



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Giles Worsley, 'Taking Hooke seriously',
The Georgian Group Journal, Vol. XIV, 2004,
pp. 1–25

TAKING HOOKE SERIOUSLY

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Robert Hooke has had a raw deal as an architect. A quick perusal of Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary* shows that he was one of the most prolific English architects of the second half of the seventeenth century, working for thirty years across the whole gamut of contemporary society – royalty, aristocracy, livery companies and the City Corporation. Even the most cursory reading of his diaries reveals how large a part building played in his day-to-day life, and how well informed he was about contemporary building on the Continent. And yet his architectural work has seldom been given the attention it deserves. Sir John Summerson dismissed him in less than a page, stating that 'not much can be claimed for Hooke as an architect',¹ while his friend and colleague Sir Christopher Wren received more than 60 pages. Nor has the recent fashion for Hooke studies done much to revive his architectural reputation. Attention focuses overwhelmingly on his scientific life, and to a lesser extent on his work as a surveyor in the post-fire City of London.² Even Lisa Jardine's recent biography pays little attention to his architecture, though at least Hooke has been promoted from the ignominious position he held as Wren's office manager in her biography of Wren, where the Royal College of Physicians is misleadingly described as rebuilt by 'the Wren Office... under Hooke's direction'.³ Strange though it is, the most considered architectural account remains that of M.I. Batten, published in the *Walpole Society* in 1937, to which can be added a discussion of Dutch influences in his work by Alison Stoesser in the Dutch *Bulletin K.N.O.B* in 2000, and of course

the entry in Sir Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*.⁴

Hooke's career as City of London surveyor has been well examined and his work on the City churches is now familiar ground, though the extent to which individual churches or elements within churches can be ascribed to him remains uncertain.⁵ Anthony Geraghty's considered remark at the recent Georgian Group conference on Anglo-Netherlandish architectural connections that Wren was only interested in Rome and France, not in the Netherlands, suggests that the Dutch-inspired City churches are probably Hooke's work.

This suggests that the Navy Office of 1674, in whose design Hooke was clearly closely involved, though ultimate responsibility rested with Wren as Surveyor-General, should probably be attributed to Hooke.⁶ The Navy Office (Fig. 1) is distinctive for the way the pedimented centrepiece projects half a storey above the side ranges. Houses with such projecting pedimented centrepieces had been a common feature of Dutch architecture since Jacob Van Campen's *Huis ten Bosch* at Maarsen of 1628. The source for the Navy Office was probably volume one of Philips Vingboons, *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste gebouwen*, published in 1648 (Fig. 2).⁷

Strong Dutch influence also puts a question mark over the authorship of the London Custom House of 1669–71 (Fig. 3), which had marked similarities with Hooke's Royal College of Physicians of 1677 (Fig. 4). Both buildings, now demolished, had three-bay, pedimented, pilastered centrepieces with round-headed windows, an unusual feature at the time. Both

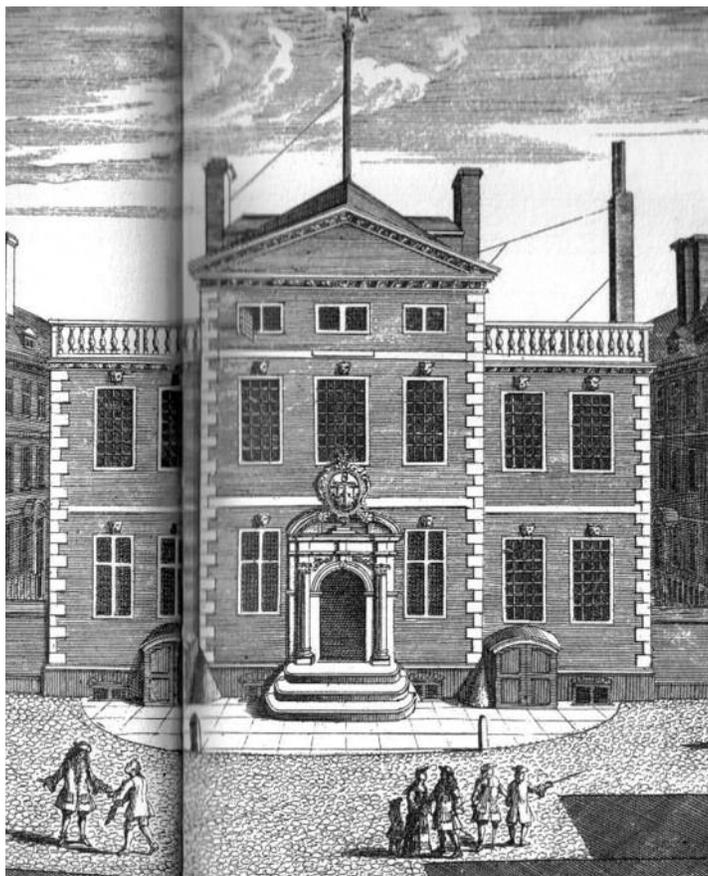


Fig. 1. Robert Hooke (attrib.), The Navy Office, City of London, 1674.
Detail from J. Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1739, 112–3.

use identical fenestration with small windows separated by swags from large windows and flanked by pilasters. As Alison Stoesser points out, the principal elevation of the Royal College of Physicians is derived from the Burgerzaal in Jacob van Campen's Amsterdam Town Hall, engraved by J. Vennekool in 1661 (Fig. 5).⁸ The same source lies behind the Custom House, the use of swags over the round-headed windows of the Custom House, as in the Burgerzaal, being particularly telling. This motif is repeated, presumably by Hooke, at St Benet, Paul's Wharf, the most evidently Dutch of the City churches.⁹

We are well informed about Hooke's public buildings in the City, but nothing about any private commissions.¹⁰ It is hard to believe that no City merchants asked Hooke to design their houses, given his obvious reputation. But this article will focus particularly on Hooke's career as an architect of country houses. It will argue the case for a number of attributions to Hooke. Not all of them are new but by pulling together a number of different buildings the hope is to present a convincing case for a corpus of further work by Hooke.

The danger of making such attributions is

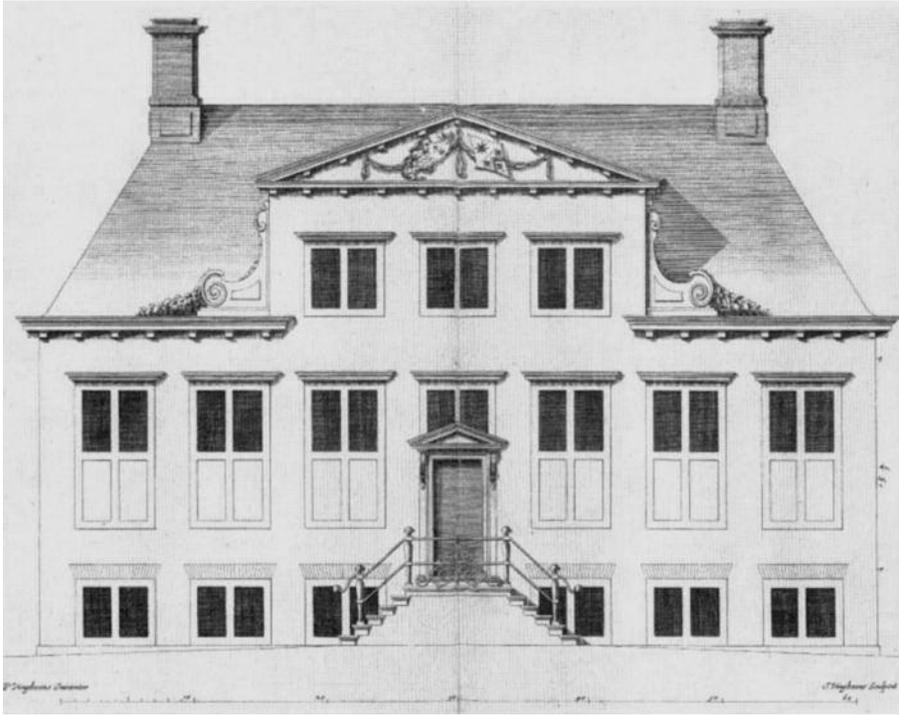


Fig. 2. Philips Vingboons, Michiel Popta's House, Amsterdam, 1642.
Philips Vingboons, *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste gebouwen*, Amsterdam, 1648, pl. 43.

obvious and acknowledged. But the great value of the intensive study of primary documentation that has characterised architectural history over the past half century is that it has produced a solid body of information on which to ground careful speculation. In this case that speculation is rooted not just in stylistic analysis but in patterns of patronage, kinship and craftsmanship. The hope is that this article will encourage those working in the field to look out for those pieces of information that, brought together, might prove the thesis.

From his diary and other sources we know that Hooke was responsible for designing or significantly altering a series of important houses: Montagu House, London, for Ralph Montagu, subsequently created Duke of Montagu (1675–9); Londesborough House, Yorkshire, for the 1st Earl of Burlington

(1676–8); a house in Privy Gardens, Whitehall, for the 20th Earl of Oxford (1676); Ragley Hall, Warwickshire, for the 1st Earl of Conway (1679–83); Ramsbury Manor, Wiltshire, for Sir William Jones, the Attorney General (c.1681–6); a house in Spring Gardens, London, for Sir Richard Southwell (1684–5); and Shenfield Place, Essex, for Richard Vaughan (1689).¹¹ He also designed the grand stables at Somerset House, London, built for Queen Catherine of Braganza c.1669–70, on a scale that rivalled many country houses (Fig. 6).¹² These are confident, ambitious houses, many of them, like Ramsbury Manor and Londesborough House, classic post-Restoration houses in the manner of Sir Roger Pratt (Fig. 7).¹³ However, Ragley Hall with its massive central hall and four projecting pavilions was exceptional in its scale for the 1670s (Fig. 8), and the

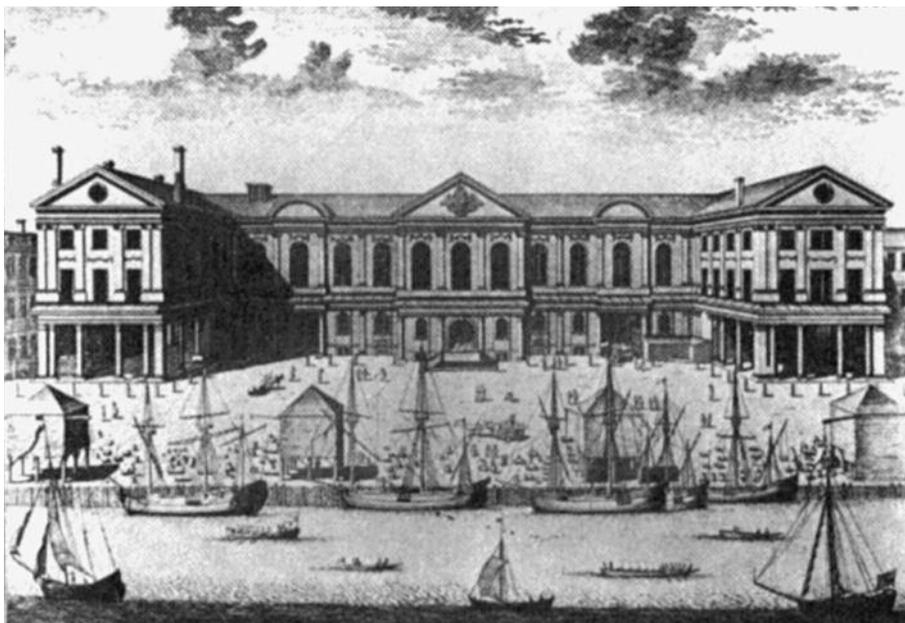


Fig. 3. Robert Hooke (attrib.), The Custom House, City of London, 1669-71.
Engraving by John Harris, 1714.

