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THE WELLINGTON ARCH AND THE WESTERN ENTRANCE TO LONDON

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London possesses two free-standing triumphal arches, the Wellington Arch and the Marble Arch. Their histories are closely connected: they are of similar date (*c.*1825–8) and were both planned in relation to Buckingham Palace. Neither was completed to its original design, both have been moved and altered, and both stand in isolation, giving little hint of their original settings. As a result, today both arches seem more like park ornaments than the grand urban entrances they were intended to be. The Marble Arch was the subject of a recent article in this journal by Andrew Saint;[1] the present article aims to consider the history of the Wellington Arch, and also the complex prehistory of schemes for a grand western entrance to London.

Grand city gateways are very rare in Britain. This was not always the case: in the Middle Ages most cities or towns of any importance were walled, and city gates were recognised as prime opportunities for architectural or heraldic display. From the early seventeenth century city walls and city gates in Britain were in decline: subject to gradual erosion and demolition, they were very rarely replaced. British practice departed from what was happening on the continent, where cities commonly maintained their defences and where grand city gates continued to be built well into the eighteenth century. This doubtless reflected the unsettled conditions over much of the continent during the Thirty Years War and after. It also reflected the fact that in most continental states city boundaries and gates had an administrative and fiscal significance, beyond their original defensive purposes. As one historian has put it, in the sixteenth century the *enceinte* of Paris was defensive in purpose, but by the eighteenth century its primary significance was fiscal.[2] Towns and cities were under different jurisdictions and tax regimes, goods taken into them were subject to customs, and town gates represented a crucial element in the tax-gathering systems. Ledoux's spectacular *barrières* around Paris, erected by the corporation of Farmers General *c.*1784–9, were the most spectacular instance of this.[3]

City gates were also of obvious ceremonial and symbolic importance, an architectural tradition going back to ancient times which remained vigorous throughout the 18th century. In addition to Ledoux's work in Paris one could cite the Puerta de Alcalá in Madrid (1764–78)[4], the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin (1788–91)[5] or the Tver Gate in Moscow (1827–34)[6], as prominent examples. The British, however, did not build city gates in the eighteenth century. Internal order removed the defensive need for walls and gates, while the abolition of internal customs and dues removed the fiscal need. The last great city gate to be built in the British Isles was probably Temple Bar, London of 1672, a classical re-interpretation of a sixteenth century gateway attributed to Sir Christopher Wren.[7]

There were many English commentators, though, who regretted London's want of urban grandeur, especially as compared to Paris. Wren's and Evelyn's plans for rebuilding the City after the fire of 1666 were the first in a series of proposals for radical urban reform. The spread of London's suburbs, in particular Westminster, was giving it an amorphous character. Where would London end, or begin? Hyde Park had existed since mediaeval times, and by

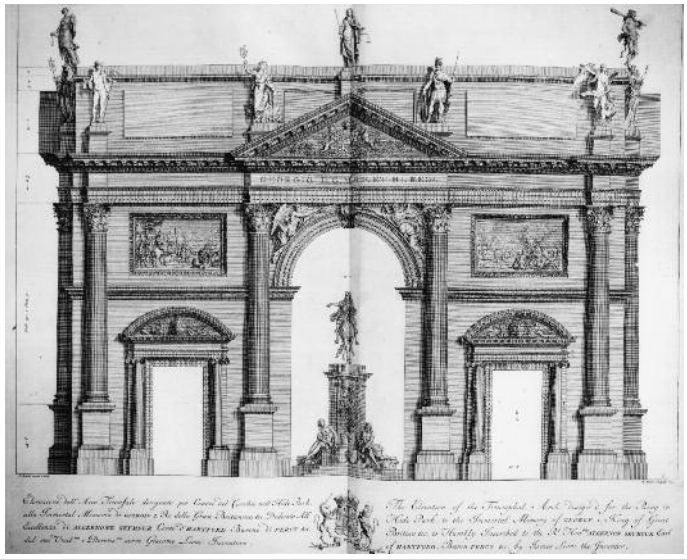


Fig. 1. Giacomo Leoni, design for a triumphal arch to be erected in Hyde Park, elevation, published in Leoni's edition of Alberti's *Ten Books of Architecture*, 1726. *English Heritage.*

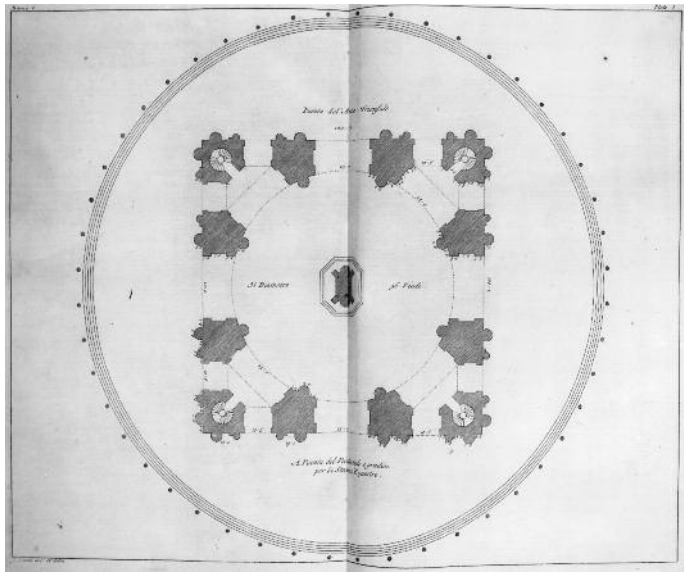


Fig. 2. Giacomo Leoni, design for a triumphal arch to be erected in Hyde Park, plan, published in Leoni's edition of Alberti's *Ten Books of Architecture*, 1726. *English Heritage.*

the early eighteenth century, this seemed to offer the most effective boundary to the city's relentless growth. Skirting Hyde Park to its south was the Kensington road, from 1726 maintained by the Kensington Turnpike Trust. Their toll-gate, and a straggle of inns, houses and yards on the left (north) side of the road provided the visitor with his introduction to London. It cannot have made for an impressive entrance to the city, and this probably explains why Hyde Park and Hyde Park Corner figured prominently in a number of eighteenth century projects for urban improvement.

The earliest such project seems to be a memorandum of 1711 to Lord Oxford, apparently by John James, proposing that Whitehall be abandoned and a new royal palace built in Hyde Park, with fine avenues linking it to the West End, to Hampstead, and south to the river. The memorandum made no reference to city gates, but recommended that the work be paid for by selling house-plots on the north side of Green Park and the east side of Hyde Park, the implication being that a clear and formal boundary to the city would thus be created.[8]

The second such project is a design by Giacomo Leoni for a huge triumphal arch, dedicated to the memory of George I, to stand in Hyde Park (Figs. 1 and 2). Leoni published a number of designs of his own at the back of his very fine edition of Leon Battista Alberti's *Ten Books of Architecture* and his *Treatise on Painting* of 1726, including a plan and elevation of this project. In the accompanying notes, he recorded that he made the design in 1719 by order of James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope, then Secretary of State:

> That Lord's Intention was to have got it erected at the public Expense in the Centre of the Ring in Hyde-Park, to the Honour and immortal memory of King George I. The outside of this Arch is square and the Inside Round, and in the middle was to have been placed an Equestrian statue of that Monarch. In each of the angles is a spiral Stair leading up to the Top of the Building, from whence a Man might enjoy the delightful views of the large and various Prospects all round, as well as of the neighbouring City, as of a large Plain rising at the End into Hills, and thick strewed with Gentlemens' Seats and at the same time adorned with the delicious Thames.'[9]

Stanhope, a successful commander and diplomat in the War of Spanish Succession, returned to become one of the pillars of the Whig government, 1714–21. Nothing came of this project, and Stanhope is not known to have employed Leoni anywhere else.[10]

The practical necessities of maintaining the road were addressed by the establishment, in 1726, of the Kensington Turnpike Trust. Plain timber toll-gates and iron lanterns were set up at Hyde Park Corner. A weighing machine for vehicles was bought in 1752, and a 'dial' was set up in 1781.[11]

The first design for a grand 'western entrance' to London to have come to light was produced in 1761 by a young *amateur*, Thomas Robinson, later 2nd Lord Grantham, of Newby Hall, Yorkshire (1738–1786).[12] Amongst his architectural drawings is an 'Elevation of a Triumphal Arch to be erected across the Great Western Road near St George's Hospital, between Hyde Park & the Green Park', signed with the monogram TR and dated 1761 (Fig. 3).[13] Robinson was then around 23 years old. He was elected MP for Christchurch in Hampshire in March 1761, and appointed to an embassy to Augsburg in April, so the design is presumably from early in the year.[14] Robinson was the nephew of the well known amateur architect Sir Thomas Worsley of Hovingham, who may have played an important role in encouraging him.[15]

It is very much the design of a young and spirited amateur, grand in conception but crude in its detail and draughtsmanship. There is a big triple arch, with a giant Corinthian order and a high attic, only loosely based on Roman models. The columns are roughly correct in proportion, but the cornice is very top-heavy, and the relationship between attic and cornice not quite worked out. To either side are flanking wings, with a subsidiary order of Doric pilasters. These appear to be quadrant shaped, ending in pavilions with engaged Doric columns. The Doric

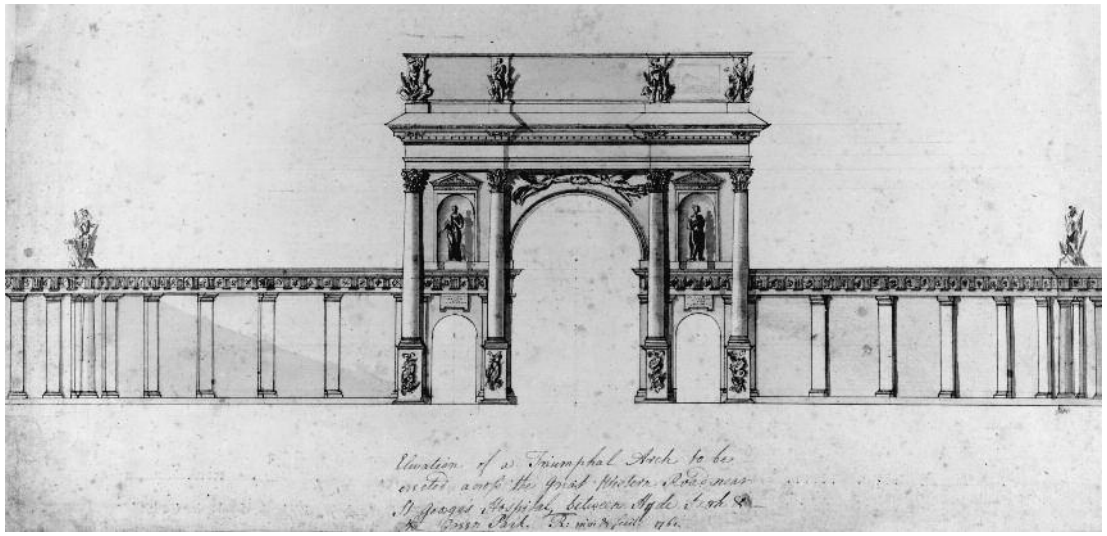


Fig. 3. Sir Thomas Robinson, design for a triumphal arch at Hyde Park Corner near St George's Hospital. *Newby Hall Collection, West Yorkshire Archive Service: Leeds.*

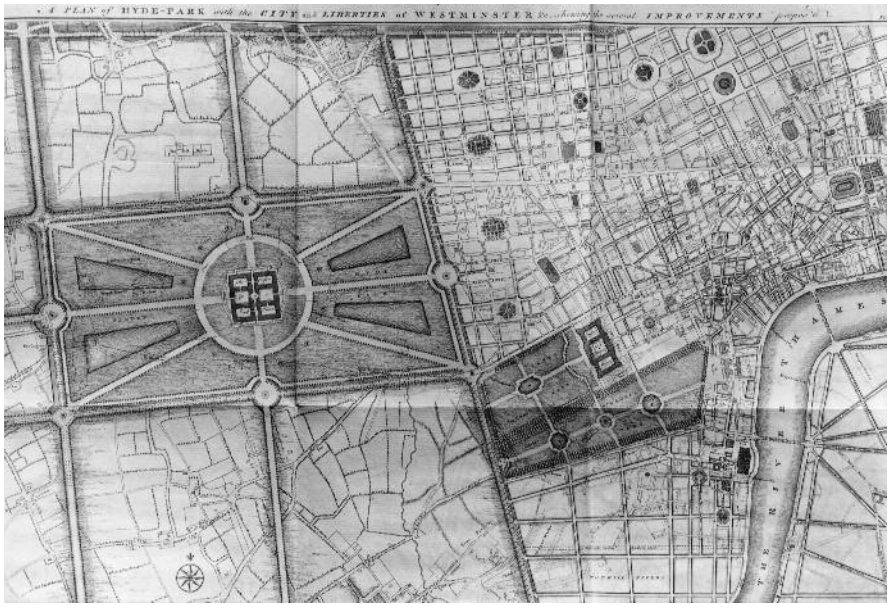


Fig. 4. John Gwynn, plan for urban improvements to Westminster, from *London and Westminster Improved*, 1766. *English Heritage.*

order continues into the central archway. It is explicitly termed a 'triumphal arch', a fact reflected in the winged Victories in the spandrels and in the trophies of arms, presumably in reference to Britain's victories over France in the Seven Years War.

The next proposal for a 'western entrance' came from the surveyor John Gwynn. This was no isolated project like Leoni's or Robinson's, but a small element in his splendid and ambitious vision for the city, published as *London and Westminster Improved* (1766) (Fig. 4).[16] Like John James, Gwynn recognised the value of Hyde Park in delimiting the city, and proposed that a great new palace be built there and that the roads on all sides be straightened into broad avenues, adding that:

> Hyde Park Corner would necessarily require some improvements to give it a corresponding character with the whole, and therefore it would be proper to erect a grand triumphal arch between the two Parks which would be a fine object from the palace, and mark with the greatest propriety the principal entrance into this great and opulent city. Indeed, something of this kind should be erected at every principal entrance to the city of London.[17]

Gwynn's 'enlightened and prophetic'[18] book contained many excellent ideas, several of which were eventually carried out. His whole scheme would have been well beyond the capacity of the Georgian state to carry out, let alone the parish vestries which administered Westminster.

In 1778 Robert Adam produced a series of magnificent designs for a western entrance to London, flanked by gates into Hyde Park and Green Park. The Soane Museum has a plan, nine highly finished elevation drawings, and several sketches.[19] The Victoria and Albert Museum has a plan and one elevation.[20] These are fairly well-known, but there are three more related drawings in the British Library, which are not signed and have not previously been identified.[21]

The plans in the Soane Museum (Fig. 5),[22] the British Library,[23] and the V&A,[24] all show an identical arched gateway over Piccadilly, with a weigh-house for vehicles in the northern wing, a toll-gatherer's house in the southern, and pedestrian gates at either end. Adjoining this central gateway and at right angles to it are two columned screens with arches leading into Hyde Park and Green Park, the three elements making a U-shaped composition. The British Library plan shows the park screens with a single row of columns: the Soane Museum and the V& A plan are identical, both showing the screens with a double colonnade.

One of the British Library's elevations is for a central gateway, a tripartite composition relating directly to what is shown on all three plans (Fig. 6).[25] This is here designated the 'first version' (out of five) of the gateway. It is a powerful astylar design with a pedimented centre, figures of the lion and unicorn over the wings, and aedicules low down framing the pedestrian gates and niches with statues of a king and queen. The second version is represented by the V&A's drawing. A variation of the British Library's drawing, it is rendered more powerful by being given all-over rustication (Fig. 7). Both elevations include identical plans of the building. The V&A version has a note stating that 'the fair Copy had no Rusticks and instead of square pannels in spand[rel]s of Great Arch there were circular Basreliefs the same diamr as the nich.' This clearly describes the British Library drawing, which is therefore the previously unnoticed 'fair copy.'

The other British Library drawing is an elevation for one of the park screens (Fig. 8).[26] There are another four versions of the park screens in the Soane Museum: all five are variations on the same basic theme, of a high central archway flanked by rows of columns terminating in square lodges or pavilions. The British Library's, here termed the first version, has a higher, central arch, flanked by lower Doric wings. The design of the pedestrain gates is repeated in the end lodges.

One of the four Soane park screen designs (the second version) is very similar to this,[27] with the

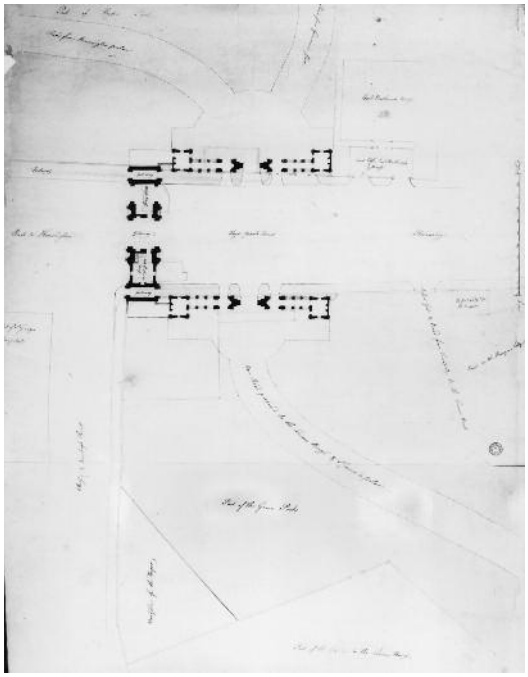


Fig. 5. Robert Adam, plan for a gateway and screens at Hyde Park Corner, 1778. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum*.

