



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Paul Jeffery, 'The Commissioners' Models for the Fifty New Churches: Problems of Identity and Attribution', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. V, 1995, pp. 81-96 + 135-136

The Commissioners' Models for the Fifty New Churches: Problems of identity and attribution

Paul Jeffery

In England, the seventeenth century was marked by violent political change, with ideological confrontation and polarization undermining the traditional relationships between the monarch, Parliament and the established church. With the advent of the eighteenth century and the pious Queen Anne firmly on the throne, the Tory victory in the parliamentary elections of 1710 brought with it hopes of establishing once again an alliance between church and state, but with a church based upon high-church principles, devotion to ritual, ceremony and *ars sacra*.¹

It was the collapse of the roof of the church of St Alphege, Greenwich on the night of Wednesday, 29 November 1710 which provided a stimulus for new church building. In the following year an Act of Parliament set out proposals to build Fifty New Churches in and about the Cities of London and Westminster.² It was commonly known as the Fifty New Churches Act, referred to here simply as the Act. The achievements of the Commissioners appointed under it are described elsewhere.³ This paper is devoted to a study of more than 20 wooden models, designs for the new churches, submitted by a total of six architects, two of whom were Commissioners and the others employed, at some time, as surveyors.

The loss of these models was described by Howard Colvin as one of the minor tragedies of English architectural history.⁴ Our knowledge of them is poor, derived largely from scattered references in the papers of the Commissioners now in Lambeth Palace Library⁵ and later sightings of some of them. There are many uncertainties concerning them, not least the use of the word 'model' which, in the Lambeth papers, may or may not always be three dimensional. References to them do not always match those elsewhere in surviving documents nor the bills indicate how many were made. These problems have not made the task of interpretation easy. Nevertheless, resolving the uncertainties has been seen as a challenge by a number of architectural historians, aiming to identify correctly and attribute all the known models.

Colvin's pioneering discussion concerning the models was followed by that of other workers, including Field, Wilton-Ely and Friedman.⁶ There are also studies in theses by Benton, Friedman and Sally Jeffery, each contributing a little more to our knowledge, yet leaving incomplete a full assessment of authorship and identity. The search for more evidence has continued, but little has come to light, despite much enquiry.

Models were made not only of complete churches, but of individual features from some of them, intended for the Commissioners to see and approve before the craftsmen proceeded, as for example, of framing for the timber roof of St John the Evangelist, Millbank, a novel structure of the time, and of a projected dome for St George, Bloomsbury. None of these part

models has survived. It is not, however, with them that this paper is concerned, but with the models of complete churches.

In 1712, at the time the Commissioners called for models, they were concerned with establishing a single design for all the 50 new churches, but even then they recognized that not all sites would permit this.⁷ The variety of the sites, with differing shapes, sizes, orientation and approaches, was inevitably to result in each new church differing from the next in its outward appearance, and the models reflected this. The Commissioners were also concerned with bringing together those elements thought necessary to give coherence and uniformity to Christian worship in the established church, according to the high-church understanding of the liturgy. The outward form of the buildings was probably of less importance to them than the interior, serving to provide the background for the increasingly ritualistic approach to the services. The models must therefore be seen as providing the architectural settings for celebration according to high-church principles and dogma.

The Commissioners' Models: A Primary List

The first reference to models in the Commissioners' minutes is on 18 June 1712, when it was ordered that the committee would consider such models as were offered by any of the Commissioners, and again on 30 July, when a time was fixed for designs and models to be submitted.⁸ The only Commissioner to respond was Thomas Archer, but models were submitted by the surveyors, William Dickinson and Nicholas Hawksmoor, and also by John James and James Gibbs.

The architectural models by these architects can readily be listed from the papers of the Commissioners appointed under the Act. This, given in detail below, is a *primary list*, each entry being identified or confirmed in the primary documentation by a minute of the Commissioners or by a surviving craftsmens' bill.

Models by Nicholas Hawksmoor for St Alphege, Greenwich. Provision for rebuilding the church of St Alphege, Greenwich was made in the Act and it is therefore not surprising that the Commissioners turned their attention to this before considering designs for their new churches. In June 1712 Hawksmoor was directed to lay his proposals for rebuilding⁹ and on 9 July the Commissioners resolved that Hawksmoor's plan, as improved by Thomas Archer, should be accepted and a design by James was rejected.¹⁰ By 6 August Hawksmoor had produced two models, one of which was referred to in the text as 'the smallest'. Further changes were made to this design and Hawksmoor was then instructed to finish a model for the Greenwich church '... in order to have an exact plan drawn there from to be annexed to agreements with several artificers'.¹¹ There were thus three models made to Hawksmoor's design for St Alphege, Greenwich.

Model by John James for St Alfege. Although there is no record in the minutes of any model by John James for St Alphege, Hawksmoor's composite bill for models delivered before 6 June 1717 includes an item 'Mr James for a Modell made by him £2.0s.0d.'. ¹² By eighteenth century standards this was a very small sum and it can only have been for a small model. It may have been the design by James rejected by the Commissioners on 9 July. No joiner's or model maker's name is recorded and James, a fully trained carpenter, may have made it himself.

Models by William Dickinson. On 14 January 1713 William Dickinson submitted two models for the Commissioners' consideration;¹³ neither was identified with any particular site. They appear in John Tuffnell's (joiner) bill dated 2 October 1712 at £7.10s.0d. and £19 and had therefore been ready some time before submitting.¹⁴ They were made of wainscot and deal and had pear tree mouldings.

Models by Thomas Archer. The Commissioners' minute of 14 January 1713 records the submission of three models by Archer.¹⁵ They were made by John Smallwell (joiner) and are given in Hawksmoor's composite bill of 1717 as together costing £100.15s.0d. One was selected by Archer's fellow Commissioners for the site on Millbank, as St John the Evangelist, Smith Square, and another for Wise's ground in Deptford, as St Paul, Deptford. The third model by Archer is not referred to further and it is not identified in the primary literature.

More Models by Nicholas Hawksmoor. On 4 February 1713 Hawksmoor delivered four more models to the Commissioners.¹⁶ It is not clear who made them, how much they cost, or whether they were included in his composite bill of 1717. None of the four was identified with any particular site.

Models by James Gibbs. On 14 May 1713 Gibbs submitted designs for a number of churches which were, apparently, well received by the Commissioners who responded by asking him to make models of two of them.¹⁷ These he submitted on 9 June and 24 July 1713 respectively. He submitted a further model, possibly unsolicited, on 4 February 1714, a design for a column intended to take the Queen's statue in the Strand on 1 July 1714 and, on an unspecified date, a model of the church in the Strand 'as now building'. These models are described in his bill, to a total of £112.4s.6d.:¹⁸

Modell of a Church with a Colnade round it of Ionick Order Steeple and inside finishing complete, £25.0s.0d.

Modell of a Church ornamented with pillasters of the Corinthian Order the insides finished with Corinthian pillars supporting the Roof all complete, £28.0s.0d.

Modell of a Church 3-quarter Columns of the Corinthian Order Steeple and inside finishing, £15.13s.0d.

Modell of a Monument being a Corinthian pillar flooted with a Geometric Stair within it Standing on a pedestall with the figure of the Queen on top four Lyons on the four corners of the pedestall, £11.1s.6d.

Modell of a Church of two Orders of Columns Vizt the Ionick and Corinthian being the Church of the Strand as now building with Inside finishing & Steeple all complete, £32.10s.0d

Models by Sir John Vanbrugh. Sir John Vanbrugh's design for Lady Russell's ground in Bloomsbury was approved by the Commissioners on 17 May 1715 to be 'built north and south as it cannot conveniently be built any other way'.¹⁹ The minutes contain no reference to any model by Vanbrugh for the site, but on 19 May, two days after his design was approved, the Commissioners issued an instruction that no church was to be begun until 'a plan, with model and estimate be made', a clear reference to Vanbrugh and his design for Lady Russell's ground. Hawksmoor's composite bill contains a note of a model or models by Vanbrugh, but it is not clear how many were made to his design. The cost was £50.5s.0d., a large sum for one model, but it may have been more detailed or perhaps better finished than some of the others. There is also the possibility that Vanbrugh may have provided a model or part model for St Mary le Strand, but there is no evidence for this.

Further Models by Nicholas Hawksmoor and John James. Although Vanbrugh's design for Lady Russell's ground was approved by the Commissioners in 1715, the newly appointed Commissioners of 1716 did not confirm this decision and the design to which the church was built was by Hawksmoor. He provided a model²⁰ but the events of this time are poorly recorded and Hawksmoor's design and model may have been no more than modifications of Vanbrugh's.

Hawksmoor submitted a model for the rebuilding of St Mary Woolnoth, which was examined by the Commissioners on 9 May 1717,²¹ they objecting to the number of pillars. Neither the church as built, nor the surviving original designs for it has external columns, and the comment probably relates to their internal arrangement, which was then changed. The model cannot be identified from Hawksmoor's composite bill.

