



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Richard Morrice, 'Paestrina in Hastings',
The Georgian Group Journal, Vol. XI,
2001, pp. 93–116

PALESTRINA IN HASTINGS

RICHARD MORRICE

The development of Hastings as a resort had, by 1811, been noted in London.

This fashionable summer retreat bids fair soon to rival Brighton and other hitherto more noted places of fashionable resort. The situation, both in point of scenery and mildness of the air, certainly exceeds any place of the kind on the southern coast; and what is of great consequence to the invalid, the bathing which is excellent can be accomplished at any time of the tide, without the slightest risk or inconvenience.¹

Hastings's reputation was growing, as was its population, which doubled in the fifteen years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.² Hastings was above all more picturesquely set than other south-eastern bathing places and, for the Earl of Chichester and his associates, the chosen location on the seafront was perfect for a development picturesque but also commercial, with its aggregation of shops and baths as well as houses and a church close to the Parade (Fig 1). Although its history is not well documented, it remains perhaps the most individual of such developments at a time of major activity in England's seaside resorts.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Pelham family had maintained their political and land-owning interest in Hastings, and it was on part of the castle property owned by Thomas Pelham, 2nd Earl of Chichester, that the Pelham Crescent development was to be built. Pelham, born in 1756 and MP for Sussex from 1780 to 1801, was son of the leader of the Whig interest in the county and, as such, was appointed Surveyor-General of the Ordnance in the Rockingham administration of 1782–3. But in 1794 he and his father went over to Pitt, who appointed him

Secretary of State for Ireland (1796–7) and Home Secretary (1801–3), and rewarded his father with an earldom in 1801. From 1807 to 1823 he was Joint Postmaster-General and from 1823 to his death in July 1826 he held that post on his own.³ Thomas Pelham succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Chichester in 1805. He it was who involved Joseph Kay (1775–1847) in the scheme, presumably because he had turned to Kay for works at Stanmer Park, his principal seat, in 1811, the same year that Kay was appointed architect to the Post Office.⁴

Hastings was not amongst the very earliest of south-eastern seaside resorts, but had certainly followed the lead of Brighton and Margate by the later years of the eighteenth century. The first scheme for the conversion of this Sussex fishing port into a 'bathing place' dates from 1768.⁵ By 1771 the Swan Inn had an assembly room, two circulating libraries had opened by 1791, the same year as the first bank, and warm baths had appeared by 1804 at the latest. That *sine qua non* of the fashionable resort, the guidebook, was first published in 1794 by John Stell, the proprietor of the older of the two circulating libraries, with emphasis on the historical (the Battle of Hastings, for instance) and picturesque spots in the environs of the town, especially those where refreshments were to be had. Although there had been provision for theatrical diversions before, the first theatre only followed in 1825, opening (perhaps co-incidentally, perhaps not) on the same day as the Pelham Arcade. In short, Hastings had provided itself with many of the accoutrements appropriate to a place of resort, not without success.

By the early years of the nineteenth century the



Fig. 1. Richard Hume Lancaster,
The Parade at Hastings, c.1825.
Hastings Museum.

area around the sea end of the High Street, running back from the sea well to the east of the castle, had been developed. Pressure on space, aggravated by the presence of Hastings's beach-launched fishing fleet, forced expansion to the west, around and beyond the eroded cliff on which stood the remains of the castle. At first new development took place to the west and south-west of the castle (Wellington Square, for instance, of 1819–23), leaving the more difficult area immediately below the castle cliff unbuilt. This land was owned by Lord Chichester. The land west of it was called the Gun Garden, and it was largely owned by James Lansdell, a builder from Battle. Both sites stood along a new street, Castle Street, opened c.1818, to link The Suburb, later George Street, at the west of

the Old Town, with the developments to the west of the Castle Cliff. More importantly it also stood close to the west end of the Marine Parade, and thus became an essential part of the fashionable walks. Not only was some excavation of the cliff, and removal of previous cliff falls from its foot, needed to make room but the beach in front of the site (known as the Stade) had already been developed between 1807 and 1823, with Caroline Place and Beach Cottages, and a shipyard at the east end, for the use of the fishing fleet. Vestiges of these remained until after 1928, partially masking the development from the sea, and they are shown in views of the development⁶ (Fig. 1). The choice of site was therefore determined by the castle on the cliff above and behind it, intended, no

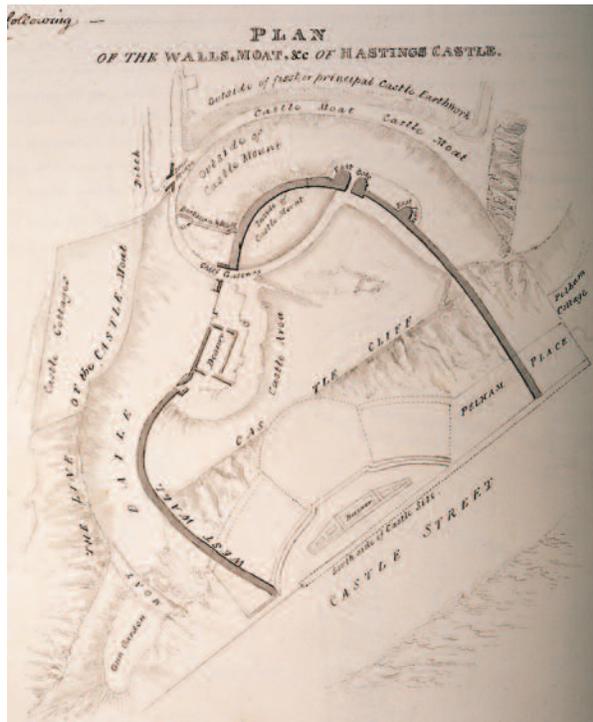


Fig. 2. William Herbert, site plan showing the then remaining part of the castle behind the line of the cliff, with the conjectured walls of the castle running to the south of that line and the dotted outline plan of the Place, Crescent and Church, 1823.

Hastings Museum.

doubt, as a picturesque backdrop. Indeed, at the same time the Earl commissioned excavations at the castle to be carried out by the archaeologist William Herbert, while the rock was being cleared back below for the earliest part of the development, at latest by 1823.⁷ He produced a plan of the castle as part of his report, showing the development in outline at the foot of the castle cliff (Fig. 2).

Although little documentation remains, the chronology of the various parts of the group can be established. On 29 April 1823, W G Moss, a local historian and illustrator, drew the view westward up Castle Street, with the beach on the south side, and on the north side a terrace of six houses, evidently of recent construction, which Herbert's plan identifies

as Pelham Place; beyond this the site of the Arcade, crescent and church had not so far been developed⁸ (Fig. 3). *The Picture of Hastings*, one of Hastings' competitive guidebooks, published probably just after 1824, notes

... Pelham Place, where the Castle Cliff has had immense masses cut away to make room for a crescent, and an elegant chapel,

but without mentioning the Arcade.⁹ By 1825 Powell's *Guide* mentions Pelham Place and then goes on to note that

West of Pelham Place is an extensive range of buildings for a Bazar [sic]; and over it are contemplated the erection of a Crescent, with a Chapel in the centre.¹⁰

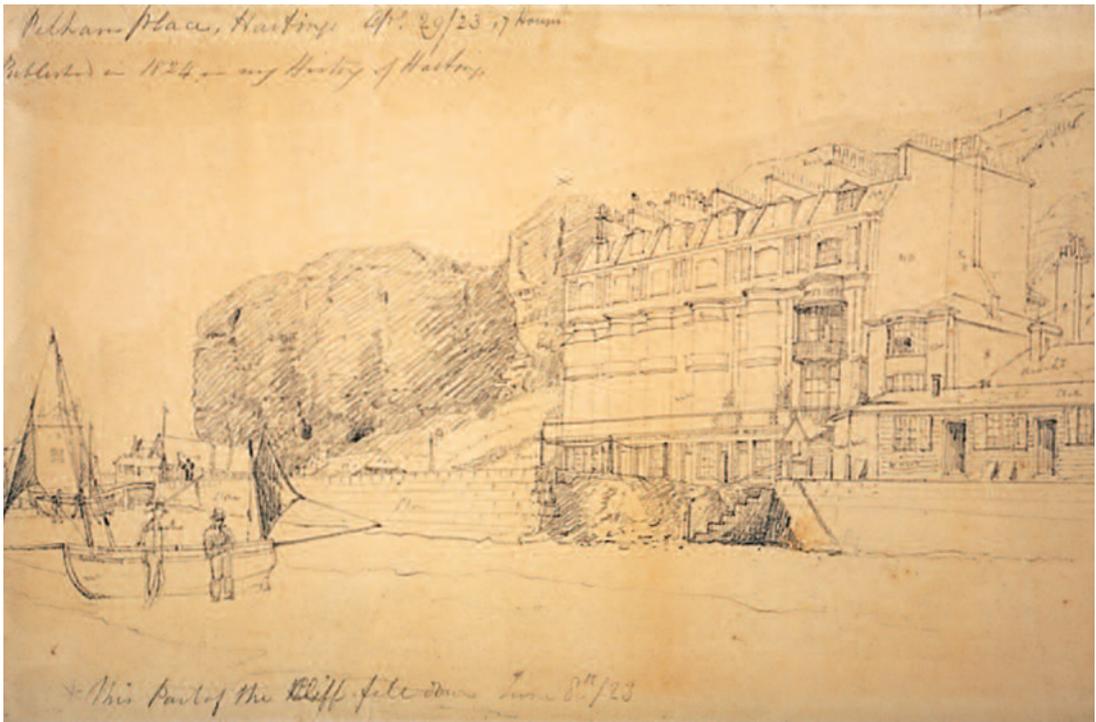


Fig. 3. W G Moss, drawing showing Pelham Place before the building of either Crescent, Church Arcade or Breeds Place, 1823.
Hastings Museum.

