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JOHN TALMAN AND ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1708–1709

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The *Catalogue* of the RIBA Drawings Collection deals with John Talman briefly, concluding that he was ‘one of the most remarkable *architectes manqués* of British architecture’.¹ Such brevity, though necessary in the context of a catalogue entry, is fairly typical of accounts of Talman’s architectural career, given that none of his designs appears to have been executed.² Little has been written of his work other than in general architectural surveys of the period, and few of his designs have been studied in detail.³ Instead, historians have preferred to consider Talman’s more productive and visible interests in antiquarianism and collecting, his principal occupations after 1710.⁴ The brief treatment afforded Talman the architect has thus led to a somewhat superficial picture of his designs that focuses upon their distinctively flamboyant appearance and eclectic sources.⁵ While Terry Friedman and John Harris have pointed out the ways in which Talman’s approach anticipated some of the ideas of William Kent,⁶ the over-riding impression is that of an architectural outsider who was of little interest or relevance to his contemporaries.

However, as Howard Colvin points out, the ‘might-have-beens’ in architecture are often more interesting and more revealing than what actually happened.⁷ Though John Talman’s whole life might easily be labelled that of a ‘might-have-been’, one project of his stands out in particular. In 1708 and 1709, Talman submitted a scheme for the addition of a new quadrangle at All Souls College, Oxford. He proposed the construction of a new residential building in a flamboyant classical manner, a new

Gothic hall, and the remodelling of the existing chapel in a matching style. Colvin argues that ‘it is not likely that this exotic scheme was ever seriously entertained’.⁸ Even if this is true, Talman appears to have been serious in his intentions. The detail evident in his drawings suggests that he gave the proposal considerable thought. Now in the library of Worcester College, Oxford, these seven drawings represent the most complete expression of John Talman’s architectural ideas, especially as several of them feature copious annotations in his hand. They therefore deserve our consideration, in terms of what they reveal of their author as well as the broader context of architecture in eighteenth-century Oxford.

After a brief introductory biography that draws together information from a number of sources, this article examines Talman’s proposed residential building and hall/chapel range in turn, using the evidence of his drawings as well as his travel journals and recently-published letter book. Of particular interest is the question: was John Talman out of tune with the needs of the context in which he was working? It will be suggested here that, whilst the All Souls proposal certainly embodies Talman’s individual interests and concerns, it also reflects a careful consideration of All Souls’ needs and is, therefore, not as divorced from contemporary architectural currents as might have been thought.

The adjective ‘might-have-been’ is highly apposite not only in describing John Talman’s potential but also the uncertainty that surrounds his background and life, much of which is in shadow. Described in a recent biography as having ‘plenty of confidence’

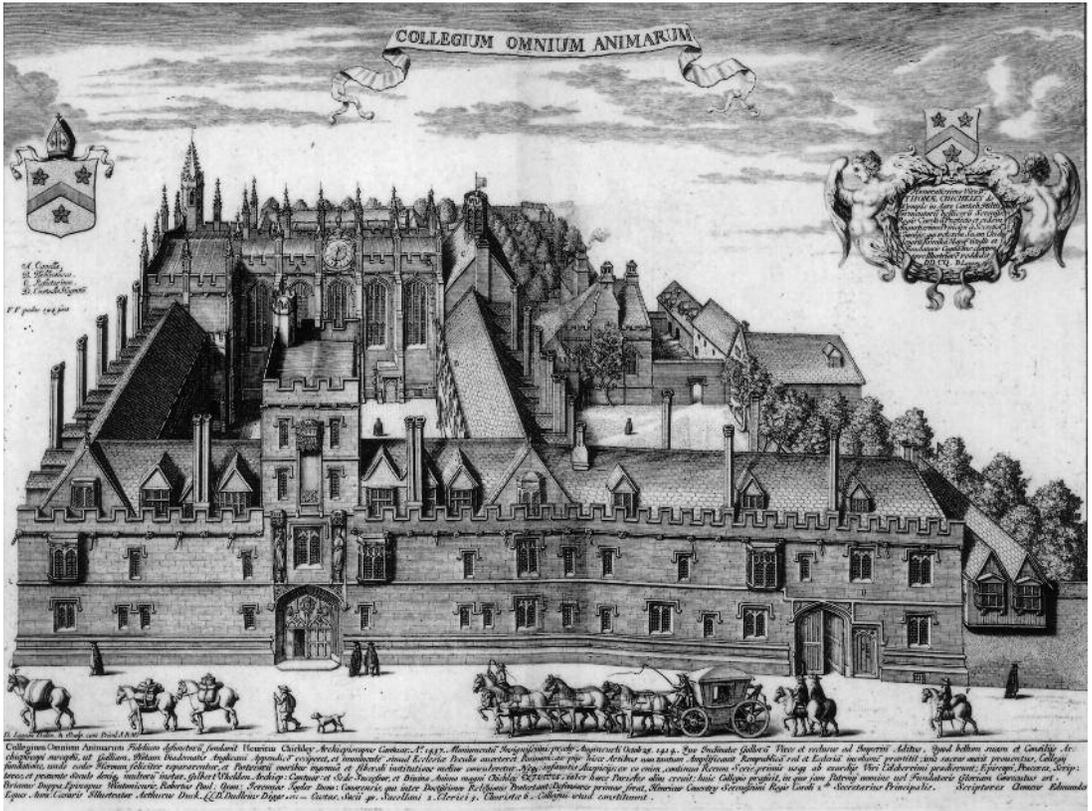


Fig. 1. Loggan’s engraving of All Souls, 1675. *Cambridge University Library.*

whilst being ‘deficient in social graces’,⁹ he was born in London in 1677, the eldest son of the architect William Talman, and baptised at St Margaret’s, Westminster, on July 19 that year. Of his youth little is known. In 1697 he enrolled as a student at Leiden, ostensibly studying law. However, the incompatibility of Roman-based Dutch law with the English legal system suggests that this was really a way in which he could travel in Holland for a prolonged period; a detailed journal reveals what he saw.¹⁰ Talman’s travels took him as far as Italy: one of his drawings is inscribed ‘Jary. 17. Roma, 1701’, attesting to his presence there.¹¹ He might also have spent time in France.¹² It seems that he had already had some architectural instruction, perhaps from his father: the

topographical drawings he made on his travels are accomplished,¹³ while his journal entries display an unusual degree of architectural awareness in their detailed descriptions of buildings.¹⁴ Dated drawings of the countryside around Epsom confirm that Talman had returned to England by the autumn of 1702.¹⁵ Over the next few years, he developed both his architectural and antiquarian interests, contributing to his father’s Hampton Court Trianon project,¹⁶ and producing a detailed design for a fantastical church tower, ‘Turris fortissima’.¹⁷ Subsequently he was busy sketching monuments and antiquities in Norfolk churches, and in 1707 and 1708 was also involved in a forerunner of the Society of Antiquaries that met at the Young Devil Tavern on Fleet Street.¹⁸

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, All Souls was still much as it appears in Loggan’s engraving of 1675 (Fig. 1).¹⁹ The hall lay to the east of the chapel, on a north-south axis, while north of the chapel was a cloister and garden where two common rooms had been built in the 1670s.²⁰ In 1703, George Clarke, a prominent Fellow of the college, proposed to build a house for himself and other Fellows on the site of this cloister and garden, and the area was cleared.²¹ In the event, this house was built elsewhere, leaving the northern site free. Clarke therefore sketched out what was in effect a master plan (Worcester College [hereafter ‘WC’] no. 90) which remained the basis of redevelopment until the bequest of Christopher Codrington’s library in 1710

changed the whole nature of the scheme.²² He proposed the construction of a porticoed building with some twelve chambers, parallel with the existing chapel. An existing Ionic colonnade was to be duplicated, providing two covered ways between these new chambers and the rest of the college, where the hall was to be rebuilt on the same axis as the chapel.