In 1717 the inhabitants of Lower Wapping petitioned for a start to be made in building a new church on ground which the Commissioners had bought from a Mr Bastwick Johnston²² and the Commissioners agreed that it should be built according to a 'model and design' submitted by the surveyors.²³ No other information concerning this model has been found and the identity of the author, James or Hawksmoor, is uncertain. No contracts were signed for the church and it was never built.

The Commissioners intended that the last two churches to be built, St John, Horsleydown and St Luke, Old Street should be to the same design and, on 5 May 1727, asked the surveyors to prepare a model for both church and parsonage house.²⁴ James and Hawksmoor had quite different ideas about church design and it is doubtful if they could have worked together to produce a single design. In the event, they produced 'models', almost certainly one by each architect. These models were rejected and they produced 'plans' two weeks later, which were accepted for the two churches. There is no certainty that the 'models' were three dimensional, although they probably were. They can hardly have differed much from the churches as built, although they may have had porticos which, in the interest of economy, were then omitted from the approved designs. There is no further reference to either of these models in the Commissioners' papers.

The only Commissioners' church for which it seems reasonably certain that no model can have been made was St George, Hanover Square, by John James. No model is recorded for Christchurch, Spitalfields, St Anne, Limehouse or St George-in-the-East, the three great East End churches built to designs by Nicholas Hawksmoor, but models are likely to have existed for all three. They may have been among the unidentified models submitted by Hawksmoor early in 1713.

Not all the models produced by Gibbs, Archer, Dickinson and Hawksmoor were for churches on named sites. The first two models submitted by Gibbs in June and July 1713 were, in all probability, never intended as more than examples of what he could do, and were prepared without a site in mind. The third of his models, submitted in February 1714 may similarly have not been for any particular site, but by that time Gibbs would have been aware of the need to design for the church in the Strand, and produced his third model with it in mind.

The third model by Thomas Archer has become identified (in the secondary list of 1733, see below) with a round church for Lincoln's Inn Fields and with the round model seen by Donaldson in 1843. Its design is based upon the Pantheon which Archer would have known from his time in Rome. Confirmation of his authorship and of the site for which it was intended are lacking, but there seems to be no reason for rejecting the 1733 listing of it as Archer's model for Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The two models by Dickinson submitted early in 1713 and the four by Hawksmoor of similar date were almost certainly intended for particular sites, although these were not identified. It is perhaps not surprising that in recent years the greatest interest in the Commissioners' models has focused upon these six, much effort being expended in attempting to identify the intended sites from secondary evidence. They were almost certainly the sites which had earlier engaged the Commissioners' and hence the surveyors' attention, especially those which had been described as 'proper' (i.e. suitable) for new churches and had

received an early approval. It is also reasonable to expect that both Hawksmoor and Dickinson would have produced models only for those sites which they, personally, had each inspected and in some cases, surveyed.

The difficulty lies in determining what constituted approval by the Commissioners. The first Commission (of 1711) had not been given authority to purchase the sites needed for the new churches. They were thus unable to make offers for those they approved, nor to accept any offer made to them. However, a scrutiny of their minutes enables a short list of sites to be produced where some kind of approval was expressed concerning both the suitability for a new church and the price they were being asked to pay for it.

William Dickinson inspected a large number of sites for the Commissioners, but few of them received any kind of approval prior to 22 October 1712, the date of the bill for his models. Two which were considered favourably were Mr Smith's ground on Millbank, later used for St John the Evangelist,²⁵ and, perhaps less certainly, a site on Horsleydown Lane in the parish of St Olave, Southwark.²⁶ Dickinson was also asked to view and survey the ground in Spitalfields upon which Christchurch was later erected, but the site was not agreed by the Commissioners until 12 November 1712.²⁷ Dickinson's models would therefore not have included one for the Christchurch site; Mr Smith's ground and Horsleydown Lane remain the most likely for which he would have produced his models.

Hawksmoor's models were delivered on 4 February 1713, but the date they were made is unknown. Sites which he had inspected and which had received some kind of approval, if only conditionally, by the Commissioners include the following: St Mary le Strand, Mr Watts' ground in Upper Wapping, Mr West's ground in Limehouse, Mr Sclater's ground in Harefields, Bethnal Green, Lady Russell's ground in Bloomsbury, Mr Wise's ground in Deptford, and Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Difficulties subsequently arose with a number of these. Lady Russell's ground in Bloomsbury, although it received approval in 1711, was rejected in November 1712 as 'inconvenient and Lady Russell's demand for it extraordinarily high'.²⁸ Site plans had been prepared by Hawksmoor, but the churches shown are in outline only and have alternative layouts.²⁹ They reveal only too well the difficulties of building a church on this ground with its liturgical axis oriented east-west. Clearly Hawksmoor was far from ready to design a church or make a model for Lady Russell's ground in 1712.

Ownership of a part of the site in the Strand was claimed by a Mr Walker. His claim was not resolved, the Commissioners eventually finding it easier to buy him off. The Commissioners also petitioned the Queen for permission to use what was described as 'the waste land in the Strand' for the new church of St Mary, but this apparently required an Act of Parliament. The Act was obtained in 1713, too late for Hawksmoor to have produced a model early in the year.³⁰

Although the Commissioners approved the site in the Great Square of Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1711, opposition from the Benchers of the adjacent Lincoln's Inn effectively blocked the use of the site for one of the new churches. There was hope of persuading the Benchers to change their minds with the Commissioners again approaching the Benchers of the Inn in 1714, but equally without success.³¹ Hawksmoor earlier produced a design for a church on the site, but there is no indication that he followed this with a model.³²

The difficulties which arose in respect of these three sites prior to Hawksmoor's submission of his models, may have been no more than temporary, and they may not have prevented him from preparing models for any of them. However, it seems more likely that he would have prepared models for those sites where no such difficulty had arisen and where con-

struction of the new churches could apparently begin – at Upper Wapping,³³ Bethnal Green,³⁴ Deptford³⁵ and Limehouse.³⁶

In the event, it was Archer's designs that were chosen for Smith's ground on Millbank and for Wise's ground in Deptford. Sclater's ground in Bethnal Green was abandoned when he failed to satisfy the Commissioners of his title to it.³⁷ None of the models by Dickinson and only two of those by Hawksmoor were used for their intended sites – West's field for St Anne, Limehouse and Watts' ground for St George-in-the-East.

The Commissioners' Models: A Secondary List

The models which had accumulated by 1715 formed a small but interesting collection, kept at the Commissioners' rooms in Lincoln's Inn, and shown to visitors.³⁸ In 1716 the newly appointed members of the Third Commission moved their meeting place from Lincoln's Inn to Old Palace Yard, Westminster, and the models were taken with them. They continued to occupy these rooms until 1733 when their regular meetings ceased. The models were then transferred to Westminster Abbey where the Abbey carpenter, John Willis, put up shelves for them in what was called the Model Room³⁹ and a list, dated 6 August 1733, of the 17 models then in existence was compiled. Three copies of this list exist in the Commissioners' papers, together with 17 vellum labels for the individual models containing the same information;⁴⁰

1. Greenwich church by Hawksmoor
2. Model with a peristylum by Gibbs
3. Strand church by Gibbs
4. Greenwich church by James
5. Large model by Gibbs
6. Limehouse church by Hawksmoor
7. Wap[p]ing Stepney church by Hawksmoor
8. Millbank church by Dickinson
9. Millbank church by Archer
10. Lombard Street church by [blank]
11. Round church for Lincoln's Inn Fields by Archer
12. Greenwich church by Hawksmoor
13. Greenwich church by Hawksmoor
14. Lombard Street church by [blank]
15. Column for Queen Anne's Statue by Archer
16. Strand Church by Gibbs
17. Small model of Greenwich by James

This list contains church names and presumed authors of a number of models familiar from the primary list including the small model for Greenwich by James, three models for Greenwich by Hawksmoor, four models by James Gibbs, and models for Millbank by both Dickinson and Archer.

The list also contains a number of surprises. The model for the column for Queen Anne's statue is ascribed to Archer; 20 years after the event the memory of the unknown compiler of this secondary list may not have been entirely reliable, and this model may indeed have been made for the Strand column but to the order of James Gibbs. There are other entries where, taking into account the evidence of the primary list, particular identifications must be questioned. Thus, there is no evidence that John James ever submitted a second model for Greenwich. Suspicion is also attached to the two models for St Mary Woolnoth, the church on Lombard Street, partly because only one model is recorded in the primary literature and

partly because the compiler was in doubt concerning authorship. The church had not long been finished and if Hawksmoor's model for it had survived, it would surely have been recognized as his. It is inconceivable that at the time the secondary list was compiled there was no knowledge in the Commissioners' office of Hawksmoor's designing for this church, yet neither model is attributed to him. The identity of both models is therefore uncertain.

The appearance in the secondary list of models for both Limehouse and Wapping Stepney (Upper Wapping) is not surprising, and may be taken to confirm their presence among the unidentified models by Hawksmoor in the primary list.

Later Sightings of the Models

The models transferred to Westminster Abbey in 1733 were seen in the Henry V chantry chapel in 1826 by C. R. Cockerell and in 1843 by T. L. Donaldson. Cockerell drew two of them;⁴¹ it is a matter of regret that he limited his attention to these and drew no more. His drawings give a great deal more information than later drawings of the same models. They are easily recognized as one of the models by James Gibbs (Fig. 1), and a model which Kerry Downes has convincingly identified as St Anne, Limehouse⁴² (Fig. 2).

