



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Dana Arnold, 'Rationality, Safety and Power:
The Street Planning of Later Georgian
London', *The Georgian Group Journal*,
Vol. V, 1995, pp. 37-50 + 132-133

Rationality, Safety and Power: The street planning of later Georgian London

Dana Arnold

On 1st December 1820 George IV wrote a letter to his people about his divorce. He described the situation in Europe on his marriage in 1792.

‘The French Revolution was at its height; the Royal family of France had been murdered, Holland had imbibed the Revolutionary mania, and the Stadtholder had fled to this protecting country; at home a traitorous spirit was actively at work; trials for high treason had served only to increase the insolence of faction, and foster Rebellion, Ireland was on the verge of open Revolt; and every political appearance threatened an attempt upon a constitution of these realms; a dreadful war was raging and yet in the face of all these evils, it was the wish of my Royal Father to strengthen the Succession to the throne of these realms.’¹

Even if this view is taken with a large pinch of salt, it does outline the volatile situation in Europe, from the point of view of a monarch, in the late Georgian period. Laws could be passed and political measures taken to ensure the primacy of the state over its populace. But there were more practical and physical steps which could be taken to make London a safer place – for the king and the upper classes. This could be achieved through urban planning and a change in the makeup of the building stock which would in turn affect the demographic pattern of London. This separation of the classes was seen not only as a way of maintaining law and order but also protecting speculative investments in property. Moreover, the introduction of monuments, public buildings and royal palaces as the foci for this new rational street plan enabled the state to express its power in a new and significant way.

The developments made in the planning of London during the opening years of the nineteenth century are set against a period of continued political turbulence across Europe. It is possible to identify in the creation of Regent’s Street – the new street and the works around the Royal Parks and the area then known as Charing Cross a wish on the part of George IV and his ministers to bolster the position of the crown and enhance the authority of the state.² These measures were also intended to protect the upper class residents of the west end of London yet, paradoxically, their resistance to the Metropolitan Improvements especially the new street – was considerable. This is exemplified in the attitude of the well to do residents of the east side of Cavendish Square. They objected in the strongest terms to the new street as it would drastically reduce the amount of land and outbuildings to the rear of their properties. Nash was forced to re-route the new street by about 100 yards to the east. As a consequence the street had to make a sharp turn to the north-west to meet up with Portland Place. (Figs. 1 and 2)

The London street plan had long proved problematical and there had been several attempts to remedy it. Sir John Summerson describes the legacy of the seventeenth century:

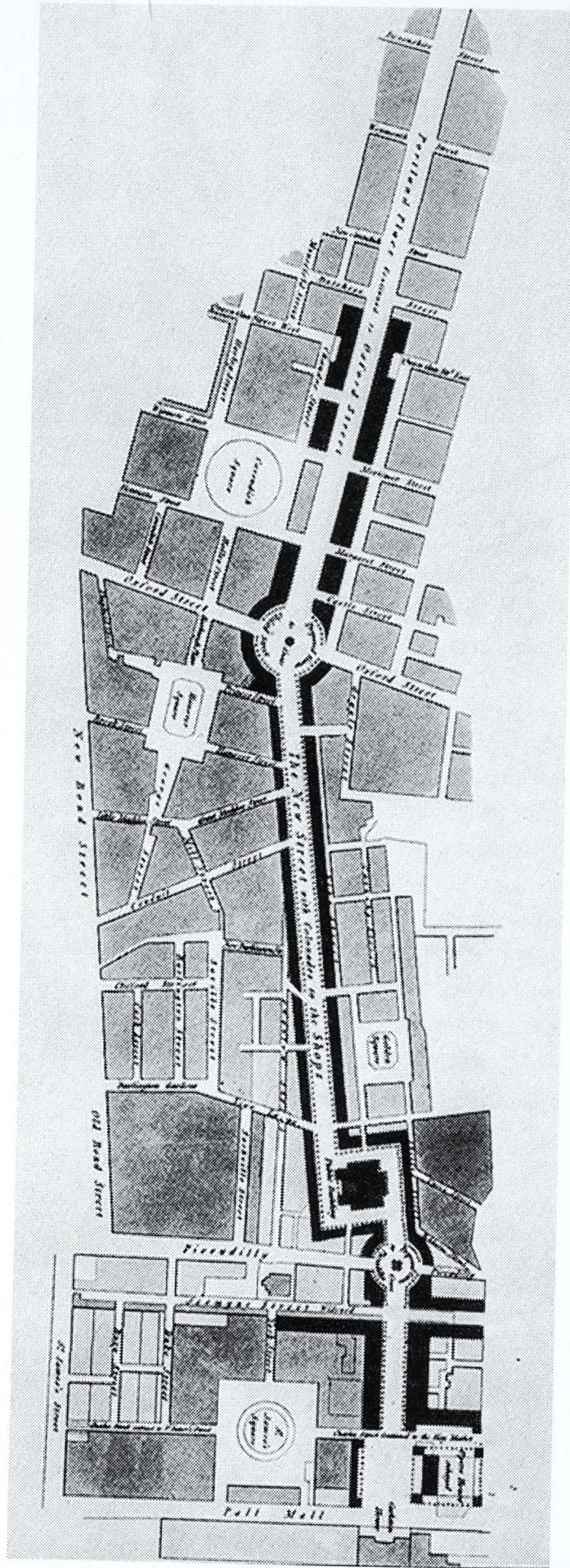


Fig. 1 First Report of the Commissioners of Woods, Forest and Land Revenues, 1812.
Plan for a new Street from Charing Cross to Portland Place.

