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POST-MODERNISM IN THE 1650s

A. A. Tait

I HAVE USED THIS RATHER GLIB TITLE to offer an interpretation of the decade of the 1650s and to suggest its importance for the rest of seventeenth-century architecture in Britain. The country houses of this period — for little else was built apart from the citadels and a handful of churches — offered a reaction even rejection of the pre-war classicism as the ideal and modern architectural form. For Inigo Jones and John Webb, and perhaps less courageously the circle of Edward Carter and Isaac de Caux, architecture could only be expressed in classical terms and the more pure the classicism the better. In the 1650s this changed. There is a rejection of much of such doctrinaire classicism, and a return to a more comfortable and compatible style where classicism was used essentially decoratively and where there was a revival of vernacular and traditional forms, all of which could and did exist alongside essays in the old and modern. Such a lesson was never forgotten in the Restoration and the long years of Wrenocracy. The abandonment of such an élitism and the redeployment of classical forms, the creation of a new resonance or coding, all suggest why I have called this period Post-Modernism.

But what is Post-Modernism, let alone Late-Modernism, Rationalism, participatory Architecture, Neo-Corbu, and the Los Angeles Silvers?¹ Better still what is the Post-Modernism of the 1980s? Is it what the *Spectator*, the *Architectural Review*, Charles Jencks and Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction* all say it is?² Is it more than just the Greek temple in drag as humourously shown in the *Spectator* and is it indeed 'the case where art, ornament and symbolism are starting again?'³ Who knows that it is any more or different than the normal fluctuation of stylistic taste, perhaps an interlude rather than a movement? It may be laboured and superficial to pursue an analogy between the reaction to Mies-Gropius' glass box and to the Inigo Jones stone one. However uneasy we may feel about such a parallel, it is certain that the architectural principles — the discipline of classical form — are the same for the Barcelona Pavilion as Jones's Hale Park and that the rejection of one in 1980s and the other in the 1650s showed a similar repudiation of standards of taste. The principal difference between the two rejections was that that of the 1650s was perhaps the first time that classical revisionism had appeared in England. Until then there had never been an established academic classicism against which to rebel, though there was plenty of half-baked classicism to which to return.

The victory for Parliament in the Civil War and the arrival of a reforming regime with, in some of its political parts, strong left-wing tendencies might have been expected to encourage a similar situation in the arts. It did after all with the French Revolution. But this was not the case and instead a bourgeois taste called the day. Despite the various Levellers, Diggers, Fifth Monarchy men, and Co-operative communes like Whistanley's on St George's Hill, there was little radical, even political, reform.⁴ The society of the 1650s was in some ways a City rather than Court one and one moreover where urban rather than rural thinking predominated. This was no doubt reflected in the form and ideas expressed in the country houses of the decade where its vocabulary was the slang of demotic London. A society that welcomed 'the contradictions and complexities of urban experience' as Robert Venturi might have termed it.⁵ Indeed it was Vincent Scully who set a diametric contrast between the urbanism of the now fallen idol Corbusier with the quasi-mystic forms of the arch Post-Modernist, Venturi.

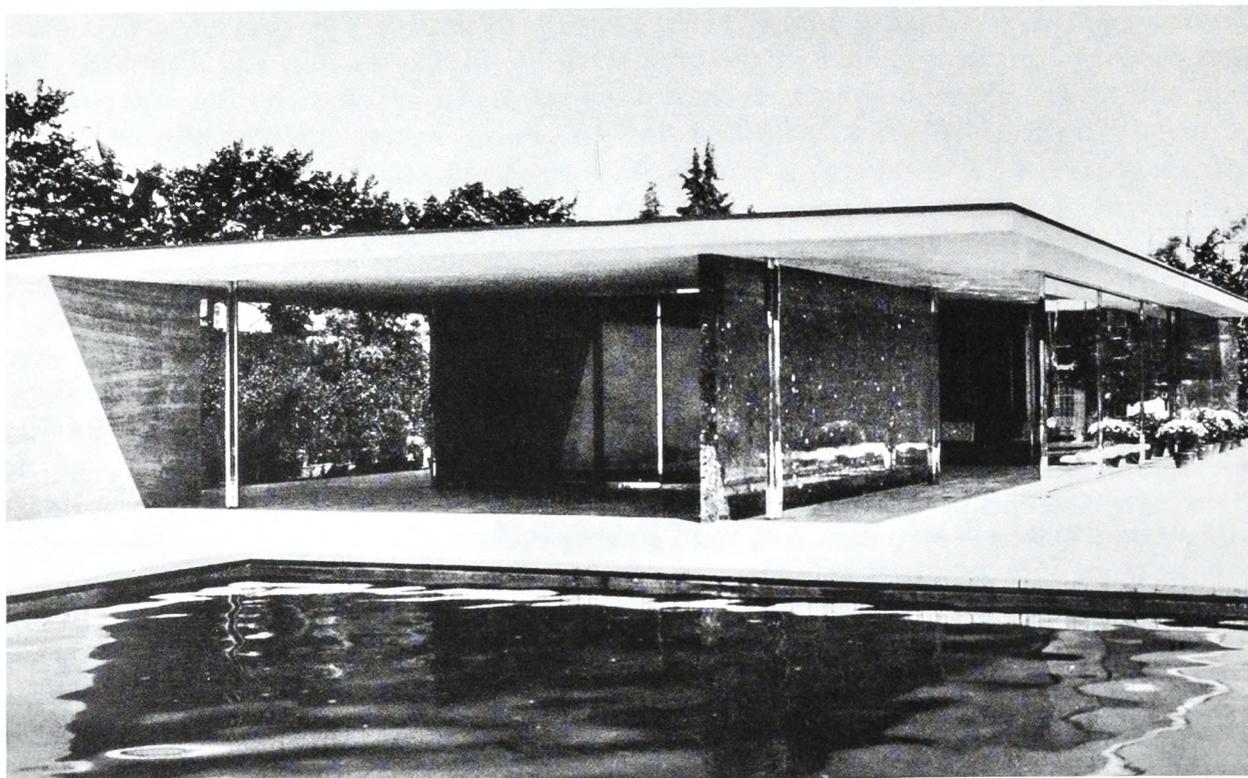


FIGURE I. Barcelona Pavilion

For Corbusier, the alpha and omega of architecture was locked into the temple front and this 'noble purism' was one in which Jones also believed whole-heartedly but from which the architects of the 1650s dissented.⁶

A favourite image of the period 1640–60 is this one 'The world turn'd upside down'.⁷ It is self-explanatory — a man walking on his hands, a fish swimming in the air, a gardener pushed by a wheelbarrow, and so on. The message is clear: order has been reversed, right is wrong. And in this radical reversal of fortune, architecture did not escape. While I would not suggest that the few churches that were built in the 1650s were erected upside down as you see here, much of what had been fashionable became unfashionable and the status of architect and architecture changed. The classical villa form which had usurped advanced architectural thinking in the 1630s no longer dominated and was at best an alternative. The urban forms and the classical motifs that decorated many of the country houses of the 1650s were coded to evoke a city imagery and status. They were like costume or vestments, stressing the respectability, propriety, and aspirations of the wearer or less flatteringly disguising the function, palliating the unpleasant, and camouflaging the crude. If indeed such decoration does belong to the couturier rather than the architect it was cut in an urban rather than rural style. As in so much else during this time, 'rus in urbe' itself was turned upside down — 'urbs in rure'. Appropriately enough, perhaps, for the Puritan New Jerusalem was after all a city, though Paradise may have been a garden.