A total of 13 of the Commissioners' church models were noted in the Abbey by T. L. Donaldson in 1843. He identified three as churches which had been built and gave descriptions and drew plans of the ten others. These drawings, now in the RIBA Drawings Collection,⁴³ were also published by him⁴⁴ (Fig. 3); they are somewhat crudely drawn and

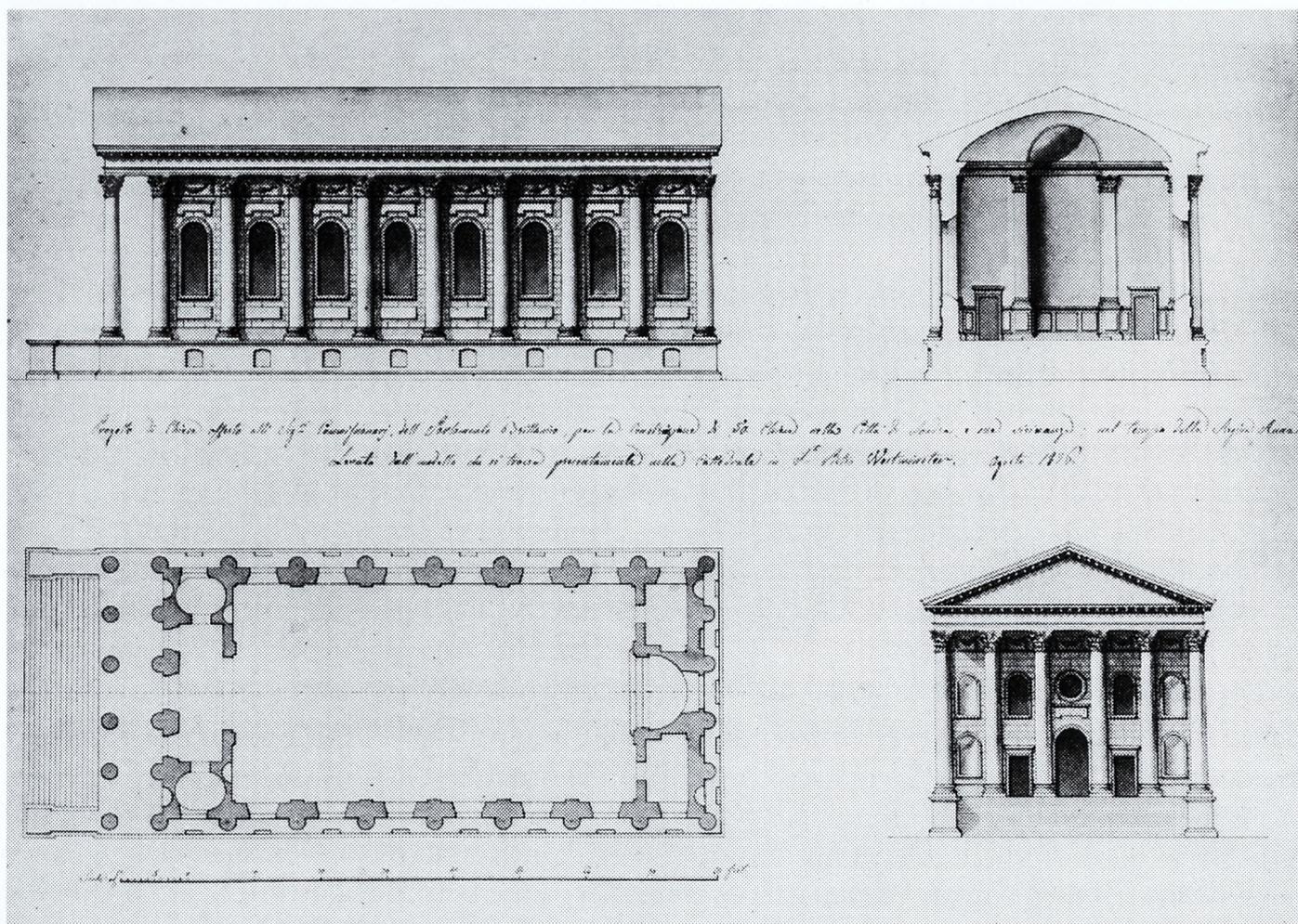


Fig. 1 Plan, section and elevations of one of the models by Gibbs, drawn by C. R. Cockerell, 1826.

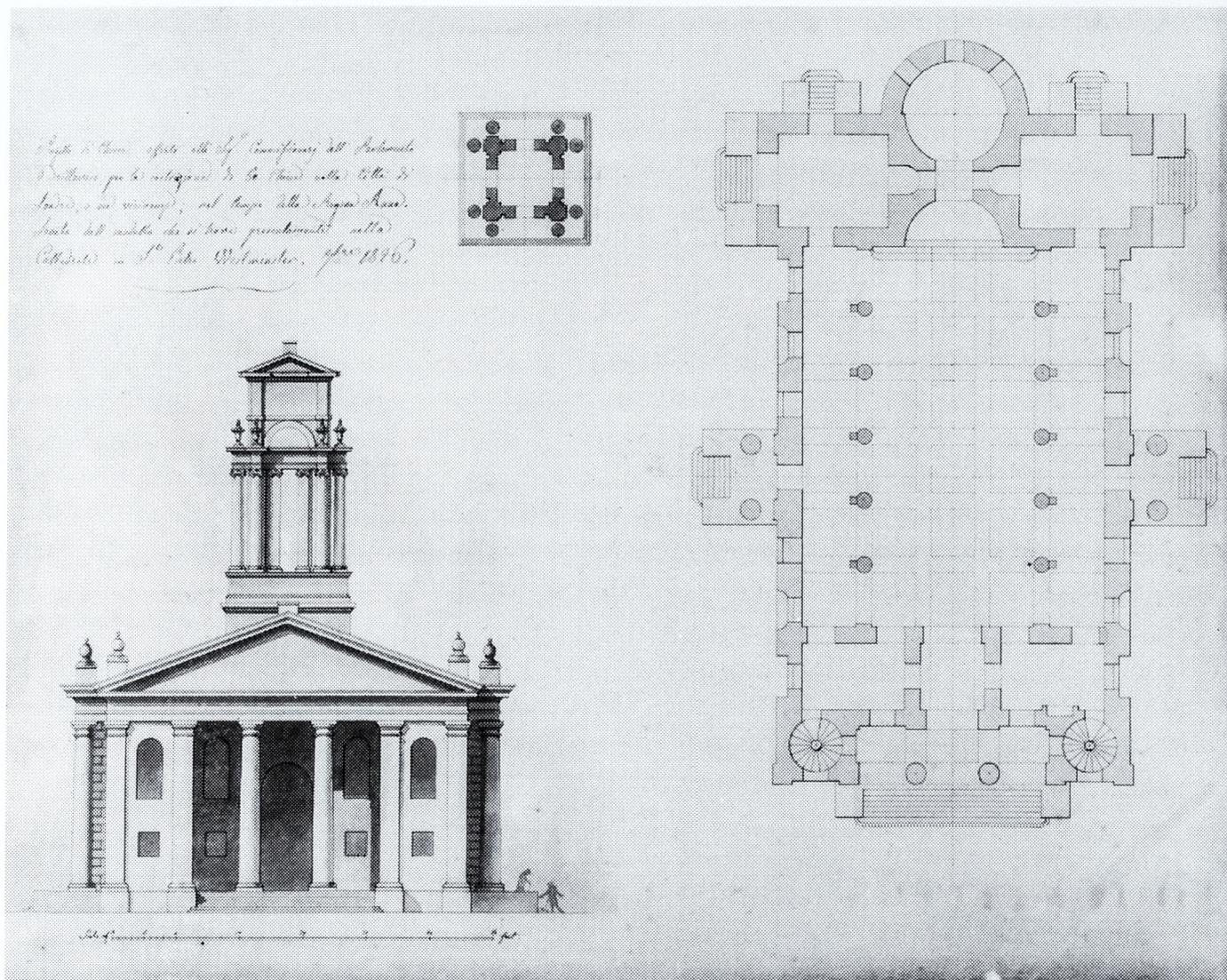


Fig. 2 Plan of model by Hawksmoor for St Anne, Limehouse, drawn by C. R. Cockerell, 1826.

lacking in detail. None of them were attributed. They represent the models remaining from the 17 sent to the Abbey in 1733. It is these drawings by Donaldson that provide the most satisfactory starting point in attempts to identify and attribute the models.

There is no difficulty in accepting Donaldson's identification of the first three of them as models for St Alphege, Greenwich by Hawksmoor (No. 1), St John the Evangelist, Millbank by Archer (No. 2) and St Mary le Strand by Gibbs (No. 3) all of which had been built according to the models submitted. Accepted too are Donaldson's Nos. 4 and 5 as unbuilt models for Greenwich by Hawksmoor, (recognized by the characteristic east end *in antis*), and the three models by Gibbs (Nos. 9, 11 and 12) which are fully in line with the descriptions provided by him. The round model by Archer for Lincoln's Inn Fields (No. 13) can also be accepted, at least for the time being, together with Hawksmoor's model for Limehouse (No. 7), identified as such by Downes. Thus only three of Donaldson's drawings remain to be identified and attributed, his numbers 6, 8 and 10.