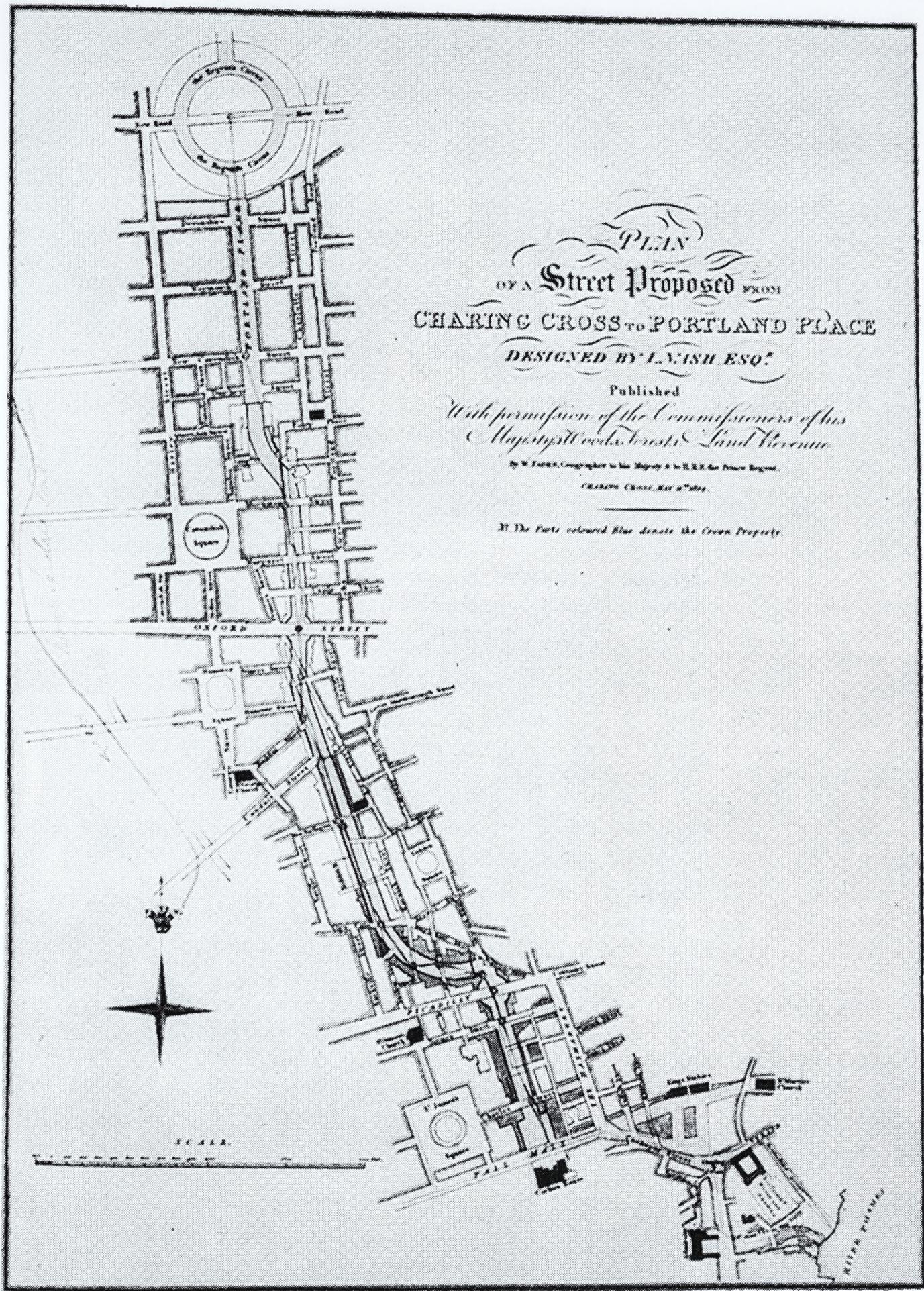


Fig. 2 Map of the proposed new street. 1814.

‘[it] can be imagined by anybody who walks through Soho today with the object of proceeding consistently and with reasonable expedition in a given direction. Hardly a street goes anywhere except into another street which crosses it and enforces a left or right turn. Only one street, Wardour Street (in origin a medieval field track) goes all the way through from north to south; and no street goes through from east to west.’³

Summerson attributed this pattern of building is a result of small scale building projects on tiny plots – enterprises which had no overall plan or direction.

The Great Fire of 1666 offered the first obvious opportunity to rationalize the London street plan.⁴ Amongst the many proposals for the rebuilding of the city was Sir Christopher Wren’s plan for a series of streets radiating from St Paul’s Cathedral. Wren’s contemporary, John Evelyn also produced several plans for the rebuilding of London on more rational lines.⁵

Significantly none of these plans was realized and London continued to develop in a piecemeal fashion well into the eighteenth century. The first signs of any further wish to combat the traffic jams and general inconvenience of the London street pattern was seen in John Gwynn’s map and critical text *London and Westminster Improved* (1766). He proposed an extension of Haymarket northward forcing a way through Soho and Oxford Street and the widening of Swallow Street. There was no possibility of these plans being realized but they demonstrate the need for better circulation through the city and the lack of political will to impose it.

Attitudes began to change towards the end of the eighteenth century. Many of these ideas came from John Fordyce, Surveyor General of Land Revenues, whose role in initiating the Metropolitan Improvements has been overshadowed by the work of John Nash.⁶ In 1794 Fordyce made the modest suggestion that Tichborne Street be widened. This was not a revolutionary idea in itself but it did set a precedent for the desirability of straightening a wig-gly street.

It is only at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the architectural ambitions of the Prince Regent, later George IV, focus on London that the question of the road system and traffic circulation through the capital is fully addressed. The question to be asked is how this interacted with the state in its attempt to underline its position of authority during this period of such social and political upheaval.

An important factor behind the Prince Regent’s wish to elevate the status of London’s architecture and urban planning was the example set by other cities. Alongside other European capitals there were also towns and cities within the British Isles with which the Regent felt the need to compete. Paris was seen as the immediate competition and the Regent is reported as declaring that ‘the splendours of Napoleon’s Paris would be eclipsed by what he planned for London.’⁷ On his visits to Paris in 1814 and 1815 John Nash was certainly impressed by Napoleon I’s creation of the straight rue du Rivoli with its classical arcades and mixture of shops and housing. Moreover, his designs for Regent’s Park and Regent Street and later Buckingham Palace show the influence of the Tuileries, Place de la Concorde and the Arc du Carrousel. Of the English towns Bath is perhaps the most obvious precedent. The work of John Wood and his fellow builders had produced a model, homogeneous development full of classical allusions. This is seen, for instance, in the articulation of the façades of the houses on the circus which draws its inspiration from the Colosseum in Rome. But the street plan did not permit the inclusion of focal points or public building as the culmination of axes. It was essentially domestic in conception and scale – an up market housing development. The aesthetic attraction of Bath is seen in Nash’s insistence on the use of Bath coloured stucco on all the buildings erected as part of the Regent’s Park and Regent’s Street project.⁸ The combined influence of Paris and Bath is perhaps best seen in The Quadrant. (Fig. 3)