In addition to designs by Clarke, proposals for the new quadrangle were submitted by Henry Aldrich, Nicholas Hawksmoor and John Talman. How did Talman come to be involved? Although there is a reference in the records of New College, Oxford, to the presence of a John Talman there between 1701 and 1705, this John Talman is listed

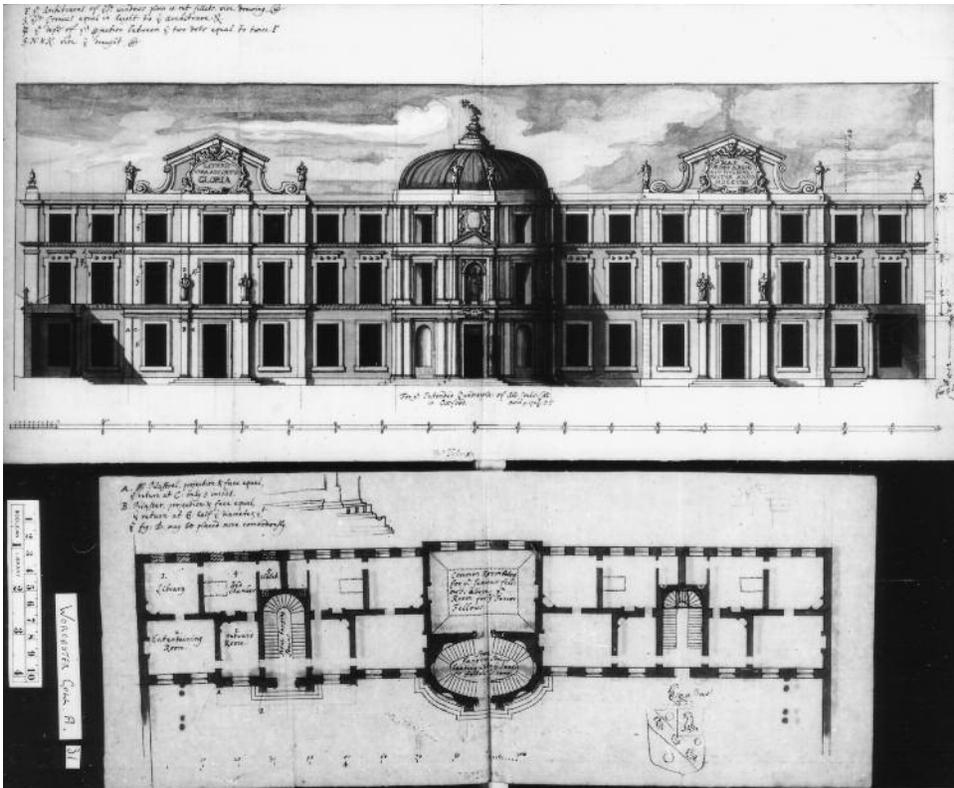


Fig. 2 above. John Talman, elevation of the proposed All Souls residential building (Worcester College 36)

Fig. 3 below. John Talman, plan of the proposed All Souls residential building (Worcester College 37)

The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford/Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

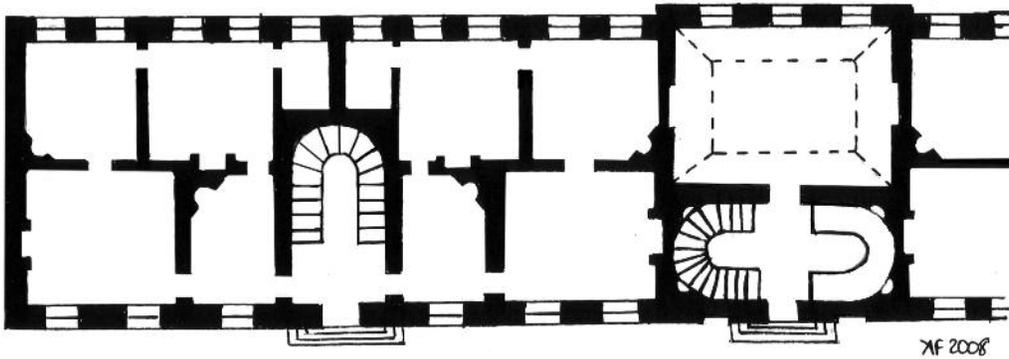


Fig. 4. Reconstruction by author of Talman's first plan for the residential building at All Souls (after Worcester College 37).

with an address in Wiltshire and subsequently became a clergyman.²³ It is thus probable, as Parry and Macandrew argue, that the architect John Talman's Oxford contacts were the result of his antiquarian interests.²⁴ He certainly appears to have been slightly unfamiliar with All Souls: in one of his drawings he referred to the college's 'students',²⁵ when in reality there have never been undergraduates there. Nonetheless, he might have visited Oxford, or at least studied its buildings, as his library included a copy of Loggan's volume of engravings.²⁶ His comment that he desired the chapel of All Souls to be 'more ornamental' than that of New College suggests a certain awareness of collegiate architecture and also, perhaps, inter-collegiate rivalries.²⁷

Talman's proposal consisted of two distinct parts, with around half the surviving drawings illustrating an all-new residential building, while the others show the extended and remodelled hall/chapel range. His proposal (like those of Aldrich and Hawksmoor) broadly accords with Clarke's masterplan, demonstrating the dialogue which must have occurred between Clarke (who, it should not be forgotten, produced his own proposals) and the architects.

The residential building is illustrated in a coloured drawing of the quadrangle elevation (WC no. 36, Fig. 2), a plan of the ground floor (WC no. 37,

Fig. 3) and a study of a single bay (WC no. 38). The elevational drawing is dated 'March 9, 1707/8', and must be one of the drawings referred to in a letter from Talman to his father of April 1 1708 in which he stated that 'Mr C. Clerk [*sic*] presents his service to you, who was with me this week and brought with him some gentlemen [...] and he looked over my drawings.'²⁸ It seems inconceivable that Talman would not have shown Clarke a drawing relating to a project in which Clarke had a strong interest and which had been produced only a few weeks before.

Talman's drawings show a building of three storeys and seventeen bays, broken into three distinct sections: three bays at the centre that form a shallow-domed convex projection, flanked by two blocks of seven bays. Each flanking block was to have a slightly projecting three-bay pedimented centrepiece, the pediments being filled with inscribed cartouches commemorating the benefactors of the building (on the right) and the benefits of learning (on the left). The principal central entrance opens into an oval vestibule projecting beyond the front of the building, giving access to the senior Fellows' common room on the ground floor. Two curved staircases would have led to the junior Fellows' common room on the floor above, and then to chambers on the top floor. The subsidiary seven-bay ranges were each to contain six



Fig. 5. Guarino Guarini, Palazzo Carignano, Turin, 1679
Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

sets of chambers, arranged two sets to a floor around a staircase in a manner derived from Clarke's original sketch (WC no. 90). It is interesting to note in passing that the most distinctive features of Talman's proposal – the domed projection with its oval vestibule, and the subsidiary projecting sections – did not figure in his original thoughts. Close examination of the ground floor plan (WC no. 37) reveals that Talman initially proposed a building with a completely flat front and a slightly different arrangement of the common room and central staircases (Fig. 4). Having then apparently changed his mind, he pasted slips of paper over these sections illustrating the revised arrangement that formed the basis of the elevational drawing.

Though the façade is tied together by the banded strips and lugged windows used throughout, its decoration nonetheless reflects the tripartite division of the building, with the different treatment of the central and flanking sections relating to their different functions. The central section, housing the Fellows' common rooms, was to be the most decorated. Here the bays are divided by complex

groupings of superimposed pilasters and coupled columns arranged in an unusual way – Ionic on the ground floor, decorated Doric on the floor above and plain Doric in the attic. Though drawings in Westminster Abbey Library suggest that Talman was not averse to experimenting with novel column-forms,²⁹ he must have been well aware of the precepts of academic classicism: the sale catalogues of his library indicates that he possessed copies of numerous standard treatises.³⁰ The reversal of the usual hierarchy of the orders must, therefore, have been a conscious choice, and seems to have been necessitated by the presence of the existing Ionic colonnade on the site. In addition, the use of the Ionic order at ground floor level distinguishes the senior common room here from the junior Fellows' room above, where a decorated Doric order is used.

One of the few writers to devote more than a sentence to the design of this building is Howard Colvin. His argument that its flattened dome and 'jaunty pediments' recall the work of the idiosyncratic Piedmontese architect Guarino Guarini³¹ and in particular the Palazzo Carignano at Turin (begun in 1679; Fig. 5)³² has therefore been influential.³³ It should, however, be noted that Colvin merely points out the similarity of approach: he does not suggest direct influence. Indeed, Talman did not, as far as is known, visit Turin until 1712.³⁴ It is possible that he was aware of Guarini's work through engravings, though the sale catalogues of Talman's library make no mention of his owning any of Guarini's many publications.³⁵ Although there are various features common to the Palazzo and the All Souls design (notably the shallow dome, central convex projection, oval-shaped spaces, and curved pediments found in both), there are also significant differences, with the Palazzo's hexagonal vestibule and prominent textured brickwork finding no parallel in the All Souls design. These divergences, and the uncertainty surrounding the Guarini connection, suggest that we should look elsewhere for Talman's influences.

