadrangle at Trinity, he created quadrangles where none existed (Emmanuel), and he created them afresh (Norfolk estate). Furthermore, he first brought a fully classical vocabulary to English colleges with Emmanuel and Trinity, and he remained preeminent as a designer of colleges into the 1690s with at least eight accepted as his work. He was soon rivaled by his protégé, Hawksmoor, and by Aldrich and Clarke at Oxford, but their work is later than Wren's and the design of the first College building. The elements of Wren's collegiate style soon became basic both to British and to American college design. Hawksmoor,

Aldrich, and Clarke followed in his footsteps, just as all other colonial American colleges followed the classical precedent established by the College of William and Mary. Finally, it has been shown that the ratios, proportions, dimensions, and details that Wren used in at least ten buildings were also used in the design for the College. Red brick, quoining or rustication, sash windows, hipped roofs, semicircular arcades, cupolas with two or more stories balancing Oxonian halls and chapels, and astylar ranges conjured the image of a Wren building. So do forty-six foot widths and heights, façades of thirteen bays, and rectangular blocks with ratios of 7:8. Can it be coincidence, for example, that the ranges of the College and Wren's plan for the Senate House at Cambridge both adhere to a 1:3 proportion and also measure 46 by 138 feet? All of these features show the hand of Wren and were recurrent in his *oeuvre* as with no other contemporary English architect. They virtually exhaust the stylistic characteristics of the first design for the College.

Wren's architecture reveals a dexterous hand capable of creating complex as well as simple compositions. It should be apparent, even on the basis of the examples of his work included in this study, that his work shows considerable variety, that he was quite capable of surprises, and that he undertook work much less challenging than the commission for the College design. Buildings such as the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, the forecourt buildings of the palace at Winchester, and even Kensington Palace itself affirm Wren's willingness to work in the almost vernacular Dutch Flat Style so associated with William and Mary. The commonplace was fashionable, even for Wren and his patrons. Circumstances, matters of style, and even documents, however fragmentary, combine to suggest that Hugh Jones's attribution to Wren of the first College design should be accepted. There is no reason to think

that Jones, an Oxford scholar and scientist, was not telling the truth. Nor is there reason to think that he was inaccurate, that he meant to say that the College had been first modeled by Wren's office or, worse still, that it was first modeled by someone copying Wren. If Jones had never mentioned Wren in his description of the College, one would still be led back to him and to the Office of Works because of crucial issues facing William and Mary and the Anglican clergy, issues that caused the Glorious Revolution and that ultimately brought about the creation of the College.



By 1715 when Kip's *Britannia illustrata* and Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* first appeared, the era of Wren had passed. Palladianism and the Picturesque—for they were intertwined—would, within the decade, supplant the architecture and formal gardens of Wren's Baroque. Williamsburg had by then taken definitive form; the College's reconstruction was complete. Capitol, Gaol, Palace, Church, Magazine, and Playhouse were either firmly in place or under construction, and nearly all had been built without ready access to the ideas extolled in the some 200 British buildings those books illustrated. Most of those shown by Kip and Campbell had been built in the preceding half century and in the Anglo-Dutch style just considered. It is clear that the ideas at work in this style came to Virginia; precisely how, no one has yet been able to show. But the ideas came nonetheless, for Williamsburg's buildings were not conceived in a vacuum. Kip and Campbell were far more of a record of what had been achieved in a half century in Britain than they were a portent of impending developments in later British and American architecture and landscape.⁶¹ The kind of designs shown in these books, both with

regard to the style of architecture and landscape design, could nowhere be better seen in the English colonies by 1715 (Philadelphia and Charleston notwithstanding) than in Williamsburg.

Williamsburg made a political and artistic statement in the eighteenth century as profound as any in contemporary Europe. It was without parallel in the colonies. The town and its public buildings were no watered-down expressions or belated, provincial, and vernacular manifestations of well-tried and common European ideas.⁶² They were, on the contrary, and from a strictly European point of view, the actual culmination, in a virgin land, of ideas that came to the fore as a result of the problems the Glorious Revolution resolved and of the wheels it set in

motion. From a strictly American point of view, however, Middle Plantation and Williamsburg (1693–1715) mark the beginning in the United States of the disciplines of architectural, landscape, and urban design. Williamsburg was meant to be a work of art where the disciplines of architectural, landscape, and urban design were first inextricably linked in the colonies. This is especially true in the very strict classical sense of those disciplines.⁶³ Williamsburg made a strong political, social, and artistic statement, equally integral, which would culminate in the American Revolution. Its buildings, though owing much to the Dutch and English, are unique. “Adapted to the Nature of the Country by the Gentlemen there,” they were already American and distinctly so.⁶⁴