The Bazaar which Powell mentions was the most unusual feature of the development. It was built under the platform which today stands in front of the crescent and church, itself reached by a carriage drive up a ramp within the western arm of the crescent. The Pelham Arcade, as the Bazaar appears quickly to have become known, was therefore at Castle Street level, lit by a pitched skylight in the road platform in front of the church and crescent. The skylight can also apparently be seen in a watercolour of excavations taking place on the site of the western arm of the Crescent¹¹ (Fig 4). The Arcade opened on 18 August 1825 and J Manwaring Baines notes that this was a great day for Hastings, as a Theatre opened in Great Bourne Street as well:

... in the evening a balloon was sent up, a race dinner

was held at 'the Swan' and the concert at the Arcade was crowded to excess.¹²

The Latest Edition of the Hastings Guide, published as late as 1827, contains a long puff for the Arcade, no doubt because the author of the guide, R L Jones of the Town Library, was in charge of 'the Musical Department' and 'occasionally sings with very great eclat'.¹³ Jones's note on the Arcade is worth quoting in full because it is the main contemporary description of the interior of both the Arcade and Pelham Baths:

This stupendous rock (on which the castle stands), situated between Castle Street and the Parade, whose romantic beauty struck the observer with delight and admiration, had of late years the appearance of danger.



Fig. 4. Dr Robert Batty, watercolour of workmen at work on the cliff face prior to starting on the western arm of the Crescent and Church.

Hastings Museum.

The proprietor, therefore, very wisely, removed and cleared away, some 70 or 80 feet back of rock, and appropriated the ground for building purposes, on which site stands Pelham Arcade, a spacious handsome building of stone, about 180 feet long, and contains 28 shops, which are let to Trades men, for the sale of all fashionable merchandise. The roof of the building is plain, chaste and elegant, and is highly deserving the notice already bestowed on it by the lovers of modern architecture. Beauty and fashion, from all parts, are seen promenading here in the summer evenings, anxious to hear the dulcet tones of some sweet syren, and list with pleasure to music's fascinating pipe We cannot omit this opportunity of shewing our respect to Joseph Kay, the architect, and also to William Crake, Esq, proprietor of the New Pelham Baths, for having erected two buildings that might vie with any other in England, indeed they are not only a benefit but an adornment to the town of Hastings.

Jones continues:

Pelham Baths are at the east end of the Arcade, and fitted up in the first style of elegance. The entrance is by a spacious stone hall, which leads into two handsome saloons, of octagonal form, and decorated with beautiful Chinese scenery. The accommodation at these baths far exceeds anything we ever witnessed before, and it is gratifying to know that invalids, indeed all frequenters, meet with every comfort, care and attention. Here are eleven warm baths – two vapour – two shower and a fine plunge bath. Portable baths, hip baths and invalid chairs are let on hire. Cupping by Mr Finch, the manager.

Although the baths have been demolished (they appear to have been located to the rear of Nos 8 & 9, Pelham Place), most unhappily no known views or



Fig. 5. Thomas D W Dearn, print from a drawing showing the interior of the Arcade from the east.

Hastings Museum.

plans survive. This description can be taken as establishing that, at the time of writing, neither church nor crescent had been built, or at least occupied; only in the 1828 edition are they first mentioned. From the evidence of Moss's 1823 drawing and the guides, it would appear that the Pelham Arcade can therefore be given a date soon after 1823. A couple of leases for shops survive in the Chichester Papers at East Sussex Record Office but neither is dated as early as 1827, let alone 1823.

The internal appearance of the Arcade is also known from two representations, one dated 1824¹⁴ (Figs. 5 and 6). Happily, the two views are taken from opposite ends of the major internal space, a kidney-shaped room off which opened the various shops through tall arches. The space was top-lit with a roof

supported on six trusses, apparently of iron segmental arches, probably with iron struts and frames to multi-paned windows, presumably of timber. This can be verified by inspection of the rooflight as it exists today in front of the church. The central ceiling was plain with a simple octagonal panel in the middle (perhaps a vent of some kind).

Below, the architecture was again plain; wider single arches at each end, with eleven bays along each long side, one of which – the northern one – canted out either side of the centre to follow the plan of the basements of the crescent above. The central five bays of the sides projected slightly, between which the six trusses spanned; simply moulded, the arches had counters for shops.¹⁵ The print, drawn by Thomas D W Dearn (1777–1853), an architect of



Fig. 6. W G Moss (?), watercolour of the interior of the Arcade from the west, 1824.
Hastings Museum.

Cranbrook in Kent who was busy publishing architectural primers of various kinds and prints during the earlier years of the nineteenth century, was drawn from the eastern vestibule, a space with round arches on three sides, including one into the main arcade, and a groin vault, no doubt of plaster (Fig 5).

The exterior of the arcade is more difficult to reconstruct because it was altered soon after it was built. The western entrance survives externally, at least in part, as a doorway set forward in front of, and below, a parapet topped by a pair of volutes, in the middle of the western ramp and at that end of the skylight. But the front of the Arcade towards the sea has now been almost completely erased by the turning around of the shops so that they face onto the seafront road; the shops have been extended back

into the interior space of the arcade, though signs can still be found internally of the rooflight and of the tops of the arches below steel strengthening later introduced to support the roof. The former front elevation is shown on a drawing attached to a lease of 17 June 1826 (see below) with a row of arches within arches, possibly as secondary stalls for the shops¹⁶ (Fig. 7). At one end, actually directly in front of the church, the arcade was treated as a tripartite feature with arched windows, a kind of triumphal arch, either side of a wide entrance with a panelled parapet raised over. This must be the form of the front facade as built, but other evidence is contradictory. Another print by Thomas Dearn, this time a view of the crescent and church, shows the ramp on the western side (as built), and channelled rustication in front of

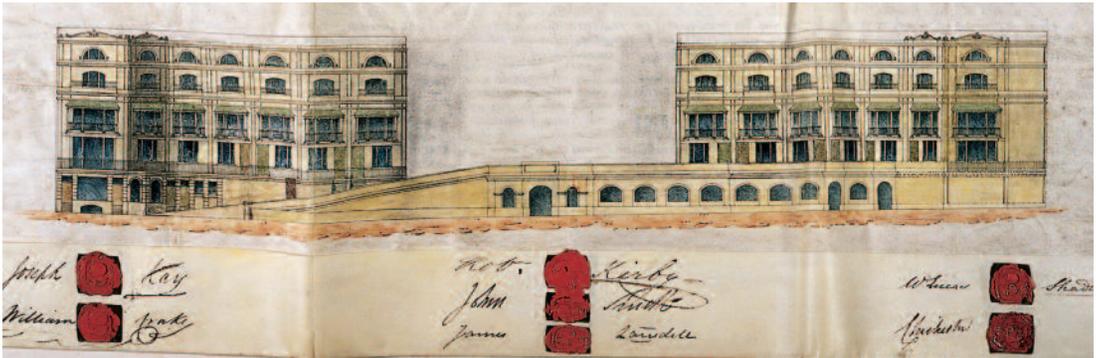


Fig. 7. Joseph Kay's office, drawing showing the exterior of the Arcade and the house-fronts of the Crescent, minus nos 7 and 8, appended to the lease of 17 June 1826 .
Hastings Museum.

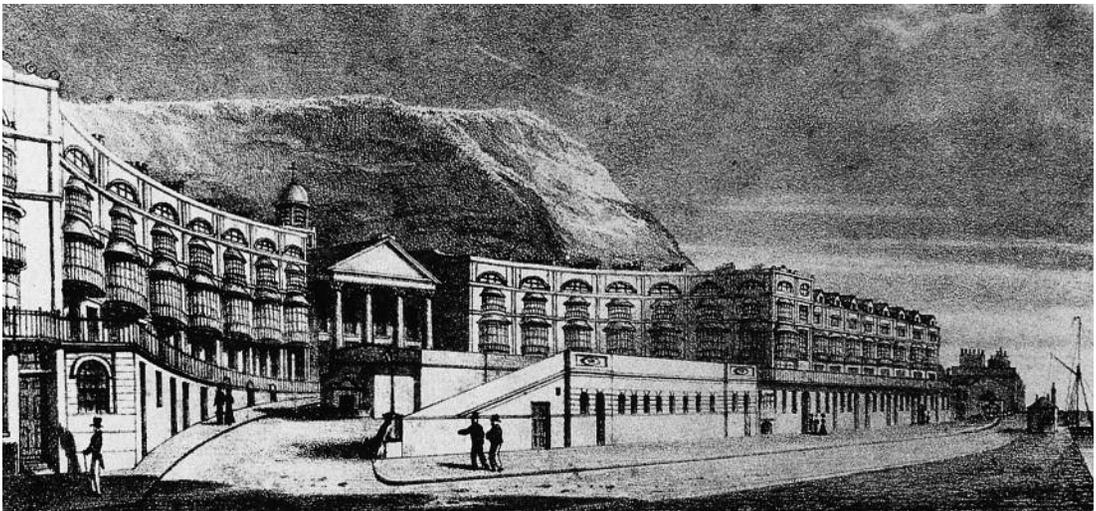


Fig. 8. Thomas D W Dearn, print from a drawing of the exterior of the whole development from the south-west.
Hastings Museum.