For Corbusier in 1923 'the great problems of modern construction must have a geometrical solution.'⁸ For all of these the 'elements of architecture are light and shade, walls and space'.⁹ The Parthenon was for Corbusier and his fellows 'the perfect product of selection applied to a standard'.¹⁰ Though Jones did not know the Parthenon, he shared Corbusier's passion for the standard or module, the mathematical interpretation of buildings, and I can think of no better parallel with the Modernist approach than that of his and John Webb's to Stonehenge. The posthumous volume on Stonehenge of 1655 may not measure up to the

This was ordered
the Emperor for the
empire and of the
of France in France
Pietro de Tock Palatin
of 1635

Remains in every
part marked in
the plan of the
walls is very
strong

The middle is a
circle without
and a decagon
with in

I think this to have been
a Sepulchre by the form
it fits for many statues
of the great family C
being of brick as many
of the Sepulchres were
and late windows and
not of any of the old
by architects

This Edifice is formed out of circles. The greater circle is the diameter from the center A to B which is the
bottom depth of the great Niche, this diameter being divided in ten parts 10 of them make the
lower circles which form the two wings as you see by the picture circles. the picture D is in breadth half the
diameter of the lower circles. to form the middle this great circle is divided in two 10 spaces or sides
from every point of this division draw a line towards the center A: then leaving a space of 3/10 make
the space of half a circle deep. the thickest part of the wall is 1 1/2 thick all the rest as you see
in the plan is counterforted strongly and
independently with good correspondence

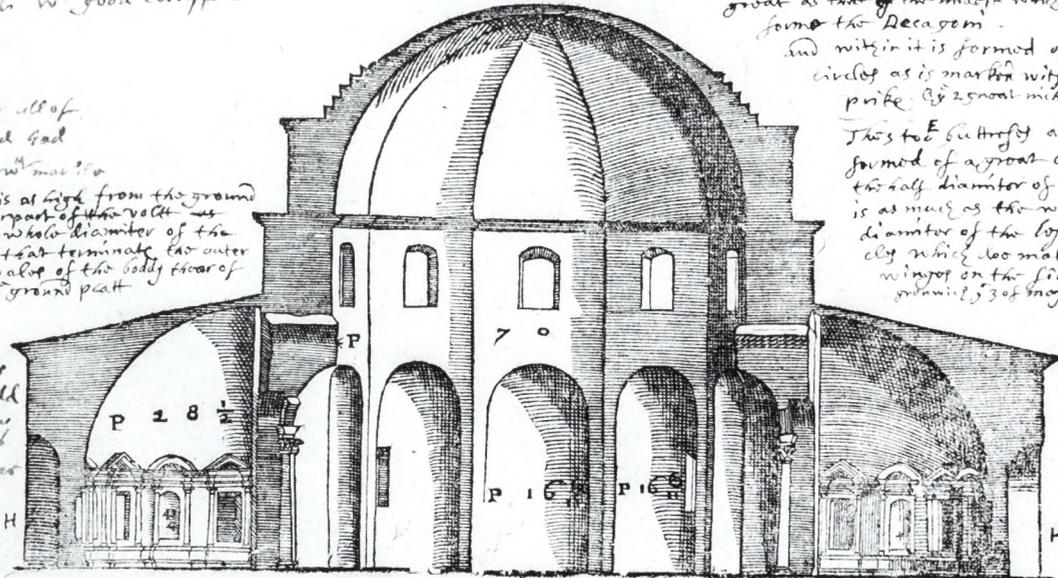
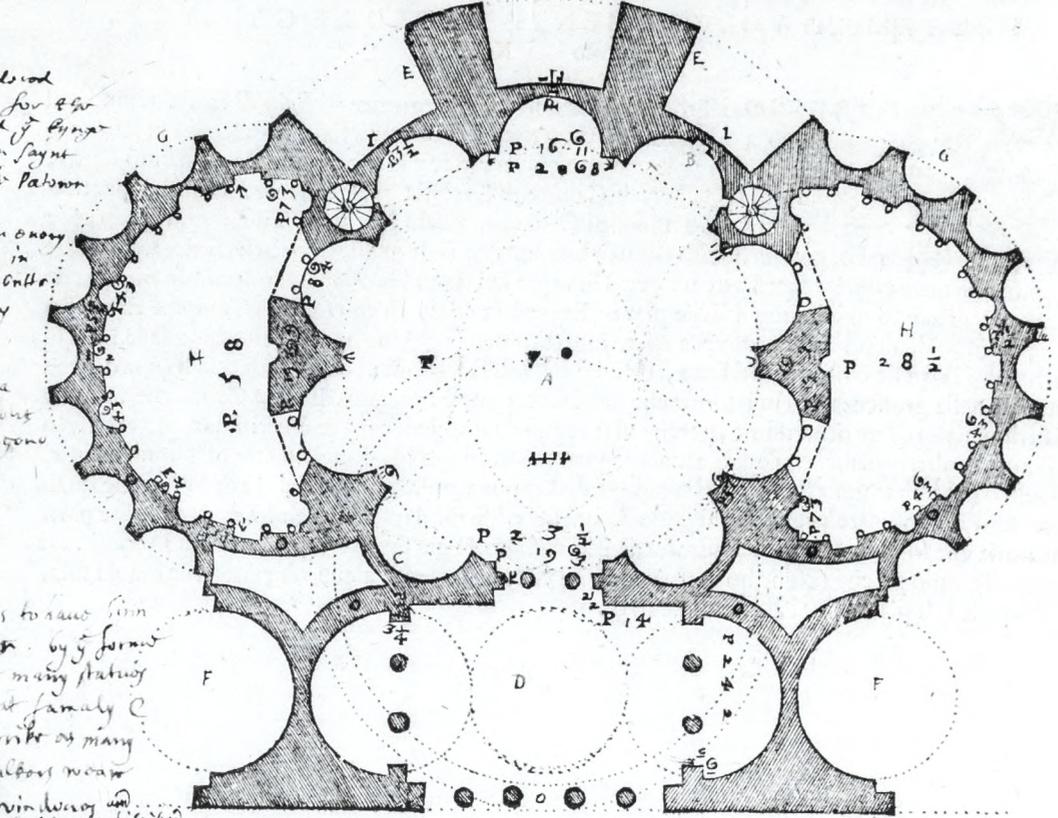
The picture D is formed of a circle as
great as that of the middle which doth
form the Decagon.
and within it is formed of 3
circles as is marked with
picture G 25 not in plan F.

This too E is formed of a great circle
the half diameter of which
is as much as the whole
diameter of the lower cir-
cle which doth make the
wings on the sides
of the wall 3 of May 1637

This building all of
Bricks and had
Bian Comod in the
middle

This Edifice is at high from the ground
to the under part of the vault as
much as the whole diameter of the
great circle that terminate the outer
part of the walls of the body that of
marked I in ground plan

This to G
is a circle of 9
feet in diameter
and is placed
as you see



The circles which make the outer part of the walls of the two wings H as is noted in the ground plan and
uprightly are as much in diameter as the picture circles which form the termination of the walls and columns
of the picture marked D and this distance between the two circles is the thickness of the walls of the two wings
from the inner part of the ground to the outer part of the wall within; the thickness of the other walls marked O in the
the same continued in the walls of the said wings

FIGURE 2. Le Galluce

didacticism of Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture*, but both are founded on a similar way of thinking.