Notes to Chapter III

1. For Wren and Dutch influence, see Arthur Stratton, "Dutch Influence on the Architecture of Sir Christopher Wren," *Sir Christopher Wren—Bicentennial Memorial Volume* (London, 1923), 175–192; H. J. Louw, "The Origin of the Sash Window," *Architectural History*, XXVI (1983), 49–72; and Wouter Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture* (Delft, 1980), especially, 45–56, 115–124. Wren's knowledge of Dutch architecture is scarcely alluded to in *Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* prepared by his son, Christopher Wren, and published by his son, Stephen Wren, in London in 1750.

2. A basic bibliography of Dutch architecture includes Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*; F. A. J. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de Geschiednis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst* (The Hague, 1941); Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive, and E. H. Ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture 1600–1800*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1977); Nancy Halverson Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVIII (1969), 254–270; and Katharine Fremantle, *The*

Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam (Utrecht, 1959). For a general cultural history, see K. H. D. Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1972). Symptomatic of Dutch influence in England and her colonies until the end of William and Mary's reign was the popularity in both places after 1680 of blue Delftware. Much influenced by Chinese porcelain, Delftware reached its artistic pinnacle in this period: see *ibid.*, 188.

3. For a summary of prints of Post's work, see Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 218–221. Elevations of Post's Huis ten Bosch were unaccountably published by *The Wren Society*, XII (1935), 18, implying that Wren may have owned them. For Post, see note 16, this chapter.

4. Henry Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* (1624) is an early tract in English on architecture. In 1664, Hugh May, John Evelyn, and Roger North translated Freart's *Parallel of Architecture* into English. In 1662 Balthazar Gerbier published *A Brief discourse Concerning the Three Principles of Magnificent Building*; Stephen Primatt published *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder* (London,

c. 1667); Joseph Moxon published *Mechanick Exercises, Applied to the Art of Bricklayers-works* (London, 1700). There are several editions of Johannes Kip's *Britannia illustrata or Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (London, c. 1708, 1714–1716). Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* appeared in four volumes between 1715 and 1723. For writings on Pratt and North, see notes 18 and 37, this chapter.

5. For basic bibliographies and biographies of England's seventeenth-century architects, see Howard M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660–1840* (London, 1978), a revision of his *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660–1840* (London, 1958). A basic bibliography on British seventeenth-century architecture includes John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1969); Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture* (London, 1966); Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, eds., *English Country Houses, Caroline 1625–1685* (London, 1966); H. M. Colvin and John Harris eds., *The Country Seat* (London, 1970); H. M. Colvin

ed., *The History of the King's Works*, 7 vols. (London, 1976), especially, V; and John Harris, *The Architect and the British Country House, 1620–1920* (Washington, D. C., 1985). I am indebted to John Millar for pointing out the work of Hans Hendrik van Paesschen (Hendrik van Passe) who is credited with important buildings in England and Wales in the 1560s: Thomas Gresham's Exchange, later the Royal Exchange and Gresham College, where Wren would teach, and Bachegraig House at Clwyd in Wales are among them. This last building has some of the character of the Mauritshuis, and the other works can be regarded as precedents for work by Jones.

6. See John Summerson, *Inigo Jones* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 136–137.

7. Charles de Saint-Evremond, *The Letters of Saint-Evremond*, ed. John Hayward (London, 1930), 42. Clifford Currie was kind enough to point out to me that William Temple's praise of informal, Chinese gardens in *The Gardens of Epicurus* (1693) was not the earliest in Europe. According to Dr. Currie, there were earlier provenances in

Dutch, e.g., Jan Nieuhoff's *Het Gezantschap aan den Grooten Tartarischen Cham*. This was translated into English by John Ogilby in 1669: *Letter to the author*, Mar. 12, 1988.

