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THOMAS HARDWICK JR'S EARLY CHURCHES

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The young Thomas Hardwick Jr (1752–1829) was a reactionary voice in the closing years of the eighteenth century, advocating a return to Stuart and early Georgian neo-Palladian forms which was at odds with the pursuit of architectural innovation based on the antique characteristic of mainstream late Georgian Classicism. Thus, he has been ignored by historians. Yet, ironically, this conservatism was the bedrock of a considerable reputation during Hardwick's lifetime, particularly in the field of church design.

St Mary's, Wanstead, in Essex (1787–90), where Hardwick looked back to the churches of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren (during the same years he renovated St Paul's, Covent Garden and St James's, Piccadilly), as well as those of James Gibbs, was hailed on its completion as 'a pattern church to any parish in the kingdom'.¹ It is one of only four British churches illustrated in C.L. Stieglitz's prestigious survey of contemporary European buildings, *Plans et Dessins Tirés De La Belle Architecture*, published in Leipzig and Moscow in 1800 and in Paris in the following year.² Hardwick's next commission, St James's Chapel, Hampstead Road in London (1789–93, demolished 1965), also derived from Jonesian and Wrenian sources. He also showed an uncommon reverence for the past in his approach to repairing old churches. John Carter, the leading architectural writer of the day, made much of Hardwick's key role in upsetting a proposal made in 1791 by 'a very powerful junto' among the parishioners of the Romanesque church of St Bartholomew-the-Great, Smithfield, which 'concerted a sort of scheme to sweep the whole remains

away . . . under the weak pretence that a certain part of the Choir was then in imminent danger of falling'. Only the 'professional exertions[of this] able Architect and Antiquary' in making 'a few judicious repairs, done in the teeth of the would-be Innovators' saved the building.³ The renovation was said to have been done 'to universal satisfaction'.⁴ Likewise the 'wonderful improvements' to Covent Garden church completed in 1789 'gave infinite satisfaction to the parishioners';⁵ so much so that following the calamitous fire of 1795 its rehabilitation was again placed in the hands of that 'ingenious Architect'.⁶ Parish records reveal Hardwick's keen professional concern for the well-being of his buildings. For example, in 1788, he arranged with the Sun Fire Office to insure Wanstead church against loss or damage by fire to the tune of £4,000.⁷

Close scrutiny of the architectural histories of these five churches indicates that often times Hardwick was working on them simultaneously during the years between 1787 and 1798, and virtually to the exclusion of all other architectural activity.⁸ It is therefore hardly surprising that they form an unusually close-knit and coherent group, and one which can define his early style.

The story begins on 20 July 1786, when the Covent Garden vestry met to consider repairs to its 153-year old fabric, though nothing further happened until 12 March 1787, when Francis Russell, 5th Duke of Bedford, the patron of the living, was petitioned for financial assistance.⁹ Three days later the House of Commons received a report on the decayed and inadequate conditions of the modest

medieval parish church at Wanstead, which, it claimed, required either repairing or rebuilding.¹⁰ Two days after this came a proposal for dealing with Covent Garden church.¹¹ On 21 March the Wanstead vestry, concluding that the 'Enlargement or Rebuilding . . . is a Work of absolute and indispensable Necessity, for the Convenient Reception of the Parishioners', instructed the rector 'to apply to some able Surveyor . . . for a plan and Estimate'.¹² Hardwick's scheme was presented on 26 March, then revised to accommodate additional seating ('some Hints were given to the Architect for rendering it still larger & more commodious') and re-submitted on 23 April.¹³ By then an Act of Parliament had been passed permitting building according to the approved design.¹⁴ Hardwick was appointed surveyor on 11 June, on which occasion he inspected the craftsmens' proposals.¹⁵ A local carpenter and painter were chosen, but Londoners, attracted by advertisements in three leading metropolitan newspapers, predominated.¹⁶ A contract was signed on 5 July to erect the church

in a good sound and workmanlike manner complete and finish with every material [under Hardwick's] immediate Direction [using the] very best Portland stone . . . Purbeck Steps of the best quality [and] Portland octagonal paving . . . with black marble Dots . . . at the prices affixed (and agreeable to drawings and descriptions) . . . to the Satisfactn. of . . . the Architect.¹⁷

The foundation-stone of this glamorous building was laid on 13 July 1787, after which 'numerous . . . gentlemen and ladies [were] elegantly entertained' by Sir James Tylney Long, the patron of the living, 'with a cold collation' at Wanstead House.¹⁸

Hardwick was next employed to renovate Covent Garden church, following the announcement on 16 February 1788 of the Duke of Bedford's gift of £500 to the building fund.¹⁹ The architect recommended recasing the original external brick walls in Portland stone, re-roofing in Westmorland slate in place of tiles, and installing a new portico ceiling; the altar columns were to be veined and gilded, the 'irregular and incommodious' pews

rebuilt and set on 'new yellow deal floors with Oak Joists', and he also agreed to provide a 'new floated' ceiling, a screen at the west end and a new pulpit and reading desk, as well as 'new Iron Gates with Ornamental tops with . . . Bedford's Arms over the Centre Gate' at the Bedford Street entrance to the churchyard.²⁰ Parliament was petitioned on 1 May using this specification, and a week later Hardwick testified to the Commons on the unfit state of the fabric and the necessity of 'a thorough and substantial Repair', which resulted in the Act passed on 11 June 1788.²¹

On 10 June Hardwick, John Soane and William Gowan (a local surveyor and former churchwarden) were instructed to 'ascertain seperately and reduce into Writing the Particulars of the Repairs deemed proper and necessary' to St James's, Piccadilly.²² On 25 August Hardwick received £50 for 'Surveying' at Wanstead,²³ and by 20 October construction was sufficiently advanced for him to be questioned about 'Some Dissatisfaction . . . expressed respecting the Timber made Use of in ye Roof & other Parts of ye Church'.²⁴ It then emerged that he had attended the building operations 'less frequently than he ought & that too much had been left to Mr [Thomas] Owen, ye Clerk of ye Works . . . in ye Outset of this Business'. In fact, Harwick had agreed only to a 'general Superintendance; to take care that ye Materials be generally good, & every Part of ye work, done in a good workmanlike Manner'.²⁵

On 17 February 1789, at the start of a year of particularly robust church activity, the Piccadilly vestry considered a proposal from Soane, who submitted 'several Plans Elevations and Sections' for work to cost £2,695.10.11, and from Hardwick, for £2,720 with an additional £880 for repewing.²⁶ This involved stopping 'all the Cracks' in the tower, introducing a new balustrade and 'new Bricks . . . where wanted', releading the steeple, repairing windows and the main ceiling 'where bagg'd or otherwise', painting and whitewashing the interior, cleaning pictures and picture-frames, and so on.²⁷ Hardwick was offered the job on 1 May, at the

standard fee of 5 per cent of the total construction cost, and ordered to prepare building specifications.²⁸ The vestry was empowered to consent to other repairs 'during the Progress of the Works . . . represented by Mr. Hardwick to be highly proper to be done at the same time: Or . . . to any small Variation that Mr. Hardwick may advise', and, heeding the lessons of Wanstead, he was given 'Liberty to . . . employ a proper Person to officiate as a Labourer in Trust and as an Assistant to him in the Superintendance of the . . . Works'.²⁹ In preparation, pews were 'lined with Cloth', the organ-case covered with protective 'Matting' and 'proper Boarding' placed around the reredos to prevent its delicate, Grinling Gibbons carvings from 'receiving Injury'. The 'Aysle under the North Gallery' was enclosed in order to provide a place to perform divine services 'pending the Repairs'.³⁰