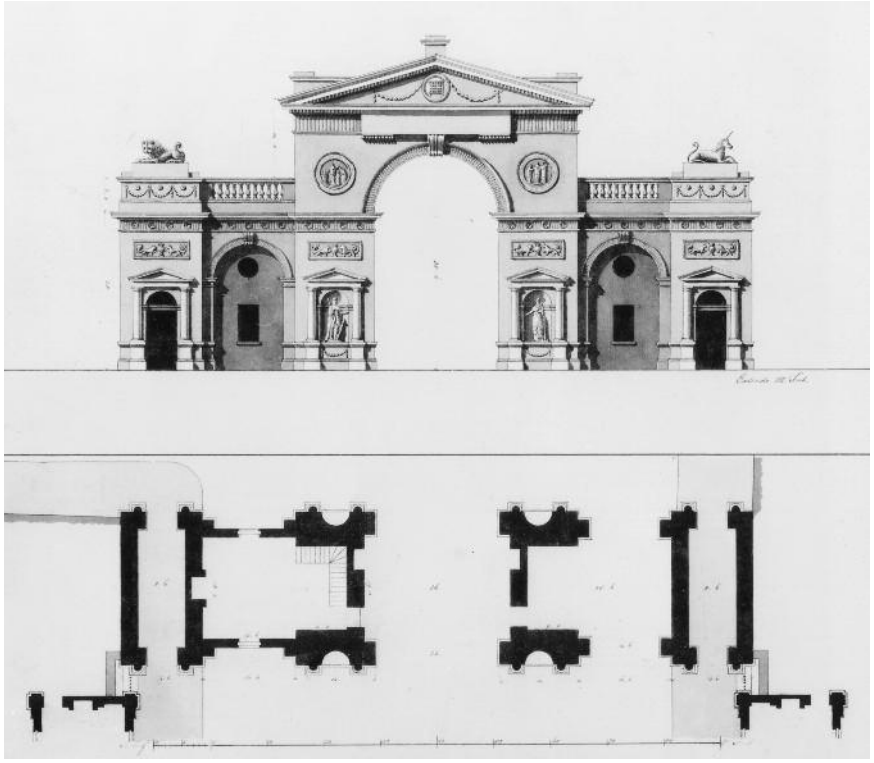


Fig. 6. Robert Adam, design for a gateway at Hyde Park Corner (first version), 1778. *The British Library*.

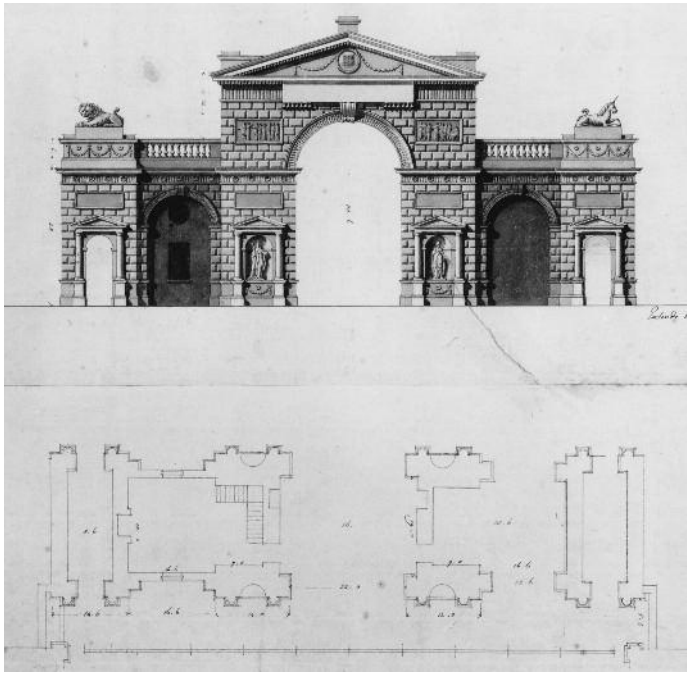
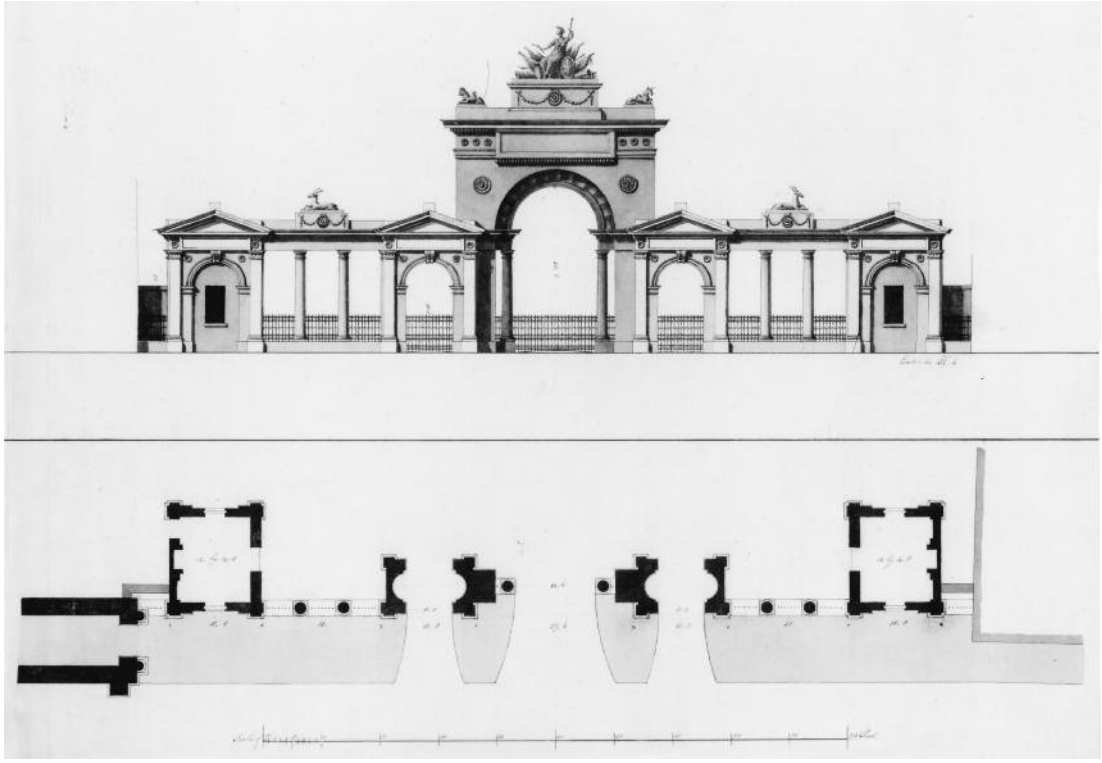


Fig. 7. Robert Adam, design for a gateway at Hyde Park Corner (second version), 1778. *The Victoria and Albert Museum*.

Fig. 8. Robert Adam, design for a park screen at Hyde Park Corner (first version), 1778. *The British Library*.



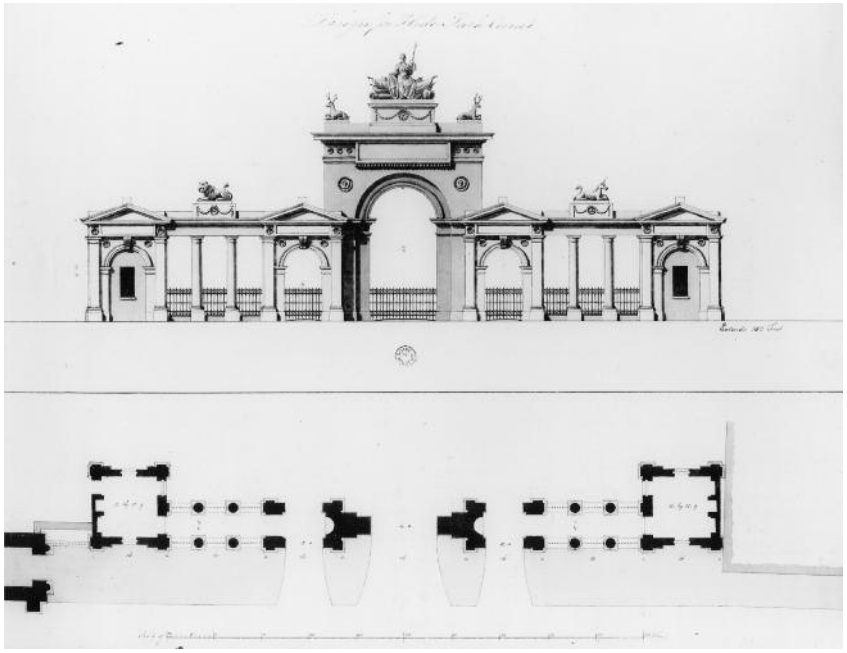


Fig. 9. Robert Adam, design for a park screen at Hyde Park Corner (second version), 1778. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.*

central opening slightly simplified (the engaged columns within the arch are omitted), and the flanking rows of columns doubled, that is, turned into colonnades (Fig. 9). This version of the park screens is the one which relates to the Soane Museum and the V&A plans.

The third version of the park screens, also in the Soane Museum, also uses the Doric order, but in a more monumental way (Fig. 10).[28] The park gate in the middle is dignified with a giant order of semi-columns and pilasters,the pedestrian gates are omitted and longer, single rows of Doric columns are substituted, which terminate in larger, domed lodges with elaborate interiors. This version is reminiscent of Adam's Admiralty Screen (1760), or his screen at Syon House, Middlesex (1773).[29]

The fourth version of the park screen (also in the Soane Museum) is the most elaborate, and probably the weakest[30] (Fig. 11). There is a richly designed central gate comparable to Adam's Ionic gateway at Croome Court, Worcestershire, based on the Roman arch at Pula in Yugoslavia (1779)[31], here bearing an equestrian statue and trophies of arms. This is flanked by screens with gates for pedestrians, with lodges at either end which are themselves tripartite compositions. The design has a giant order of Ionic columns in the middle, a subsidiary Ionic order to the lodges, and smaller Doric order to the colonnades, which contributes to its rather episodic quality.

The Soane Museum also has a large composite drawing with fold-outs, showing the main gateway and screens together. This provides the third version of the central gateway, and the fifth version of the park screens (Fig. 12).[32] This version of the park screen is also rather elaborate: a tripartite gate in the centre with engaged Ionic columns supporting an

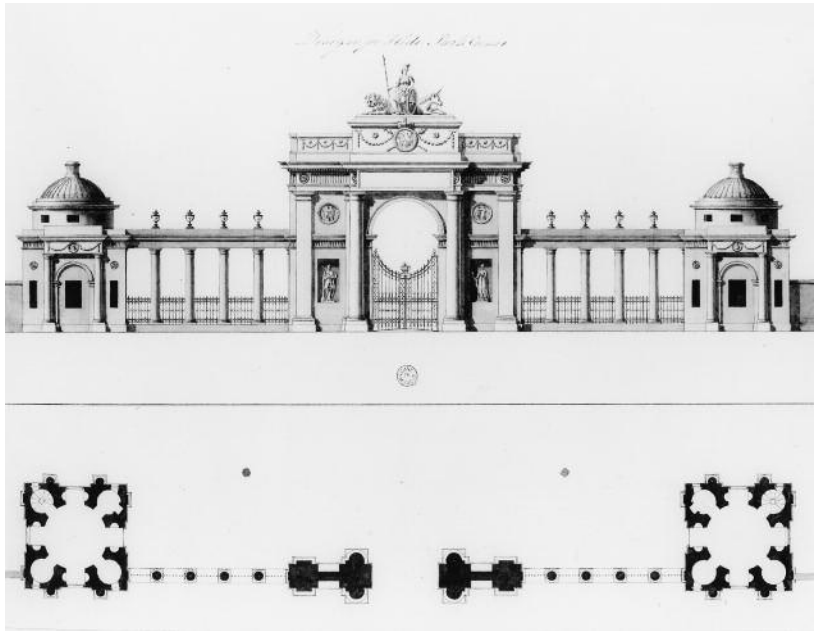


Fig. 10. Robert Adam, design for a park screen at Hyde Park Corner (third version), 1778.
The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

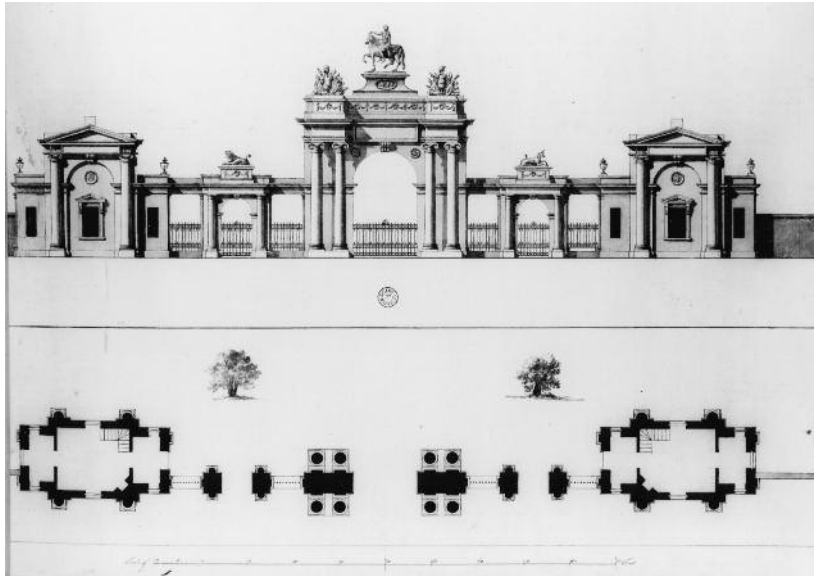


Fig. 11. Robert Adam, design for a park screen at Hyde Park Corner (fourth version), 1778.
The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Fig. 12. Robert Adam, design for a gateway and park screens at Hyde Park Corner: third version of the gateway, fifth version of the park screens, 1778.
The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Fig. 13. Robert Adam, design for a gateway at Hyde Park Corner (fourth version), 1778.
The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

attic storey with caryatids. The wings are treated as astylar arcades leading to square lodges carrying circular drums and domes. The third version of the central gateway, seen here, is essentially the first (British Library) version, transformed by the addition of a portico of Corinthian columns supporting a pediment.

The Soane Museum has two more, quite different designs for the central gateway. One of these (the fourth version), simply labelled 'Design for a Gateway at Hide Park Corner,' effectively has two versions of the Arch of Constantine forming the abutments of a giant central arch, its delicate ornament making a strong contrast with the boldness of its massing. On top there is an equestrian statue, presumably meant for King George III (Fig. 13).[33] There is also a flank elevation for this design (Fig. 14).[34] Finally, the Soane Museum has two more elevations of a 'third Design for a Gateway at Hide Park Corner' (here designated the fifth version). This is a more conventional version of the Arch of Constantine, with a giant order of Corinthian attached columns, friezes and figures in Roman armour in the attic storey (Figs. 15 and 16).[35]

Fig. 14. Robert Adam, design for a gateway at Hyde Park Corner (fourth version), flank elevation, 1778. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.*

Two related documents in the British Library shed some light on this group of designs. They are outline estimates, one for the central gateway, the other for the park screens. The 'estimate of a Gateway to Westminster at Hyde Park Corner' is dated at London, 4 November 1778.[36] It confirms that one side was to be a toll-gatherer's lodge, the other the weigh-house, and that both fronts were to be 'nearly alike'. The whole structure was

> To be built in brick and liardet, the ornament and Bass-reliefs all in liardet, Plinth only of stone. Estimate excluding four statues in niches if thought necessary [sic] – £4,071. 0. 0.

The other estimate, for 'a Gateway into Green Park entering from Piccadilly' has the same date, and confirms that the columns were to be brick covered in 'liardet', with the plinth, the two columns of the centre arch and the architraves in stone.[37] This was estimated at £2,700.0.0. The second document includes a further estimate of £350 for the figure of Britannia, trophies, lion, unicorn and two deer, in liardet or painted lead. Adam was evidently concerned to keep the cost down, restricting the use of stone to a minimum and using Liardet's patent cement, in which the Adam brothers had a commercial interest, for most of the surface and the decoration.