What, then, were Talman's likely sources? John Harris has pointed to William Talman's influence on his son's Hampton Court Trianon designs,³⁶ and has further suggested that the pair in effect worked together on both this project and on designs for their own house.³⁷ It seems that John Talman was trained as an architect by his father, possibly before his first European visit if the quality of his draughtsmanship at that time is anything to go by.³⁸ The logical inference is that William hoped John would ultimately take over his practice, which was in the 1690s busy and successful.³⁹ The subsequent closeness of the pair has been questioned by Parry and Macandrew: John's letters from Italy in the years 1709 to 1712 frequently complain that his father seems to be rather reticent in replying, giving rise to the impression that they may have had a somewhat distant relationship.⁴⁰ But a distant relationship need not preclude at least some similar interests, or the derivation of ideas. There is, in fact, an underlying assumption in many of John's letters that his father will share his enthusiasm for the subjects he discusses.⁴¹ In addition, John seems to have retained an interest in his father's work, offering in December 1709, for example, to acquire items with which to furnish the house then being built to William's designs at Fetcham Park, Surrey.⁴²

If William was indeed the primary architectural influence on John during his formative years, then it seems reasonable to look at the All Souls residential building in this light. Indeed, a number of parallels with William's designs may be seen in this proposal. These parallels are important, both for the understanding of the All Souls design, and also in terms of the light that they shed on John Talman's relationship with the architectural establishment in Britain. Parry and Macandrew describe John Talman's Trianon design as 'a subdued baroque in which Italianate door and window mouldings are applied to a typically Talmanic frame: rectangular, tall-windowed, with a low upper storey.'⁴³ Their neat characterisation of what might be thought of as typical elements of the 'Talman style' can be used to examine John's All

Souls proposal. Though it can be read as a series of separate units, as discussed, the stone coursing does create a definite horizontal emphasis; so, too, does the flat roofline, interrupted only by the pediments and central dome. In addition, the windows are tall and, by virtue of their mouldings, seem to occupy a large part of the surface area of the façade, while the top floor is slightly lower in height than the two below. In many ways, John's proposal seems consistent with the 'typical Talmanic frame'.

Turning to specific aspects of the design, what might have inspired Talman to abandon his original idea for a flat-fronted building and instead propose one with a projecting oval staircase vestibule? His move was not unprecedented in college architecture: an unexecuted plan of c.1664, possibly by Wren, for a new building at Trinity College shows a square block with an oval projection housing two staircases in the centre of one front (Fig. 6).⁴⁴ The early date of this design, and its location in Trinity's archives, however, make it unlikely that Talman had seen it,

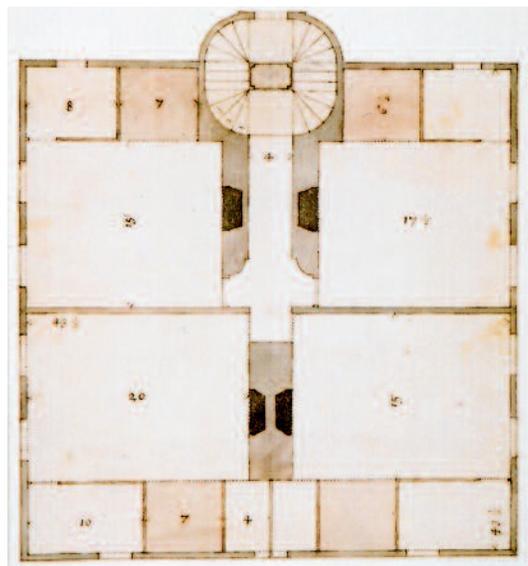


Fig. 6. Christopher Wren (attrib.), design for a new building at Trinity College, Oxford, c.1663. *The President and Fellows of Trinity College, Oxford.*

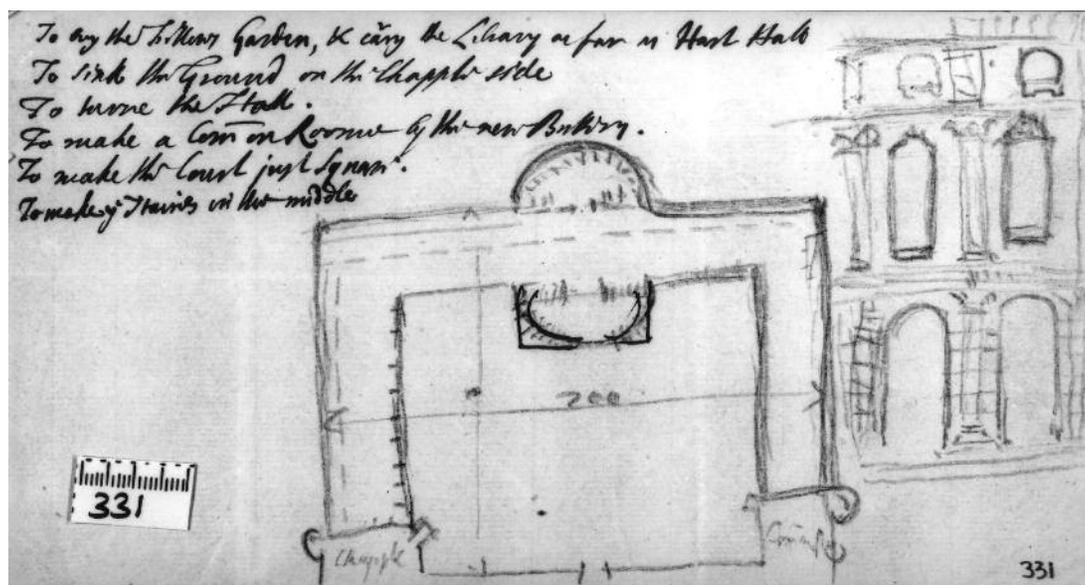


Fig. 7. George Clarke, proposal for a new quadrangle at All Souls featuring a residential building with a grand curved staircase (Worcester College 331)
The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford/Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

and, in any case, while the precedent is significant, the similarities start and end with the projecting staircases. Closer to home, there are various proposals for All Souls by Clarke which feature staircases in oval vestibules: one in particular (WC no. 331, Fig. 7) is striking in suggesting a grand curved staircase at the centre of the residential block. However, Clarke's drawings are undated, making it unclear who was influenced by whom, and it also again cannot be proved that Talman was even aware of them.

It is more likely that the oval vestibule found in John's design was derived from the architecture of his father. Like Hugh May before him,⁴⁵ William Talman seems to have particularly liked the large oval saloons of seventeenth-century French châteaux such as Vaux-le-Vicomte (by Louis Le Vau) and Marly, the latter serving as the model for his Castle Howard design of c.1698.⁴⁶ In other drawings, such as his final design of 1702 for the Trianon at

Hampton Court, William proposed oval vestibules.⁴⁷ John must have been at least aware of his father's liking for oval spaces, and in all probability had seen the Trianon scheme, as it relates to a project in which both Talmans had an interest. One of John's own designs for a small house has dotted in (presumably by John, as there is no reason to think otherwise) an oval saloon rather like those favoured by William,⁴⁸ suggesting that we should see the shape of the vestibule at All Souls as similarly influenced. Of course, it is always possible that John had seen the drawing by Clarke, or that his adoption of the oval form was related to his own experience of French architecture. He had, after all, spent time in France,⁴⁹ and his sale catalogue mentions that he owned numerous prints and drawings by Marot from which he could have drawn inspiration.⁵⁰ But such influences do not necessarily contradict the importance of the example of William Talman on this aspect of the design. William's repeated use of

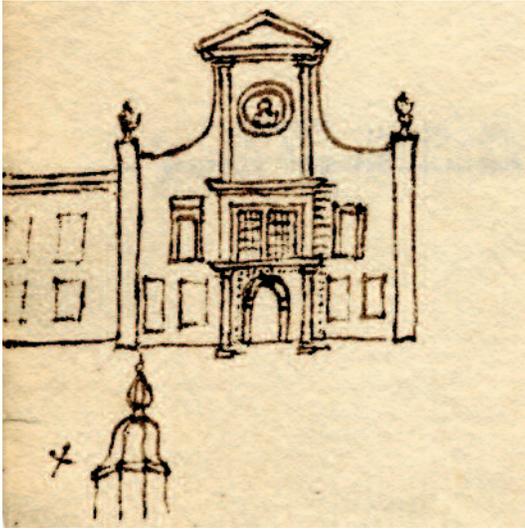


Fig. 8. John Talman, sketch of a Dutch house with curved-sided pediment, 1699. *Bedfordshire and Luton Records Service, DD.HY 940/1, p.2.*

Fig. 9. Inigo Jones, design for remodelled west end of St Paul's Cathedral. *Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.*



the oval, both as a saloon and a vestibule, must surely have influenced John at All Souls, if only in providing an English precedent for its deployment.