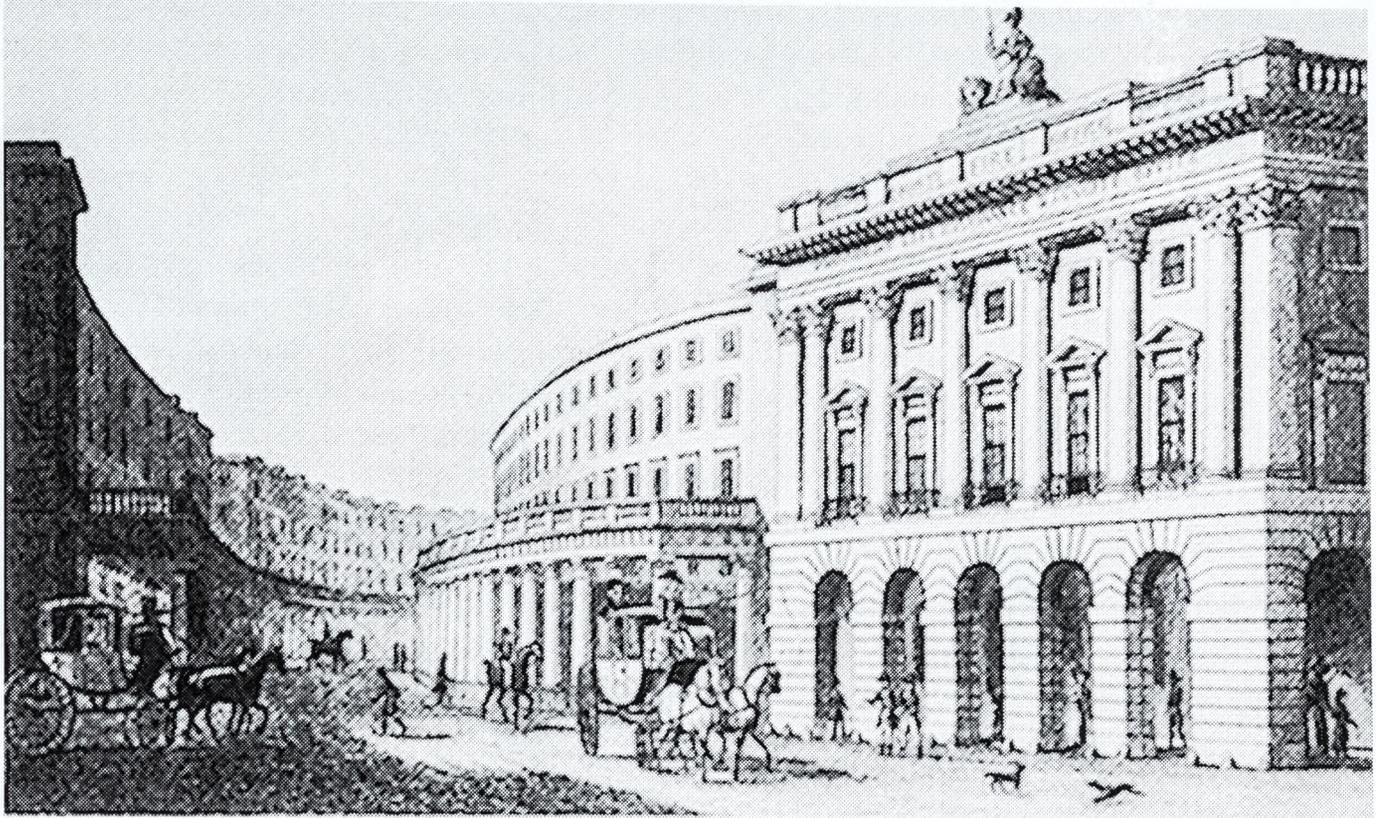


Fig. 3 The Quadrant and County Fire Office (right). *c.* 1825.

This is the only part of Regent's Street where Nash's plan for an arcaded street was realized. Here the majesty of Napoleon's axial planning was rescued by the precedent of a curved terrace as seen in the Royal Crescent in Bath as it allowed Nash to circumvent an area through which it had proved too problematical to build the new street. The difficulties encountered by Nash here and from the residents of Cavendish Square brings into question the explanation that the twists and turn of Regent's Street are the result of Nash's predilection for the Picturesque. Indeed, given the nature of the precedents on which Nash drew and his original plans both his and the Prince Regent's vision for London was quite different to the finished result.⁹ This comes more clearly into focus when London is compared to the other capital cities in the British Isles.

The aesthetic attractions of Edinburgh New Town provided a more than adequate spur to the Regent's ambition but in many ways Dublin was a more relevant precedent. The Wide Street Commission of 1756 sought to improve the circulation of traffic through Dublin by creating straight wide streets lined with substantial middle and upper class terrace housing. Also Dublin was the second city of Empire and it was beginning to outshine London through its streets and public buildings most notably James Gandon's *The Four Courts*, 1776–96 and Sir Edward Lovet Pearce's *Parliament House* (now *Bank of Ireland*) 1728–39. These comparisons are not to imply that early nineteenth-century London lacked quality or character. Indeed S. E. Rasmussen described London:

'The English square or crescent . . . is a restricted whole as complete as the courtyard of a convent. They form fine geometrical figures in the town plan, they are regular and completely uniform on all sides, and a series of such squares may be linked together in any order . . . It is as if the traditions of the Middle Ages had been handed down to the present day in the squares in these domestic quarters. But the narrow courts of the old town have been transformed into the open squares of the newer quarters.'¹⁰

But it is what Rasmussen does *not* say which is important here. The squares did not always fit neatly together – pockets of wasteland often lay in between them. Connections between the squares was not always commodious. And most importantly, the nature of the new quarters was essentially *domestic*.

Rationality

The first moves towards rationalizing the street layout of west London came a few years after John Fordyce's suggestion regarding Tichborne Street. A plan, possibly by James Wyatt, proposed a street starting opposite Carlton House in Pall Mall, still the residence of the Prince Regent, going through Golden Square and finishing at the south end of Great Portland Street. It was not realized. But it is significant as the proposed street was not only a straight line but also culminated in a royal residence.

At about this time the leases on land to the north of London known as Marybone Park reverted to the crown. The land had been used for market gardens and small holdings. But although it had once been geographically remote from the heart of London the spread of the city westward now meant it was more centrally located and so more significant. Proposals to develop this area were first drawn up by John White in 1809. These were followed by a proposal by Thomas Leverton and Thomas Chawner in 1811 to continue the gridiron development of the west London street plan into the Marybone Park area. This would have meant that the area would have become indistinct from the rest of the newly developed west end smart, fashionable terraces of up market housing. This is in direct contrast to John Nash's adopted plan of 1811/12 which in its original form was far more ambitious. Marybone Park was to be quite different to the Georgian squares to the south of it. The area was to be encircled by terraces of houses with façades in the mode of grand palaces.¹¹ The parkland was to be landscaped and 56 villas were to be built in the parkland in such a way as to make each villa appear as if it alone enjoyed all the surrounding landscape. Alongside the villas the park was to contain a church, a new barracks, a royal pavilion and national valhalla. The planning was formal with a series of concentric circuses and perimeter roads.