Adam's designs for Hyde Park Corner are a remarkable group, vividly demonstrating his fertility and skill as a designer. They represent a great deal of

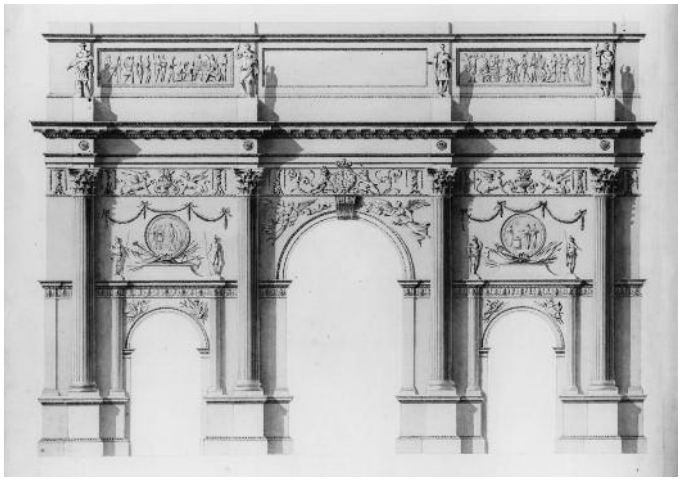


Fig. 15. Robert Adam, design for a gateway at Hyde Park Corner (fifth version), 1778. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.*

Fig. 16. Robert Adam, design for a gateway at Hyde Park Corner (fifth version), flank elevation, 1778. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.*

Fig. 17. George Underwood, view of the turnpike gates and lodges at Hyde Park Corner, designed by John Groves junior for the Kensington Turnpike Trust: made for John Soane's Royal Academy lectures, *c.*1809. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.*

work, but in the event it was all wasted. Nothing was built, perhaps because a victory arch no longer seemed appropriate in the aftermath of the American War of Independence, perhaps because of the financial stringency caused by that war. It is not clear who commissioned the designs. There is no evidence for this on any of the drawings or specification documents, and none has been found in what would seem to be the relevant archives.[38]

In 1791 Hyde Park Corner did indeed receive a new set of gates, but they were nothing like Adam's grand schemes. The Kensington Turnpike Trust resolved that they needed a new tollgate, and turned to their then surveyor John Groves, a master bricklayer of some repute.[39] In January 1791 John Groves Junior produced a design for new gates and buildings at Hyde Park Corner which was 'highly approved' by the trustees.[40] Mr Groves was asked to 'desire his son to make an estimate of the Expense' of this. The design does not survive, but it was evidently of some elaboration. The estimated cost was £800, and that trustees thought that

> Upon reconsidering the said plan, that the Arcades, the Obelisk and the outside facing of stone to the Toll Houses should be omitted. Ordered that Mr Groves be desired to alter his designs so as to bring the estimate within £500 and to prepare proper drawings and descriptions… [41]

The younger Groves would seem to have had some formal training in architecture, for he exhibited views at the Royal Academy in 1778 and 1780, and visited Italy.[42] In 1794 he was appointed Clerk of Works at Whitehall and Westminster on Soane's resignation, though he did not turn out to be a success there.[43] In response to the Kensington trustees' request he produced a revised design, with a show of reluctance, in March 1791.[44] In May the trustees accepted a tender from George King and Henry Short, for £450 including the old materials. There had unfortunately been a misunderstanding here: King and Short thought that the materials would be theirs to take away, while the trustees had meant that the materials should be used on the new toll-gates. King and Short got to keep the materials, but the contract price was reduced to £400.[45] Work began in July 1791, and King and Short received their final payment in August 1792.[46]

Groves' executed design was simple but handsome, and was admired by the *The Gentleman's Magazine* amongst others.[47] It was, indeed, good enough for Dorothy Stroud to attribute it to Henry Holland.[48] A pair of square, one-storey lodges stood on either side of Piccadilly, with deep elliptical niches on their inner faces (towards the roadway) for the toll-collectors. The lodges were ornamented with plain pilaster strips and raised panels of brickwork. Substantial white timber gates stood in between, with an elaborate multi-bracketed iron lantern. Their appearance is well-established, for in 1809 John Soane had one of his assistants, George Underwood, make a large pair of very precise watercolour views of them[49] (Fig. 17). These were among the many large views which Soane used to illustrate his Royal Academy Lectures of 1812. From the lecture text, it is clear that Soane's purpose was not to praise Groves' design:

> Why not erect a triumphal arch to make an entrance into Hanover Square from Oxford Street and another at Hyde Park Corner? See the French entrances into Paris. Would to God some of the entrances to this mighty metropolis were decorated with avenues of trees, with monuments and the whole terminated with magnificent triumphal arches.[50]

In his later series of lectures at the Royal Institution, in 1820, Soane returned to the same theme, bemoaning the utilitarian drabness of London's fringes and emphasising the role of the state as the most important architectural patron:

> …can it be a matter of surprise, then, that the Canal del'Ourg surpasses in magnificence the Grand Junction Canal, the grand aqueduct at Arcuel the wood and iron pipes of the New River Company, the magnificent fountains in Paris, the pumps in our streets, or that the great Triumphal Entrances into Paris are superior to our Toll Gates?[51]

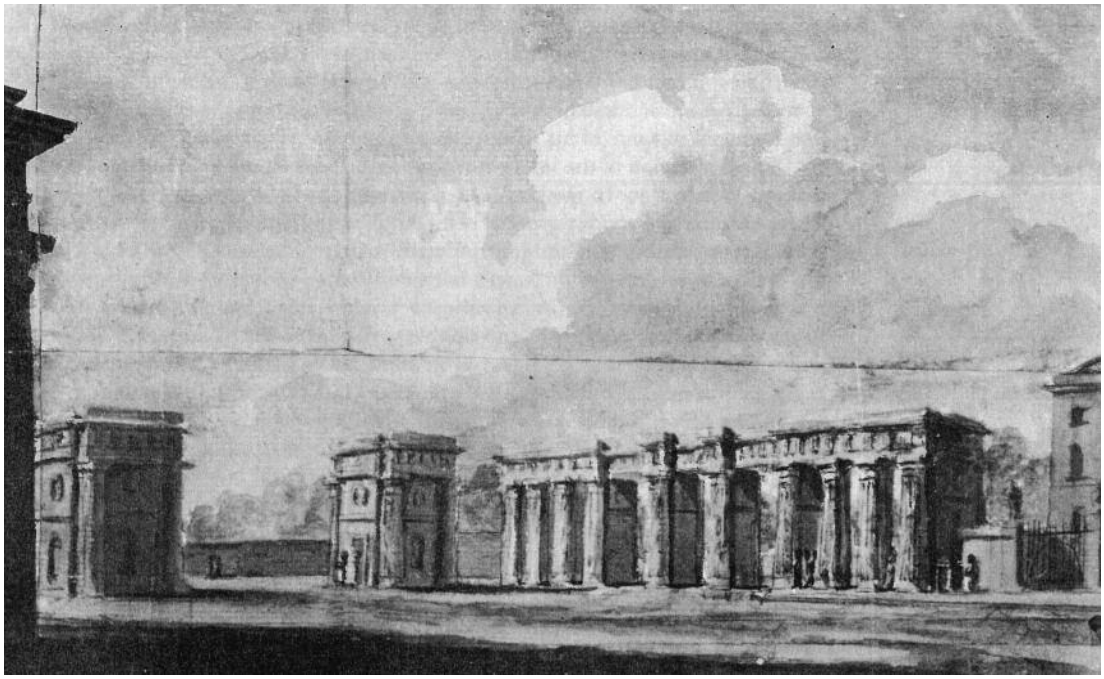


Fig. 18a. Jeffry Wyatt, sketch for a gateway at Hyde Park Corner, 1794.
The Trustees of the British Museum.

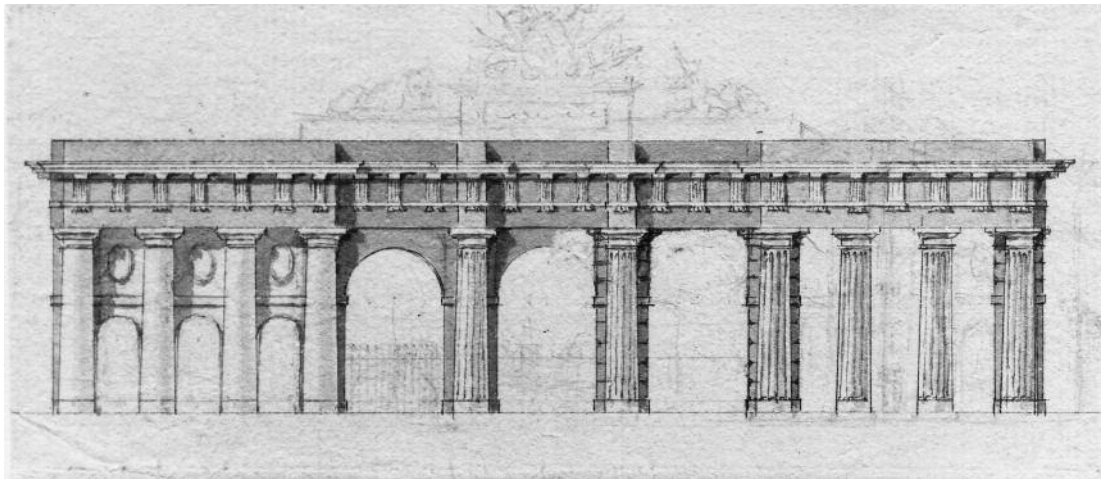


Fig. 18b. Jeffry Wyatt, sketch elevation for park screens at Hyde Park Corner, 1794.
The Trustees of the British Museum.

In 1792, these sharp judgments on Groves' toll-gates lay some years in the future: we have rather run ahead of ourselves. Nevertheless, Soane's views are a useful reminder of the yawning gulf between the prosaic reality of late eighteenth-century Hyde Park Corner, and the ambitions which various architects nurtured for the site. Shortly after Groves' lodges went up two more designs were produced, the first by Jeffry Wyatt, the second by Soane himself.

In 1794 Jeffry Wyatt, who was then working in the office of his uncle James, exhibited a scheme for a grand gateway there at the Royal Academy. His presentation drawings do not appear to survive, but a pen and wash sketch perspective and an elevation survive in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings[52] (Figs. 18a and b). They show a pair of massive, square lodges with engaged Doric columns at their corners flanking the roadway, presumably to replace the toll-keepers' lodges. To the right is an impressive Doric screen nine bays wide, the three middle bays being wider to form a carriage entrance to Hyde Park. The perspective implies the existence of an identical screen opposite, for Green Park. The corner of Bathurst House (now Apsley House) appears at the right-hand edge.

There is no evidence that anyone had commissioned Jeffry Wyatt's scheme. However, in 1796 John Robinson, Surveyor General of the Woods and Forests, commissioned John Soane to design a gate for Hyde Park Corner, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy: a fine presentation watercolour of the design remains in the Soane Museum (Fig. 19).[53] Soane had been appointed as architect to the Surveyor of Woods and Forests the previous year, as well as having been Clerk of Works at Whitehall and Westminster since 1791.[54] As with Adam's designs, there was to be a central archway over the road with lateral gateways into the parks. Soane proposed to build a simplified version of the Arch of Constantine in the middle of Piccadilly, with iron gates flanking it. To either side there were to be very substantial gateways in what might be termed Soane's 'Bank of England' manner, with banded rustication and corinthian columns *in entasis*. Atop these park gates there were to be equestrian statues of George III and the Prince of Wales. Oddly enough, the presentation watercolour concentrates on the design for the park gateways, with the central arch over Piccadilly depicted in a subsidiary view at the bottom. A label on the watercolour says that the estimated cost of the design was £8,650.00. A further note, evidently added later, states that:

> The estimated cost of this composition being considered too great, other plans were made and finally a design consisting of two small lodges with iron gates and railings was approved and carried into execution.

The 'two small lodges' cannot relate to the Kensington Turnpike Trust's lodges, which were indeed on this exact site, as those had been finished four years previously. This seems to refer to the 'lodge and gateway' to Constitution Hill built by Soane in 1797, at the same time that he built a lodge to Hyde Park at Cumberland Gate.[55] This was presumably demolished in 1825, to make way for Decimus Burton's Green Park Arch, discussed below.

The question of a 'western entrance' to London was revived in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. For several years after Waterloo the idea was in the air that Britain should erect a national victory monument. Initially, in 1815–16, there seems to have been a general idea that this should be a pair of memorial columns commemorating the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Later on, this seems to have been supplanted by the idea that the victory memorial should be a grand gateway at Hyde Park Corner. However, the evidence for all this is very patchy, and it is has not been possible to reconstruct the whole story.

For present purposes, this phase of the story is introduced by a little-known surveyor, William Kinnard (1788–1839). Kinnard was District Surveyor of the parishes of St Giles-in-the-Fields and St George, Bloomsbury. It is a little ironic that the one thing he is remembered for is having tried to

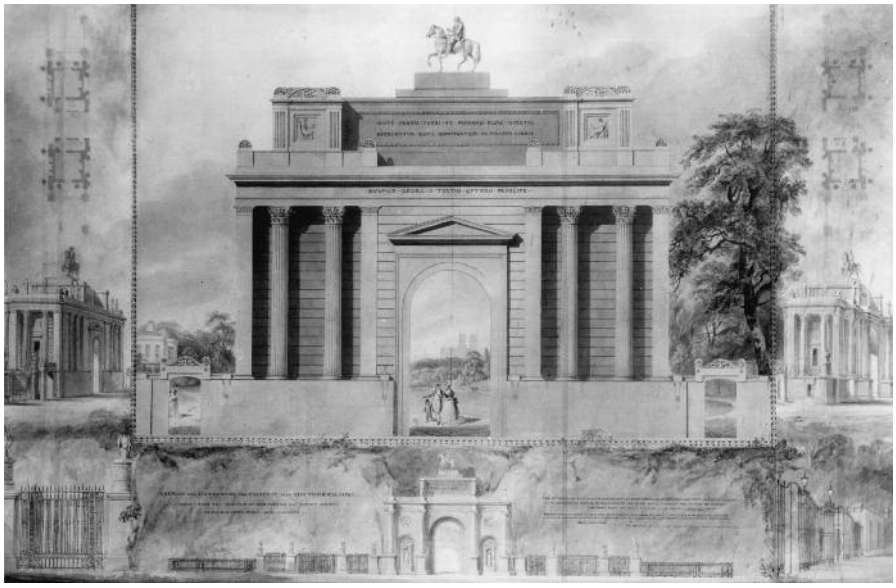


Fig. 19. John Soane, watercolour view of a design for a gateway and park entrances at Hyde Park Corner, 1796.
The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Fig. 20. William Kinnard, view of a proposed triumphal arch at Hyde Park Corner, 1814.
The British Library.

prosecute Sir John Soane for extending the front façade of his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, now the Soane Museum.[56] In 1813, while war was still raging in Spain and on the borders of France, Kinnard published a 'View of a Triumphal Arch, proposed to be erected at Hyde Park Corner, commemorative of the victories achieved by the British Arms during the Reign of His Majesty King George the Third' (Fig. 20). This was presumably done on his own initiative, to publicise his talents.[57] The design is for a massive single-opening arch, with pairs of engaged Corinthian columns on either side, and rich sculptural ornament.

On 29 June 1815, just 11 days after the battle of Waterloo, the House of Commons resolved unanimously, on a motion introduced for the government by Lord Castlereagh, that an Address be presented to the Regent asking him to give directions for a 'National Monument to be erected in honour of the splendid victory of Waterloo.' The cost does not seem to have been discussed at this stage. It is clear from what followed that a committee was appointed, including Charles Long MP, which invited designs for the memorial.[58] On 5 February 1816 the Commons returned to the subject, with Lord Castlereagh introducing a further motion that an Address be presented to the Regent, to initiate a monument to the battle of Trafalgar as well. They debated whether the memorials should concentrate on Trafalgar and Waterloo, or whether they should commemorate the naval and the land actions in general. There seemed to be a general willingness to let the two most famous victories stand for the naval and military sacrifices generally. Then the question of money was discussed. Long said:

> Being one of the persons appointed to examine the plans and models offered for the Waterloo monument, he felt he had considerable difficulty in consequence of his not being able to state what sum was to be appropriated for the work.[59]

On 30 April 1816 the Commons briefly returned to the subject in response to a question from a Mr Tierney, who had seen advertisements in the press inviting models for the proposed monument. The Chancellor of the Exchequer volunteered, surprisingly vaguely, that the monument might cost '3 or 400,000 l., and possibly more.' Mr Tierney said that he thought that £100,000 should suffice if the monument were 'not a work of utility, but merely a couple of columns.'[60] On 14 June Mr Tierney returned to the subject, saying that he heard that two columns were to be erected for £150,000 each. The Chancellor replied that no steps were to be taken before the next session. Long, evidently still involved, defended this estimate:

> If a sum was mentioned as the supposed expense, it was because it was impossible to get a plan or design of the intended columns unless some idea was given of the expense.[61]

There was one more isolated reference to the subject in March 1816, when General Thornton suggested to the House that churches be built 'instead of pillars' to celebrate Britain's victories.[62] After this there are no more references to the 'national memorial' in the House of Commons' official reports.