Turning now to the pedimented cartouches at the centre of the subsidiary ranges, though these at first sight appear to emulate those shown in Guarini's engraving of the Palazzo Carignano, there are once again other sources which we can link more closely with John Talman.⁵¹ The idea of supporting a triangular pediment on scrolls was nothing new, with numerous seventeenth-century gable ends being treated in this way, for example.⁵² That John found the use of a pediment with curved sides at the centre of a building to be a pleasing silhouette is confirmed by the existence of a sketch of an unidentified house with such a feature in the margins of his Dutch travel journal for May 1699 (Fig. 8),⁵³ one of only a few such sketches in the journal. However, it is also possible to connect John's use of the form at All Souls as the frame for an inscription with the specific example of Inigo Jones. The Talman collection included a large number of drawings by Jones and his pupil John Webb, acquired by William some time before 1701.⁵⁴ Among these was one dating from the 1630s for the remodelling of the west end of St Paul's Cathedral where the roof gable was to be hidden by a pediment flanked by scrolls and containing a cartouche inscribed 'IHS' (Fig. 9).⁵⁵ The parallels with the pediments of John's All Souls design are immediately obvious.

In addition, both Talmans had already used pedimented cartouches on a number of occasions by the time that John made his design for All Souls. William proposed an elaborated version in some of his designs for Welbeck Abbey of c.1702–1703,⁵⁶ while a modified rendering, framing a shield, dominates the south front at Drayton House (1702–1704; Fig. 10). Meanwhile, a simplified version is found in one of John's Hampton Court Trianon schemes, at the centre of both the entrance and river fronts.⁵⁷ The dating of the Trianon drawings is the subject of some debate, with different historians



Fig. 10. William Talman, Drayton House, Northants., 1702–1704. *Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.*

suggesting dates between 1699 and 1702, and it is thus difficult to know whether it was William who used the motif first (at Drayton and Welbeck), or John in his Trianon designs.⁵⁸ However, the fact that both Talmans were using it at roughly the same time seems significant, implying that their collaboration might have been more of a dialogue than has typically been suggested in the literature.⁵⁹ Whatever the case may be, it nonetheless remains that John's use of the motif at All Souls was fully consistent not only with several of his previous designs, but also with the example of his father.

In two key instances, then, and in the general flavour of the residential building, John Talman's

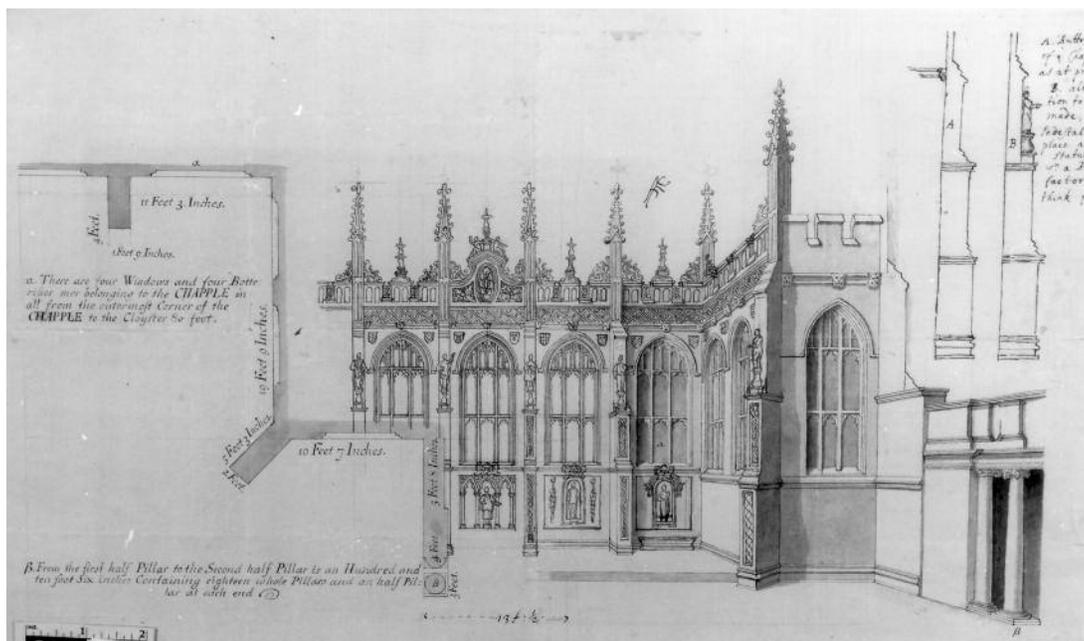


Fig. 11. George Clarke (attrib.), northern elevation of the chapel at All Souls, with additions by John Talman (Worcester College 40). *The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford/Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.*

approach demonstrates significant parallels with both his father's work and architectural drawings in the Talman collection. And while William Talman was somewhat estranged from the architectural establishment, he was much closer to it than Guarini. His likely influence on John is therefore important if the latter is to be considered as anything other than a whimsical eccentric. More specifically, however, William's potential influence on John is especially important in the particular case of All Souls, as it placed him in an ideal situation to respond to the college's needs. Across the whole university, the student population had been drawn from increasingly elevated social circles in the years after 1660, a development that was reflected in the architectural fabric of the colleges. For example, Wren's Garden Building at Trinity (1665–1668) dispensed with the kind of shared dormitories that were unacceptable to men drawn from this background. Instead, it combined shared sitting rooms with individual study-

bedrooms, an arrangement that became increasingly common.⁶⁰ The second phase of New College's Garden Quadrangle (1700–1707) went further, providing entirely self-contained accommodation similar to the apartments of a country house.⁶¹ And throughout the university there was a preference for a grander, more imposing manner in college architecture, beginning with Aldrich's Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church in 1706.

The situation was no different at All Souls, where one contemporary called the members of the college 'persons of great fortunes and high birth, and of little morals and less learning'.⁶² Their elevated backgrounds and the example of other colleges' increasingly impressive accommodation would inevitably have made the pursuit of grandeur in their own new building an important consideration. William Talman had made his name designing prestigious houses for exactly the kind of elevated social groups from which the Fellows of All Souls

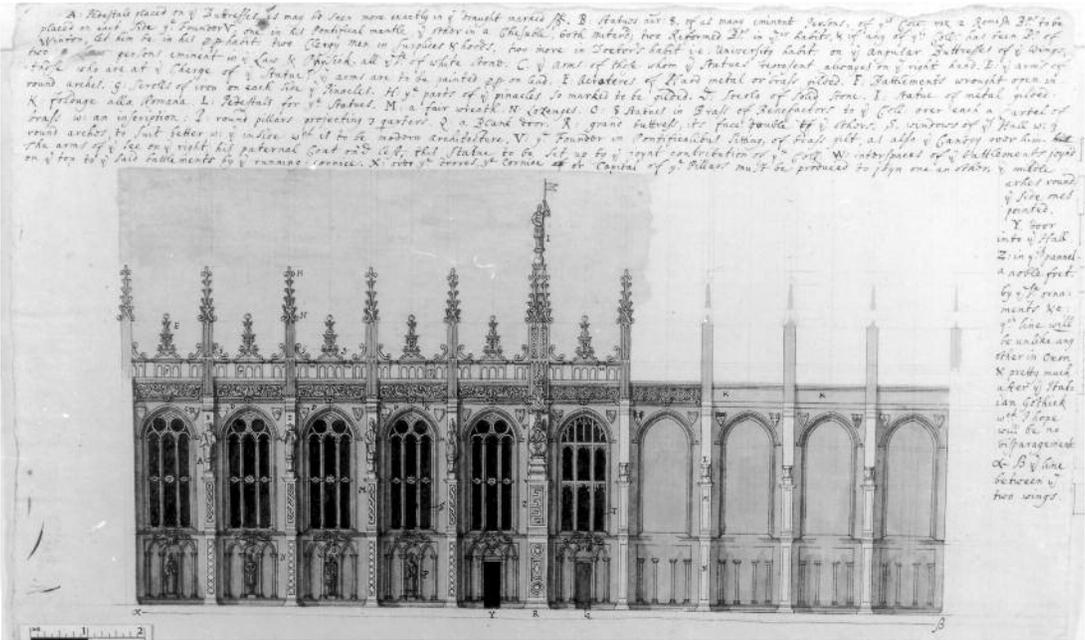


Fig. 12. John Talman, All Souls hall and chapel as proposed (Worcester College 41).
The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford/Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