the arcade of eight small arched windows between doorways, the slight forward breaks with decorated parapets¹⁷ (Fig. 8). The forward breaks are shown in other views, including another by W G Moss, but with arches reaching to the ground rather than small windows (Fig. 9). Both the Dearn and Moss views are, in fact, questionable in other ways, particularly as they both show the façade of the church in a different

form from that as built and different from each other (though there is a slight chance that the Moss view may show an early scheme, as will become apparent).¹⁸

The centrepiece of the whole composition was the church, the subject of an Act of Parliament which received royal assent on 2nd May 1825¹⁹ (Fig. 10). The parish of Saint Mary-in-the-Castle was of ancient

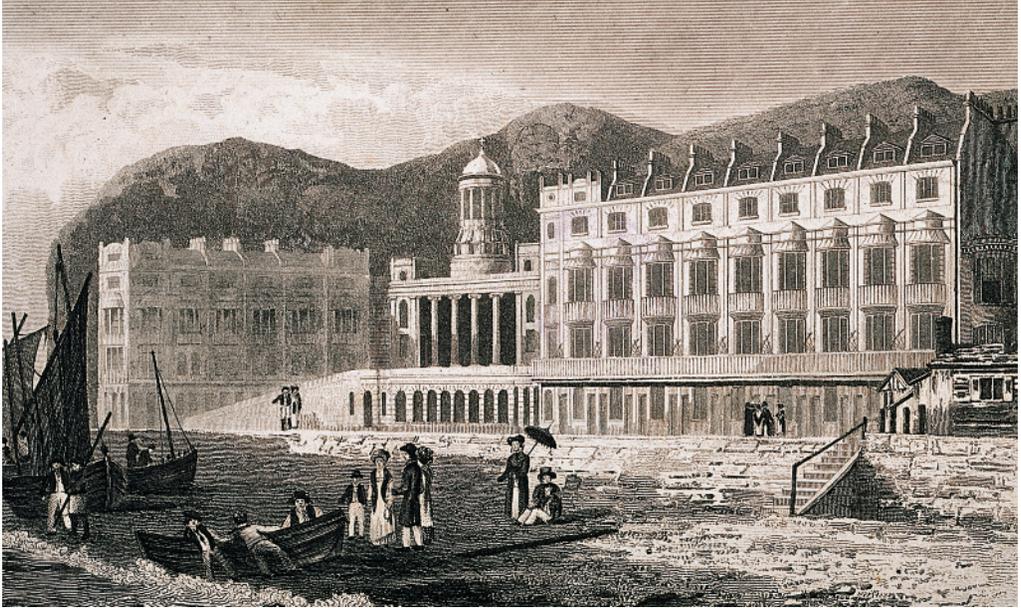


Fig. 9. W G Moss, print from a drawing showing the development from the south-east with a different church facade. *Hastings Museum*.



Fig. 10. W H Brooke, exterior of the church. *East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/12)*.

origin but the collegiate medieval church within the castle was ruinous, especially following erosion of the cliff. The parish, however, continued in civil guise and it was natural that Pelham, the landowner, having decided to build a proprietary chapel for his new development, should elect to re-use the old name. The foundation stone of the new church was laid on 21 September 1825, by Mary, Countess of Chichester, and the church was consecrated on 28 January 1828, by the Bishop of Chichester.

The omission of the central two houses from the major leases has led to the suggestion that the original design of the church had envisaged a wider façade. Indeed W G Moss's view of 'Pelham Place and Crescent' in his *History of Hastings*, shows a very different church, with a hexastyle portico *in antis* flanked by low single-bay towers and with a tall rotunda over the centre (Fig. 9). Could this show an early scheme for the church? The engraving was 'most respectfully and gratefully inscribed' by Moss to Kay in his *History* and both Kay and his brother, Robert, were subscribers.²⁰ It would therefore have been odd had Moss used, in illustrating the form which the Pelham development was to take in a book of which Kay was obviously well aware, a completely erroneous view of the exterior of the church.

Whilst the foundation stone of the church was laid on 21 September 1825, the leases of the house plots were only regularised by two further leases. The first, dated 17 June 1826, related to ten houses and included both a block plan and the detailed elevation of the crescent without the church and the two central houses. The second, dated 19 November 1828, provided for the lease of those two houses built either side of the church but not to the same depth as the others (again a block plan was provided but not for the church).²¹ It is unlikely that the omission of the two houses adjacent to the church from the earlier lease is explained by the fact that the building of the church was going ahead to an earlier wider design, because the elevation attached to that lease shows the terrace without the inner end bays to the

two terraces. These are important because Kay treated the Crescent as a pair of curved terraces, both clasped by bays with fictive pediments to the cornice at both inner and outer ends. The bays with the inner cornice motifs are not shown on the elevation of 17 June 1826 which suggests that the pair of houses adjacent to the church were to be the subject of a different lease. These two houses are, moreover, as mentioned above, different from the others in not being as deep in plan as the rest of the terrace. They could only be an afterthought if the Moss engraving does show an earlier (i.e. pre-1826) design for the facade of the church and Kay redesigned the terraces. Certainly the church facade itself would have been considerably wider, given the presence of the low towers flanking the hexastyle portico; and the engraving shows six, not the later seven, houses in each flanking terrace (Fig. 9).

The Pelham development was completed by a pendant terrace on the Gun Garden site to the west to balance Pelham Place, called Breeds Place after Martha Breeds, the wife of the developer of this range, James Lansdell.²² This terrace of eight houses, itself demolished, was more or less identical to the Pelham ranges, and Lansdell can be assumed to have used Kay as his architect.

The plan of St Mary-in-the-Castle is semi-circular (Fig. 11). The two entrances are in the flat side, flanking the shallow rectangular sanctuary. There is a first-floor gallery, curtailed at its south ends by the two houses either side of the church. The gallery is largely built out over the living rock, Kay simply strutting out supports from a semi-circular shelf in the cliff-face, except for the two spaces below its ends, one of which later provided a second baptistery. But the floor of the church is not likewise constructed on a rock platform; Kay ran the level of the Arcade back in the centre to provide a vault below the church, T-shaped, with a central nave and wings providing access to vaults (of which only one has been filled with burials). The exterior and the interior of the church, as originally ordered, is

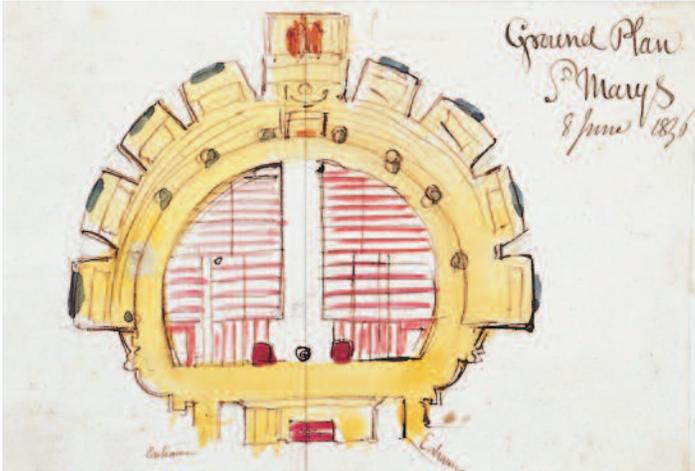


Fig. 11. W H Brooke, sketch plan of the church, inscribed 'Ground plan, St Mary's, 8 June 1846'. Hastings Museum.



Fig. 12. W H Brooke, interior of the church facing north (liturgically west). East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/10).

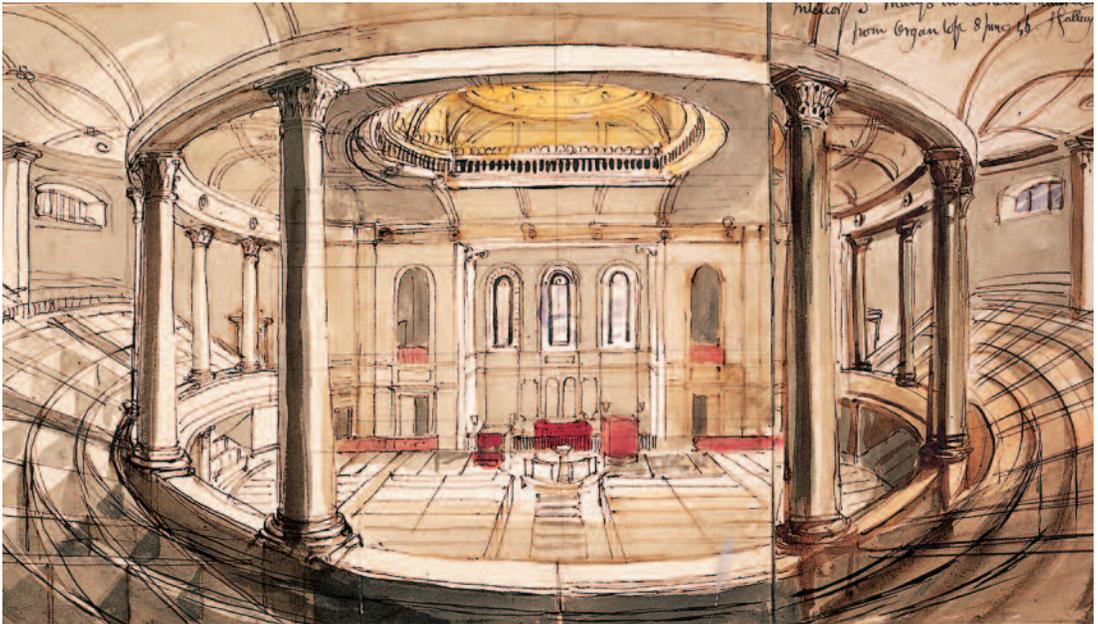


Fig. 13. W H Brooke, interior of the church from the gallery facing south (liturgically east), inscribed (partially cut back) 'Interior St Mary's sub Castello from Organ Loft, 8 June 1846' *East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/7)*