In 1817 Sir John Soane exhibited his ideas for a national victory memorial at the Royal Academy. The splendid watercolour view, labelled 'the Entrances into Hyde Park, St James' Park and the Western Entrance into the Metropolis' remains in the Soane Museum (Fig. 21). It shows two alternative designs, both of which have identical lateral gateways into Hyde Park and Green Park, which are carried over more or less unaltered from his 1796 scheme.[63] One version has a single-opening triumphal arch over Piccadilly, while the other has instead a pair of 'trajanic' columns, with spiral reliefs carved around them. One imagines that Soane was here responding to the government's idea that there should be a pair of memorial columns, one for the battle of Trafalgar, the other for Waterloo.

Soane's fertile imagination produced yet another design for Hyde Park Corner. A splendid watercolour perspective by J.M. Gandy was exhibited at the Royal

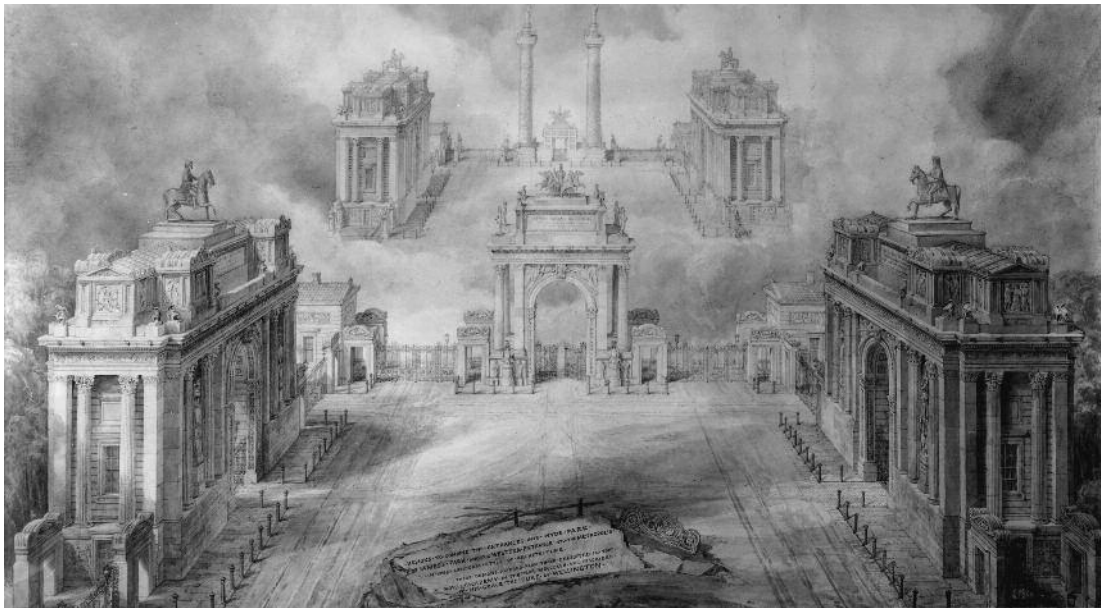


Fig. 21. Sir John Soane, alternative designs for a gateway and park entrances at Hyde Park Corner, 1817. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.*

Academy in 1826, and this too remains in the Soane Museum.[64] This is the most elaborate scheme of all, with great rectangular columned park entrances, columned pylons and a central gateway over Piccadilly flanked by semicircular exedrae of double rows of columns (Fig. 22). The Victoria and Albert Museum's version of this design is labelled 'Design for the Western Barrier of the Metropolis with Entrances into the Two Royal Parks. The idea of this design was suggested on viewing the magnificent and other great national Monuments in Paris, and from the Contemplation of the Work of Le-Peyre, Patte, Baltard and other eminent architects of the French School.'

The design is so grandiose that one would suspect it was a pure exhibition piece, were it not for the fact that this was one of a series of linked proposals which Soane brought forward around this time, for a royal processional route into London. Soane's triumphal route was a coherent masterplan, comparable in its ambition to John Gwynn's vision of 1766. [65]

Unlike Gwynn, Soane acknowledged that Westminster's historic topography could not easily be resolved into a straightforward axial layout comparable to the Champs Elysées. Instead his vision combined picturesque planning with monumental architecture, of Roman grandeur and fantastic richness. He envisaged an immense gate at Knightsbridge leading into the public highway and also into the royal road through the park (Rotten Row). These two routes would reunite at Hyde Park Corner, where there would be further immense gates, leading east into Piccadilly and southwards to a vast new palace in Green Park. From the new palace the processional route would head eastwards, past a

Fig. 22. Sir John Soane, design for a grand entrance to London at Hyde Park Corner, 1826.
The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

memorial church in St James's Park, through an arch from Horse Guards Parade into Whitehall, and end at a remodelled Palace of Westminster. These proposals went through several stages, and Soane eventually brought them all together in *Designs for Public Improvements in London and Westminster* (1827), one of the most ambitious pieces of self-promotion ever undertaken by an English architect.

Soane was certainly ambitious, but he was not working in a vacuum: other would-be master-planners, both amateur and professional, were at work. Several tracts were published around 1825 on the theme of grand city planning: very few scholars appear to have noticed them, but they offer valuable insights into the development of official and ceremonial London in the reign of George IV. The foremost of the amateur planners was Sir Charles Long MP, later Lord Farnborough, connoisseur and friend to the king.[66] In 1825 a tract entitled '*A Letter to Sir Charles Long on the Improvements proposed and now carrying on in the Western part of London*', very probably by Sir Charles himself, lamented London's want of fine buildings.[67] The author particularly regretted that:

> there has been, on the fancied plea of their inconvenience, so great a demolition of our ancient Gates, almost the only structure of this kind remaining in London is Temple Bar…. From the want of these, and from its wide, dusty, un-avenued approaches, London has more the air of a vast overgrown town than that of a magnificent city…. It is announced that the turnpike gate at Hyde-Park Corner, which has so long disgraced this most beautiful, if not the most striking approach to the capital, is to be immediately removed, and that a new entrance into Hyde Park is to be made exactly opposite Grosvenor Place…

After observing that merely making a new entrance to Hyde Park would be of 'little consequence' to anyone except the Duke of Wellington, who might be enabled to extend his garden, the author continued by urging that:

> Here, where the ground attains its extreme point of elevation, and this finest part of the town first rises on the view in ascending the road from Knightsbridge, is a situation for an architectural monument that should not disgrace the memory of the *great battle*…. To render this approach to the capital what it ought to be, all the mean buildings on each side of the road from the Barracks to Hyde Park Corner, should be taken down, and on the Knightsbridge side an uninterrupted line of elegant houses should be substituted…

The anonymous author concluded by calling for the establishment of a 'Committee of Good Taste', with an associated 'Dictator' to direct the implementation of its decisions, and was polite enough to observe to Sir Charles: 'I anticipate probably the public choice of such an arbiter of taste, Sir, in your person…'

Sir Charles addressed the same themes in another tract published under his own name in 1826, '*Short Remarks and Suggestions upon Improvements now carrying on or under consideration.*'[68] He started by defending Buckingham Palace, then rising, and then turned to its entrance:

> It is understood that the entrance into the court of the palace is to be through a triumphal arch, commemorative of our military triumphs during the last war. We ought to be ashamed to have left the services of our army and navy so long unrequited by any such memorial…

Sir Charles added that, 'connected with the extensive alterations at Buckingham House,' a number of improvements were being carried out in the parks:

> Handsome lodges are to be built at the top of Constitution Hill and in Hyde Park, and these lodges and gates will be placed opposite to each other.

So, between the publication of the *Letter to Sir Charles Long* (1825) and the *Short Remarks* (1826) there had been a burst of progress, and a marked change of emphasis. The long-proposed war memorial was indeed to be a 'triumphal arch,' but this was to be at Buckingham Palace, not at Hyde Park Corner. Furthermore, the long-projected 'western entrance' had evaporated, leaving just the related park entrances. The long-held ideas of a 'western entrance' and a victory memorial had become bound up with, and diverted by, George IV's project to remodel Buckingham House as Buckingham Palace. How had this happened?

There was a history of schemes for a grand new royal palace on the western edge of London, dating back to Webb's and Wren's unexecuted designs for Whitehall.[69] As we have seen, John James, John Gwynn and Sir John Soane all made proposals for gigantic royal palaces in Hyde Park or Green Park. Two more palace projects merit brief mention here. Firstly, Colonel Frederick Trench's book *The Thames Quay* (1824), proposed a number of very ambitious schemes including the eponymous quay and a vast neoclassical palace in Hyde Park to be designed by Philip and Benjamin Dean Wyatt.[70] Trench's book was promoted by a group of established patrons of the Wyatt family, including the Duke of York, the Marquess of Londonderry and the Duke of Rutland. Fifteen years later, this same group was to intervene in the history of Hyde Park Corner again, with very controversial results. Secondly, another anonymous tract, *Considerations upon the expediency of building a Metropolitan Palace, by a Member of Parliament*, appeared in 1825: this very curious document made rather more detailed proposals for a new palace in Hyde Park, close by Park Lane.[71]

George IV, rather surprisingly, was not tempted by these grand visions. In 1818, when still Regent, he inherited Buckingham House as a piece of private property from his mother Queen Charlotte, and began to plan its remodelling. In 1819, he began to lobby the government for funds for this purpose. Even after his accession in 1820, George IV was not

to be diverted away from this idea, and in 1821 he directed that John Nash be given plans of the building to work on. Soane was alarmed by this, and made representations that the job should fall to him, as the Office of Works architect responsible. The king took no notice and Nash began to work up designs, though at this stage there was some confusion as to the status of the building: was it to be a private residence or a state palace?

1825 was the decisive year. While Soane was promoting his processional way, and the various tract writers were working on their visionary schemes, Nash was working away behind the scenes in consultation with the king. In March 1825 Nash was producing designs, in April they were approved by the government, and on 13 June a bill was passed allowing the Crown's Land Revenue to be used for the palace, but in fact work had already begun on 6 June. Nash's designs already included a 'triumphal arch' as the main entrance to the palace. This rendered Soane's visions for a triumphal 'western entrance' obsolete. Where did the idea come from?

One of the first of this clutch of amateur tracts, *Suggestions for the Improvement and Embellishment of the Metropolis* by Sir William Hillary, Baronet and MP, had appeared in July 1824.[72] Sir William, like many, was exercised by Britain's failure to honour its heroes with national monuments. He proposed that the naval memorial be a great column, placed in the middle of the Thames. As for the 'military trophy':

> …perhaps it could not be better placed than as a splendid triumphal arch to form the grand approach to the future royal residence in the Capital.

In 1825 Sir William published a second edition of his tract, which went into rather more detail.[73] He was apparently unaware of the plans for Buckingham Palace, stating that he did not know whether a palace was in contemplation, but hoped that the British people would soon 'offer such a tribute of their loyalty and attachment to their sovereign.' The naval monument would now be on a Thames Embankment, echoing Colonel Trench's vision, and on the 'military trophy' he wrote:

> Such a monument, decorated like the naval monument, with appropriate inscriptions, military trophies, busts and statues of the most distinguished heroes of the three kingdoms, with bas-reliefs of their numerous victories, and surmounted by an equestrian bronze statue of the Duke of Wellington could not, perhaps, be better placed than as a splendid triumphal arch, in the style of that of Constantine at Rome, to form the grand approach to the future royal residence of the British capital.

Thus, Sir William predicted the design, purpose and location of the Marble Arch almost exactly. His description seems rather too close to be coincidental, and this may well be the origin of the idea of the Marble Arch, though Nash and George IV were probably also inspired by the Arc du Triomphe du Carrousel, built by Napoleon in the courtyard of the Tuileries.

This is a complex story, and we do not have all the evidence. However, the outlines seem clear enough. Metropolitan improvement was in the air, great excitement was being generated, and several different groups were promoting schemes. Soane, as an established professional at the Office of Works, clearly regarded himself as having some kind of claim. A rival group, formed around Colonel Trench and his friends, were promoting the outside candidates, Philip and Benjamin Dean Wyatt. However, in these matters the power to propose lay with the king, advised by Sir Charles Long, while the power to dispose lay with the government. The king wanted speed, the government wanted economy, and these two desiderata militated against grandiose master-plans. George IV was, in any case, temperamentally averse to concentrating on any one thing for a long time. He seems to have backed individual projects, such as Regent's Park, Regent Street, the National Gallery and the British Museum, on a pragmatic basis, one thing at once. Nash emerged, in secret, as the successful candidate for the palace, simply

because he had the king's confidence. Nash and the king, in their pragmatic, magpie-like way, took the 'triumphal arch' idea, (whether from Sir William Hillary, Soane, or the Tuileries) and added it to the Palace. The rug was pulled from under Soane's feet, and the 'western entrance' idea evaporated.

In 1827, the *Mechanics Magazine* summarised these events thus:

> When the present peace left the English at leisure to turn their attention to internal improvements, the erection of a grand triumphal entrance to the metropolis, similar to the Propylaea of Athens, was among the first things contemplated; several designs were offered to the Government for the purpose, and an understanding came generally to prevail, that such a structure would certainly be erected at Hyde Park Corner. According to the idea which most people had formed of the projected building, it was to be erected at the summit of the ascent from Knightsbridge, and to embrace the whole width of the road, having side entrances to Hyde Park and the Green Park, nor can there be a question that a structure like the Propylaea, erected in such a situation, would have had a most magnificent and imposing effect.
>
> To the everlasting discredit, however, of the spirit and taste which preside over the architectural improvements of this auspicious era, our long-talked of 'triumphal entrance' has dwindled into a mere Park entrance, which like the Palace 'leaves us where we were before', without that important addition to the metropolis, so fondly anticipated and so much wanted.[74]

Fig. 23. E.U. Eddis, portrait of Decimus Burton, undated, 1820s. *Hastings Museum*.

By 1825 the Office of Woods and Forests was engaged on the vast project to lay out and develop Regent Street and Regents Park, and was also addressing the landscaping of Hyde Park. In 1824 Charles Arbuthnot, head of the Office of Woods and Forests, had engaged the young Decimus Burton (1800–81) to design a series of new lodges for Hyde Park.[75] Decimus was the tenth son (hence his name) of James Burton (1761–1837), the great builder-developer (Fig. 23).[76] He attended the Royal Academy Schools under Soane from 1817, and was soon designing buildings for his father, including the latter's own villa, The Holme, in Regent's Park (1817–18), South Villa (1818), Cornwall Terrace (1821) and Chester Terrace (1823). From 1823 he was in independent practice. Through his father and his work on the Regent's Park estate Burton already had contacts with the Office of Woods and Forests and in 1824 designed the Stanhope, Grosvenor and Cumberland Gate entrances to Hyde Park. If Hyde Park Corner had received a grand 'Western Entrance' conceived as a victory memorial, then this would probably have gone to a more senior architect. When it turned out that Hyde Park Corner was only going

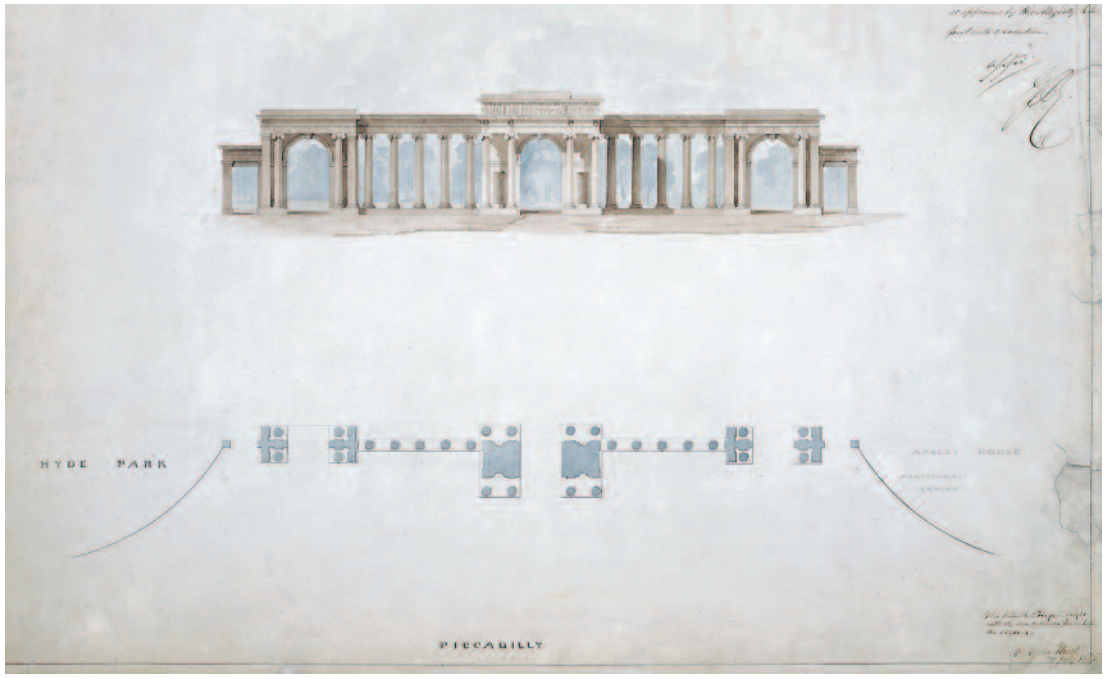


Fig. 24. Decimus Burton, design for the Hyde Park Screen, 1825, initialled by King George IV to indicate his assent.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

to get a pair of park entrances, Burton was ideally placed to get the job, and that is what happened, some time in the summer of 1825.