For the first time a coherent, rational plan was produced as part of this very rapid development of London. More importantly, Fordyce made an essential contribution without which the plan would either have languished or had a much reduced impact on the urban plan of London. He suggested, through his surveyors Leverton and Chawner, that a new street was vital to link the new area with central London. Fordyce saw the chief obstacle to the development of Regent's Park as its isolation. He argued a road linking it to the Houses of Parliament was essential. This was recognized as early as 1809 when he remarked:

'Distance is best computed by time; and if means could be found to lessen the time of going from Marybone to the Houses of Parliament, the value of the ground for building would be thereby proportionately increased. The best and probably upon the whole, the most advantageous way of doing that, would be by opening a great street from Charing-Cross towards a central part of Marylebone Park.'¹²

The new road from the park to Charing Cross would reduce travelling time by one-third. Fordyce's understanding of the need to rationalize the street plan and his recognition of the significance of the area known as Charing Cross is important here. His fusion of the two as part of a new vision for London is a cathartic moment in the history of the city.

These ideas were taken up by John Nash in his report of 1812.¹³ This received the royal assent on 10th June 1813 as 'An act for a more convenient communication from Mary le Bone

Park and the Northernmost Parts of the Metropolis . . . to Charing Cross . . . and for the making of a more convenient sewage for the same'.¹⁴

The report included the provision for the 'widening [of] Cockspur Street from the south end of Haymarket to Charing Cross; and forming an open square in the King's Mews opposite Charing Cross.'

By 1825 Nash was required by the commissioners of Woods and Forests to develop this area into a square at the junction of Whitehall, St Martin's Lane, the Strand and Pall Mall East and to improve the communications through the west of the metropolis which included the widening of the western end of the Strand. (Fig. 4) Nash was also asked to devise a

'more commodious access from the Houses of Parliament . . . to the British, Museum and the numerous respectably occupied new buildings in the part of the Metropolis, in which that Great National Repository is now being permanently established.'¹⁵

These are significant developments in the history of London's planning. For the first time commodious access to all parts of the city and links between public buildings appear on the agenda.

Safety

It is tempting to see these improvements solely as a move on the part of the Prince Regent and his officers to make London more impressive architecturally – to appear like a capital instead of, according to Summerson, 'a huddle of bricks with a steepled skyline'.

But, there is more to it than this. Mindful of the French Revolution – the 'Fire Next Door' which Edmund Burke saw as the 'unstoppable tide' which would spread across Europe – the choice of Charing Cross as a site for substantial renewal and renovation is significant.

Charing Cross had traditionally been the site of sparring matches between the state and the people. It had been the site of hangings and pillories. Later hangings were moved to Tyburn to remove the bloodthirsty mobs away from government. But the procession of the condemned to Tyburn, enthusiastically followed by the crowd, and would still begin at Charing Cross.

Directly to the north-west were some of the city's poorest areas including rookeries such as Porridge Island, Seven Dials and St Giles's. Their growing presence on the edge of St James's was seen as potentially troublesome and a threat to the king, government and the aristocracy. These fears were heightened by the recent 'Gordon Riots' of 1780 which had caused widespread anxiety across London's upper classes. Mob violence, the proximity of poor to government and the existence of a geographical focal point for the people's protest in Charing Cross was not a happy mix – especially in the wake of the French Revolution.

The Metropolitan Improvements and associated developments sought to deal with this perceived threat in three main ways. Firstly, in the imposition of physical barriers between the different classes. Secondly, in the building of new barracks and strategic placing of troops in the capital. Thirdly, and most importantly, the assertion of the power of the state and through it the nation's safety which redefined the relationship of the individual to the state. This was achieved through the new street planning and the strategic placing of monuments and public buildings whose purpose was to underline the military and intellectual achievements of the nation. John Nash's plan for the development of London was presented under three main headings: *Utility to the Public, Beauty of the Metropolis and Practicability*.¹⁶