might either have been drawn or wanted to join. Thus, in echoing elements found in his father’s work, John demonstrated, if only unconsciously, a remarkably close affiliation with the possible aspirations of his patrons. The conscious pursuit of grandeur certainly seems to have been important to him at All Souls. By rejecting the flat-fronted building of his initial thoughts in favour of one with a dominating, domed centrepiece, Talman achieved a more imposing and monumental solution than would have otherwise been the case, one which made the central stairs and common rooms a real focal point. Internally, the oval vestibule and double flights of stairs thus created would have formed an impressive, spatially-complex approach to the common rooms. And, in the common room, the deep cornice implied by the ground-floor plan (WC no. 37, Fig. 3) suggests the possible creation of a sumptuous interior akin to those found in other drawings by Talman.⁶³ This concern with the

creation of grandeur was not unique to Talman – Hawksmoor, Clarke and Aldrich also produced imposing, monumental proposals for All Souls. But by producing a design so closely reminiscent of fashionable country house architecture, and which in its extravagant exuberance put the efforts of other colleges in the shade, Talman gave the Fellows of All Souls something that they might have found attractive.

The designs of Talman’s hall and chapel similarly demonstrate an apparent appreciation of the context in which he was working and, in particular, the symbolic role of these spaces within the day-to-day life of All Souls. Talman’s intentions are illustrated in two drawings showing the proposed northern elevations of the hall and chapel (WC nos. 40 and 41, Figs. 11 and 12), and an annotated sketch of Talman’s proposed decorative scheme for the interior of the hall (WC no. 42, Fig. 13). In addition, Talman made various notes relating to the decoration of the hall on

a plan of the college that is otherwise in Aldrich's hand (WC no. 39, Fig. 14).

None of the drawings relating to the hall and chapel is dated. However, on the basis of a letter that Talman wrote to Clarke on 24 March 1709, it seems that they were produced some twelve months after those for the residential building:

This day I received the favour of a letter from you of March 21 wherein you are pleased to take notice of my small performances relating to your college [...] You was [*sic*] pleased to send me an upright of the Chapel. I have made some but imperfect additions to it ...⁶⁴

Assuming no drawings have been lost, the 'upright of the Chapel' referred to must be WC no. 40. It consists of a pen and wash illustration (possibly by Clarke) of the antechapel and westernmost bay of the chapel, to which further decorative details along with three extra bays have been added in ink by Talman. These amendments might easily be described as 'imperfect', not least because Talman was limited in his additions by the existence on the sheet of an annotated section through the building in the same hand as the original wash drawing. It seems sensible to suggest that, having thus tried out his ideas on the drawing supplied by Clarke, Talman then produced the fully worked-up drawing of the hall and chapel (WC no. 41) and also, presumably, the interior scheme (WC no. 42).

It is not surprising that Talman appears to have devoted his attention first to the residential building, turning only later to the hall and chapel, as reconstructing the hall seems to have been less of a priority for the college than building new chambers: the hall was the last part of the eventual North Quadrangle to be begun and completed.⁶⁵ But the hall and chapel played a crucially important role in the day-to-day existence of the college. They were the dominant architectural elements in its plan, and their functions of communal dining and prayer were long established at the heart of college life. Hawksmoor, for example, commented in the case of Magdalen

College that 'repairing any part (except the hall and chapel) signifies but little',⁶⁶ the implication being that sufficient importance – both in physical and symbolic terms – was attached to the hall and chapel to make them worthy of repair.

In accordance with Clarke's original brief, Talman proposed a new hall that exactly mirrored the T-shaped form of the chapel. The long arm of the 'T' was to contain the dining hall, while the other section was to consist of an apsidal 'hall for disputations, elections of wardens, fellows etc'.⁶⁷ Talman betrayed his well-travelled background – and laid himself open to charges of Catholicism – in describing his design as 'unlike any other in Oxon., and pretty much after the Italian Gothic'.⁶⁸ Bedecked with brass statuary, gilded finials, 'foliage *alla Romana*',⁶⁹ panels of coloured ornament and a quasi-battlemented balustrade,⁷⁰ it would certainly have been distinctive had it been executed.

How can we explain Talman's choice of a highly-decorated Gothic manner? It is tempting to see it as symptomatic of his idiosyncratic approach to architecture. Talman certainly had a fondness for ornament, as his friend Aubry de la Motraye noted, which distinguished his Gothic from his contemporaries.⁷¹ At this time, the likes of Wren (at Christ Church, Oxford, and Westminster Abbey), Vanbrugh (at Kimbolton), and Hawksmoor were all using a relatively unornamented, classically-informed version of the Gothic that omitted the kind of 'cut-work and crinkle-crankle' that Evelyn and North considered dangerously seductive in its potentially 'monkish', Catholic overtones.⁷² Aldrich's own scheme for All Souls simply duplicated the existing chapel facades, adding nothing (WC no. 30). However, Talman had few qualms in proposing a highly-elaborate design – one which, in fact, *added* ornament to the chapel's existing mediaeval facades. A preference for ornate surfaces and the visual effects of decoration is similarly apparent in many of his antiquarian drawings, which note the exact details of mosaic patterns and gilding, and use colour to

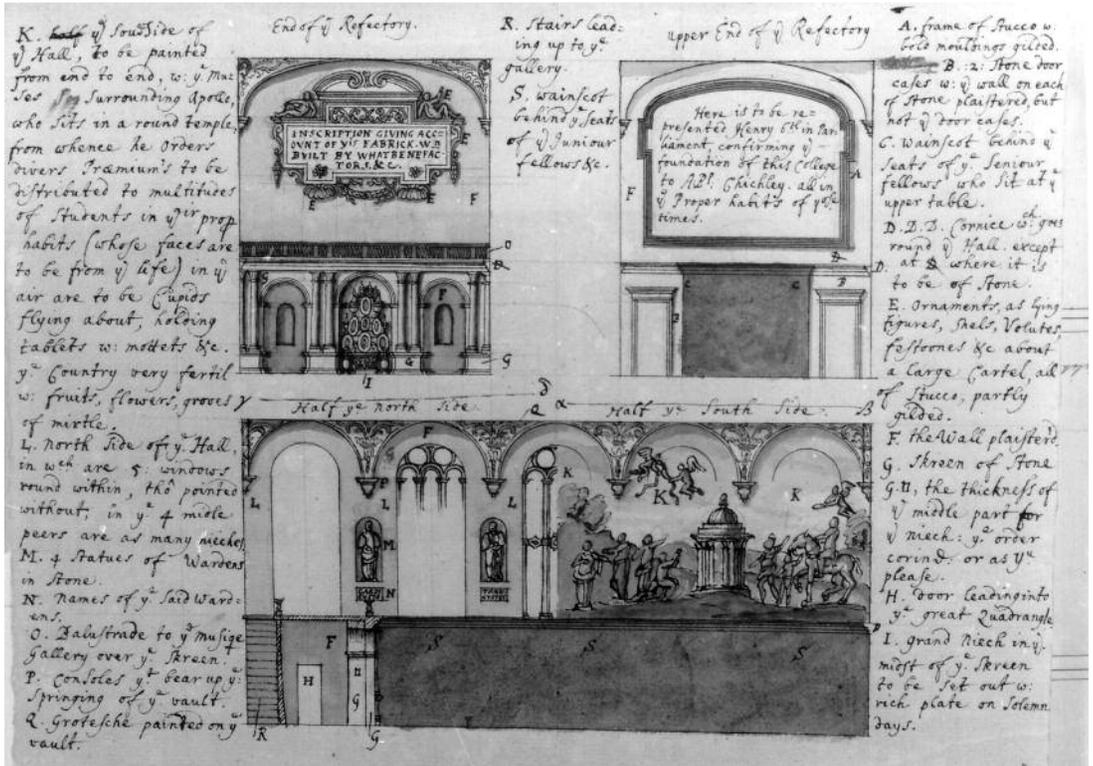


Fig. 13. John Talman, proposed decoration within the new hall (Worcester College 42). *The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford/Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.*