Now I am not suggesting that for Inigo Jones, Stonehenge was the Parthenon. Clearly it was not. Instead, and with an equal stretch of the imagination, it was a Roman temple dedicated to Coelus and then, as now, rather the worse for wear. But to an out and out classicist like him or Corbusier or Mies or the eighteenth-century Rationalists, it had to have a 'geometrical solution'. And so it had. For Jones, Stonehenge was based on four equilateral triangles inscribed within a circle, a composition found in the Roman temple of Le Galluce which Jones had seen and studied when in Rome in 1614.¹¹ It had interested him both as a plan and intellectual problem rather than any narrow devilling after the arcana of the capitals or the precise form of niches. After the manner of Barbaro's and Cesarino's mathematical explanation of classicism by circles and triangles, Jones saw a direct proportional relationship between the central hall of Le Galluce and its apsidal wings and portico. In his copy of Palladio (where it is illustrated) he marked these wings as 'H' and the portico as 'D'.¹² Those at 'H' were two-thirds of the diameter of the hall, and the portico half the diameter of the wings which would propose a ratio of 1.2.3.¹³ It was such a mathematical combination of circle and triangle that Jones identified as the unmistakable stamp of Roman classicism.

Now all of this was nonsense and running moreover in the face of much early seventeenth-century antiquarianism, but it does clearly bring out two things: that Jones's architectural thinking had to do with space and proportion and comparatively little with the more obvious and superficial details of classicism. In this respect his language was pure Modernism. My second point is how isolated and extreme both Jones and Webb were in this respect though this was no doubt the lot of pioneers and prophets. Here again a parallel may be found with the architectural situation of the early 1900s when Van de Velde proclaimed as his Credo on the new style: 'Thou shalt comprehend the form and construction of all objects only in the sense of their strictest, elementary logic and justification of their existence.'¹⁴

As I have suggested, a spirit of urbanism typifies much, though not all, architecture in the 1650s, and it shares this city air with what is accepted as Post-Modernism. Such a view is hindsight of course, but it was one already being formulated in the seventeenth century as the opinions of Roger North, born in 1653, make plain. North is worth taking seriously for he was objective and with only a small axe to grind. His view, too, is intensely English with a sensitive insularity (to put it politely) that his contemporary, Roger Pratt's notes on architecture managed to transcend.¹⁵

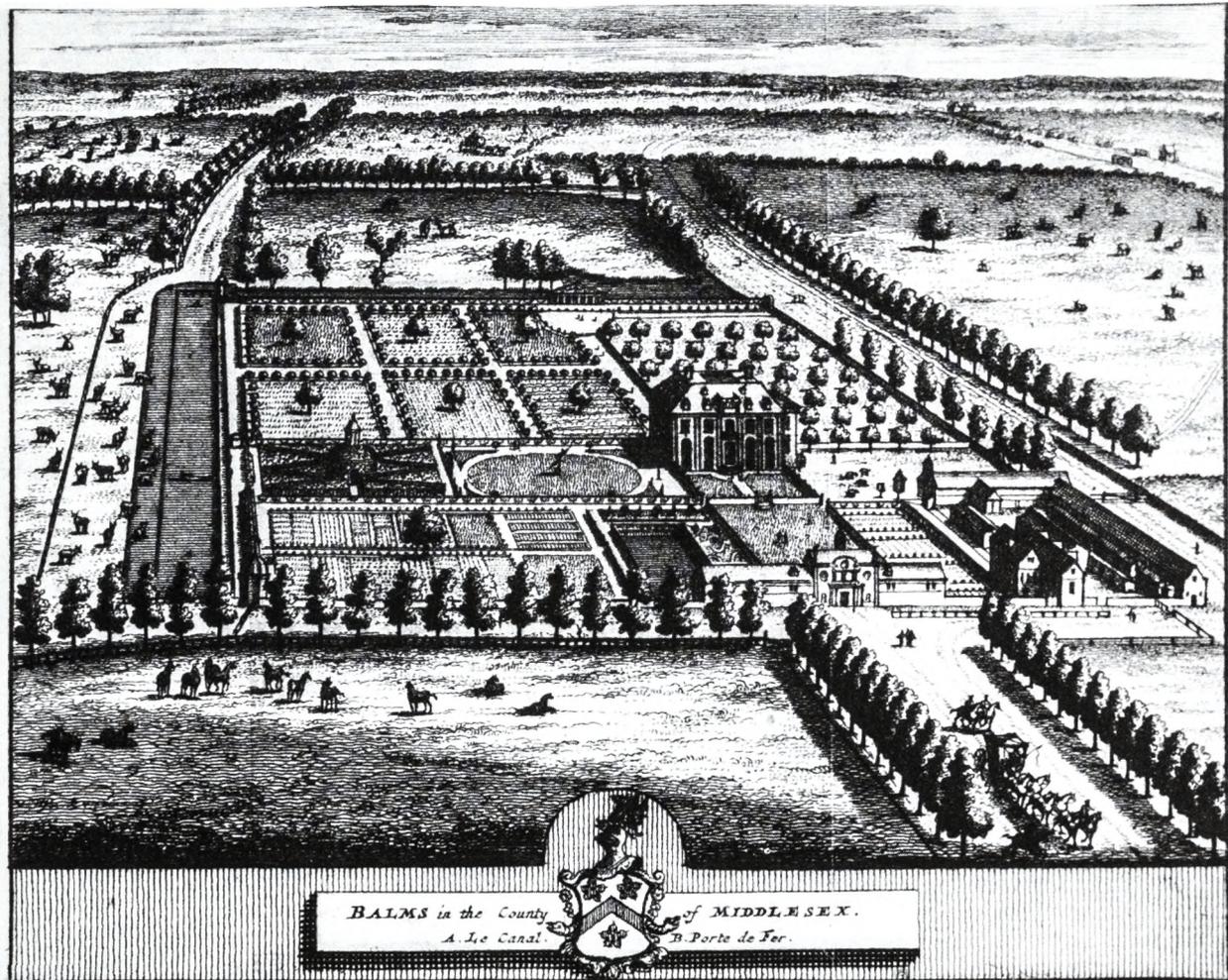
North's essay 'Of Building' belongs to the 1690s and dealt with the trends in British architecture from the Caroline period to the time of his writing.¹⁶ His particular bias — and an interesting one — was his dislike of his supposed city rivals who built in the country in what North termed the 'low invention, agreeable to the spirit and education of a mechanick workman'.¹⁷ While such a description might have been flattery for the Bauhaus graduate, it was not intended as such for the architectural practitioner in the seventeenth century. He maintained that a house that showed fine brickwork was the handiwork of a bricklayer, good stonework a mason, much glass a glazier, balconies a carpenter, and so on. Such tradesmen disguised as designers were, North maintained, the complaint of his age.¹⁸

Fortunately, he enlarged upon it. 'Country gentlemen of value and fortune, in their new erected seats', he wrote, 'creep after the meanness of those town builders and order their houses in squares like suburb buildings than which nothing is more unfit for a country seat.'¹⁹ It is an easy line to follow visually and a group of the country houses of the 1650s, on a large scale at Thorpe Hall, Peterborough, and a small one at Brogborough Park, Bedfordshire, all rural in setting, have an urban or suburban sophistication apparent in both composition and detail.²⁰ They smell of the city. Not surprisingly of course, for the architect of Thorpe anyhow was Peter Mills, the City bricklayer and speculative builder. So much so,

FIGURE 3. Brogborough Park



FIGURE 4. Balmes



that North's fiction of architect and client could almost be taken to describe Mills and his patron Oliver St John at Thorpe Hall. Here is North's scenario:

His [St John's] character is avaritious and mean spirited, and the bricklayer, for such a person, ingenious. The house they built was a new fabrick intire, of which a model was made and coloured, in great perfection. Now the remarks of his man's humour were, first the model, was as for a suburban house, neer a square with a lanthorne and small courtyard which is city-humour, and little; and pleaseth on account of thrift, because the square figure hath most rooms for least walls.