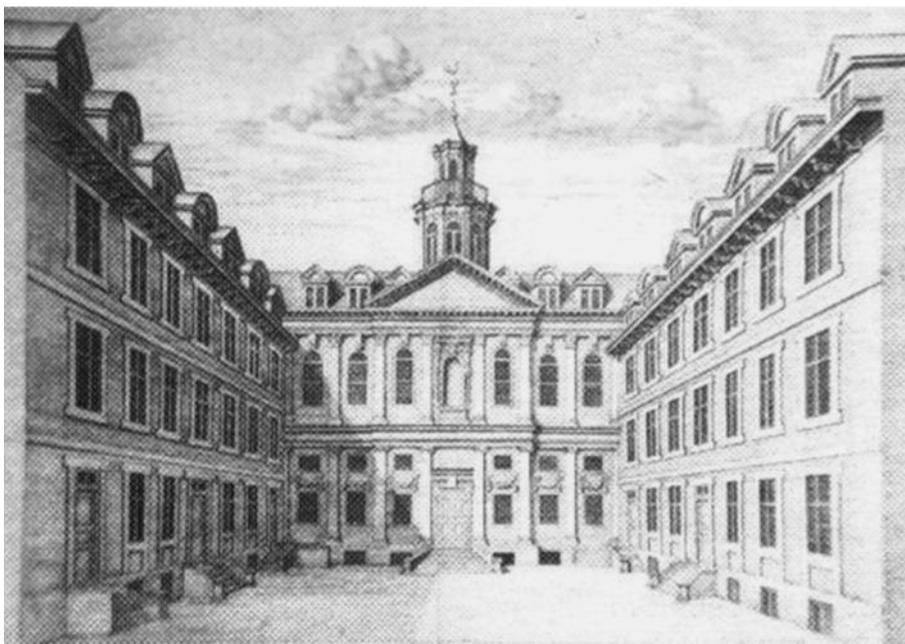


Fig. 4. Robert Hooke, the principal elevation and courtyard of the Royal College of Physicians,
London, 1677. Engraving by David Loggan, 1677. *Guildhall Library*.

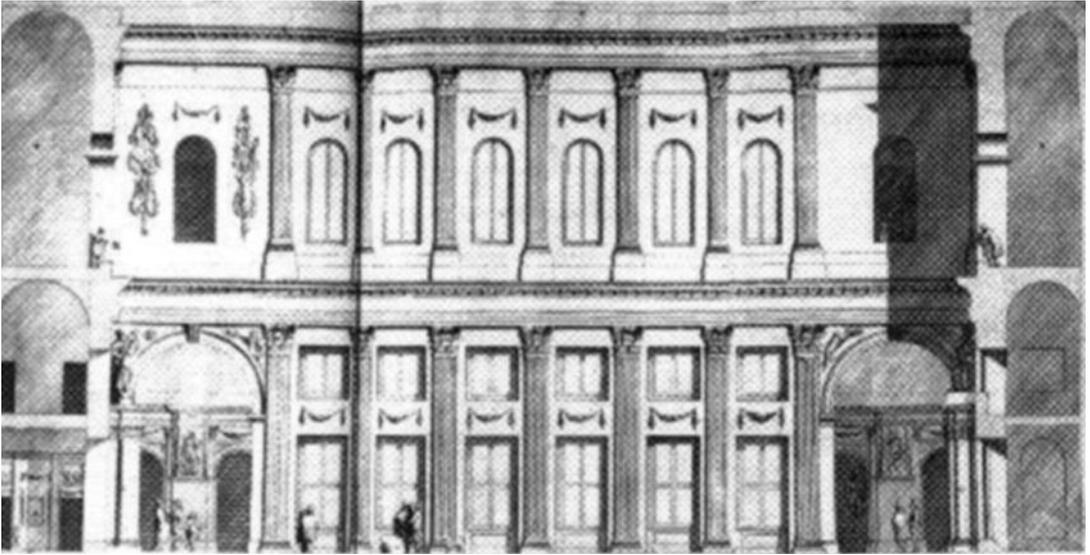


Fig. 5. Jacob van Campen, Burgerzaal, Amsterdam Town Hall, 1648-65. Engraving by J. Vennekool, 1661.

giant Ionic colonnade with its 20ft columns that ran inside the screen wall at Montagu House had few contemporary rivals in architectural ambition (Fig. 9).¹⁴

This is an impressive range of commissions, particularly when set alongside his churches and public buildings, principally in the City of London. Hooke's diaries demonstrate a commensurate interest in foreign buildings and architectural ideas. On 7 July 1674, for instance, his diary records that he had seen Mr Story 'who returnd from Holland Saturday last'. From him he learnt of Adrian Dortsman's new Lutheran church in Amsterdam, completed in 1671, and of Elias Bouman's new Synagogue, begun in 1670 and inaugurated in 1676. Hooke was sufficiently impressed to note that the Lutheran church was 70 feet in diameter and that its dome rose 70 feet, while the synagogue was a remarkable 100 feet square.¹⁵ Books were an even more important source of information. On 7 November 1674 that year Hooke purchased a copy of Jean Le Muet's *Manière de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes* (1623, reissued in an enlarged edition in 1647) and of Philips Vingboons's *Tweede*

deel van de afbeeldsels der voornaemste gebouwen, which had just been published. He then hurried round to Wren, with whom he discussed them for three hours.¹⁶

Hooke's knowledge of contemporary Continental architecture infused his designs with sources ranging equally widely between Italy, France and the Netherlands. John Evelyn noted that Montagu House was built 'after the French manner',¹⁷ that is that it takes the form of a *hotel particulier*, set back from the street behind a screen wall and gatehouse. Alison Stoesser, on the other hand, suggests that the form of the two-and-a-half-storied house itself with its central pediment and domed pavilions may derive from Philips Vingboons' design for Amsterdam Town Hall, and that the preliminary designs for the end pavilions of Bedlam Hospital are close to Vingboons's design for a gentleman's house published in the second volume of his work.¹⁸

The list of Hooke's known domestic work is suspiciously bunched around the late 1670s. Evidence for Hooke's architectural career comes overwhelmingly from his diary, which only survives

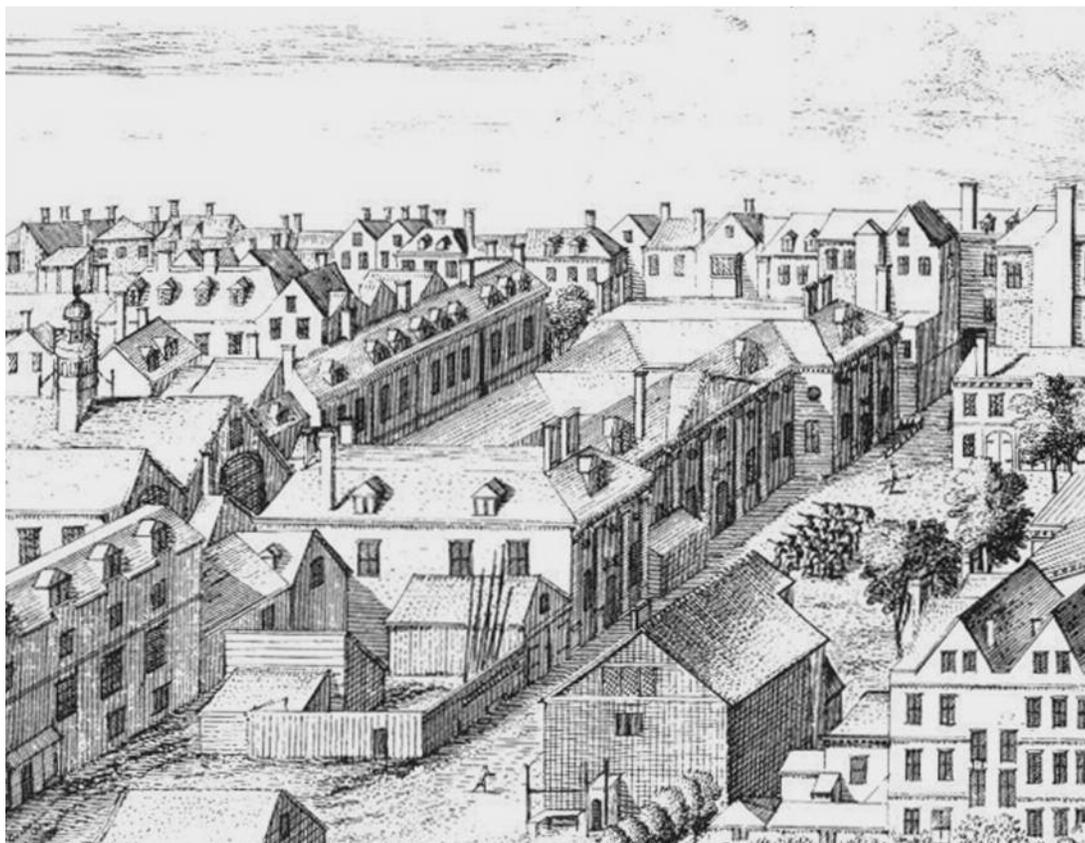


Fig. 6. Robert Hooke, the stables at Somerset House, London, c.1669–70.
Detail from Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, London, 1709, pl. 4.

for August 1672 to May 1683, November 1688 to March 1690 and December 1692 to August 1693, with 1681, 1682 and 1683 unpublished. Of all Hooke's known buildings, 18 come from the period between 1672 and 1683 and three come from the period 1688 to 1690 and 1692 to 1693. This is on top of any design work that he was doing for the City churches. Only the Somerset House stables of c.1669–70 and Sir Richard Southwell's house are outside the period of the diary. But we know that Hooke was architecturally active from the Great Fire of London in 1666 until at least 1696 when he stepped down as Wren's assistant on the City churches and as Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster

Abbey.¹⁹ He did not die until 1703. Hooke's last surviving diary, for 1693, shows that an engagement with building, architecture and surveying was still a continual part of his life. Is it credible that Hooke's career as an architect was really confined to a few years in the late 1670s, with a number of further commissions in the 1680s? Did no clients seek out a man who was, after all, one of the most experienced surveyors and architects in the country? The gaps in Hooke's career deserve examination.