Fig. 14. W H Brooke, interior details, inscribed 'No 1, Lamp of the Pulpit and Reading Desk' *East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/1)*.

fortunately known from a series of watercolours painted in 1846 by W H Brooke (Figs. 10–20). Five are internal views (Figs. 12 & 13) and one shows exterior details of Nos 7 and 8, Pelham Crescent (Fig. 20), but the majority show details of fittings including lamps, clerk's desk, font and organ. They include plans of both floor and ceiling.²³

The main structure of the building is a combination of two concentric stone walls, an inner one at church-floor level and one above and outside around the gallery. Iron columns, clad in timber, appear to support the central roof from the inner ring. In fact the inner roof is slung from trusses describing a square concealed above the coving, but the deception is effective. This ceiling, neatly contrived and unusually complex for a pseudo-dome in an English church, is covered in a horseshoe, with a separate, linear, cove over the sanctuary.²⁴ Panelled and separated by ribs, it rises to an entablature from

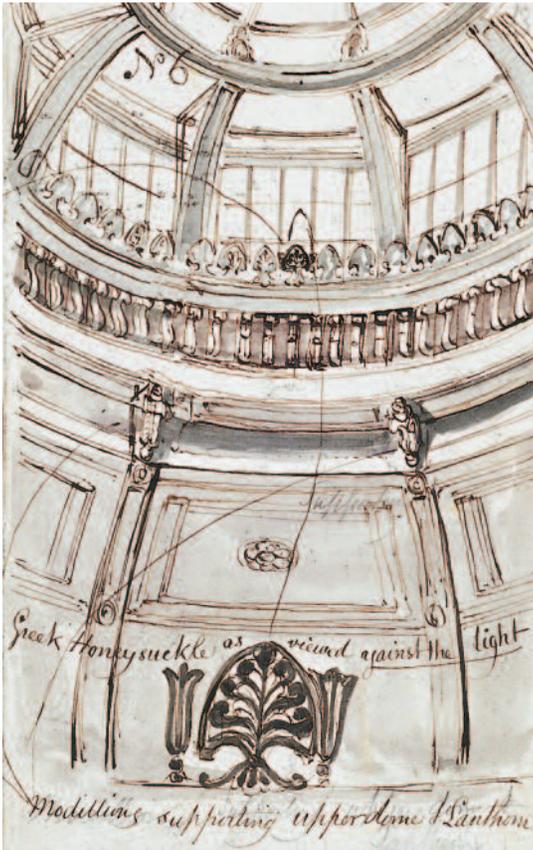


Fig. 15. W H Brooke, interior of cupola, inscribed 'No 6', 'Greek Honeysuckle as viewed against the light' and 'Modillions supporting upper dome and Lanthorn' *East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/5)*.

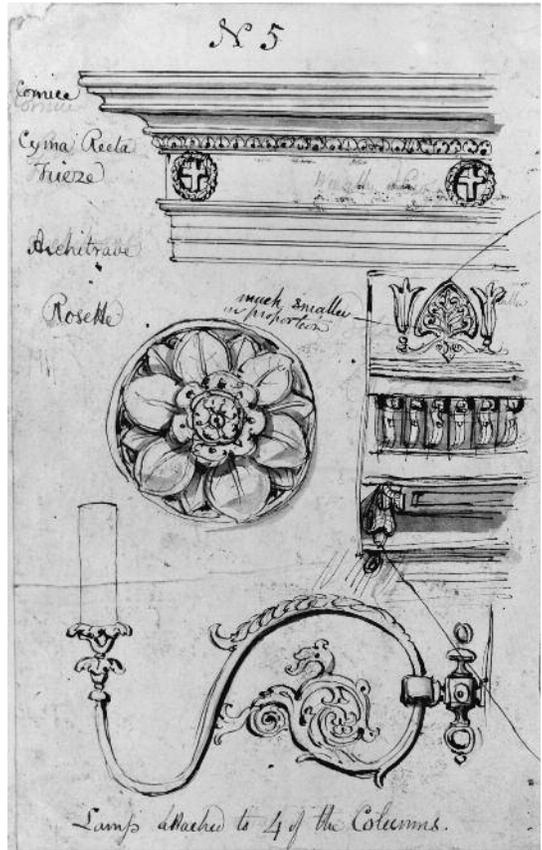


Fig. 16. W H Brooke, interior details, inscribed 'No 5', showing the cornices at upper gallery and skylight level, a rosette and 'lamp attached to 4 of the columns' *East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/4)*.

which rise apparently free-swinging ribs to support the central saucer dome (Fig. 15). These ribs are part of large open triangular brackets carrying windows which provide what is effectively top-lighting. The effect is therefore of a free-floating saucer in the centre with a central panel ringed by small openings. The gallery is ceiled in a reverse curve from the ring of columns to the outer walls; it is lit by wide segment-headed windows.

Although the planning of the group alludes, as shall be seen, mainly to ancient Rome, the details of

the church are largely Greek. The cornice around the central cove, for instance, is crested with an open-work edging of anthemion ornamentation (Figs. 15 & 16), which is reflected in similar motifs as part of a horizontal band dividing the windows above from the text boards below on the south (liturgically east) wall of the sanctuary. Anthemion decoration is repeated on the parapets of the terraces. Kay's choice of orders was also Greek, a plain unfluted Ionic order, related to that of the Temple on the Illissus, though with plain necking rather than anything more



Fig. 17. W H Brooke, interior details, inscribed 'No 3, Corbel on Pilasters, Profile' and 'No 4, Greek Foliated Capital'. *East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/3).*

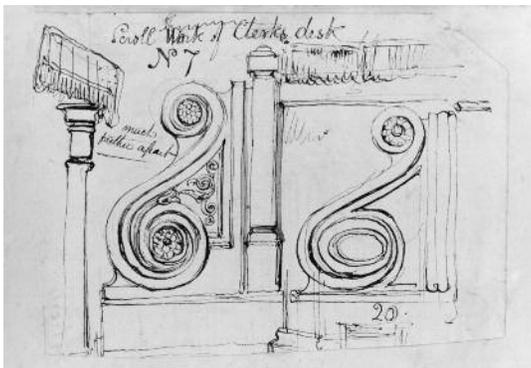


Fig. 18. W H Brooke, interior detail, inscribed 'No 7, Scrol Work of Clerk's Desk'. *East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/4).*

elaborate, and only two steps in the architrave, sounding a grand and rather sombre note for the exterior. But the later and more ornamental quasi-Corinthian of the porticos of the Tower of the Winds sounded a more decorative note within, for the main order around the gallery²⁵ (Fig. 17). The portico was set between the projecting bays of the entrances and was doubled in depth by a further pair of columns *in antis* within the depth of the portico.²⁶

The projection of the outer bays allowed the portico depth, giving a double bank of columns, as noted above, and thus greater distinction. Above and behind the portico Kay placed an attic to house the belfry, treated in a primitively Graeco-Cubic style with panels, trabeations and a fictive central pediment (Fig. 21). Its source is somewhat obscure but Kay recognised that it was vital to balance the composition. Unlike attics in earlier classical churches, it does not provide a facade for the end gable but it does hide something of the roof rising behind. In terms of the composition it also helps to anchor the facade, rather as a glorified blocking course.

A short time after the church was opened a major problem occurred with the roof. It is trussed on a square described by the front of the sanctuary, and the fourth and eighth columns. These four queen post trusses, of slender and elegant design, were joined, presumably in 1829, by a further four trussed beams of much heavier design; these heavier trusses run alongside the smaller ones and support them by straps run down between the two. The sequence is proved by the amount of deflection, even cracking, of the earlier trusses, especially the lower chords. Interestingly the latter trusses are largely made up of smallish lengths of timber, evidence perhaps that they were designed so as to be added in from the top of the existing building and constructed *in situ* with as little disturbance as possible.