8. The importance of Inigo Jones (1573–1652) for English architecture, in large part because of his debt to Palladio, was recognized as early as 1735 when Isaac Ware published *The Designs of Inigo Jones*. On Jones, see Summerson, *Inigo Jones*, where the Royal Institute of British Architects was wrongly credited as having Jones's drawings for the Maltravers and Arundel houses. These are housed in the library of Worcester College, Oxford. See John Harris, *Catalog of the Drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb, and Isaac de Caus* . . . (Oxford, 1979). See also James Lee-Milne, *The Age of Inigo Jones* (London, 1953); John Harris, "Inigo Jones and the Prince's Lodging at Newmarket," *Architectural History*, II (1959), 26–40; and J. I. Gotch, *Inigo Jones* (London, 1928).

9. Westover (c. 1726) and the President's house (1732) appear to be the oldest surviving houses in Virginia with pure double-

pile plans, e.g., with two rooms of similar size to either side of a center passage which also contains the stairway. The Braffer-ton has the double-pile form, but since it was designed as a school, a large room occupied the section west of the passage on both floors.

10. Use of such proportional schemes may imply knowledge of Palladio's treatise. See Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London, 1949), especially, 51–87. A basic bibliography on van Campen (1595–1657) includes Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*; P. T. A. Swillens, *Jacob van Campen, schilder en bouwmeester, 1595–1657* (Assen, 1961); and R. Meischke, "De Vroegste Werken van Jacob van Campen," *Bulletin van aen Koninklijken Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen*, LXV (1966), 131–145. Roger Pratt owned a copy of van Campen's *Afbeelding van t'Stadt Huys van Amsterdam* (I, 1661, II, 1663, Supplement, 1665). It is cited by R. T. Gunther in *The Architecture of Roger Pratt* (London, 1928), Appendix II.

11. On Huygens as a patron of the arts, see G.

Kamphuis, "Constantijn Huygens, bouwheer of Bouwmeester?" *Oud Holland*, LXXVII (1902), 151–180, and A. G. H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantijn Huygens and Britain: 1595–1687* (Leiden, 1962). Huygens, who probably called van Campen's attention to Inigo Jones's architecture, was likely thinking of the Mauritshuis when he wrote of van Campen: "From our stricken and disfigured face, The Gothic squint and squalor did erase." Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century*, 143.

12. Nikolaus Pevsner, however, considered that the Mauritshuis might have influenced such French architecture as Louis Le Vau's Vaux-le-Viscomte. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1963), 317–318.

13. The architecture of Arent van s'Gravesande (c. 1599–1662) does not appear to have been the subject of a study since Alv Weissman published "Arent van s'Gravesande," *De Opmerker* (1902). However, see Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, especially, 89–96.

14. The Noordeinde Palace is thought to be the

result of van Campen's remodeling and enlarging an older pile called the Oude Hof about 1640. According to Kuyper, the earliest known print of it dates to 1704 when Jacob Roman designed a fence for the forecourt. See Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 215, 319n.

15. Henri and Barbara van der Zee, *William and Mary* (New York, 1973), 133.

16. For Pieter Post (1608–1669), see G. A. C. Blok, *Pieter Post, 1608–1669, der Baumeister van Oranien und des Fuersten Johann Moritz van Nassau-Siegen* (Siegen, 1937); and Clive Aslet and H. Hijmersma, "Het Huis Ten Bosch, The Hague," *Country Life*, CLXXII, nos. 4448–4449, 18–25. According to Kuyper, Post made thirty-seven drawings of the Mauritshuis in 1652 which were not engraved until 1715. He also made eight engravings of Swanenburgh in 1654 and twenty-three plates of the Huis ten Bosch in 1655, prints of which, as noted, were published by *The Wien Society*. See note 3, this chapter, and Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, especially, 218–220. The colonnades Post shows linking house and dependencies at

Vredenburg probably owe their existence to Palladio's treatise, and the solitary and unfinished expression of them before 1650 in England appears to be at Stoke Bruerne in Northamptonshire, a work associated with Jones in the period 1629–1635. Nancy Halverson Schless wrote, speaking of Henry Cary, Sr., undertaker of construction of the Governor's Palace: "He must have relied heavily on the continental printed page, for if few architectural books had been published in England before 1715 . . . none had been printed in Virginia or in any of the other English colonies." Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace," 266–267. Some historians are reluctant to accept such inferences on the basis that no references to Vingboons's book have been found.

17. It appears that Vingboons (1608–1678) has not yet received study in his own right. See, however, Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, especially, 103–114, 221–224; and Schless, "Dutch Influence," 254–270. The first edition of Vingboons's book contained sixty-two engravings; nineteen buildings had been

built. A second edition appeared in 1665, a third, in 1674, a fourth, posthumous, two-volume edition in 1688, and fifth and sixth editions or printings in 1715 and 1736. For the possible Vingboons-Webb connection, see Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 115, 205–206. Webb (1611–1672) was a definite link between Jones and Wren.