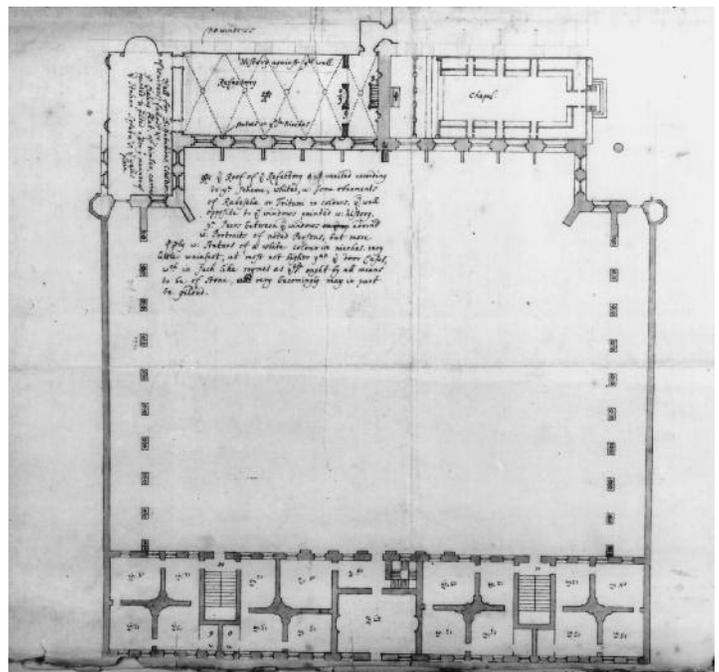


Fig. 14. Henry Aldrich, plan for a new quadrangle at All Souls, with annotations by John Talman (Worcester College 39). *The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford/Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.*



Fig. 15. John Talman, Chichester Market Cross with proposed additions (Society of Antiquaries, Drawings II no. 69). *The President and Fellows of the Royal Society of Antiquaries/Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.*

dazzling effect. Many of his architectural designs, such as the ‘*Turris fortissima*’ are also notable for their use of elaborate decoration.

Talman’s discussion of the All Souls designs in terms of specifically Italian Gothic is important in explaining their elaborate articulation. His fondness for Italian architecture was perhaps the product of

his apparent covert Catholicism,⁷³ but, at least in public, seems also to have resulted from his view that elaboration created beauty. Talman was especially impressed by the decorated surfaces of many Italian buildings, writing from Rome in May 1710 that he hoped in his antiquarian drawings to convey a sense of the ‘Italian gusto in their beautiful manner of ornamenting the insides of [their] buildings’.⁷⁴ His claim to be working ‘after the Italian Gothic’ therefore suggests that he sought to evoke the same qualities of beautiful ornament at All Souls. In particular, he stated that the altered chapel would be ‘more ornamental and as unlike New College as may be’.⁷⁵ New College Chapel had in fact been the model for All Souls, which it resembles in many ways.⁷⁶ Though hardly a plain building, it does not feature the kind of ornate embellishments which so obviously appealed to Talman and which in his estimation made for a beautiful building. We can see an echo of his wish to add decoration to the chapel at All Souls in a comment of 1710. Describing Italian drawings that he was to have copied, Talman asked if he might ‘cause any ornaments to be added, because the page will look otherwise too open and dry’.⁷⁷ Perhaps the unornamented chapel was also ‘too open and dry’? In addition, given that All Souls and New College are near neighbours, it seems reasonable to suppose that there was a wish, in the spirit of architectural rivalry, to outdo the building that had inspired All Souls’ chapel.

But Talman’s adoption of a highly-ornamented Gothic style for the hall and chapel at All Souls was not simply a way to satisfy his personal whims, his religious preferences, or even inter-college rivalries. It needs to also be connected with the way in which the Gothic was regarded at this time. A drawing by Talman of the market cross at Chichester (Fig. 15) is highly revelatory of the way he himself perceived Gothic architecture, and thus the associations that his adoption of a Gothic manner at All Souls might have been intended to evoke. The structure is illustrated not in its real urban location but at the

centre of a wild rural landscape, with a forest to one side and to the other a range of mountains in the distance. With flags flying uniformly above each pinnacle, it almost resembles a small castle. In locating the market cross within this setting, Talman displayed an appreciation for the picturesque qualities of the Gothic, anticipating that of subsequent decades. By transporting the cross to the wilderness, and detailing all of the imperfections in the stonework and the pavement, he created a sense of isolation and dereliction, portraying the building as the physical legacy of an earlier (possibly Catholic) age and displaying an understanding of the style's potential for symbolic evocation of history. His Dutch travel journals confirm that he regarded Gothic as connoting the past: on more than one occasion he described it as the 'old fashion' in architecture, and he was keen to distinguish such buildings from more 'modern' works.⁷⁸

That Talman saw the Gothic in this way is important in view of the fact that his design was for a university building. Historians have long recognised the distinctive persistence of Gothic forms in seventeenth-century collegiate architecture. Summerson is typical of many in suggesting that the continued use of the style was less the result of academic conservatism than a perhaps unquestioned belief that it was the most appropriate form for university and ecclesiastical buildings.⁷⁹ Several recent accounts have probed the issue more deeply, seeing the choice of the Gothic as a deliberate act, intended in the case of collegiate architecture to impart a sense of scholarly and religious continuity.⁸⁰ Brooks, for example, cites the example of St John's College, Cambridge, where the windows of the library (built in 1623) were described at the time as 'after the old church style', connoting the Anglican religious inheritance believed to be appropriate for a library that was to be used by the clergy, as well as, perhaps, the church's prerogative on learning.⁸¹

By 1709, classicism had finally become accepted in collegiate architecture.⁸² But many still saw the

function of education as essentially conservative, namely the conveyance of a received body of knowledge from one generation to the next.⁸³ Tradition and continuity, therefore, were as important as ever. Though the increasing number of classically-styled buildings at Oxford suggests that the desire to represent such traditions architecturally was on the wane, there is no reason to suspect that the idea had died out completely. Certainly Talman was not alone in noting the historical connotations of the Gothic in this period: John Evelyn's description of such buildings as 'monkish', already noted, implies that he associated them (negatively) with mediaeval Catholicism. However, it was also possible to view the Gothic more favourably – representing traditional liberties,⁸⁴ or, as we have seen, traditional scholarship. Thus, in the increasingly classical, 'modern' streetscape of eighteenth-century Oxford, any kind of Gothic building could well have been linked by onlookers with the past, and in a positive way. The highly elaborated surfaces of Talman's hall and chapel, completely at odds with the sort of 'plain' Gothic architecture then more commonly favoured, must surely have been seen as still more historical, particularly as the design retained some features of the original chapel, such as the Perpendicular Gothic windows. His stylistic choice can, therefore, be read as a deliberate public statement of tradition and the perceived role of the college in perpetuating it.

In addition, the omnipresence of historical themes in the decorative scheme that Talman proposed for both the interior and exterior of the hall suggests that he might have intended to connote not only a general sense of the past in his design but also the specific history of All Souls College. At the centre of the elevation, marking the division of the range into hall and chapel, Talman proposed a 'grand buttress, its face double those of the others'.⁸⁵ The buttress, crowned by a gilded figure, was to house a statue of the college's founder, '*in pontificalibus*, sitting, of brass gilt, as also the canopy

over him', to be paid for by all the members of the college.⁸⁶ Further statues were to be placed on plinths cut into the smaller buttresses.⁸⁷ These were to include two Catholic and two Reformed bishops,⁸⁸ in recognition of the college's continuous existence both before and after the Reformation.⁸⁹ Incidentally, Talman suggested that one statue should depict any member of the college who had been the Bishop of Winchester.⁹⁰ In view of New College's links with Winchester College,⁹¹ it is tempting to see his wish as representative of the same competitive spirit that inspired him to distance the appearance of his chapel from that of All Souls' neighbour. The church did not monopolise the decoration of the façade, however. Talman also suggested the inclusion of 'persons eminent in law and physic',⁹² while brass statues at the centre of each bay, below the windows, were to depict benefactors.⁹³ The identity of all those represented was to be made explicit in coats of arms spread all along the façade.⁹⁴ In particular, the façade seems to have been intended to glorify George Clarke, commemorated in the inscription beneath the hall windows.