This problem appears to have happened early in the life of the church. The Brett Manuscript, under *Occurrences in 1828* relates: 'Among the misfortunes

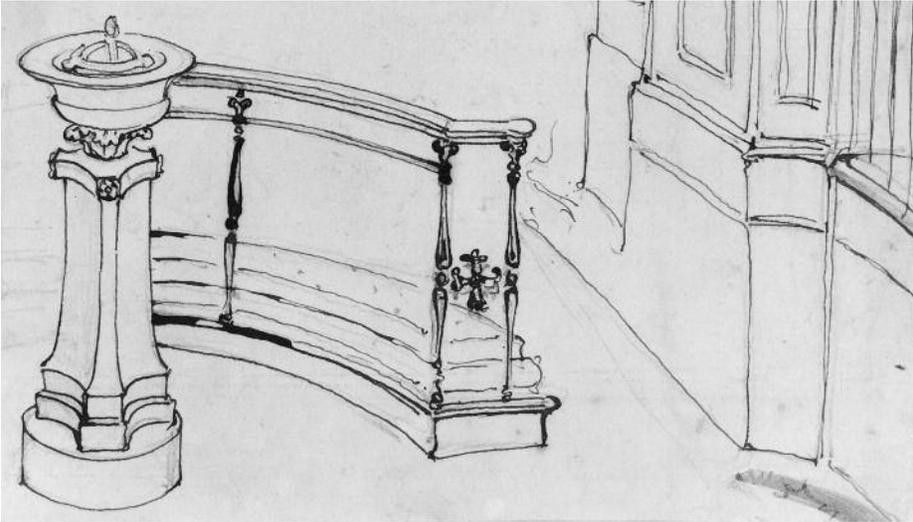


Fig. 19. W H Brooke, interior detail, showing font and font rails.
East Sussex Record Office (PAR 369/10/1/6).

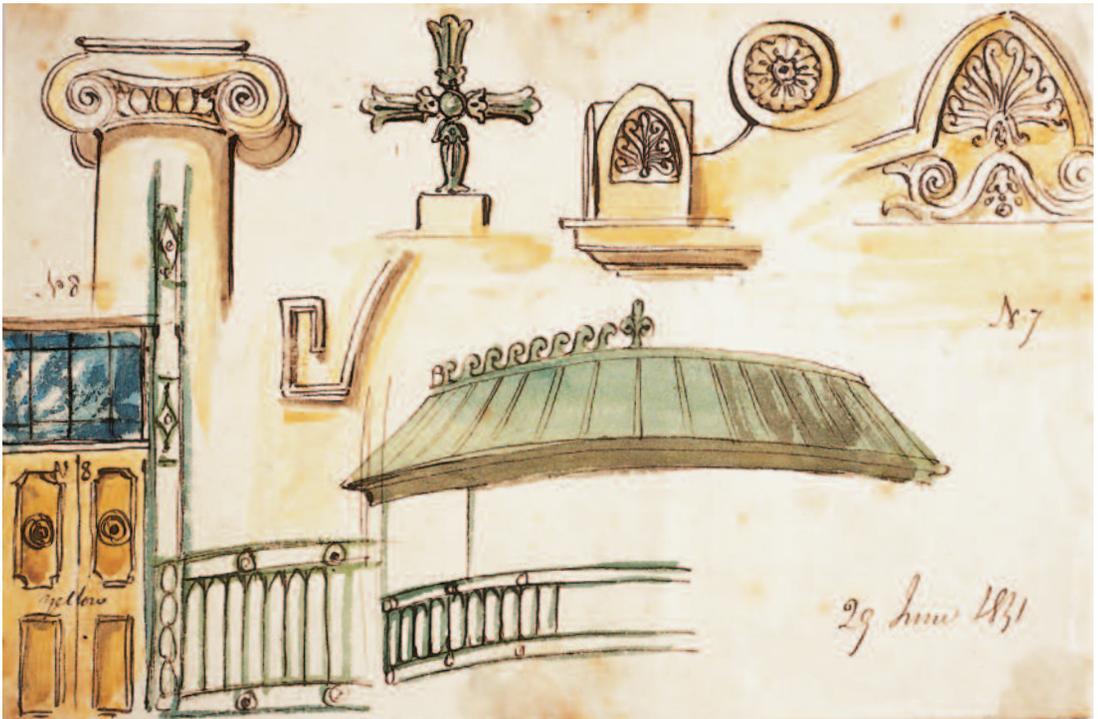


Fig. 20. W H Brooke, exterior details, presumably of Nos 7 and 8 Pelham Crescent, inscribed '29 June, 1841'.
Hastings Museum.



Fig. 21. Anonymous, exterior of the church,
inscribed 'No 3'.
Hastings Museum.

of the year were a defect in the roof of the Pelham Crescent Chapel which necessitated a suspension of services for some time'. An obituary of the Revd William Wallinger, first Perpetual Curate of the church, records that:

He read himself in at St Mary's on Sunday the 24th of February, 1828, the chapel having been opened with much solemnity four weeks previously. During the month of August, in the following year, a defect in the roof of the chapel was discovered, and the services were obliged to be suspended for a time.²⁷

A curiosity found during the works in the early 1990s is the presence of the otherwise unexplained date 1841 written in wet plaster on the cill of an eastern

high level window, presumably relating to later repairs, rather than to works of this date.

Kay's interest in Hastings was not finished with the completion of the Pelham Crescent development, however.²⁸ He carried out alterations to Hastings Lodge in 1827 for Frederick North, one time Mayor and twice MP for Hastings, and may indeed have been responsible for the original house. More interestingly, he took an interest in land called the Minnis above the Old Town and projected a development of which only a couple of rather individual villas were built, the Villa, in which he lived, and the Casino.²⁹

That Joseph Kay was a not insignificant figure in the architecture of his day cannot be doubted, nor

that he was capable of buildings of ample originality in Neoclassical styles.³⁰ Discussion of St Mary-in-the-Castle and Pelham Crescent in the past has dwelt on the novelty of a church standing in the middle of a crescent but it has generally ignored its being raised above the beach to provide space for the Arcade. In fact this was altogether a rather original group. His choice of Greek was by no means unusual, but he trod a mid course between complexity of allusion as exemplified by Cockerell's contemporary Hanover Chapel in Regent Street (1821–5), and the more literal offerings usual among Greek Revival churches of the post-Waterloo period, of which the 'innocent ingenuity' of W and HW Inwood's St Pancras church in London of 1819–22 is an extreme example.³¹

In particular, circular churches were rare. Following the important early eighteenth century prototype of James Gibbs's unbuilt schemes for a circular church at St Martin-in-the-Fields, circular or elliptical churches had been built in Edinburgh (St Andrew, 1781–7, by Andrew Frazer and Alexander Stevens), in Shrewsbury (St Chad, 1790–2, by George Steuart), in Newcastle (All Saints, 1786–9, by David Stephenson), in London (St Peter-le-Poer, Broad Street, 1789–92, by Jesse Gibson), and in Dublin (St Andrew, originally 1674 by William Dodson, remodelled 1793–1807 by Francis Johnston). Octagons, another variant, found especial favour in nonconformist chapels.³² Although both in Britain and Europe centralised church plans had been chosen for practical reasons, particularly due to awkward sites, for churches fitted for auditories these plans were found to effect in liturgical terms

an improvement not generally found, which was in affording the congregation an opportunity of hearing and attending to the communion service as well as to the prayers and sermon . . . The advantages derived . . . are very obvious, and the arrangement might be adopted to great advantage in similar structures where one or other of the services is rendered nearly inaudible by the distance of the places in which they are performed.³³

What has been characterised as Anglican liturgical radicalism found its last great example in the church of St Mary-in-the-Castle, probably possible only because it was built as a proprietary chapel where the innate conservatism of the worshipper in the pew was perhaps not so much a concern of the hierarchy.

After all, where the sale of pews was a consideration, novelty was a considerable advantage. This was the case in the design of the little-known and demolished church of St Margaret, Cannon Place, Brighton, paid for by one Bernard Gregory.³⁴ Here C A Busby centralised the nave of the church, rather as did Cockerell in his more inventive Hanover Chapel, with galleries, though without the Chapel's short arms. Opened in 1824, St Margaret's church was more straightforward externally than St Mary-in-the-Castle, though it was nevertheless similar in its Greek austerity, even mixing a plain Ionic portico with use of the order of the Tower of the Winds, in this case on the belfry. The galleried interior was more straightforward with pendentives carrying a cove and a very wide lantern top-lighting the space.³⁵

More original but equally up-to-date was the inclusion of a shopping arcade within the development. Although the arcade was one of the most characteristic of early nineteenth-century building types, responding to the growth of a leisured and consumer society, there had been arcaded streets in medieval towns, of which the Rows at Chester are just the best known, and covered markets below civic buildings were common. Of the seventeenth-century London Exchanges, which were amongst the progenitors of shopping arcades, Exeter 'Change survived until 1829. With ground-floor shops, by the later years of its history the first floor was rented to a Mr Cross who opened it as a menagerie.³⁶ Shops appropriate for the *bon ton* of a spa town were usually provided in a more unplanned way, as at Tunbridge Wells, where the shops of the rather irregular arcade at the Pantiles 'were constructed along some of the principal walks and around the assembly rooms to attract the wealthy