The Piccadilly vestry could now turn its attention to providing parishioners with a much needed chapel-of-ease and burial ground. A site was purchased from Lord Southampton located on the east side of the Hampstead Road, at the junction with Cardigan Road. Though the property strictly-speaking lay outside the Westminster parish boundry, the Act of Parliament providing for the new facilities forbade St

Pancras parishioners being 'churched or christened in the new Chapel, without Consent of the Vicar'.³¹ At the first meeting of the building committee, held on 13 August 1789, Hardwick was instructed to 'make plans elevations and drawings of the Chapel and Houses' for the minister and clerk.³² These were submitted on 13 February 1790, when they received approval provided construction costs did not exceed £6,000,³³ and probably correspond to the set of eight elegantly rendered pen and coloured wash drawings (Fig 1, 2, 3) bound into the vestry minutes book.³⁴ Hardwick brought with him Thomas Owen, his Clerk of the Works at Wanstead, and several other craftsmen employed there and at Piccadilly,³⁵ who agreed on 25 June 1790 to complete the houses by 1 March 1791 and the chapel by the following November.³⁶

Meanwhile, the reinvigorated St Paul's, Covent Garden reopened on 1 November 1789, with *The Public Advertiser* applauding the craftsmen for 'the masterly manner in which they have executed the several parts allocated to them'; 'the joiners work is finished in a manner not to be exceeded by the best workmen of that line in the kingdom'.³⁷ By the Spring of 1790 the 'Undertaking' at Wanstead was 'drawing so near to a Conclusion'.³⁸

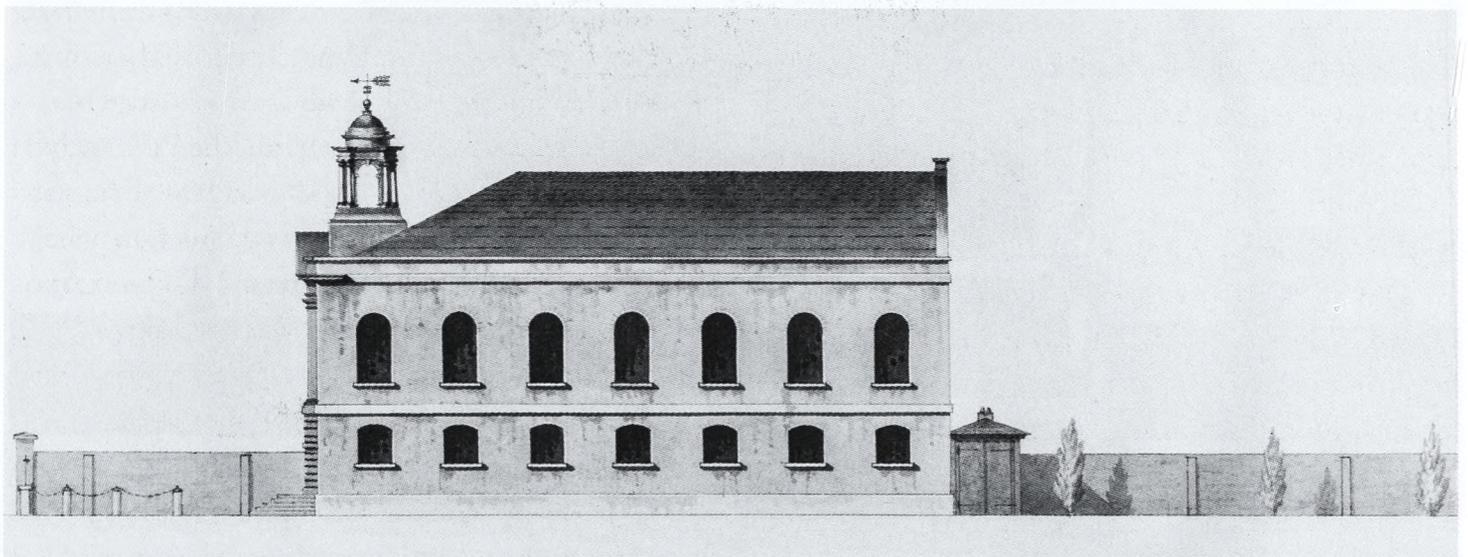


Figure 1. Thomas Hardwick Jr., drawing of the south elevation for St James's, Hampstead Road, London, 1789–90.
City of Westminster Archives Centre.

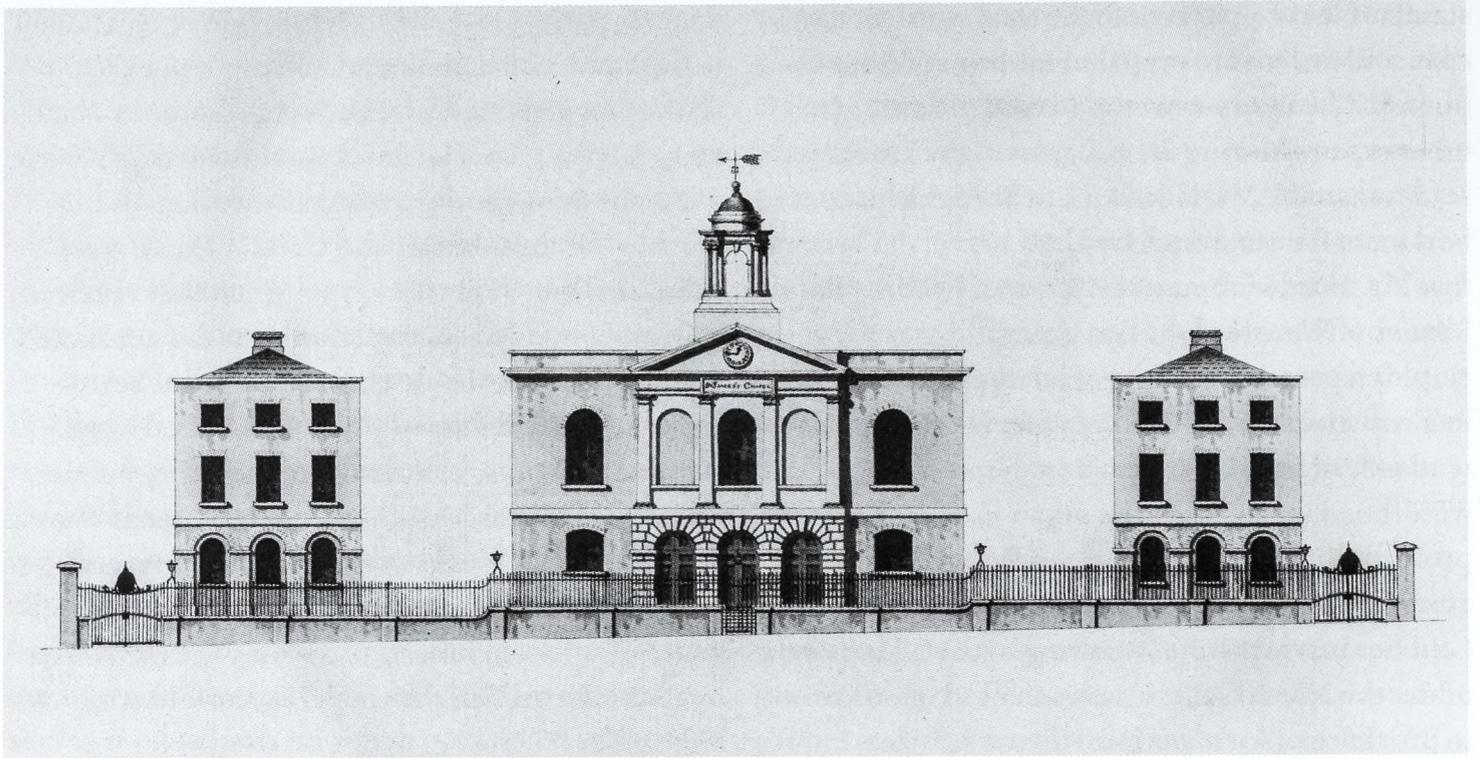


Figure 2. Thomas Hardwick Jr, drawing of the west front for St James's Hampstead Road, London, 1789-90. *City of Westminster Archives Centre.*