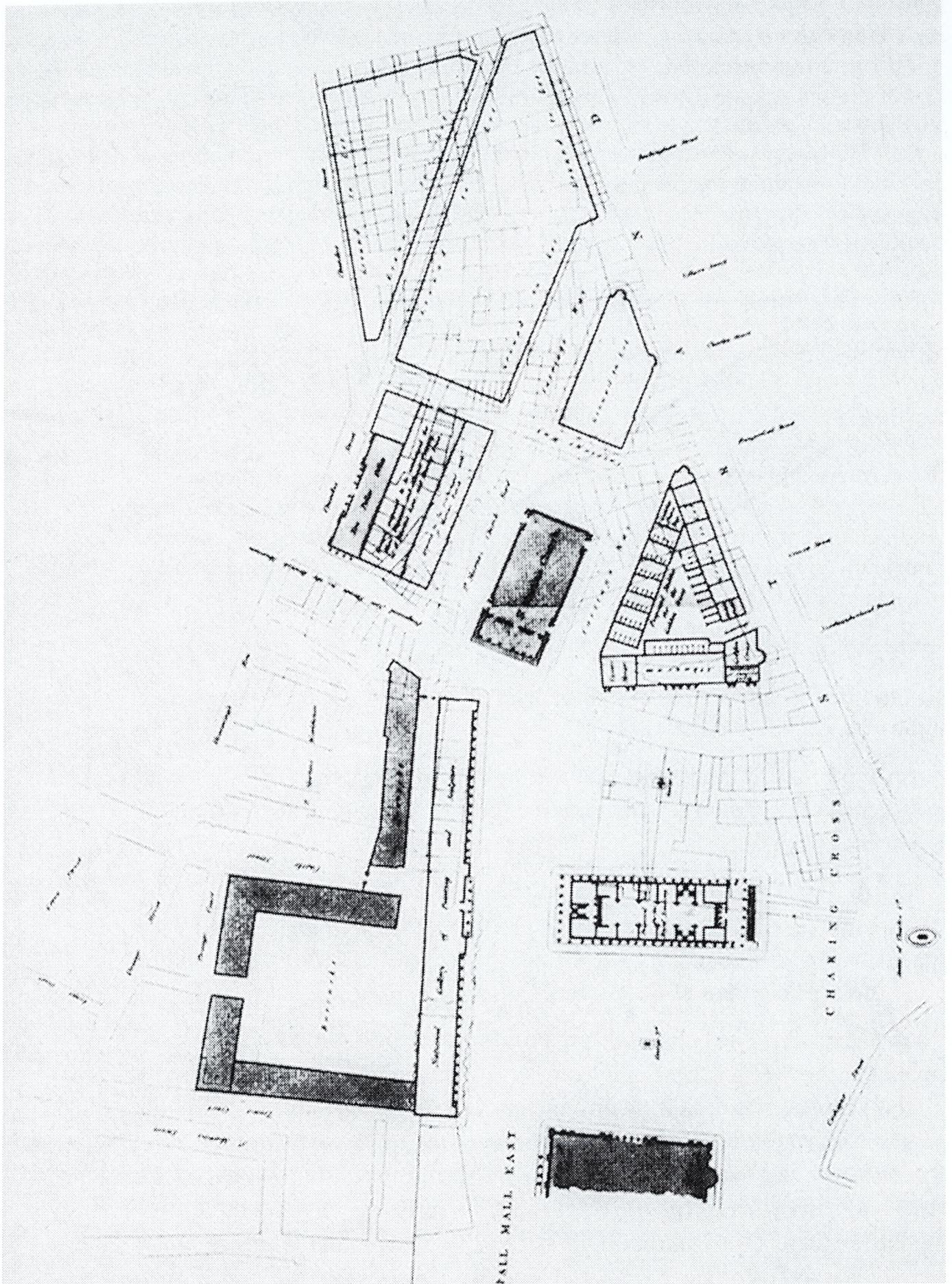


Fig. 4 Proposal for the improvement of Charing Cross, St Martin's Lane and the entrance to the Strand. John Nash, 1826. The new plan is superimposed over the existing buildings. This together with Fig. 5 shows the nature and extent of the redevelopment of the area.

The new street was creating for the first time a strong north–south axis through the city and with it came a division of the classes. In cruder terms the upper echelons lived to the west of the new street in the smart new squares. Shopkeepers, craftsmen and the very poor lived to the east.

Nash made no secret of his objective to:

‘provide a boundary and complete separation between the Streets and Squares occupied by the nobility and gentry, and the narrow streets and meaner Houses occupied by the mechanics and the trading parts of the community.’¹⁷

On completion of the new street Nash wrote:

‘my purpose was that the new street should cross the eastern entrance to all the streets occupied by the higher classes and to leave out to the east all the bad streets, and as a sailor would express himself to hug all the avenues that went to good streets.’¹⁸

As Summerson has pointed out there were sound economic reasons for Nash’s snobbery – better houses meant better occupants and better rents. Building through the poorer areas was cheaper and meant the existing good quality building in the west end could be retained.

The feeling of opulence and safety was enhanced by Nash’s continuous colonnades which flanked the buildings from Oxford Circus to Charing Cross.

‘Those who have daily intercourse with the public establishments in Westminster, may go $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way on foot under cover, and those who have nothing to do but walk about and amuse themselves may do so every day of the week, instead of being frequently confined many days together to their Houses by rain; and such a covered colonnade would be of peculiar convenience to those who require daily exercise. The Balustrades over the Colonnades will form balconies to the lodging rooms over the Shops, from which the occupiers of the lodgings can see and converse with those passing in Carriages underneath, and which will add to the gaiety of the scene, and induce single men, and others, who only visit Town occasionally, to give a preference to such Lodgings.’¹⁹

These were fine ideas but others saw them as a threat to public safety and decency. Lord Glenbervie exclaimed that they were:²⁰

‘pretty on paper “but” such a repository for Damp, Obscurity, Filth and Indecency as no regulation or Police will be able to prevent.’²¹

Nash made the reply regarding indecency that the receding forms of the columns ‘will preclude any shelter to those who may be disposed to commit nuisances against them’.²²

The new street certainly did create a physical barrier between the classes, displacing many tradespeople around Haymarket and completely ruining many businesses.²³ It also halted the spread of the rookeries which were impossible to police. Nash also tried to ensure that the lower classes should not penetrate these new developments. The new street and park it was decreed

‘shall be open at all times to all his Majesties Subjects to pass and repass along the same (except . . . Waggons, Carts, Drays or the vehicles for the carriage of goods, merchandise, manure soil or other articles, or Oxen Cows, Horses or Sheep in any drove or droves).’²⁴

This measure could be interpreted simply as a wish to improve the circulation through the west end of London and it certainly gives a flavour of the diversity of traffic. His real motive is betrayed in his response when traders in St James’s market petitioned for the right of access to the new street. Nash replied ‘No – it would spoil the beauty of the plan entirely – for people riding up and down might see offal or something of that kind.’²⁵

In 1822 inhabitants of the parishes of St Martin’s and St Anne’s Soho also petitioned against the closure of ‘the passage through the Royal Mews recently shut in the interests of public service’.²⁶ The closure is significant here as it had provided a convenient link for traders between Soho and Westminster – two areas of very different social make-up. But this is