He concluded tartly and smartly with the blast,

so here was a mixture of the gentleman, usurer, and bricklayer, and the project proves accordingly.²¹

A great deal of North's disapproval of these buildings as miscast for their roles lay in their basic form. He found them too compact with too many small rooms, 'full of windoes like pidgeon holes'²² Their decoration was trite and common and to be found in every bake house in the City. His particular whipping boy was Balmes in Middlesex of about 1640 which he scathingly dismissed as 'unfitt for any thing of an imployed family in the country'.²³

Whatever we may think of North as a critic, he does substantiate a movement well underway in the 1650s. Houses such as Balmes or Thorpe Hall represent an alternative to the classical concept of the country house or villa as it had been established in England in the 1630s. Wilton, Webb's schemes for Belvoir and Cobham, the portico of the Vyne, the pavilions and colonnades of Stoke Bruerne all reflect a different sort of country house by a variety of court or ex-court architects at this time.²⁴ Most have a common theme in the interpretation of the temple front. It was this temple front seen grandiloquently at St Paul's and intimately at St Paul's Covent Garden that both North and Roger Pratt defined as the cynosure of Jones's style.²⁵ It was such a heart that manifestly did not beat in the group of alternative, urban designs that North so unkindly dismissed as Chelsea cake houses.

It is easy to find immediate urban sources for the new country house style. Apart from a suburban building like Balmes and the other Thames-side villas, there was the street architecture of London ranging from the pseudo-terrace house like Thanet House to the superlatively busy Mercers Chapel of 1672 or better still Craven House of the 1630s.²⁶ There in a rough and ready way court and city styles have combined to turn the Banqueting House into a middle-class brick terrace. There can be little doubt that this sort of façade architecture was used fairly deliberately in the country for its urban feel: the building exists as though in a street but lacking neighbours. Without King and Court, London, the city, the town, was the cultural standard in architecture. Certainly North's concept of the glitter of the shop is apparent in the skin deep façades of Bay Hall or Syndale, both of the 1650s and in Kent, where the brash Thanet House lives again but now in rustic splendour.²⁷ They both fell lamentably short of the contemporary classical box such as Roger Pratt's Coleshill of about 1650 where one façade slides with lesser or greater emphasis around the four faces of the oblong.

A more sophisticated handling of the city façade — the cake house conundrum — appears at Peter Mills's Thorpe Hall. Here the theme is not so much a reworking of the terrace house as a rejigging of the town palazzo. At Thorpe, Mills matched the north and south façades as conscious replicas of one another but struck a totally different sort of relationship with the crude west elevation and the cumbersome over-windowed east.²⁸ Thorpe has variety and restlessness not altogether happy but very different from the repose of Coleshill and the classical ideal. These two façades — the east and west — break whatever the order of the others and provide surprise in what at first sight seemed the classical prism of a house. For the simple rural ambler or the city stroller — and here we return to the Post-Modernism