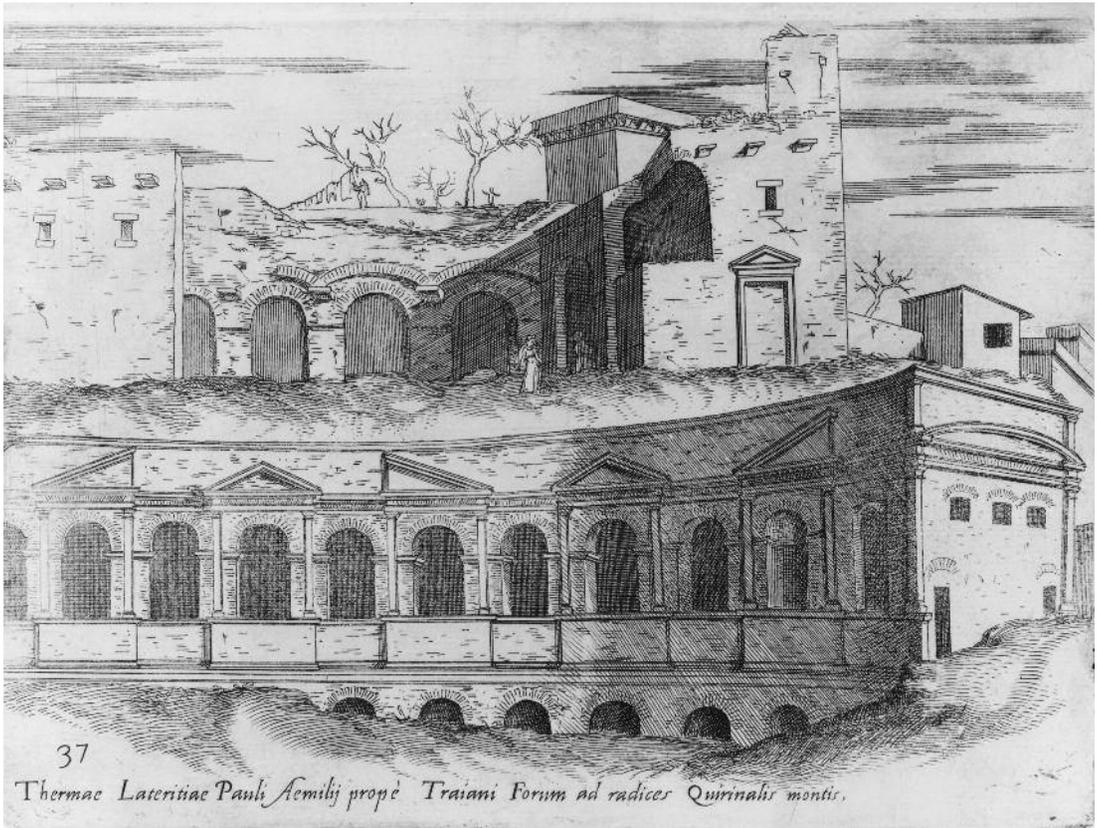


Fig. 22. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, engraving of Trajan's Markets, 1569.
British Library.

visitors engaged in the social round⁷, typically for a resort town.³⁷ It is no coincidence that the Pelham Arcade was sited at the west end of the Parade, amongst the lodging houses of Pelham Crescent and between Wellington Square and the Parade.

Arcades as a specific single-build type appear first to have developed in Paris and came to London after the Napoleonic Wars, surviving examples including the Royal Opera Arcade by Nash and Repton of 1816–18 and the Burlington Arcade by Samuel Ware of 1818–19.³⁸ Such roofed streets were generally rather more monumental internally than Kay's Arcade, the intimacy of which made it unusual. Its relationship with a Crescent moreover suggests

that Kay had at the back of his mind Trajan's Markets in Rome, a structure which combined both one and two storeys of shops with a market hall (*aula*) and a hemicycle, all connected by streets, stairways and covered corridors on various levels (Fig. 22). Closing off the east side of Trajan's Forum, and adjacent to the Basilica Ulpia, it had been built between AD 106 and 113.³⁹ Trajan's Markets have long been one of the Roman antique sites with which it is most easy to identify, because it is more redolent of everyday life, and it was entirely typical of Kay that he should have referred to such a source. Although his use of references was rarely straightforward, in one borrowing he used Roman precedent with little

change. The shops in his arcade were of single cell form and in this they follow the Roman *tabernae* very closely with their vaults and wide entrances.

The final major novelty was the situation of the church. The development of the terraced house was a major English contribution to the European architectural tradition and in the eighteenth century, under the influence of Picturesque principles of planning both in physical and historical setting, its use changed from a tight organisation within regular or semi-regular street-plans (following continental prototypes) to a much looser set up of streets and crescents set amongst landscaping. This can be seen in the tiering of crescents at Clifton or the apparently haphazard arrangements on the Lansdowne estate in Cheltenham, for instance. The stress was on both ‘aspect and prospect’, as Stefan Muthesius has written, ‘both the view of the terrace for the onlooker and the view from the terrace for the inhabitant’.⁴⁰ In a crescent with bows the view out was enhanced by greater intervisibility along the terrace and at Pelham Crescent this was reinforced by the antique pomp of the portico of the church in the centre. The portico also gave added interest to views of the development from further away as did the raising of the centre of the composition over its high base. The backdrop of the castle was a final masterstroke of picturesque siting – juxtaposing the new against the old. One could even look down on church and crescent from above.

The juxtaposition of a porticoed church with the arms of the crescent has attracted much comment, particularly as Pietro Bianchi at San Francesco di Paola in Naples set a portico in front of a church within a crescent in 1817–31.⁴¹ But that was a crescent colonnade, a rather different thing from a crescent of houses and a juxtaposition which goes back at least to Bernini’s colonnade at St Peter’s.⁴² More likely prototypes were multi-purpose complexes such as Louis Le Vau’s Collège des Quatre Nations in Paris (begun 1662), with its central porticoed and domed church and crescent wings which also contained ground-floor shops, and the Crescent at Buxton by

John Carr (1780–90), which combined two hotels (one with Assembly Rooms), lodging houses and more shops in another single composition.⁴³ Contemporary crescents with central temple-fronted blocks were not unknown in England either, though none were so tightly or originally organised as Pelham Crescent. Ambrose Phillips of Garendon had projected a domed and porticoed church for the Place Royale du Peyrou in Montpellier, France (before 1735) with the church at one end of a rectangular *place* between two palace-fronted terraces, but attached to them only by walls pierced by doorways.⁴⁴ In Glasgow, Bellevue Crescent was begun in 1818 by Thomas Bonnar, the City Superintendent of Works, and revised in 1824 to include St Mary’s Church by his successor, Thomas Brown.⁴⁵ Although one wing of the crescent was completed in 1832, the north range was only finished as late as 1884. Den Crescent in Teignmouth, Devon, was designed by Andrew Patey of Exeter in 1826, but the central assembly rooms, now a cinema, were more disarticulated than the central accent in Hastings.⁴⁶ The terrace as palace front had been common from Bath in the previous century to Regents’ Park, but porticos within terraces were seldom articulated as clearly as here.

Kay’s tightly organised scheme actually has a more distant source, the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina (*Praeneste*) to the south of Rome, which includes the ancient temple, perhaps dating back to the second century BC, with the forum linked to the sanctuary above by a series of terraces and ramps. This became a favourite case for speculation and reconstruction by architects such as Pirro Ligorio and Andrea Palladio during the sixteenth century and Kay chose to copy a sketch by Pietro da Cortona when he sketched it in his *Rome Journal*⁴⁷ (Fig. 23). As to which of Cortona’s reconstructions Kay based his on, it is most likely that he copied the view now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and which was formerly in the collection of John Talman. Unlike the other two, it

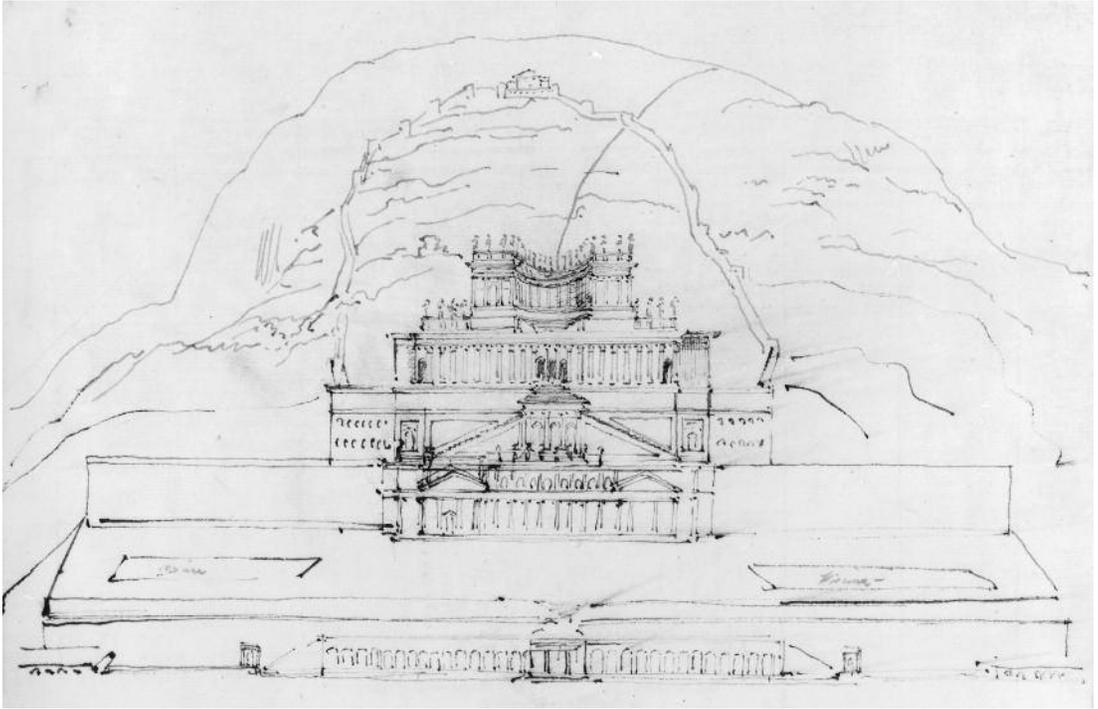


Fig. 23. Joseph Kay, sketch of a reconstruction of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina (*Praeneste*).
British Library.

shows pedimented outer bays to the third stage, just as in Kay's copy, and it is therefore presumably the version which he copied. 'Bought at Mr Talman's sale Feb 2d. 1725-6' by Francis St John, the volume in which it was contained was later in the possession of the Marquis of Cholmondeley. It was therefore presumably in England in 1803 and Kay therefore added his sketch to his notebook following his visit.⁴⁸ For our purposes the siting of the ensemble against a hill or cliff, the pronounced use of terraces and ramps building to a pyramidal central accent, and the location of shops in the lower levels (at both *forum* level and on upper levels below the sanctuary) are similarities shared with the Hastings scheme which cannot be coincidental. The sharing of a crescent with Trajan's Markets is similarly allusive.