18. The Pratt family seat was Ryston in Norfolk; Roger Pratt (1620–1685) matriculated in law at the University of Padua in 1645 when he also shared quarters in Rome with John Evelyn. His papers affirm his study of Palladio, as well as his admiration for Vincenzo Scamozzi and Serlio. Because his known houses affirm his abstinence from the use of pilasters—as will be the case almost entirely with Virginia houses—John Harris called Pratt a "master of astylysm." *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, 4 vols. (New York, 1982), III, 475. Pratt also served as a commissioner to supervise London's rebuilding after 1666. No major study of Pratt appears to have been attempted since R. T. Gunther edited and published Pratt's papers in *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*,

Charles II's Commissioner for the Rebuilding of London After the Great Fire: Now Printed for the First Time From His Notebook (London, 1928). See also "Coleshill House Destroyed by Fire," *Architectural Review*, CXII (1952), 342. Kerry Downes kindly pointed out to me that Coleshill, previously dated c. 1650, is now thought to have been built no earlier than c. 1657, and that the basic article on the house is now N. Silcox-Crowe in R. Brown, ed., *The Architectural Outsiders* (London, 1985), 1–20. Even with the revised later dating of Coleshill, it still appears to have been the first house of its type built in England.

19. On the stylistic divisions of seventeenth-century Dutch architecture, see Rosenberg, Slive, and ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture*, 383–409; and Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 171 and *passim*. On ter Kuile's Wölfflinian point about unity, see *Dutch Art and Architecture*, 404.

20. For example, see Jeremy Bentham's 1787 design for an "Industry-House Establishment," illustrated and discussed by Donald Drew Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts: Western Europe 1789–1960*

(New York, 1970), 382–383. Ter Kuile also observed the utilitarian nature of Stalpaert's warehouses. Stalpaert (1615–1676) also appears not to have been studied in his own right.

21. On Het Loo, see Walter Harris, *A Description of the King's Royal Place at Loo* (London, 1699); L. R. N. Van Everdingen-Meyer, *De Lusthof Het Loo* (The Hague, 1974); and H. W. M. van de Wijk, "Het Loo, de Geschiedenis van een Koninklijk Domein," *Bulletin KNOB*, LXXV (1976), 183–248. The Het Loo Museum has two guides available: *Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo and Het Loo: De Tuinen—The Gardens* (Haarlem, 1985 and 1986), respectively. Also see various sections of Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*. Het Loo continued to be used as a royal retreat in this and the last century. The house has recently been restored and refurbished; the gardens were entirely reconstructed. Today, Het Loo functions as a house-museum much like the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg.

22. The only reference to Jacob Roman in either Colvin's *History of the King's Works* or in *The Wren Society*

volumes is one reference to Wren's son, Christopher, who was visiting Holland in 1705. Wren wrote to his son on October 11, 1705, "Give my Service to Mr. Roman & thanks for his civilization." It should be evident from this that Roman and Wren had met each other, even collaborated or discussed mutual projects, which meant that either Roman had visited England, Wren, Holland, or both in the period 1689–1702: Christopher Wren's letter to his son, Christopher, *The Wren Society*, XIX (1942), 120. Also see note 54, this chapter. William III had De Voorst designed for his new protégé, Arnold Joost von Keppel, whom he created first earl of Albemarle in 1697. Once again, Jacob Roman (1640–c. 1716) and Daniël Marot (1661–c. 1752) collaborated on both house and garden. For De Voorst, see Th. H. Lunsingh Schleurleer, "Het Huis De Voorst in Zijn Glorietijd," *Bulletin KNOB*, (1963), 149–220, and various sections of Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*.