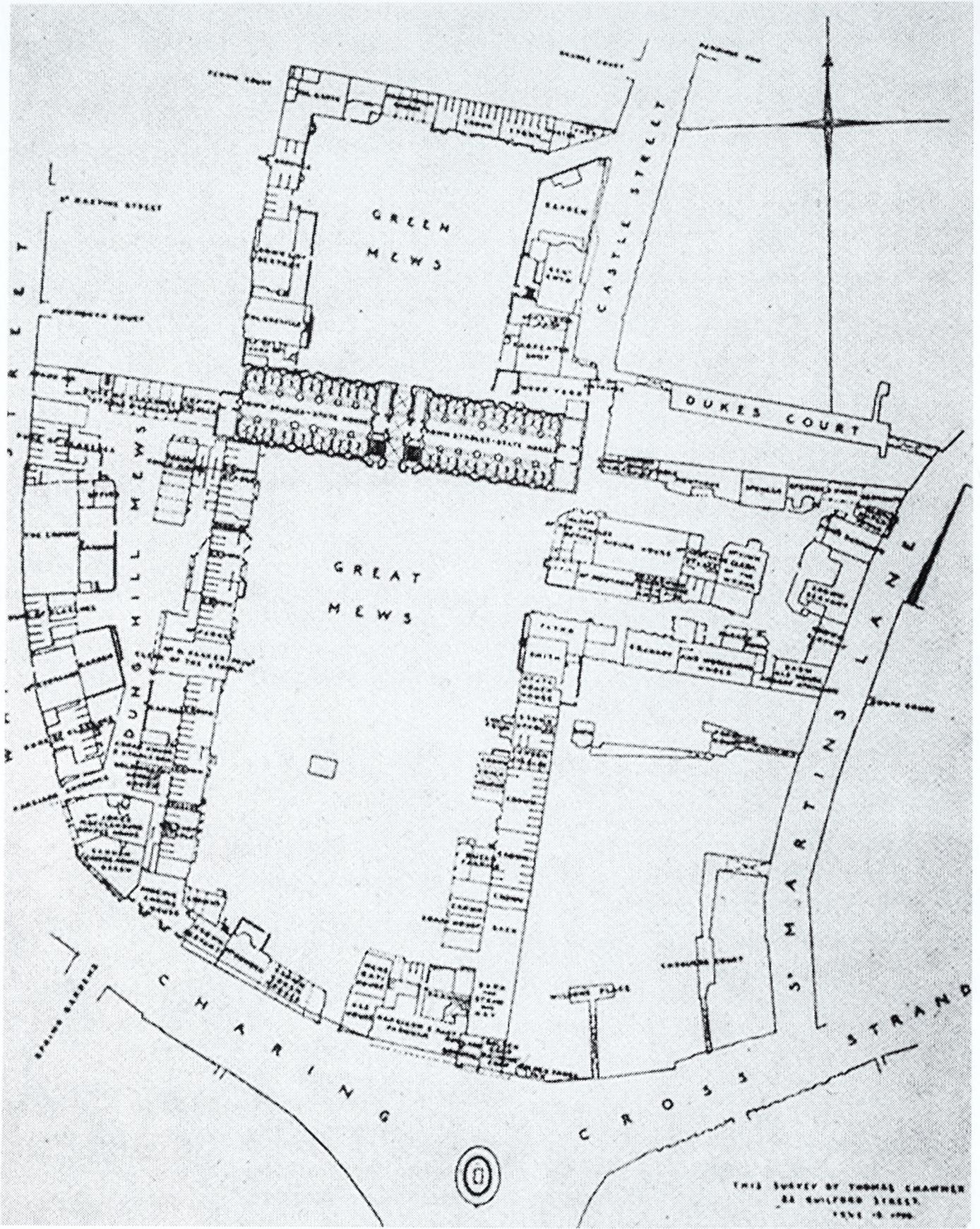


Fig. 5 Survey showing the layout of Charing Cross and the Royal Mews. 1796.



Fig. 6 The Royal Stables at Charing Cross designed by William Kent, 1732.

more than another example of the wish to segregate the classes as the passage went through the Royal Mews at Charing Cross. Charing Cross had also been the site of a temporary barracks. (Fig. 5) These were adjacent to William Kent's Royal Stable 1732. (Fig. 6) As part of the general improvements of the area many of the near derelict buildings which made up the area known as 'The Great Mews' were demolished to leave the Royal Stables standing as a suitable terminus at the top of Whitehall.²⁷ (Figs. 5 and 7) But the barracks were rebuilt in 1825 and new accommodation was constructed for 800 troops. The site was changed to the old Green Mews situated further to the north behind the Royal Mews as the Master of Fortification stated 'it gave free access from the back of the barracks to all the North Parts of the town'.²⁸

These developments also facilitated the movement of troops across the city. They could arrive on the scene more quickly if any trouble arose. The building of new and the repositioning of old barracks was an essential part of the Metropolitan Improvements. But the importance of a strong military presence had been appreciated before this time. The 'Giordon Riots' were suppressed by the army even though this was disapproved of by C. J. Fox, Edmund Burke and even the Whig government. And, subsequently, barracks were built to prevent a reoccurrence of civil disorder.²⁹ This trend continued with the inclusion of new barracks in the plan for the Regent's Park.

The segregation of the classes and the increased and more effective presence of troops in the city did help to make London safer. But there was also a general feeling of national security after the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo. This sentiment of nationalism united the populace and was used by the state to assert its power.

Power

The state expressed its power in various ways. This essay concentrates on the effect this expression had on town planning and, to a lesser extent, architecture. Two types of power can be explored here. Firstly, the assertion of the power of the state over its subjects and secondly, the expression of the power of the state in the international arena.



Fig. 7 Barracks on the east side of The Great Mews at Charing Cross, demolished in the early 1820s.

To take the first assertion it is important to consider the changing nature of the area now called Trafalgar Square. Until about 1820 Charing Cross (as it was previously called) was the gate to Whitehall and the Royal Park of St James. In many ways the creation of Trafalgar Square can be seen as an enlargement of the forecourt in front of these gates – before it was named Trafalgar Square there was a proposal to call it King's Square.

This entrance way had been the most important land entrance to Whitehall – the river approach to it being the most significant. This had been used as an approach to the seat of government by returning armies or packs of dissidents.

During the civil war hangings, beheadings, and drawings and quarterings regularly took place and the majority of the regicides were executed here. The king was executed within the perceived royal precinct a few hundred yards down the road at the Banqueting House. Displays of brutality continued at this spot. In the first half of the eighteenth century branding, nose splitting and ear lopping were regular occurrences. In 1703 Daniel Defoe had stood in the public pillory for three days. He, however, was not stoned to death but bedecked with flowers whilst his newly published *Hymn to the Pillory* was eagerly purchased by the crowd.

By the Regency period these practices had been replaced by more subtle expressions of power. The wholesale displacement of the poorer elements of the population to enable the building of the new street is a very obvious manifestation. The subsequent zoning of classes again confirmed the state's authority. But the new symbols of the state dotted across the metropolis were the main method of reinforcing the state's authority. This was certainly more subtle than public execution or mutilation on the king's doorstep.