Who was actually taking the decisions? In 1828 Burton gave evidence to the parliamentary committee which was investigating cost over-runs at Buckingham Palace, on the subject of his work at Hyde Park Corner. He told them that he took instructions directly from a group of 'five or six noblemen and gentlemen' in meetings at Downing Street and Fife House, Whitehall (Lord Liverpool's residence). The meetings generally included Lord Liverpool (Prime Minister), Lord Farnborough (George IV's friend and chief artistic adviser), Lord Goderich (Chancellor of the Exchequer), Mr Peel (Home Secretary), Mr Herries (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), Mr Arbuthnot (Secretary to the Office of Woods and Forests, and as we have seen, Burton's particular patron). [77] The cause might have benefitted from the fact that Lord Goderich was the son of the 2nd Lord Grantham, who had made the first design for a grand 'western entrance' on this site in 1761.[78]

In September 1825 Burton submitted his first design for the new park entrances to the Office of

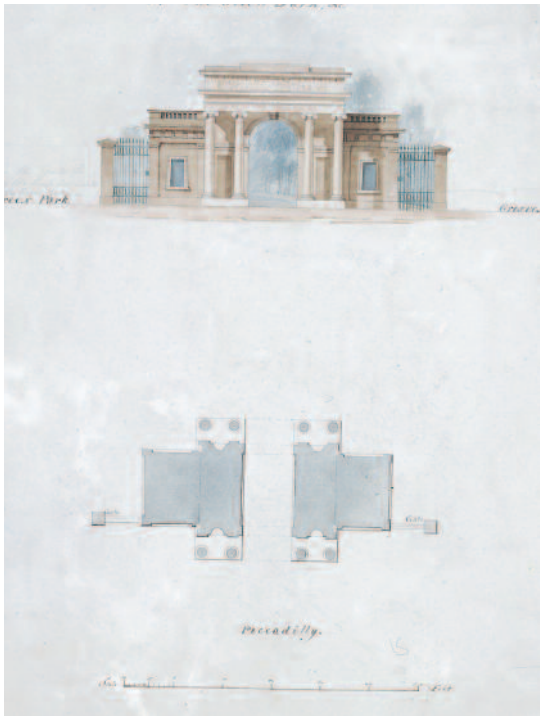


Fig. 25. Decimus Burton, first design for an arch into Green Park, 1825, elevation.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

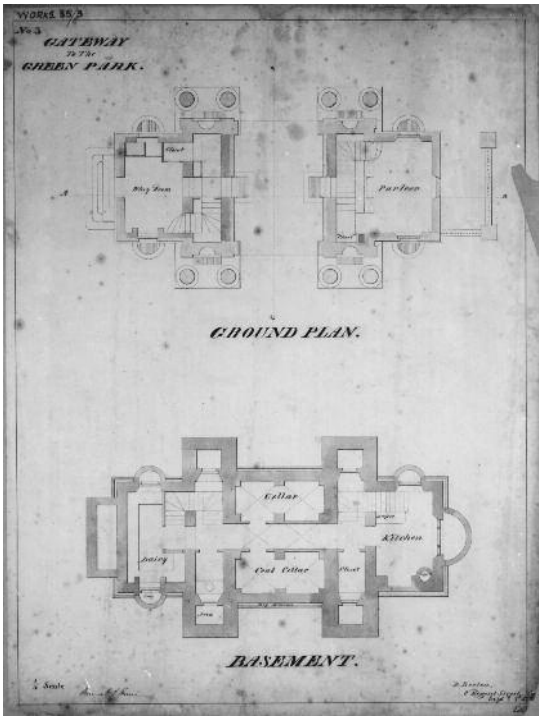


Fig. 26. Decimus Burton, first design for an arch into Green Park, 1825, plan.
Public Record Office.

Woods and Forests. The idea was clearly that the 'character of the two entrances should be uniform,' facing one another over Piccadilly[79] Burton designed a screen (or 'facade', as it was usually termed), to Hyde Park, almost identical to the one eventually executed (Fig. 24). On the Green Park side he designed a single arch on a similar scale, framed by paired Ionic columns, the general effect being very similar to the central portion of the Hyde Park screen, or to the arches incorporated into Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park (1826) (Fig. 25).[80] There were to be one bay single-storey wings to either side, housing a lodge for a gatekeeper, a dairy and a 'Whey Room', presumably for the produce of a herd in Green Park (Fig. 26). Several of Burton's drawings for this first scheme survive in the Victoria and Albert Museum[81] and the Public Record Office, the latter including a number of the full-size moulding profiles.[82] The cost was estimated at £6858 3s 0d, not including the cost of sculpture.[83]

At one of the meetings at Fife House attended by Lord Liverpool and 'other noblemen and gentlemen interested,' at an unknown date, it was resolved that:

> As the Archway was to form one of the Approaches to the Palace, it would be respectful to His Majesty to have it upon a Scale and of a Character more ornamental than that of the Facade opposite, and that instead of one lodge it should contain arrangements for two. Mr Burton was desired, therefore, to produce a new design. . .[84]

Burton began work on a second design (Fig. 27). His presentation drawing, now in the Victoria and Albert

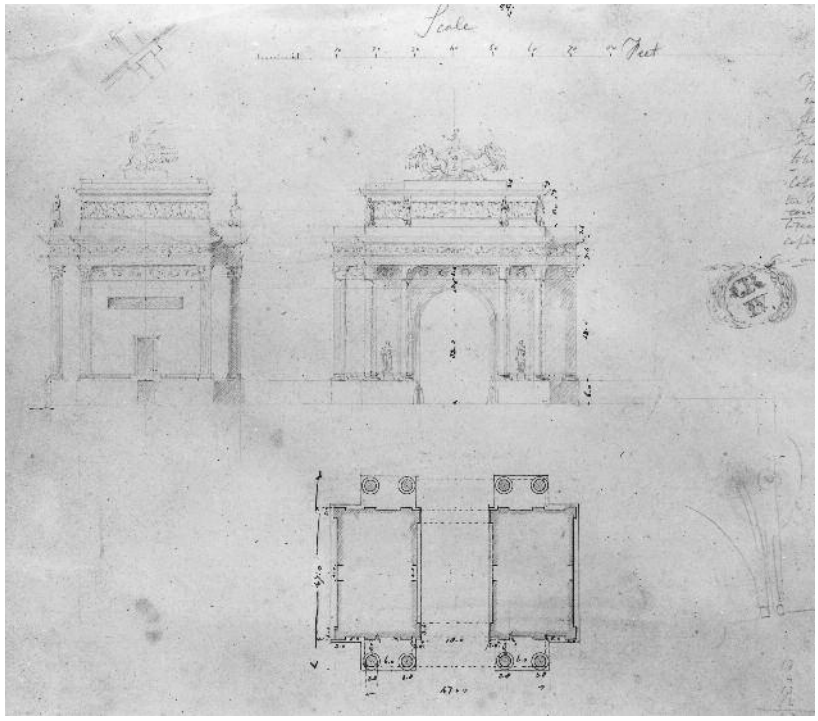


Fig. 27. Decimus Burton, sketch for the second design of the Green Park Arch, 1825. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

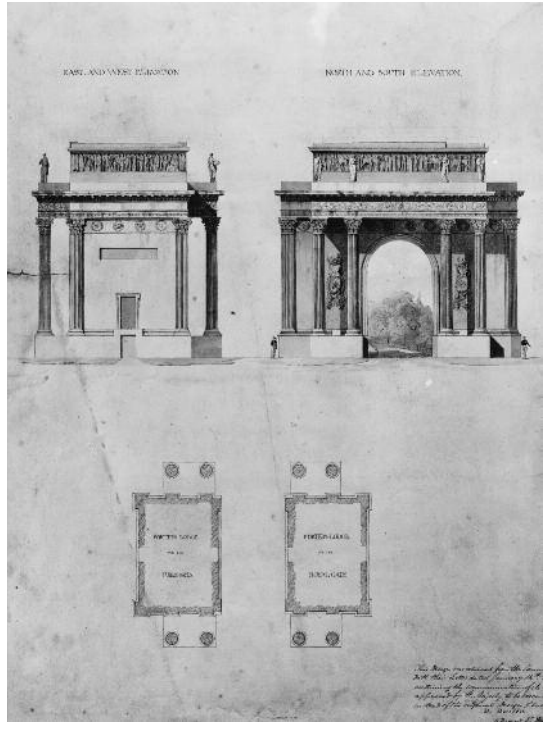


Fig. 28. Decimus Burton, second design for the Green Park Arch, 1825–6. *Victoria and Albert Museum*

Museum, is dated November 1825 (Fig. 28),[85] while the full-size moulding profiles which survive in the Public Record Office are dated January 1826 (Figs. 30 and 31).[86] Burton left the superb presentation watercolour perspective to the Royal Institute of British Architects (Fig. 29).[87] In January the designs were laid before the King. On 30 March 1826 an estimate of £18,891 6s for the Arch and its two lodges, not including sculptural decoration, was laid before the Treasury, receiving their sanction on 5th May.[88]

Thus far, the Green Park arch has been referred to as a new entrance to Buckingham Palace, but there is some ambiguity about this. Burton was questioned by a parliamentary committee on the Office of Works in May 1828. They asked him if the new arch was 'intended as an entrance to the King's Garden', and he replied that it was. The supplementary question was 'that design has been at present changed, has it not?' to which Burton replied:

> The original object of the design has, I have reason to believe, been frustrated, by causes unknown to me… [89]

In answer to a later question, about the road which the Arch was meant to lead to, Burton stated that:

> I was instructed to make a design for an Entrance to the King's Palace from Hyde Park, with a public Entrance to the Green Park. . . [90]

explaining that the arch itself was supposed to be the 'Royal Gate', while the 'eastern gate' led to Constitution Hill and the 'western gate' to Grosvenor Place. Burton stressed that if his Arch was turned from being an entrance to the palace to being an entrance to Constitution Hill, this would 'at once destroy the unity of my design'. This seems reasonably clear, but the previous month John Nash had been examined by the same committee, and given a flatly contradictory version:

> JN I never understood that the triumphal Arch was to have any thing to do with the garden.
>
> Q Does it not appear from the situation of it, that it could have reference to nothing else?
>
> JN By its position I should think so, but I know that it was never contemplated to use it as an entrance to the gardens, nor was it ever possible, for a carriage could not get from the garden to the front of the house, and there is not any entrance in the garden front, and if the Plan of the palace had been consulted, the impracticability would have been seen. . .
>
> Q Will not the position of that cistern (a pond to feed the St James' Park fountains) prevent a straight road being made from the Arch to the Palace?
>
> JN There is no entrance to the Palace on that side, nor ever was; it was never intended there should be an entrance there.
>
> Q By whose authority was that Arch ordered?
>
> JN I do not know.[91]

Somehow Nash's plans for Buckingham Palace, and Burton's plans for the screen and the supposed 'Entrance to the King's Palace' had failed to meet or co-ordinate, despite the involvement of (*inter alios*) the King, the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, the Office of Woods and Forests and Sir Charles Long.

Burton's executed design was for a grand single-opening arch (Fig. 42). He may have been inhibited from adopting the triple-opening formula of the Arch of Septimius Severus or the Arch of Constantine by the fact that Nash had already designed such an arch for Buckingham Palace. Whatever the reasons, he had taken the basic formula of his first design – a single arch with two columns on either side, and developed it, removing the low side pavilions, adding further pilasters to either side and increasing the scale. The order was changed from Ionic to the richer Corinthian.

The design does not have any direct ancient precedent. There were well-known ancient examples

Fig. 29. Decimus Burton, watercolour perspective of the Hyde Park Screen and the second design for the Green Park Arch, 1825–6. *Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection.*

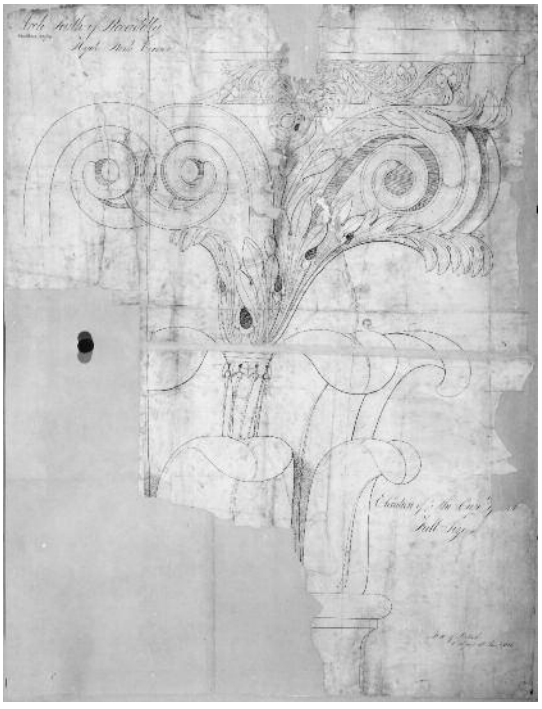


Fig. 30. Decimus Burton, second design for the Green Park Arch, full-size detail of a corinthian capital, 1826. *Public Record Office.*

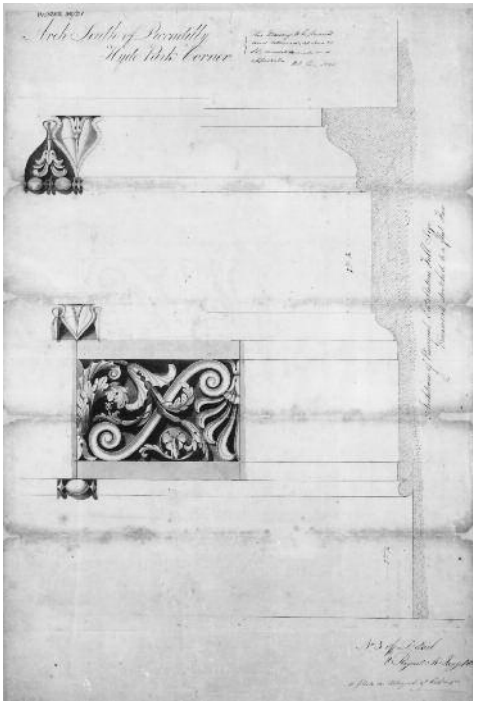


Fig 31. Decimus Burton, second design for the Green Park Arch, full-size detail of the architrave, 1826. *Public Record Office.*

of single arches with semi-columns to either side, such as the Arch of Titus at Rome (80AD),[92] or Trajan's arches at Ancona (114AD) and Benevento (AD117).[93] There were also ancient precedents for single arches with pairs of engaged columns to either side, as at Tebessa[94] or Djemila in North Africa.[95]

Burton's design has similarities to these and to two well-known English precedents, Hawksmoor's Woodstock Gate at Blenheim Palace (1722–3)[96] and Sir William Chambers's arch at Wilton House (1757–9).[97] Where Burton differs from these precedents, however, is in spanning the central opening as well as the two engaged columns with an unbroken entablature treated as a lintel; in all the older examples the entablature is set back to the plane of the arch in the middle, only stepping forward over the pairs of columns to either side. Burton was consciously departing from classical norms of design and construction; his central opening is about seven column-diameters wide, far more than the canonical two diameters prescribed for the Corinthian order by Vitruvius and Palladio.[98]

The ancient authorities prescribed intercolumniations of two diameters for aesthetic reasons, but also because of the difficulty they would have experienced in spanning significantly wider openings in stone. No construction drawings for the Arch survive, nor do the original documents refer to construction techniques. However, major structural repairs of the arch in 2000 showed that these broad openings are spanned with pairs of cast iron beams with wrought iron tensioning rods, the lintel blocks being suspended with iron rods. The arch was dismantled and reconstructed in 1883, but it seems certain that the original structural ironwork was then re-used.