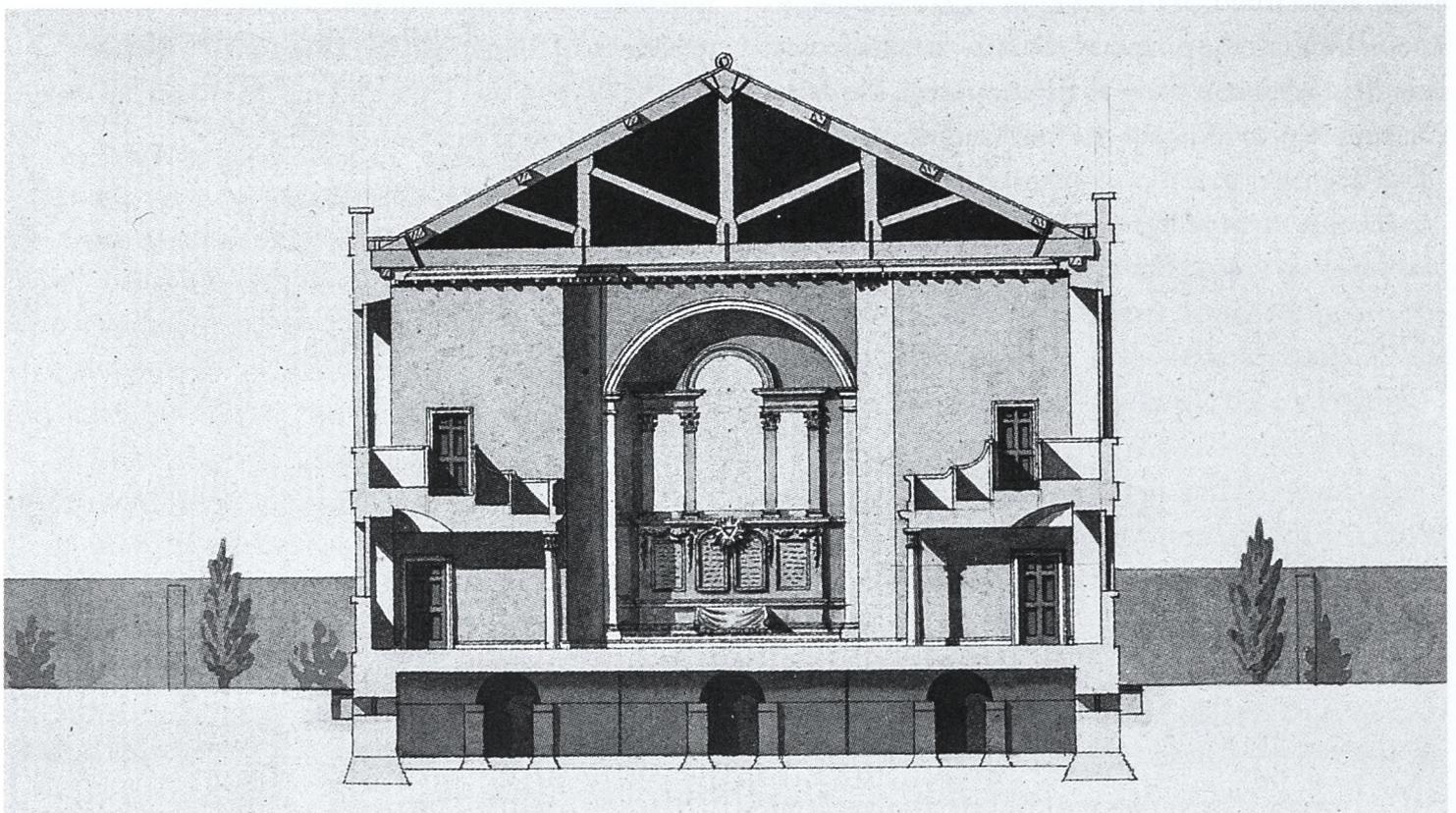


Figure 3. Thomas Hardwick Jr, drawing of the interior towards the chancel for St James's Hampstead Road, London, 1789-90. *City of Westminster Archives Centre.*

During the first half of 1791 Hardwick concentrated on repairing St Bartholomew-the-Great.³⁹ His beautifully rendered set of survey drawings, now in the Society of Antiquaries, London, reveal that a distinction was made between 'the original Parts of the Building which are Saxon Work', 'the first kind of the Gothic Architecture', 'the Gothic Work of Henry the Eights time' and the 'Modern Buildings', including work of 1631.⁴⁰ Since he was to make further repairs in 1808, the exact nature of the 1791 work is now difficult to assess. The church reopened on 1 January 1792.⁴¹

St James's Chapel was nearing completion in early 1792, when the vestry agreed on the benefits of acquiring 'a Second hand' organ, and discussed Mr Schultz's proposal for enlarging the instrument by adding three 'circular Towers' to accommodate pipes of 'good magnitude . . . which is absolutely necessary to form a respectable appearance and produce the effect I have an idea of for such a building', at a cost of 210 guineas, and Hugh Russell's suggestion for 'a deal case painted and the front pipes gilt', at £150. The job went to Robert and William Gray, who wisely offered to build 'a mahogany case with gilt front agreeable to the design given by Mr. Hardwick', at £165.⁴² The chapel was consecrated on 10 January 1793.⁴³

Meanwhile, the improvements to Covent Garden church were running into difficulties. Additional funds to complete the work had to be raised by a loan from the building rate.⁴⁴ Then, Hardwick complained that 'a fair Tryal had not been made of the . . . Machine' for dealing with defects in the vestryroom chimneys, which concerned 'the inconvenience of Smoak'.⁴⁵ But these problems became academic when, on 17 September 1795, the church was consumed by fire, apparently caused by careless plumbers repairing the bell-turret, which destroyed the interior and left only scarred outer walls standing.⁴⁶ During the following weeks sundry architects and builders surveyed the ruins and on 3 October reported that Hardwick's pre-fire stone casing and its brick carcass

had suffered little serious damage, but that the door and window-surrounds and the famous portico would need rebuilding, and the interior completely reconstructed, at a cost estimated at not less than £12,000.⁴⁷ On 16 October Hardwick was entrusted with the reconstruction.⁴⁸ After briefly entertaining his idea of having 'a Turret on the North & South sides of the Church', perhaps surmounting the shorter flanking blocks at the west end, this curiosity was dropped in favour of the original central turret, and he was pressed to prepare the 'necessary Drawings and Particulars . . . with all possible dispatch'.⁴⁹ The renewed church was consecrated on 1 August 1798.⁵⁰

Hardwick's decade-long involvement at Covent Garden was central to his early church work. The 1787–89 campaign strove to reassert the majestic simplicity of Inigo Jones's original temple structure of 1631–33 (Fig. 4) by removing the pair of awkward,