23. See John Harris's reprinting of Kip's book with commentaries on the various houses illustrated, *Kip's Britannic illustrata*,

or *La Nouvelle Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (Bungay, Suffolk, 1984). Some ten houses illustrated by Kip show clearly the manner that would be identified with Wren and the Georgian house of the next century both in Britain and the colonies. Included are Winde's Ashdown in Berkshire (1662), Pratt's Melton Constable in Norfolk (1665), Burlington House, London (1667), possibly a work by May, Cassiobury in Hertfordshire (1677), also by May, Ragley in Warwickshire (1677) by Robert Hooke, Winde's remodeling of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire (1680–1691), and Hooke's Stanstead in Sussex (1686). Talman's remodeling of Chatsworth (1687), his Uppark in Sussex (c. 1690), and Thomas Banckes's New Parke in Surrey (1692) bring this tradition into the period when the College was designed. Winde (c. 1647–1722) has not yet received in-depth study. However, see H. M. Colvin's entry on him in the *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 902–905. Hampstead Marshall was first remodeled by Balthazar Gerbier and completed by Winde in 1665 for William, first earl

of Craven, for whom Ashdown was earlier built.

24. See William Bray, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 2 vols. (London, 1901), II, 55.

25. May appears to have transferred valuables from Britain to Holland during the Interregnum, once bringing "art from York House to Holland:" see Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 190.

26. On May (1621–1684), see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 544; G. F. Webb, "The Architectural Antecedents of Sir Christopher Wren," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XL (1933), 582; and F. Cottrell Dormer, "Hugh May in Holland," *Country Life*, CVIII (1950).

27. This may account for the fact that a number of writers on Wren consider him "eclectic," if not derivative. Kerry Downes went so far as to write, "Wren is an uneven and often unaccountable artist as well as an eclectic one:" *Downes, English Baroque Architecture*, 32. Pembroke College Chapel shows Wren as artist; the Sheldonian Theatre, especially the interior, begs for the cast-iron columns and steel girders of the

nineteenth century.

28. Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace," 265–266; and Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 201 and *passim*.

29. For Hooke (1635–1703), see H. W. Robinson and W. Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672–1680* (London, 1935); R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford* (Oxford, 1935); I. M. Batten, "The Architecture of Robert Hooke," *Walpole Society*, XXV (1936–1937); and Margaret Espinasse, *Robert Hooke* (London, 1956). Hooke met Wren at Oxford by 1663 when he received his master's degree. His career in architecture, a second vocation much as is the case with Wren, began with the Fire of London. According to Colvin: "French planning and Dutch detailing are the most obvious characteristics of Hooke's architectural style, and his diary shows he purchased architectural books from both France and Holland. A projected visit to France is mentioned in 1676, but did not eventuate, and if Hooke ever visited Holland the occasion is not recorded, though an elevation of the Nieuwe Kerk at The Hague is among his drawings at the

British Museum:" Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 429.

30. For Ragley and Stanstead see Harris, ed., *Kip's Britannia illustrata*, plates 71 and 36.

31. For Harris's comments on Cassiobury, see Harris, ed., *Kip's Britannia illustrata*, plate 28. The many garden projects undertaken by George London (?–1714), some in collaboration with Henry Wise, include Longleat (c.1685), Chatsworth (1688), and Hampton Court (1689f.) Both London and Wise edited *The Compleat Gardiner . . . by Monsieur de La Quintinie* (London, 1699), an abridged version of John Evelyn's 1693 translation. The expansive gardens shown by Knyff and Kip are believed to be relevant to the spirit of the Glorious Revolution in the same sense Leo Marx thought English poets saw the political and artistic image of America as a garden from the sixteenth century onwards. This meant for Locke, responding to his role as the second earl of Shaftesbury's secretary in the Carolinas in 1667, that "in the beginning . . . all the world was America." For

Marx, the metaphoric image of America as a garden meant "as a landscape—an image in the mind that represents aesthetic, moral, political, and even religious values." Leo Marx, *The American Revolution and the American Landscape* (Washington, D.C., 1974), 8 and *passim*; and Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (New York, 1964), 120, 128.

32. Harris, *William Talman*, 29. See also Margaret D. Whinney, "William Talman," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XVIII (1955), 123–139, and Harris's entry in the *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, IV, 172–174. Kuyper wrote, "Undoubtedly Talman had direct access to Vingboons's printed work," but he did not show how: Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 193. The early life of Talman (1650–1719) is sketchy but by 1680 he was a member of the second earl of Clarendon's household; in the period 1686–1689, he altered Chatsworth for the earl and also designed Swallowfield in Berkshire for him. By the time he was appointed comptroller of the King's Works in May 1689, he had amassed an

extensive collection of architectural treatises and drawings including those by Palladio, Jones, and Webb now in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Harris considered that it was the influence of Hans William Bentinck, first earl of Portland (c.1649–1709), William III's Dutch secretary, that caused the king to appoint Talman as comptroller. See note 30, chapter I for Talman's work for William Blathwayt. Second in rank only to Wren, Talman's office was within feet of Wren's in Scotland Yard. Talman may be given some credit for the gardens William and Mary had George London (under his supervision at Hampton Court and Kensington Palace) design. When Wren was called to testify about two serious building mishaps at both palaces, Talman took the opportunity to discredit him. However, how Wren and Talman collaborated has never been shown. Given his position in the King's Works and his close association with George London, Talman is a possible designer of the College's first building and gardens, but not a probable one.