Describing his grand scheme for London Nash stated:

'Every length of street would be terminated by a façade of beautiful architecture . . . and to add to the beauty of approach from Westminster to Charing Cross, a square or crescent, open to and looking down Parliament Street might be built around the Equestrian Statue at Charing Cross which at

the same time that it would enlarge that space from whence as before observed the greatest part of the population of the Metropolis meet and diverge, it could afford a magnificent and beautiful termination of the street from Westminster. The lofty situation of Charing Cross and gradual ascent to it are peculiarly calculated to produce a grand and striking effect. Such a building might be appropriated to additional offices for the Government or Royal Academy or Antiquarian Society might be placed there.³⁰

In 1826 Nash published a plan to build a Royal Academy in the centre of the space based on a Greek temple and proposed that a National Gallery of Art should be situated at Charing Cross.³¹ (Fig. 4) These were not the only monuments to national genius in the architect's vision. A circular doric temple was proposed by Nash in 1826 to be placed in Piccadilly Circus as a monument to Shakespeare. These schemes can be seen to link with Robert Smirke's British Museum, a symbol of the nation's prowess through its collection of antiquities, begun in 1823, which was to be connected to Charing Cross via an axial road leading directly from its main entrance.³² Monuments to the nation's military prowess played an equally important part in the assertion of the power of the state. The victories at Trafalgar and Waterloo afforded ample opportunity for celebration and there were many proposals for commemorative archways, columns and even mausolea to Nelson and Wellington to be placed at strategic points across the city.³³ George IV harnessed the nation's enthusiasm for these into his own service. This can be clearly seen by a consideration of two monuments – the Marble Arch and the Arch at Constitution Hill. The triumphal gateways are significant as they are part of the new iconography of London created by the king and his architects.³⁴ Moreover, they show how the desire for a rational street plan was closely connected with the desire of the monarchy to underline its own status and authority. The new street has been intended to terminate at Carlton House. The king's decision in the early 1820s to demolish it and to develop Buckingham House into a new royal palace changed the shape and orientation of the plan for a new London. It created two new axes, one running east–west the other north–south. The Mall ran westwards along St James's Park and terminated at Buckingham Palace. The Arch at Constitution Hill provided an entrance to the garden of the new royal residence. It was also aligned with the Hyde Park Screen to provide a fitting, monumental entrance way for the king into Hyde Park, the scene of military parades and mock battles. This meant that the traditional gateway into London from the west at the end of Piccadilly was turned 90 degrees to align with Buckingham Palace.³⁵ Both arches were to be decorated with sculptural celebrations of Britain's military victories, intellectual prowess and the Hanoverian dynasty.³⁶

This was indeed a grand vision. The new system of roads, punctuated with monuments, impressive public buildings and culminating in a new royal residence offered the well to do residents of London a feeling of safety. And, every Londoner was invited to celebrate the nation's security, thanks to the king, through the memorials and triumphal archways strategically placed in the royal parks to which there was now public access.

The vision did not fully materialize. Many projects were left unfinished and criticism of the architectural styles used for many of the buildings was not always well received. As costs soared and public and politicians alike began to query the huge sums of money being spent by John Nash for work at Buckingham Palace. There was a complete moratorium on any more work in 1828 pending the results of an official enquiry.

The remains of the project are now piecemeal and fragmented having never been completed or subsequently altered or demolished. But this is not to say the project was reduced

to a kind of *folie de grandeur*. London did emerge as a world class city. Indeed Napoleon III was so impressed with the Metropolitan Improvements on his stay in London during his exile from France that on his return to Paris he encouraged Philippe, later baron, Haussman to develop the city using similar planning principles. The significance of George IV's vision was recognized by the diarist Henry Crabb Robinson who delivered his verdict on Regent's Park and Regent's Street:

'This enclosure, with the New Street leading to it from Carlton House, will give a sort of glory to the Regent's government, which will be more felt by remote posterity than the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo, glorious as these are.'³⁸

This is testament indeed to the concern for rationality, safety and the assertion of power which directed the street planning of late Georgian London.

Acknowledgements

This article was first given as a paper at a research seminar at the Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London. I would like to thank Dr Derek Keene for inviting me to give the paper. I would also like to thank Professor Michael Port who chaired the seminar and those who attended for their helpful comments and suggestions.

- Cooper-Hewitt Museum*, (Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 28–29, nos. 10 and 9 respectively. On page 28 Campana's drawing is erroneously associated with the Accademia Clementina, Bologna, rather than with the Accademia di San Luca, Rome. For a third drawing by Barberi in the Cooper-Hewitt collection (1938.88.1129) which certainly relates to Campana's designs see E. Kaufmann: *Architecture in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge Mass., 1955), Fig. 81 (attributed there to Giuseppe Valadier).
- 35 Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, 1938.88.1092 and 1938.88.1093. See Bernard: *Crosscurrents*, pp. 27–28, nos. 7–8, and Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, no. 931. This connection was noted and illustrated by Berliner: 'Giuseppe Barberi', vii (1966), 210–11, plates 11–12. Kaufmann: *Age of Reason*, figs. 78–80, reproduced other Barberi sketches at the Cooper-Hewitt of possible relevance to his son's 'designs'.
- 36 Gandy Letters, p. 44.
- 37 ANSL, vol. 54, fols. 105r–138v. It is conceivable that Gandy was in some sense perceived as Asprucci's 'candidate', and thus part of a rival camp to those of Giuseppe Barberi and Gabriel Duran.
- 38 The *prova* was still on public display with all the other *concorso* drawings in the Senators' Palace in November 1795 'and there to remain as long as they can hold together in the Campadoglio' (Gandy Letters, p. 103). After that, its provenance places it in the collection of Giovanni Piancastelli, curator of the Borghese Gallery in the early nineteenth century. It is tempting to speculate that the drawing was the 'premium' which the anonymous introduction to the Gandy Letters (p. 2) says the architect had to sell (perhaps to Asprucci, directly to Piancastelli, or to someone else connected with the Borghese) in order to escape from Rome in May 1797 when the city was occupied by the French. This 'premium' has commonly been thought to be Gandy's medals (see J. Summerson: 'The Vision of J.M. Gandy', *Heavenly Mansions* (London, 1949), pp 111–34 (115); Stillman: 'British Architects', p. 44, n. 7; Lukacher: 'Joseph Michael Gandy', p. 38). In fact Gandy had sent the medals to London with Richard Westmacott Junior in May 1796 (Gandy Letters, pp. 126–8). His father acknowledged receipt of them in August (Gandy Letters, p. 201) although he suspected Westmacott, who had lost the medals he won for the sculpture first class first prize in the same *concorso* as Gandy, of substituting replicas for two of Gandy's medals.
- 39 ANSL, vol. 55, fols. 25v–26r. Gandy himself drew an annotated sketch plan of the seating arrangements (Gandy Letters, p. 74).
- 40 Gandy Letters, p. 74.
- 41 Gandy Letters, pp. 72–3.
- 42 Gandy Letters, p. 75.
- 43 In 1816 Gandy served a term of imprisonment in the Fleet as an undischarged bankrupt. See D. Hill: 'Gandy's Professional Career', *Joseph Michael Gandy*, Architectural Association Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1982), pp. 26–35 (31).
- 44 Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Typed Transcript of Basevi's Travel Letters, pp. 97–8 (29 March 1817).