There is a particular problem with No. 6, for which the published drawing and the unpublished version of it in the RIBA do not match the description given by Donaldson. (Fig. 2) He indicated that the model had wings or transepts at the west duplicating those at the east end. Once these have been added (Fig. 5), the design can be seen to relate to St

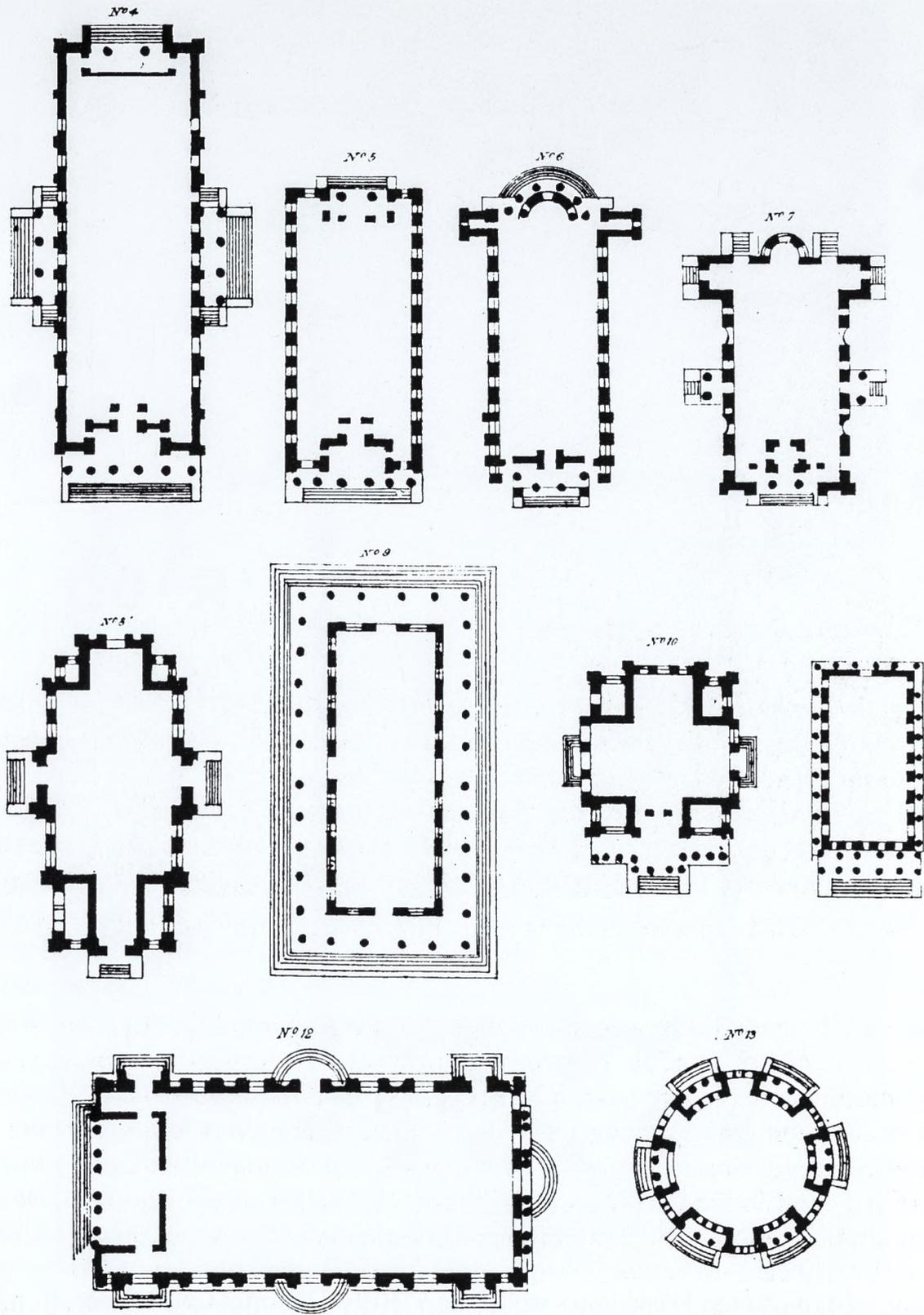


Fig. 3 Plans of ten models then in Westminster Abbey, drawn by T. L. Donaldson, 1843.

George-in-the-East as built (Fig. 6), and Donaldson No. 6 can therefore be seen as the model recorded in the secondary list for Wapping Stepney or Upper Wapping. The model does not correspond exactly to the church as built, particularly at the west end, but it must be remembered that Hawksmoor's models were no more than a stage in his thinking which then moved on. We should not expect exact concordance.

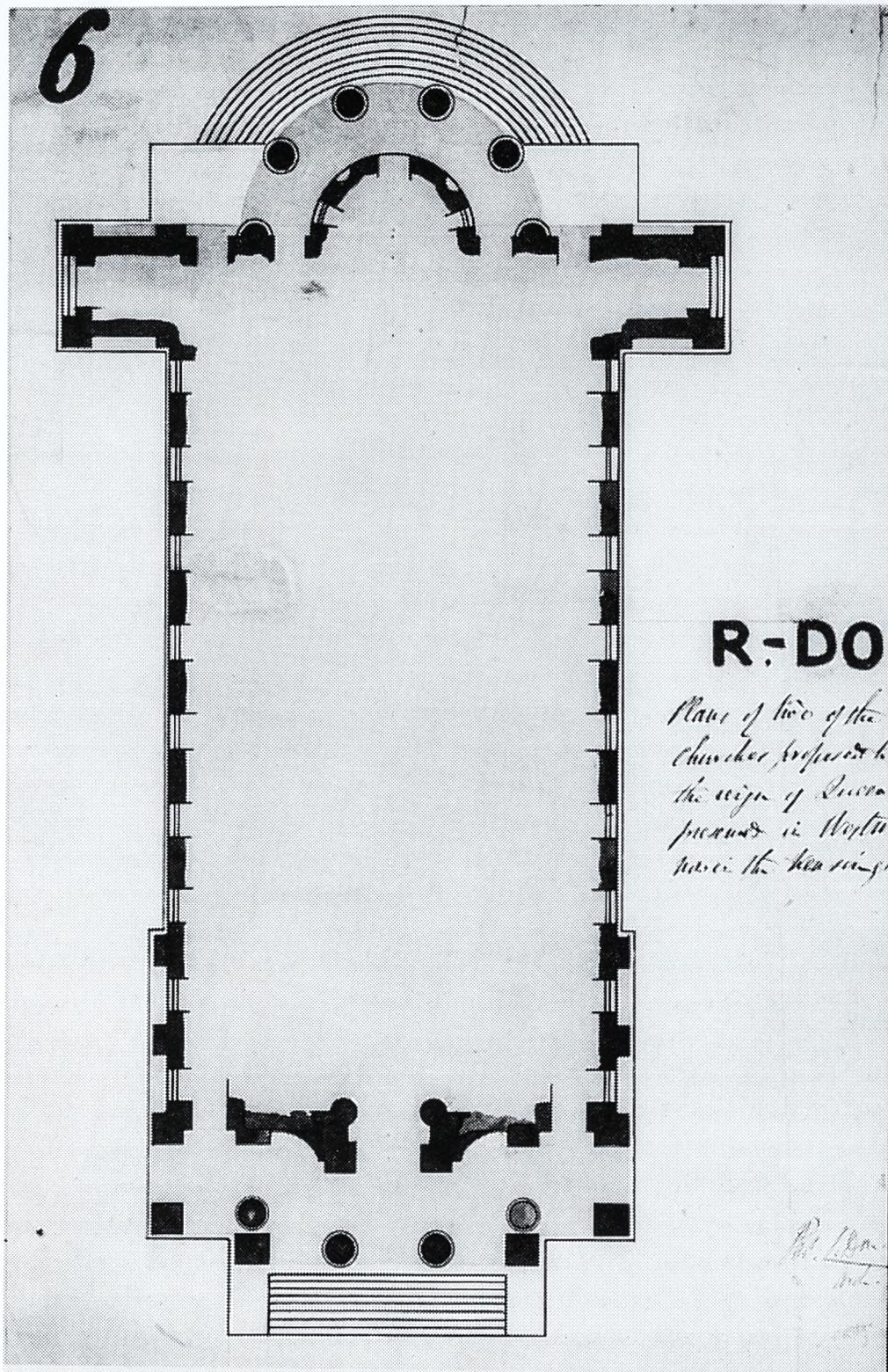


Fig. 4 Plan of Donaldson's model No 6 (RIBA Drawings Collection).