33. For Uppark, see

Harris, ed., *Kip's Britannia illustrata*, plate 38. Harris also considered that "any building without quirks deserves to be questioned if attributed to Talman," and, consequently, the relatively plain façades of Uppark and Stanstead point away from Talman as designer: Harris, *William Talman*, 26. The author considers Uppark to have such "quirks."

34. For Bruce (1630–1710), see Herbert Fenwick, *Architect Royal* (New York, 1975); John G. Dunbar, *The Architecture of Scotland* (London, 1978); Colin McWilliam, "Sir William Bruce, 1630–1710," *Connoisseur*, CLXXV (1970), 300; and Charles McKean, *Edinburgh: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh, 1983). See also Howard M. Colvin, "A Scottish Source for English Palladianism," *JSAH* (Great Britain), XVII (1984), 8.

35. Kerry Downes has pointed out to me that the wide or long "windowless bays" at the ends of the College building's east façade, as restored, are extremely unusual in English architecture of the period, less so in North America." *Comments* to the author, 1988. This is quite true; virtually all English

(and Dutch) buildings of the period place windows much closer to the ends than is the case with the College building. It is possible the design of the first College building was fifteen bays in length, and this was one of the "adaptations" Hugh Jones spoke of. Whether this was in the first building or in the rebuilding after 1705 will, perhaps, never be known.

36. Sir John Moore's Writing School provides the precedent for Wren entrusting Hawksmoor with a design made in his office. Christopher Wren (1632–1723) attended Wadham College, Oxford (figure 46), and received his master's degree from the university in 1653. He became a Fellow of All Souls College where he continued his study of science. From 1657 until 1661 he was professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, London. In 1661 he returned to Oxford as Savilian Professor of Astronomy, already renowned for his knowledge of the subject. As noted, both the chapel for Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, stood nearly complete when he visited France in 1665–1666. Modern schol-

arship on Wren might be said to have begun in the 1880s with the efforts to save his city churches, an effort associated with the Arts and Crafts movement, and the anti-Scrape organization. These groups heralded *The Survey of London*, now edited by Hermione Hobhouse, and begun by Arts and Crafts architect, Charles R. Ashbee. Under the aegis of the Arts and Crafts, C. R. Ashbee's Essex House Press, E. J. Enthoven, ed., produced the *Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, from the Parentalia or Memoirs by his son, Christopher* (Campden, Gloucestershire, 1903). This had originally been compiled by his son Christopher and published by his son Stephen in 1750: see note 1, this chapter. It was reprinted by the Gregg Press in 1965. The bicentennial of Wren's death in 1923 stimulated a second burst in publication, notably, Arthur Thomas Bolton and H. D. Hendry, eds., *The Wren Society*, 20 vols. (Oxford, 1924–1943), and the Royal Institute of British Architects, *Sir Christopher Wren* (Bicentennial Memorial Volume) (London, 1923).

More recent books on Wren include Geoffrey

Webb, *Christopher Wren* (London, 1937); Ralph Dutton, *The Age of Wren* (London, 1951); John Lindsey, *Wren: His Works and Times* (New York, 1952); S. Martin Briggs; *Wren The Incomparable* (London, 1953); Viktor Fuerst, *The Architecture of Sir Christopher Wren* (London, 1954); Eduard Sekler, *Wren and His Place in European Architecture* (New York, 1956); Margaret D. Whitney, *Christopher Wren* (New York, 1971); Bryan Little, *Sir Christopher Wren* (London, 1975); Harold Hutchinson, *Sir Christopher Wren* (New York, 1976); Kerry Downes, *The Architecture of Wren* (London, 1982); and Kerry Downes, *Wren, Whitechapel Gallery* (London, 1982). Other works of interest include Sidney Fiske Kimball, "Wren: Some of his Sources," *Architectural Review*, LV (1924); Jean Claude Garcias, "Wren Revised," *Architectural Review*, CLXXII (1982), 4–5; Geoffrey F. Webb, "The Architectural Antecedents of Sir Christopher Wren," *JRIBA*, XL (1933), 582; and *The Survey of London* (ongoing).