One of these gaps is in 1686, when Montagu House was burnt and subsequently rebuilt. Hooke was certainly responsible for the original house, being built in 1678, but the second Montagu House



Fig. 7. Robert Hooke, Ramsbury Manor, Wiltshire, c.1681–8.

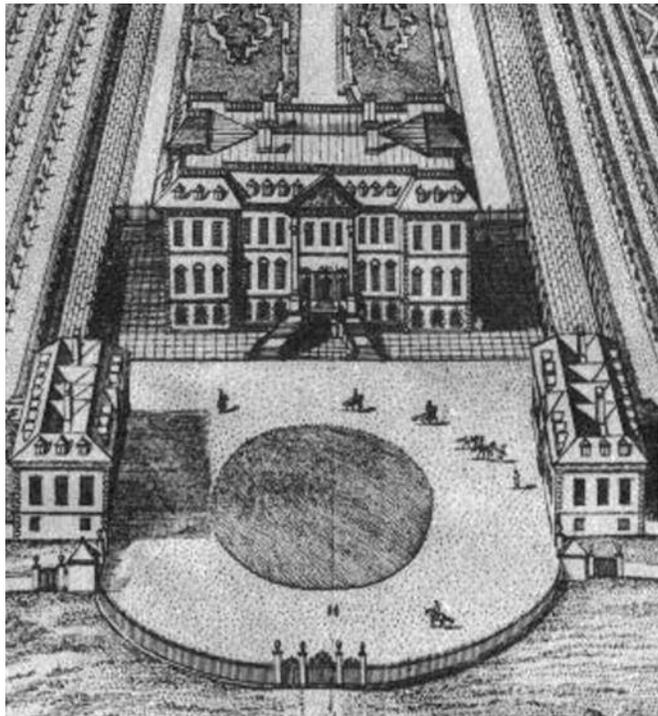


Fig. 8. Robert Hooke, Ragley Hall, Warwickshire, 1679–83. Detail from Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, London, 1709, pl. 71.

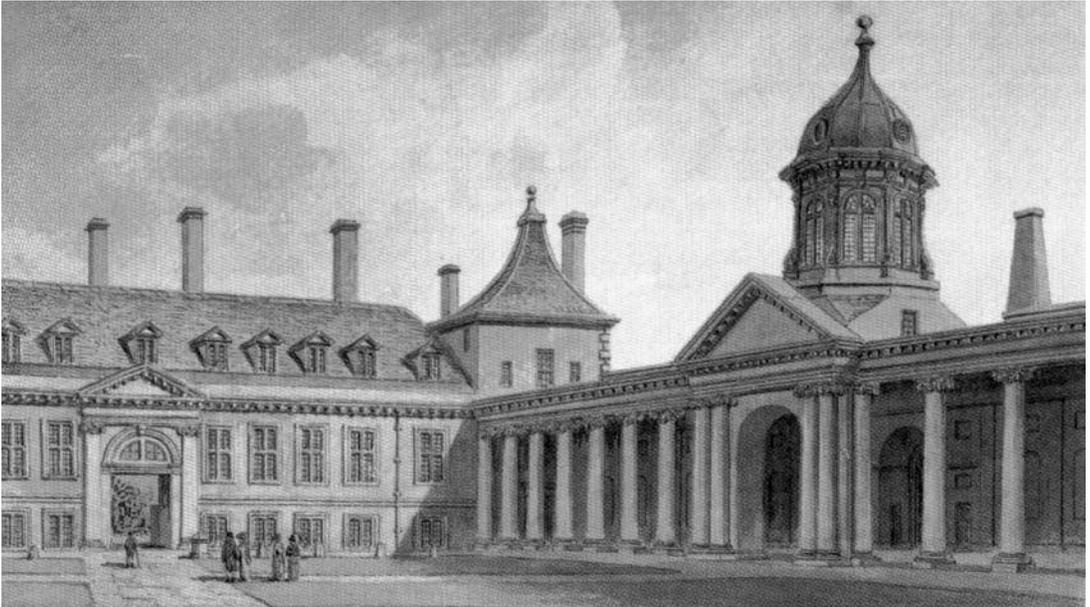


Fig. 9. Robert Hooke, the colonnade at Montagu House, London, 1675–9. Joseph Buckler, ‘East wing and colonnade of Montagu House from the courtyard’, 1828. *British Museum Prints and Drawings Department*.

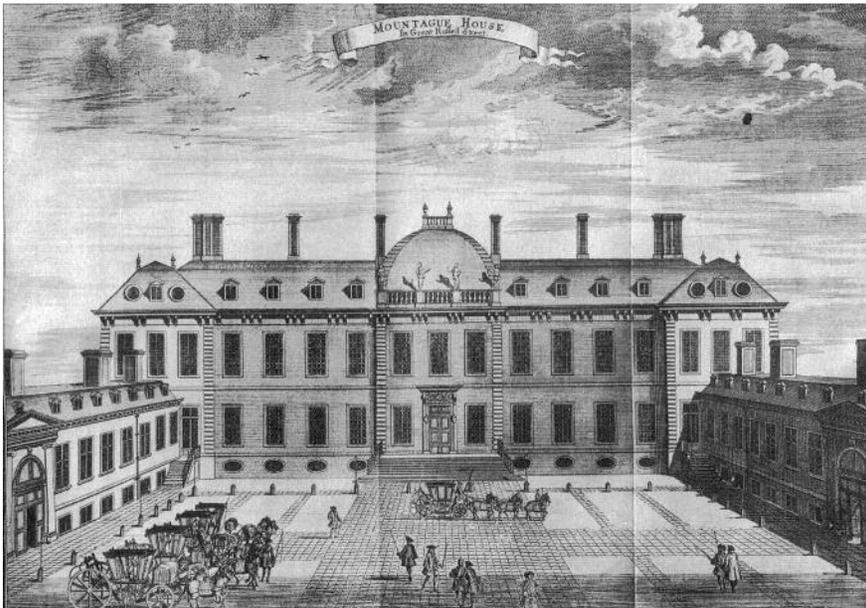


Fig. 10. Robert Hooke (attrib.), the courtyard elevation of Montagu House, London. John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster... corrected, improved and very much enlarged... by J. Strype*, London, 1754, 123.

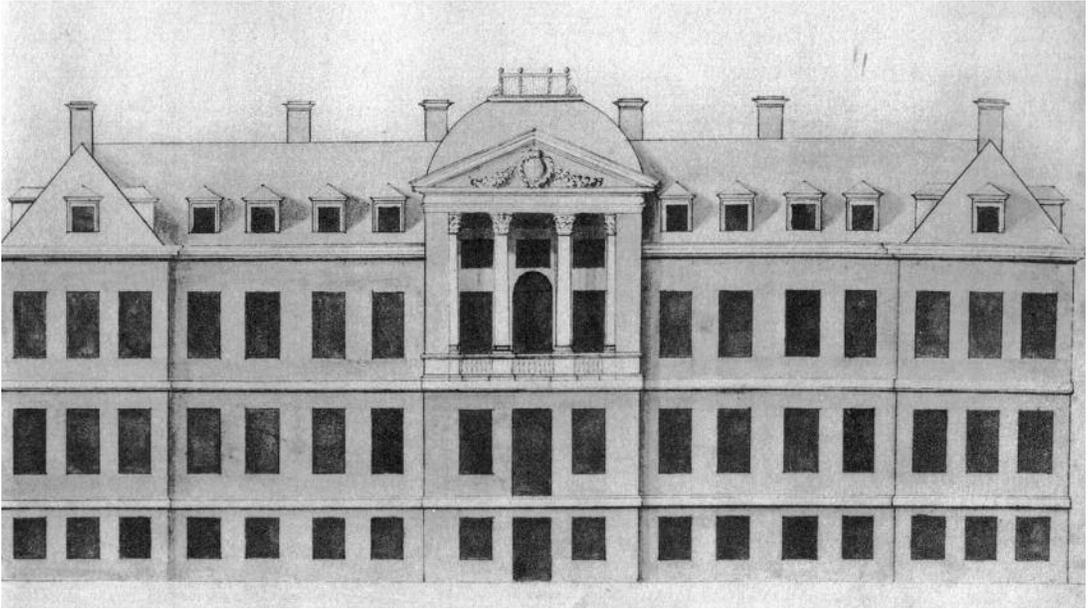


Fig. 11. Robert Hooke, unexecuted design for the garden elevation of Montagu House, London.
British Library, Add Ms. 5238, fol. 56.

has commonly been attributed to a mysterious ‘Monsieur Pouget’ on the basis of Colen Campbell’s statement in *Vitruvius Britannicus* that ‘the Architecture was conducted by Monsieur Pouget in 1678’.²⁰ How seriously should we take Campbell’s statement, made nearly 30 years after the event, given that he cannot even get the date right? Despite details derived from French sources it is hard to see the second Montagu House as the work of a French architect (Fig. 10). It is a fairly standard, if large, English post-Restoration house with a French veneer thanks to the essentially superficial addition of a central four-sided dome, the French quoins and the mansard roofs. Nor is there anything particularly sophisticated about the plan, though the staircase had a certain grandeur.²¹ A French architect would surely have come up with something a little more imaginative. ‘Monsieur Pouget’ has proved remarkably elusive and the suggestion that he is the ‘Mr Boujet’ who signed two designs in a French style

for decorative panels, one to go over a chimneypiece, the other probably over a door, that survive in the Smythson collection in the RIBA, is convincing.²² His involvement at Montagu House was probably to do with the fitting up of the interior rather than the design of the house itself.