Burton's designs for the Arch, then, could not have been executed in ancient times. His columns, mouldings and ornament are impeccably detailed (Figs. 30 and 31), but his approach to the classical orders here is essentially picturesque and visual; he was a Neoclassicist, not a Greek Revivalist. The screen uses the Greek Ionic order, but combines this with arches in a very unGreek way; Burton may have been thinking of notable recent buildings, such as Rousseau's Hotel de Salm in Paris (1782–4),[99] itself probably inspired by M–J Peyre's unexecuted design for the Hotel de Condé of 1763,[100] or Henry Holland's beautiful Ionic screen at Carlton House (1787–8).[101] The 1826 design for the Arch is Roman in its composition and in the richness of its ornament, but with a certain French accent, for instance in the use of relief sculpture and medallions high up under the entablature, which sat well with Nash's Francophile designs for Buckingham Palace.[102] Colvin says of him:

> His use of the orders is always correct, but he showed a lack of pedantry in their application that sets him apart from some of his more doctrinaire contemporaries such as Hamilton and Smirke. From Nash he had learned to combine the classical and the picturesque.[103]

The watercolour view of Arch and Screen in the Royal Institute of British Architects' Drawings Collection shows Burton's original design in all its richness (Fig. 29). Like Nash's Marble Arch, it was to have sculptural decoration celebrating Britain's victories over Napoleon. The Arch was to have tall panels carved with 'naval and military trophies' between the flanking columns, while above each column there was to be a statue of a guardsman. The attic was to be carved with a frieze, wrapped around all four sides, to match that over the centre of the Hyde Park Screen. Finally, atop the attic there was to be a figure driving a quadriga in gilt bronze. In the event, little of this rich decoration was carried out.

Ground was broken for the arch in 1826. Ground problems were soon encountered, and a terrace-wall was found to be needed immediately to its west at an additional cost of £2,244.[104] At this stage the estimated cost of construction was £20,885 15s 11d, with an additional £8,609 4s 8d for the sculpture.[105] The accounts for construction of the arch do not survive. In 1827–8 Burton designed a pair of gates for the

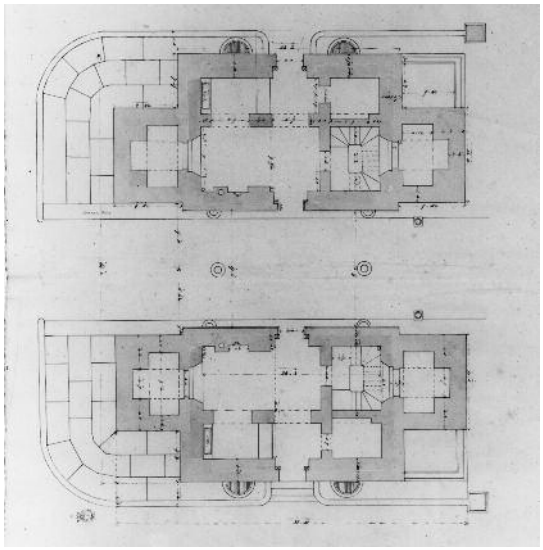


Fig. 32. Decimus Burton, second design for the Green Park Arch, 1825–6, ground floor plan. *The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.*

Fig. 33. Wellington Arch, view of the gates made by Bramah and Sons, 1828–9. *English Heritage.*

arch, which had not appeared in his original design. The celebrated founder and locksmith Joseph Bramah wrote to Burton on 14 July 1828 with an estimate of 1,700 guineas for the gates, and of 30 guineas each for the 'enriched copper lanthorns with ornamental brackets.'[106] Bramah and Company delivered the gates a year later, though in July 1829 the Treasury were making difficulties over paying their bill, as Burton had not secured their previous sanction for this additional cost. No direct reference to the gates' colour has been found, but in 1827 the *Mechanics Magazine* referred to the Hyde Park Screen gates as being bronzed, and it seems reasonable to think that Burton would have intended the gates of both arch and screen, which were immediately opposite each other, to be of the same colour.[107] They have recently been restored to this colour (Fig. 33).

By the spring of 1828 the carcass of the Arch must have been nearing completion, for on 2 April Burton wrote to the Office of Woods and Forests, urging that the sculptural decoration be 'executed forthwith', adding that money would be saved if the existing scaffolding could be used for that purpose. He therefore submitted

> The Drawings to a large scale of a portion of the Bas Reliefs on the die of the Pedestal at the top of the Building, of a similar character to that which has been executed on the facade opposite, and also Drawings of the Military and Naval trophies in Bas Relief upon the walls behind the columns. . .[108]

The cost of this was estimated at £5,965 (Fig. 28). Eight statues were to be placed 'on the blocking of the entablature, 'without which the Attic might certainly have a heavy appearance.' Burton made no headway, and in February 1829 he wrote to the Office of Woods and Forests to urge completion of the arch again.[109] On 18 April 1829 Burton wrote again, this time enclosing designs for the eight statues by Edward Hodges Baily, to be of Roche Abbey stone and eight feet high; Baily offered to execute them for £1,260.[110]

The Office of Woods and Forests does not seem to have regarded the matter with much urgency, for it was not until 3 December that they forwarded Burton and Baily's designs to the Treasury with the estimates given above.[111] On 19 January 1830 the Treasury replied, refusing to sanction this spending until the cost of building Buckingham Palace was over and done with.[112] With the death of George IV in June 1830, the chances of the Arch being completed receded appreciably.

William IV had little interest in completing Buckingham Palace or its outworks. At some point in 1830–1 he indicated that the new Arch at Hyde Park Corner should be made available as an entrance to the Green Park, indicating that he would give up part of the Palace's gardens for this purpose. In April 1831 Burton drew up three designs for landscaping the area, of which the Woods and Forests chose the cheapest.[113] In October 1831 he produced an estimate of £2,037 13s for forming a gravelled space on the west side of the arch relating to Grosvenor Place, enclosing it with iron railings, and forming a new road into Green Park.[114]

There matters lay, with Burton's triumphal arch incomplete, demoted from being an entrance to Buckingham Palace to being an entrance to Green Park (Fig. 34). Part of its problem was that it did not yet have a name, being variously referred to as the 'Royal Entrance at the top of Constitution Hill', 'Archway and lodges at Hyde Park Corner at the Entrance of St James Park' or the'New Entrance at Constitution Hill'. Its history closely paralleled that of Nash's Marble Arch in front of the Palace.[115] Both had been finished off without much of their intended ornament, and were left without advocates in the new reign. For the Marble Arch, the upshot was its removal to a new site in 1850. Burton's arch had a different fate in store. It might have lost its original logic as an entrance to Buckingham Palace, but before long an influential group of people resolved to foist a new purpose on it, as the national memorial to the greatest hero of the age, the first Duke of Wellington. The extraordinary story of the national memorials to Wellington has been ably told by John Physick,[116] and only a short summary is given here.[117]

In 1838, a 'Memorial Committee for the Wellington Testimonial' formed under the chairmanship of the 5th Duke of Rutland. The committee had 63 members, and it is not surprising that it was dominated by an inner clique of Rutland, Colonel Frederick Trench MP, John Wilson Croker MP, and the Marquess of Londonderry. This group had previously sponsored Trench's tract on urban improvement *The Thames Quay* (1824), for which they had commissioned drawings by Philip and Benjamin Wyatt. The group as a whole were staunch patrons of the Wyatt family, and they managed to engineer the selection of Philip and Benjamin Dean's brother Matthew Cotes Wyatt, as sculptor for the Wellington Memorial, against objections from others on the Committee.

Rutland, Croker, Trench and their sculptor had the idea of making the largest equestrian statue in the world, and placing this on top of Burton's Green Park Arch, on the grounds of its proximity to the Duke of Wellington's residence, Apsley House. Rutland privately approached Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, and through him obtained royal assent for this scheme, before almost anyone else knew about it. It was clear to most people from the outset that the proposed statue, 28 feet high, would be wholly disproportionate to Burton's arch, and as soon as the idea was known it attracted vehement criticism. However, Rutland and his colleagues refused to acknowledge any fault in their design, and

Fig. 34. Thomas Shotter Boys, Hyde Park Corner *c.*1840.
English Heritage.

pressed on regardless. From this there unfolded an extraordinary farce, which Physick has justly called the 'greatest sculptural fiasco of the 19th century.'

Matthew Cotes Wyatt worked on the giant figure for the next seven years. It was cast in bronze, weighed 40 tons, and cost over £30,000. In 1845, as it neared completion, the row broke out again with renewed vigour. Sir Robert Peel's government, sensing a public relations disaster, tried to persuade Rutland to compromise, offering him alternative sites in central London for the giant statue. He refused. The Memorial scheme was condemned by most of the press, and by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons. In highly confrontational circumstances, the government agreed to let the Memorial Committee erect the statue for a trial period. This was done in September 1846. The statue, Britain's public tribute to its greatest living hero, was unveiled to gales of hostile and derisive criticism (Figs. 35 and 36).

In November 1846 the government nerved itself to ask the Memorial Committee to take the statue down again. This triggered a further round of arguments, but the matter was settled by the intervention of the Duke of Wellington himself. He had hitherto

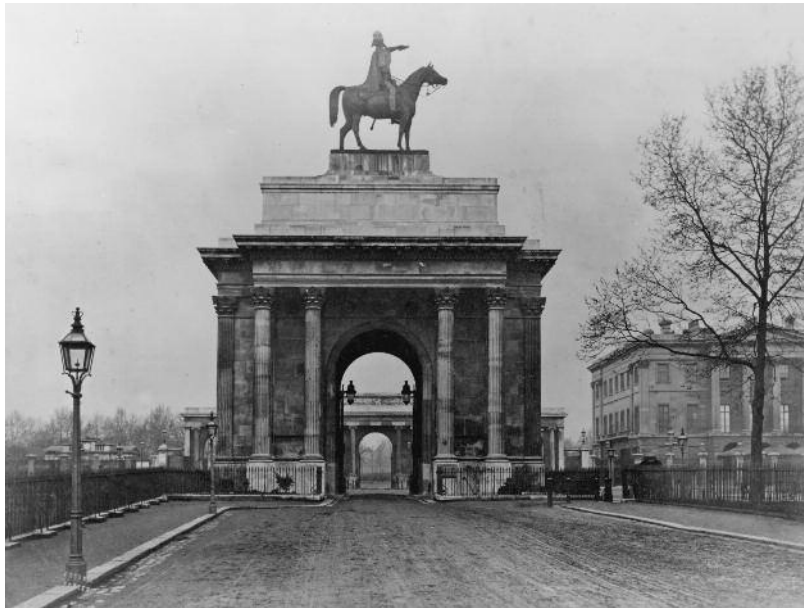


Fig. 35. Photograph of the Wellington Arch with the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, undated, *c.*1850–60`. *English Heritage*.

Fig. 36. Cartoon from *Punch*, 'The Proposed Statue of the Iron Duke', 1846.

maintained a dignified silence. Now he indicated that he would find the removal of his statue so clear a mark of royal disfavour that he would feel obliged to resign all of his official commissions. As these included Commander in Chief, Constable of the Tower of London, Master General of the Ordnance and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the government did not feel able to contemplate such an event with equanimity, and stepped down. The statue remained on Burton's Arch, despite the general view that it looked absurd.

Decimus Burton was dismayed by this extraordinary disruption of his design, and opposed it loudly, but in vain. He died just a couple of years too soon to see his wish realised and the Wellington statue removed. However, he would surely have viewed this with mixed emotions, for at the same time as the statue was removed the whole Arch was dismantled and rebuilt on its present site, sundering its original relationship with his Hyde Park Screen.

Hyde Park Corner had long been one of the worst traffic obstacles in London. The situation became much worse after the opening of Victoria Station in 1862, which had made Grosvenor Place an important north-south route.[118] A number of schemes for improvement were made; the Marquess of Westminster proposed a plan which took part of the park; the Gladstone government of 1868–74 considered the issue but did not do anything. In 1874 the incoming Disraeli government came up with a scheme based on a subway but 'insuperable objections' emerged. The third Gladstone government came to power in 1880 with the traffic at Hyde Park Corner worse than ever.[119]

The incoming First Commissioner of Works, Shaw Lefevre, supported a scheme from the Office of Works to create a new road cutting the corner between Piccadilly and Grosvenor Place, which would take land from Green Park and Buckingham Palace gardens. The proposal would involve dismantling the Arch and re-erecting it at the top of Constitution Hill. The idea apparently came from A.B.Freeman-Mitford, Permanent Secretary of the Office of Works and later 2nd Lord Redesdale. Its cost was estimated at £30,000, including the removal of the arch.[120] The scheme was debated in Parliament in August 1882, meeting with considerable opposition. *The Builder* was also opposed, remarking prophetically that:

> The matter seems to have been looked at entirely from the point of view of people in carriages. If this Government scheme is carried out, all the thousands of foot-passengers who daily traverse Piccadilly east and west will be put to inconvenience, delay and even danger, for perhaps generations to come.[121]

The journal had championed Burton's design at the time of the controversy of the Wellington statue, and now objected to the effect of removal on the Arch:

> What no one seems to realise is, that the arch will be shunted downhill, and that it will stand on the side of a slope with the ground higher on one side of it than on the other…. No one who understands the *motif* of Classic architecture can possibly doubt that the arch standing opposite to and parallel to the Hyde Park screen makes a far better grouping…[122]

In 1882 the Office of Works spent some time considering whether the Arch could be moved bodily, rather then dismantled and re-erected, and on 24 May they sought the engineer Sir John Fowler's views on this point.[123] He made enquiries, and on 19 August wrote to say that a contractor could be found to dismantle and re-erect the Arch for £10,000, but that he doubted whether it could be moved for this sum; the walls, though relatively thick, were cracked in places:

> …although in no danger the building is essentially weak for the purpose of bodily removal.[124]

The Office of Works proceeded to carry out a full survey of the building and set a provisional budget of £30,000 for the project, including £15,000 for dismantling and re-erecting the arch.[125] By October they had received a tender of £32,700 from John Mowlem & Co. This was rather more than their

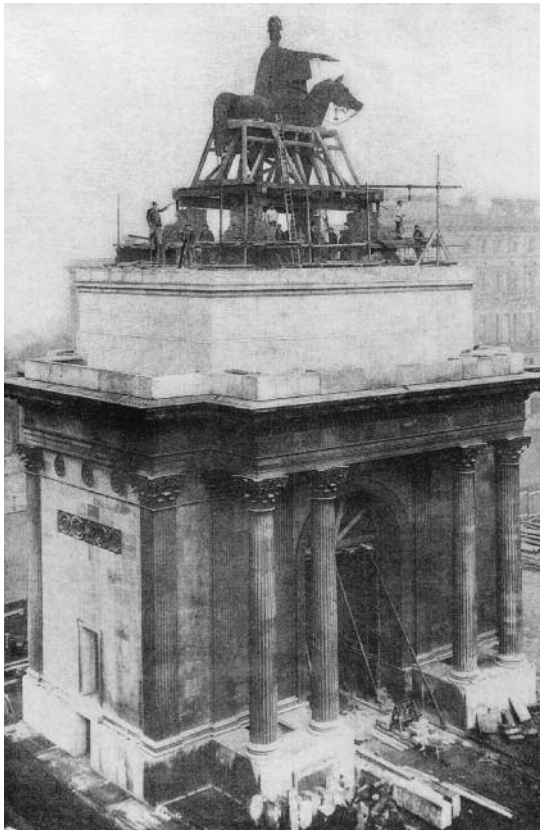


Fig. 37. The Wellington Arch , with the statue about to be lowered, photograph in *The Builder*, 1883. *English Heritage.*

budget, and Sir John Taylor, the Office of Works' chief architect, had to look for savings. He cut out a lot of the improvements to footways and some of the railings, and moved some items out of the project to be paid for separately; on the basis of the reduced brief, John Mowlem entered a revised tender of £24,291 on 18 October.[126]

The prospect of the Arch being moved re-opened the issue of the Wellington statue. Most of those who had been involved in the original saga were dead, but it continued to arouse strong feelings. In February 1883 the statue was taken down by Messrs John Mowlem & Co., the complex arrangements for lowering it being described and illustrated in *The Builder* (Fig. 37).[127] The soffit of the Arch and the structure above it was taken out, a framework of girders put in its place, and the statue lowered on hydraulic jacks through the middle of the arch, over a fortnight. By March the huge statue was on the ground, and the government appointed a committee chaired by the Prince of Wales, including Sir Frederic Leighton, the 2nd Duke of Wellington, Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild and A.B.Freeman-Mitford, to consider what to do with it and with the Arch.[128]

Initially the Committee suggested sites on the edge of Horse Guards or opposite Apsley House, and a wooden model of the statue was tried out in the former position, but neither of these met with public approval. Eventually, the Committee decided that London could not accommodate this colossus, and advocated that it be melted down and a smaller statue made for Hyde Park Corner.[129]

At this point the army objected. Officers had contributed greatly to the original appeal, and in military circles it was felt that if no-one else wanted the statue, they should have it. On 8 April 1884 the Committee presented their recommendations. The giant statue of Wellington should go to Aldershot. A new and more moderately sized statue of the Iron Duke should be made by Mr Boehm for the new place at Hyde Park Corner, which was to be laid out to designs by Mr J. Fergusson. The arch should be completed 'as originally designed by Mr Decimus Burton, with an enrichment of the bas-reliefs and sculpture, according to the original model and drawing lent by the RIBA.' The arch should also be given a Quadriga, and there should be a limited competition to choose a sculptor for this. These eminently sensible ideas were accepted by the Board of Works, though without any guarantees of funding.[130] On 19 May 1884 the colossal statue was

Fig. 38. The Wellington Arch, shortly after rebuilding looking down Constitution Hill, undated, c. 1890. *English Heritage.*

handed over to the army, and in August 1885 the Prince of Wales unveiled it on its new site near the Garrison Church at Aldershot. There it remains.