37. For Aldrich (1648–1736), Clarke (1661–1736), and Roger North (1653–

1734), see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 63–67, 216–17, 596–598. Also see Howard Colvin and John Newman, eds., *Of Buildings—Roger North's Writings on Architecture* (Oxford, 1981). Aldrich received the bachelor's, master's and doctor's degrees from Christ Church, Oxford between 1666 and 1682. In 1689 he was named dean of that college and became vice-chancellor of the university in the period 1693–1695. George Clarke was a close friend of Aldrich. The son of William Clarke, secretary of war under Charles II, Clarke graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford, became a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and represented the university in Parliament beginning in 1685. He followed in his father's footsteps by being named secretary of war in 1692–1694, and upon Queen Anne's accession served as secretary both to Prince George and the Admiralty. Most of Clarke's drawing collection is housed at Worcester College, Oxford. Roger North was appointed attorney general to Mary of Modena, James II's wife, in 1685.

38. For William Byrd,

see Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, 19–22.

39. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England—Cambridgeshire*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1970), 125.

40. Paul Venable Turner, *Campus. An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 33.

41. For a discussion of Emmanuel College, see Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire*, 28, 72.

42. Stated in a letter to the president of Trinity College in 1665, quoted from *The Wren Society*, V (1928), 14.

43. For the College of William and Mary's contribution, see Turner, *Campus*, 33–37.

44. See Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 184–185; and Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, 106–107, for the Queen's College connection. For Queen's design, see Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, especially, 47–53; and *The Wren Society*, V (1928), 24–25. Though Pevsner considered that what one sees today of this college from High Street is the finest architectural ensemble Oxford can offer,

scholars remain divided as to its designer, whether Aldrich, Clarke, Hawksmoor, or a mason, William Townsend.

45. For Bromley College, see *The Wren Society*, XIX (1942), plate 72, and XIII (1936), 151–152. I am indebted to Clifford Currie and Kerry Downes for pointing out to me the non-collegiate functions of Bromley College. Downes has assigned the building to Richard Ryder.

46. For Morden College, see *The Wren Society*, XIX (1942), plates 70–71, 151; and T. F. Green, *Morden College, Blackheath* (London Survey Committee Monograph #10, 1916). Downes also pointed out that Morden served as an almshouse.

47. For Sir John Moore's Writing School, see *The Wren Society*, XI (1934), plates 44–52, 60–80.

48. Given Francis Nicholson's philanthropy toward the support of religious and educational endeavors, it is of interest to learn that a "Colonel" William Nicholson was governor of Christ's Hospital, London, c. 1706, and donated a new mathematics school: "Coll. Nicholson having generously offered

£50 or £60 toward the defraying the cost thereof:" *The Wren Society*, XX (1943), and XI (1934), 62, 77. A William Nicholson was also bishop of Carlisle at the time; according to McCully, Francis Nicholson knew him. However, the only Nicholson mentioned in Narcissus Luttrell's meticulous diary is Francis Nicholson, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September, 1678 to April, 1714*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857). Could the "Coll." have been Francis rather than William? If so, it would at least directly involve Francis in a project involving Wren.

49. Kerry Downes, *Letter to the author*, Dec. 12, 1987, and *Comments to the author*, 1988. Downes has determined the elevation studies are not in Wren's hand.

50. On Wren's buildings for James II at Whitehall (1685–1688), see Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, V, 285–289; and *The Survey of London*, XIII, XIV, and XVI. Downes has written the author that by 1690 the style seen in the side wings of Chelsea Hospital and in the Privy Gallery "ceased to be novel and was in common use in London street

architecture:" *Letter to the author*, Dec. 12, 1987. While this is certainly true, my point is that Wren himself practiced such an un-novel and "common" mode. Given Harris's view of Pratt as an "astylar" architect, the equivalent of what the Dutch in part mean when they speak of the Flat Style, such a simplified style also appears to have been fashionable as well as common.