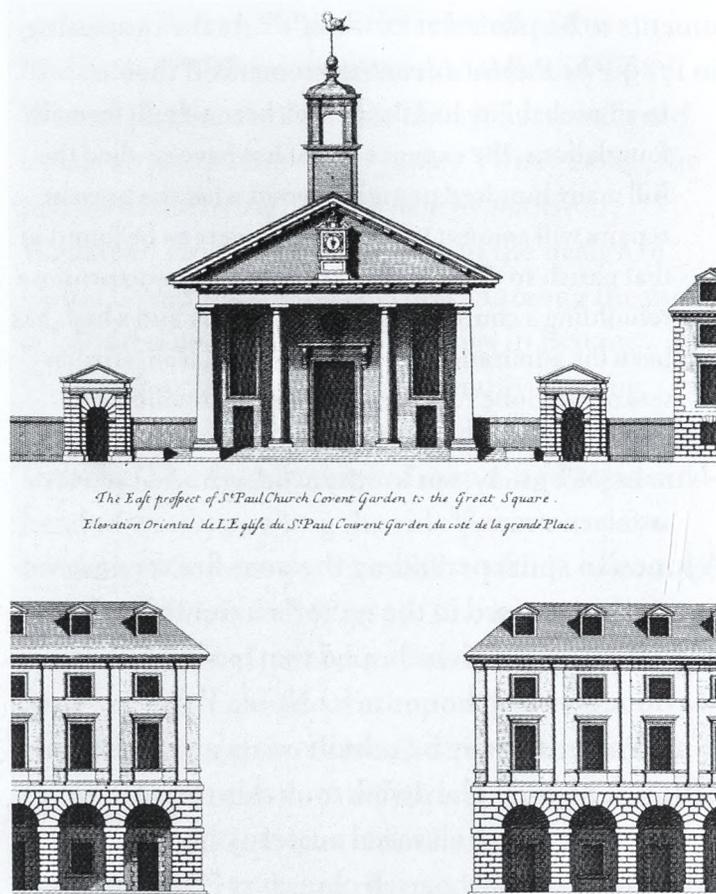


Figure 4. H. Hulsbergh, after C. Campbell, St Paul's church and the piazza, Covent Garden, London, 1631–33, by Inigo Jones, engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Author.

shed-like structures at the portico (east) end of the body, containing gallery staircases, which, though of seventeenth-century date, were not part of the original concept.⁵¹ The decision to encase the exterior with Portland stone was intended to 'prevent the great inconvenience and frequent expence of repairing the Stucco', which weathered poorly and rendered the sublime classical building shabby. The unusually austere interior received a new ceiling with a 'plain block Cornice'.⁵² The churchwardens' embargo on 'inscriptions relating to the repairs' attached to the gallery fronts⁵³ (which also featured at Wanstead, where 'no Achievement shall on any Account be put up in the Church . . . no Cloak Pins be fixed in the Fronts of ye Galleries, or agst. ye Columns, or Walls'),⁵⁴ was part of a Late Georgian prohibition against clutter, which also led John Flaxman to recommend the 'propriety' of treating Covent Garden's interior 'in such a way as to preserve a general uniformity, and not allow monuments to be placed at random'.⁵⁵ At the reopening in 1789 *The Public Advertiser* remarked that

In all probability had the church been rebuilt from its foundations, the expence might not have swelled the Bill many hundred pounds beyond what the present repairs will amount to; but no men were to be found in that parish so deficient in understanding as to propose rebuilding a church, which for a century and a half, has been the admiration of scientifick men, from all quarters of the globe . . . The inside is remarkable for its elegant simplicity . . . The altar piece is what it ought to be; Not gaudy, but worthy of being looked at with awful reverence.⁵⁶

A Jonesian spirit pervading the post-fire reconstruction was expressed in the rector's letter to the Duke of Bedford in which he hoped that 'an Edifice which has done so much honor to its Noble Founder, and to his Posterity, may be rebuilt on its original foundation & plan'.⁵⁷ Hardwick took this to heart.

Significantly, a classical austerity had been the hallmark of the new parish church at Hanwell in Middlesex (1781–82, rebuilt 1841) designed by Hardwick's father, another Thomas (1725–98). The view published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* shows

a pared-down, un-porticoed but turreted version of Covent Garden, with 'neat light-coloured walls' and an altarpiece 'finished in a light and elegant manner'.⁵⁸ When its rector, Dr Samuel Glasse, took up the living at Wanstead in 1786 and set about building a new church there, Hardwick *père* seems to have been involved,⁵⁹ though it was his son who was invited to be the architect.

This was Hardwick Jr's first commission for a new building (Fig. 5 and 6). Certain features, such as the bell turret, the diminutive, unpedimented west porch, and the plain small-scale internal detailing,⁶⁰ link it to Covent Garden church (Fig. 4), and reflect the interests of an Italian study tour undertaken between 1776 and 1779, during which he made detailed drawings of ancient and modern buildings,

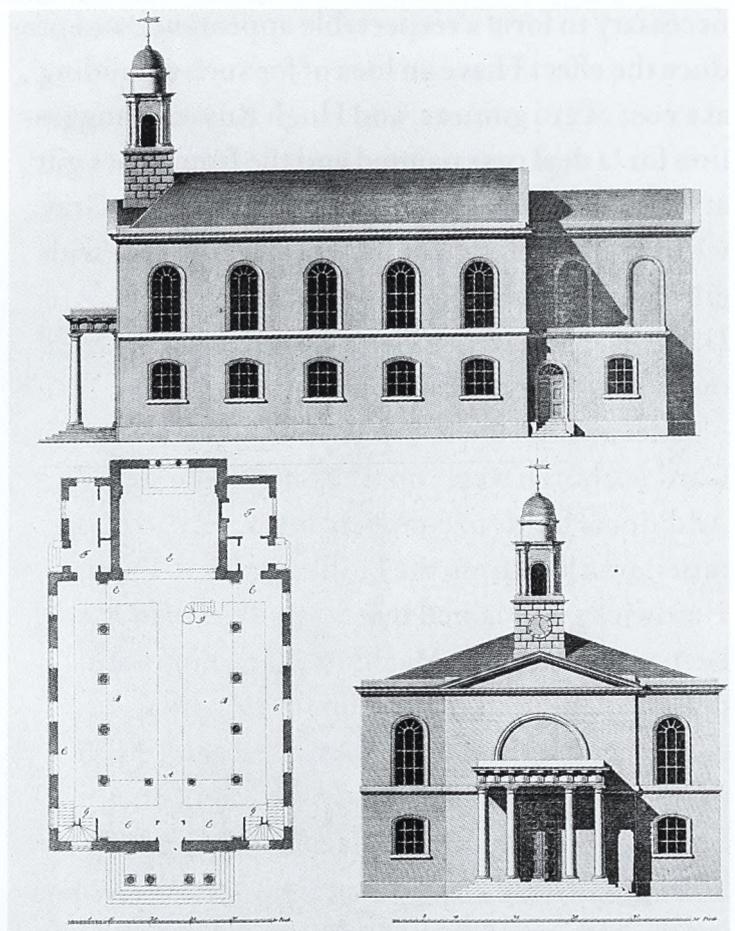


Figure 5. Coquel, after Schwender, St. Mary's, Wanstead, Essex, 1787–90, by Thomas Hardwick Jr, engraving in C. L. Stieglitz, *Plans Et Dessins Tirés De La Belle Architecture*, 1798–1800, pls. 53–54. Author.



Figure 6. Thomas Hardwick Jr, St Mary's, Wanstead, Essex, 1787–90, interior towards the chancel. *Country Life*.