The dismantling of the arch followed on the lowering of the statue. Frustratingly, the PRO file does not contain contract documents or specifications relating to the rebuilding of the Arch, only references to the contract payments to John Mowlem & Co. Lefevre was criticised when it became clear that the new site sloped, and that as a result one 'leg' of the arch (the western one) would have to be higher than the other.[131] The rebuilt arch continued to have usable accommodation, exactly as before, the southern pier being a park-keeper's residence, and the northern pier a police-station. No detailed documentation about its use as a police station has been found; the first reference found is to a telegraph line being laid in 1886 (Fig. 38).[132]

In April 1884, the Prince of Wales's Committee had recommended that Joseph Boehm be commissioned to execute a new equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington. This was done, and Boehm produced the present monument which stands at Hyde Park Corner facing Apsley House, about 50 yards from the Arch. It was unveiled in 1888.[133]

In 1887 there were questions in Parliament about the status and use of Constitution Hill. The Office of Works replied that it was a private royal road and

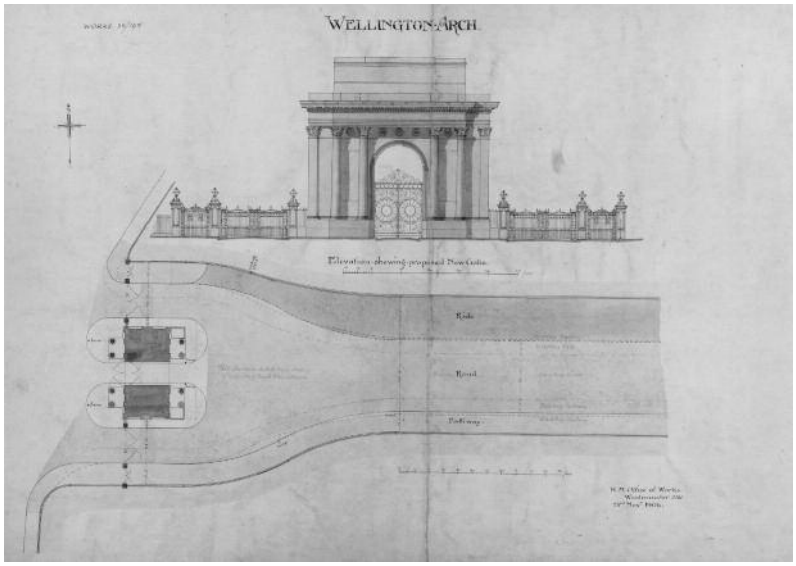


Fig. 39. H.M. Office of Works, unexecuted design for gates to flank the Wellington Arch, 1906. *Public Record Office.*

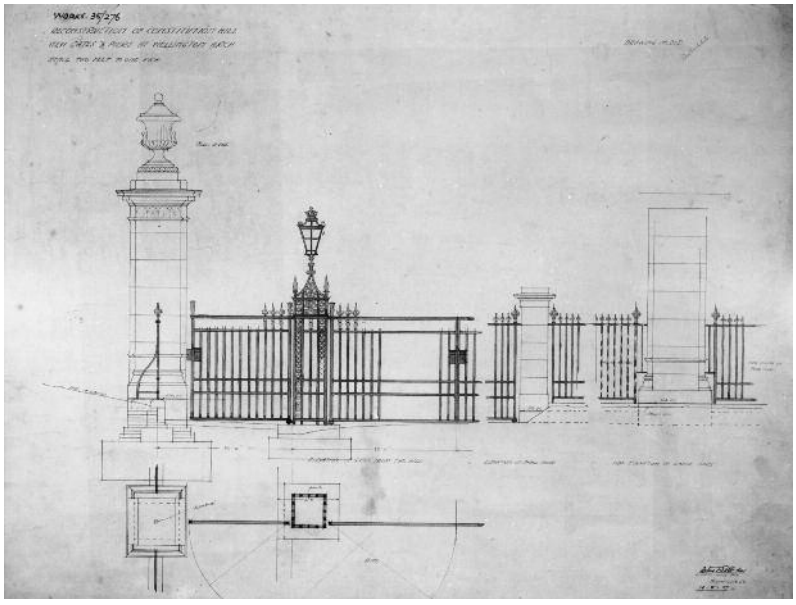


Fig. 40. Aston Webb, design for gates to flank the Wellington Arch, 1907. *Public Record Office.*

part of the Green Park, but that it had been opened to the public by George IV *c.*1827.[134] In May 1889 the Office advised Queen Victoria to open Constitution Hill for light traffic, which produced a need for new gates.[135] In July 1889 the Office of Works commissioned new railings and gates flanking the Arch, and these were installed at a cost of £998.[136] The following year Queen Victoria agreed 'as an experiment' to allow Constitution Hill to remain open while she was in residence at Buckingham Palace.[137] The volume of traffic increased, giving rise to a call for the road to be widened in 1895, but nothing was done.[138]

The Arch was athwart a major processional route, and this raised a number of managerial issues. In 1901 the Office of Works installed a low vehicle barrier on the north side, which is still in place.[139] It was discovered that the gatekeeper had been charging members of the public for access to the roof to watch royal processions; this was firmly prohibited.[140]

In 1904 the subject of improving Constitution Hill was raised again, this time with proposals that it should be paved with wood, presumably for acoustic reasons, and lit with electricity.[141] This time the subject arose because of the ambitious Victoria Memorial scheme, to improve the Mall and the setting of Buckingham Palace. The Victoria Memorial competition was won by Aston Webb, whose design included a grand archway linking the Mall through to Charing Cross and Trafalgar Square (Admiralty Arch).[142] The Victoria Memorial subcommittee and the Office of Works realised that this would greatly increase the volume of traffic coming up the Mall and Constitution Hill, with a resulting impact on the Arch and its flanking gates.[143]

In 1906 the Office of Works commissioned designs for new gates from their in-house architects (Fig. 39).[144] In the event, however, Sir Aston Webb was asked for designs: on 13 September 1907 the Office explained to the Treasury:

> It is essential that the alterations, though intended primarily to facilitate the passage of the increased traffic which will result from the opening of the Mall into Charing Cross, should be in harmony with the general scheme for the Queen Victoria memorial. The Board, therefore, requested Sir Aston Webb RA to prepare designs for the gates in accordance with this scheme, and have authorized him to accept tenders for the work, amounting in all to £2,310.[145]

Webb designed grand new gatepiers in a baroque manner with urn finials, in Portland Stone, framing the Arch and the gates to either side of it, similar to the ones he designed for the Mall (Fig. 40). New railings were to extend down Constitution Hill, with further piers and gates.[146] The work of widening Constitution Hill, paving it with wood blocks, giving it electric arc-lighting, and building new piers, gates and railings, was carried out in 1907–8 at a cost of around £20,000.[147] The Arch was thus given a handsome and appropriate architectural framework which emphasised its role as an entrance to Buckingham Palace, and related it to Webb's splendid new ceremonial landscape (Fig. 41).

In 1912, the Arch was adorned with the spectacular Quadriga sculpture by Captain Adrian Jones (1845–1938). Its complex history is the subject of a forthcoming article by the present author in *The Sculpture Journal*,[148] and only a brief summary is given here. In 1891, the Prince of Wales had attended a Royal Academy banquet, where he saw a spirited sculptural group representing an angel of Peace, descending on quadriga drawn by four wildly rearing horses. It was by Captain Adrian Jones, who in 1889 had retired from the army after 23 years of service as a veterinary officer in the cavalry. The Prince remembered Burton's incomplete arch, and thought that a larger version of Jones' quadriga would be the ideal ornament for it.[149] It took a long time to carry this idea into execution, but eventually a donor was found in the 1st Lord Michelham of Hellingley, Jones made the giant sculpture 1907–11, and it was erected on the arch in January 1912.[150] The Quadriga, one of the most spectacular pieces of public sculpture in Britain, transforms the effect of Burton's arch (Fig. 42).

The Arch's history up to and after the Second

Fig. 41. The Wellington Arch, crowned by Adrian Jones' 'Quadriga of Peace' and flanked by Sir Aston Webb's gatepiers, undated photograph, *c.* 1930. *English Heritage*.

World War was relatively uneventful. The southern pier was a park-keeper's residence until 1937, when it was condemned as unfit for habitation on the grounds of its dampness and closed.[151] The northern side continued to serve as a police station with a normal strength of 18 officers. In 1939 minor precautions were taken against bomb-damage, and an air-raid siren was erected on the roof.[152]

Hyde Park Corner continued to have serious traffic problems – in the 1930s it was the busiest traffic junction in London, with traffic volume rising by 125 per cent over the period 1919–37. In 1937 Sir Charles Bressey, engineer to the Highway Development Survey produced proposals for road improvements, in effect to create a huge roundabout. Sir Edwin Lutyens, architectural consultant to the Survey, worked these up into a formal scheme, and a model was exhibited at the Royal Academy in summer 1937.[153] Bressey and Lutyens proposed to reshape Hyde Park Corner as a traffic roundabout, but conceived as a formal square. They would make up for the lack of formal definition on the south and east sides by creating a great rectangular terrace enclosed by balustrades, looking southwards over steps and fountains. The statues were to be re-arranged and added to, in a formal layout. The Arch, off to the south-east, could not be axially aligned with this, but would still have read as a gateway to it. The

Fig. 42. The Wellington Arch, 2001. *English Heritage.*

model was an inspired demonstration of how urban dignity and formality might be conjured out of the most irregular elements. None of this was ever executed, presumably because of the Second World War; the Corner's traffic problems remained unaddressed.

By the 1950s the problem was worse. Lutyens and the Beaux-Arts tradition of grand planning were dead, and when the London County Council resumed their consideration of the problem, their approach was very different. In 1951 they brought forward proposals for making a giant roundabout at Hyde Park Corner, and making Park Lane a one-way street.[154] The scheme grew in planning and in November 1957 the LCC approved designs for widening Park Lane, constructing large roundabouts at both Marble Arch and Hyde Park Corner, and making an underpass beneath the latter to link Knightsbridge and Piccadilly. The scheme was amended by the Ministry of Transport and published in Feburary 1958, while the Park Lane Improvement Bill was before Parliament.[155]

Clearly, the scheme would have drastic implications for the townscape. *The Contract Journal* remarked that because of the need for economy the layout had been kept as simple as possible, and that the intention was:

> to continue the effect of parkland between Green Park and Hyde Park by creating one large grassed island. The processional route will cross this large island through the Wellington Arch, which will be in the centre of the island.[156]

The work required the Queen to give up part of the far end of Buckingham Palace's garden. The LCC Architects' Department's response was a far cry from Lutyens' formalism. As *Country Life* put it, welcoming the scheme:

> (the grassed island) at Hyde Park Corner will restore the historic connection between Hyde and Green Parks. . . In appraising the visual, as apart from the traffic, aspects created, it should be recognised that anything in the nature of symmetry is not only impossible here but largely alien both to the English genius and the mechanics of circulation. They must, therefore, be in the nature of picturesque landscape, though with certain formal relationships.[157]

The enormous works took over three years, and the new Hyde Park Corner underpass was opened by the Duke of Wellington in October 1962.[158] The scheme had serious consequences for the Arch, the southern pier of which was adapted as a ventilation shaft for the new underpass. The work left the southern staircase intact, but took all of the other rooms, knocking out their floors and lining them to make a single huge shaft, venting through the south side of the roof. A plant room was built beneath the traffic island immediately north of the Arch to house the ventilation machinery.[159]

In retrospect, it is hard to agree with *Country Life*'s verdict that the traffic island 'restores the historic connection between Hyde and Green parks,' and harder still to see the outcome as an architectural success. Stripped of Aston Webb's piers and railings, the Wellington Arch floats without much apparent context, aligned with Constitution Hill but isolated from it by the ceaseless torrent of traffic.

The arch continued to be a police station until the mid 1970s. In 1952 it was said to be the smallest police station in London, with a full-time staff of 10 constables, 2 sergeants and a cat.[160] Minor repairs were carried out; in 1955 the stone garlands in front of the windows on the south side were found to be broken and loose, and were replaced.[161] The Quadriga's condition was also causing concern, and in the same year the Ministry had temporary supports installed.[162] In December 1956 elements of the original steel framing which had corroded were cut out and replaced, and by February 1957 the repairs were complete, and the Quadriga cleaned.[163] The Arch was vacated by the Police in the 1970s and lay empty and derelict until very recently. In 1999, English Heritage assumed responsibility for the Wellington Arch. A major programme of

conservation and repair has been carried out, the interior has been adapted for public access, and the arch is now open to the public for the first time.

The history of the Wellington Arch and Hyde Park Corner, like the related history of the Marble Arch, is a catalogue of ambitious designs and compromised outcomes. It sheds a lot of light on English attitudes to urban design. Many people in Georgian England wished to give London a grand ceremonial entrance, like the Brandenburg Gate or the Arc de Triomphe. This aim was frustrated by George IV's disjointed approach to architectural patronage in conjunction with the government's desire for economy. A more limited vision was substituted, in which the Hyde Park Screen, the Green Park Arch and the Marble Arch formed a picturesque processional route to Buckingham Palace. In the event, the project descended into controversy and fiasco, and both arches were arbitrarily finished off without most of their intended ornament. The Green Park arch was then embroiled in the extraordinary farce of the Wellington memorial, though today it bears no trace of this episode other than the famous name. Even the name is ambiguous: is this a monument to the Duke of Wellington? His name does not appear anywhere on it, and Lord Michelham's plaque describes the Quadriga as a memorial to Edward VII.

The Wellington Arch, like the Marble Arch, was moved from its original site. Burton's original design, relating the arch to the screen, was ruptured. Intentions to complete Burton's design were expressed, but came to nothing. Instead the Arch was crowned with Jones' Quadriga, a masterpiece which is one of our greatest pieces of public sculpture, though it is certainly not what Burton had envisaged. In 1907 the Arch received a handsome and appropriate architectural framework, in the form of Aston Webb's gatepiers and railings. In the 1950s this was destroyed again. Hyde Park Corner has been notorious for traffic-jams ever since the Arch was built, and the Arch's present position, held captive and isolated by the traffic, is a vivid illustration of how urban design is commonly sacrificed to highway engineering.

The Wellington Arch is one of London's most handsome and distinctive monuments, but its chaotic history is a vivid example of English weakness where coherent public patronage is concerned, and the difficult predicament of the public architect or artist which is often the result. It is to be hoped that its recent restoration and opening to the public will restore it to public esteem, and do some justice to its principal creators, Decimus Burton and Adrian Jones.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1 Andrew Saint, 'The Marble Arch, *The Georgian Group Journal*, VII, 1997, 77.
2 Michel Gallet, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*, Paris, 1980, 151.
3 *Ibid.*, 151–86.
4 Jane Shoaf Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, London, 1999, XXVII, 481–2.
5 *Ibid.,* III, 791–2.
6 *Ibid.,* IV, 598–9.
7 Kerry Downes, *The Architecture of Wren*, London, 1982, 124, n.143.
8 Historic Manuscript Commission (HMC), *Portland Papers*, X, London, 1931, 148–50.
9 Giacomo Leoni (ed.), L.B. Alberti, *Ten Books of Architecture and On Painting*, London, 1926, supplement at end, with several of Leoni's own designs.
10 *Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford, 1917, XVIII, 901–6.
11 E. Ffooks, 'The Kensington Turnpike Trust', in *The Annual Report of the Kensington Society 1969–70*, 34–45. Richard Hewlings brought the Kensington Turnpike Trust, its archive and this article to my attention. For a general consideration of the subject, see M. Searle, *Turnpikes and Tollbars*, 2 vols, undated (*c.*1920s), I, 203–8.
12 Richard Hewlings informed me of the existence of this drawing. Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 831. Robinson was the son of Sir Thomas Robinson, the 1st Lord Grantham. He is not to be confused with that other, rather better-known architectural *amateur*, Sir Thomas Robinson of Rokeby, architect of Rokeby Hall and the west wing of Castle Howard, and sometime governor of Barbados.
13 *Idem.* Leeds, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Newby Hall Archive. The drawings seem not to be numbered. A photograph of the drawing is held by the English Heritage National Monument Record, negative BB87/159.
14 *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 1917, XVII, 51–2.
15 Colvin, *op cit.,* 831.
16 *Idem.* 440–1.
17 John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved,* London, 1766, 87.
18 Colvin, *op cit.,* 440.
19 Sir John Soane's Museum (henceforth Soane Museum), drawings by Robert Adam, vol 28, 4–9; vol 51, 77–82.
20 Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings (hereafter V&A), 3327, published in Alistair Rowan, *Catalogue of Architectural Drawings by Robert Adam in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1988, cat. 69, pp. 56–8.
21 British Library, Department of Maps, K.Top. XVII, 26A–C. The drawings are neither labelled nor signed, though they are accompanied by two specification documents. They are not indexed as by Adam, and seem never to have been noticed by Adam scholars before.
22 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 28, 9.
23 British Library, Department of Maps, K. Top XXVII, 26A.
24 V&A, 3327.
25 British Library, Department of Maps, K. Top, XXVII – 26C.2.
26 British Library, Department of Maps, K.Top, XXVII, 26-b-2.
27 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 51, 79.
28 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 51, 78.
29 David King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam*, Oxford, 1991, 35, 355–6.
30 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 51, 77.
31 D. King, *op. cit.*, 330.
32 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 28, 4.
33 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 28, 5.
34 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 51, 80.
35 Soane Museum, Adam drawings, vol 28, 6–7.
36 British Library, Department of Maps, K. Top, XXVII, 26.C1.
37 Ibid, XXVII, 26.B1.
38 The site of the gateway and screens is, and was, on Crown land. No reference to these designs could be found in the letter books or minutes of the Office of Works for 1777–78. The commission could have come from the Surveyor of Woods and Forests, but none of the Surveyor's records survive for the relevant years. The fact that three of the drawings are in the 'King's Topographical' section of the British Library's Department of Maps suggests a royal connection, but this is not proven. Alistair Rowan has suggested that Earl Bathurst, then Lord Chancellor, helped to secure a commission for the designs, pointing out that Adam was remodelling

the adjacent Apsley House for him [loc cit]. A final possibility is that they were commissioned by the Kensington Turnpike Trust who would have used the buildings, which were designed to incorporate a weigh-house and toll-gatherer's lodge. This seems a remoter likelihood: when the Trust came to remodel the turnpike gates and lodges in 1791, they were clearly thinking on an altogether more modest scale, and it is hard to envisage how they could have funded any of Adam's designs.