But a preliminary design for what would appear to be the second Montagu House survives among drawings associated with Hooke in the British Library (Fig. 11).²³ This was probably for the north front of Montagu House, which looked out over open fields towards Hampstead, as it has a belvedere on the first floor. As with the second Montagu House, the design is 17 bays wide, with a three-bay centrepiece and end pavilions, two equal principal stories, a basement and dormered attic. Even the position of the chimneystacks is the same. Three-bay projecting pavilions are not a common feature of late-seventeenth-century English architecture but their use at Montagu House recalls Hooke’s use of them at

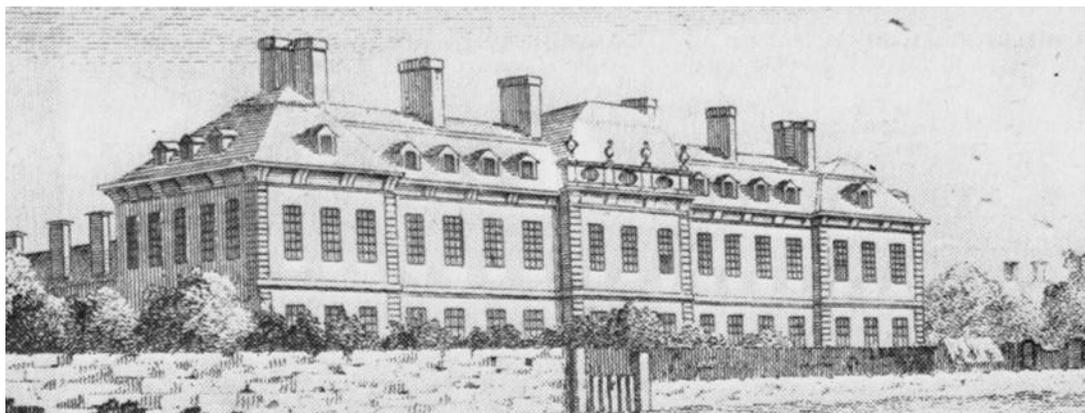


Fig. 12. Robert Hooke (attrib.), the garden elevation of Montagu House, London, 1686. Engraving by Green after Wale, from Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, *London 2000 years of a city and its people*, London, 1974, 217.

Ragley Hall in 1679 (Fig. 8). This must have been inspired by Roger Pratt's Clarendon House in London (1664), where the idea was taken from Salomon de Brosse's Palais du Luxembourg in Paris (1615–24). Further comparison with Ragley Hall can be found in the second Montagu House as built, which had a three-bay flat-topped parapet pierced by three *oeil-de-boeuf* windows over the centre three bays of the garden front (Fig. 12), similar to that on the garden front of Ragley (Fig. 13). Though the Ragley Hall parapet is assumed to date from the

eighteenth century, and the swags on it may indeed be an eighteenth-century embellishment, there is no documentary proof that it is not original.²⁴ Details vary, the French quoins are missing, the roof is hipped, not a mansard, there is no bracketed cornice and the belvedere was not executed, but there is no reason to believe that the British Library design is not for the second Montagu House and that Hooke was the architect. He was highly active when the house burnt down and would have been the logical person for Ralph Montagu to turn to.



Fig. 13. Robert Hooke, the garden elevation of Ragley Hall, Warwickshire, 1679–83.

Fig. 14. Robert Hooke (attrib.), Petworth House, Sussex, 1688-91. Detail from anon., *Petworth House, Sussex, c.1695. Syon House.*



Three features in the second Montagu House reveal French sources, the mansard roof, the identically sized or French quoins and the four-sided dome. In England hipped-roofs were dominant after the Restoration. Montagu House appears to be the first example of a mansard roof in England, an innovation of mid seventeenth-century French architecture that allowed more spacious attics. French quoins (quoins of an even width as opposed to the more common quoins with alternating long and short lengths) were fashionable in France from the 1650s. François Mansart used them on his Hotel de Jars of 1648, on the Hotel de Guénégaud du Plessi, of 1650, the Hotel de Guénégaud des Brosses of 1651 and the Hotel de La Bazinière of 1653, as did Jacques Lemercier on his design for the east front of the Louvre, made before 1654 and engraved by Jean Marot.²⁵ In England they became very fashionable around the turn of the century but the second Montagu House seems to have been a very early appearance.²⁶

Four-sided domes were also a fashionable feature of contemporary French architecture and were particularly associated with Louis XIV's palace of the Louvre in Paris. Jacques Lemercier had included one on the Pavillon de l'Horloge in 1639 and in his unexecuted design for the east front of the Louvre

made before 1654.²⁷ There was one on Louis Le Vau's central pavilion of the river front of the Louvre of 1660-3 (lost when the façade was remodelled in 1668), another over the central pavilion of the Tuilleries which he completed in 1655-68 and one in his design for the east front of the Louvre.²⁸

Four-sided domes first appear in England in two of Sir Christopher Wren's designs for Winchester Palace. This was begun in 1683 and left unfinished, without the domes, at the death of Charles II in 1685.²⁹ It was clearly the French, and specifically royal, associations of the dome that attracted Wren and Charles II. Hooke's closeness to Wren means he would undoubtedly have known his designs for Winchester Palace, which would have seemed new, fashionable and appropriately French when he came to rebuild Montagu House for the francophile Ralph Montagu in 1686.³⁰ Such domes are an extremely rare feature of late seventeenth-century English architecture and can only be found on two other buildings, both of which can be attributed to Hooke.

Petworth House, Sussex, is one of the most enigmatic of late seventeenth-century houses (Fig. 14). In 1671 Ralph Montagu married Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland, the recently widowed wife of the 10th Earl. The Northumberlands' principal seat was

Petworth, which passed to the earl and countess's only child, Elizabeth. Born in 1667, Elizabeth must have been brought up in Ralph Montagu's household. After two brief and unfortunate marriages (one unexpected death, one murder), she was still only 15 when she married the 6th Duke of Somerset in 1682, then aged 19. When the young Duke and Duchess of Somerset decided to rebuild Petworth it would have been obvious for them to seek the advice of her step-father. He was, after all, a man of sophistication and understanding of French culture, with the practical experience of building three large and fashionable houses; and she had been brought up in his household. If so, it would have been logical for them to use the services of his architect, who had immense practical experience and intimate relations with the country's leading craftsmen.

Work soon began on improvements to Petworth. It is clear that the duke and duchess wanted their work to be of the highest fashion. In December 1686 the duke's contract with the joiner Thomas Larkin specified that the 'wainscott with Ballections... according to the worke in his Maties Great and new Gallerye at Whitehall, and window shutters and compass pediment over the doores as those in the newest lodgings in Whitehall.'³¹ But it was not until the duchess came of age in January 1688 that work could begin in earnest. New quarries were opened in the park that year and £381 spent on building. In 1689 Edward Dee was paid for pulling down part of the old house in March, and £1,536 was spent on building. By 1691 the roof of the new west front was on and finishing touches were being made by John Selden to the great centrepiece.³²

The design with its four-sided central dome and sophisticated stonework clearly emanates from a metropolitan source and this connection is emphasised by the metropolitan character of many of the workmen. Mr Fulkes the resident supervisor of the works from 1688 to 1696, may be Samuel Fulkes, one of Wren's master-masons under contract at Winchester Palace in 1683 and at work at St Paul's

Cathedral between 1688 and 1695. In 1690 payment was made to 'Mr Scarbrow a surveyor for 8 days measuring... £10.15.0'. This was presumably John Scarborough, a close associate of Wren and Hooke, who measured numerous City churches, as well as Winchester and Hampton Court Palaces. He was involved with Hooke on Bedlam, Montagu House and Lord Oxford's House.³³

Petworth has never satisfactorily found an architect but it clearly comes from the same stable as the second Montagu House, as Kerry Downes and Gervase Jackson-Stops both note.³⁴ This can be seen by comparing Petworth as built (before later alterations changed the roofscape) with the north elevation of the rebuilt Montagu House (Figs. 12 and 14). Both were of two equal principal storeys, with slightly projecting three-bay centrepieces and end pavilions. At Montagu House the linking ranges had four bays, at Petworth six. Both had four-sided domes over the centre topped by a balustraded walkway and faced by a raised attic. Both had mansard roofs and an emphatic bracketed cornice, restricted at Petworth to the centrepiece. The principal differences, bar the extra four bays, are the way the dormer windows at Montagu House have been replaced by a continual attic, a clear reference to Hampton Court, and the decoration. The decoration at Montagu House was restricted to French quoins marking the central and side pavilions. At Petworth the centrepiece is an elegant essay in channelled stone, with further decoration beneath the first-floor windows and hunting emblems in the cornice. On the pavilions the ground and first-floor windows are stripped to form a continual whole, with busts on complex pedestals between the windows.

No reference to Petworth or the duke appears in Hooke's diary. But this need not be surprising. Hooke only visited the equally large house at Ragley once.³⁵ At Petworth work was already in hand when Hooke's diary restarts in November 1688. His designs, and any visit, would presumably have been

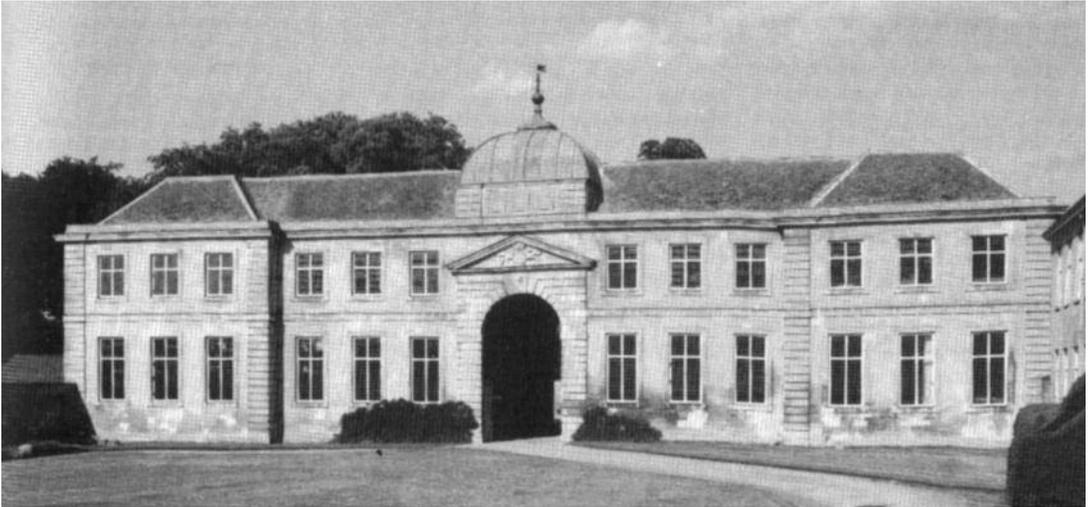


Fig. 15. Robert Hooke (attrib.), the stables at Boughton House, Northamptonshire, c.1684–9.
English Heritage, BB82/2532.

made earlier in 1688, if not before. Supervision of the project, at such a distance from London, could be left in the hand of the capable Mr Fulkes.