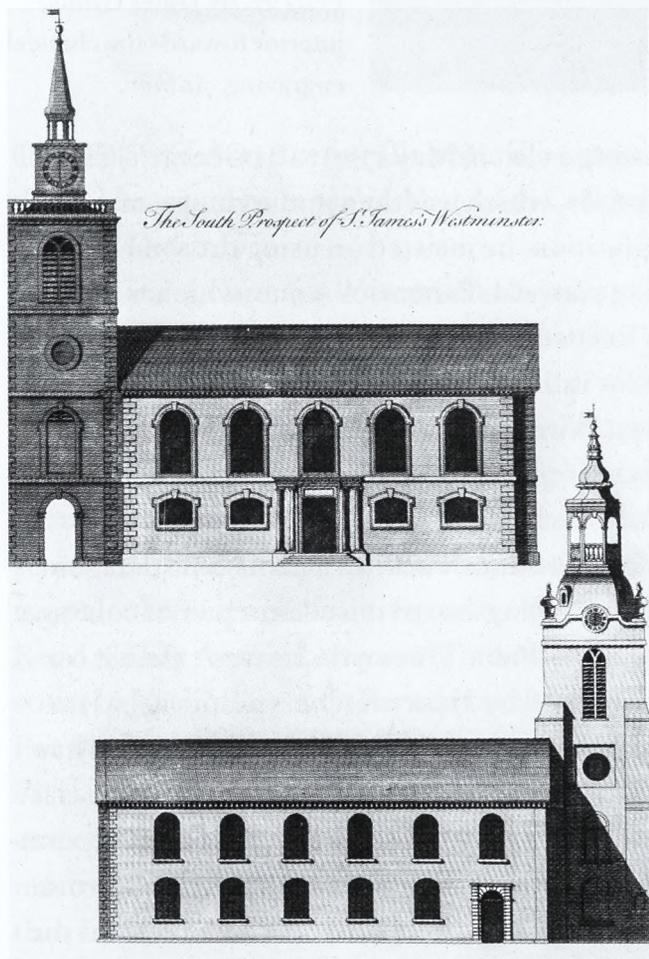


Figure 7. B. Cole, St James's, Picadilly, London, 1676–87, by Sir Christopher Wren, engraving. *Author*.

including Palladio's Venetian church of the Redentore.⁶¹ The conservative classicality of Wanstead church must also have been reinforced by the requirements of Sir James Tilney Long, the patron of the living, whose nearby mansion, Wanstead House (built 1714–20 to the design of Colen Campbell), was regarded as among the most celebrated neo-Palladian buildings in Britain.

But the church is also predictably a young man's alliance of architectural ideas from a variety of sources. The double range of round- and segmental-headed windows along the side elevations pays homage to St James's, Piccadilly, which, of course, Hardwick knew well (Fig. 7). The system of internal Corinthian giant order, dossier columns with attached galleries, and the imposing Venetian window lighting the chancel, derive from James Gibbs's St Martin-in-the-Fields (1721–27), the most imitated of all Georgian churches (Fig. 8). When the Wanstead vestrymen objected to some (undesigned) feature of Hardwick's design, he took them on a visit to St Martin's and to Gibbs's contemporary and closely related Oxford Chapel,



Figure 8. G. Bickham, after T. Malton, St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, 1721–27, by James Gibbs, interior towards the chancel, engraving. Author.

Marylebone, as well as Stiff Leadbetters's Portland Chapel, Langham Street (1758–66, demolished 1908).⁶² Whereupon the vestry wisely concluded that St Martin's was the 'more convenient' pattern.⁶³ In this respect it is particularly interesting that Hardwick reserved the richest treatment to the nave columns. On 8 December 1788 he alerted the vestry to an offer from Eleanor Coade and John Sealy to supply ten artificial stone capitals of St Martin's type at 5 guineas each, which was considerably less than the cost of hand-carved stone, and only a guinea more than plaster casts but 'much more durable'. By 7 April 1789 they were 'in great Forwardness'.⁶⁴ On 25 May labourers travelled in two wagons from Wanstead to Stratford-le-Bow to lift the 21-inch high capitals from the boat sent down river from the Coade Manufactory at Lambeth.⁶⁵

Hardwick's use of celebrated historical models was to some extent reflected in Dr Glasse's own ambitious aspirations for his new building.

Following a visit in May 1789 to St George's Chapel at Windsor, which was then undergoing a major beautification, he insisted on using the same flooring material, Painswick stone, which 'is in many Respects preferable to Portland & can be laid down for rather less'.⁶⁶ He also recommended the pulpit at Windsor as a model for Wanstead, but Hardwick rejected this because it would not 'answer our Purpose being of Gothic Architecture'.⁶⁷ Hardwick produced instead a handsome octagon with its sounding-board raised on a pair of columns fashioned as 'Palm Trees wth. Leaves', almost certainly inspired by Henry Keene's pulpit (1775) in Westminster Abbey.⁶⁸ This piece of exoticism has an unexpected English Palladian pedigree associated with Inigo Jones.⁶⁹ Glasse also proposed separating the nave from the chancel with 'a light network of Iron or Eldorado Work'.⁷⁰ In 1788 he invited the famous Birmingham glass-painter, Francis Eginton, who had previously worked at Hanwell church, to make 'a proper Ornament for ye East End of ye