NOTES TO PAGES 37–50

- 1 As quoted in *The King's Visit to Dublin As discoursed by Andrew Walsh, Darby Morris and John Simpson*, printed by G. Bull, 3 Redmond Hill, 1st edition 1822.
- 2 I am greatly indebted to the work done in this area by Ann Saunders *Regent's Park from 1806 to the present*, London 1981, Sir John Summerson *The Life and Works of John Nash, Architect*, London 1980, Rodney Mace, *Trafalgar Square Emblem of Empire*, London 1976, and Hermione Hobhouse – *A History of Regent Street*, London, 1975. My Ph.D. research on 'Decimus Burton (1800–1881): architect and town planner' has examined Burton's role in the development of Regent's Park, Regent's Street, the Royal Parks and the Metropolitan Improvements in the light of the politics and society of London 1800–1830.
- 3 Sir John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect*, London 1980, p. 75.
- 4 It is important to note that the area now known as the city was the centre of London in the mid seventeenth century and much of the West End was open fields with Soho and Covent garden being the western edge of the capital.
- 5 Sir Christopher Wren's plan and three drawn up by John Evelyn are reproduced in *Vestuta Monumenta*, II, 1789. Evelyn's description of his plan for London is published in E. S. de Beer (ed.) *John Evelyn: London Revived*, Oxford 1938.
- 6 For a biographical outline of Fordyce and an appraisal of his abilities as a civil servant see Saunders op. cit. pp. 63–6 esp.
- 7 Letter from T. Moore to James Carry, 24 October 1811 as quoted in J. Summerson, *John Nash Architect to King George IV*, London 1949, pp. 107.
- 8 This is mentioned in a lease taken out by James Burton on a plot of land in Regent's Park, PRO Cres 6/131 f. 47. The conditions laid down by Nash were typical for those of the whole Regent's Park and Regent's Street project.
- 9 John Nash's creation of a Picturesque effect in the Regent's Park and Regent's Street development as a result of a series of muddles and accidents is

- discussed by J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Metropolitan Improvements: John Nash and the Picturesque', in C. Fox (ed.) *London – World City 1800–1840*, Yale, 1992, pp. 77–96.
- 10 S. E. Rasmussen, *London the Unique City*, MIT, 1982, pp. 198–200.
 - 11 Nash drew his inspiration from France especially the façades of the Louvre and Versailles.
 - 12 The Surveyor General's Triennial Report no. 4, 1809.
 - 13 First Report to His Majesties Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, London, 1812.
 - 14 53 Geo. III, c. 121.
 - 15 Fifth Report to His Majesties Commissioners of Woods Forests and Land Revenues, London, 1826.
 - 16 First Report, 1812, as note 16.
 - 17 Report from the Select Committee on the Office of Works, 1828. p. 74.
 - 18 1828 Report, as note 21.
 - 19 First Report, 1812, p. 89.
 - 20 Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie was a fellow civil servant of John Fordyce. Conflicting accounts of his abilities and commitment to the Metropolitan Improvements appear in Saunders op. cit and Mordaunt Crook loc. cit.
 - 21 PRO Cres 26/17.
 - 22 idem.
 - 23 As a result of complaints from the residents of Piccadilly and St James's that it was a nuisance Haymarket was moved to Cumberland Market, Regent's Park.
 - 24 53 Geo. III, c. 121.
 - 25 Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Tradesmen and Inhabitants of Norris Street and Market Terrace, 1817 (79) iii. 83.
 - 26 PRO Cres 26/188.
 - 27 New royal stables in Pimlico were planned as early as 1820. This prompted George IV to permit the demolition of the east and west parts of the old mews to allow the construction of a road to link Pall Mall to St Martin's which effectively created the area later called Trafalgar Square.
 - 28 PRO Cres 26/178.
 - 29 1796 witnessed great developments in the building of barracks in London. Prompted partly by the 'Gordon Riots' a magazine was built in Hyde Park and a new barracks constructed on Knightsbridge.
 - 30 First Report, 1812. p. 90.
 - 31 The history behind the building of the National Gallery at Trafalgar Square is discussed in R. Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1778–1839*, Cambridge, 1980. ch. XII.
 - 32 see note 18.
 - 33 For a fuller discussion of these see R. Barker and R. Hyde, *London as it might have been*, London 1978.
 - 34 This new iconography is discussed in greater depth in D. Arnold 'Decimus Burton and the Urban Picturesque' in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Picturesque in late Georgian England*, papers given at the 1994 Georgian Group Symposium, London, 1995, pp. 51–6.
 - 35 The reasons behind and the consequences of the decision to do this are discussed in D. Arnold, 'The Arch at Constitution Hill: a new axis for London', *Apollo*, September 1993, pp. 129–33.
 - 36 See J. Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. VI pp. 293–7 esp. and D. Arnold, 'Decimus Burton and the Urban Picturesque', loc. cit. and 'The Arch at Constitution Hill', loc. cit. for a discussion of the sculptural decoration of the arches.
 - 37 See D. Arnold, 'Paris Haussman: Le Pari d'Haussman', *The Architects' Journal* 13th November 1991, pp. 58–60.
 - 38 T. Sadler (ed), *Henry Crabb Robinson, Diary*, vol. 1, 1872 p. 310.

NOTES TO PAGES 51–64

- 1 J. Summerson, 'An Early Modernist. James Wild and his Work', *Architect's Journal*, 69, 9 January 1929, pp. 57–62.
- 2 N. Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design* (1936), Harmondsworth, 1974, p. 128, p. 151.
- 3 See his 'On the Influence of Religion Upon Art' (1838) in O. Jones, *Lectures on Architecture and the Decorative Arts*, London, 1863; see also O. Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*, London, 1856.
- 4 H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects of the Victorian Era', *RIBA J*, 56, April 1949, pp. 251–9.
- 5 See D. Van Zanten, *The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830s*, New York and London, 1977; M. Darby, 'Owen Jones and the Eastern Ideal', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Reading, 1974.
- 6 Van Zanten, 1977, 347. Jones designed the interior decoration which was completed in 1851, although only his painted capitals and apse mosaic survive.
- 7 Greater London Record Office, P95/CTC1/139–51.
- 8 Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (Hickleton Papers), York, A2.42.5. Wild-Wood, 14 December 1841.
- 9 C.R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai*, London, 1853, p. 35.
- 10 Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), E3705 to E3768. One of these drawings, E3768, is signed and dated 'Cairo Oct. (42)'.
- 11 S. Lane-Pool, *Life of E.W. Lane*, London and Edinburgh, 1877, 114. See also Bonomi Papers in the possession of Mrs de Cosson (BP), file of correspondence for 1843.