It is also true that the decorative elements of the centrepiece and pavilions have no direct parallels in Hooke's work but they could be a product of his voracious consumption of architectural books and engravings. Alternatively, they could have been the work of a specialist designer and grafted on to Hooke's design. Their French sophistication seems strangely at odds with the rather heavy English elevation. It may be that they are the work of Daniel Marot, who designed a series of elaborate painted panels for Montagu House. In 1693 £20 was paid to 'Mr Maro' and a note in the Duke of Somerset's library catalogue records that Monsieur Marot borrowed a copy of Montaigne's essays, probably in 1690 or 1693.³⁶ Though this payment probably refers to interior work, perhaps the Marble Hall, Marot could have been involved earlier. It is noticeable that the overdoors and doorframes of the Marble Hall, the interior with the closest links to Marot's style, run together, in much the same way that the ground-

and first-floor windows of the pavilions run together.

The two Montagu Houses were not Ralph Montagu's only building project. In 1684 he succeeded on the death of his father to the Boughton estate in Northamptonshire. He set about improving it almost immediately, with Leonard van der Meulen laying out a large formal garden to the south and west of the house in 1685.³⁷ Work probably began on rebuilding the house at the same time, in particular adding a new grand north range. Henry Doogood was paid for plastering rooms in the new north range in 1689, a date also scratched in plaster in the State Bedroom.³⁸

The rebuilding of Boughton thus happened during the principal *lacuna* in Hooke's diary. No architect's name is recorded and, though the French influence is strong, it is hard to imagine a French architect coming up with this particular scheme. It seems rather that an English architect is digesting French sources. James Lees-Milne sensibly suggested that whoever rebuilt Montagu House after the fire was responsible.³⁹ If, as seems probable, Hooke designed the rebuilt Montagu House for Ralph

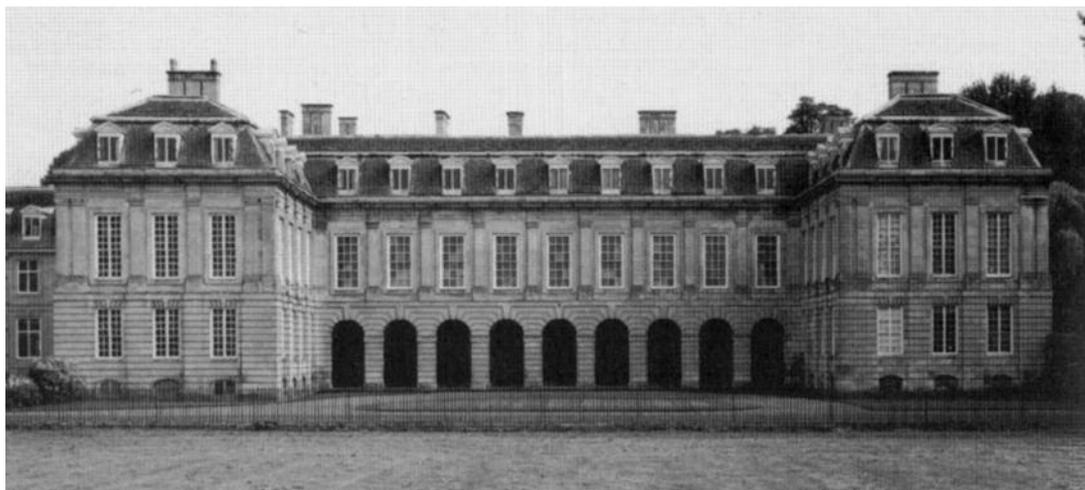


Fig. 16. Robert Hooke (attrib.), the north elevation of Boughton House, Northamptonshire, c.1684–9.
English Heritage, BB82/2529.

Montagu in 1686 and Petworth House for his stepson and daughter in 1688 then it is hard to see why he would not have been used at the same time at Boughton. There is an immediate parallel in the stables, which can be read as a reduced version of Montagu House, complete with four-sided dome (Figs. 10 and 15). Boughton, like Montagu House, also had an unusual mansard roof and, like Ragley, had apartments in the projecting pavilions. The only surviving bills are those unpaid at the duke's death, which record only the names of the craftsmen fitting out the interior. These include the plasterer Henry Doogood, the joiner Roger Davis and the painter John Dandridge. Davis had worked under Hooke at the Royal College of Physicians, Bedlam, Montagu House, Ragley Hall and Ramsbury Manor.⁴⁰

The north front of Boughton (Fig. 16) is otherwise very different from Montagu House and Petworth House, but one of the striking features of Hooke's architecture is his willingness to experiment with new ideas and his interest in foreign books and engravings. There is at first sight little in common between Ramsbury Manor, Bedlam Hospital and the Hoxton almshouses. Anthony Blunt pointed out the

similarity of Boughton to a design by Jean Marot for a small town house, with a rusticated ground-floor arcade, pilastered first floor and mansard roof.⁴¹ But the Marot engraving does not explain the highly unusual plan of the north front, with its unaccented nine-bay centre, with open arcade and first-floor pilasters, set back behind projecting pavilions. The obvious precedent for these is the garden front of Versailles as rebuilt by Louis le Vau before 1678, a building which Montagu would have known well as ambassador to France in 1676 (Fig. 17). This had two pavilions, each seven bays wide, flanking an eleven-bay wide central range that was set back three bays from the pavilions. The centre of the building had a rusticated open arcade, the first floor single-storey pilasters. Hooke remains the logical choice of architect for Boughton, though no doubt with considerable input from Ralph Montagu.

There is a fourth great late seventeenth-century house in search of an architect that could be attributed to Hooke, though this time the attribution must be more speculative, Kiveton Park, Yorkshire, of 1694 (Fig. 18). Like so many of Hooke's clients, Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds, was newly



Fig. 17. Louis le Vau, garden façade of the chateau of Versailles, 1668–78. Engraving by Adam Perelle.

ennobled. He shared with Ralph Montagu the rare distinction of starting life as a commoner and ending it a duke. Osborne, then Earl of Danby, was one of the seven signatories to the invitation to the Prince of Orange to invade England in 1688. He was rewarded by being created Marquess of Carmarthen in 1689 and Duke of Leeds in 1694, the year in which he rebuilt Kiveton Park. A sophisticated ground plan by William Talman inscribed 'For ye D of Leeds at Keiton in Yorkshire' survives in the RIBA.⁴² As this refers to the Duke of Leeds it cannot have been made before 1694. The drawing bears no relation to the house as built. Presumably the duke fell out with the notoriously prickly Talman, perhaps because of the obvious extravagance of his design.

Whoever designed Kiveton must have been a metropolitan figure. The court connections of the duke, who was Lord High Steward, and the quality of the London craftsmen involved, including Louis Laguerre and Sir James Thornhill, the carpenter Daniel Brand, the master-joiner Thomas Young, the London joiner John Chaplin, the carver Jonathan Maine, the plasterer Henry Margetts, the French ironsmith Jean Tijou and the smith John Gardom of

Baslow all prove that.⁴³ Could it be Hooke? Jonathan Maine would have been well known to Hooke as a carver on many of the City churches. John Fitch, who was summoned to Chatsworth from Kiveton in 1700, must also have had a role, perhaps measuring.⁴⁴ A bricklayer, Fitch was one of Hooke's most trusted associates. He had been involved at the Royal College of Physicians, Bedlam, Montagu House and Lord Oxford's House as well as at several of the City churches and a scheme to complete the mole at Tangier.

By 1694 Hooke's diaries had come to an end, but there is nothing to suggest that he was not still actively engaged in architecture and building. The last surviving year of the diary shows him still involved in building. The penultimate entry, for 7 August 1693, starts: 'Sr Chr. Wren at Hampton Court: spake with Scarboro and Doogood about West[minster Abbey]: spake with Towsy carpenter about Tuttle Ditch.' Hooke certainly had some recent form of contact with Osborne, or Lord Carmarthen as he then was, in 1693. On 10 March 1693 his diary records 'At Ld Carmarthen and Skinners', on 4 April 'Attended Ld Carmarthen's businesse at Court of

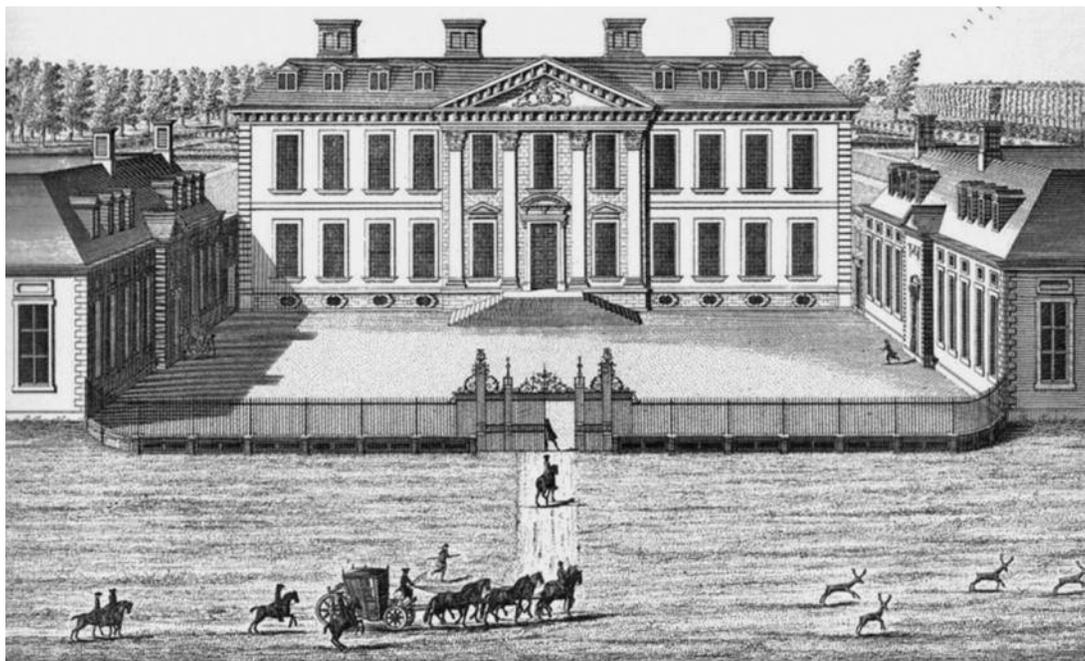


Fig. 18. Robert Hooke (attrib.), Kiveton Park, Yorkshire, 1694. Detail from J. Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1739, 11-2.



Fig. 19. Robert Hooke, Bedlam Hospital, London, 1675-6. Engraving by Robert White, 1677. *Guildhall Library*.