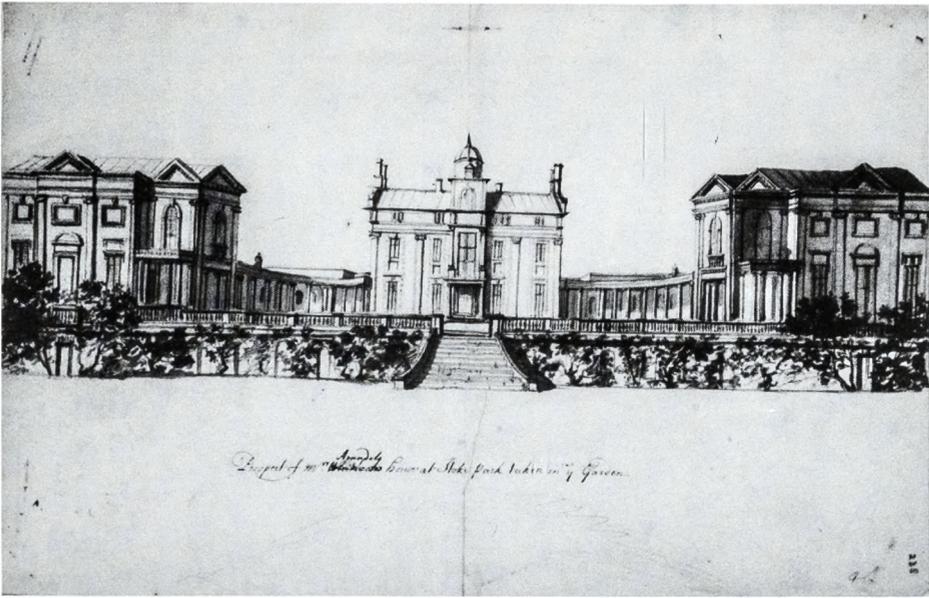


FIGURE 5. Stoke Bruerne

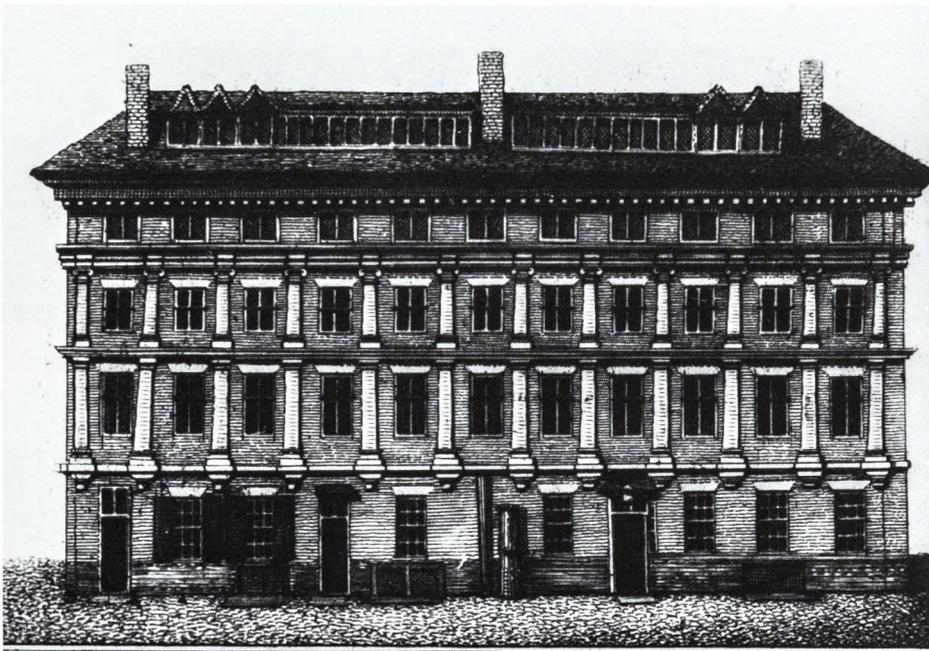


FIGURE 6. Craven House

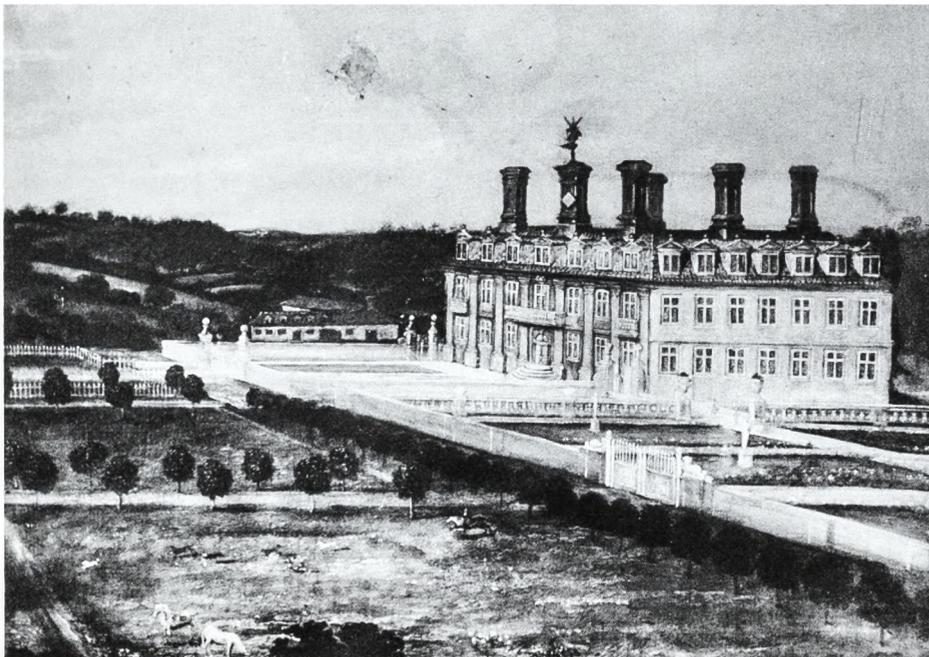


FIGURE 7. Bay Hall



FIGURE 8. Thorpe Hall

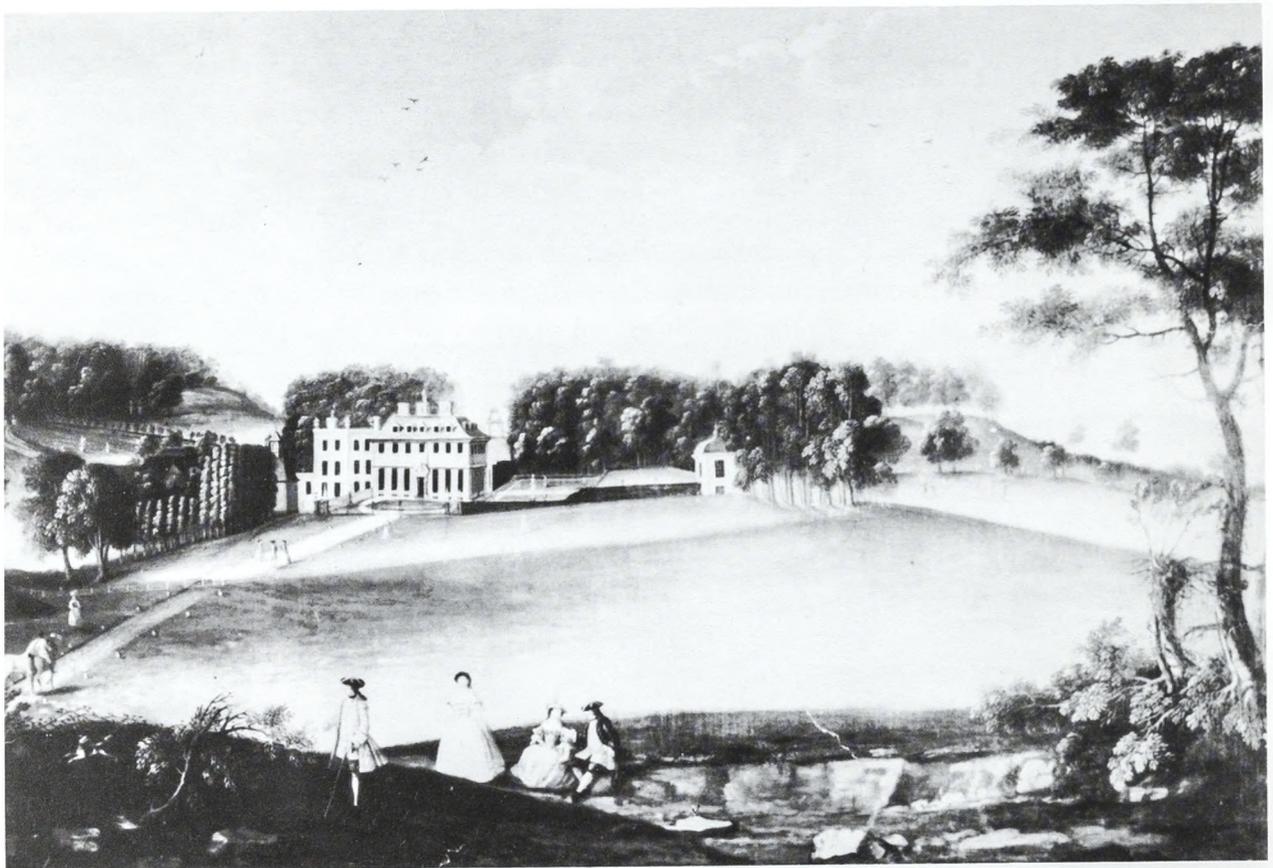


FIGURE 9. Charborough Park

argument — at the two extremes of Thorpe and Bay Halls, they were offered an insight into a sophisticated world with which they were to sympathize and understand. Both these buildings, and others, were to appeal as Craven House did and the chilly absolutism of the Banqueting House did not. Their classicism was a popular language reassuring in its often muddled but familiar syntax and sharing in this way some of the aims of Post-Modernism.

Among the country houses of the 1650s, a definite group match Roger North's term 'compact'. They also show a quite deliberate departure from the earlier courtyard plans of the seventeenth century and equally so from the block and pavilion which appeared fitfully as in Jones's Stoke Bruerne. Neither the old or new plan forms were developed further during this decade. The courtyard form appeared at Cobham Hall and Nunappleton, for royalist and Puritan alike, but as older houses modernized or completed: the pavilion type was suggested and quickly discarded at Lamport Hall in 1657; and the day probably did belong to the compact house.²⁹ As both Pratt and North pointed out, this condensed form mirrored city and middle-class aspiration much better than the wandering and substantial plan associated with the country house and country life.³⁰ A single pile such as Brogborough Park or the double pile of Thorpe and Charborough Park in Dorset were the common and fashionable shapes that suited well the mood of the times.

How does such a notion stand with my theme of Post-Modernism? As I have said, these compact houses are different from the sprawling, almost inchoate plans of their Elizabethan and Jacobean precursors. They differ too from the classical plans of the fashionable Caroline style in their emphasis on the corridor and dislike of the idea of the enfilade. I hope you can see what I mean from this slide, of a group of small plans by John Webb after Palladio with their strong concern for symmetry and the balancing of spaces.³¹ On the other hand you will look in vain for any effective resonance of the single and double cube rooms of Wilton in these 1650s houses. With the typical double pile, fragmentation rather than unity, and ambiguity instead of order, are the themes, and the corridor rather than a vista of rooms the common denominator. Charborough Park of after 1648 is a good example of this sort of tight box where there is the repeated theme of unequal division and of imbalance of the parts.³²

But I do not wish to bore you with a great deal of visual analysis much of which would be more of the same, so I have selected — to suit my case of course — a typical motif as a representative. It is that most harmless of things, the eaves console. It has two forms: one Modernist, the other Post-Modernist. In Jones's *nec plus ultra*, St Paul's Covent Garden, it appeared functionally and in line with the most rigorous interpretation of the Tuscan order and its primitive wooden origins.³³ In contrast is the eaves composition at Balls Park in Hertfordshire, a building of about 1640. The consoles here have a garlanded Ionic order where the wreath is double looped rather than the more traditional single form of Vignola popular at this time and best seen at Lees Court, Kent. Apart from its employment in the projecting centre bay, it is used with great dash on the flanking three bays as a piece of window rather than roof architecture as the view of the house in Chauncy's *History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, of 1700, makes the reverse of plain.³⁴ It is used with flagrant independence from the classical order, jumbled with the keystone of window in a confused, rather than precise piece of pattern making. Its role is deliberately wayward and at odds with the academic exercise at Covent Garden. In its own terms it is an extraordinary cross between console and the traditional modillion cornice and as such it offers the two basic criteria of Post-Modernism: complexity and contradiction. It is small wonder that the house was later disliked as both urban and eccentric and was stuccoed by the end of the eighteenth century, only to be restored in the early twentieth.³⁵