The themes of Talman's proposed scheme for the interior of the hall are similar. The whole eastern wall was to be taken up with a depiction of Henry VI giving the college's charter to its founder, Archbishop Chichele, in 1438, a subject typical for paintings in institutional halls.⁹⁵ On the western wall (above the gallery) a tablet was to detail the history of the college buildings and its benefactors, while Talman proposed that statues of former wardens be placed between the windows of the northern wall. The southern wall, meanwhile, was to have no windows. Initially, Talman suggested that it should be 'painted with history',⁹⁶ but he later proposed a large allegorical painting of Apollo in a round temple, surrounded by cupids, ordering 'diverse premiums to be distributed to multitudes of students ... whose faces are to be taken from life.'⁹⁷ Talman probably meant to have current members of the college represented. In time, however, they would become

former members, and so the painting would acquire its own historical significance. Having already imbued the hall and chapel with a sense of the past through his stylistic choice, Talman's proposed decorative programme thus saw him warming to his theme, providing the Fellows of All Souls with specific examples of the achievements of their forebears.

It is significant that Talman sought to make this sort of historicising statement within the context of the hall and chapel, whose functions of communal dining and prayer were long established within college life. As physical spaces, both halls and chapels seem often to have been perceived as having historical resonances. The essentially unchanged nature of their function was recognised by Roger North, for example, who wrote of college halls that they had 'a visage [*sic*] left of the ancient manner of living in noble families'.⁹⁸ The 'ancient manner' could be represented architecturally, and Hawksmoor described one of his many designs for All Souls (WC no. 4) as 'after the Greek manner, except the hall and chapel which remain Gothic'.⁹⁹ The distinction thus made by Hawksmoor between 'modern' classicism and Gothic hall and chapel can be thought to reflect the traditional inheritance, both communal and scholastic, that formed the basis of the college's existence. Equally, Talman may have described his proposed interior scheme as 'modern' with its round-headed windows, but his designs nonetheless included a screens passage and musicians' gallery.¹⁰⁰ Such features would have seemed anachronistic in a new private house, to say the least, but they were important at All Souls, where there were ongoing discussions concerning the placement of the screens: to the east (by the buttery) or west (by the chapel).¹⁰¹ That screens remained a significant element in college halls is confirmed by the example of Jesus College, Cambridge, who renewed theirs twice in this period, in 1610 and 1703.¹⁰²

In proposing a design that was explicit in embracing the past – both stylistically and

iconographically – Talman thus engaged with the way in which the hall and chapel were apparently perceived as spaces where the continuity of college life was played out on a daily basis. Though his design is distinctive in its decoration and to some extent reflects his personal preoccupation with elaborate Italian buildings, Talman’s approach was entirely logical, if the function of education is seen in early eighteenth-century terms: as a conservative affair, rooted in tradition, precedent and the past. His design was thus not entirely divorced from contemporary concerns. As was also the case with the proposed residential building, Talman’s hall and chapel range should not be immediately dismissed on account of its superficially unusual appearance.

Talman was especially keen to work at All Souls. His interest in the scheme is apparent from the fact that he continued to work on it right up until his departure for Italy in April 1709, as well as a letter to George Clarke in which he stated that ‘as it is a public building, I was <the rather> [crossed out] inclined to offer my service.’¹⁰³ John was always on the lookout for opportunities to become involved in public works. For example, after the New Church Commissioners abandoned their plans for a statue of the Queen at St Mary-le-Strand, he proposed the creation of a sculptural group dedicated to the glorification of the monarchy at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, with the now-redundant statue as its centrepiece.¹⁰⁴ His interest in public architecture paralleled that of many of his contemporaries. Writing in the 1670s, for example, Wren argued that public buildings were ‘the ornament of the nation’ that could inspire people to great actions.¹⁰⁵ By implication, therefore, their appearance was important: James Ralph commented that ‘so much depends on the true taste, with regard ... even to morality’.¹⁰⁶

Parry and Macandrew have noted that the All Souls designs display a similar concern, arguing that ‘those who came into contact with these buildings and their statues, paintings [and] busts should have

their imaginations kindled’.¹⁰⁷ Talman’s proposal, as we have noted, was not lacking in potentially inspiring elements: in addition to its extravagant styling, the residential building’s pediments extolled the virtues of learning while the hall, in particular, presented the Fellows of the college with the example of their predecessors. Talman’s comment that ‘learning and arts are the chief accomplishments of a nobleman in order to render himself an ornament to his country in times of peace’ is therefore perhaps especially valid in the case of All Souls, given the elevated background of the Fellows and their status within the university.¹⁰⁸ Faced with these architectural messages, the Fellows would, it is hoped, be moved to similarly great actions. Only then might it be that, as Talman put it, ‘strangers might not say of us [Britons] that we only think of eating and drinking ... I would have the world admire us for polite people in arts’.¹⁰⁹

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NOTES

- 1 Jill Lever, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the RIBA, T-Z* (Amersham, 1983), p. 9
- 2 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840* (New Haven and London, 3rd ed., 1995), p. 947. John Harris, in his *William Talman: maverick architect* (London, 1984), suggests on p. 35 that John might have been responsible for parts of Drayton House, but there is no evidence for this.
- 3 For detailed discussion of two of Talman's designs, see John Harris, 'The Hampton Court Trianon designs of William and John Talman', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1960), pp. 139–149 (and the revised account in his forthcoming 'William and John Talman'), and S. Rowland Pierce, 'Turris fortissima: a baroque design and drawing by John Talman', *Antiquaries' Journal* 44 (1964), pp. 33–37.
- 4 Graham Parry and Hugh Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', *Walpole Society* 59 (1997), pp. 3–56.
- 5 E.g. John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (New Haven and London, 1993), p. 291.
- 6 Terry Friedman, 'The English appreciation of Italian decorations', *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975), pp. 841–847; John Harris, 'John Talman's design for his *Wunderkammern*', *Furniture History* 21 (1985), pp. 211–217.
- 7 Howard Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford* (New Haven and London, 1983), p. vi.
- 8 Howard Colvin and J.S.G. Simmons, *All Souls: an Oxford college and its buildings* (Oxford, 1989), p. 25.
- 9 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 3 and following pages for this outline biography.
- 10 Talman's Dutch travel journals are now in the Bedfordshire County Record Office, DD. HY. 939, 940/1–3, 941, & 942.
- 11 Victoria and Albert Museum, 92.D.60/E.101.1940, cited in Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 5.
- 12 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 5.
- 13 RIBA Drawings Collection, Lever catalogue nos. 4/1–4/12.
- 14 C. D. van Strien, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period: Edward Browne and John Locke as tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1993), p. 120.
- 15 Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 30, fo. 63v, and Ashmolean Museum, no. 214.
- 16 Harris, 'The Hampton Court Trianon designs', pp. 139–149.
- 17 Society of Antiquaries Library (*Drawings I*, no. 91), and discussed in Pierce's 'Turris fortissima'.
- 18 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 9.
- 19 The following two paragraphs summarise Colvin and Simmons, *All Souls*, pp. 19–47.
- 20 Kerry Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 2nd ed., 1979, hereafter referred to as '*Hawksmoor* 1979'), p. 132.
- 21 College Record Book, transcribed by Colvin and Simmons in an appendix to *All Souls*, p. 82.
- 22 That the plan functioned as a sort of design brief is suggested by Kerry Downes, in his *Hawksmoor* (London, 1970), p. 76. It is reproduced in Downes' *Hawksmoor* 1979, p. 135.
- 23 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 3. See also Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1888).
- 24 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 3.
- 25 Annotation 'K' on Worcester College drawing no. 42.
- 26 For sale catalogues of 1727 and 1728, see Antony Griffiths and Hugh Macandrew, 'The Talman Collection, Marks and Sales', *Walpole Society* 59 (1997), pp. 181–252. Talman's architectural books are mostly found pp. 244–246.
- 27 John Talman to George Clarke, 24 March 1709, 'The letter-book of John Talman', p. 70.
- 28 John Talman to William Talman, 1 April 1708, 'The letter-book of John Talman', p. 57.
- 29 Westminster Abbey Library, CN4 19r and 19v.
- 30 See the transcriptions of the catalogues in Griffiths and Macandrew, 'The Talman Collection', pp. 233–252. There is also an annotation on WC no. 38 that the design should follow Palladio and Scamozzi, but this seems not to be in Talman's hand.
- 31 Colvin and Simmons, *All Souls*, p. 24.
- 32 Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, p. 37.
- 33 For example, Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 9.
- 34 John Talman to William Talman, undated [March/April 1712], 'The John Talman letter-book', p. 162 mentions a proposed visit.
- 35 Guarini was prolific as an author: see H.A. Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his architecture* (New Haven and London, 1988), p. 144. For the catalogue,