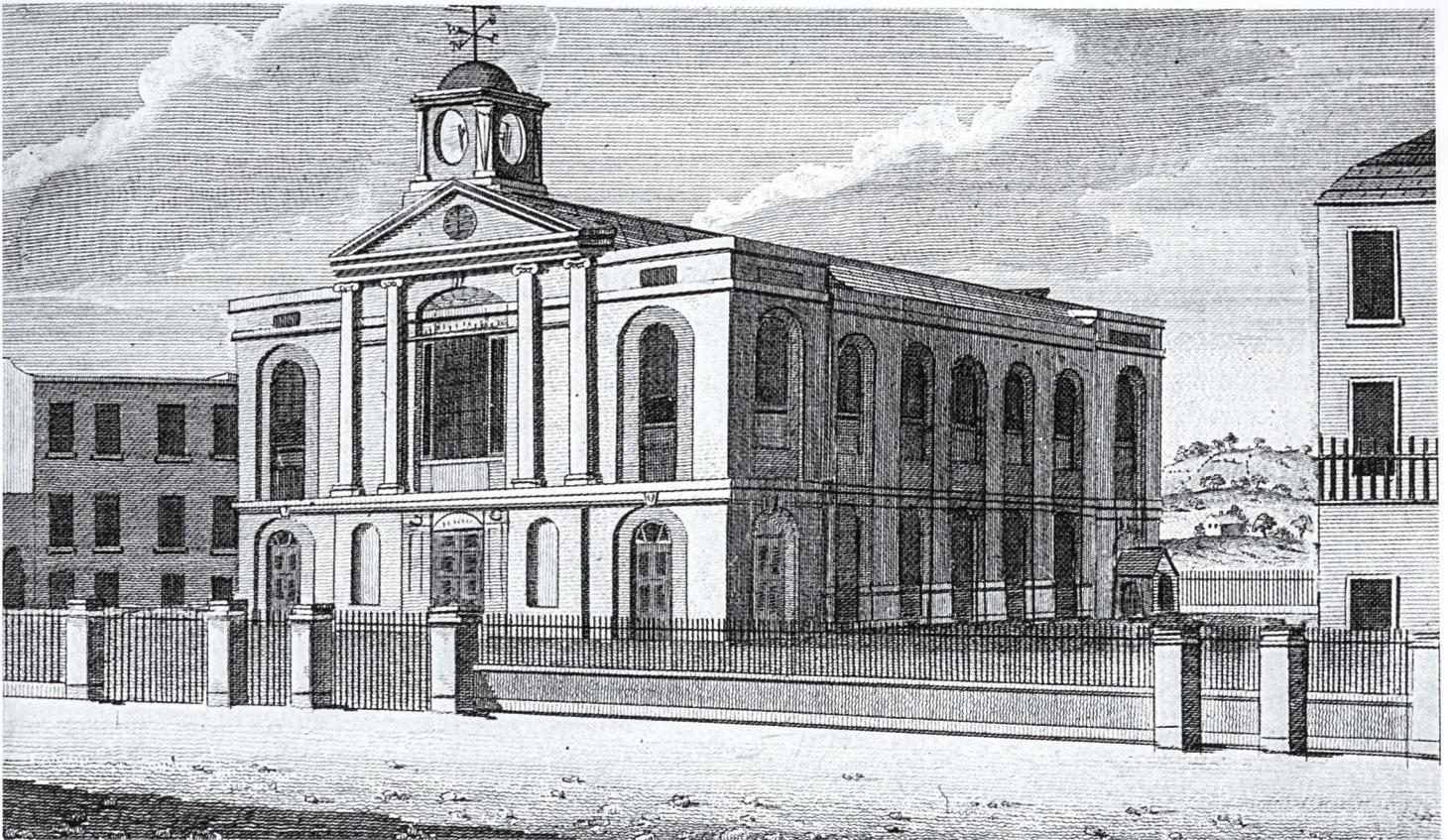


Figure 9. Anon., St James's, Pentonville, London, 1787–91, by Aaron Henry Hurst, engraving.
The British Library.

Chancel' based on the so-called Murillo altarpiece 'Christ bearing His cross' in Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford.⁷¹

The press claim for Wanstead as 'a pattern church'⁷² is most vividly demonstrated at St James's Chapel. Hardwick's general plan⁷³ shows the treelined burial ground subdivided into green-bordered plots with an elaborate system of underground water pipes, a sort of paradise in miniature, screened by the lawn-enclosed chapel and its flanking pair of residences fronting on the Hampstead Road. (They were subsequently linked by a short street to Nash's Regent's Park development). For the Chapel (Fig. 1) Hardwick repeated the Piccadilly-Wanstead exterior formula (Fig. 5 and 7) and created a single-space, Covent Garden-like interior (Fig. 3) with side galleries supported on thin columns and a simple, geometrical compartmented ceiling. The bell turret, too, was Jonesian in form, though Hardwick may have looked to a secondary source, John Plaw's St Mary's, Paddington,

located less than two miles west of the Hampstead Road.⁷⁴ Construction of this remarkable Greek Cross-plan church began in the spring of 1789. On 22 April, Hardwick was called in to inspect some purportedly defective walling.⁷⁵ The design for his own chapel, as we have seen, was ordered on 13 August and delivered on 13 February 1790,⁷⁶ by which time the finishing touches had been put on Paddington's turret.⁷⁷

The west front of St James's Chapel (Fig. 2) was secular in origin, presumably in order to harmonize with the flanking minister's and clerk's houses and the domestic ambience of the neighbourhood, yet not far removed from the ecclesiastical arena. Here Hardwick introduced a composition based on three bays of Inigo Jones's piazza attached to his Covent Garden church (Fig. 4). A similar composition had recently appeared in Aaron Henry Hurst's St James's Chapel, Pentonville (1787–91, demolished 1984), only a mile to the east (Fig. 9). As in the case of Paddington, the parish records confirm a link

between the two buildings: at a Hampstead Road vestry meeting held on 13 March 1790 the Pentonville chapel was the subject of discussions concerning construction costs.⁷⁸ Moreover, Hurst's original concept called for a pair of flanking terrace houses, and it can hardly have been coincidental that a drawing by him, which is probably reflected in an anonymous contemporary engraving (Fig. 9) was shown at the Royal Academy in the Spring of 1787.⁷⁹

Hardwick's chapel drawings, besides providing the most accurate record of the original appearance of the lost building,⁸⁰ offer rare evidence of the architect's favoured internal colour scheme. The contract with the painter, Richard Radcliffe, dated 25 June 1790, specifies painting 'all the Inside work three times in Oil [in] Stone or any Common Colour', that is, probably white, at an estimated cost of £76.11.6.⁸¹ The presentation drawings (Fig. 3), however, indicate a luminous yellow ocre on the main walls, with perhaps a lighter

shade on the narrow cants flanking the chancel and a darker buff in the chancel itself, with the arch, reredos and Venetian window picked-out in white. A slightly richer tone of the principal yellow appears in Hardwick's Italian journey drawing demonstrating the 'manner of finishing one of the rooms in the [ancient Roman] house discovered in 1771 near the Villa Negroni at Rome'.⁸² This seems to represent Hardwick's only serious concession to Neoclassical antiquarian taste in his early churches. Unfortunately, pre-demolition photographs of the Chapel cannot confirm if this elegant sunny scheme was carried out.

I am grateful to the Essex Record Office (Chelmsford), and in London to The British Library, City of Westminster Archives Centre, Country Life, Guildhall Library (Corporation of London), National Monuments Record, Sir John Soane's Museum and Society of Antiquaries, for permission to publish material in their keeping, and to Margaret Richardson for enlightening me on a matter concerning Soane.

NOTES

- 1 Viator, 'The new Church at Wanstead', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1790, 600; it possessed 'the effect of much study and attention to propriety in every part'. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1798, 900, called it a 'beautiful edifice'. Hardwick exhibited an 'Elevation of the new church of Wanstead' in 1791 [Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, III, London, 1905, 385, no.476].
- 2 Plates 53–54, dedicated to Clement Wenceslaus, Archbishop of Trier. The other churches are Kentish Town Chapel, London, 1780–85, by James Wyatt (Pls.65–66), St Mary's, Paddington, London, 1788–91, by John Plaw (Pls.45–46) and All Saints, Southampton, 1792–95, by Willey Reveley (Pls.23–24).
- 3 'An Architect' [John Carter], 'Architectural Innovation', No.CXXXII, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1809, 226–27, citing '—Hardwick, Esq.' by name.
- 4 London, Guildhall Library, ms.3990/4, Vestry Minutes 1790–1828, f.21, 4 January 1792.
- 5 *The Public Advertiser*, 3 November 1789, 4 (The British Library, Burney 794b).
- 6 John Britton and Augustus Pugin, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London I*, London, 1825, 113.
- 7 Both the 'PROPOSALS From the SUN-FIRE OFFICE' addressed to Hardwick at his residence, 9 Rathbone Place, St Marylebone, and the policy, no.550632, dated 20 November 1788, are preserved in Essex Record Office, Chelmsford (hence forth ERO), D/P/292/28/5.
- 8 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 456–50, indicates that, except for one modest domestic interior (1784–89), Hardwick's early church involvements preceded his first secular work (1792). He exhibited at the RA a 'Design for the west front of a church' in 1794 (no.641) and a 'Design for a church in South Wales' in 1795 (no.670), as well as a 'Design for a circular church' in 1801 (no.892) and 'A Village church' in 1804 (no.955) [Graves, *op.cit.*, 384–85]. Graves clearly confused the work of father and son, though an 'Elevation of a church' exhibited in 1781 (no.541) is probably by Hardwick Sr.