The same sort of stylistic and historical pattern can be seen in this view of the Hoo at Kimpton now destroyed and also in Hertfordshire, and also from Chauncy.³⁶ As far as can be seen, the consoles served here as a rather enigmatic capital for a double tier of brick pilasters. A

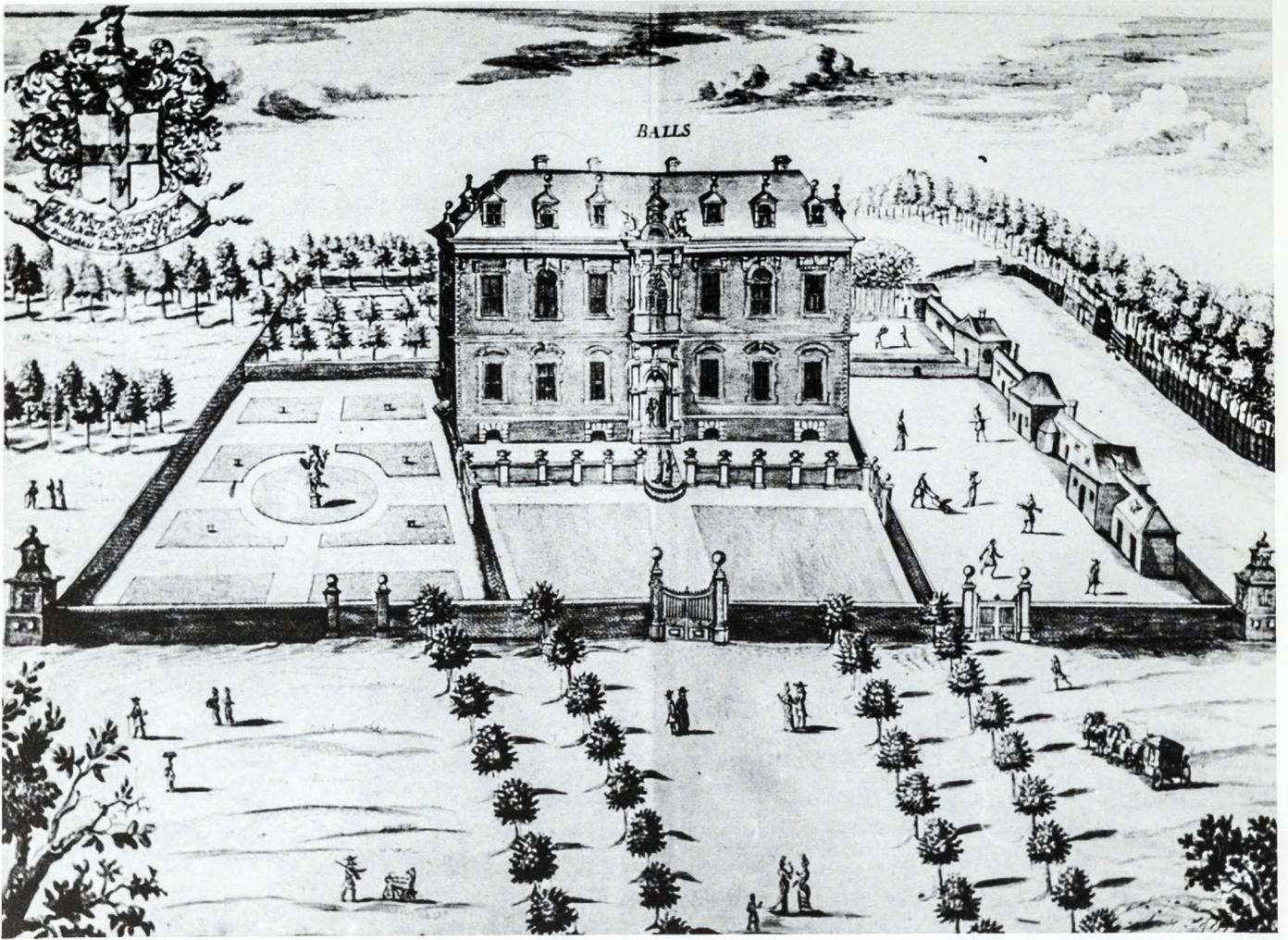


FIGURE 10. Balls Park

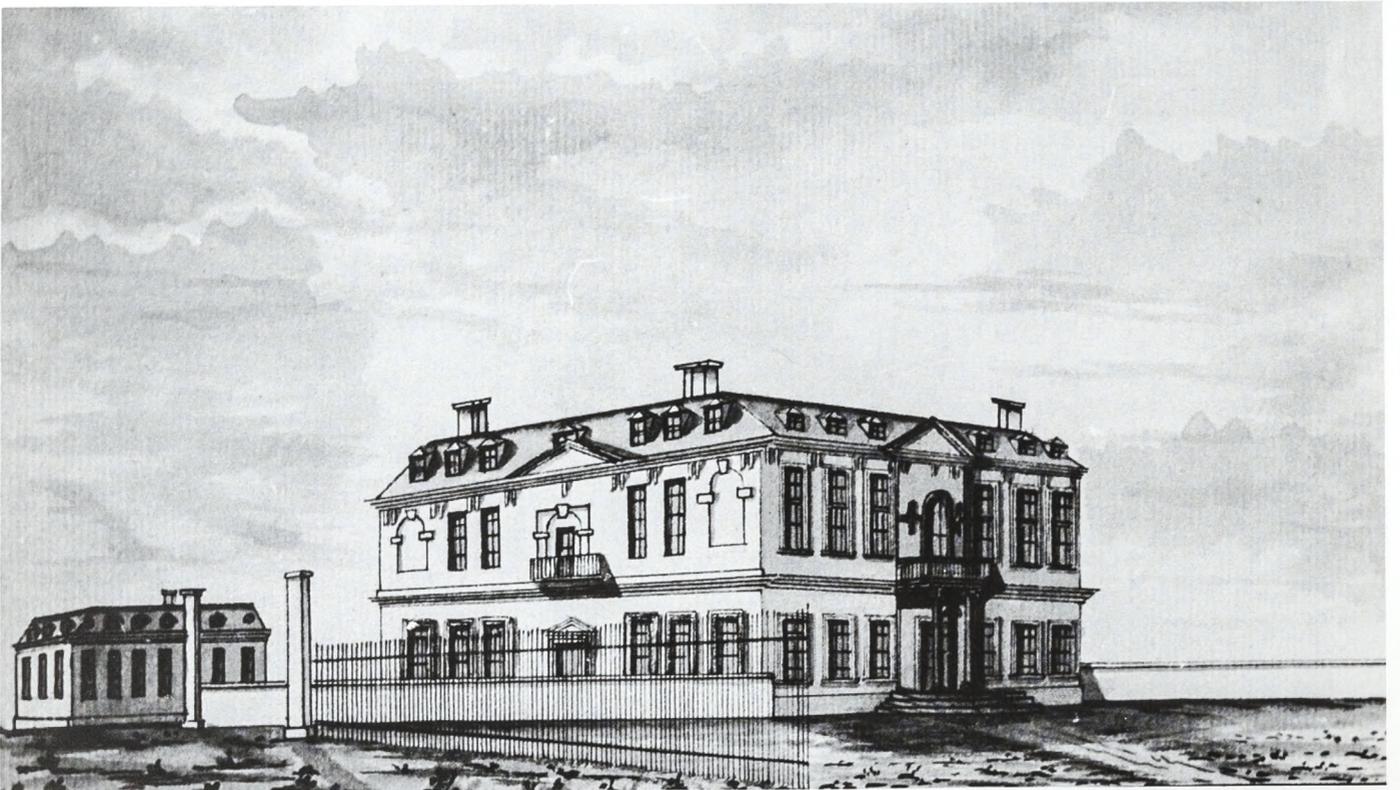


FIGURE 11. Balls Park

double function once again, and with attention drawn to them by their exaggerated form and elaborate carving. Like Balls Park, they proved too strong a diet for the eighteenth-century stomach and disappeared in Chambers' renovation of the house in 1762.³⁷