51. For the projected Norfolk palace, see *The Wren Society*, XII (1935).

52. For Charles II's palace at Winchester, see *The Wren Society*, VII (1930).

53. For Hampton Court, see *The Wren Society*, IV (1927).

54. Few Wren drawings appear to survive of Kensington Palace. What William and Mary purchased from the earl of Nottingham was a small Jacobean house that Mary renamed but did not call a palace. The initial enlargements made at Kensington House reflect Het Loo insofar as four prominently placed projecting corner pavilions were attached to the existing block; the two to the west were connected to the two-story existing "corps-de-logis" that created a

forecourt, the Clock Court. The entrance was probably located to the west in order to incorporate the existing kitchen court to the northwest. Further additions

made to the north created yet another court and range in the period 1690–1692. It was at this time that what remained of the original façade facing the forecourt was obscured by the frontispiece that gave the Court its name, a centrally placed pedimented pavilion, rising to the top of the hipped roof of the main block, surmounted by a pagoda-like hipped roof, itself capped by a lantern tower housing both clock and bell.

The flat character of this façade as well as that of the King's Gallery, added by William after 1695, led Kuyper to attribute both designs to Jacob Roman: Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 122–124 and *passim*. However, Kerry Downes considered this most unlikely; Roman is not mentioned in accounts and even Wren was "normally directed by the Treasury, not William and Mary, and if given any verbal orders by the sovereign he was bound to inform the Treasury:" *Comments to the author*, 1988. However, it is

clear Roman and Wren knew each other: see note 22, this chapter. On Kensington Palace, see Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, V, 183–204.

55. For Royal Hospital, Chelsea, see C. G. T. Dean, *The Royal Hospital, Chelsea* (London, 1950); David Ascorti, "Royal Hospital, Chelsea: A Mystery," *Country Life*, CLVII, no. 4066, (1975), 1491–1495; Marcus Binney, "The Royal Hospital, Chelsea," *Country Life*, CLXXII, no. 4447, (1982), 1474–1477; and *The Wren Society*, XIX (1942), *passim*.

56. For Kuyper's view on Stalpaert influencing Wren, see *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 122, 206.

57. Paul Venable Turner suggested that abandonment of the original quadrangular design of the College was a response to the founding of Williamsburg and the nature of its public buildings:

In the 1720s, when the college undertook a new building program, it altogether ignored the original plan, which would have located new construction to complete the quadrangle to the west of the built portion, and instead erected to the east two new buildings that strengthened the

axiality and Baroque nature of the college. This reorientation was a response to the newly laid-out plan of Williamsburg to the east. It is the most striking example up to this time, either in England or America, of collegiate planning as an integral component of grand urban design. Turner, *Campus*, 34.

58. Wren's statements on Chelsea Hospital are quoted from *The Wren Society*, XIX (1942), 64–65.

59. For Codrington College, see Frank Joseph Klingberg, ed., *Codrington Chronicle: An Experience in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710–1834* (Berkeley, 1949). Dr. Thomas Bray petitioned William III to charter the S.P.G.F.P. on April 7, 1701. See Dorothy Louise Noble, "Life of Francis Nicholson," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958), 672; and Bernard C. Steiner, ed., "Reverend Thomas Bray—His Life and Selected Works Relating to Maryland," *Maryland Historical Society*, Publication #37 (1901); and Clyde McCulloch, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Trip to Maryland: A Study in Militant Anglican Humanitarianism," *WMQ*, 3rd Ser.,

II (1945), 15–32. Also see note 9, chapter I.

60. Klingberg, *Codrington Chronicle*, 27.

61. The first of many English architectural books to have widespread influence in the English colonies was James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1728). Works by William Salmon, *Palladio Londinensis* (London, 1734) and by Batty Langley, Abraham Swan, and, finally, Robert Morris, *Select Architecture* (1757), were also influential. It would see logical that American interest in such books in the period 1730–1776, when they were advertised by name in newspapers such as the *South Carolina Gazette*, was not a new development, and that copies of Moxon, Primatt, Campbell, Kip, Vingboons, and other books available in the period 1700–1730 were also known by patrons such as Nicholson, Spotswood, Robert "King" Carter, and others who made them known to builders such as the Carys, if the latter did not already know or possess them.

62. The author would like to thank Catherine Savedge Schlesinger for pointing out that since transatlantic communica-

tion was brisk, fashions new to London often reached the colonies even before they reached the more remote English counties.

63. This is further supported by the curricular reforms Jefferson initiated at the College in 1779 when the first chair in an American college included instruction in the "Fine Arts" and explicitly mentioned architecture and landscape design.

64. Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Richard Lee Morton (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1956), 26.