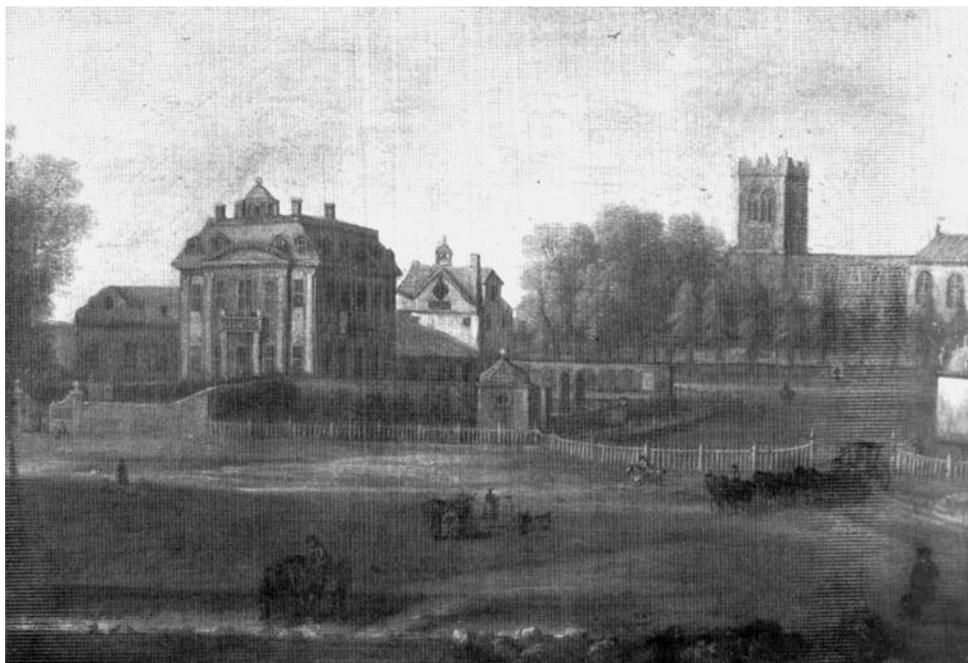


Fig. 20. Robert Hooke (attrib.), Snitterfield Hall, Warwickshire, c.1668–75. *The Duke and Duchess of Beaufort*.

Ald’ and on 6 April ‘To Guildhall till 2 about Ld Carmarthens’. It is unclear what this is, though the venues do not suggest the business in hand was architecture.

The design of Kiveton, which can be read as a simplified version of the second Montagu House (Fig. 10), could certainly be by Hooke. Like Montagu House it is set back behind a forecourt, flanked by single-storey wings with a central, single-bay pedimented projection, hipped roofs and dormers. As at Montagu House, the basement of the house is lit by oval windows, windows of equal heights are divided by a string course and the ends of the elevation are terminated by French quoins. Horizontal oval *oeil-de-boeuf* windows also appear in the side elevations of the offices at Kiveton and were used by Hooke above the windows in the stables at Somerset House.⁴⁵ The only significant differences lie in the removal of the end pavilions and the

replacement of the four-sided dome by a more conventional pediment supported by pilasters. Hooke was quite happy to use pedimented centrepieces on his country houses, as is apparent from Ragley Hall and Ramsbury Manor. Indeed, the elevation of Kiveton Park with its heavily bracketed cornice and pediment bears a strong resemblance to the linking ranges of Hooke’s Bedlam Hospital of 1675–6 (Fig. 19). The evidence for attributing Kiveton to Hooke is less compelling than for the second Montagu House, Petworth and Boughton but it is highly plausible.⁴⁶

If Kiveton can be compared to the linking ranges of Bedlam Hospital, then Snitterfield House, Warwickshire, can be closely compared to the end pavilions (Fig. 20). Snitterfield was bought by Thomas Coventry, younger son of the 2nd Earl of Coventry, from Sir John Hales in 1668. The Hearth Tax returns show that there was a 28-hearth house at



Fig. 21. Robert Hooke (attrib.), the office wing at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, c.1686.

Snitterfield in 1666, but this was replaced by a house, now demolished but recorded in a painting attributed to John Wootton at Badminton House, Gloucestershire.⁴⁷ This shows a square house, five bays by five bays, two-storeys high over a basement, with giant Ionic pilasters, a segmental pediment over the south elevation and triangular pediment over the east elevation, with a hipped roof, cupola and balustraded walkway. It is a design very close to the end pavilions of Bedlam Hospital, also five-bays wide with a giant order, segmental pediment, hipped roof, cupola and balustraded walkway. The similarity is unlikely to be coincidence as Snitterfield's overtly Dutch sensibility is highly unusual among post-Restoration English country houses.⁴⁸ Hooke must be considered a serious candidate for what is obviously a sophisticated and unusual country house. The date of the rebuilt Snitterfield remains unclear but if it happened soon after Coventry's purchase of the estate then it is likely to anticipate rather than copy the design for Bedlam Hospital of 1675.

Montagu House, Kiveton and Snitterfield have all gone. Only two wings of a house that Hooke may have designed for Easton Neston, Northants., were built and of these only one survives (Fig. 21). As it stands today Easton Neston is a grand pilastered house designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor and dated 1702 on its entablature. In front of it lay a pair of single-storey service wings with hipped-roofs, red brick walls and stone dressings. They were clearly earlier than the main house and by a different hand, but whose hand has never been clear.

Easton Neston was rebuilt by Sir William Fermor, created Lord Lempster in 1692, who succeeded his father in 1661 at the age of 12. The evidence suggests that work began on building a new house in the mid-1680s. A drawing dated 23 July 1686 by Hawksmoor is inscribed 'Memdm. for Easton. To make the Grasse on the Garden Side 4 fot deep from the top of the water table', a reference apparently to garden works. A note of prices and rates 'at Sr Wm Farmor's at Easton nr Towster' in the carpenter John Grove's notebook is on the back

of folios referring to work at Whitehall in 1686. Two letters survive from Sir Christopher Wren to Fermor, one of which has been dated to 14 May 1687. This bears the phrase ‘if you ask me any questions wee can resolve by letter, I shall readily serve you till I can find opportunity to wait on you’. The other, dated 5 September but with no year, gives advice on garden walls and floor boards on the proposed ‘great house’, one storey of which he hopes will be up by the following year. A reference in Hawksmoor’s pocket notebook dated 4 September 1694 notes that a lead water pipe was being laid, perhaps again for garden works.⁴⁹ Finally, Bridges’s *History of Northamptonshire*, compiled from his notes after his death in 1724, states that: ‘The only house now in *Eston* is the magnificent seat of the Earl of *Pomfret* or *Pontefract*. The wings are of brick, and were built by *Sir Christopher Wren*. The body is of a fair white, and durable stone, brought from the pits at *Helmedon*, and was finished in 1702, about twenty years after the erection of the wings. It was built by *Hawkesmore*, who hath very much departed from the first designs.’⁵⁰

This suggests that the original design for rebuilding Easton Neston was made in the mid 1680s, with involvement from the Office of Works, but that for unclear reasons the scheme was abandoned after only the wings were built. Fermor was first cousin to Sir Christopher Wren’s second wife Jane and godparent to their second son William in 1679. Stylistically there is no reason why the wings should not be by Wren, as Bridges suggests. There are clear parallels with the service wings proposed for Winchester Palace in 1682–3 and those built for the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, built in 1682–92.⁵¹ But this is no proof of authorship. Brick hipped-roofed buildings with stone dressings were the common coin of late seventeenth-century English architecture. Wren’s letters to Fermor suggest a willingness to offer advice rather a controlling architect. We know that Wren took on few country house designs. The only built house we definitely know he designed is

Tring Manor, Buckinghamshire, for Henry Guy, Secretary to the Treasury and therefore a man whom Wren had to keep sweet.⁵² Fermor, by contrast, was only a cousin by marriage, a link that no doubt had become more tenuous with Jane Wren’s death in 1680. And, as Kerry Downes notes, Hawksmoor’s later comment that the wings were ‘good for nothing’ scarcely suggest they were by Wren, given that Hawksmoor clearly revered his former master.⁵³ So who was its architect?

The answer plausibly lies with Hooke, Wren’s intimate associate, directly involved over the City churches and a man whose advice Wren clearly sought over St Paul’s Cathedral and Hampton Court.⁵⁴ He was a man with a clear interest in building country houses, close knowledge of craftsmen and plenty of experience, the obvious man for Wren to recommend when an importuning cousin-by-marriage such as Fermor sought his advice. We do not know what the original design for the house would have been like, but the wings can be compared to Montagu House, Ragley Hall and Kiveton Park, which also had forecourts flanked by single-storey wings with hipped roofs and dormers and single-bay pedimented centrepieces (Figs. 8, 10 and 18).⁵⁵ Fermor even went on to marry, as his third wife, Sophia, daughter of the Duke of Leeds of Kiveton Park in 1692, the year he was elevated to the peerage, proof, if nothing else, that he moved in the same circles as Hooke’s other clients. Hooke is the obvious candidate for the first scheme for Easton Neston, which would appear to have been designed in about 1686–7, during the major gap in Hooke’s diaries.

There is one other courtier’s house of metropolitan quality worth considering as a possible commission by Hooke—Wrest Park, Bedfordshire (Fig. 22).⁵⁶ This was the seat of the 11th Earl of Kent, a Tory who was to serve as one of six pallbearers at the funeral of Mary II and bearer of one of the Swords of State at the coronation of Queen Anne. Lord Kent rebuilt the east range and created a grand new entrance range at

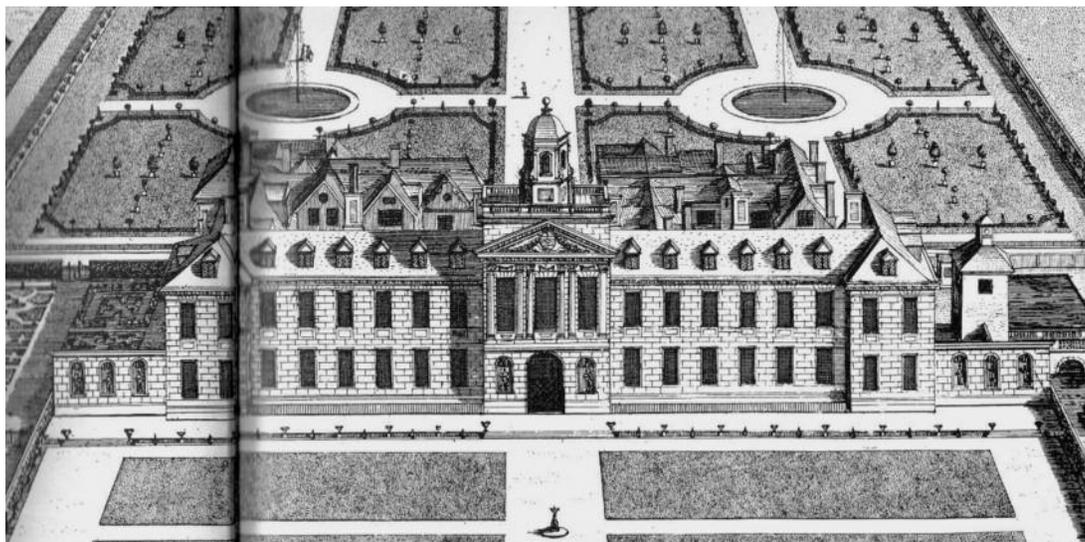


Fig. 22. Robert Hooke (attrib.), Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, 1672. Detail from Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, London, 1709, 18.