- 9 London, City of Westminster Archives (henceforth CWA), H805, Vestry Minutes 1734–1787, ff.469, 475, respectively. See *Survey of London, The Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden*, xxxvi, London, 1970, 64–76, 99–128.
- 10 *Journals of the House of Commons* (henceforth JHC), XLII, 545, 15 March 1787.
- 11 CWA, H805, ff.479–480, 17 March 1787, with an estimated cost of £2,610.
- 12 ERO, D/P/292/8/9, Vestry Minutes 1775–1811, ff.45–v.
- 13 ERO, D/P/292/8/9, ff.47,50–52, respectively.
- 14 JHC, 545,709,854. Stat.27,Georgii III,c.63,1787. Parliament was petitioned 15 March 1787 (ERO, D/P/292/8/9, f.47).
- 15 ERO, D/P/292/28/3, 11 and 17 June 1787.
- 16 ‘Advertisements for Proposals’ were placed ‘3 Times’ each in the *Morning Herald*, *Daily Advertiser* and *Public Advertiser* [ERO, D/P/292/28/5]. The craftsmen, including unsuccessful candidates, together with their London parishes, are listed in ERO, D/P/292/28/3 (17, 25 June, 2 July, 20 September 1787), D/P/292/28/4, D/DU/506/66.
- 17 ERO, D/DU/506/66. The drawings are untraced.
- 18 *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, August 1787, 732.
- 19 CWA, H806, Vestry Minutes 1787–1806, f.13.
- 20 CWA, H806, f.21; Guildhall Library, MS.9532, Vicar Generals Book 1773–95, ff.437–442.
- 21 JHC, XLIII, 436–37,456–57,545. Stat.29, Georgii III,c.83, 1788.
- 22 CWA, D1765, Vestry Minutes 1783–93, f.281. Each received 1g. per day (f.283); on 26 September 1789 Soane requested £25.4.0 for ‘making a Description and Estimate of the Repairs’, which the vestry considered ‘very modest’ (f.346). According to documents in Sir John Soane’s Museum, London, Soane was directed by the Court of Vestry, 19 June 1788, to make ‘the descriptions and Estimates of the necessary repairs etc’ (Ledger A, f.166); his pupils worked 23 September to 5 November estimating repairs, writing descriptions and making seven ‘fair drawings of designs for alterations and improvements’, all untraced (Account Journal, I, pp. 78–9).
- 23 ERO, D/P/292/28/5, bills.
- 24 The 5 July 1787 contract specified ‘very best Riga Timber’ [ERO, D/P/292/28/4]; an ‘eminent Timber Merchant’ claimed that ‘a great Part of it was Memel’, though ‘the best of ye kind’ [D/P/292/28/3].
- 25 ERO, D/P/292/28/3. On 7 April 1789 a complaint was made about the ‘very bad’ bricks used ‘under ye intended Columns of ye Portico’, but Owen stated that they were ‘sound, tho’ misshapen; hard & good, tho not handsome. He was strictly charged to take Care, that no bad Materials of any Sort be made Use of’.
- 26 CWA, D1765, ff.300–01. Soane delivered his estimates, descriptions and drawings on 6 November 1788, attended Committee on 26 January 1789 (noting that ‘Hardwicke gave his drawings this day’), 21 February and 30 January 1790, when he was paid £25.4.0 (Sir John Soane’s Museum, Account Journal, 1, pp.78–9). For Soane’s subsequent work at St James’s, see Gerald Carr, ‘Soane’s specimen church designs of 1818: a reconsideration’, *Architectural History*, xvi, 1973, 37–53.
- 27 CWA, D1765, ff.302–04.
- 28 CWA, D1765, f.313. On 5 May tenders for ‘performing the . . . Repairs . . . agreeable to a Description and Specification . . . prepared by Mr. Hardwick [by] Persons of good Reputation and at the lowest Prices’ were approved (ff.316–17). The craftsmen are listed ff.317–18, 331–32, 336–37, 364–66, 380.
- 29 CWA, D1765, f.332, 2 June 1789.
- 30 CWA, D1765, ff.332–33, 2 June 1789. On 1 August 1789 Hardwick produced a ‘Plan’ for the pulpit stairs ‘with a Strait Rail’ (untraced) and workmen were ordered to rebuild the ‘Engine House in Church Passage [to a] new . . . Form and Size proposed . . . by Mr. Hardwick’ (ff.340–2). *Survey of London, The Parish of St James Westminster*, xxix, Pt.I, London, 1960, 37; pl.17a shows the interior soon after Hardwick’s c1803–04 reorganization (p.41).
- 31 CWA, D1713/1, Stat.29,Georgii III,c.47, 1789, where the site is described as ‘already marked or staked out’ and to be invested to Westminster from 29 September 1789 (p.1072). D1714/1, a 30 September 1789 indenture with a site plan.
- 32 CWA, D1715, Vestry Minutes 1789–1847, ff.3–5.
- 33 CWA, D1715, ff.19–21.
- 34 CWA, D1715, f.509 ‘General Plan of the Burial Ground, & Chapel’, f.511 ‘Plan of the Basement of the Chapel and Houses’, f.513 ‘Plan of the Ground Floor of the Chapel and Houses’, f.515 ‘Plan of the Chapel Galleries and the Chamber Floor of the Houses’, f.517 ‘Elevation of the West, or Principal Front of the Chapel and Houses’, f.519 ‘South Elevation of the Chapel’, f.521 ‘Elevation of the East Front of the Chapel and Houses’, f.523 ‘Longitudinal Section of the Chapel and Vaults under Ditto.’, f.525 ‘Transverse Section of the Chapel and Vaults under Ditto.’. Hardwick also submitted ‘Plans and Designs’ on 30 March 1790 [f.303].
- 35 Listed by name, with estimates, in CWA, D1715, ff.5,38,73–77,80 and 494/314; they included the celebrated uphlosterers, Ince and Mayhew.