39 Colvin, *op cit.*, 433, entry on Groves' son John Thomas Groves (*c.*1761–1811).

40 Kensington Library, papers of the Kensington Turnpike Trust, MS58/7014, Minute Book of the Board of Trustees 1788–94, rough copy, unpaginated, 3.i.1791.

41 *Ibid.*, 7.ii.1791.

42 Colvin, *op cit.*, 433.

43 J. Mordaunt Crook and M.H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, VI, 1782–1851, London, 1973, 59, 67–71.

44 Kensington Library, papers of the Kensington Turnpike Trust, MS 58/7104, Minute Book of the Board of Trustees, 21.iii.1791.

45 Ibid., 2.v.1791, 5.v.1791, 6.vi.1791.

46 Kensington Library, MS 58/704, Kensington Turnpike Trust Treasurer's Accounts, 1772–1806, contain several references to payments to King and Short totalling £400: ff. 58 (2.vii.1791, 15.viii.1791), 59 (3.x.1791), 60 (2.iv.1792), 61 (5.v.1792, 6.viii.1792).

47 Searle, *op cit.*., I, 205, quotes the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 10.xi. 1791: 'I was led to this reflexion [on the improvement in turnpike roads] by observing the beautiful toll-gate lately erected at Hyde Park Corner, which struck me so forcibly that I requested an ingenious young friend to make a drawing of it for your wide-circulated publication.' Searle also quotes G.M. Woodward, *Eccentric Excursions* (1807), 21: 'At Hyde Park Corner the new gate houses have a pleasing effect: it is much to be regretted that similar plans are not put into execution at some of the principal towns in England…'

48 Dorothy Stroud, *Henry Holland: his life and architecture*, London, 1966, 134. Miss Stroud does not seem to have had documentary evidence for the attribution, which seems to have been made on stylistic grounds. It seems that Holland's father was a trustee of the Kensington Turnpike Trust at the time, and this might possibly have had a bearing on her view.

49 Soane Museum, paintings 18/2/3 and 4. On Underwood, see Colvin, *op cit.*, 1000.

50 D. Watkin, ed., *Sir John Soane – Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, Cambridge, 1996, 344, lecture V.

51 Soane Museum, unpublished manuscript volume of 'Royal Institution Lectures', 1820, Vol II, lecture 4, p. 65.

52 British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, 198/DE15/129 and 17/132. The design is illustrated in Derek Linstrum, *Sir Jeffry Wyatville*, Oxford 1972, 241–2.

53 Soane Museum, painting P412. The painting bears a legend stating that Robinson commissioned the design, and is dated July 1796. Soane, in his privately published *Designs for Public and Private Buildings*, 182x, included a perspective drawing of one of the park gates from this scheme, labelled a 'design for an entrance from Piccadilly into Hyde Park.' The accompanying text reads: 'During the time I was honoured with the situation of architect for New Buildings in the Royal Woods, Parks and forests, by command of H.M. King George III, I made a design for an Entrance Lodge into Hyde Park from Piccadilly, surmounted with an Equestrian Statue of his late Majesty, then Prince of Wales.'

54 Colvin, *op cit.*, 905.

55 *Ibid.*, 907.

56 *Ibid.,* 587.

57 British Library, Department of Maps, Kings Topographical Collection, XXVII, 27–1.

58 *Parliamentary Debates from the year 1803 to the Present Time*, XXXI, May–July 1815, col. 1049.

59 *Parliamentary Debates*, XXXII, February–March 1816, col. 311.

60 *Parliamentary Debates*, XXXIV, April–July 1816, col. 102.

61 *Ibid.*, col. 1108.

62 *Ibid.*, col. 1264.

63 Soane Museum, P85, the large watercolour, probably by J.M. Gandy, is labelled and dated 1817. See also Pierre de la Ruffinière du Pré, *Sir John Soane, Catalogue of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1985, 82, catalogue numbers 272–6 are sketches relating to this design.

64 Soane Museum, P83. A number of alternative versions of this exist: du Pré, *op cit.*, catalogue No. 277 is another large watercolour perspective by J.M. Gandy, while catalogue numbers 278–81 are

drawings of details for this design. Another watercolour perspective of this design, on three sheets, is in the Yale Centre for the Study of British Art, New Haven, Connecticut, B1975.2.605. .

65 Sean Sawyer, 'Sir John Soane's Symbolic Westminster: The Apotheosis of George IV', in *Architectural History*, XXXIX, 1996, 54–76; Sean Sawyer, 'The Processional Route', in Margaret Richardson & Mary-Anne.Stevens, *John Soane, Architect*, London 1999 (exhibition catalogue), 252–63.

66 *Dictionary of National Biography, cit.,* XII, 99–100.

67 British Library, T.1097 (16), London, 1825. Another possibility is that the letter was written by, or with the involvement of, King George IV himself.

68 British Library, G.3716.

69 John Bold, *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, 107–25.

70 Frederick Trench, *The Thames Quay*, London, 1824.

71 British Library, T.1097, p. 15ff. This tract proposed that the king pay for a new palace by selling Buckingham House, Carlton House, St James' Palace, Hampton Court, and the royal property at Richmond and Kew, retaining Windsor as 'the proud country seat of our kings.' This idiosyncratic plan, around a courtyard, is of some quality, but has so many irregularities that it seems certain to be by an amateur. The king's private quarters include three linked rooms with canted bay windows, a plan form which George IV particularly liked; linked rooms of this kind were included in Carlton House and Windsor Castle. This rather suggests that the author was familiar with the king, or at any rate with his preferences. This might point to Sir Charles Long again, but the tract includes some fairly disparaging remarks about Buckingham House, whose renovation Long was also involved in. The issue of authorship is unresolved.

72 British Library, P.P. 3557.w.

73 British Library, T.1097 (17).

74 *The Mechanic's Magazine*, VIII, 18.viii.1827, 66–8.

75 *Report from the Select Committee on the Office of Works, British Parliamentary Papers, 1828* (henceforth *1828 Report*), 446, IV. Charles Arbuthnot was examined by this committee on 20 May 1828, and asked how he had come to employ Burton at the Royal Parks. Arbuthnot replied that he had not been aware of Burton's existence until he had been impressed by a number of new buildings in Regents' Park, and enquired after their designer: *Ibid.*,123.

76 Colvin, *op cit.*, 194–9.

77 *1828 Report, op cit.*, 131.

78 *Dictionary of National Biography*, *cit.*, XVII, 7.

79 Public Record Office, hereafter PRO, WORK 20/4/1, No. 2, Memorandum on the Archway & Lodges at Hyde Park Corner at the entrance of St James' Park.

80 PRO, WORK 35/6 is Burton's sketch elevation for this scheme.

81 V&A, E2334–1910, A149a is Burton's coloured elevation for the entrance to Green Park, while D1299–1907 is his coloured elevation for the Hyde Park Screen.

82 PRO, WORK 35/3, Basement and ground floor plan; 4, chamber and attic storey plan; 5, cross-section; 6, elevation; 7, side elevation; 8, detail of impost moulding; 12, section showing coffering of arch; 14, base moulding of the attic; and 26, flower ornament under the arch.

83 PRO, WORK 20/4/1, No.2.

84 *Idem.*

85 V&A, E2334–1910.

86 PRO, WORK 35/9, half plan showing the setting out of the modillion brackets; 10, section through the portico with a reflected ceiling plan; 11, detail of the entablature; 13, section through the cornice; 15, detail of the leaves and abaci of the capitals; 16, half-elevation of a capital; 17, vertical section of a capital; 18, section of the coffering; 19, details of three different designs for rosettes in the coffering; 20, main column bases; 21, architrave of the principal entablature; 22, architrave of the arch, and of the windows, base moulding and top cornice of the attic; 24, modillion brackets; 25, plan of a capital; 28, filigree panel on the side of the arch – not full-size.

87 Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection. Burton bequeathed the watercolour to the RIBA, together with his model for the arch; the RIBA appear to have disposed of the model in the 1920s, and it is almost certainly lost: information from Mr Charles Hind, RIBA Drawings Collection.

88 PRO, WORK 20/4/1, No. 2.

89 *1828 Report, op cit.,* 131ff.

90 *Idem.*

91 *Ibid.*,51ff.

92 A summary history of Roman triumphal arches is given in W.J.Anderson & R. Phené Spiers, *The Architecture of Ancient Rome*, revised by T. Ashby, London, 1927, 114–23.

93 *Ibid.*, 117; J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture,* London 1971, rep. 1981, 179–81.
94 The Arch of Caracalla at Tebessa is of this general character but is quadrifrontal, Anderson and Spiers, *op cit.*., plate liv.
95 Ward-Perkins, *op cit.*, 401.
96 K. Downes, *Hawksmoor*, 2nd edition, London, 1979, 205.
97 J. Harris, *Sir William Chambers*, London, 1970, 41, pl. 47.
98 Andrea Palladio, edited by I. Ware, *Four Books of Architecture*, London, 1738, plate 21.
99 Allan Braham, *French Architecture of the Enlightenment*, London, 1980, 229–30.
100 *Idem.*, 86–7.
101 Stroud, *op cit.*, 71, 73.
102 The French quality of Nash's design is noted by Michael Port in *The History of the King's Works*, VI, 265.
103 Colvin, *op cit.*, 195.
104 PRO, WORK 20 4/1, No. 2.
105 *Ibid.*
106 PRO ,WORK 20/4/1, No. 1.
107 *The Mechanic's Magazine*, VIII, 18 August.1827, 66–8.
108 PRO, WORK, 20/4/1, No. 12.
109 *Ibid.*, No. 14.
110 *Ibid.*, No. 13; WORK, 20/4/2.
111 WORK, 20/4/1, No. 14.
112 *Ibid.*, No. 15.
113 *Ibid.*, No. 18.
114 *Ibid.*, No. 25.
115 Saint, *op cit*.
116 John Physick, *The Wellington Memorial*, London 1970, 2–18. The bulk of Mr Physick's book is concerned with Alfred Stevens' memorial in St Paul's Cathedral. See also J. Mordaunt Crook and M.H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, VI, London, 1973, 494–5; J.C. Darracott, 'The Wellington Statue', *Country Life*, CXV, 13 May 1954, 1504–5; John Physick, 'The Banishment of the Bronze Duke', *Country Life*, CXL, 27 October 1966, 1076–7.
117 This brief account is derived from Mr Physick's book, with reference to Public Record Office file WORK, 20/4/2.
118 Michael Port, *Imperial London, cit*, New Haven and London, 1995, 20. Michael Port, 'Hyde Park Corner: Resolving a Nineteenth-century Traffic Block', in *The London Topographical Society Record*, 2001 (forthcoming).
119 Port, *Imperial London, cit.,* 20–1.
120 PRO, WORK 16/34, memorandum from Shaw Lefevre to the Treasury, 13 March 1882, estimating the cost of the work at £30,000.
121 *The Builder*, 19 August 1882, *Ibid.,* 234.
122 *Idem.*
123 PRO, WORK 20/4/3.
124 *Idem.*
125 PRO, WORK 35/181–90 are the survey drawings produced by the Office of Works in 1882 (plans of the basement, ground floor, 1st, 2nd and 3rd floors and roof, with two cross sections, and elevations of the E and W fronts, and N and S fronts. The estimate is given in a letter from Taylor to Fowler, in the same file.
126 PRO, WORK 16/374.
127 *The Builder*, 27 January 1883, 122; 10 February 1883, 187.
128 PRO, WORK 16/374, *Report of a Committee appointed by HRH the Prince of Wales on the decoration of the New Place at Hyde Park Corner*, April 1884 (henceforth '*1884 Report*'). The committee consisted of the Prince of Wales, Sir Thomas Brassey, Lord de l'Isle and Dudley, Mr J.Fergusson, Viscount Hardinge, Sir Frederic Leighton, A.B. Freeman-Mitford, Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Richard Wallace.
129 *Idem.*
130 *Idem.*
131 Port, *Imperial London, op cit.*, 21.
132 PRO, WORK 16/340 contains a police request dated 20 February 1886 for a telegraph line to be laid to 'the police lodge at the Wellington Arch.'
133 John Blackwood, *London's Immortals*, London, 1989, 248–9.
134 PRO, WORK 16/316, file note dated 28 March 1889.
135 *Ibid.*, note dated 24 May 1889.
136 *Ibid.*, memorandum dated 25 July 1889. The total estimate including some repaving was £1855 18s.
137 *Ibid.*
138 *Ibid.,*. Sir John Wolfe Barry wrote to Herbert Gladstone at the Office of Works on 20.v.1895 suggesting that Constitution Hill be widened by adding to it the riding path in Green Park. The Office advised against this on the grounds that if the hill were widened it would no longer be centred on the arch.
139 PRO, WORK 20/78, note dated 15 March1901 concerning the need for a barrier, asking a Mr

Browne of the Office of Works to provide a design. There are two alternative sketches in the file, with an instruction to 'carry out Number 1 at once.' This is the existing barrier.

140 *Ibid.*.

141 PRO, WORK 16/316. A scheme for installing 21 arc lamps was proposed in 1904 and costed at £2,200.

142 PRO, WORK 20/20 contains a long printed memorandum dated March 1911 summarising the history of the Victoria Memorial scheme; Webb's winning design was published in *The Builder*, 2 November 1901, 388–9.

143 PRO, WORK 16/316.

144 PRO, WORK 35/195. There are several related designs for gates in PRO, WORK 35/273–81.

145 PRO, WORK 16/316.

146 *Idem.* Webb's specification is dated August 1907, and includes 4 large and 6 small masonry piers and urns in best Whitbed Portland stone, the carving to be by Mr W.S. Frith. Webb economised by re-using the old (1889) gates. PRO, WORK 35/272 and 274 are copies of Webb's plan for the new piers and railings, WORK 35/276 is an elevation, signed by Webb and dated 19 September 1907.

147 PRO, WORK 16/316.

148 Steven Brindle, *Adrian Jones and the Wellington Arch Quadriga*, in *The Sculpture Journal*, London, 2001 (forthcoming).

149 Adrian Jones, *Memoirs of a Soldier Artist*, London, 1933, 62–3, 82–3.

150 *Ibid.*, 137–67.

151 PRO, WORK 20/234. Ministry of Works minute, 19 November 1937, stating that the kitchen, larder, scullery, bathroom and WC were all in the basement, which suffered badly from damp. The ground floor was the living room, while the first and second floors housed bedrooms.

152 *Ibid.*, note on air-raid precautions, July 1939.

153 Anon., 'A Plan for Hyde Park Corner', *Country Life*, LXXXI, February 15 1937, supplement, xxxvi.

154 *The Times*, 16 February 1951.

155 'Landscaping of Marble Arch and Hyde Park Corner' in *Official Architecture and Planning*, March 1958, 130–31.

156 *The Contract Journal*, 20 February 1958, 899.

157 'Imaginative Replanning', editorial in *Country Life*, CXXIII, February 20 1958, 336.

158 'The Duke of Wellington opens the Underpass', *The Evening News and Star*, 17 October 1962.

159 English Heritage Historic Plans Room, Swindon, 153/50–54 are plans showing the arch as adapted dated September 1959; 153/58–66 are plans and sections dated May 1960.

160 *To-day Magazine*, March 1952, 29–31.

161 PRO, WORK 20/265.

162 *Ibid.*. Report dated 30 December 1955 said that a 'certain amount of corrosion' of the framing had been observed, and repairs would involve replacing 'several members of the framework.' There was 'no danger of it falling.'

163 PRO, WORK 20/265.