At both the Hoo and Balls Park this sort of complex decoration has disappeared and I suspect that this was the case too in numerous similar houses. Understandably enough, much work went in the eighteenth century with the establishment of the Palladian movement and its particular view of classicism and the vision of the country house as part of a rural landscape and not as an outpost of urban civilization in the badlands of the countryside. Indeed, one can go a little further and say this urban tradition, ascendant after the Civil War, lasted until the arrival almost simultaneously of the Palladian revival and the landscape movement in the eighteenth century.

Now I have said that I did not intend any wearisome visual analysis of the nooks and crannies of façade-making during this decade. But there is one extreme phenomenon that returns at this time that is worth considering for its symbolic role — the balcony. In straight forward architectural terms, it was a shift from the classical portico to the porch, and you can see it in its hybrid form at the little hunting lodge at Sherborne of 1634, where its purpose — to watch the chase — was obvious. However, I have my sights on a less subtle, more simple form and one borrowed directly from the city balconies. Its function in the town is easy to determine — you sit there to watch the street scene and in turn to be watched — much like a box in the opera and often with the same amount of decoration. Its function in the country house is more puzzling as is its popularity. It appears in its city role, in this view of the destroyed Wisbech Castle of 1656, where the Thurloes salute and receive their friends.³⁸ Its purpose is less easy to determine in this painting of the Swinburnes of Capheaton, a house of