- 36 CWA, 494/314.
- 37 See note 5.
- 38 ERO, D/P/292/28/3, 10 May 1790. On 19 May 1789 Parliament empowered the vestry to raise additional building funds by the sale of burial vaults in the basement of the new church [JHC, XLIV, 242, 374; Stat.29, Georgii III, c.14, 1789]. The work is said to have cost £9,150 (Nancy Briggs, *Georgian Essex*, Chelmsford, 1989, 19). The construction was not free of problems. Thomas Silk, the ornamental plasterer, wrote to the vestry, 10 October 1796: 'I beg to submit to your perusal this Sheet which contains the particulars of my demand, it is not my Opinion but, that of some of the most respectable of the Trade – Architects cannot have such general judgment as to overthrow such respectable Evidence – Ruin'd and having suffered 41 Months imprisonment I trust, & considering that the Work is done in the very best manner that the Gentn Trustees will not hesitate to order me immediate payment' (ERO, D/P/292/28/5). See note 60.
- 39 An inspection committee was formed 12 August 1789 [Guildhall Library, MS.3990/3, Vestry Minutes 1732–89, f.548]. Hardwick was commissioned 19 January 1791, receiving £45 on 7 March for surveying the fabric, and a week later craftsmen were contracted [MS.3990/4, ff.8, 10–11].
- 40 Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio London A–B, f.12 'General Ground Plan of the Remains of the Church, Cloister &ca of the Priory of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. A.D.1102 by Raherus – (This Plan taken in 1791). Thos: Hardwick', with annotations, f.13 'Section from North to South of the Ancient Priory of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield. 1791. Thos. Hardwick', f.14 'Section from East to West' etc.
- 41 For the consecration see note 4.
- 42 CWA, D1715, ff.49, 53, 57–8, 60–1; the Grays' contract, ff.63–7.
- 43 CWA, D1715, f.69. Hardwick was paid £536.14.9 [494/317, General ledger of trustees 1789–1807, f.91 and D1715, f.77]. An 'Original design for St. James's chapel in the Hampstead Road' was shown at the RA in 1793 [Graves, *op.cit.*, 385, no.794].
- 44 CWA, H806, f.93, 13 December 1791.
- 45 CWA, H806, f.118, a letter read 27 September 1793.
- 46 CWA, H806, ff.150–1 and MS.9531/22, f.145v; Terry Friedman, 'The Eighteenth Century Disaster Print' in Maurice Howard (ed.) *The Image of the Building*, Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 1995, 1996, 71–3.
- 47 CWA, H806, ff.153–4, 5 October 1795. This resulted in a further Act of Parliament: Stat.36, Georgii III, c.65, 1796. Those involved included Joseph Cantwell (the bricklayer employed at Piccadilly), Charles Alexander Craig (Examining Clerk in H.M. Office of the Works), George Dance Jr (Clerk of the City Works), Mr Goodall, Hardwick, William Hobson (brother-in-law of William Blackburn, the prison architect), Richard Holland (a successful builder), Richard Jubb (Surveyor to the East India Company) and Mr Little (H806, ff.151–2).
- 48 CWA, H806, f.156.
- 49 CWA, H806, ff.157–58, 22 October 1795. The cost was estimated at £10,300. The drawings and estimates (untraced) were submitted 12 December 1795 (f.161).
- 50 Guildhall Library, MS.9531/22, ff.145–47v. The craftsmen are listed in CWA, H806, f.162.
- 51 Guildhall Library, MS.9532/8, f.436v, also to 'make good the Walls and brick up the doorways'. Compare *Survey of London, The Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden*, xxxvi, London, 1970, pls.15b and 18a.
- 52 CWA, H805, f.479, 17 March 1787; Guildhall Library, MS.9532/8, f.437. However, Soane believed that in using roof slates rather than tiles (H805, f.479) the building 'lost much of its appropriate beauty and character by this innovation of modern refinement' [David Watkin, *Sir John Soane Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, Cambridge, 1996, 539]. For Hardwick's specification for the use of Portland stone at Wanstead, see ERO, D/P/292/28/4, 5 July 1787.
- 53 CWA, H806, f.55, 1 May 1790.
- 54 ERO, D/P/292/38/3.
- 55 *The Farington Diary by Joseph Farington* (ed. J. Greig), I, London, 1923, 162, recorded in 1796.
- 56 See note 5.
- 57 CWA, H806, f.154, 5 October 1795. Hardwick's St John's, Workington, 1822–23, [N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England Cumberland and Westmorland*, Harmondsworth, 1967, pl.61] is a powerful tribute to Covent Garden church.
- 58 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1800, 305. By 1805 the interior had been whitewashed and returned to 'its state of pristine beauty' (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1805, 821–2).
- 59 'Thos. Hardwick Senr. his Expences to Blackheath as pr. Bill', £3.1.6, for unspecified work, among the May–June 1787 building accounts [ERO, D/P/292/28/5].
- 60 Thomas Silk's 11 October 1796 bill for ornamental plasterwork, totalling £661.3.4 (see also note 38), itemizing 'open ruffled leaf with husks', 'Octagonal pannels',

- 'enriched open water leaves', 'raffled leaf & tongue . . . with egg anchor', 'circular guiloss' etc. [ERO,D/P/292/28/5] is the vocabulary of Palladianism rather than Neoclassicism. The walls and ceiling were to be painted 'three times in Oil [in] any Common Colour as shall be directed' [ERO,D/P/292/28/4, 5 July 1787].
- 61 Jill Lever, ed. *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, G–K, Farnborough, 1973, 89–96.
- 62 Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, pp. 67–9, 75–6, pls. 46, 60; *The Builder*, xciv, 25 April 1908, 482–3, illus.
- 63 ERO,D/P/292/28/3, 7 April 1788, particularly since 'the Work [at Wanstead] being now so far advanced, that it is not possible to recede, or make ye proposed Alterations in the Plan without great Inconvenience & additional Expence'. Wanstead's uncomfortably deep chancel, windowless along its flanks, is the result of having to accommodate John Nost's huge, Baroque monument to Sir Richard Child (died 1699) removed from the old church and reinstated on the south chancel wall of the new.
- 64 ERO,D/P/292/28/3: 'They are formed, & wait only to be put into the Fire.'
- 65 ERO,D/P/292/28/5. The bill for £66.17.0, including £52.10.0 for the capitals, 5s 6d for 'letting in Leaves & and Carv[ing]' and the cost of packing cases and haulage, was addressed to Hardwick at his Rathbone Place, Marylebone house (D/P/292/28/5), with a receipt signed by Coade and Sealy, 22 October 1789. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1790, 600, reference to the 'beautiful capitals of artificial stone' and the Coade font with figures after Joshua Reynolds.
- 66 ERO,D/P/292/28/3, 4 May 1789. Glasse even suggested employing the Chapel's stone-mason, Mr. Bryant, at Wanstead.
- 67 ERO,D/P/292/28/3, 29 June 1789.
- 68 ERO,D/P/292/28/3, 7 April 1789. Hardwick's pulpit was praised for being in 'the highest style of elegant simplicity' [*The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1790, 600]. Thomas Cocke, 900 *Years: The Restoration of Westminster Abbey*, London, 1995, 137, pl. 34.
- 69 See The King's Bedchamber, Greenwich Palace (1662); John Vardy, *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent*, London, 1744, pl. 4. The design is now known to be by John Webb.
- 70 ERO,D/P/292/28/3, 8 December 1788, which was to be made by Underwood & Co. for £30.15.0 (D/P/292/28/5, 24 June 1789). It is described in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1790, 600, as a 'cancelli or lattice-work of Underwood's composition [with] a circular railing of the same material in a different pattern'.
- 71 ERO,D/P/292/28/3, 20 October 1788. Eginton was paid £231 (D/P/292/28/5). Glasse referred to it as a 'more finished and elaborate performance' than his piece at Hanwell [*The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1805, 822]. The Wanstead window was destroyed in World War II.
- 72 See note 1.
- 73 See note 34, drawing f.509.
- 74 Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 3 North West*, London, 1991, pl. 46.
- 75 CWA, Church Trustees Minutes May 1788 – May 1822, unpaginated. Hardwick reported on 11 May 1789.
- 76 See notes 32–3.
- 77 The weathercock and pineapples were ordered gilded on 5 October 1789 (reference as note 75).
- 78 CWA, D1715, f.26, as costing £5,000. Also discussed were the Percy Chapel, Tottenham Court Road (1764–66, architect unknown, demolished c1867), costing £7,000 [*Survey of London. Tottenham Court Road and Neighbourhood (The Parish of St. Pancras, Part III)*, XXI, London, 1949, 21–2, pl. 4(a)], and James Wyatt's Kentish Town Chapel (1780–85, demolished 1843), which 'is out of repair owing to a dispute between the Inhabitants of Pancras and the Trustees about selling the seats during the life or inhabitancy of the purchaser' [Terry Friedman, 'James Wyatt's Earliest Classical Churches', *The Georgian Group Journal*, vii, 1997, 56–70, figs. 1–5].
- 79 Graves, *op. cit.*, iv, 1906, 205, no. 524 'Pentonville Chapel, now building in the New Road near Islington, with four houses adjoining'. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 522. 'The original plan . . . has not been carried into effect. Two handsome houses were to have been erected as wings, East and West of it' [James Peller Malcolm, *Londonium Redivivum*, III, London, 1803, 243].
- 80 See also the modern measured drawings by H.W. Couchman in *Architectural Review*, xli, 1917, 61–4, and pre-demolition (1963) photographs in the National Monuments Record, London.
- 81 CWA, 494/314.
- 82 Ian C. Bristow, *Architectural Colours in British Interiors 1615–1840*, New Haven and London, 1996, 175, fig. 185. Hardwick's colours correspond closely to Ian C. Bristow, *Interior House-Painting Colours and Technology 1615–1840*, New Haven and London, 1996, following 276, samples 19–20.