Wrest Park following his wife's succession to her substantial inheritance in 1671 and the birth of his heir the same year. Construction was supervised by the earl's steward Thomas Hooper and building began in 1672, so designs would probably have been made before the start of Hooke's diary on 1 August that year.⁵⁷

Wrest Park shares a number of significant characteristics with other designs by or attributed to Hooke. These include the general design approach and specific details. The house follows the common Hooke characteristic of an architecturally adventurous centrepiece flanked by long plain ranges (Petworth, Montagu House, Bedlam Hospital). Particularly strong parallels can be drawn with the early design for the north elevation of the second Montagu House (Fig. 11).⁵⁸ It displays Hooke's fascination with immensely long facades when the fashion in late seventeenth-century England was for compact houses. The façade was 19 bays long, which can be compared with Petworth at 21 bays, Montagu House at 17 bays, Ragley Hall at 15 bays, Bedlam

Hospital, where the linking ranges were 17 bays and the total length 49 bays, and the Hoxton Almshouses of 57 bays. The projecting attic with balustraded walkway over the pediment is an unusual feature in late seventeenth-century England. Examples in Hooke's work include Bedlam Hospital, the putative early design for Ragley Hall and the unidentified design for a house among Hooke's drawings in the British Library.⁵⁹ There are also similarities with Hooke's early design for St Edmund King and Martyr (Fig. 23).⁶⁰ This is derived from a Dutch design found in Vingboons, a characteristic source for Hooke, that does not appear to be found in the work of other architects.⁶¹ Particularly telling is the octagonal cupola with round-headed openings, scrolled buttresses and ogee-shaped dome topped by a ball. This is very close to the cupola over the gateway at Montagu House (Fig. 9) and to those on the end pavilions at Bedlam (Fig. 19).⁶² The use of swags, above the first-floor windows of the centrepiece, can be compared to the use of swags on the elevation and anatomy theatre of the Royal

College of Physicians; in the three pavilions of Bedlam; the Somerset House stables (Fig. 6); the wings at Kiveton; the screen of the Hall of the Merchant Taylors' Company and the unidentified design for a house. The treatment of the tympanum with a heraldic shield flanked by large garlanded swags recalls the tympana of the pavilions at Bedlam, Ragley, the British Library design for the second Montagu House and the unidentified design for a house. The panels under the windows can be compared with those of the design for the

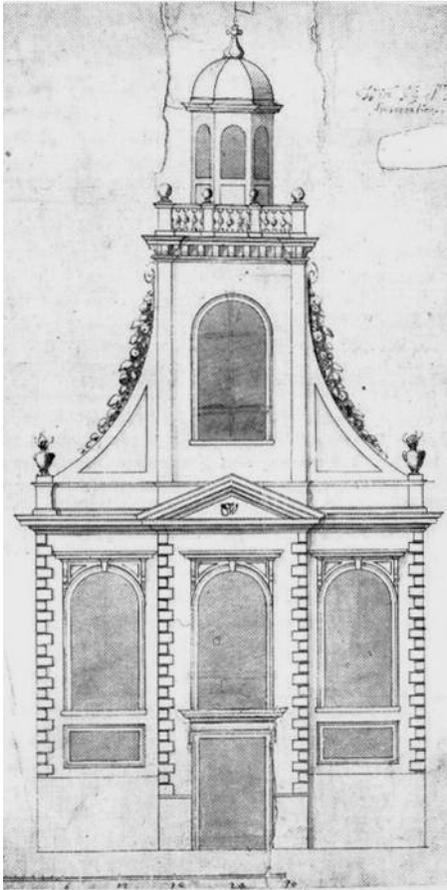


Fig. 23. Robert Hooke, design for St Edmund the Martyr, London, 1670–4. *All Souls College, Oxford, Codrington Library, Wren Drawing II 44.*

unidentified house, which also shares the common feature of a centrepiece with a round-headed front door flanked by niches.⁶³

Cumulatively, the weight of parallels is telling. Hooke certainly knew the Earl of Kent. He met him at Tompions with Dr Falwood on 13 June 1677, although this is after the house was built.⁶⁴ However, in the absence of stronger supporting evidence of patronage or common craftsmen and given the lack of a direct parallel with the form of the Wrest Park centrepiece, this attribution must remain tentative, though the issue would repay closer examination.

Far from being an architect of little interest, Hooke is one of the busiest and most intriguing of late seventeenth-century architects. That is not to say that his designs are necessarily the most successful. Ambition and a willingness to experiment were not always matched by the skills needed to pull off a complicated design. It is unfair to judge his two grandest schemes, those for Bedlam Hospital and the Hoxton Almshouses, without being able to see them in the flesh, but from engravings they seem unwieldy and ill thought-through. What impresses about Hooke is his openness to new ideas. Though he could design something as restrained as Ramsbury Manor, he was also capable of flights of imagination bolder than any of his contemporaries. Instead of finding one style and sticking to it, like Sir Roger Pratt, Hooke was constantly trying new ideas as new information, books, engravings, drawings, became available. He was as happy to borrow from the Dutch as from the French and the Italians, and he was never constrained by fears of failure. His weakness as an architect perhaps lies in this restlessness, the inability to sit still, to come up with a satisfactory synthesis. In this his architecture is very much like his science, fizzing with ideas that are never quite carried through to a satisfactory conclusion. Hooke was not a great architect but it is not his fault that so few of his major designs do not survive. He deserves to be remembered as a vital force in late seventeenth-century English architecture.

NOTES

- 1 John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, Harmondsworth, 1977, 256.
- 2 See in particular Michael Hunter and Simon Schaffer, *Robert Hooke: New Studies*, Woodbridge, 1989; E.T. Drake, *Restless Genius: Robert Hooke and his Earthly Thoughts*, Oxford, 1996; R.Nichols, *Robert Hooke and the Royal Society*, Sussex, 1999; Stephen Inwood, *The man who knew too much: the strange and inventive life of Robert Hooke 1635–1703*, London, 2002; M.A.R. Cooper, *A more beautiful city: Hooke and the rebuilding of London*, Stroud, 2003; and Jim Bennett *et al.*, *London's Leonardo: The life and work of Robert Hooke*, Oxford, 2003.
- 3 Lisa Jardine. *The curious life of Robert Hooke: the man who measured London*, London, 2003; Lisa Jardine, *On a grander scale: the outstanding career of Sir Christopher Wren*, London, 2002, 298, 323.
- 4 M.I. Batten, 'The Architecture of Dr Robert Hooke', *Walpole Society*, XXV, 1937; Alison Stoesser, 'Robert Hooke and Holland: Dutch influence on his architecture', *Bulletin KNOB*, 99.4, 2000, 121–37; Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 506–10. There is also a chapter on his architectural work in Margaret 'Espinasse', *Robert Hooke*, London, 1956.
- 5 M. Cooper, 'Robert Hooke's work as surveyor for the City of London in the aftermath of the Great Fire', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, LI–LIII, 1997–8, 161–74, 25–38, 205–8; Paul Jeffery, *The City churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, London, 1996.
- 6 J. Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1739, 112–3; M.I. Batten, 'The Architecture of Dr Robert Hooke', *Walpole Society*, XXV, 1937.
- 7 Philips Vingboons, *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste gebouwen*, Amsterdam, 1648. Examples include pls. 6, 8, 29, 43, 45 and 52. The closest parallels are with pls. 43 and 52, though the form of the roofing differs. However, it should be noted that the side ranges at the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, begun in 1682, also have projecting centrepieces.
- 8 Stoesser, *op. cit.*, 126–7, figs. 6–7. Though Hooke is not known to have owned a copy of the Amsterdam engravings, his colleague on the City Re-building Commission, Sir Roger Pratt, did and so possibly did Edward Brown, a Fellow of the Royal Society. (Stoesser, *op. cit.*, n. 49.)
- 9 Geoffrey Beard, *The Work of Christopher Wren*, Edinburgh, 1982, fig. 160.
- 10 Hooke is known to have designed the following buildings in the City: the Monument (with Wren, 1671–6); Bridewell Hospital (1671–8); Royal College of Physicians (1672–8); Screen for the Merchant Taylor's Hall (1673); Merchant Taylor's School (1674–5); Christ's Hospital Writing School (1675–6); Bethlehem Hospital (1675–6); Aske's Hospital, Hoxton, for Haberdashers' Company (c.1690–3). He may also have been responsible for the Navy Office (1673–4). These commissions are concentrated in the periods for which Hooke's diaries survive. It is highly likely that he was responsible for further commissions in the City during the periods for which there are no diaries. Sir Howard Colvin has looked through the surviving records for the rebuilding of the City Livery company halls without finding any more evidence of Hooke's involvement.
- 11 Batten, *op. cit.*, 83–114. Hooke also designed five houses in the Strand for John Hervey in 1678, probably supervised the completion of Nos. 6–7 St James's Square for John Hervey and the 1st Earl of Ranelagh in 1676–7, and 'drew designs' for Sir William Jones in 1673, for whom he designed or altered a house in London in 1680. Escot House, Devon, as illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* has conventionally been attributed to Hooke, but his draught for Sir Walter Yonge of Colyton and Mohun Ottery was made in 1677, whereas Yonge did not buy Escot until 1680 and the articles of agreement for building it are dated 1 August 1684. It would therefore appear that Hooke's design was not used or not intended for Escot [Bridget Clarke, 'William Taylor: new discoveries', *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 5].
- 12 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, New Haven and London, 1995, 508–10. The attribution of a drawing of Lowther Hall to Hooke [Howard Colvin *et al.*, *Architectural Drawings from Lowther Castle, Westmorland*, Society of Architectural Historians Monographs: no. 2, 1980, 8–9, 23–4, pl. 3a] proves to be mistaken. Sir Howard Colvin informs me that the scale is an exact duplicate of one on Edward Pearce's design for the Bishop's Palace at Lichfield in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and closely resembles several other well-authenticated drawings by Pearce.
- 13 Bridget Cherry has also attributed Wembury House, Devon, built for John Pollexfen who bought the estate in 1685, to Hooke [Bridget Cherry, 'The