Donaldson's model No. 8 has entrances on the north and south fronts, broken forward with steps reminiscent of St Alphege. With this feature it is suggested that this was the model identified (wrongly) on the secondary list as by John James for Greenwich. There are no other features of the model to suggest Greenwich, nor does it resemble any of the churches known to have been designed by James.⁴⁵ Similarly it does not resemble any of those shown in plan by Dickinson on over 20 site plans produced by him for the Commissioners in the years 1711-13.⁴⁶ In character it is more akin to the churches designed

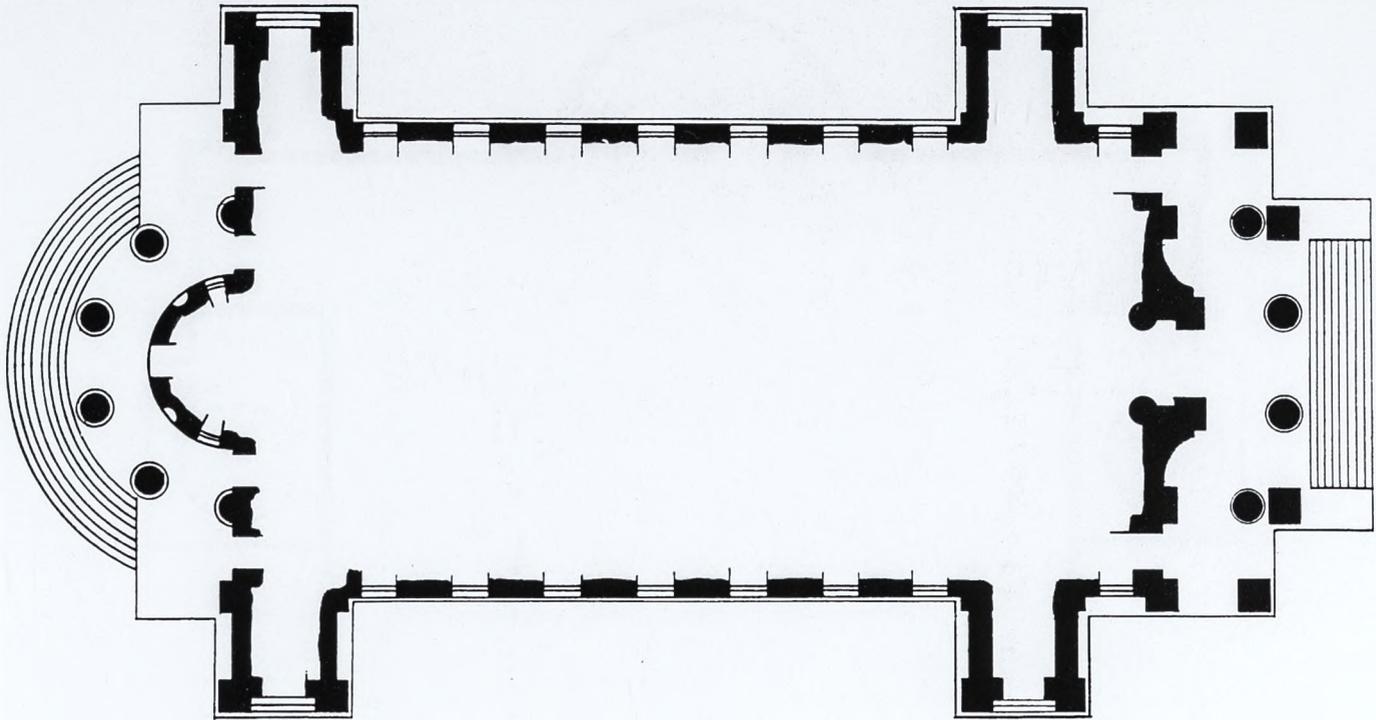


Fig. 5 Plan of Donaldson's model No. 6 redrawn in line with his description.

by Hawksmoor. The resemblance of it to an early plan for Christchurch suggests that it was produced for the Spitalfields site. (Fig. 7) This site was the responsibility of William Dickinson, but on his resignation from the post of surveyor to the Commissioners on 13 August 1713, it passed to Hawksmoor, probably as a result of delay in filling Dickinson's post. There was also delay in starting to build. The site for the church had been assembled from strips of land in the possession of three separate owners, with parts of it held in trust for minors; three separate decrees in Chancery, dated November 1713, were required to release the land to the Commissioners'.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the Commissioners were ready to go ahead towards the end of 1713 and Hawksmoor must have provided the model for it. There is no reference to such a model in the Commissioners' minutes, nor is it included in the primary list.

Hawksmoor, faced with the need to provide a design for the church in Spitalfields, may have turned to a model made earlier by him for some other site but not used. No architect likes to waste good ideas and designs which, for one reason or another, were not used for one site, were always likely to surface for another. He would not have put forward his design for Bethnal Green as Sclater's ground had not then been abandoned, nor can any resemblance be seen between Christchurch, Spitalfields and Hawksmoor's proposed design for Bethnal Green.⁴⁸ The only remaining unused Hawksmoor model was that intended for Wise's ground in Deptford, for which Archer's design had been chosen. Donaldson's model No. 8 was for a church which would have been suitable for the Deptford site with its major dimension east-west, its principal approach from the west and alternative entrances north and south, much as in Archer's design. There can be little doubt of the identification.

Donaldson's model No. 10 is more difficult to identify. He assumed the scale used for all these 13 models to be 1 in to 4 ft. His model No. 10 would therefore be for a church 60 x 76 ft. This corresponds most closely to St Mary Woolnoth, seemingly confirmed by the twin western towers and there would seem to be no doubt that this was one of the two models

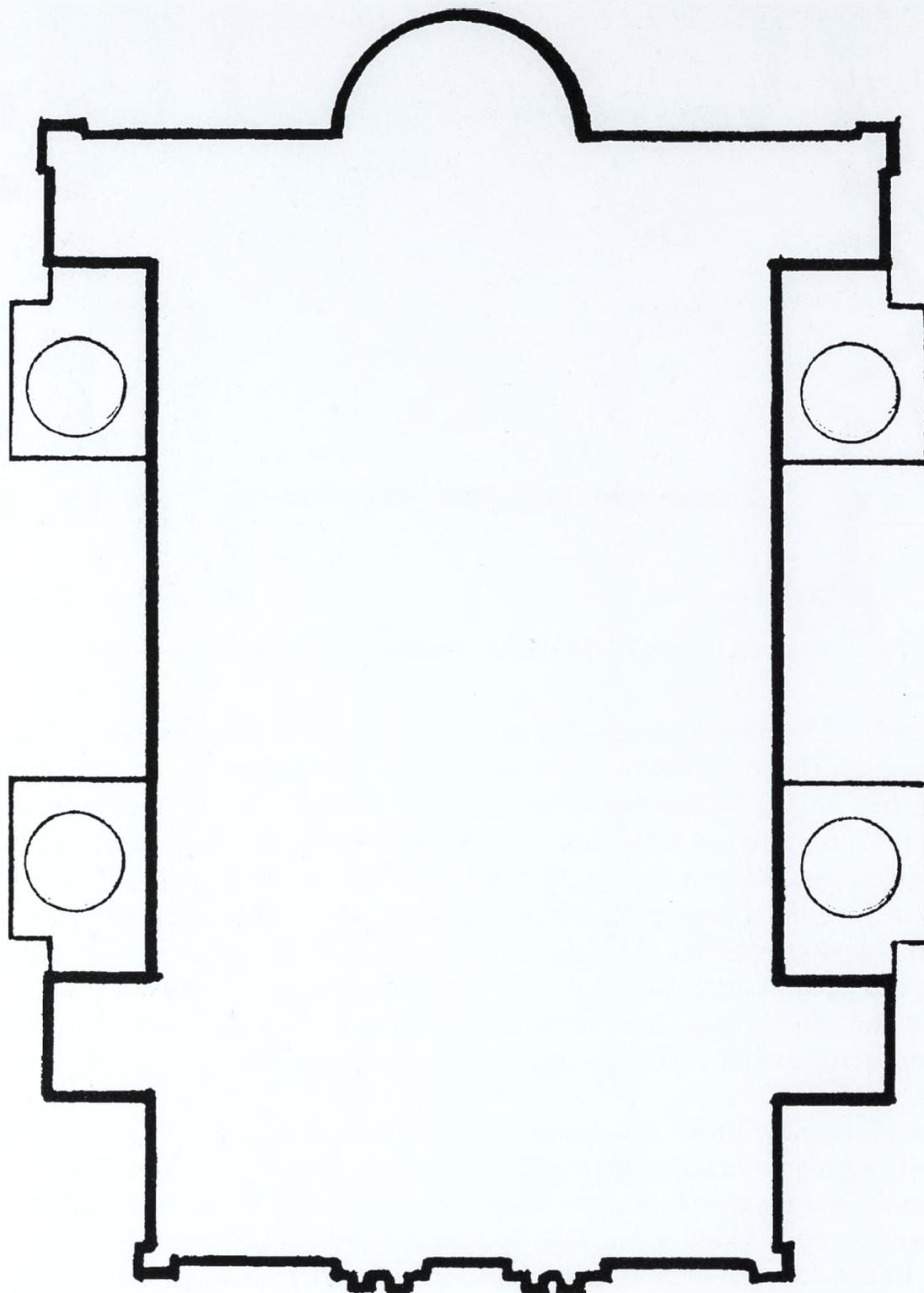


Fig. 6 Outline plan of St George-in-the-East, as built.

identified in the secondary list as the church on Lombard Street. However the existing original drawings for St Mary Woolnoth by James and Hawksmoor indicate that although the church was square in shape, it did not have small rooms to each corner, was without a portico to the west and initially at least, had only a single tower.⁴⁹ Moreover, it had no strong north-south axial emphasis as this model had. Thus, Donaldson's model is most unlikely to have been intended for St Mary Woolnoth. The only model known to have been made for this church was produced late in the designing for it and must have had a closer resemblance to the church as built.

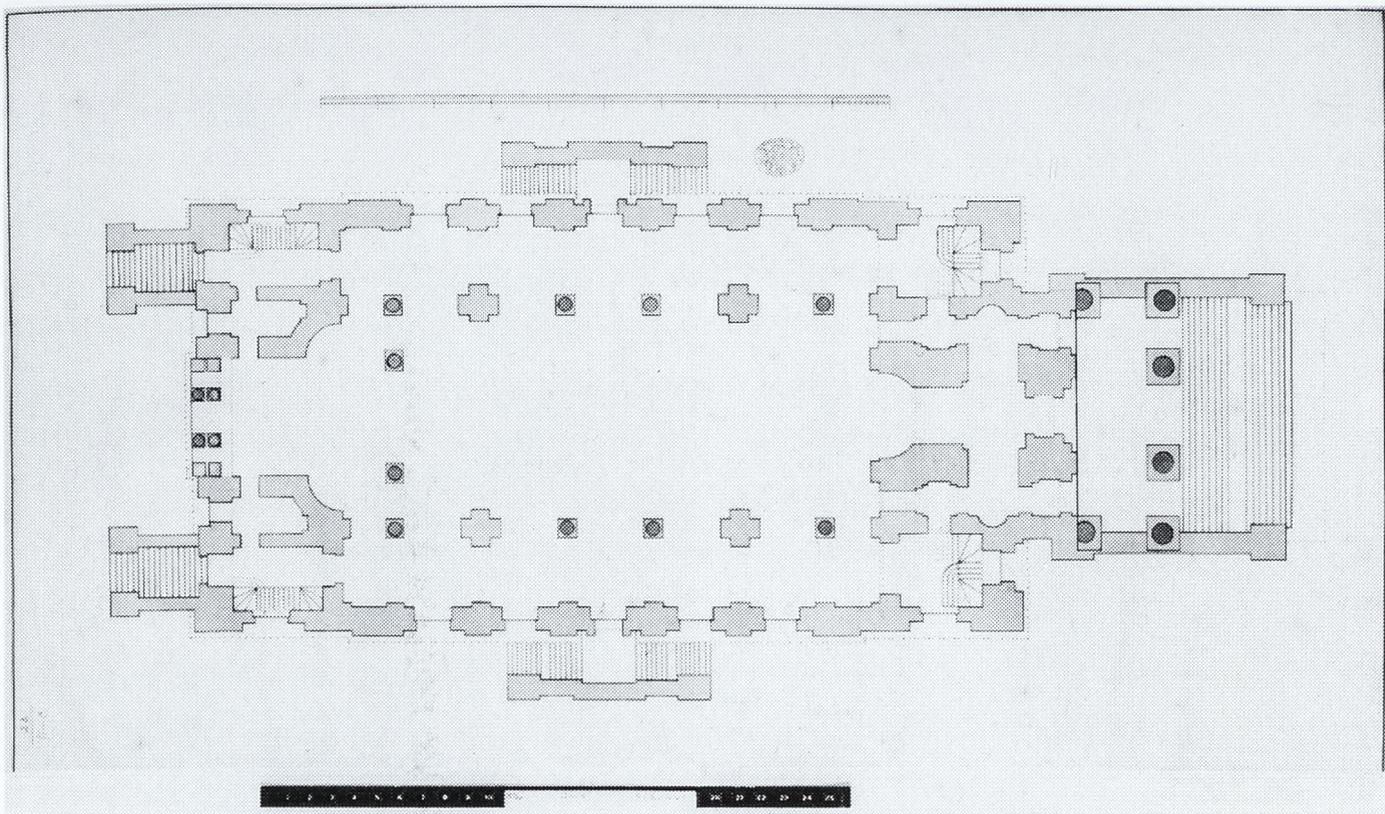


Fig. 7 Plan, Christchurch, Spitalfields, BL, K. Top. XXIII, 11-c.

However, Donaldson's assumption that the scale of all the models was 4 ft to 1 in may not be correct. Unfortunately the dimensions of Archer's model for the Millbank site were not recorded, and no assumption can be made about its scale. Doubt exists about Archer's round model; this was 20 in in diameter, indicating a church 80 ft across if Donaldson's assumption is correct. The usable space would have been very small for a church on so prestigious a site as Lincoln's Inn Fields, whereas a scale of 5 ft to 1 in would give a much more impressive church. At this scale Donaldson's model 10 would be a church approximately 80 × 100 ft, close in size to Archer's St Paul, Deptford.

There are a number of other features which the model shares with the church of St Paul as it was built – both are five-bay churches with similar proportions, the north, south and east fronts are all broken forward, both have small rooms on each corner, and major entrances on the cross axis. The most striking differences are in the east where an apse was built, and the west where a round tower and steeple were constructed over a semicircular portico. Despite these differences the model can be seen as the starting point for the development which took place in the designing for the Deptford site in the first three years of its construction.

The final design was presented to the Commissioners only on 30 May 1716, three years after the building had started.⁵⁰ No sooner had the foundations been laid, than the masons were 'pulling down ye circular part of ye west front'⁵¹ indicating an early change of mind. Towards the end of 1713 Hawksmoor was asked to provide estimates for building the west end of the church in a number of ways – with one steeple, with two steeples and a portico and with two steeples without a portico.⁵² There is thus clear evidence that a portico of some sort was considered, also two steeples. A plan from late 1713 or early 1714 shows the church with a number of possible alternatives at the west end.⁵³ (Fig. 8) It is not too difficult to see Donaldson's plan No. 10, as an even earlier version, possibly Archer's model for Deptford, produced in 1712. (Fig. 9)

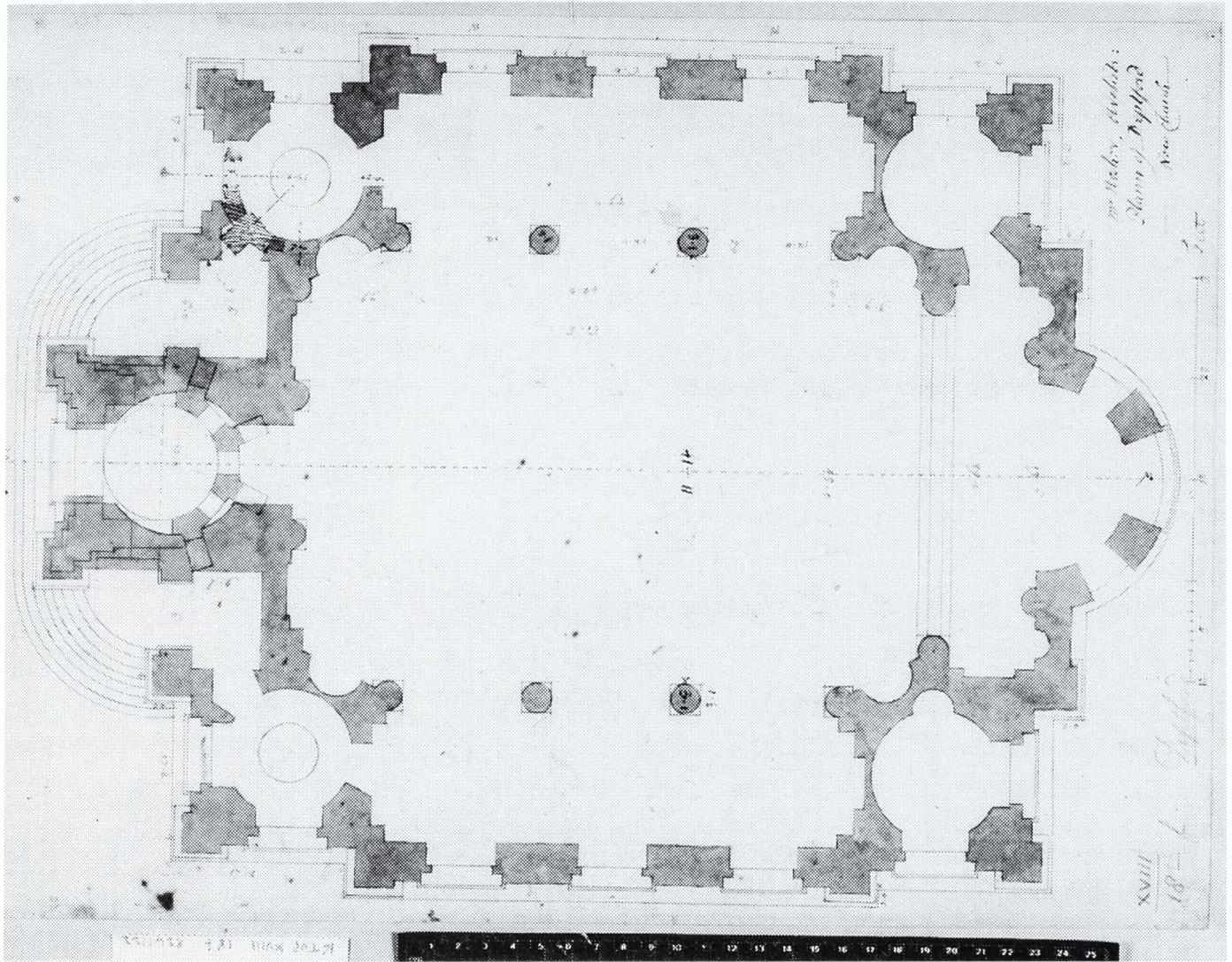


Fig. 8 An early plan for St Paul, Deptford, BL, K. Top. XVIII, 18-1.

The care given to the models in the Commissioners' rooms in Lincoln's Inn and Old Palace Yard ensured the survival of most of them for a number of years. Models taken to building sites deteriorate, and be lost once their perceived usefulness is over. Clearly the Commissioners' models survived through much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries only because they had not been taken, or at least not left, on building sites. There is thus a strong presumption that the models which survived into the nineteenth century, did so because they were the ones cared for in the Commissioners' rooms and in Westminster Abbey.

Assuming that the identifications made here are correct, it can now be seen that the models of the secondary list include all those submitted to the Commissioners in the period 1713–14 except that by Hawksmoor for Bethnal Green. Other models that had, by 1843, been lost include the small model for Greenwich by James, the model of the column for the Queen Anne statue by Gibbs and the two models by Dickinson. All the models produced in 1712–14 were apparently still in existence in 1733, except that for Bethnal Green, which may have been taken and adapted for use at St John, Horsleydown, and then not returned.

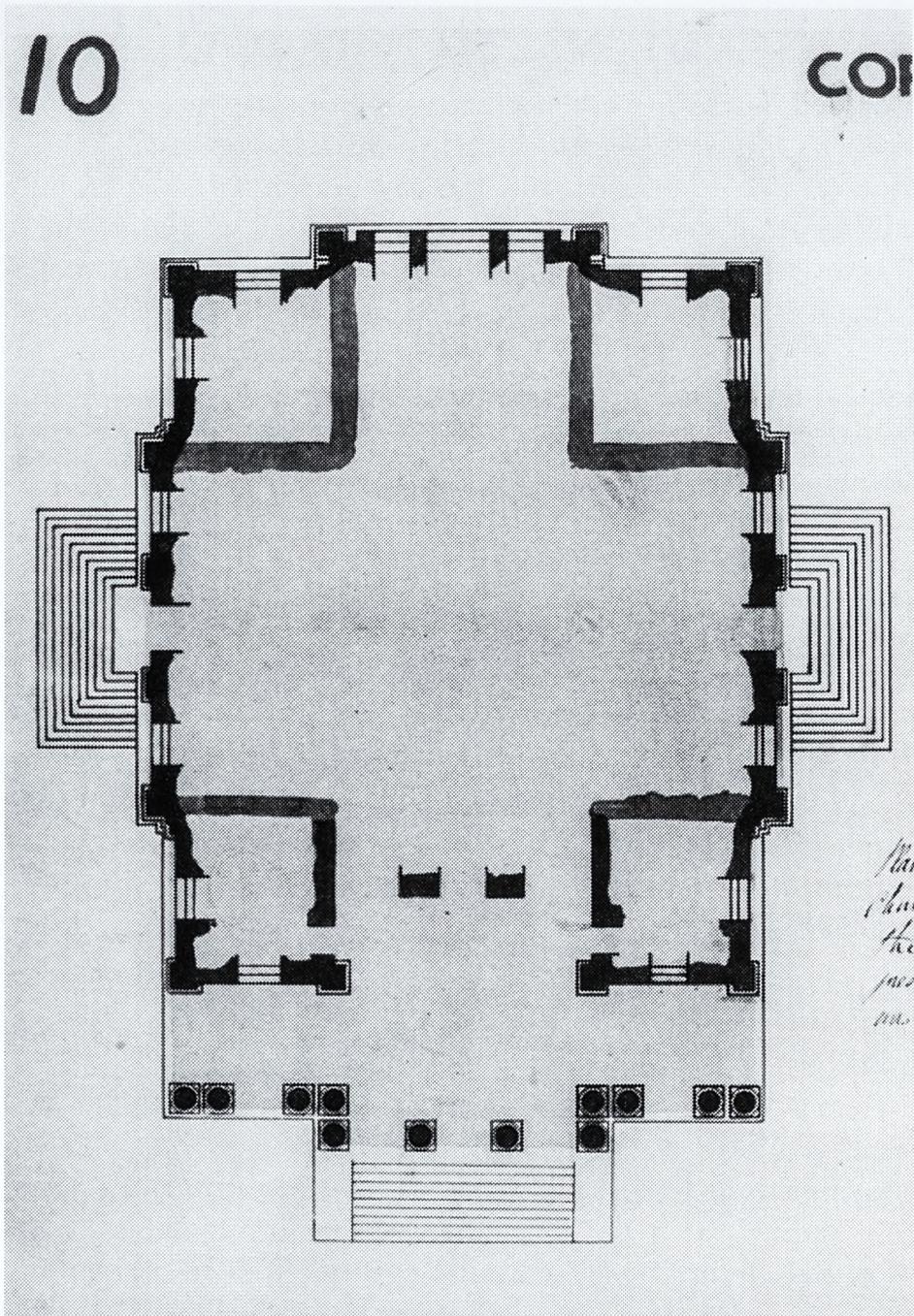


Fig. 9 Plan of Donaldson's model No. 10. (RIBA Drawings Collection).

The secondary list of models comprising the 17 sent to the Abbey in 1733 can now be amended in respect of the following entries:

- 4. Greenwich church by James should be:
Deptford church by Hawksmoor.
- 10. Lombard Street church should be:
Deptford church by Archer.
- 14. Lombard Street church should be:
Dickinson, possibly for Horsleydown.
- 15. Column for Queen Anne's statue by Archer should be:
Column for Queen Anne's statue by Gibbs.

The models made in 1712–14, were, in general, intended primarily for the use of the Commissioners in their deliberations leading to the choice of design. At their meetings the designs were discussed, features were selected, amendments made and plans approved for inclusion in the various contracts. The remaining models, made in 1715–1727, were, it would seem, made only after the designs, represented by drawings on paper, had been seen and decisions made. They were intended not for the Commissioners' use, but for the surveyors and craftsmen. These late models were never placed on view at the Commissioners' meeting rooms and their total loss, although a matter of regret, is not an occasion for much surprise. Rather are we both surprised and grateful that the earlier models survived for so long and into a period when some detail of them was recorded.

The Last of the Models

In 1854 Sir George Gilbert Scott reported on the tombs in Westminster Abbey. He recommended work on the Henry V chantry chapel and suggested that:

'The Chapel above should be cleared from its present obstructions though Sir Christopher Wren's model of the Abbey might be allowed to remain there'.⁵⁴

It was presumably in response to this that, in 1854 or soon after, the models were removed from the Abbey. They are known to have been transferred to South Kensington where a few were listed in a catalogue of 1862 as on display in the Museum of Construction.⁵⁵ The models were still at Kensington in 1876 when Donaldson made his last record of them.⁵⁶ Only one of the 13 models noted by him, St Mary le Strand, is known to have survived, albeit for long in a fragmentary and damaged condition, but recently restored. It was transferred on permanent loan from Westminster Abbey to the RIBA in 1970. It was one of those exhibited at Kensington, and must therefore have been returned from there to the Abbey. The remaining models may also have been returned, but they can no longer be found and may have been destroyed in an air-raid of 1940.

Ruins of this building were photographed in 1882 by L. Fiorillo: photograph in the Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London.

NOTES TO PAGES 65–80

- 1 British Library. MS Kings 282. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Dept. of prints. Harris-Brisbane Dick Fund 25.47.
- 2 BL. MS Kings 282. 'My undertaking to write this treatise is greatly owing to Sir Edward O'Brien Baronet being the chief Person, who gave rise to my ambition and desire for the study of architecture . . . '.
- 3 The Dromoland Album is in a private collection and is now inaccessible to scholars. Photographic copies are available at the National Library of Ireland (MS 2791) and at the Irish Architectural Archive.
- 4 In the Irish context a good example of a fair copy in an architectural genre, is Jacques Wibault's 'Traité de l'Architecture Militaire' executed in 1701 for the Duke of Ormond. Map making offers more numerous examples. Collection of the Irish Architectural Archive.
- 5 *Pues Occurances*, 24 Nov 1753.
- 6 *The Dublin Courant*. 18 May 1745.
- 7 BL. MS Kings 282, book 5, plates 52, 54, 55, 58.
- 8 BL. MS Kings 282, book 5, Plates 12, 43, 53, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67.
- 9 Stradbally was largely rebuilt in the nineteenth century. A painting of c. 1740 depicts a bird's-eye view of the demesne and a house which differs only in detail from Aheron's design.
- 10 *The Dublin Courant*. 18 May 1745.
- 11 RIBA drawings collection. Michael Wills, 'Designs for private buildings of two, three, four five and six rooms on a floor and one of eight rooms. Dublin 9 May 1745.
- 12 *Pues Occurances*, 24 Nov. 1753.
- 13 Eileen Harris & Nicholas Savage. *British architectural books and writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge; New York, 1990. p. 105.
- 14 Courcy-Mont is now gone, Ballyheigue and Rockforrest, though still standing have been greatly altered since the eighteenth century.
- 15 *General Advertiser*, 16 March 1752.
- 16 *Pues Occurances*, 24 Nov. 1753. This refers to the 'plates which were engrav'd in London'.
- 17 *Pues Occurances*, 24 Nov. 1753.
- 18 *Pues Occurances*, 30 April 1754.
- 19 Harris & Savage op. cit. p. 105.
- 20 *The Dublin Journal*, 17 Aug 1754.
- 21 [Brooke (Henry)]. *An essay on the ancient and modern state of Ireland*. Dublin, 1759. 77.
- 22 Trinity College Library. Early Printed Books.
- 23 For the building of the west front of Trinity

College see Edward Mc Parland, 'Trinity College, Dublin – I', in *Country Life*, clix, no. 4114 (6 May 1976) pp. 1166–9.

- 24 *The Dublin Magazine for the year 1762*. Dublin, 1762.
- 25 *Dublin Journal*, 24 Jan. 1761.

NOTES TO PAGES 81–96

- 1 Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *J. Society of Architectural Historians*, March 1989, XLVIII, pp. 38–52.
- 2 Statute at Large, 9 Anne, c. 22.
- 3 e.g. by Howard Colvin in E. G. W. Bill, *The Queen Anne Churches*, 1979, pp. ix–xxi and M. H. Port, *The Commissions for Building Fifty New Churches*, 1986, ix–xxxiii.
- 4 Howard Colvin, *Architectural Review*, March 1950, pp. 189–96.
- 5 Lambeth Palace Library (LPL) MS 2690–2750, catalogued by E. G. W. Bill, 1979.
- 6 John Field, *Architectural Review*, 1962, 131, pp. 315–19; John Wilton Ely, *Apollo*. 1968, lxxxviii, pp. 250–9 and Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 1984, p. 303 etc.
- 7 LPL MS 2690, 16 June 1712.
- 8 Ibid., 18 June and 30 July 1712.
- 9 Ibid., 18 June 1712.
- 10 Ibid., 9 July 1712.
- 11 Ibid., 6 August 1712.
- 12 LPL MS 2724, f. 3 and MS 2708, f. 8.
- 13 LPL MS 2690, 14 January 1713.
- 14 LPL MS 2724, f. 1.
- 15 LPL MS 2690, 14 January 1713.
- 16 Ibid., 4 February 1713.
- 17 Ibid., 14 May 1713.
- 18 LPL MS 2708, f. 7 and 2724, f. 2.
- 19 LPL MS 2690, 17 May 1715.
- 20 Ibid., 6 June 1716.
- 21 Ibid., 9 May 1717.
- 22 Ibid., 31 May 1717.
- 23 Ibid., 18 July 1717.
- 24 LPL MS 2691, 5 May 1727.
- 25 LPL MS 2690, 405, 7 December 1711.
- 26 Ibid., 28 November 1711.
- 27 Ibid., 12 November 1712.
- 28 LPL MS 2693, 17 November 1712.
- 29 LPL MS 2750, Nos. 20 and 21.
- 30 Statute at Large, 12 Anne c. 17.
- 31 The Great Square of Lincoln's Inn Fields had earlier, in the late seventeenth century, been proposed for a church to the design of Sir Christopher Wren (Paul Jeffery, *Architectural History*, 1988, 31, pp. 136–47.) and there is a reference to it 'in building' in 1696 (GL MS 4552/2, 2 June 1696). It is doubtful, however, if construction ever started. Hawksmoor commented 'Lincoln's Inn Fields . . . wants only a Church for its convenience &

- ornament to make it equal to any Piazza in Christendome, (LPL MS 2690, 429, 13 November 1711). It was a sensitive site, acknowledged as such by the Commissioners in their restrictive comment that 'there [should] be no churchyard, no burials in the church, nor a ring of bells' (Ibid., 408, 4 December 1711.). The Commissioners made another approach to the Inn and to the inhabitants, but this too was unsuccessful (Ibid., 21 July 1714) and no further attempts were made to gain control of the site.
- 32 LPL MS 2690, 4 December 1711, 408.
- 33 LPL MS 2690, 1 December 1711. Watts' ground is variously and indiscriminately described also as the ground on Ratclif (or Ratcliff) Highway, in Upper Wapping and in Wapping Stepney. It was used for St George-in-the-East.
- 34 LPL MS 2690, 445, 16 October 1711; MS 2693, 29 July 1712.
- 35 Ibid., 402, 11 December 1711.
- 36 Two sites were suggested in Limehouse, West's field and Rigby's ground, the former was preferred, but arguments and discussion were prolonged, see LPL MS 2690, 28 November and 5 December 1711.
- 37 The Commissioners agreed a price of £300 for the site at Harefields, Bethnal Green, but the owner, a Mr Sclater, failed to establish his title (LPL MS 2712, ff. 191–2). Negotiations dragged on for a number of years, but the purchase eventually lapsed (LPL MS 2728, ff. 5v–6). In 1724, the Commissioners purchased another site in Bethnal Green later used for the church of St Matthew, erected to a design by George Dance the Elder.
- 38 LPL MS 2690, 81, 15 April 1713. Thomas Crocker was discharged from his duties as messenger to look after the models.
- 39 LPL MS 2692, 8 April 1738, bill of 30 December 1734.
- 40 LPL MS 2724, f. 4; f. 6; f. 8.
- 41 V&A E. 3024–1909, E. 3025–1909 & E. 3026–1090.
- 42 Kerry Downes, *Hawkmoor*, 1979, 173. In building this church Hawkmoor reoriented the plan of the model, removed the side entrances and changed the interior proportions. Nevertheless it is still possible to recognize the church as derived from his model of 1713. Hawkmoor's designs seldom emerged from their initial concepts without major improvement.
- 43 RIBA, X16/11, 1–7.
- 44 T. L. Donaldson, *The Architect, Engineer and Surveyor*, xlvii, 1 December 1843.
- 45 Sally Jeffery, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London 1986, *English Baroque Architecture, The Work of John James*.
- 46 LPL MS 1750 includes unattributed site plans, many of which can be identified and attributed to Dickinson by reference to the Commissioners' minutes.
- 47 'Survey of London, 1957', xxii, *Spitalfields and Mile End New Town*, p. 152.
- 48 LPL, MS 2750, No.16, entitled 'The Basilica after the Primitive Christians'.
- 49 BL, K. Top. XXIII, 28–3; Sally Jeffery, op. cit.
- 50 LPL, MS 2690, 30 May 1716.
- 51 LPL, MS 2697, 39.
- 52 LPL, MS 2690, 4 November 1713.
- 53 BL, K. Top. XVIII, 18–1.
- 54 PRO Kew, Work 6/120, 21 January 1854.
- 55 Museum of Construction, 1862 catalogue, section M, Sally Jeffery, op. cit. [Corresp. John Physick].
- 56 Some of the plans are inscribed 'Plan of the Models for Churches proposed to be erected in the reign of Queen Ann, formerly preserved in Westminster Abbey now in the Kensington Museum. 1876'.

NOTES TO PAGES 97–102

- 1 The church was formerly the St Pancras or Kentish Town Chapel of Ease. The dedication to St John the Baptist was only adopted in c. 1845.
- 2 James Hakewill (1778–1843).
- 3 James Wyatt (1746–1813). The chapel's 'extraordinary transformation under (the hands of Mr Hakewill)' was described in *The Ecclesiologist*, Vol. 4, July 1845, p. 185, 'The architect has pulled down the east end facing the road but has kept the curved west end and western parts of the side walls. The main thing is the street front. Choose for the style Romanesque . . . if the visitor goes behind he will find the old brick walls and curved west end, neatly stuccoed to harmonise in some degree with the front. The only end in view in this work is *show*; the very meanest and most contemptible to which one could stoop in dealing with a House of God.'
- 4 Accession number 1994.12, presented on permanent loan by the former Parish Church of St John, Kentish Town through the Diocese of London.
- 5 *The North Western Telephone*, 31 May 1890, Swiss Cottage Reference Library, Local Studies Collection, cutting in the Heal Collection, A VI; *The Churchwarden*, 15 May 1911, Greater London Record Office P90/JNB 100, cutting in the manuscript volume by P. L. Langman *Some Notes Concerning Kentish Town Parish Church* 1910, vol. I, p. 97.
- 6 Langman, vol. I, p. 9.
- 7 The dimensions of the model, including plinth are 800 × 470 mm and 535 mm high. The stand is 970 × 385 mm and 905 mm high. The model is in a