Both the Temple of Fortune and Trajan's Markets

would have appealed because Kay obviously enjoyed playing around with urban layouts in a spirited and inventive way. His other work shows that his urban arrangements can be quite unconventional – the completion of a straightforward square at Mecklenburg Square perhaps, but a square inside out around a market in Greenwich, the pair of crescents at Thornhill Crescent running round to two larger straight terraces which curve together at the bottom of Thornhill Square in Islington, and finally his abortive picturesque arrangement at Belmont in Hastings. Pelham Crescent was just the most monumental but it remains one of the most creative of such developments.

Its final originality was in its location. Set high, with views out to sea, and the singular novelty of a backdrop provided by the castle cliff, Kay obviously

intended the group to be seen from the sea and from the small fleet of pleasure craft which local fishermen provided for the benefit of visitors to the town.⁴⁹ Indeed, although Kay heightened the drama of raking views from Marine Parade, it is really only from the sea that the full effect of the ensemble can be enjoyed, a forceful evocation of the Temple of Fortune at Palestrina that Kay had admired all those years before in Italy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The damage to the roof of the church first became apparent during first phase repairs by Hastings Borough Council, grant-aided by English Heritage, prior to the building finding a new use. It was drawn to my attention by James Coath of Purcell Miller Tritton and Partners, who was recording the main members of the roof structure for English Heritage while they were exposed to view and capable of close inspection. I am also grateful to Victoria Williams of Hastings Museum, Anne Scott of the Friends of St Mary-in-the-Castle, Dr Michael Hunter, David and Barbara Martin of Archaeology South-East, Christopher Whittick of the East Sussex Record Office, and John Moses, for all their assistance and for the benefit of their local knowledge, and to Richard Hewlings as editor. Figs. 1–9, 11, 13 and 20–21 are reproduced by permission of Hastings Museum, figs. 10, 12 and 14–19 by permission of the Vicar of the Church of Emmanuel and St. Mary-in-the-Castle, Hastings, and the East Sussex County Archivist, and figs. 22–23 by permission of the British Library.

NOTES

- 1 J Manwaring Baines, *Historic Hastings: A Tapestry of Life*, 2nd ed., St Leonards-on-Sea, 1986, 310, quoting *The Star*, 10 September 1811.
- 2 Hastings grew from a population of 3,175 in 1801 to 6,300 in 1821 and 10,231 in 1831. This compares with circa 7,000 in Brighton in 1801 and 24,000 in 1821. Brandon and Short note that, 'between 1811 and 1821, Brighton exhibited the fastest growth of any English town' [J Manwaring Baines, *op. cit.*, 310 and P Brandon and B Short, *Regional History of England: The South East from AD 1000*, London, 1990, 265].
- 3 G E C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, III, 1913, republished 1982, Gloucester, 196.
- 4 Lewes, East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), A/4600/8.
- 5 From a statement by General James Murray, quoted in Baines, *op. cit.*, 304. This book is the standard history of the town and the background to the development of the resort is drawn from this source.
- 6 The history of the development of the streets around the castle cliff is discussed in detail in David and Barbara Martin, with Richard Morrice, *An Interpretative Survey of Pelham Arcade and its Setting, Hastings, Sussex*, Archaeology South-East, Institute of Archaeology, University College, London, 1998, 15–22.
- 7 The manuscript record of these excavations is now in the Hastings Museum. William Herbert (1771–1851), who was elected Guildhall Librarian in 1828, was the author of a history of Lambeth Palace (1806), with Robert Wilkinson of an illustrated description of ancient buildings of London (1819–25) and of the *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, (1836–7), amongst much other historical work on London [*Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, repr. 1973, 686].
- 8 Hastings, Hastings Museum, 941.1.17. The drawing is dated 'Apr. 29/23. 17 houses. Published in 1824 in my History of Hastings.' It is further annotated 'This part of the Cliff fell down June 8th/23'. The drawing, presumably made in 1823, shows six houses, the published engraving eight; there were later nine.
- 9 *The Picture of Hastings*, printed for G Wooll, n.d., 44 and 52.
- 10 P M Powell (publ.), *Hastings Guide*, 4th ed., 71–2. It goes on to talk of Pelham Place under 'Lodging Houses'.

Pelham Place is a handsome range of buildings situated at the end of Marine Parade (of which it forms the western extremity) under the Castle cliff, commanding an extensive view of the Sea, east and west of the town, and Beachy Head. The houses are erected in the most substantial manner, are very conveniently arranged, and are supplied with good water, offering excellent accommodation for the most respectable families, and may, therefore, be justly considered a very great improvement and addition to the town.

In this desirable situation is the MARINE BOARDING HOUSE kept by Mr A Deudney.

	Sitting rooms	Bedrooms
1 Earl of Chichester	3	13
2 Mr A Deudney	Marine Boarding House (later Marine Hotel)	
3 Mr Hogsflesh	3	11
4 Mr Freeling	4	14
5 Mr Key	4	15
6 Ditto	4	15
7 Mr Crake	4	15
8 Ditto	4	15
9 Mr Key	4	15

West of Pelham Place is an extensive range of buildings for a Bazar; and over it are contemplated the erection of a Crescent, with a Chapel in the centre; . . .

- 11 Hastings, Hastings Museum, TP 1036, from an album of watercolours by Dr Robert Batty (d. 1849).
- 12 Baines, *op. cit.*, 308.
- 13 R L Jones (publ.), *The Latest Edition of the Hastings Guide*, Hastings, 1827, 27–28.
- 14 Hastings Museum, 909.32, watercolour probably by W G Moss, dated 1824; *ibid.*, 900.1.4, engraving originally drawn ‘from Nature by Thos. D W Dearn’.
- 15 There appear to have been 28 in total. A much fuller description of the archaeology of the Arcade can be found in Martin and Martin, *op. cit.*, 23–34.
- 16 Hastings, Hastings Museum, XX 470.
- 17 Hastings, Hastings Museum, 913.22.2.
- 18 Undated drawing by W G Moss, engraved by J Relp, in Hastings Museum (900.1.15); engraving ‘from a Sketch by Thos. D. W. Dearn, Archt.’ (undated).
- 19 *An Act for erecting a chapel at Pelham Crescent, in the parish of Saint Mary in the Castle in the Town and Port of Hastings in the County of Sussex* (Anno Sexto Georgii iv. Regis – 2nd May 1825).
- 20 W G Moss, *The History of Hastings*, Hastings, 1825, opp. p. 147.
- 21 Hastings, Hastings Museum, XX, 470. The signatories of the first lease were the Earl of Chichester; Joseph Kay; James Lansdell, builder of Battle; John Smith, builder of Hastings; William Crake, builder of Middlesex and proprietor of the Pelham Baths; William Lucas Shadwell, Lord Chichester’s Hastings solicitor, a landowner of Hastings, Alderman, and later Deputy Lieutenant of Sussex; and one Robert Kirby of Tonbridge. The second was signed by George, Viscount Middleton, Sir George Shiffner, Bart. of Combe Place near Lewes, Inigo Thomas, the Earl of Chichester, Joseph Kay and Henry Bishop, a Hastings solicitor.
- 22 James Lansdell was a not insignificant developer in Hastings and his papers, which are deposited in the ESRO (AMS/6195), give rough building costs of various houses in which he retained an interest. Most include site costs:

1 Breeds Place,	£2525 (including site cost)
4 Breeds Place,	£2200 (including site cost)
5 & 6 Breeds Place,	£1749 (site cost), £4800 (building costs – £2400 each)
7 Breeds Place,	£2653 (including site cost)
8 Breeds Place,	£2948 (including site cost)
12 Pelham Crescent,	£805 (site cost), £2117 (building costs)
- It is interesting to compare these costs with the rather cheaper £1220 for building 24 Wellington Square to the west of the Gun Garden (1819–23). The papers also include much useful material on the renting of property to wealthy visitors and detailed analysis may reveal something on the rental income required from houses developed specifically as lodging houses to provide an adequate financial return.
- 23 The drawings by W H Brooke are held either in ESRO as part of the parish papers (PAR/369/10/1) or in Hastings Museum. W H Brooke sketched widely in Hastings during the 1840s and we are fortunate that he sketched St Mary’s quite so thoroughly as the church was re-ordered in 1889 and much of that re-ordering was itself removed during and following the dereliction of the church in the 1980s.
- 24 It is probable that Kay was most influenced by Soane among contemporary architects when it came to dome and quasi-dome designs. A discussion of Soane’s domes can be found in Christopher Woodward, ‘Enclosure and Light: John Soane’s Designs for Domes’, in *Domes, Papers Read at the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 2000*, Dorking, 2000, 99–109.
- 25 Kay alluded to the Tower of the Winds elsewhere in Hastings, in his own house at Belmont, the Villa

(now called Cupola House), which he gave an octagonal roof-top belvedere rising out of the octagonalising south-western bay to the drawing room and main bedroom above.

- 26 W H Brooke's exterior views show that the entrances were altered after the church had been built, probably at the time of re-ordering during the 1880s (Fig 10). The spur seems to have been the moving of the entrances from the sides of the vestibules, the doors looking across the inner portico at each other, around to the south front of each. The front wall of the church as designed was therefore apparently blank, beneath the level of the cills of the tall arched windows. The railings were also changed with gates towards the centre, as can still be made out from scars in the paving, between single bays of balustrading, presumably of stone. The original arrangement would have given a more picturesque entrance with the doorways letting directly onto the staircases but at right angles to the entrances to the church itself. As reorganised, access became processional but perhaps rather more prosaic.
- 27 Hastings, Hastings Public Library, Brett Manuscript, II, 206. The Brett Manuscript was compiled by Thomas Brett (1816–1906) and consists of local themes largely relating to history. Although the manuscript's accuracy can often be doubted, there appears no reason to suppose that it is not reliable here.
- 28 Kay at various times held leases to a differing number of houses in Pelham Crescent (leases held in ESRO).
- 29 See R J Morrice, *Joseph Kay at Belmont*, (forthcoming).
- 30 Kay's career was overshadowed by his fruitless project for a new General Post Office in London (1814) which was eventually displaced by the Smirke scheme built in 1823–9 [Colvin, *op. cit.*, 568]. He foreswore public competitions thenceforward and restricted himself largely to work on appointment, mostly for private estates, but also as Clerk of Works at Greenwich Hospital and as Surveyor to the Foundling Hospital, in which capacity he succeeded his master, S P Cockerell. That he was a well-known figure in the architectural world is attested by his Secretaryship of the Architecture Club and by his involvement in the foundation of the Institute of British Architects, the preliminary *ad hoc* committee of which he chaired the second largest number of times, after Peter Robinson [Frank Salmon, 'British Architects, Italian Fine Arts Academies and the Foundation of the RIBA, 1816–43', *Architectural History*, XXXIX, 1996, 78–9]. Kay married Sarah, the eldest daughter of the architect William Porden, in 1807, and two sons became architects, while a daughter married the grandson of another architect, William Jupp. Kay also had a Sussex connection in a brother, Robert, of Friars Hill, Guestling, not far from Hastings.
- 31 John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, 9th ed., New Haven and London, 1993, 489.
- 32 Examples of octagonal nonconformist, and particularly Methodist, chapels include the Octagon Chapel at Norwich (1754–6 by Thomas Ivory); Yarm, Yorkshire (1763–4); Stroud, Gloucestershire (1763–4); Heptonstall, Yorkshire (1764); Canterbury, Kent (circa 1764); Arbroath, Angus (1772); and Taunton, Somerset (1776) [G W Dolbey, *The Architectural Expression of Methodism: The First Hundred Years*, London, 1964, 99–115, pls. 10–11]. The Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church, Rosemary Street, Belfast (by Roger Mulholland, 1783) was a particularly fine example of a round chapel. See also Terry Friedman, 'The Church of St Peter-le-Poer Reconsidered', *Architectural History*, XLIII, 2000, 162–171, for a recent discussion of a centralised church contemporary with St. Mary-in-the-Castle. A rather singular instance of a centralised plan chapel is the unbuilt triangular sepulchral chapel Soane designed for Tyringham Hall, Buckinghamshire, in 1800. With its top-lit hexagonal interior, it used a cove to mark the transition from the lower body of the space to the wide lantern in the centre of the ceiling in a way rather similar to Kay's church [Damie Stillman, *English Neoclassical Architecture*, II, London, 1988, 451–2, ills. 324–5].
- 33 T Sopwith, *An Historical & Descriptive Account of All Saints Church*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1826, 66, quoted in Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith & Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches*, Oxford, 1991, 105. Terry Friedman stresses the practical considerations for the choice of the plan at St Peter-le-Poer [Friedman, *op. cit.*, 165–6].
- 34 Bernard Gregory's rather unsavoury career as 'banker, chemist, wine-merchant, actor and newspaper proprietor' is summarised in Anthony Dale, *Fashionable Brighton*, London, 1987 (repr.), 43–44.
- 35 Neil Bingham, *C A Busby: The Regency Architect of Brighton and Hove*, London, 1991, 73–4, fig. 47 and pl. VII.

- 36 M MacKeith, *The History and Conservation of Shopping Arcades*, London & New York, 1986, 9–14.
- 37 On Chester, see J Stobart, ‘Shopping Streets as Social Space: Leisure, Consumerism and Improvement in an Eighteenth-Century County Town’, *Urban History*, XXV (1), 1998, 13. Although the Walks in Tunbridge Wells were laid out in 1638, the colonnade dates from *circa* 1687, at the behest of the owner of the Manor of Rusthall, Thomas Neale, the then Master of the Royal Mint. [R Farthing, *Royal Tunbridge Wells: A Pictorial History*, Chichester, 1990, no pagination but actually 14].
- 38 MacKeith, *op. cit.*, 15–16.
- 39 For the most comprehensive series of photographs and drawings of the Markets, see W L MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, I, An Introductory Study*, New Haven and London, 1965, figs. 74–95; J B Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1981, repr. 1989, 88–95; J Carter, ‘Civic and Other Buildings’ in J M Barton (ed.), *Roman Public Buildings*, Exeter Studies in History, Exeter, 1989, 56–58. That they would have been known in Kay’s time is certain as they were illustrated by Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Urbis Romae Aedificorum Illustrumquae*, Florence, 1569, pl. 37 (*Thermae Lateritiae Pauli Aemilij prope Traiani Forum ad radices Quirinalis Montis*); and by G B Piranesi, *Le Antichità Romane*, Rome, 1756, XXIX, pl. 1 (*Veduta del second’ ordine di una parte della Calcidica del Foro di Traiano*). They were not fully excavated until much later but much of the superstructure was visible [Claude Moatti, *The Search for Ancient Rome*, London, 1989, 93–5].
- 40 Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House*, New Haven and London, 1982, 148.
- 41 Nikolaus Pevsner relates the church to the Pantheon, ‘perhaps via S. Francesco di Paola in Naples (1817 etc.) or Possagno (1819), in *The Buildings of England: Sussex*, Harmondsworth, 1965, 521.
- 42 The group was begun in 1809 to the design of Leopoldo Laperuta, with Antonio de Simone, but the church was later redesigned and built by Pietro Bianchi, 1817–31 [Robin Middleton & David Watkin, *Neoclassical and Nineteenth Century Architecture*, New York, 1980, 292–5, pl. 528].
- 43 Hillary Ballon, *Louis Le Vau: Mazarin’s Collège, Colbert’s Revenge*, Princeton, 1999, 42–71, particularly 55–60; Ivan Hall, *Georgian Buxton: a sketch of Buxton’s Architectural History in Georgian Times*, Derby, 1984; and Ivan Hall, ‘Buxton: The Crescent’, *The Georgian Group Journal*, II, 1992, 40–55.
- 44 John Harris, *The Palladians*, London, 1981, figs. 116 and 117.
- 45 Miles Glendinning, Randal MacInnes and Aonghus MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture From the Renaissance to the Present Day*, Edinburgh, 1996, 193, ill. 5.9.
- 46 Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner (eds.), *The Buildings of England: Devon*, London, 1989, 799.
- 47 Kay’s Rome Journal is in the British Library (Add. MS. 45545, ff. 1–34). Pietro da Cortona’s interest in the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina was aroused when Taddeo Barberini, who acceded to the principality of Palestrina in 1629, began works on the palace at the upper level of the site. Cortona drew several versions of reconstructions between 1630 and 1636, some of which have been lost, though versions survive in the Royal Collection at Windsor, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett. Elisabeth Kieven notes the way that Cortona’s reconstructions synthesize landscape and architecture, and this must have been one of the matters which recommended the building to Kay as a model for Hastings. [Elisabeth Kieven, *Von Bernini bis Piranesi: Römische Architekturzeichnungen des Barocks*, Stuttgart, 1993, 144–147].
- 48 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 92–D-46/E 306–1937. See P Ward-Jackson, *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues: Italian Drawings, Vol 2, 17th–18th Century*, London, 1980, 203–4; H MacAndrew and A Griffiths, ‘The Talman Collection, Marks and Sales, I, the Collection, its Dispersal and the Principal surviving Elements of It’, *The Walpole Society*, LIX, 1997, 194; and Esther Caplin and David Hemsoll, ‘Palestrina: The Temple of Fortune’, *RIBA Journal*, XCVI, 7, 1989, 52–6.
- 49 The 4th edition of *The Hastings Guide* (published by P M Powell, Hastings, 1825) advertises pleasure boats: ‘Several Boats are neatly fitted up, and those who delight in aquatic excursions may confidently intrust themselves with the experienced sailors who have the management of them’. This reiterates the advice of the 3rd edition, which also gave the names of ‘Capts. Bevill, Geo. Fenning, Phillips, Prior, W Mann and Carpenter’. The importance of long views from the sea in the design of terraces, squares and other urban layouts on the fronts of seaside towns is an important aspect of their design, so far largely ignored in the literature.