- Devon country house in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings*, XLVI, 1988, 110–2]. Hooke knew Pollexfen through their common involvement in St Stephen Walbrook. However, if as now seems to be the case, Escot was not designed by Hooke then the stylistic comparison is less compelling [Clarke, *op. cit.*, 1, 5–8].
- 14 Joseph Buckler, *East wing and colonnade of Montagu House*, 1828, reproduced in Kim Sloan (ed.), *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 2004, 14, fig. 4.
- 15 H.W. Robinson and W. Adams, *The Diary of Robert Hooke*, London, 1935, 111.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 129.
- 17 Batten, *op. cit.*, 94.
- 18 Stoesser, *op. cit.*, 128–31.
- 19 Hooke received his last payment for work on the City churches on 1 August 1696. James Broughton, his replacement as Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, was appointed in January 1697 [Anthony Geraghty, 'Nicholas Hawksmoor and the Wren City churches', *Georgian Group Journal*, X, 2000, 12, n. 23.]
- 20 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, London, 1715, 4. See, for example, Colvin, *op. cit.*, 776.
- 21 Campbell, *op. cit.*, 34.
- 22 Mark Girouard, 'The Smythson Collection', *Architectural History*, V, 1962, 181–2.
- 23 London, British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS 5238, fol. 56; Batten, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII b.
- 24 Arthur Oswald, 'Ragley Hall. Warwickshire – II', *Country Life*, CXXIII, May 8th. 1958, 1009.
- 25 Jean-Pierre Babelon and Claude Mignot, *Francois Mansart: le genie de l'architecture*, Paris, 1998, 192–212; Robert W. Berger, *The Palace of the Sun: The Louvre of Louis XIV*, Pennsylvania, 1993, fig. 22.
- 26 It was anticipated by Walcot Hall, Northamptonshire, another anonymous Pratt-May style house. Walcot was bought by Sir Hugh Cholmley in 1674 and is dated 1678 on two rainwater heads [Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline*, London, 1966, 242–3, fig. 412]. As Cholmley built the Mole at Tangier from 1663, with which Hooke was involved in 1676, and as Walcot, like Ragley Hall of 1679–70, has alternating segmental and triangular pediments on its entrance front and triangular pedimented dormers, it is tempting to associate Hooke with Walcot. However, there is no specific mention of Walcot or Cholmley in Hooke's diary c.1674–78. Moreover, Cholmley lost his post at Tangier in 1676, after storms in the winter of 1674–5 damaged the Mole. As Hooke's involvement dates from 1676 this suggests that he was brought in after Cholmley's departure [Basil Duke Henning, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*, II, 1983, 62–3; Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, *The Diary of Robert Hooke 1672–1680*, London, 1935, 211, 220, 222, 420].
- 27 Hilliard Todd Goldfarb, *Richelieu: Art and Power*, Montreal, 2003, 123–4, figs. 36–7.
- 28 These designs were extensively engraved by Israel Henriot, Jean Marot and Claude Olry de Loriande. See Berger, *op. cit.*, figs. 14, 17–822, 29, 31; Jean-Marie Perouse de Montclos, *Le Guide du Patrimoine: Paris*, Paris, 1994, 540–2. Other examples could be found on Lemercier's Château de Richelieu, built for the Cardinal Richelieu in the 1630s and published by Jean Marot in 1650, and at the Château de Clagny, built for Louis XIV's bastard children by Jacques Hardouin-Mansart in 1675 and engraved by Perelle [Jean Marot, *Le magnifique château de Richelieu, en général et particulier*, 1650; Goldfarb, *op. cit.*, 252, 288; Kenneth Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens: the origins and development of the French formal style*, London, 1986, fig. 257]. The Château de Clagny was begun to another design, again with a four-sided dome, by Antoine le Pautre in 1674 but proved too small and was swiftly demolished and replaced [Robert W. Berger, *Antoine le Pautre: a French architect of the era of Louis XIV*, New York, 1969, 77–83, figs. 97–9]. Hooke owned Perelle's engravings of the Château de Richelieu [Batten, *op. cit.*, 87].
- 29 Beard, *op. cit.*, figs. 19–20.
- 30 Alison Stoesser suggests that the anonymous design for Amsterdam Town Hall attributed to Constantine Huygens is a possible source for the dome of the second Montagu House. But, as she subsequently hints, Le Vau's design for the Louvre is a more plausible source [Stoesser, *op. cit.*, 131].
- 31 Gervase Jackson-Stops, *The Country House in Perspective*, London, 1990, 71–2.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 72.
- 33 Batten, *op. cit.*, 93–4, 96, 106–7, 109–10.
- 34 Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture*, London, 1966, 59; Jackson-Stops, *op. cit.*, 72. Jackson-Stops does not follow through the implication of the comparison, though Downes

- suggests that if Pouget was responsible for the second Montagu House then he may have been responsible for Petworth.
- 35 Batten, *op. cit.*, 98.
- 36 Jackson-Stops, *op. cit.*, 74. There is no evidence that Daniel Marot designed buildings before 1700 (I am grateful to Professor Konrad Ottenheim for this information).
- 37 John Heward and Robert Taylor, *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire*, Swindon, 1996, 98.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 99.
- 39 James Lees-Milne, *English Country Houses: Baroque*, London, 1970, 41.
- 40 Heward and Taylor, *op. cit.*, 100–1, 104–5; Batten, *op. cit.*, 90, 93–6, 97–9, 109–10; H.J. Louw, ‘New Light on Ramsbury Manor’, *Architectural History*, XXX, 1987, 48.
- 41 Lees-Milne, *op. cit.*, 41, n. 3.
- 42 John Harris, *William Talman; maverick architect*, London, 1982, fig. 14.
- 43 Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660–1820*, Edinburgh, 1981, 142–3, 267, 269, 287; Lees-Milne, *op. cit.*, 278.
- 44 Batten, *op. cit.*, 90–6, 106–7, 112; James Lees-Milne, ‘Chatsworth, Derbyshire-IV’, *Country Life*, CXLIII, May 2 1968, 1110–3. A set of drawings attached to the contract at Leeds do not appear to be in Hooke’s hand [Elizabeth Hagglund, ‘Cassandra Willoughby’s Visits to Country Houses’, *Georgian Group Journal*, XI, 2001, 191–5, figs. 3–7]. They may be by John Fitch, whose involvement at Kiveton is also documented in the Duke of Leeds’s diary [BL, Add. MS 28041, fol.4], but are more plausibly attributed to Daniel Brand, who signed the contract [Colvin, *op. cit.*, 365, 953]. These are clearly contract drawings and not proof of authorship. I am grateful to Sir Howard Colvin and Richard Hewlings for drawing them to my attention.
- 45 Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, London, 1707, 4; BL, Sloane Collection, 5238, no. 89, reproduced in *Wren Society*, V, pl. XXXII; J. Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1739, 15–6.
- 46 The Duke of Leeds’s brother-in-law and political dependant, the Hon. Charles Bertie MP, built Uffington Hall, Lincolnshire, another Pratt-May type house in search of an architect. Bertie bought Uffington in 1673 and in 1675 a ‘Mr Grant, Surveyor’ was paid £4 2s 6d for ‘making a plan of Uffington House and surveying several parcels of land adjoining to it’. However, this could refer to a survey of the existing house as preparations for building did not begin till 1681. Bertie was buying lead for the roof in 1686 and the house, which had a staircase decorated by Verrio, was finished in 1688 [Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline*, London, 1966, 242–3; Terence R. Leach and Robert Pacey, *Lost Lincolnshire Houses*, I, Burgh le Marsh, 1990, 4–5]. However, there are no specific stylistic traits that would associate the house with Hooke.
- 47 Geoffrey Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses*, Chichester, 1994, 264–5; John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, London, 1979, 227, fig. 240.
- 48 Alison Stoesser compares the end pavilions at Bedlam to designs by Philips Vingboons and Pieter Post [Stoesser, *op. cit.*, 127–30, figs. 8–13].
- 49 Kerry Downes, ‘Hawksmoor’s House at Easton Neston’, *Architectural History*, XXX, 1987, 50–76.
- 50 John Bridges, *The history and antiquities of Northamptonshire, compiled from the manuscript collections... by Peter Whalley*, Oxford, 1791, I, 289.
- 51 Beard, *op. cit.*, figs. 21, 56.
- 52 Wren also examined and passed workmen’s bills for Winslow Hall, Buckinghamshire, built in 1699–1702 for William Lowndes, Guy’s successor as Secretary to the Treasury [*Wren Society* XVII, 1940, 54–75]. However, this need mean no more than that a man whose job was all about careful control of finances asked an expert immediately to hand to check that he had not been defrauded by his workmen.
- 53 Downes, *op. cit.*, 56.
- 54 Hooke’s diary shows he visited Hampton Court on 23 February, 25 February, 4 March and 16 March 1689, just at the moment that Wren was designing the new palace. On three of those occasions Hooke specifically mentions that he went to see Wren [R.T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, X: *The Life and Works of Robert Hooke* (part iv), Oxford, 1935, 100–3, 106].
- 55 The only other example in the *Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne* of a country house with similar wings with single-bay pedimented centrepieces is Eaton Hall by William Samwell [Leonard Knyff, *Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne*, London, 1708, 62]. *Oeil-de-boeuf* windows are used in the basement of Montagu House and Kiveton Park, in the end walls of the office ranges at Kiveton and

- above the windows at Somerset House [*supra*, note 38]. Circular *oeil-de-boeuf* windows are used above the doors in the offices at Easton Neston and in the walls of the office range behind.
- 56 Knyff, *op. cit.*, 18.
- 57 James Collett-White, 'The Old House at Wrest', *Bedfordshire Magazine*, XXII, 325; James Collett-White, 'Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses 1714–1830', *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society* 74, 1995, 243–6.
- 58 BL, Add. MS 5238, fol. 56.
- 59 BL, Add. MS 5238, fols. 60, 66; Campbell, *op. cit.*, 79.
- 60 Oxford, All Souls' College, Codrington Library, Wren Drawings, II. 44.
- 61 Philips Vingboons, *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste gebouwen*, Amsterdam, 1648, 2, 41, 47, 58.
- 62 Campbell, *op. cit.*, 35.
- 63 BL, Add. MS 5238, fol. 66.
- 64 Robinson and Adams, *op. cit.*, 295.