- see Griffiths and Macandrew, 'The Talman Collection', pp. 233–252.
- 36 Harris, 'The Hampton Court Trianon designs', p. 146.
- 37 Harris, 'William and John Talman', forthcoming.
- 38 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 4; Harris, 'William and John Talman', forthcoming.
- 39 See the list of projects executed in Harris, *William Talman*, pp. 49–50.
- 40 Harris, *William Talman*, p. 18; also Griffiths and Macandrew, 'The Talman Collection', p. 182.
- 41 For example, John Talman to William Talman, 21 November 1709, 'The letter book of John Talman', p. 84.
- 42 John Talman to Thomas Apprice, 12 December 1709, 'The letter book of John Talman', p. 88.
- 43 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 6.
- 44 Trinity College archives and discussed in Alistair Fair, "'Somewhat like a three-legged table": Christopher Wren's collegiate architecture', *Immediations: the research journal of the Courtauld Institute of Art* 3 (2006), pp. 41–59.
- 45 Hugh May built the first oval room in England at Cassiobury (1678). See Harris, *William Talman*, p. 18.
- 46 RIBA Drawings Collection, Lever catalogue nos. 1/1 and 1/2; Margaret Whinney, 'William Talman', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1955) pp. 123–139, esp. p. 129; and Harris, 'William Talman', p. 36.
- 47 Whinney, 'William Talman', p. 129, cites the drawing, which is at the RIBA.
- 48 Courtauld Institute of Art, Bull Album, Witt Collection 1912, no. 113.
- 49 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 5.
- 50 For example, the 1727 sale catalogue, reproduced pp. 233–241 in *Walpole Society* 59 (1997) includes as item 14 in lot I '8 palaces by Marot' and lot S includes '12 architectural uprights' by Marot. Marot could be the interior decorator Daniel Marot, who knew William Talman, but the architectural nature of the subject matter points to Jean Marot.
- 51 For this engraving, see Meek, *Guarino Guarini*, p. 91.
- 52 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, pp. 144–147.
- 53 John Talman, [Untitled journal], Bedfordshire Records Office, D.D. HY 940/1, p. 2. That the building is a house seems a logical conclusion in view of the fact that the drawing is adjacent to a paragraph about domestic buildings.
- 54 John Harris, introduction to his *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the RIBA: Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Farnborough, 1972), p. 7.
- 55 RIBA Drawings Collection. John Harris and Gordon Higgott, in their *Inigo Jones: complete architectural drawings* (London, 1989) give the drawing the number 78. [All subsequent Jones drawings will be cited according to this catalogue].
- 56 RIBA Drawings Collection, Lever catalogue nos. 10/4 and 10/5.
- 57 RIBA Drawings Collection, Lever catalogue nos. 1/4 and 1/5.
- 58 Compare Harris, 'The Hampton Court Trianon designs', p. 146; Whinney, 'William Talman', pp. 128–129 and Howard Colvin et al., *The history of the King's Works*, vol. 5, 1660–1782 (London, 1976), p. 167, n. 2.
- 59 Harris' forthcoming 'William and John Talman' makes a similar re-assessment.
- 60 John Newman, 'The architectural setting', pp. 136–177 in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The history of the University of Oxford*, vol. 4, *Seventeenth-century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997). See especially p. 172.
- 61 Howard Colvin, 'Architecture', pp. 831–856 in L.S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford*, vol. 5 *Eighteenth-century Oxford* (Oxford, 1986), especially p. 843.
- 62 Quotation from Thomas Hearne in Colvin and Simmons, *All Souls*, p. 20.
- 63 E.g. Harris, 'John Talman's design for his *Wunderkammern*', note 7 above.
- 64 John Talman to George Clarke, 24 March 1709, 'The letter-book of John Talman', p. 70.
- 65 Downes, *Hawksmoor* 1979, p. 144.
- 66 Hawksmoor's annotation on WC no. 85, quoted in Colvin, *Worcester College catalogue*, p. xvii.
- 67 Annotation on WC no. 39 (Fig. 14). Talman included a similar space in another drawing that may be for a college (Westminster Abbey Library, CN4, no. 7v).
- 68 Description following annotation 'Z' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 69 Annotation 'K' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 70 Talman described the balustrade as 'battlements'. See annotations 'F' and 'W' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 71 Parry and Macandrew,, 'The John Talman letter book', pp. 22–23.
- 72 John Evelyn, An account of architecture and architects, prefixed to his translation of Fréart's *Parallel of the ancient architecture with the modern* (London, 1707), pp. 9–10; Howard Colvin and John

- Newman, *Of building: Roger North's writings on architecture* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 107–114.
- 73 For Talman's Catholicism, see Graham Parry, 'John Talman', *Oxford New Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed on 30.5.2007 at <
http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26955?docPos=2>.
- 74 John Talman to Richard Topham, 31 May 1710, 'The letter book of John Talman', pp. 109–110.
- 75 John Talman to George Clarke, 24 March 1709, 'The letter-book of John Talman', p. 70.
- 76 Geoffrey Tyack, *Oxford: an architectural guide* (Oxford, 1998), p. 59.
- 77 John Talman to Henry Newton, 21 June 1710, 'The letter-book of John Talman', p. 115.
- 78 John Talman, 'Diary of a journey in Holland, 1698', Bedfordshire Records Office, D.D. HY 939, p. 3.
- 79 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, pp. 157–164; see also Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1950), p. 26.
- 80 For example Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1999), pp. 25–32; also Alexandrina Buchanan, 'Interpretations of medieval architecture, c.1550–c.1750', pp. 27–52 in Michael Hall (ed.), *Gothic architecture and its meanings* (Reading, 2000).
- 81 Brooks, *The Gothic Revival*, p. 30.
- 82 Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, p. 22.
- 83 Mitchell, 'Introduction', p. 3.
- 84 Brooks, *The Gothic Revival*, pp. 38–46; Buchanan, 'Interpretations of medieval architecture', pp. 43–46.
- 85 Annotation 'R' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 86 Annotation 'V' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 87 Talman demonstrated how this was to be achieved in a sketch on WC no. 40 (Fig. 11). See annotation 'B' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12) for the subject-matter of the statues.
- 88 Annotation 'B' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 89 Colvin and Simmons, *All Souls*, p. 24.
- 90 Annotation 'B' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 91 The founder of New College, William of Wykeham, had been Bishop of Winchester in the late fourteenth century, and New College retained strong links with Winchester College.
- 92 Annotation 'B' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 93 Annotation 'O' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12).
- 94 Annotations 'C' and 'D' on WC no. 41 (Fig. 12); annotation 'Q' on WC no. 42 (Fig. 13).
- 95 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative painting in England*, vol. I (London, 1962), p. 56.
- 96 Annotation on WC no. 39 (Fig. 14).
- 97 Annotation 'K' on WC no. 42 (Fig. 13).
- 98 Colvin and Newman, *Of building*, pp. 67–68. Others such as John Evelyn saw the Great Hall in private houses in similar terms. See Kerry Downes, 'John Evelyn and architecture', pp. 28–39 in John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning architecture: essays in architectural writers and writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (London, 1968), especially pp. 34–36.
- 99 Annotation in Hawksmoor's hand on WC no. 4.
- 100 Annotations 'G' and 'O' on WC no. 42 (Fig. 13).
- 101 Talman's own scheme for the hall (WC no. 42, Fig. 13) has the entrances to the east, with the passage between the hall and chapel to the west being covered by a gallery. Aldrich's plan (WC no. 39) has entrances to the west. For the debate, see Downes, *Hawksmoor* 1979, p. 144.
- 102 Willis and Clark, *An architectural history of the University of Cambridge*, vol. III, pp. 359–360.
- 103 John Talman to George Clarke, 24 March 1709, 'The letter book of John Talman', p. 70.
- 104 Friedman, 'Foggini's statue', especially pp. 43–45.
- 105 Christopher Wren, 'Tract 1', pp. 153–157 in Lydia M. Soo, *Wren's 'Tracts' on architecture and other writings* (Cambridge, 1998).
- 106 James Ralph, *A critical review of the public buildings in and about London* (London, 1734, republished in facsimile, Farnborough, 1971), pp. ii–iii.
- 107 Parry and Macandrew, 'The John Talman letter book', p. 10.
- 108 John Talman to 'Mr. Lee', 15 August 1711, 'The letter book of John Talman', pp. 154–155.
- 109 Talman made these comments in a letter to the Commissioners of the 'Fifty New Churches' in 1713, which is reproduced in Friedman, 'Foggini's statue', p. 39.