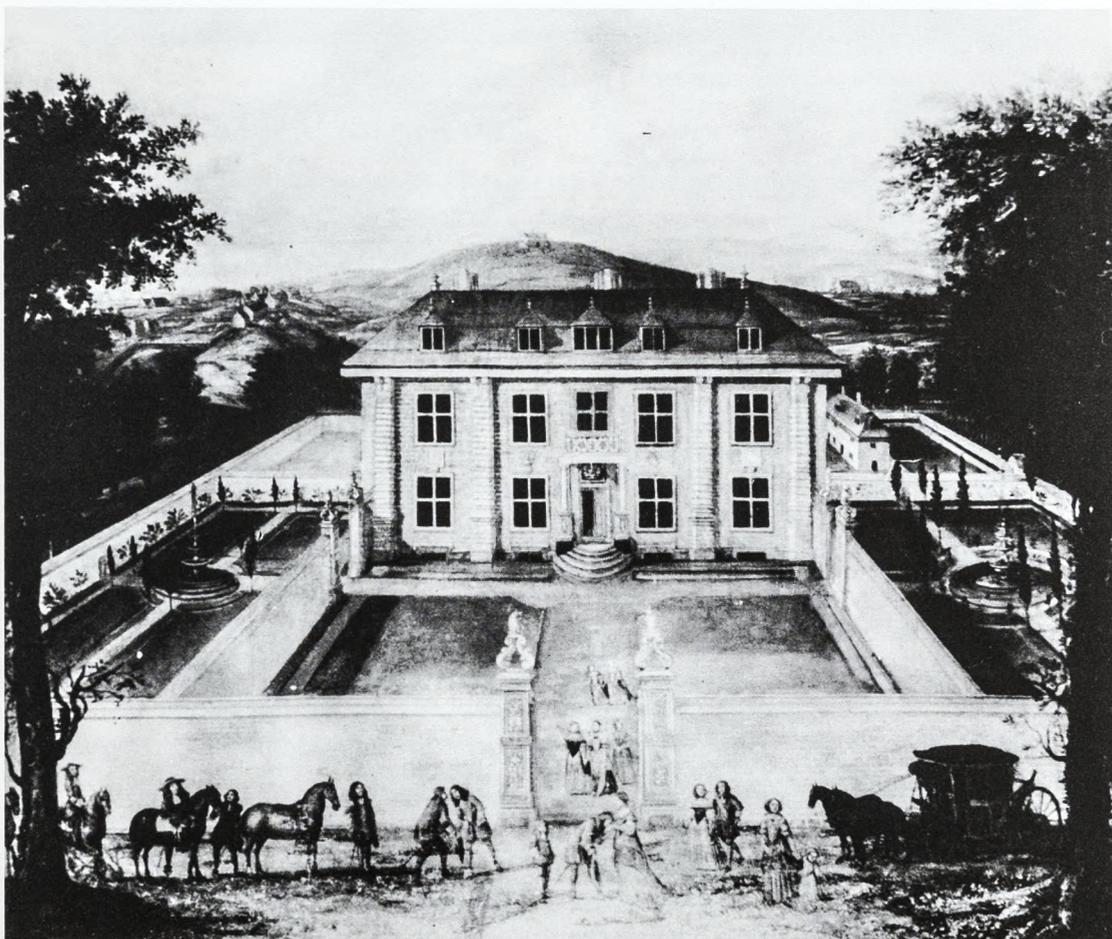


FIGURE 12. Capheaton

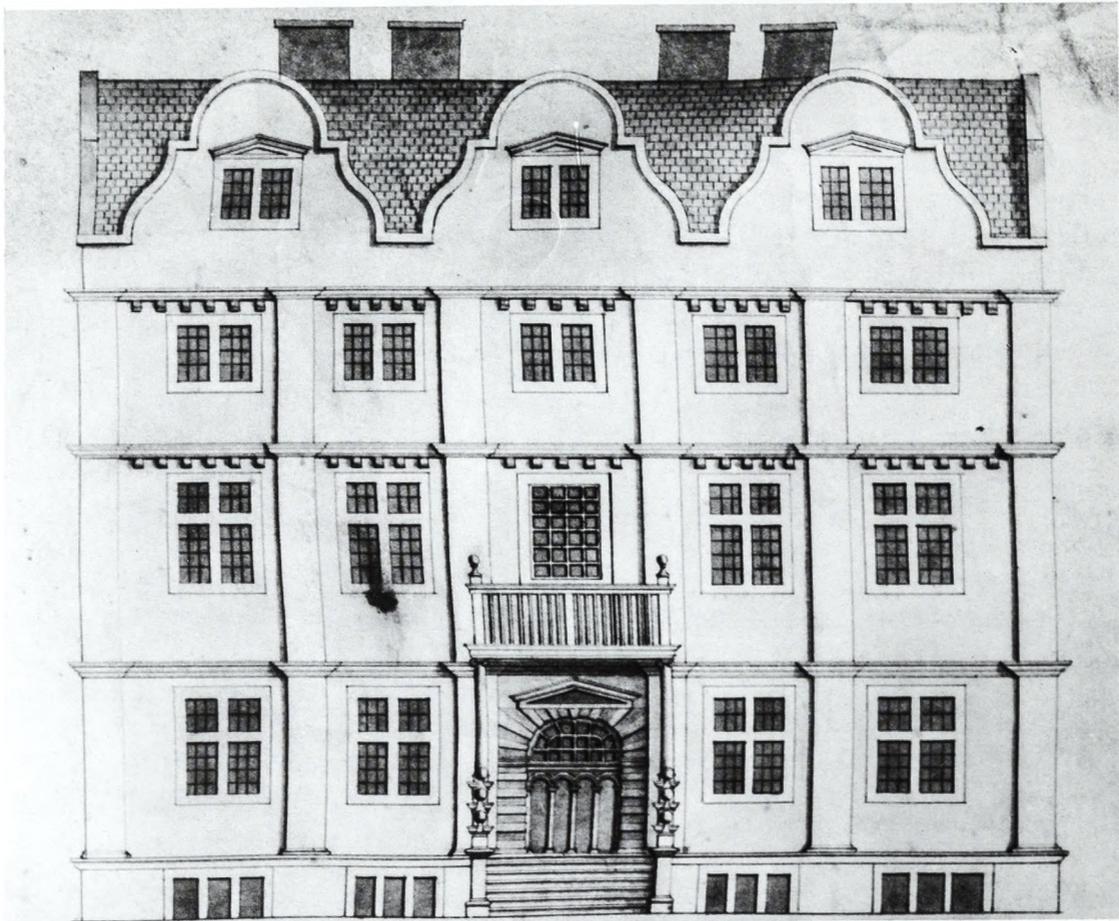


FIGURE 13. Thorpe-Constantine Hall

about 1665, greeting their neighbours the Lorraines.³⁹ As you see, the balcony is empty and the family are grouped at the entrance to the fore-court. But for all this ambiguity it was a popular device, appearing on the entrance fronts at Thorpe Hall and at its namesake Thorpe-Constantine Hall, Staffordshire, Moulton Hall, and Nunappleton in Yorkshire, Bridge Place and Bay Hall in Kent, Tregothan in Cornwall, and so on over most of England. Just why this humorous form of the classical portico which was neither aesthetic nor utilitarian should have become such a standard motif is worth considering in terms of code. It spelt the city and urban affairs as might be anticipated, but it may also have alluded in a political way to the improvised but notorious (or glorious) balcony that appeared at the Banqueting House in January 1647 for the execution of Charles I.

I have attempted to show that the appearance of a group of these compact houses in the 1650s was not a triumph of the second rate, a brief glory for the ineffectual and incompetent, but an important shift in taste away from the architecture officially fostered in the previous decades. It was a conscious return to different and more traditional forms and to the establishment through its language of ornament, of popular rather than élitist values. Overall, I see too in this vital and revolutionary decade the start of the dominance of city over country. And for all these reasons I have taken an analogy with the rise over this last decade of what is termed Post-Modernism.

Now if such a parallel holds true, will history repeat itself in the same fashion in the twentieth as it did in the seventeenth century? And will it be history as a comedy or a tragedy? If the classicism of the 1630s remained out in the cold until the arrival of Lord Burlington and the Palladians nearly a century later, then Post-Modernism looks as though it

may be in for a long run. I suppose endless architectural jokes, a century of double entendre, and of classicism by stealth, from the Bauhaus to our house in a hundred years.

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2. See Gavin Stamp, 'Illiterate Vernacular', *Spectator* (August 1986), pp. 15-16; Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (London, 1977); Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York, 1977).
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4. For a succinct account of these movements see generally, D. W. Petegorsky, *Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War* (New York, 1972), and more particular studies such as B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Man* (London, 1972), and *The Leveller Tracts*, William Haller and Godfrey Davis (eds) (New York, 1944).
5. Venturi, op. cit., p. 104.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
7. For an account of this period from this point of view see, David Underdown, *Revel Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England* (Oxford, 1985).
8. Le Corbusier, *Vers une Architecture*, Frederick Etchells (trans.) (London, 1946), p. 8.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
11. See A. A. Tait, 'Inigo Jones's "Stone-Heng"', *Burlington Magazine* (1978), pp. 155-58.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
13. *Ibid.*
14. See *Programs and manifestoes on 20th-century architecture*, Illrich Conrads (ed.) (Cambridge, Mass, 1964), p. 18.
15. For Pratt's various writings on English and European architecture see Roger Pratt, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, ed. R. T. Gunther (Oxford, 1928), especially pp. 284-301 for his views on classical, French and Italian architecture.
16. Roger North, *Of Building*, Howard Colvin and John Newman (eds) (Oxford, 1981), and the entry for North in Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects* (London, 1978), pp. 596-98.
17. Colvin and Newman op. cit., p. 24.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
20. Thorpe Hall needs little explanation but Brogborough does: a Bedfordshire property, it was acquired and built by the Parliamentarian Colonel John Okey who settled there after his disgrace in 1654 (H. G. Tibbutt, 'Colonel John Okey', *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, xxxv (Luton, 1955), pp. 77-78).
21. Colvin and Newman, op. cit., p. 9.
22. North wrote 'And as I say'd before, the soul of the architeckt will be seen in the work, be it base or nobel. And using such men in the designing part of a country seat shall succeed which much worse. For they cannot depart from the city way of compacting rooms into as litle wall as is possible; and punching the walls full of windoes like pidgeon holes' (Colvin and Newman, op. cit., p. 26).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
24. For an account of these buildings see James Lees-Milne, *The Age of Inigo Jones* (London, 1953), pp. 159-233; John Cornforth and Oliver Hill, *English Country Houses: Caroline* (London, 1966) and succinctly in John Summerson *Architecture in Britain* (London, 1955), pp. 80-88.
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26. For a discussion of the London building of this period see N. Brett-Jones *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1935), and more particularly, Priscilla Metcalf, 'Balmes', *Architectural Review* (June, 1957), pp. 445-46.
27. Syndale was destroyed in 1963 but there is a view of it in C. Greenwood, *Epitome of Kent* (London, 1838), p. 253. The house was built by Daniel Judde in c. 1658, see Thomas Philpot, *Villare Cantianum* (London, 1659), p. 216. Bay Hall is similarly destroyed — c. 1928 — and is recorded in R. Curtis and Lady Hawley, 'Bayhall, Pembury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLII (London, 1930), pp. 173-76.
28. The best visual account of Thorpe Hall is given in Avary Tipping, *English Houses: 1649-1714* (London, 1920), pp. 23-52; and more recently Cornforth and Hill op. cit., pp. 102-09.
29. Cobham Hall belonged in the 1650s to the Duke of Lennox, and Nunappleton to the Parliamentarian General Lord Fairfax. For Cobham and Lampport see Lees-Milne, op. cit., pp. 189-90, 170-76 and for Nunappleton, C. R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (London, 1870), p. 365.
30. See, James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 153-85; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (Harmondsworth, 1984), pp. 243-54; Richard Gill, *Happy Rural Seat* (London, 1972), p. 230.
31. See John Harris and A. A. Tait, *The Drawings of Inigo Jones, John Webb etc* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 72-73.
32. For Charborough see *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Dorset*, II, pt I (London, 1970), pp. 163-69.
33. For an analysis of the Tuscan order at St Paul's Covent Garden see John Summerson, 'Inigo Jones', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, I (1965).
34. Chauncy, op. cit., p. 265.
35. A drawing in the RIBA drawings collection (K.4/2) shows the house stuccoed and with wings added in c. 1724. The house was remodelled in 1902.
36. Chauncy, op. cit., p. 414.
37. John Harris, *Sir William Chambers* (London, 1970), pp. 210-11.
38. For Wisbech see Lees-Milne, op. cit., p. 206, where the view is reproduced. (pl. 85).
39. This view of the house is on loan to the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne.