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JAMES WYATT'S EARLIEST CLASSICAL CHURCHES

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The vociferous critical attacks launched against James Wyatt during his lifetime for what were regarded as insensitive restorations of the medieval cathedrals at Durham, Hereford, Lichfield and Salisbury, which damaged his fame and nearly deprived him of the coveted election to the Society of Antiquaries, and subsequently attracted the unflattering and undeserved sobriquet of 'Destroyer', have had the result of eclipsing his reputation as a skilful designer of churches in the classical style, and distorting perceptions of his importance in the history of English eighteenth-century church architecture.¹ Readers of *The Georgian Group Journal* have recently had their attention drawn to an unusually interesting early nineteenth-century model of the Kentish Town Chapel in London, Wyatt's first independent essay in Ecclesiastical Classicism (1780–85, rebuilt 1843–45).² The present article explores the designing and construction history of this building, and relates it to the architect's similar and nearly contemporary church of St Peter at Manchester (1788–94, demolished 1907).

It was as a young architect studying in Italy between 1762 and 1768 that Wyatt's (1746–1813) interest in churches took root. Though in Rome he attracted notoriety for his measured drawings of St Peter's dome,³ he condemned the basilica as 'bad architecture', and dismissed modern Roman architecture in general.⁴ Wyatt much preferred Venetian buildings: 'there is very good architecture at Venice, by Palladio', he later reminisced.⁵ From the beginning of the eighteenth-century the attitude in

the Republic to church design, and particularly to the treatment of façades, had been dramatically different from most of the rest of Italy. Where in other regions Late Baroque exuberance had evolved into a Rococo ornamental excess which in its extreme application resulted in all but a disintegration of structure,⁶ Venetian church architecture had returned to an Antique and Palladian-inspired austerity.⁷ There, around 1764, Wyatt became a pupil of the celebrated Palladian architect, Antonio Visentini (1688–1782). Visentini's studio specialized in the production of large numbers of accurately measured and finely rendered plans and orthographic elevations of Venetian churches by Palladio and his followers, which were bought principally by British tourists. This practice continued into the early 1760s when Visentini became Professor of Perspective Architecture (1761–78) at the Accademia di Belle Arti.⁸ Thus, Wyatt returned to London in 1768 'with a genius ripened by six Italian summers, and a taste formed by the finest models of antient Rome, and the instruction of the best living masters in Italy',⁹ convinced of the superiority of Palladian church design.

Wyatt's earliest church commissions – an organ case designed in 1770 for St Mowden's at Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire,¹⁰ and the completion of the interior of Worcester College Chapel, Oxford, following the death of Henry Keene in 1776¹¹ – resemble fashionable Roman neoclassical work by Robert Adam, which Wyatt had already assimilated with stunning success in his country

houses and public buildings. But in his first independent churches of the 1780s – a decade which saw his English rivals in this field experimenting with advanced European neoclassical ideas¹² – Wyatt reaffirmed his debt to Palladian patterns. Nowhere is this more evident than at Kentish Town.

The old chapel, on Kentish Town Road in the parish of St. Pancras, was reported in 1773 to be in poor condition, and on 10 March of that year the vestry instructed the Trustees of Church Lands to report on what repairs were needed.¹³ Nothing further is recorded on the matter until 27 October 1779, when the Trustees were 'requested to appropriate the Money in their Hands in rebuilding the Chapel at Kentish Town'.¹⁴ On 4 November they agreed to purchase for £68 from a Mr Trueman a half acre plot 'on the West Side of the Road in Kentish Town opposite the three Mile Stone', to be held 'for the Time being for the purpose of Building a New Chapel', which the vestry approved on 8 November.¹⁵ The minister, churchwardens and parishioners petitioned the Middlesex General Quarter Sessions for permission to undertake the work on 13 January 1780, which was confirmed by Brief eleven days later. This stated that the old chapel

a very antient structure is by length of time greatly decayed part of the walls bulged the timbers rotted and broke and the roof so much sunk that it hath been for some time propped and crampt and is dangerous for the inhabitants to attend divine Service therein and that altho very considerable sums have been from time to time laid out in Repairing . . . yet the [chapel] is become so ruinous that it cannot any longer be supported and that being only fifty three feet in length and twenty six feet in breadth is too small to contain the number of inhabitants resorting thereto and therefore it will be necessary to take [it] down . . . and build a new Chapel.¹⁶

The condition of the fabric was confirmed at the Quarter Sessions by the testimony of John Holt and John Johnson.¹⁷ They were described as 'Surveyors and persons of experience and under

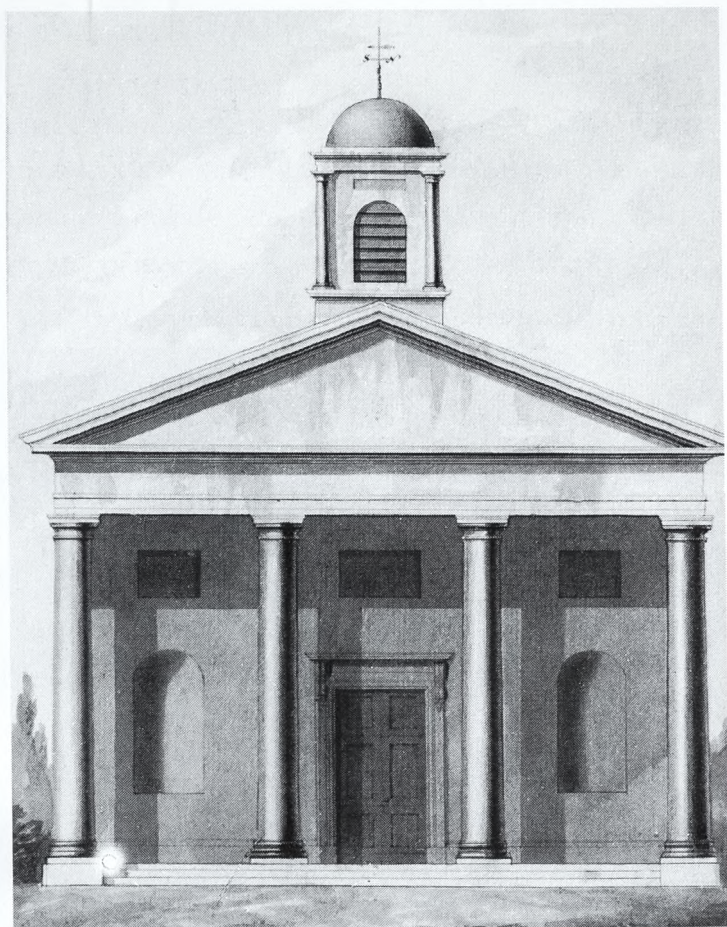


Figure 1. James Wyatt, drawing of the east (entrance) front of Kentish Town Chapel, London, 1780–85. *Holborn, Local Studies and Archives Centre.*

standing who have surveyed the . . . Chapel and delivered in an Estimate in writing upon Oath that the charge of pulling down rebuilding and enlarging . . . exclusive of the old materials' would cost upwards of £1,500. According to the Brief the parishioners were mostly 'tenants on rack rents and burthened with heavy parochial and other taxes' who would be unable to raise funds 'without the charitable contributions of well disposed Christians . . . from house to house [among] all our loving subjects' throughout Britain. In the event, only a small portion (£315.3.0) of the total cost of construction was raised by this method.¹⁸ Payments are recorded to a Mr Rider for building the carcase (£890) and a Mr Rendell for interior work (£790), and £979 was spent on undesignated extras, the total cost coming

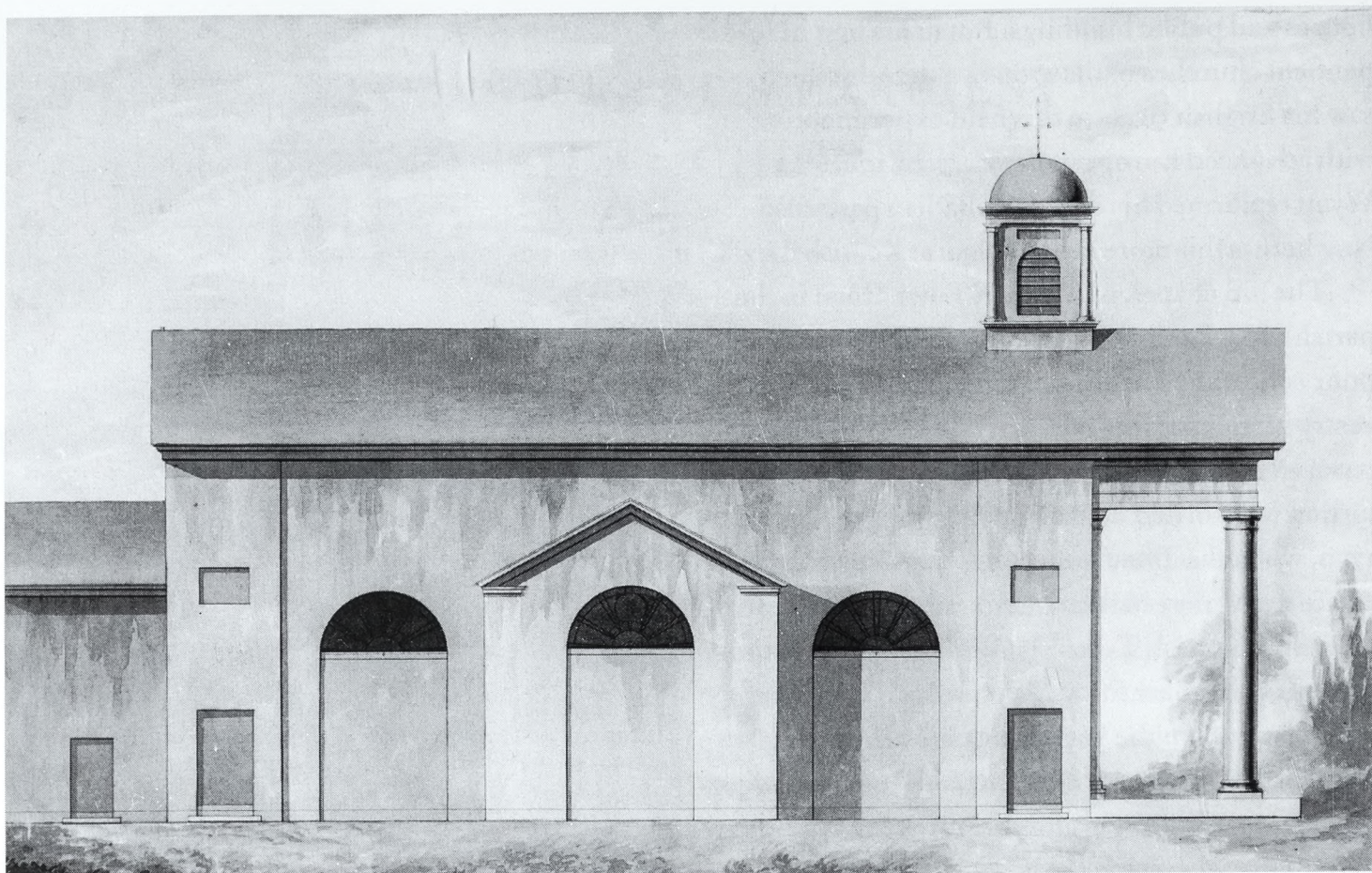


Figure 2. James Wyatt, drawing of the south elevation of Kentish Town Chapel, London, 1780–85.
Holborn, Local Studies and Archives Centre.



Figure 3. James Wyatt, drawing of south-east perspective of Kentish Town Chapel, London, 1780–85.
Holborn, Local Studies and Archives Centre.

to £2,659.¹⁹ At the end of operations in 1785 the Trustees still owed £1,100 to 'the Tradesmen employ'd in building and finishing' the chapel, and after unsuccessfully attempting to introduce a church rate of 6 pence in the pound as a method of 'discharging the . . . Debt' eventually (in 1794) agreed to levy a sliding scale of fees (4 to 5 guineas) for burial in the chapel vault.²⁰

Despite financial difficulties, the building campaign moved forward soon after 1780. Accordingly, 'several designs from different Architects' were obtained and 'that by James Wyatt Esq . . . preferred'.²¹ Unfortunately, the relevant parish records have not survived and the 'different Architects' cannot be identified, but Wyatt's authorship of the executed building (remodelled out of recognition in 1843–45)²² is confirmed by no less an authority than Thomas Hope, writing during the architect's lifetime.²³

Wyatt's preparatory drawings are untraced, but must have been made sometime between the January 1780 Brief and the start of construction, which is said to have taken place around May 1782.²⁴ A set of three unsigned pen and coloured wash drawings (Figs. 1–3), now in Holborn Local Studies and Archives Centre, depicting the east (entrance) front, south elevation and a south-east perspective, have the finely finished appearance of Wyatt's other presentation drawings, but apparently they were never part of the parish records.²⁵ Possibly they served another purpose.

The amateur Scottish architect, James, 7th Earl of Findlater and Seafield, while resident in Dresden, was commissioned to supply graphic material on the British buildings which had been selected to illustrate Christian Ludwig Stieglitz's *Plans Et Dessins Tirés De La Belle Architecture*, published in Leipzig in 1798.²⁶ This included the Kentish Town Chapel, which apart from some minor differences in detailing closely follow the Holborn drawings (Fig. 4).²⁷ Findlater was particularly fond of chaste specimens of neoclassicism and would

have been drawn to Wyatt's church because of its use of simple geometric shapes, austere surfaces and economical materials (stock brick). These were qualities which had been praised as early as 20 July 1784 in a notice published in the *London Chronicle* on the occasion of the chapel's consecration:

This new Chapel is a successful instance of the superior effect of simplicity in architecture. The stile of the building is elegantly plain; the portico partakes somewhat of the grand, while the inside presents an appearance, at once neat and noble.²⁸

Kentish Town Chapel's simplicity was the direct result of Wyatt's choice of Inigo Jones's St Paul's, Covent Garden (1631–33) as a model (Fig. 5). This most discussed and illustrated of the architect's works had become one of the icons of Georgian Palladianism. Its 'noble' and 'Majestick Simplicity',³⁰ particularly the tetrastyle Tuscan temple portico entrance resting on a low platform approached directly at ground level, was greatly admired.³¹ Yet, the building had surprisingly few imitators in the capital, and with the exception of the Chapel of Bancroft's Almshouses in the Mile End Road (1735, demolished),³² did not make a reappearance until it was taken up by Wyatt. Indeed, during the neoclassical period London churches with monumental temple porticos of any type were scarce. Now, in the 1780s, faced with having to design a chapel-of-ease on a modest budget and measuring only 45 by 105 feet (only slightly smaller than St Paul's, at 60 by 133 feet), the austere beauty of Jones's temple church was both an obvious and an ideal model. Its reputation as being

without a rival, one of the most perfect pieces of architecture that the art of man can produce . . . a strong proof of the force of harmony and proportion; and at the same time a demonstration that 'tis taste and not expence which is the parent of beauty³³

must have been uppermost in Wyatt's mind. It is interesting that Thomas Malton's *A Compleat Treatise on Perspective*, 1779, to which Wyatt was a subscriber, featured an illustration of 'that much

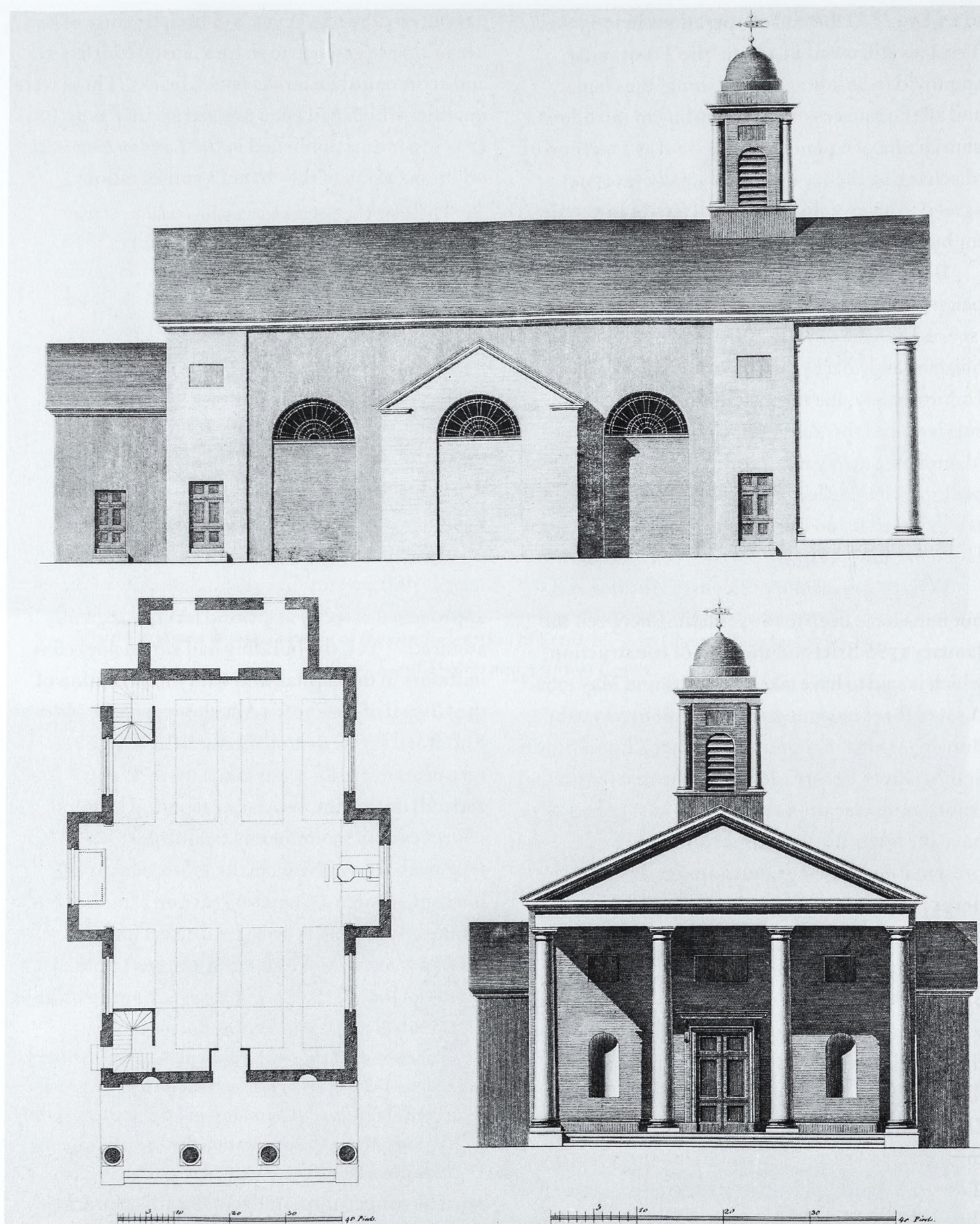


Figure 4. Moisy, after Schwender, Kentish Town Chapel, engraving in C. L. Steiglitz, *Plans Et Dessins Tirés De La Belle Architecture*, 1798, pls.65-66. Author.

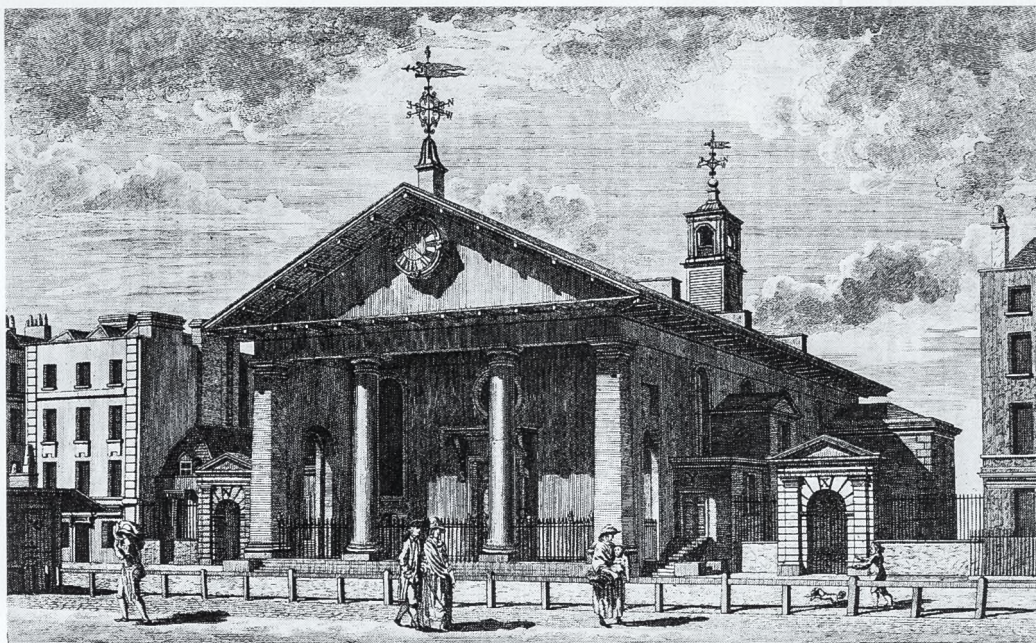


Figure 5. A. Smith, after Thomas Malton, St Paul's, Covent Garden, London, 1631–33, engraving dated 21 May 1774, in T. Malton, *A Compleat Treatise on Perspective*, London, 1779, pl. xxvi. *Author*.

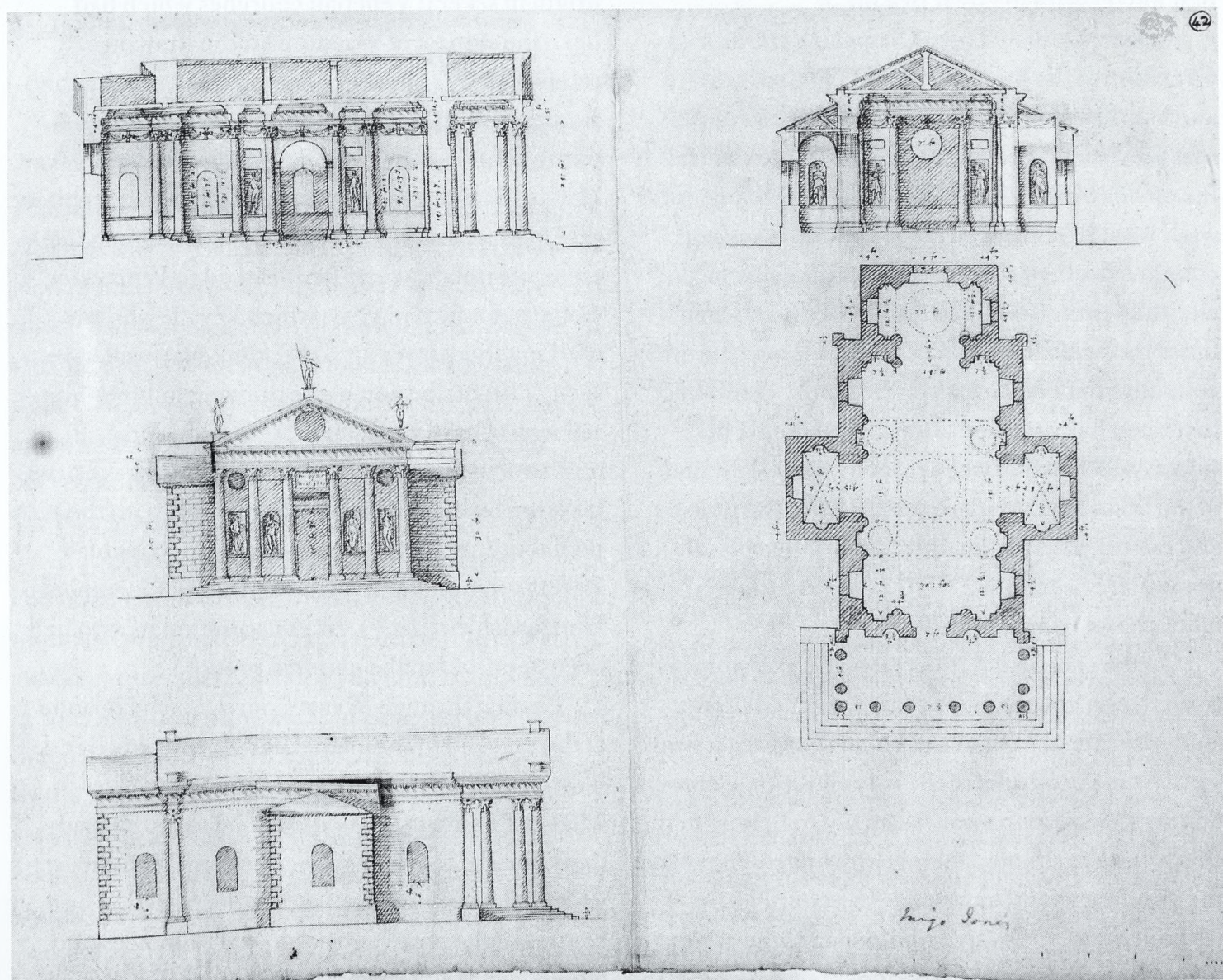


Figure 6. John Webb, design for a church, mid-17th century. *The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford*.

famed Building, by Inigo Jones' (before its recasting in Portland stone in 1788–89 and subsequent restoration after the 1795 fire) (Fig. 5).³⁴ Nevertheless, the choice bewildered Wyatt's contemporaries for its lack of what was considered at the time as innovation. Thomas Hope, in 1804, in criticizing Wyatt's recent submission for Downing College at Cambridge, observed that the form of the portico was the same as the one on his Oxford Street Pantheon (1769–72) and, therefore, Hope asked, 'why then should the same architect, so many years after, not satisfied with repeating its obsolete form in a chapel on the road to Highgate, again replicate the same in a most important addition to one of the first universities in Great Britain'.³⁵

In fact, Kentish Town Chapel is a subtle transformation of the Jonesian model. The side doors and overhead arched and ocular windows of the east portico were replaced by niches and panels; the device of attaching piers to the projecting outer walls was abandoned in favour of free-standing columns throughout; the columns are now more elegantly proportioned (eight rather than seven times the height of the shaft diameter) and the intercolumniation evenly paced; the boldly dentilated pediment has vanished altogether, and the bell turret, which at St. Paul's rides over the west end of the building, is transferred to above the portico and reworked as a miniature, pseudoperipteral, domed, Doric temple.³⁶ The result is a quieter and more chaste composition.

On the other hand, the rest of the exterior was treated with greater vigour (Figs. 2–3). Malton's sole criticism of St Paul's was that the modest projections in the middle of the side elevations, containing gallery staircases, 'seem not to belong to the Body, but are adapted merely for conveniency [and the building would have made] a better Figure without them'.³⁷ Wyatt emboldened these adjuncts as lunette-windowed and pedimented structures to form shallow projecting transepts. They have their

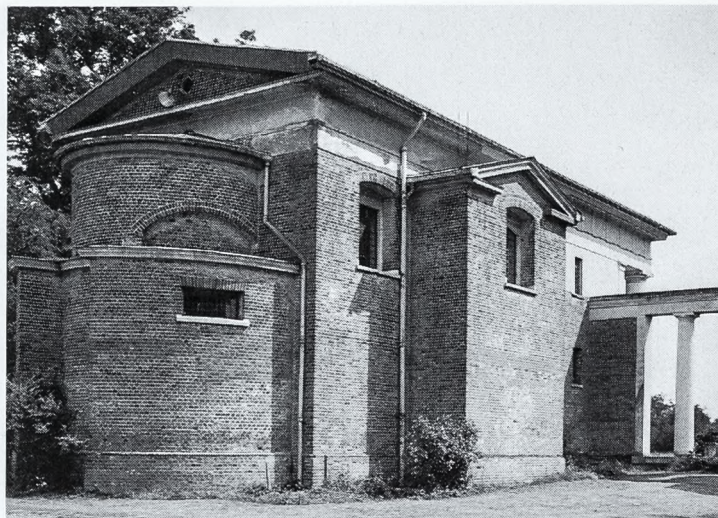


Figure 7. Nicholas Revett, St Lawrence, Ayot St. Lawrence, Hertfordshire, 1778–79. *Courtauld Institute of Art.*

origin in several Venetian churches which had been the subject of Visentini studio drawings,³⁸ reinforced by a sheet of drawings for a remarkably similar Antique temple-like church by Jones's pupil, John Webb (Fig. 6), a link first noted by Ivan Hall in his pioneer 1963 study of Georgian architecture in Manchester.³⁹ Webb's design is among the architectural drawings bequeathed to Worcester College, Oxford in 1734, which Wyatt, who was working there from 1776 to c.1790, may well have seen. The attribution of the drawing to Jones himself would have made it for Wyatt, of course, an undisputed authority.⁴⁰ But he may also have been inspired by the transeptal projections, with their distinctive interrupted pediments, on Nicholas Revett's temple-like church at Ayot St Lawrence in Hertfordshire (Fig. 7). Its consecration in 1779 had been reported in the national press.⁴¹

Passing through Wyatt's portico, which stood at the east end of the chapel, facing towards Kentish Town Road,⁴² worshippers found themselves in what one contemporary described as an 'exceedingly simple' interior:⁴³ single-celled, straight-walled, flat-ceilinged, austere decorated. The centres of the north and south walls opened out laterally to form broad but shallow, full-storey and barrel-vaulted transepts lit by large, high-level

lunettes. These spaces contained the communion table and an octagonal pulpit facing one another across the body, and created an abbreviated Greek Cross plan with dynamic shifts from the processional axis to the axis of worship and prayer. Following modifications in the early nineteenth-century, a visitor noted the

semi-circular windows, partly composed of stained glass, the centre ones, which are placed within arched recesses, being ornamented with various coats of arms: at the west end are two large arched windows, quite plain; – these were added when the building was enlarged. The recess on the south side contains the altar, over which is a cast in basso-relievo of the coming of Mary Magdalene to the sepulchre. The pulpit, reading-desk and communion-table are covered with crimson velvet, which was formerly ornamented with gold lace [subsequently stolen]. A capacious gallery occupies the west end; and in a smaller one towards the east end are the organ.

The interior accommodated approximately 1,100.⁴⁴ Much of this is recorded in a unique watercolour view of nineteenth-century date (Fig.8), by which time it had taken on some of the more flamboyant attributes of late-Georgian nonconformity: the pulpit had been relocated in the centre of the nave, and the straight-fronted galleries extended and curved outward to embrace the organ and additional seating.

Wyatt's obvious preference for outdated Palladian rather than fashionable neoclassical solutions also informed his next major church, St Peter's at Manchester, designed in 1788 (and demolished in 1907). Its designing and building history, like that of Kentish Town Chapel, has been obscured by the loss of the relevant parish records.⁴⁵ What we do know is that in 1784 the Reverend Samuel Hall, having failed to be elected a Fellow of the Collegiate Church because of his nonconformist sympathies, resigned as curate of St Anne's to form a separate congregation, and set about the business of building a new church. A virgin site was acquired



Figure 8. J. Farnald, interior view of Kentish Town Chapel, watercolour, early 19th century. *British Architectural Library, RIBA Drawings Collection, London, Gordon Barnes Collection, Box R5/57.*

at the south end of fashionable Moseley Street, at its intersection with Peter Street and Oxford Street, where St Peter's Square was created as a regular, open space with the church as its centrepiece.⁴⁶ The foundation-stone was laid on 11 December 1788 and the building, constructed of Runcorn stone, was consecrated on 6 September 1794, to much applause.⁴⁷ Joseph Aston, in *A Picture of Manchester*, 1816, called it a

singularly elegant piece of architecture . . . The portico which terminates the prospect down Mosley-street, is very fine . . . it will command admiration, whilst a taste for the fine arts is cultivated in this country . . . The inside . . . is a model of elegance and taste. The subscribers had the good sense to reject old rules which had not utility for their object; and dared to introduce comfort, convenience, and propriety, into the temple of God.⁴⁸

Wyatt's original drawings for St Peter's have not survived, but around 1820 a local architect named John Palmer made an accurate plan and northeast perspective (Figs. 9–10).⁴⁹ These confirm that the church had a full-width, tetrastyle temple portico of the Tuscan Order attached to each end of the rectangular body. Body and porticoes together



Figure 9. John Palmer, perspective view, 1820, of St Peter's, Manchester, 1778-94, by James Wyatt. *Local Studies Unit: Archives, Central Library.*

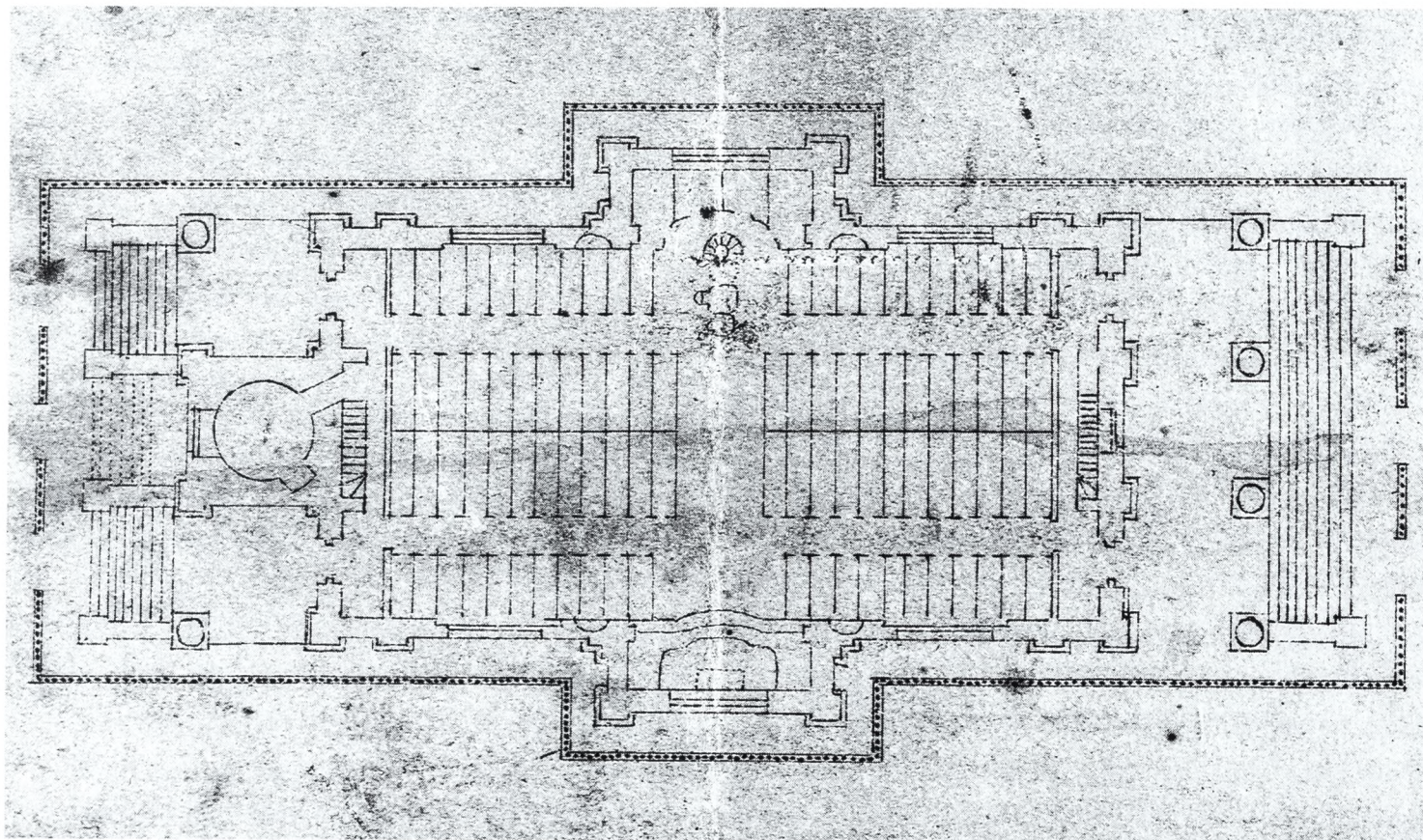


Figure 10. John Palmer, plan, 1820, of St Peter's, Manchester *Public Libraries*, 1778-94, by James Wyatt. *Local Studies Unit: Archives, Central Library.*

raised on a six-foot high, rusticated stone platform reinforced the building's temple appearance. The north front, facing Moseley Street (Fig. 9), followed more slavishly than Wyatt's London chapel (Fig. 1) Jones's arrangement (Fig. 5) of entrances in the two outer bays of the back wall flanking a false central door (behind which are gallery stairs) with an overhead oculus. However, the simplicity of both Covent Garden and Kentish Town was now disturbed by the subdivision of the wall by a string course and the richer articulation of full height Tuscan pilasters. These continued in pairs, alternating with shallow recessed and lunetted arches, along the east and west elevations; nor are the Webb-Revett-Wyatt transeptal projections now pedimented. These changes in the design served to distance the building from its precursors.

Aston reported in 1816 that

the exterior . . . is not yet finished. – Several parts, which are intended for [undesignated] sculpture, being left in the rough state, with an intention to carve them, when the whole building is erected, and all danger of fracture from falling stones, &c. is removed.⁵⁰

This undoubtedly refers to the incomplete state of the south front, which faced open fields (the site of the later Peterloo Massacre). Here Wyatt introduced the novel idea of a fully formed tetrastyle temple portico with its middle bay filled in by walls to create an enclosed vestibule from which a substantial, multi-tiered tower rises, flanked by what have become, in effect, square-shaped corner-columned, open porches.⁵¹ This unusual and unprecedented feature, which destroyed the integrity of the portico and defied classical canon, was nevertheless favoured by Wyatt. It apparently represented the most practical solution to the difficult problem of accommodating a lofty tower in a building restricted to a confined site without recourse either to the traditional arrangement of a semi-detached tower, or to a tower rising directly from the roof behind the portico pediment, such as

had been made famous by the example of St Martin-in-the-Fields (1720–26), but which some critics and architects, including Wyatt, condemned.⁵²

A view published by Aston in 1816 showing the church as built, but not yet possessing its tower, only served to exacerbate his criticism of the body as having been 'built upon too low a site, by which means only one half of the building is seen from Piccadilly' (at the opposite end of Moseley Street); otherwise he believed the church 'might be pronounced almost faultless'. He also claimed that Wyatt would have 'wished . . . to have preserved the Grecian order [identified by Aston as Doric] in its purity, by executing a dome' over the lower, rectangular stages of the tower. However, in 'this measure [Wyatt] was over-ruled' and instead 'designed a beautiful steeple' in the form of a short, panelled octagon surmounted by a tall, slim, octagonal spire, which was 'as much in unison with the rest of the building as possible; and which, if ever finished, would add another wreath to his already well-earned reputation as an architect'. (Nevertheless, the spire steeple would have removed the church even further from the doctrinaire neoclassical arena). Aston added that the steeple

still remains to be erected: a completion much to be wished, as it would contribute very considerably to the beauty of the town, especially on approaching it by Ardwick, and Oxford-Road: and give a finish to the view along Mosely-street. It would, also, take away any objection which some persons offer against the appearance of the church; which they say, is like a Grecian temple

but which Aston saw as 'striking proof of its beauty'.⁵³

In the event only the rectangular stages were realised during the initial phase of building. The crown was finally erected only in 1824 (after Wyatt's death in 1813) by Francis Goodwin to his own design, which returned to the concept of a dome but was possessed of a Greek Revival flamboyance at odds with the austerity of Wyatt's building.⁵⁴

Less is known about Wyatt's original interior, of which there are no views and which was remodelled later in the nineteenth-century. Entered through either the north or south porticos, the worshipper was confronted by a single, symmetrical, segmental vaulted space of almost Greek Cross shape. Shallower vaulting covered the transepts which, as in Kentish Town Chapel, housed a combined pulpit and desk ('a beautiful piece of work . . . contriv'd of mahogany', according to Aston) in the western arm, and a communion table raised on three steps in the eastern one, each lit by overhead lunette windows. Above the table was 'a very fine Descent from the Cross; an undoubted original by Annibal Carracci'.⁵⁵ The main walls on either side of the transept openings had round-headed niches. The floor was

boarded, and covered with matting, so that all noise, apparent hurry, and confusion, too visible on the entrance of some congregations, is avoided; and the highly esteemed minister is heard, equally well, by every individual within the walls. The pews, which contain sittings for 550, have all crimson cushions.

There were galleries on the north and south ends. Aston reported that

an opinion, almost universal, prevailed, during the erection of the building, that owing to the very small windows, it [the interior] would be badly lighted. The result is highly to the credit of the architect. There is sufficient light: more would have created an uncomfortable glare, not at all adapted to the solemnity of the place. It presents a happy medium between the dark melancholy gloom of the cloister, and the extreme lightness of some modern places of worship.⁵⁶

By the time Wyatt completed St Peter's in 1794 he had already launched his campaigns for the restorations of the cathedrals at Hereford, Lichfield and Salisbury; the controversial proposals for Durham, which put him in such bad odour with the Antiquaries, date to the following year. After Manchester, his other parish church work, at East Grinstead, Milton Abbas, Coventry, Bishop Auckland, Weeford, Hanworth and elsewhere, was

almost exclusively Gothic in character.⁵⁷ His early foray into classical church design was poignant, but brief. Given his admiration for Inigo Jones, it was appropriate that in 1806, in the capacity of Surveyor-General of the King's Works, he should be invited to convert the Whitehall Banqueting House (1619–22), which had served as a chapel royal since 1698, into a military chapel. In a report Wyatt explained that his alterations were made without 'interfering with the architectural beauty of the building'.⁵⁸

I am grateful to the Holborn Local Studies and Archives Centre, London, Manchester Local Studies Unit: Archives and Local Studies, The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford, and the British Architectural Library, RIBA Drawings Collection, London, for permission to publish material in their keeping, and to Sir Howard Colvin, Richard Hewlings, Malcolm Holmes, Tim Knox, Derek Linstrum, Joanna Parker and David Sheard for help in preparing this paper.

NOTES

- 1 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 1107–13 (particularly 1109, 1112–13).
- 2 Tim Knox, 'The Model of the Kentish Town Chapel of Ease', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 1995, 97–102.
- 3 R.A., 'Short Memoirs of the Life of James Wyatt, Esq.', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1813, 296.
- 4 'There is no good modern architecture in Rome – the best specimens are by Raphael. – That of Michael Angelo, is very bad . . . St Peter's [is] bad architecture. It is the size which makes it striking', a prejudice which fuelled Wyatt's dislike of Wren's treatment of St Paul's Cathedral: 'very defective, – Window, over window, where there is only one story divides the architecture into little parts, and exhibits a false Idea' [James Greig (ed.), *The Farington Diary*, I, London, 1922, 218 (7 November 1797)].
- 5 Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (eds.), *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, III, New Haven and London, 1984, 918.
- 6 See the many examples in Anna Maria Matteucci, *L'Architettura del Settecento*, Turin, 1988.
- 7 See the examples in Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, London, 1989, pls. 103, 105–07, especially S. Maria Maddalena, 1760 (pl.114), by Tomaso Temanza, who, in 1762, published the first edition of *Vita Di Andrea Palladio*.
- 8 John McAndrew, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects Antonio Visentini*, Farnborough, 1974, 7–11; Howard, *op.cit.*, 205–06; Rudolph Wittkower, 'Palladio's Influence on Venetian Religious Architecture' in *Palladio and English Palladianism*, London, 1974, 16–21, pls. 11–21.
- 9 'Short Memoirs of the Life of James Wyatt, Esq.', *op.cit.*
- 10 Derek Linstrum, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects James Wyatt*, Farnborough, 1974, 37, no.3, fig.28.
- 11 H.M. Colvin, *A Catalogue of Architectural Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford*, Oxford, 1964, xxiv, 62, nos. 489–91, pls.32–34, all dated November 1783.
- 12 That is, Robert Adam, Joseph Bonomi, William Chambers, George Dance, William Newton, George Steuart, James Stuart and Thomas Telford [Damie Stillman, *English Neo-classical Architecture*, II, London, 1988, Chapter 11; Terry Friedman, 'The Golden Age of Church Architecture in Shropshire', *Shropshire History and Archaeology*, LXXI, 1996, 83–134].
- 13 C. E. Lee, *St. Pancras Church and Parish*, London, 1955, 32; Sir George Gater and Walter H. Godfrey (eds.), *Survey of London (Old St. Pancras and Kentish Town) The Parish of St. Pancras, Part II*, XIX, London, 1938, 54.
- 14 London, Holborn Local Studies and Archives Centre (hereafter Holborn), St Pancras MSS, P/PN/M/1 (Vestry Minutes, 1718–1780), fol.500.
- 15 *Ibid.*, fol.501.
- 16 London, British Museum, Add. ms. BXX5, reprinted in full in Lee, *op.cit.*, 133–34.
- 17 Johnson had been employed as a builder in Marylebone since the late 1760s and later (1788–91) designed Chelmsford Town Hall [Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 548–51; Nancy Briggs, *John Johnson 1732–1814 Georgian Architect and County Surveyor of Essex*, Chelmsford, 1991].
- 18 The Trustees hoped to raise £1,000 on the 1780 Brief and were 'extremely disappointed' in attracting only £315.3.0 [Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI.57 'Kentish Town Chapel Extracted from "An Address to the Parishioners of St Pancras from the Trustees of the Church Lands"', London, 1808']. An additional £856.9.3 was spent by 1806; in 1805 'a Surveyor was consulted, and a plan fixed for increasing the number of pews' which, together with general repairs, cost £678.7.6, in addition to 'repairing and reinstating furniture, lackering the brass work, painting, writing, and putting up the two tables of the commandments &c' for £139.19.4, totalled £4,237.16.2 [*Ibid.*, fol.5].
- 19 Lee, *op. cit.*, 34, quoting from a now untraced document. On 20 June 1793 the vestry resolved to spend £40 on a clock [Holborn, P/PN/M/2, fol.82]. I have found no evidence to link the Rendell of the above account with the 'Mr Randall' who was a Kentish Town Chapel churchwarden in 1817, or 'W Randall', who made the Chapel model [Knox, *op.cit.*, 97–98].
- 20 Holborn, P/PN/M/2, fol.20 (18 April 1785), fol.94

- (22 April 1794 'their being a very spacious dry Vault under the Vestry . . . well adapted for the purpose of the Internment of the Dead, which will contain a great number of Corps', 'as an inducement for burying . . . the fees ought to be moderate', that is, 4 guineas for 'Children under the age of 12 Years' and 5 guineas for others, with 'no . . . Corps . . . interred but in Lead', with a portion of the fee 'applied towards the Discharge of the Debt . . . for Building the . . . Chapel'), fols. 96–96v (18 June 1794). Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI.57 refers to 'the necessity of advancing £600 of their [the Trustees'] own money for the payment of Tradesmen's Bills and . . . reluctantly obliged to apply to a Church Rate . . . but several persons having refused payment, they were cited before the Ecclesiastical Court. In the course of this suit large sums of money were expended on both sides, and upon hearing the cause, the parties having consented each to pay their own costs, the suit was dismissed'.
- 21 Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI.60.
 - 22 By J.H. Hakewill [Basil F.L. Clarke, *Parish Churches of London*, London, 1966, 138, pl.109; Knox, *op.cit.*, 97].
 - 23 Thomas Hope, *Observations on the Plans and Elevations designed by James Wyatt Architect, for Downing College, Cambridge, in a Letter to Francis Annesley, Esq. M.P.*, London, 1804, 34 (see this essay p. 62). The chapel was 'finished . . . by those persons whose proposals were the lowest, under the direction of Mr. Wyatt' [Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI.61].
 - 24 Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI.60. Lee, *op.cit.*, 33 records the demolition of the old chapel in 1784.
 - 25 Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI.35–37, the latter with the note 'Original drawings by James Wyatt for Kentish Town chapel Bought with other 2 from Daniels Wigmore St. 1887'.
 - 26 A.A. Tait, 'Lord Findlater, Architect', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CXXVIII, October 1986, 737–41, noting (p.738) that most of 'Findlater's sources appear to have been prints rather than first-hand observations'. However, Kentish Town Chapel is not known to have been engraved before 1798 and Wyatt may have supplied the present drawings directly. Other English churches included in *Plans Et Dessins* are Thomas Hardwick's St Mary's, Wanstead, John Plaw's St Mary's, Paddington and Willey Reveley's All Saints, Southampton, as well as Wyatt's Cobham Mausoleum [John Fleming, 'Balavil House Invernesshire' in Howard Colvin and John Harris (eds.), *The Country Seat Studies in the History of the British Country House*, London, 1970, 178–80].
 - 27 Plates 65–66, inscribed in German and French 'Dédié à son Altesse Sérénissime, Monseigneur Maximilien Francois, Archiduc d'Autriche, Archevêque de Cologne, Archichancelier du St. Empire Romain pour l'Italie, et Electeur, Légat né du St. Siège, Evêque et Prince de Munster, Duc en Westphalie et à Engern etc.'. This double plate was engraved by Moisy, after Schwender. For this publication see Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, New York and London, 1994, 291; Dora Wiebenson, *The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection, Volume 1, French Books Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries*, Washington and New York, 1993, 448, cat.no.157.
 - 28 Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI.47, referring to the 'new Chapel . . . yesterday consecrated'.
 - 29 John Summerson, 'Inigo Jones: Covent Garden and the Restoration of St Paul's Cathedral' in *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays*, London, 1990, 41–62; F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London (The Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden)*, xxxvi, London, 1970, 98–128, pls. iiff.
 - 30 Quoting Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, London, 1717, 1 (pls. 20–22) and Rev. George Reeves, *A New History of London . . . By Questions and Answers*, London, 1764, 77, respectively.
 - 31 Batty Langley, *Ancient Masonry*, London, 1736, 218–19 (pl. xxvii), praised 'The Tuscan Order . . . in the Portico . . . whose simple Grandeur excels all other Buildings in this City'.
 - 32 Bancroft's Chapel had 'a noble portico, with Ionic columns, and coupled pilasters at the corners, supporting a pediment [with] a handsome turret' [R. and J. Dodsley, *London and Its Environs Described*, I, London, 1761, 231–32]; it was engraved in 1754 and 1756 [Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated 1604–1851*, London, 1983, 92 (no. 22), 101 (no. 76)].
 - 33 James Ralph, *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues and Ornaments In, and about London and Westminster*, London, 1734, 29.
 - 34 James Malton, *A Compleat Treatise on Perspective*

- in *Theory and Practice*, 2nd ed., London, 1779, 210, pl. xxvi.
- 35 Hope, *op.cit.*, 34. The commission went to William Wilkins [Cinzia Maria Sicca, *Committed to Classicism The Building of Downing College Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1987, pls. II, 6].
- 36 The Stieglitz engraving shows smaller niches but ones corresponding to those as built [Lee, *op.cit.*, pl. 4]; the dome and the proportions of the bell turret and the position of the panels on the side elevations also differ from Wyatt's drawings.
- 37 Malton, *op. cit.*, 211.
- 38 McAndrew, *op.cit.*, 17 (no. 15.1), 28 (nos. 90.1, 91.1), 48 (no. 219.1), figs. 19, 49–50, 103. Also see the 'two little portico's, that project from . . . the sides [of the] little [Roman] temple . . . that is below Tivoli' [Isaac Ware, *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture*, IV, London, 1738, 104–05, pls. 71–74].
- 39 The association between the Webb and Wyatt designs is mentioned but left unexplored in Ivan Hall, *The Classical Architecture of Manchester 1700–1850*, PhD, School of Architecture, University of Manchester, 1963, 114, and Ivan Hall, *Heaton Hall Manchester Bicentenary Exhibition 1772–1972*, Manchester, 1972, 94, 103.
- 40 The sheet is inscribed 'Inigo Jones' [John Harris and A. A. Tait, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Inigo Jones, John Webb and Isaac de Caus at Worcester College Oxford*, Oxford, 1979, 1–2, 66 (nos. 151 A–E); Margaret Whinney, 'Some Church Designs by John Webb', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VI, 1943, 149, pl. 40a].
- 41 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1779, 374, with a reference to the use on the entrance portico of the semi-fluted Greek Doric Order from the Temple of Apollo at Delos, a more advanced treatment than Wyatt's. An anonymous writer was 'struck with the beautiful appearance of [the] new-built church . . . a model of antient architecture . . . by that eminent Architect, the great Antiquary, Mr. Nichol Revett' [*The Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1789, 972]. See also Marcus Whiffen, *Stuart and Georgian Churches The Architecture of the Church of England outside London 1603–1837*, London, 1948, 58, 60; and J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760–1870*, London, 1972, pls. 14–15.
- 42 *Survey of London, cit.*, XIX, 56, pl. 113.
- 43 Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI. 61.
- 44 Holborn, Heal Collection, A. VI. 61, dating to 1821 (A. VI. 59). The alterations to the fabric are discussed by Knox, *op.cit.*, 99–100.
- 45 Hall, *Classical Architecture, cit.*, 3–4 noted that 'Church documents [for Manchester] seem to have been destroyed almost completely . . . When Manchester churches have been demolished recently, it has been the practice to destroy documents with the church'. St Peter's is discussed in W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester A Chronological Record from the Earliest Times to the End of 1885*, Manchester, 1886, 115–16; *The Victoria History of the Counties of England Lancashire*, IV, London, 1911, 248; Hall, *Classical Architecture, cit.*, 113–17; Hall, *Heaton Hall, cit.*, 92–94, 102–03; Whiffen, *op.cit.*, 49.
- 46 Mosley Street was described in 1790 as 'now finishing' and having 'chapels for prayer and assembly rooms for dancing . . . bespeaking opulence and an increased trade' [C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries Containing the Tour Through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (Later Fifth Viscount Torrington) between the Years 1781 and 1794*, II, London, 1934–38, 208].
- 47 Joseph Aston, *A Picture of Manchester*, Manchester, 1816, 86–88. The foundation-stone is inscribed with Wyatt's name [Hall, *Classical Architecture, cit.*, 113]. A 1823 copy of the 1795 consecration text, with vault plan, is in Manchester, Central Library, Archives, BR283.4273 M312.
- 48 Aston, *op.cit.*, 86–88; repeated in *A Concise Description of Manchester and Salford, containing An Account of their Antiquities Public Buildings &c*, Manchester, 1826, 110–12; with a similar account in James Dugdale, *The New British Traveller, or Modern Panorama of England and Wales*, III, London, 1819, 315–16.
- 49 Manchester, Central Library, Archives, M16/2/2 (elevation), M16/2/3 (inscribed 'Plan of St Peters Church Manchester'). The elevation was published as a simplified woodcut in 1826 [Manchester, Central Library, Local Studies, Acc. no. 103081].
- 50 Aston, *op.cit.*, 87.
- 51 This composition may have been the inspiration for the closely similar one at the Unitarian Church,

- Washington D.C. (1821–22, demolished 1900) designed by Charles Bulfinch, who had visited England between 1785 and 1787 and seems to have been familiar with Wyatt's Heaton Hall, near Manchester [Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch*, Harvard, 1969, 6–12, 42, 341–46, pls. 157–62]. See also John Carline's St Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, 1793–95 [Friedman, 'The Golden Age of Church Architecture', *cit.*, pls. 32, 34] and Asher Benjamin and Ithiel Town's First Congregational Church, New Haven, Connecticut, 1812–14 [Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, 281–82, pl. xvi].
- 52 Wyatt considered St Martin's 'Spire bad' [Garlick, *op.cit.*, III, 918, a letter dated 7 November 1797]. For other similar criticisms, see Friedman, *Gibbs, cit.*, 263–64.
- 53 Aston, *op. cit.*, 86, including a crude illustration of the towerless church.
- 54 The crown had 'the proportions . . . taken from the Choragic monument of Thrasyllus' with the apex 'an intended model of the Lantern of Demosthenes [but] a miserable copy of the original [with] the appearance of an angular Roman Ionic capital' [*A Concise Description of Manchester and Salford, op.cit.*, 111]. This is shown in a 1828 engraving by J. Fothergill [Manchester, Central Library, Local Studies, Acc. no. 116, 370] and in photographs [Chris Makepeace, *Manchester As It Was*, Nelson, 1972, 22, 24].
- 55 Aston, *op.cit.*, 88. The painting was presented by a Mr Dawson [T. Swindells, *Manchester Streets and*
- Manchester Men*, Manchester, 1907, 2nd. series, 160].
- 56 According to *The Builder*, Vol. XVIII, 8 September 1860, 575 the 'interior . . . has undergone a complete re-decoration . . . In the new decoration Christian symbols . . . have been introduced into the ceiling and other parts. Texts of Scriptures . . . have also been inscribed on the frieze. The altar recess is elaborately treated . . . the hitherto empty niches, four in number, have had statues placed in them, of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James, and St. Andrew; whilst the eight oval panels on the side walls over the niches and the galleries are filled with paintings in monochrome, representing scenes in different periods of our Saviour's life . . . The altar piece . . . by A. Carracci . . . is said to have been bought in Paris at . . . 1,000 guineas'. The redecoration was undertaken by Samuel Bottomley & Son; the designer was Edward Salomons [Hall, *Classical Architecture, cit.*, 117–18].
- 57 The exception is St. Mary's, Dodington, Gloucestershire (1797–1805), with its lunette windows, bold Doric corner columns, coffered dome on pendentives and scagliola decoration more deliberately Antique Roman in inspiration [Antony Dale, *James Wyatt*, Oxford, 1956, 74, pls. 35–36; Anne Warren, 'The Building of Dodington Park', *Architectural History*, xxxiv, 1991, 174–75, figs. 11–13].
- 58 J. Mordaunt Crook and M.H. Port, *The History of The King's Works*, vi, London, 1973, 545–47.